

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

**Bell & Howell Information and Learning
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
800-521-0600**

UMI[®]

DISSERTATION

**PERCEPTIONS OF ADJUDICATED JUVENILES
CONCERNING THEIR PAROLE EXPERIENCE**

Submitted by

Lynette G. McClain

School of Education

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Fall, 2000

UMI Number: 3002092

UMI[®]

UMI Microform 3002092

Copyright 2001 by Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company.

All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.


Bell & Howell Information and Learning Company
300 North Zeeb Road
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

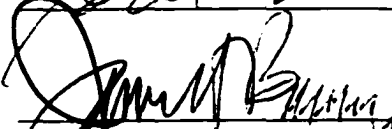
COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

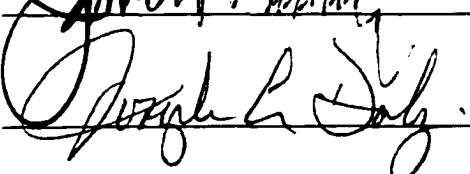
April 12, 2000


WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION
PREPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY LYNETTE G.
McCLAIN ENTITLED, PERCEPTIONS OF ADJUDICATED
JUVENILES CONCERNING THEIR PAROLE EXPERIENCE, BE
ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING IN PART THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

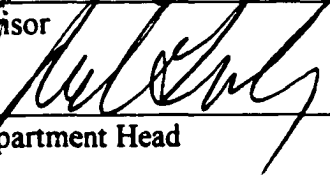
Committee on Graduate Work









Advisor


Department Head

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

PERCEPTIONS OF ADJUDICATED JUVENILES CONCERNING THEIR PAROLE EXPERIENCE

Using a qualitative analysis, this study examined the perceptions of successful and unsuccessful adjudicated youth concerning their parole experience. This study was conducted using a qualitative ethnomethodological approach in order to understand the structure and essence of the adolescent parole experience of four different groups of ex-parolees. This study answered the following four research questions.

1. What are the perceptions of youth concerning experiences before, during and after parole?
2. What are the differences and similarities of youth who were successful in treatment and on parole and those who were unsuccessful in treatment and on parole?
3. What are the experiences of successful and unsuccessful youth before, after and during parole?
4. What experiences do these youth view as critical to their success and failures?

A convenience sample of 18-21 year old male parolees from the State of Colorado, Department of Human Services, Division of Youth Corrections program was selected for the study. Participants were categorized as successful or unsuccessful while adjudicated and on parole. Each group was interviewed using an open-ended interview model to determine their perceptions regarding their parole experience. The researcher had served all of the respondents during their parole supervision and included information she gathered over a twelve-month period to as part of the research study. Results were analyzed and compared to existing literature.

In summary, based upon the responses for fifteen adjudicated delinquent youth, this study makes the following recommendations:

1. Youth with less interruption in their development are more able to learn from their mistakes and be rehabilitated than those with numerous and multiple interruptions.
2. Parole treatment of youth who have been unsuccessful in residential treatment or on parole needs to be multi-modal and multilevel individualized and long term and must adapt to the changing needs of adolescents.

3. **Adolescent youth who are not successful in treatment or on parole have not resolved their own personal identity crisis and are limited in their ability to fully evaluate or describe the perceptions of their experiences.**

**Lynette G. McClain
School of Education
Colorado State University
Fort Collins, CO 80522
Fall, 2000**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract of Dissertation	ii
Index of Tables	viii
Chapter One - Introduction	1
Need for Study	3
Statement of Problem	6
Statement of Purpose	6
Research Questions	6
Definition of Terms	7
Significance of Research	9
Delimitations	11
Limitations	11
Chapter Two -Literature Review	13
Introduction to Existing Literature	13
The Juvenile Delinquent	17
Causes and Predictors	19
Risk Factors	22
Educational Factors	26
Personal Factors	31
Resiliency/Protective Factors	32
Maturity Factors	37
Effective Treatments	47
Proactive Treatments	49
Effective Offender Treatments	60
Summary	64
Personal Experience	66
Chapter Three - Method	71
Research Goals	74
Research Questions	75
Research Site	75
Methods of Data Collection	76

Participants	76
Selection Process	81
Data Collection	85
Interview Instrument	87
Validity Issues	91
Ethical Issues	95
Chapter Four – Findings	96
Demographics	96
Significance of Findings	102
Research Question 1 - Perceptions of Youth	105
Research Question 2 - Differences and Similarities	113
Research Question 3 - Experiences	129
Research Question 4 - Success and Failure	135
Summary	138
Chapter Five – Discussion	140
Research Questions	140
Comparison to Current Research	147
Implications	159
Limitations of the Study	161
Recommendations for Further Research	163
Recommendations for Practice	164
Summary	169
Appendix One - Survey Instrument	170
Appendix Two - Respondent Histories	171
Appendix Three - Index Codes	190
References	191

INDEX OF TABLES

Table 2.1	Characteristics of Students and Factors of Schools that Increase Drop Out Rates	28
Table 2.2	Resilient Child Attributes	35
Table 2.3	Environmental Predictors of Outcomes - Family, School and Community Systems	36
Table 2.5	Characteristics of Overall Successful At-Risk Programs	52
Table 2.6	Offender Treatment Program Features	62
Table 3.1	Participant Categories.	82
Table 3.2	Comparison of Research Questions to Survey Questions	90
Table 4.1	Participant numbers	98
Table 4.2	Participant Categories.	98
Table 4.3	Respondent Ages	101
Table 4.4	Positive and Negative Experiences - Research Field Notes	119
Table 4.5	Comparisons of Social Histories and Post-Parole Activities	120
Table 4.6	Comparing Category One Respondents to All Other Respondents	128
Table 5.1	After Commitment: Comparison of Bernard's Protective Factors to Respondent's Protective Factors	152

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"Today's adolescents are on the front lines of cultural change. In that position they are not only vulnerable to the impact of socioeconomic and cultural perturbations; they also serve as messengers to those behind the lines who more or less eagerly await the latest dispatches from the front (Esman, 1990, p. 85)." While each youth seems to bring his or her own unique array of conditions that sets him apart from the norm, two factors appear to be common to delinquent youth: (1) They have already experienced significant losses in their young lives and; (2) They do not perceive that they have an adequate support system. A sense of hopelessness causes these youth to be short-sighted about the potential for their future and the need for an education. Given these circumstances, this population of youth appear *unable* (as opposed to "not willing") to receive benefit from traditional systems and environments.

Epidemic proportions of youth are at risk. Prison populations are ever on the increase and there is an increase as well in the gap between poverty and middle-class. The trends are not encouraging. Young people from the least well-off demographic groups are forming a growing segment of the child population

(Entwisle, 1990). Nation wide, about 14% of young adults still fail to obtain diplomas, and their educational deficiencies usually are linked to occupational, economic and social disadvantages (Bachman, 1991). In some inner city and rural school districts, dropout rates are between three and four times this national average. Between 600,000 and 700,000 youths and young adults drop out of school each year (Rogoff, 1991).

School failure not only limits employment options and thus future economic and social conditions for those individuals affected, but also is costly to the nation's tax payers. According to the 1985 Current Population Survey reported by Orr (1987), one in four dropouts was unemployed, while one in ten high school graduates was unemployed. The median income of dropouts twenty-five and older in 1984 was 30 percent lower than the income of high school graduates. Because they suffer from reduced employment opportunities, dropouts require more welfare, health care, and unemployment subsidies. They are more likely to be involved in criminal activities, thus incurring costs for judicial and penal services. Public expenditures for welfare, health care, and police that can be attributed to school dropouts are estimated to be from \$10 to \$29 billion annually (Catterall, 1985 in Orr, 1987). In 1996, Coloradans spent about \$6,200 on every public-

school student enrolled in kindergarten through high school, while a single prisoner in a Colorado facility cost taxpayers \$18,250. Once a youth is locked up, the damage to their self-esteem and their identity makes it difficult to desist incarceration. It is these individuals in the 13-21 age range who account for 35.5% of the arrests for nontraffic offenses in the U.S., although they represent only 14.3% of the population. (Jamieson & Flanagan, 1986). Children aged 12 and younger, on the other hand, constitute 18.7% of the population but only 1.8% of the arrests. (Kennedy, 1992). Recidivism rates indicate that 24% of a sample of Ottawa probationers accounted for 85% of the re-convictions (Andrews & Bonta, 1994).

Need for the Study

Research statistics indicate that between 10 and 20% of youth between the ages of 10 and 18 commit about 80 to 90% of the total number of recorded offenses nationally (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). It is this population of youth that this research study has attempted to measure. The youth in this study have been adjudicated delinquent by the court and sent to residential treatment settings because they have been determined to be habitual juvenile offenders. Their personal backgrounds vary but typically they have had numerous barriers to their

success at an early age which may have included many but not any one configuration of the following conditions: learning disabilities, early familial trauma, early childhood illnesses requiring long-term or numerous hospitalizations, several early losses, criminal and/or addicted parents, physical or emotional abuse or neglect, several out-of-home placements, mental illnesses, chronic and/or extreme poverty, numerous geographical moves, numerous changes in supervision, little, chaotic or irregular supervision, long-term school failure, long-term pharmacological treatments and other long-term therapeutic interventions. Every participant in this study has dropped out of school and most have never attended high school.

There is a wealth of statistics verifying the factors that predict delinquency that include demographics, parent characteristics, and professional opinions. There are numerous studies concerning various control theories regarding crime and delinquency. Some research has considered the characteristics of high-risk youth who do not choose to become delinquent. There have been no studies, however, that link the term 'success' with juvenile delinquency. The literature has seldom considered the perceptions of youth who are at risk or queried the voices of delinquent or at-risk youth who have become successful adults. Several questions remain unanswered in addressing the effective treatment of delinquent youth.

Education appears to be a key ingredient in reducing delinquency but understanding how to reach this population of adjudicated youth remains unclear. Statistics from Marc LeBlanc and his colleagues at the University of Montreal from 1958-1962 who studied 3,142 young people attending school and 934 serious delinquents indicated that a serious record of delinquency is strongly associated with poor educational achievement (cited in Andrews & Bonta, 1994). The OERI (1993) reports on the National Education Goal to increase high school completion to ninety percent. This report indicates that a key contribution to realizing this goal would be the movement away from the study of demographics and toward the design and support of research that examines "theoretical concepts that treat retention, graduation, and completion as consequences of a dynamic interaction of such variables as student characteristics, school context, occupational prospects and cultural influences (p. 31)."

The characteristics of students who are most likely to drop out and the development of dropout prevention programs intended to reduce their rate of exit dominate current research. We know well that the insidious effects of poverty, broken families, illegitimacy, and drugs can pose great obstacles to learning and graduation. But we know less about how these barriers can be overcome or how schools and society can help students resist their effects. The prospects for higher graduation rates would be increased if educators knew more about what motivates students to want to learn. (OERI, 1993, p. 2)

Listening to the voices of adjudicated youth will be helpful to understanding this problem. This study sought the perceptions of adjudicated youth in defining

this need for changing the direction of treatment for delinquent and high risk youth.

Statement of the Problem

How do adjudicated youth perceive their parole experience? Is there a difference between the perceptions of different groups of more and less successful adjudicated youth? How do the perceptions of adjudicated youth compare to research findings?

Statement of Purpose

This study analyzed the voices of adjudicated youth between the ages of 18 and 22 concerning their experiences on parole. Their perceptions were then compared to the current research findings.

Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions of youth concerning experiences before, during and after parole?
2. What are the differences and similarities of youth who were successful in treatment and on parole and those who were unsuccessful in treatment and on parole?
3. What are the experiences of successful and unsuccessful youth before, after and during parole?
4. What experiences do these youth view as critical to their success and failures?

Definition of Terms

Delinquent youth.

Any adolescent who had been convicted of a criminal offense other than a traffic violation. Many behavior problems specific to children and adolescents have no analogues among adult criminal behaviors such as: being uncontrollable by parents, running away, truancy, etc. The delinquent youth in this study will be determined eligible and selected for interview as a part of this study, because they have been found to be adjudicated delinquent and as a result they have participated in court-ordered long-term incarceration and because they are willing to participate in the program voluntarily.

Adjudicated delinquent.

A youth who is formally declared delinquent in juvenile court. Many youth who are arrested for criminal behavior are often referred to mental health, placed with social services (in a residential or foster placement), or receive some other type of treatment without ever being declared delinquent by the courts.

Dropout.

Not used to label individuals, but instead names a process of discontinuing formal education. Students who have dropped out can only be identified as such after they have actually decided that they will not return to

school. The types of characteristics that identify dropping out have some commonalities but these characteristics are not collectively inherent in individuals. There are differing reasons that students drop out of school. Barber and McClellan (in Loughrey and Harris, 1990) refer to the "classic" dropout who is characterized by a poor attitude toward school, a low GPA, failing grades, being behind in credits, and being male. Overall it appears that the external supports of parents, siblings and friends were markedly different in dropouts in comparison to non-drop out at-risk students. While there are a wide array of reasons that students drop out of school, there is no single factor that causes students to drop out. Multiple measures tend to be the most reliable indicators. O'Sullivan (1990) used the following as predictors for identifying middle school students at-risk of failing: a combination of student's grade reports, conduct ratings, absences, disciplinary actions received, and teachers' at-risk rankings. These predictors significantly predicted the number of F's received at the end of 18 weeks.

At-riskness.

At-riskness in adolescents is generally perceived as being at-risk for dropping out of school, however, at-riskness may also be considered a symptom for being at risk for delinquency, teen pregnancy, substance abuse, and other dysfunctions. Having more than one risk indicator such as those named above

can be defined as being "multiply at-risk". It is difficult to define at-riskness since most youth have their own unique array of composite risks. Hence the characteristics should be used as symptoms or predictors only. Many studies have confused causes with predictors. This could be problematic if programs are designed around generalized predictors and do not meet youth participants' unique needs.

Success.

Success in this study has been defined as desistance from criminal activities and criminal lifestyles. The participants in this study will be asked to define success as it relates to them as individuals.

Dissisters.

Persons who have a persistent delinquent history and are predicted to persist in criminal activity but change so that they do not proceed into adult criminal careers

Significance of the Research

There are a variety of national statistics that speak to the economic and statistical significance of studying high risk adolescents and specifically adjudicated youth:

- More adolescents are experimenting with harmful substances at younger ages. For example, between the 1950's and the 1980's,

the percentage of students who had ever tried an illicit substance prior to the 10th grade rose from less than 5% to 30% . . .

- The homicide rate has doubled among 10 to 14 year olds during the past 20 years. . . .
- Over the past 20 years the suicide rate tripled among 10 to 14 year olds and doubled among 15 to 19 year olds. . . .
- Abuse and neglect increased 74% during the past decade, and adolescents experience more abuse and neglect than younger children do (Waggoner, 1991).
- The average cost to maintain a prisoner in a state prison in 1988 was \$16,000 per year. . . . It costs \$3,600 to keep a student in school. . . .
- In just the State of Texas alone, each class of dropouts costs over \$17.12 billion in (a) foregone income and lost tax revenues and (b) increased costs in welfare, crime and incarceration, unemployment insurance and placement, and adult training and education.
- Every dollar invested in educating potential dropouts is estimated to result in a return of nine dollars. . . . The human costs cannot be measured in such concrete terms (Subcommittee on Economic Growth,

Trade and Taxes of the Joint Economic Committee Congress of the United States, 1991).

America's Education 2000 report and the National Education Goals have targeted school completion as a significant part of their projects. Research studies to date, however, have offered mostly descriptive statistics regarding resiliency and have failed to study more behavioral explanations. The voice of youth has seldom been regarded as valuable by researchers to date. If human service providers are seeking motivational factors for delinquent youth in their own treatment, it may be helpful to seek their opinion and attempt to understand their perceptions.

Delimitations

This study will not seek to study the causes or predictors of adjudicated or delinquent youth or to define this population except for the purposes of this study. It is assumed that the available data are sufficient for use in this study. The components defined by current research and developmental theory are assumed to be the key treatments and components of any successful preventative programming for juvenile delinquents or adjudicated youth.

Limitations

The multitude of uncontrolled factors in this qualitative case-study design study do not permit sound cause-and-effect conclusions. The necessary student

selection process does not allow for random sampling techniques, therefore, the generalization of results will relate only to theoretical propositions, but not to populations of universes.

The researcher has had 15 years of experience teaching emotionally disturbed adolescents in public schools in Colorado and Nebraska and 10 years of experience in working with delinquent and adjudicated youth. She brings her biases and her expertise concerning the services for high risk youth in public school settings and in residential institutions. She is currently the president and director of a private day-treatment program for delinquent youth, Beaucaire Youth Services.

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction

"The next decade may well be the most challenging in the history of American education. Economic and technological changes in our society are demanding a highly skilled work force that will have to come predominantly from the type of students with whom the schools have had the least success" (Waggoner, 1991, p. xv). Judged by any number of statistical yardsticks--infant mortality, child poverty, teen suicide and incarceration--America in the 90s is doing in kids at an alarming rate (Vogel, 1994)." Ernest L. Boyer, a former U.S. Commissioner of Education, calls serving disadvantaged students "the urgent unfinished business for American education (Waggoner, 1991, p. 15)." He states that unless we find ways to overcome the problem of failure in the schools, generations of students will continue to be doomed to frustrating, unproductive lives. This nation cannot afford to pay the price of wasted youth. (Waggoner, 1991).

From 1970 until 1990, adolescents have been the only group in this country whose status of health has not been improved. According to Vogel (1994), It's estimated that every day, 2,700 babies are born into poverty, more than 2,000 students drop out of school, 250 kids are arrested for violent crimes, and 1,700 are abused by their parents. Traffic fatalities, homicides and suicides accounted for 78% of all the deaths

among 15-24 year olds. During this time alcohol and drug use has increased along with the incidence of AIDS, crime and school drop-outs (Hawkins, & Catalano, 1989). Former U.S. Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos has estimated that, by the year 2000 ". . . as many as one-third of our young people will be at risk (Schultz, 1991, p. 71)."

The United States has the highest rate of child poverty among the industrialized nations, nearly three times that of most other economically advanced nations. The current poverty rate is higher than during the worst recession years of the 1970's (Schultz, 1991). Young people from the least well-off demographic groups form a growing segment of the child population. Black and Hispanic children, who together constitute about 27% of the current child population, will make up 33 percent of the child population by the year 2010 (Rogoff, 1991). Even though this segment of children, "comprise 30% of the population that face major risk of educational failure and lifelong dependency (Lipsitz, 1991, p. 31)," they are not being considered in the nation's plans to achieve educational excellence.

Twenty percent of children live in families whose income is below the poverty level. In 1987 AFDC reached only 56% of children in poverty. The result for the children of these families is sickness, psychological stress, malnutrition,

underdevelopment, and daily hardship that quickly takes its toll on their young minds and bodies (Shulz, 1991).

No matter how "at-riskness" is counted, it results in data that indicate that a significant number of American youth are not receiving adequate preparation or support for self-sufficiency. About 14% of young adults in the United States still fail to obtain diplomas, and their educational deficiencies usually are linked to occupational, economic and social disadvantages (Bachman, 1991). Ironically, this same percentage, 14% of youthful offenders are responsible for 80% of all crimes committed.

While there are serious consequences for each individual that results in lowered employment and significantly lower income over the course of a lifetime, there are numerous negative and costly consequences for all of society.

It was estimated in 1972 that high school dropouts cost the nation annually about \$77 billion: \$71 billion in lost tax revenue, \$3 billion in welfare and unemployment costs, and \$3 billion in crime prevention costs. A more recent estimate suggests a loss of about \$68 billion in tax revenues to all levels of government from the high school class of 1981 alone (Sherman, 1987, p. 8).

The Intercultural Development Research Association estimates that the benefits of drop out prevention efforts based on the recovery of lost tax revenues and savings in welfare, job training, crime and unemployment costs to be (\$17.5 billion) over nine times the cost of education and dropout prevention programs (\$1.9 billion) (Sherman, 1987). In 1994, Coloradans will spend more than \$1 billion on police protection, prisons, and the state's legal system. In just one year in Colorado, 1992, an economic impact of \$873,024,000 was tallied for the cost of reported violent crimes. All areas of juvenile crime show increases. There is disagreement, however, on how best to approach this problem.

Many studies have identified the demographics and characteristics of high risk and delinquent youth, of criminal adults, and of desisting offenders. A few studies have considered the perceptions of various populations of youth such as those identified as learning disabled, emotionally disturbed, high risk, slow-learners and/or dropouts (Clark-Lempers, 1991; Cotterell, 1992; Gerber, Ginsberg, & Reiff, 1994; Muro & Wise, 1988; and Sample, 1995), but non have considered the perceptions of adjudicated delinquent youth. Fewer studies have considered their success: how adjudicated youth achieve success or what youth offenders perceive as success for themselves. Bernard (1991), has considered the protective (or successful) factors of high risk youth who were successful. Social control theorists, Glueck and Glueck,

(1959); Reckless (1967), Laub and Sampson, (1988), Hirischi (1969), have compared the characteristics of people who conform to society (or are successful) rather with those who commit crimes (cited in Andrews & Bonta, 1994). A need exists to consider the perceptions of adjudicated youth concerning their understanding of success and what they think they need to be successful.

This chapter will: 1) examine the characteristics of juvenile delinquency and youthful offenders; 2) consider current research on causes and predictors of delinquency and desistance from criminal behaviors; and, 3) present findings on effective treatments and deterrents to delinquency. A review of the current research will justify the importance of this study.

The Juvenile Delinquent

The Encyclopedia of Adolescence (1990) defines several types of delinquency. A socialized-subcultural delinquent is described as a youngster “with a relatively normal degree of interpersonal attachment and no pronounced psycho-pathology whose family has failed to inculcate conventional values and whose community, especially through the adolescent’s peers, actually promotes delinquent values and behavior (p.200).” This type of delinquent is the gang member from a lower class neighborhood who is a poor student but has fairly normal adolescent peer relationships except that these relationships revolve around antisocial behavior. Other

types of delinquency include the unsocialized-psychopathic and the neurotic-disturbed patterns. The unsocialized-psychopathic type “corresponds closely to the traditional diagnosis of adult psychopathic personality in that it is characterized by a failure to sustain normal, close interpersonal relationships, even with delinquent peers and by impulsive behavior marked by sensation-seeking and a failure to learn from punishment. Neurotic-disturbed delinquents are characterized by abnormally elevated levels of depression anxiety and a high degree of interpersonal sensitivity.” A majority of depressed delinquents report that they engage in delinquent behavior (including drug and alcohol abuse and fighting) as a method of coping with dysphoric affect produced by stressful situations (p.200). These differing types of delinquency should not be considered as mutually exclusive categories. Most delinquents actually manifest at least some characteristics of all the patterns and some show many characteristics of all three patterns.

The individual differences in criminal behaviors are substantial and the success rates for adjudicated youth are significant. As the statistics reported earlier indicate, a small percentage of youthful offenders are responsible for a large percentage of the criminal activity. Recidivism rates for young male offenders are very high--over 70% for both juvenile and adult re-convictions. Recidivism rates for young female offenders is 50% but only one-third register adult criminal records. A majority of

those who re-offend do so within one year of their release (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). Long-term community-based treatments offered directly after release appear to effectively address the needs of adjudicated youth.

Causes and Predictors

Both the causes and predictors of desisting and of delinquency are certainly a consideration in planning the strategies for effective prevention and intervention treatments. As already stated, the causes are complex and variable. If researchers looked at the interrelation between the factors, the studies might show not only that a factor such as the 'dysfunctional family' influences delinquency but that 'delinquent behavior' creates family dysfunction. Confusion about factors may arise because researchers have tried to talk about single factors (learning disabilities, child abuse, etc.) as if they were the sole contributor to delinquency. Studies often fail to incorporate other variables that may contribute to delinquent behavior. By leaving these other variables out, the results of the study are diluted. Consideration of a systems theory would strengthen the outcomes on the studies of the etiology of delinquency. There is not one factor that explains delinquency but an interrelationship of various factors or a "family" of variables that contribute to the formation of delinquent behavior. Families of factors have been grouped in the discussion that

follows into the following categories: risk factors, education, personal factors, resiliency/protective factors, and development.

In an effort to look at all variables, Gendreau, Andrews, Coggin & Chanteloupe (1992) used automated library searches, surveys of key review articles and follow-ups on reference lists of the studies of all the correlates of crime published in the English language between 1976 and 1992. The University of New Brunswick/Carlson University studied the meta-analysis of predictors of criminal behavior. As of September 1992, approximately 1,000 studies had been listed, 700 studies located and 372 studies yielded over 1,770 Pearson correlation coefficients, each of which reflected the covariant of some potential correlate of individual criminal conduct with some measure of criminal conduct. Particular risk/need factors were assigned to seven categories. These categories were: (1) lower-class origins as assessed by parental educational and occupational indices and neighborhood characteristics, (2) personal distress indicators including “psychological” measures of anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem as well as more “sociological” assessments of anomie and alienation, (3) personal educational/vocational/economic achievement, (4) parental psychological status and functioning as well as family cohesiveness and parenting practices, (5) antisocial temperament, personality and behavioral history, (6) antisocial attitudes and antisocial associates, and (7) other variables not obviously

fitting within the first six categories. The rank ordering of the six sets of risk/need factors has proven to be very robust across various types of subject and across methodological variables (Andrews & Bonta, 1994).

Control or containment theories produced by sociological criminologists concentrate upon explaining why people do not commit crimes, or are successful, rather than explaining why people do commit them. Reckless (1967) followed Freudian theory in suggesting that there were both inner and outer sources of control.

The external controls were social pressures to conform, and the strength of these controls would increase with a sense of belonging to anticriminal groups. These groups include the family, social clubs, school and religious organizations. Inner containment” which may be considered to be a definition of success, is Reckless’ term for what psychologists call self-control, conscience or superego (Andrews & Bonta, 1994, p. 81).

As delinquent behaviors give cause for concern for at-riskness, no one is assured, however, of each youth’s precise needs or lack thereof. We don’t know to what extent adolescent growth has been constrained by the developmental trajectories into which they were launched prior to adolescence. Observations generally reveal a varied and unique array of needs for the differing circumstances for each youth.

Risk factors have recently been developed as a tool for measuring treatment needs of offenders.

Risk Factors.

There are substantial individual differences in the criterion of criminal conduct. Youth differ in their frequency of criminal activity, and in the number, type and variety of criminal acts in which they engage. In addition, while accounting for a disproportionate amount of the total criminal activity, the more criminal offenders tend not to be specialists (Andrews & Bonta, 1994). The risk factors from a brief survey of risk factors from the cross-sectional and longitudinal studies from Andrews, 1989; Andrews, Leschied & Hoge, 1992 as reported in Andrews & Bonta, (1994) include:

1. Lower-class origins
2. Family of origin
3. Personal temperament, aptitude and early behavioral history
4. Early and continuing family conditions
5. School-based risk factors
6. Personal educational/vocational/socioeconomic achievement
7. Interpersonal relationships
8. Social support for crime

9. **Personal attitudes/values/beliefs supportive of crime**
10. **Behavioral history**
11. **Psychopathology**
12. **Other risk factors**

Such an all-inclusive list offers the assumption that perhaps everything is a factor and in fact this is closer to the truth than the labeling of any one factor as being a significant factor than another. There are a variety of factors that have been categorized for consideration in the discussion that follows.

The establishment of risk factors is one step on the road to an increased understanding of criminal conduct. Andrews and Bonta (1994) have identified a set of risk factors that they believe apply across different types of criminal behavior, though crime-specific indicators of antisocial attitudes, associates and behavioral history may be most useful when the focus is on violence or sex offenses. This empirically derived knowledge also may contribute to increased effectiveness and efficiency in the design and delivery of effective prevention and rehabilitation programs.

The major factors:

1. **Antisocial/procriminal attitudes, values, beliefs and cognitive emotional states (i.e. personal cognitive supports for crime);**

2. **Procriminal associates and isolation from anticriminal others (i.e. interpersonal supports for crime);**
3. **Temperamental and personality factors conducive to criminal activity including psychopathy, weak socialization, impulsivity, restless aggressive energy, egocentrism, below-average verbal intelligence, a taste for risk, and weak problem-solving/self-regulation skills:**
4. **History of antisocial behavior evident from a young age, in a variety of settings and involving a number and variety of different acts;**
5. **Familial factors that include criminality and a variety of psychological problems in the family of origin and, in particular, low levels of affection, caring and cohesiveness; poor parental supervision and discipline practices; outright neglect and abuse;**
6. **Low levels of personal educational, vocational or financial achievement and, in particular, unstable employment.**

The minor factors:

7. Lower-class origins as assessed by adverse neighborhood conditions and/or parental education/vocational/economic achievement;
8. Personal distress, whether assessed by way of the sociological constructs of anomie, strain and alienation or by way of the clinical constructs of low self-esteem, anxiety, depression, worry or officially labeled “mental disorder”;
9. A host of biological/neuropsychological indicators that have yet to be integrated in a convincing manner by way of either theory or the construction of practical risk/need assessment instruments. (p.232)

Control theorists look at conformity rather than deviance to answer the question “Why don’t we violate the law?” rather than “Why do we violate the law?” (Andrews & Bonta, 1994, p. 82). A new generation of psychodynamic theories of crime by Marc LeBlanc, Marc Ouimet and Righard Tremblay (1988) attempts to integrate control theory with psycho-dynamic theory by taking personality seriously. This model includes four major sets of variables called: 1) Social Ties: attachment to parents or other authority figures and involvement in school, work, church, etc; 2)

Adolescent Role: school adaptation and non-delinquent peers; 3) Social Constraints: External and internal; and 4) Psychological Functioning: social adjustment, aggression, security/alienation and psychoticism.

Since continued deviant behavior by youths with persistent delinquent histories is perceived to hold the greatest risk for society at large, research has neglected to study youth who do change their ways, are successful and do not proceed to adult criminal careers. This group of desisters may provide a reservoir of insight and understanding of the nature, process, motivators and maintenance of their turnaround. Often they are referred to as the false positives of delinquency research who while desisting were predicted to persist in criminal activity (Hubert, 1993, p. 4).

Educational Factors

Adolescents' main developmental task is to attend school and learn. Most research indicates that school attendance and association with non-criminal peers is of primary concern. According to control theorists, those youth who are confined in the "prisons" of conventions such as school, family, work and church are less likely to be delinquent than were "non-prisoners" of convention (Andrews & Bonta, 1994, p. 80). The Montreal 1960 Cohorts comprising 934 delinquent youth reported only 2% has having completed high school and .3% had attended a post-secondary school. These numbers suggest that adjudicated youth typically have dropped out of school

at an early age. In a study by the Department of Education in 1987, Dropping Out of School, it was reported that generally, youth at-risk for dropping out may be categorized as those who:

- Come from low-socioeconomic, larger, single-parent families, headed by females and have siblings who are also likely to be drop-outs.
- Have lowered academic abilities, low academic achievement, low test scores, retention in lower grades, a history of truancy, behavioral problems and delinquency.
- Have had a teen pregnancy, work longer hours for pay, are living independently and are generally male.

This same study reported that students gave the following reasons for dropping out of school:

- Difficulty getting along at school, expulsion or suspension.
- Pregnancy
- Employment opportunities

Wolman, et. al. (1989) combines the predictors and causes by labeling them "characteristics of students" and "factors of schools" that are related to higher dropout rates. These have been summarized in Table 2.1 below.

Table 2.1 - Characteristics of Students and Factors of Schools that Increase Drop Out Rates

Characteristics of Students	Factors of Schools
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Demographic factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ethnic group Gender Community type 2. Social and family factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Socioeconomic status Single-parent family Educational or motivational support at home 3. Personality factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low self-concept Externalized locus of control Low needs for self-development 4. Early transition into adulthood <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pregnancy Marriage Having a job 5. Deviant behavior in society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Institutionalization or incarceration Delinquency Drug use 6. In-school factors <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Low academic achievement and low grades Low IQ Reading problems Being held back in schools Being over age Educational and occupational aspirations Behavior problems at school Attendance rate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Weak leadership from the principal High level of disempowerment experienced by staff Small amount of time teachers engage in instruction Low percentage of teaching time spent in interactive learning Tracking Misuse of standardized tests Fiscal arrangements that encourage early dismissal of dropouts Overcrowding Underachieving student body High failure rates Low degree of order and discipline Low attendance rate School reform

taken from: Wolman, C., Bruininks, R. & Thurlow, M.L. (September/October, 1989). Dropouts and dropout programs: Implications for Special Education. RASE: Remedial and Special Education. 10(5), 6-20.

Most adjudicated youth report that they have a desire to get an education and to attend school upon their release. Historically, research on delinquency has focused on the causes that are external to school (i.e. family SES, minority status, family support, and gender). While there is certainly credibility to this approach, it has encouraged the attitude in education that intervention strategies for at-risk and delinquent youth need to be addressed outside of the school setting. Educators have been reluctant to consider addressing the unmet social and psychological needs of youth. This lack of interest has allowed schools to continue supplying services that don't fit the current school populations. According to Wells (1990) schools do, in fact influence students' decisions to drop out, although little attention or concrete evidence has proven this.

Larry Cuban (1989) agrees that the inflexibility of schools and school systems contributes to student academic failure and poor performance. The "graded school" he contends, is one of the most inflexible of the structures. All students are expected to learn and retain information at the same pace or be left behind by their peers. Schools eliminate those who perform or behave in contrast to the norm (Wells, 1990, p. 5).

Negative school environment or school climate may contribute to school failure. The National Association of School Social Workers was cited in Wells (1990) as suggesting the following school-related contributors to school dropout: lack of cooperative, positive relationships between and among students, staff, parents and administrators; inadequate discipline procedures and/or policies; lack of alternative schools/programs to meet the needs of at-risk groups; and lack of collaborative teamwork among school and community professionals. Wehlage and Rutter (Wells, 1990, p. 6) state that "in the process of becoming a dropout, the act of rejecting the educational institution must also be accompanied by the belief that the institution has rejected the person. Sagor (1990) reports that there are currently three dominant and separate theories on at-riskness.

One theory holds that at riskness is the result of clinical pathology, another posits at-riskness as a direct consequence of developmental deficits (Conrath, 1986), while the third maintains that at-riskness is created by imperfections in our organizational structures, or in other words institutional pathology (see Pearl, 1972; Polk and Shafer, 1972).

While it is this writer's belief that all three theories could be true simultaneously, the point is that: based upon what is perceived as the cause for at-riskness, the treatment

would be markedly different. The study by Sagor (1990) suggests that evaluation of the organizational or structural approaches utilized in serving youth who are identified as being at-risk would be of benefit in determining the "institutional" causes for their at-riskness. He contends that measuring student attitudes and behavior is essential and suggests that several data sources be utilized in program evaluation which should include: direction of performance, involvement in activities, attendance, and post-high school aspirations. Listening to the youth who are at-risk themselves would clearly be an effective and efficient method of obtaining data to measure their perceptions of the cause of their at-riskness. The following is a summary of some recent research that has analyzed the voices of youth who are not, at the time of the study, considered at-risk or have not yet dropped out of school.

Personal Factors

Harter (1990) has explored a theory-based model of risk factors that affect self-esteem, depression, and thoughts of suicide among normative samples of adolescents. She identified several factors that are predictive of high self-esteem, namely: competence in domains of importance to the self; positive regard from others; competence in domains of importance to parents; and peer support. This pattern of themes is similar to several other studies mentioned below.

Damon and Hart's developmental model of self-understanding also generates predictions about delinquent behavior. They suggest that the developmental level of self-understanding may be a better predictor of delinquency than self-esteem. Several other studies have identified positive variables for school retention of at-risk youth rather than the more negative measures of dropout. The Loughrey and Harris study (1991) and the Albert and Dunham study (1986) offer such positive factors as well as do the resiliency studies discussed below. These positive factors encourage a more pro-active approach to program development for at-risk and delinquent youth.

Resiliency/Protective Factors

Some researchers are considering what keeps high risk youth successful and are calling this "resiliency."

Since continued deviant behavior by youths with persistent delinquent histories is perceived to hold the greatest risk for society at large, research has neglected the study of those who do change their ways and do not proceed to adult criminal careers. The latter group may provide a reservoir of insight and understanding of the nature, process, motivators and maintenance of their turnaround. Often they are referred to as false positives of delinquency research who while desisting were predicted to persist in criminal activity. . . . 'Instead

of regarding adolescents who do not develop antisocial behavior in later years as false positives in the prediction of maladjustment, they may fruitfully be thought of as true positives in the prediction of recovery.' (Hubert, 1993).

The Loughrey and Harris study (1990) suggests that there are some factors that keep at-risk students in school in spite of their lack of success. "These (at risk) students (who remain in school) have reasonably high self-esteem, take some responsibility for their poor academic performance, are disappointed in and care for their grades, and even like some of their classes." Albert and Dunham (1986) reported that in their predictors of marginal students who stay in school was the belief that school was relevant to future jobs, that parental pressure was one of the forces keeping them in school and that most of them did not have many friends who dropped out. The Grant Commission, in its report The Forgotten Half (William T. Grant Foundation, 1988), reviewed research and initiatives for non-college bound students thought to be at risk. "They found that all young people need more constructive contact with adults, opportunities to participate in community activities, jobs that offer accomplishment and career opportunity, and special help with difficulties such as learning disabilities and substance addiction (Wells, 1990, p. 24)." Each of these studies suggest that quality of supportive relationships with significant both adults and peers and active

participation in experiences relevant to their lives are both significant indicators of school retention for at-risk youth.

The study of "resiliency factors" is another current methodology that also takes a positive approach to addressing the needs of youth identified as at-risk. Several studies (Bernard, 1991, Werner, 1989, Tress, et. al., 1989, Losel, et. a., 1989 and Goddard et. al., 1991) identified a large group of children who were in familial situations that put them "at-risk" and studied their development. The majority of the children who were studied developed normally. Those that did not had several common conditions. This consistent finding led to an interest in examining those factors called "protective factors" by Bernard (1991) that appear to alter or even reverse potential negative outcomes and enable youth to recover from their stressors. These resilient child attributes identified by Bernard (1991) have been summarized in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2 - Resilient Child Attributes

<p style="text-align: center;">Social Competence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Responsiveness ● Flexibility ● Empathy and caring ● Communication skills ● Sense of humor 	<p style="text-align: center;">Problem Solving Skills</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Think abstractly ● Think reflectively ● Think flexibly ● Attempt alternate solutions to both cognitive and social problems
<p style="text-align: center;">Autonomy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strong sense of independence ● Internal locus of control ● Sense of power ● Self esteem ● Self efficacy ● Self discipline ● Impulse 	<p style="text-align: center;">Sense of Purpose and Future</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Healthy expectancies ● Goal directedness ● Success orientation ● Achievement motivation ● Educational aspirations ● Persistence ● Hopefulness ● Belief in a bright future ● Sense of anticipation

taken from: Bernard, B. (1991). *Fostering Resiliency in Kids: Protective Factors in the Family, School and Community*. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 101 S.W. Main Street, Suite 500, Portland, OR 97204.

Bernard (1991) also identified protective factors or environmental predictors of outcomes for the family, school and community systems. Predictors for all three systems include:

1. Caring and support factors,
2. High expectation factors, and
3. Factors that encourage participation.

The following chart is a summary of sample strategies listed by Bernard (1991) in all three systems for each protective factor.

Table 2.3 -Environmental Predictors of Outcomes - Family, School and Community Systems

SYSTEM	Caring and Support	High Expectations	Participation
Family	close bond with at least one person who is consistent, stable and supportive	"You have everything you need to be successful and you can do it."	Meaningful ways to contribute to family chores, decisions, etc.
School	caregiving environment and peer support.	clear expectations, "You are a bright and capable person."	Meaningful opportunities for involvement.
Community	Availability of resources	View youth as resources rather than problems	Youth service projects.

Bernard (1991) suggests that each child's outcome is determined by the balance (number, frequency, duration and severity) between their risk factors, their stressful life events and the protective factors that are in place in each system (family, community, and school) as well as the time or developmental stages when they are affected. The decay of social networks that have provided supports, opportunities for participation and expectations for successes are cause for us to rebuild these networks and intersystem linkages. Research on resiliency clearly supports the use of strategies

and activities that encourage caring, support and participation at all stages of child development and in all systems.

Maturity Factors

Developmental theorists suggest consideration of the passage through these life-stages can lead to a more thorough understanding of both the causes and predictors of youth who are at-risk. "Just as in a bicycle race a hill spreads cyclists out so it becomes easy to see who is leading and who is falling behind, so life transitions similarly challenge students, and differences among them tend to widen (Entwisle, 1990, p. 216)." Not only do the differences widen but the needs of the individual become increasingly more diversified as students move through the grades and through each of their own unique developmental stages. Knowledge of the characteristics of healthy and unhealthy transitions through these stages can assist in the research and development of more appropriate educational services and programs for all youth. The remainder of this discussion of causes and predictors will focus upon developmental theories.

One developmental theorist, Entwisle (1990) summarizes a cause for the failure of recent educational attempts to meet the needs of today's youth:

School process models and research on school ecology have, with few exceptions, laid principal emphasis on achievement; they have

generally ignored the biological and psychological aspects of human development, although obviously these interact with schooling. . . . At a more micro-level, we need to know more about the particulars of the interaction between psychological well-being and cognitive development (p. 218).

There is a need to develop a systematic and replicable approach to supporting the needs of today's adolescents that considers the developmental needs of normal adolescents. Developmental theorists suggest that the developmental tasks of the adolescent focus mainly on their identity development and their relationships with significant others. Rawlins (1992) states that, "'learning friendship' is one of the primary challenges of adolescence that can provide significant emotional, moral, and communicative grounding and skills" Development of one's identity has been cited by theorists (Erikson, 1968; Elkind, 1984, Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Marcia, 1980 In Rawlins, 1992) as the critical task of adolescence, especially youth at-risk.

One might speculate whether the all-pervasive indifference toward school and the frequent discontent of adolescents with education and with their teachers are in part a result of the lack of concern on the part of many educators with what Erikson and Marcia consider a fundamental developmental issue, namely, the resolution of the

identity crisis. It has long been recognized that the problem of the high school dropout is not simply a matter of lack of ability or even lack of achievement, but a desire for independence, a search without a goal, an expression of inner discontent and restlessness (Muuss, 1985, p.83).

When the developmental needs of adolescents are considered, and when adolescent support systems address these needs, students are allowed to move comfortably through the various sequential stages of healthy adolescent development. Current research has done little to integrate the theories of adolescent development to the structures of youth services, education and treatment programming. Juvenile delinquency and dropout prevention efforts and research has further neglected these issues.

Erikson's theory of identity development stresses the fact that the process of adolescent development is sequential. His eight stages of development are characterized by a conflict that has two possible opposing outcomes. If the conflict is resolved, the positive quality becomes part of the ego and further healthy development is enhanced. Erikson suggests that if this conflict persists or is resolved unsatisfactorily, the negative quality of that stage will be incorporated into the personality structure. The negative quality will then interfere with further

development and "may manifest itself in psychopathology" (Muuss, 1985, p.53). Symptoms of identity confusion most likely represent earlier (childhood) failure to progress normally and resolve conflicts. The first four stages, according to Erikson, prior to the adolescent stage of identity formation are: trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. shame/doubt, initiative vs. guilt, and industry vs. inferiority. Muuss (1988) suggests that these developmental stages of ego-identity must be established during adolescence to allow further ego development. Harter (1990) elaborates on this theme:

Teenagers who successfully navigate the journey of self-development should acquire a clear and consolidated sense of true self that is realistic and internalized, one that will lay the basis for further identity development. Failure to chart these waters successfully may result in a number of potential psychological risks, among them a distorted or unrealistic self-concept, failure to integrate the self across multiple roles, conflict over seeming contradictions within the self, maladaptive or distressing displays of false selves, and definitions of the self that rely primarily on the standards and desires of others. Any one of these may preclude the development of an integrated, internalized sense of self that will foster the search for a meaningful future identity (p.354).

Harter (1990) describes adolescent identity development as a period of integrating a myriad of self concepts into a unified self-theory. This belief is a prevailing thread woven throughout many of the current theories and must be a serious consideration in program planning for adolescents unable to integrate their multiple roles. Harter suggests that an inability to move through this stage can result in serious difficulties.

Young people face potential risks as they move through these developmental stages of differentiating and then integrating multiple self-concepts. Failure to integrate these self-concepts may result in a self that is pathologically fragmented. Another possibility is the conflict caused by one's awareness of multiple self-concepts may not abate, leading to the continuation of distress, which may be maladaptive (p. 359).

Blos (in Muuss, 1988) refers to this period of development as the "latency period" which is a preparatory phase of adolescence. Rather than breaking the 'self' into 'multiple selves' as Harter, Blos divides the growth into "areas." Both of these theories attempt to consider a broader range of factors than earlier approaches and support the life-span development theory. Blos theorizes that deviant activity can be

related to the lack of success in "ego consolidation" which he views as the major task of the latency period.

Latency is a period of ego expansion, ego differentiation, and increased ego autonomy. The increased ego autonomy is accompanied by growth in several areas: cognition, judgment, logic, memory, empathy, anticipation, tension tolerance, self-awareness, the ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy, and a more precise differentiation between action and thoughts (Muuss, 1988, p. 98).

Blos also asserts that the development of a healthy ego at this stage "greatly facilitates the acquisition of basic knowledge and skills in school and contributes to the mastery of the environment, a major achievement of the latency period." (Muuss, 1988, p.98).

The adolescent who fails in the search for an identity will experience self-doubt, role diffusion, and role confusion; such an individual may indulge in self-destructive one-sided preoccupation or activity. He will continue to be morbidly preoccupied with the opinion of others or may turn to the other extreme of no longer caring what others think and withdraw or turn to drugs or alcohol in order to relieve the anxiety that role diffusion creates. Ego diffusion and personality confusion, when they become permanent, can be observed in the

chronic delinquent and in psychotic personality disorganization

(Muuss, 1988, p. 63).

Though the experts appear to disagree about when these stages actually end and at what age an individual might cease traversing through these stages and become locked forever in "adolescentville," there is a common agreement that an inability to move through early childhood and adolescent developmental processes during the teen years can have detrimental and tragic results. These results can be heard in the resounding statistics listed earlier for both individuals and for society at large. Let us then focus further on a defining of this developmental damage. In Marcia's criteria of stages of identity statuses, the first stage of identity-diffused or identity-confused, is defined as a necessary stage of development through which adolescents pass. Some youth never take the step out of this stage and develop a type of narcissistic identity diffusion. Identity diffused adolescents have been identified as functioning at low levels of moral reasoning. "Prolonged stagnation in the identity diffusion stage without further development may lead to personality disintegration, thus becoming a diagnosis of psychopathology" (Muuss, 1988. p. 68).

What is it that affects identity-diffused adolescents and how are they different? Families have consistently been the target of blame. Studies of this population have revealed that parents of identity-diffused subjects were identified as being detached,

distant, uninvolved, and unconcerned (Muuss, 1985). Harter (1990) states that, "Identity diffusion is most likely to be observed in individuals who feel alienated from their parents" (p. 382). On the other hand, "the parents of children with more mature conceptions of right and wrong favored high 'cognitive structuring,' including making clear statements of parental expectations, involving general moral principals to guide behavior, and emphasizing the consequences to others of the child's misbehavior" (Moore, 1979: p. 57). In a study done by, Looney & Lewis (1983), family behaviors were more significant than the influence of class and minority status. "More recent studies suggest that adolescents are profoundly influenced by parents, often more so than they are by peers" (Entwisle, 1990, p. 205).

Peers are also an important part of an adolescent's development, however, and friendships are significantly influenced by the values concerning and capacities for intimacy nurtured in the parent-adolescent relationship (Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990). Perceptions and self-concept are closely linked with achievement. "Students who perceive their friendships as supportive have higher achievement-test scores, report card grades, and behavior ratings from teachers, are more involved in school, and place more value on what they learn there. . . [whereas,] . . . unpopular and rejected children and adolescents are the groups most likely to be aggressive, to drop out of school, to engage in criminal behavior during adolescence or adulthood, and

to show mental illness in adulthood (Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990, p. 290-291). Researchers have also demonstrated the influence of friends on social understanding and a sense of identity, on the capacity to form and maintain egalitarian relationships, on positive mental health, and on pro-social behavior. Epstein (1991) demonstrated the power of peer influence over a one-year period by showing that initially low-scoring students improved in their academic adjustment when they had high-scoring friends. As Savin-Williams & Berndt (1990) state, "close and supportive friendships have been found significant in several aspects of adolescents psychological, social and academic adjustment" (p. 288). Sadly, at-risk populations do not have friends functioning satisfactorily in their lives as a source of support. Family role models and a sense of community are also typically lacking.

The period in the human life cycle during which the individual must establish a sense of personal identity and avoid the dangers of role diffusion and identity confusion. . . . Unwillingness to work actively on one's identity formation carries with it the danger of role diffusion, which may result in alienation and a sense of isolation and confusion. . . . [T]he task has become more difficult in a historical period in which the anchorage of family and community tradition has been lost. . . . [T]he present is characterized by social change, and the future has

become much less predictable. In a period of rapid social change, the older generation is no longer able to provide adequate role models for the younger generation" (Muuss, 1985 p. 60).

Muuss (1985) states that the older generation is unable to provide adequate role models, causing the adolescent to increasingly rely on a peer culture to assist in answering questions of personal identity. This may be a cause a resulting behavior of adolescent compulsive preoccupation with exterior appearances, of conformity and need for peer approval as discussed in Elkind's theory of egocentrism. The significant absence increases when the absence of these components is closer to infancy and the terms are longer. The trends in planning programs for this population have just begun to reach consensus that services which supplant these missing support systems have been able to significantly improve the outlook for this population. Many school services, community services and other treatments have shown encouraging results.

The above comparisons of theoretical indicators of the stages of normal adolescence with the predictors of abnormal development provides us with some specific needs for normal and healthy adolescent development. By considering what is lacking and the damage that often results, there are some obvious areas that begin to emerge and warrant exploration as elements that make sense for program planning for at-risk youth. These may be summarized in three categories: a healthy and

supportive family system, a positive and supportive peer group, and competence in domains important to the self. Bernard's protective factors described above break these categories into systems: family, school, and community. He further defines protective factors for each system: caring and support, high expectations, and participation.

We have considered the predictors of delinquent youth as they relate to adolescent development. On the basis of the opinions of developmental theorists surrounding developmental delays and deviancy of adolescents, several elements have been recommended in the literature that may benefit juvenile delinquency and youthful offender programs. Hopefully, as more research is completed on the success of these components, a replicable model could improve the chances for all youth. Several studies have utilized an "effective practices" approach to planning intervention programs and services to high risk youth. These practices align with the developmental theories mentioned above and stress very similar attitudinal approaches to addressing adolescent needs.

Effective Treatments

Although there are no studies indicating the most "effective" treatments for high risk youth, effective preventative treatments of high risk youth consider cost effectiveness, least restrictive services and cause the least negative effect. Success is

surely a factor, but sheer lack of funding and ever increasing numbers can cause warehousing of youth into services that are a poor fit or quality. Oftentimes, collective segments of the needy populations are forced to compete with each other for services and dollars, such as preschool programs for high risk youth vs. adolescent sex offenders. Services offered often focus on the issues related to of the cause delinquency and do not address other important issues which may be critical to self-efficacy and full rehabilitation. Criteria for establishing services often focus on protecting the community, short-term fixes, available resources and access to funding rather than on an individual's need or on most effective and comprehensive practices. Integrating systems theory in the treatment of juvenile delinquency could provide the necessary intervention for the rehabilitation of delinquents. Goldstein (1990) states emphatically,

We simply wish to emphasize . . . the data-based belief that a multilevel (e.g., youth-directed and system-directed), multimodal (e.g., cognitive, affective, behavioral) intervention program is an especially potent strategy for altering that difficult to change complex of behaviors called juvenile delinquency (Schreiner, 1993, p. 11).

All youth (and all people) are deserving of treatments that are appropriate to their individual needs. This section will consider what the current research has termed

effective proactive treatments such as education and services for at-risk and delinquent youth as well as those identified as effective treatments for adjudicated youth.

Proactive Treatments

Adopting innovations and reform efforts have often been detrimental to at-risk youth because the reforms focus on helping youth who have the typical supports in place, such as transportation, clothing, money for uniforms or supplies. Many "special" programs only further serve to alienate an already alienated population by placing them outside of "regular" programs and services. Oftentimes too little help is given too late or doesn't fit the complexity of needs that at-risk youth require.

"Incremental reform within the traditional confines of the nation's public schools simply cannot address the critical needs of this substantial segment of the . . . population (Lipsitz, 1987, p. 25)." The most important change that must take place in our at-risk services is a change in attitudes. This can only be accomplished by involvement of all of the community in the serving the needs of all today's youth. Schools and youth services programs admittedly are not addressing the needs of the high risk youth who are the most needy. There are a variety of reports for the 80's and 90's calling for changes in youth-serving institutions (High School and Beyond, 1987; Committee for Economic Development, 1987; Education 2000, 1989; U. S.

House Select Committee, 1989). As the number of children in poverty continues to rise and dropout rates continue to increase, it is in our national self-interest to provide the naturally occurring supports that are lacking through the public/private sector (Lipsitz, 1991).

In 1987, the Education Commission of the States survey revealed that there are 190 dropout prevention programs in 46 states. Increasing numbers of these programs are aimed at students in middle or elementary grades as it is well understood that the problem of marginality begins much earlier than the high school years (Sinclair and Ghory, 1987; O'Sullivan, 1990). As reported in A Descriptive Study of At-Risk High School Students, by Loughrey & Harris (1991),

Recent research has focused on why students drop out of school. Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack and Rock (1986) and Barber and McClelland (1987) have found low academic achievement, difficulty getting along with teachers, dissatisfaction with school, early pregnancy, and marriage to be common reasons. Other researchers cite such additional reasons as needing to find work to support the family (Find, 1986), being too old for grade level (Strother, 1986), increased school standards (McDill, Natriello, and Pallas, 1985), and substance abuse (Bosma, 1988). Other common predictors for those

who will drop out include minority status, low socioeconomic level, and being male (Ekstrom et. al., 1986).

Society must value inclusion of all youth in equal opportunities. The process toward this end is slow and deliberate and deserves careful consideration. The process needs to involve everyone. Current research on the effective components for services to at-risk youth demonstrate this attitude for total community involvement. The following Table 2.4 cited in Wells, S. E., At-risk youth: Identification, programs and recommendations, (1990, p. 25-26), portrays the wide range and most common characteristics of successful at-risk programs and indicates a holistic approach.

Table 2.5 - Characteristics of Overall Successful At-Risk Programs

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Preschool early childhood intervention programs ● Small classes ● Program flexibility ● Experience-Based education ● Improved curriculum and improved school climate ● Functional and academically challenging curriculum ● Study skills at all levels ● Self-concept development, student empowerment ● Counseling ● Systematic attendance procedures ● Defined discipline procedure ● Peer tutoring ● Mentor programs ● Interpersonal and life skills ● Systems to address "transition" from home, school, grade level, and beyond ● Vocational/technical/adult education programs ● Work/study programs ● Work attitudes and habits ● School-directed alternative educational programs ● Staff development to better teach all at-risk children, including cultural sensitivity ● High student expectations by teachers ● Hispanic role models in the classroom (teachers, counselors, business, and community leaders) ● Parental involvement ● Student access to schools of their choice ● Student assistance programs to address substance abuse, teen pregnancy and young parenthood, suicide prevention, and other mental and physical health issues, health centers ● Quality after-school care and/or extended day programs ● School-community partnerships ● Business partnerships that smooth the school-to-work transition ● Business incentives to student employees to stay in school ● Community-based youth activities, community service

Compiled from: The University of Wisconsin Center for Educational Research, the National Association of School Social Workers, the Business Advisory Commission of the Education Commission of the States, the Study Commission on the Quality of Education in the Metropolitan Milwaukee Public Schools, Effective Compensatory Education Sourcebook, U.S. Department of Education, University of Miami Center for Dropout Prevention, National Council of La Raza, The Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, and various researchers.

As the above table indicates, there are a wide variety of school services that could improve the quality of education for at-risk students. A theoretical framework

for tomorrow's schools seems to be lacking in current research, however. While there are many models suggested in the literature, there is little research on the components of effective programs and few indications on the measured effectiveness of the programs themselves.

Linda West (1991), suggests in her book, Effective Strategies for Dropout Prevention of At-Risk Youth, that there are five principal strategies that have been successful in dropout prevention:

1. **Mentoring Strategies** - linking identified youth one-on-one with a mentor whom the student can confide in, look to for support and guidance. "According to Fennimore and Pritz (1988), the role of the mentor is to aid students in promoting the most essential of all developmental areas--self, or existential, development."
2. **Tutorial assistance strategies** - provided by para-professionals, resource teachers, regular academic teachers, community agency personnel, senior citizens, parents, other students, mentors, college practicum students, or volunteers.
3. **Counseling and guidance strategies** - Counseling programs that stress self-concept and that establish trust and communication with youth identified as at-risk has been effective in keeping students in

school (West, p. 182). This can be accomplished through peer or other types of support groups for specialized needs of students identified as being at-risk (divorce, teen pregnancy, substance abuse, emancipation, after treatment, depression, or general living problems).

4. **Parental Involvement Strategies** - This can take the form of home visitations, parent-school conferences, parent education centers, parent volunteer programs, regular parent activities, parent support groups, parent counseling programs, or occasional parenting education or a variety of other activities that attempt to involve parents in their child's education.

5. **Alternative curriculum strategies** - Students identified as being at risk often struggle with issues that are not always apparent but that keep them from becoming self-sufficient contributing members of society. These students often demonstrate the need for social skills training, are lacking in study skills, have needs for remedial instruction in basic skills, and lack general living skills. Alternative curriculum addressing these areas has been an effective tool for keeping some students in school. When used to remove or segregate students, however, it has pushed students out of school and been used as a tool

to refuse providing adequate services to disadvantaged students. Use of alternative and segregated education must carefully consider the social and cultural consequences of such treatment.

No one model appears to have all of the necessary components needed to adequately serve at-risk adolescents. The National School Boards Association (1987) argues that school officials cannot wait until all the desired elements are in place before taking action. It summarizes the variety of remedies suggested by the current literature: parent involvement, development of local policies to focus on serving **all** children, development of a local demographic profile, ongoing evaluation of programs, accountability, community collaboration and the use of mentoring with students at risk. Collaborative inclusion of everyone in the entire change process could result in appropriate interventions by an informed and knowledgeable community. Program developers will need to include the voices of at-risk youth, but so far these voices have not appeared to have been valued.

Current research is beginning to value the consideration of youth perceptions and affect in intervention efforts. More and more studies are seeking youth self-reports and community involvement in identifying youth's needs and in determining what works. Patricia Phelan, et. al. (1990) asked youth their opinions. The results are interesting. Their views were remarkably consistent with current theorists who

are suggesting cooperative learning and an importance in social support systems. Many of the factors mentioned by youth as needed were not related to economic restraints but were under the direct control of the school principals and teachers. Amazingly, the youth responded with desires to learn, "...despite negative outside influences, students from all achievement levels and sociocultural backgrounds want to succeed and want to be in an environment in which it is possible to do so."

The overwhelming number of youth "'wanting caring teachers' . . . speaks to the quiet desperation and loneliness of many adolescents in today's society." A major issue with low-achieving youth was reported to be working with professionals who really care. Low-achieving youth defined caring as an expression of interest and concern that goes beyond just assistance with schoolwork. Explicit statements affirming their value and worth as individuals and demonstrating that teachers like them personally are important. This perception of caring seems to have direct consequences for low-achieving youth. They report a lack of incentive to do schoolwork or to participate in class. Caring teachers are in a key position to influence students who are teetering between staying in school and dropping out. The students in Phelan's study (1990) mentioned humor, openness and consideration as important qualities in a teacher. They stated that when teachers expressed "excitement, enthusiasm and active engagement", they were more likely to become

involved themselves. Low-achieving students reported that teachers who are "sensitive" to their learning difficulties made a big difference in their feelings about school and their ability to succeed.

Peterson, Bennet and Sherman (1991) looked at the recurring attributes of "uncommonly successful" teachers of at risk students. They did this by utilizing eight different data sources including pupil surveys, parent surveys, pupil achievement data, systematic observation and administrator reports. Interviews with teachers indicated the following eight commonalities:

Create a place of belonging and identity

Having an identifiable academic program

Program interrupted for student problems

Explicit "coaching" strategies for students

Demands, expectations placed on students

Central theme, strengths

Prior teacher vision, experience, learning

Small scale

There were six areas where differences existed. These were:

Indicators of success

Use of teacher ethnicity

Pullout program efficacy

Parental contact

Relations with administrator

Use of computers

These above two lists were described in some detail as how they were noticed from teacher to teacher. It was interesting to note that the teachers in this study were found to be successful for a number of reasons, and not because of one single strategy or approach.

With a great deal of variety, they prepare a place and program for students. They balance a strong and specific academic program with a true student-centered approach. They directly confront, support, and communicate with students in a setting with both academic and personal emphases. Personal vision plays a significant part in the teachers' effectiveness. Finally, they follow through with concerns for the students' lives outside of class (p. 192).

The results of this study suggest that diversity of teacher instructional strategies and materials should be encouraged and that teacher evaluation methods need to include a wide variety of evidence sources that must be diverse, complex and responsive to actual situations. "Teacher choice of data and configuration of reports are beginning

places for more adequate teacher evaluation (p. 193)." Wehlage (1991) found that there were two features of special programs which retain marginal students (bottom 25%): they create an environment that provides the opportunity for social bonding and they use some type of experiential learning format. This finding aligns with the resiliency studies discussed above indicating student involvement and participation along with the familial support and encouragement factor.

Effective correctional programs provide many of the above services in many of their treatment programs, long after they were needed and could have been most effective. Many of the effective correctional treatment services could also be beneficial to at-risk youth prior to their delinquency. There are a wide range of treatments offered to offenders in Colorado and youth offenders are placed in treatment centers and detention facilities depending on the severity and duration of their criminal behaviors, the amount of time of their commitment and the space available. Treatments range from minimal probation supervision of one fifteen minute session per month to intensive residential offense specific treatment (drug & alcohol or psychotherapeutic treatments) for one to two years. However, because of sheer overcrowding and lack of funding, some youth sit out their time in a lock-down facility with little individualized treatment and few therapeutic services. Just as in the public school system, many youth continue to fall between the cracks of effective

services and return to the same criminal activity for which they were originally charged. Similar to proactive treatments for at-risk youth, effective offender treatments focus on increasing self-esteem, improving relationships, family, alternative educational strategies, and life skills. Even though adjudicated youth have their criminal and deviant behaviors in common, they are as varied in every other characteristic as a public school population. Criminal behavior knows no class, race, religion, creed or socio-economic status. So, effective offender treatments must meet a wide range of needs.

Correctional treatments are different from proactive services in that they have more clout to force youth to perform and grow and they are usually residential (or the youth is placed in a foster family away from home). It is much more difficult to resist getting an education, and participating in counseling when the alternative is being locked down or losing freedoms that non-offenders take for granted. Treatment providers have 24 hours per day 7 days per week for an extended period of time to make a difference, or force an issue.

Effective Offender Treatments

Offender treatments are typically delivered to the highest risk groups as opposed to lower risk cases such as those suggested above. Utilizing the concept of the systems model theory in treatment approaches is also effective in the treatment of

delinquency, because it takes into consideration that causative and predictive factors and larger systems are influenced by each other. Emshoff and Blakely (1983) report on multi-focused intervention (working with the family and various agencies) as being the most successful modality with regard to reducing further police contacts with the juvenile (Schreiner, 1993).

The following Table 2.6 reports information compiled by Andrews & Bonta (1994) and is based on research from Andrews, 1989; Andrews, Bonta & Hoge, 1990; and Leschied & Hoge, 1992. The table describes “promising” and “less promising” targets for change.

Table 2.6 -Offender Treatment Program Features

<p>Promising Targets for Change</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Changing antisocial attitudes > Changing antisocial feelings > Reducing antisocial peer associations > Promoting familial affection/communication > Promoting familial monitoring and supervision > Promoting child protection (preventing neglect/abuse) > Promoting identification/association with anticriminal role models > Increasing self-control, self-management and problem-solving skills > Replacing the skills of lying, stealing and aggression with more prosocial alternatives > Reducing chemical dependencies > Shifting the density of the personal, interpersonal and other rewards and costs for criminal and noncriminal activities in familial, academic, vocational, recreational and other behavioral settings, so that the noncriminal alternatives are favored > Providing the chronically psychiatrically troubled with low-pressure, sheltered living arrangements > Ensuring that the client is able to recognize risky situations, and has a concrete and well-rehearsed plan for dealing with those situations > Confronting the personal and circumstantial barriers to service (client motivation; back-ground stressors with which clients may be preoccupied) > Changing other attributes of clients and their circumstances that, through individualized assessments of risk and need, have been linked reasonable with criminal conduct
<p>Less Promising Targets</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> > Increasing self-esteem (without simultaneous reductions in antisocial thinking, feeling and peer associations) > Focusing on vague emotional/personal complaints that have not been linked with criminal conduct > Increasing the cohesiveness of antisocial peer groups > Improving neighborhood-wide living conditions without touching the criminogenic needs of higher-risk individuals and families > Showing respect for antisocial thinking on the grounds that the values of one culture are as equally valid as the values of another culture > Increasing conventional ambition in the areas of school and work without concrete assistance in realizing these ambitions > Attempting to turn the client into a "better person," when the standards for being a better person do not link with recidivism.

Andrews, et. al. (1990) state that, “Risk of recidivism, criminogenic need and the responsivity of offenders to different service options are the characteristics of offenders that may determine level, targets, and type of rehabilitative effort. A fourth principle, professional responsibility, has to do with the responsibility of professional to step beyond routine application of risk, need and responsivity when circumstances so warrant.” In, The Psychology of Criminal Conduct (1994, p. 169), Andrews and Bonta describe the original Level of Supervision Inventory as “one instrument that samples both risk and need factors, links with a comprehensive theoretical perspective and has content and form that so far has been acceptable on legal and professional criteria.” These predictor variables are operationalized below.

1. **Risk:** Higher levels of service are reserved for higher risk cases. In brief, intensive service is reserved for higher risk cases because they respond better to intensive service than to less intensive service, while lower risk cases do as well or better with minimal as opposed to more intensive service.
2. **Need:** Targets of service are matched with the criminogenic needs of offenders. Such needs are case characteristics that, when influenced are associated with changes in the chance of recidivism. If reduction in the chances of recidivism is an ultimate goal, the more effective services are those that set reduced criminogenic need as intermediate target of service.

3. Responsivity: Styles and modes of service are matched to the learning styles and abilities of offenders. A professional offers a type of service that is matched not only to criminogenic need but to those attributes and circumstances of cases that render cases likely to profit from that particular type of service.

4. Professional override: Having considered risk, need and responsivity, decisions are made as appropriate under present conditions.

Recent family and home-based offender treatment approaches are being introduced and studied nation-wide. Findings indicate that the “multisystemic therapy” and “family preservation” models are not only more effective than usual services at reducing long-term rates of criminal behavior, but also more cost-effective. Moreover, family warmth and cohesion was increased and youth aggression with peers was decreased when families receiving multisystemic therapy were compared to families receiving usual services (Schoenwald, 1997).

Summary

Based upon the above review of literature, effective services for delinquent and at-risk youth must include services that address the needs for familial and peer relationships and learning activities that appear relevant to the student and foster the acquisition of social skills. The literature does suggest that effective educational and

therapeutic treatments contain a variety of specific components. Each study uses differing terminology but the basic components have certain similarities when compared to the components of the various theories and interventions reported. Resiliency studies suggest that caring and supportive relationships, high expectations and student involvement and participation in relevant activities drive the development of services in all three systems of school, family and community. Researchers have demonstrated the influence of friends on social understanding and a sense of identity, on the capacity to form and maintain egalitarian relationships, on positive mental health, and on prosocial behavior (Savin-Williams & Berndt, 1990).

Supplanting these missing supports in all systems can also be addressed through involving communities in providing the services that focus on at-risk youth. Financial shortages will not allow us to continue to misuse our resources. Overlapping services and lack of efficiency and organization should no longer be tolerated by public agencies. Second, collaboration between agencies can serve as an effective marketing and recruitment tool. Since adolescent needs seldom occur in only one area, it would be helpful if a variety of agencies could be utilized to meet these multiple and wide range of needs. Enhancing communication and community collaboration resources efforts can save time wasted through overlap in services, increase availability of information from all services, and assist in determination of

needed services. Finally, this population of youth is seldom a participant in the network of available community activities and resources. Community involvement is an area that is often excluded as a resource for delinquent youth treatment programs. A key contribution to the research on delinquent youth is the design and support of research that listens to the voices of youthful offenders. This research serves to study the perceptions of adjudicated youth and the experiences that they believe have determined why they were or were not successful in their adolescence.

Personal Experience

I have always felt that I never quite fit in, that I should be somewhere else rather than where I am and that I am just not quite normal. I have never known exactly why I felt that way, because I don't know just what it is about me that is different, but I have always been sort of shy and embarrassed about my presence in a group. I have also noticed that I have felt a certain curiosity and compassion for the third world of sorts of our local culture; those poverty stricken, emotionally confused, outcasts that sort of exist in the shadows of classrooms, on the edges of society, homeless and on street corners, and in the confines of our correctional systems. I first began working with special needs youth in 1966 when I volunteered to work in the special education classrooms in my eleventh and twelfth grade year in high school. I found this work exhilarating and I was extremely curious about why I hadn't seen

these kids before in my school and why this population was so isolated from the other students.

I knew I wanted to work with troubled youth after my first taste of teaching cell division while serving as a student lab assistant for a high school biology class. I was confused about why the teacher wanted me to make the subject difficult and to challenge the brighter students while I wanted to focus on getting the key points across to the slower learners. Everyone got an A on that unit much to the dismay of the teacher.

My bachelor's degree from University of Northern Colorado in Special Education and Elementary Education certified me to teach elementary school children with Developmental Disabilities but I did not feel prepared or adequate to teach until after a couple of years experience and after I earned my master's degree and became certified to teach children with emotional disabilities and learning disabilities. I taught special education in the public schools for 14 years, working for 10 years in the rural areas of Nebraska and Colorado. I was able to work with a wide range of ages and disabilities and I enjoyed the variety and the richness of these experiences in rural schools but, I grew increasingly disenchanted with the public school system and the global inability of schools to adequately teach special needs youth or meet their individual needs. In most cases, children would spend 20 minutes to 3 hours per day

in my “Special Education” room and continue to get failing grades in their other “regular” classes. It was frustrating to observe the effects that failing had on students and to accept the subversive pushing out of slow learning youth from the public school system as if it were an elite academy for gifted students only. I thought there must be a better way of reaching these youth.

In 1982, I had a dream of starting a residential program for delinquent youth. I spent a year writing grants, having floor plans drawn and sending out letters of request for funding with little grant writing experience. I was awarded \$20,000 which was about \$300,000 short of my projected need and my dream was put on hold. For the next two years, I worked with pre-adjudicated adolescents as a youth diversion counselor in the Northeastern and Northcentral regions of Colorado. This was my first experience and the beginning of my passion for working with delinquent youth outside of a public school setting. I enjoyed the flexibility of services and the community-based agency networking that this position could offer to youth and their families. I came to understand on a much deeper level that it wasn't the learning disabilities, or any one specific barrier that caused these youth to be unsuccessful in school and behaviorally but there were a multitude of obstacles which included physical and psychological abuse, substance abuse, poverty, lack of even the most basic resources and a complete lack of nurturing and support that made even a desire

of success out of reach for these young people. National research statistics will verify the fact that a large majority of the committed and delinquent youth have been sexually assaulted and/or victimized prior to their criminal acting out. After learning first hand of this phenomenon, I began training to become a sex offender counselor and between January of 1995 and 1997, I worked toward my counseling certification by providing counseling services to offender groups under the supervision of Mike Kehl of ChildSafe.

In 1994, I wrote a grant and founded Beaucaire Educational Consulting Company as a sole proprietorship which serves delinquent and behavior disordered adolescent youth in a community based program. Beaucaire contracts with the State Department of Health and Human Services, Division of Youth Corrections to provide day-treatment, psychotherapy, supervision and support to delinquent youth as they get paroled and transition back into their home communities and after they have served time in youth corrections out-of-home placements.

All of these experiences and many more personal struggles and losses have affected who I am, how I interact with youth and how I measure success, emotions, and failure. These experiences will affect how I interact with people, my boundaries and my response to their struggles. I believe that my personal failures, depressing disappointments and early losses have served mainly to increase my compassion for

delinquent and high risk youth. The benefits I have received from counseling and other therapeutic interventions has been tremendous and will definitely color my opinion of the importance of providing caring support to youth. Knowing first hand how it feels to be forgotten, abused, neglected and rejected may color my perceptions and interpretations in this study. I believe, however, that I am a more compassionate, aware, knowledgeable and dedicated researcher because of these experiences.

CHAPTER THREE

Method

This chapter reviews and outlines the research, methods of data collection, methods of analysis, validity issues and ethical issues of this qualitative research study. This study investigates the perceptions of adjudicated youth concerning their experiences while on parole. These perceptions are compared to current research and have developed some theories based upon the results. Participants were sorted into four groups based upon their success or lack of success in previous residential treatments and while on parole. The participants were then interviewed concerning their experiences while in the Beaucaire parole supervision program.

Because this study examined perceptions of youth, a qualitative methodology was used. Lincoln and Guba refer to the emerging acceptance of qualitative research as being a paradigm rather than methodological shift by stating that ". . . *positivism* is no longer considered a defensible stance in conducting inquiry but has been replaced by *naturalism*" (cited in Lancy, 1993, p. 8). Lancy (1993) summarizes that,

When one follows the qualitative paradigm, one buys into an entire philosophy of inquiry . . . that stands in sharp contrast to the tenets

underlying quantitative research; one may follow a particular qualitative research method . . . that deviates somewhat from the purest form of the paradigm and; one can work entirely within the quantitative paradigm and yet, occasionally, use a qualitative technique. . . (p. 8).

Initially, this applied research study appeared to be most closely associated with the phenomenological approach, which asks the central question, "What is the structure and essence of experience of this phenomenon for these people? (Patton, 1990, p. 88)." Sherman and Webb (1988) refer to a similar research approach termed "phenomenography" which they define as ". . . a research method for mapping the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualize, perceive and understand various aspects of, and phenomena in, the world around them. . . ." in short, phenomenology is concerned with the relationships that exist between human beings and the world around them. The emphasis in phenomenology is on the perceptions rather than on truth or scientific laws that govern behaviors or mental operations. Phenomenology provides descriptions that are relational, experiential, content-oriented, and qualitative. After the data was gathered and the responses were analyzed, it became evident that the study was more of an ethnomethodological study which answers the question, "How do people make sense of their everyday activities so as to behave

in socially acceptable ways? (Patton, 1990, p. 73). In the case of this population the question would be, How do people make sense of their everyday activities so as to be have in socially unacceptable ways? Ethnomethodology “elucidates what a complete stranger would have to learn to become a routinely functioning member of a group, a program , or a culture (Patton, 1990, p.73).”

Elucidating the taken-for-granted realities of everyday life in a program or organization can become a force for understanding change, and establishing a new reality based on the kind of everyday environment desired by people in the setting being studied. The findings of an ethnomethodological evaluation study would creat a programmatic self-awareness that would, in principle at least. Facilitate program change and improvement (Patton, 2990, p.75).

“Ethnomethodology” was first used by Harold Garfinkel (1967), to describe the ethnographic study of the methods people use to accomplish everyday tasks. This type of methodology allows the researcher to understand the phenomenon being studied from the perspective of the person engaged in the actual experience.

. . . . one of Garfinkel's seminal contributions was to . . . exhort . . . researchers to find in the interaction between people, not in their subjective states,

the processes that assembled the concerted activities of everyday life. . . .

Ethnomethodologists stress that the social world is made up of shared meanings and shared viewpoints. So much so, that if actors changed places they would quite likely see the world in much the same way, and that our knowledge of the world is generated through interpretations (Hitchcock & Hughes, 1989, p. 158; cited in Lancy, 1993, p. 89).

Research Goals

The goals of this study were to understand the experiences of adolescents while on parole. I wanted to learn what aspects of parole were most memorable, which experiences they perceived as critical to their success, how they defined success and failure for themselves, what services they felt were the most helpful, what support services they mentioned as important to them, how they perceived their parole experience compared to their life before and after parole, and how they prioritize the events in their experience. I wanted to know if what I knew about the parole experience of this population could be compared to what they thought about their parole experience. I also wanted to see if there was a difference in perceptions and experiences of those who were successful and unsuccessful in prior treatments and those successful and unsuccessful while on parole.

Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions of youth concerning experiences before, during and after parole?
2. What are the differences and similarities of youth who were successful in treatment and on parole and those who were unsuccessful in treatment and on parole?
3. What are the experiences of successful and unsuccessful youth before, after and during parole?
4. What experiences do these youth view as critical to their success and failures?

Research Site

The research took place in Fort Collins, Colorado, which is located in Larimer County in North Central Colorado. Fort Collins is located 58 miles north of Denver and has a rapidly increasing population of close to 100,000 making it the seventh largest city in Colorado. Fort Collins has been labeled a "choice" city because of its proximity to the Rocky Mountains and its wide variety of recreational, educational and cultural activities. Interviewing sessions took place at Colorado State University, Education Building, in various offices and located in Fort Collins, Colorado. The researcher was well acquainted with all participants in this study and did all interview sessions with each participant separately.

Methods of Data Collection

Participants

A convenience sample of 18-21 year old male parolees in the State of Colorado, Department of Human Services, Division of Youth Corrections (DYC) program between 1995 and 1999 comprised the sample for this study. The sample frame included 53 delinquent youth who were paroled to Larimer County after serving one year or more in a DYC residential placement. The majority of potential subjects for the study (n=47) were residents of Fort Collins prior to their incarceration and resided in Fort Collins with their families again while on parole. Prior to their parole, these youth had been court ordered to the Division of Youth Corrections and adjudicated as juvenile delinquents. Youth who are adjudicated by the courts in Larimer County have typically had numerous chances to turn themselves around. Their crimes vary from minor charges such as shoplifting and criminal mischief (one youth built a half-pipe skate boarding ramp in his parents flower garden) to major sexual assaults, weapons charges and selling drugs). Most of these youth were originally ordered to serve their time on probation but they were unable to follow the terms of their probation and continued to use drugs or ignore curfews, failed to attend probation meetings, or were generally out of the control of their parents. There are several diversion programs offered through

Larimer County Probation Services and Larimer County Department of Human Services that provide support services to youth prior to them being placed in a secure placement through *DYC*. Youth typically get several chances to turn themselves around prior to being court ordered to secure detention for a maximum of one to two years. Once youth have been court ordered into the *DYC* system they spend their first 45 days in “orientation” which takes place in a secure prison type setting. At orientation, youth complete a thorough assessment and evaluation of their risk and needs, drug and alcohol abuse, education needs, and health needs. At this time it is determined where they will be placed for the remainder of their time to be served. *DYC* may place youth in state operated facilities or privately owned facilities. Services vary greatly from intensive psychotherapeutic treatment facilities to residential programs that resembled more traditional prison type settings where little treatment is available, youth have few responsibilities and are engaged in little or no psychotherapeutic or introspective activities. Educational services are required in all facilities but vary from one hour per day of GED study to a “recommended” attendance in regular educational programs. There are over a dozen different program placements for adjudicated youth from Larimer County and all have differing philosophies and personalities. Some youth are placed in treatment programs located in other states as far away as Pennsylvania and Texas

(when the parole officers see a need for a particular type of treatment). Successful completion of these residential programs is sometimes determined by the rate of progress of each youth and sometimes by more external program requirements but generally treatments range from 4 to 14 months. After secure placements, some youth are placed in group homes or foster home placements before being paroled back into the Larimer County area. There is only one treatment program in Fort Collins that is utilized by DYC as a placement for adjudicated youth, Turning Points (formerly called Larico).

There are a limited number of residential placements in Larimer County. Consequently, Larimer County youth must do their initial assessment, residential placements and group home/foster home placements outside of Larimer County, often in the Denver or Greeley area. Youth who are not successful in treatment or are determined to need longer term treatments may be held in secure treatment placements for their maximum sentence while youth who respond to treatments are typically rewarded by being released for parole earlier. All parolees sentenced after January 1997, were or are required to spend one year on parole. Prior to January of 1997, the length of parole could vary from none to 12 months depending upon how a youth functioned in residential placement and the amount of time in his sentence. The intensity of parole supervision services is decided by

each youth's parole office and is usually based upon the client's past history and their most recent success in treatment. The amount of contact and supervision can vary from 20 hours per week in a supervision program to 20 minute monthly meeting with their parole officer. Supervision programs can usually increase and decrease the supervision intensity to some degree as needed and as requested by the parole officer.

All participants selected in this study were involved in Beaucaire Youth Services community-based parole assistance program while on parole. Parolees in the Beaucaire program are between the ages of 12 and 21 and receive weekly individual and family psychotherapy and intensive case management to coordinate other community-based services (such as SSI, Employment and Training Services, medical and mental health services, housing services, legal and financial services, job services, education, insurance services, etc.). GED instruction, tutoring, drug/alcohol counseling, urinalysis, electronic home monitoring, and intensive supervision were available to every youth and were provided on an as needed basis. Treatment services varied from intensive (5-20 hours per week) offense specific psychotherapeutic treatment and supervision to 5 hours of contact each week. Mentors provided support and assistance to these youth in locating and keeping jobs, exploring a variety of recreational and leisure activities and becoming

'regular' participants in community activities. Participants met weekly in therapeutic groups to discuss cognitive and psycho-educational concepts including life skills, relapse prevention and offender specific content. The length of time each parolee was in the Beaucaire program depended upon the length of each youth's time on parole (from 4 to 18 months). Parolees who did well and progressed through Beaucaire's level program earned early release after 4 months but average parole length was about 8 months.

The researcher will also be a participant in this study by providing information concerning the truth about respondent experiences that she was aware of because of her association with them through the parole supervision program at Beaucaire Youth Services. In general, delinquent youth have youth typically have had a long history of difficulty with authority figures and consequently might be reluctant to participate in a research study such as this one. The researcher believed it might be difficult to obtain their perceptions, because they have major trust issues, especially with authority figures and it might be difficult to garner the level of trust needed to get the information that was desired, or even get them to agree to participate in such a study. Thus, the researcher selected the Beaucaire population for several reasons. During the 4 to 18 months that the participants were in the Beaucaire program, the researcher became well acquainted with each

parolee, their family history and issues. The researcher developed a relationship of trust during this time and felt that these parolees would feel more comfortable and willing to be more candid in their responses. Also, the researcher had the knowledge of her experience and information concerning these specific parolees. This information combined with the participant's responses could provide a richer and more informed analysis of the youth and their experiences.

Selection Process

The sampling strategy is extreme or deviant purposeful sampling as defined by Patton (1990) a strategy best utilized to learn "from highly unusual manifestations of the phenomenon of interest such as outstanding successes/notable failures . . . (p. 182)." A population of 53 youth between the ages of 18 and 22 who have participated in the Beaucaire Parole Supervision Program were identified in order to draw the study sample. After much discussion and contemplation among the dissertation committee, it was decided that sorting the participants into groups according to their success in treatment and on parole would be an effective method of analyzing their responses. Screening of potential participants was done by each youth's DYC Client Manager (also called parole officer once the youth obtain parole status) who served each participant during his adjudication and by the researcher. Both the Client Manager and the researcher

knew and worked with the participants for 6 months or more because they were paroled to the Beaucaire program and supervised by their Client Managers during their entire incarceration. All screened candidates were then subjectively rated and categorized as either successful or unsuccessful in treatment and as successful or unsuccessful on parole and were classified in one of four categories as indicated in the table below for the purpose of this study. Sorting into categories was done subjectively and no screening instrumentation was utilized. Participants were selected at random to be interviewed, one from each category and then the process was repeated. The categories are described below:

Table 3.1 - Participant Categories.

Category 1. Successful in treatment Successful on parole	Category 2. Successful in treatment Not successful on parole
Category 3. Not successful in treatment Successful on parole	Category 4. Not successful in treatment Not successful on parole

Category One - Successful in treatment and on parole;

“Successful in treatment” was defined by the parole officers as having worked successfully through the program levels in the treatment center where the youth was placed. Generally, working-through-the-levels requires that youth do not have major disciplinary problems, that they confront their peers when they notice negative or deviant behaviors and that they participate fully in all program activities. “Successful on parole” was defined as being consistently successful in the Beaucaire Parole Supervision Program for four months or more. Parole regulations require youth to be employed or in school 40 hours per week. Parole requirements also include being drug and alcohol free, having no police contacts or criminal activity, no weapons or gang affiliations, curfew restrictions, and full participation in the Beaucaire Parole Supervision Program. Beaucaire requires that clients are financially secure, participating positively in all program activities (which include weekly therapeutic groups, counseling and mentor contacts) and that they are meeting all parole requirements

Category Two - Successful in treatment and unsuccessful on parole

“Unsuccessful on parole” indicates that the youth may have re-offended, violated parole requirements, were not working or enrolled in school, tested positive for drug or alcohol use, did not participated fully in Beaucaire’s program

activities, were discharged early from the Beaucaire program with treatment incomplete, or were not financially stable.

Category three - Not successful in treatment and successful on parole

Identifying participants who fit into the category, “unsuccessful in treatment,” was somewhat problematic because, prior to January of 1997, youth who were not successful in treatment typically did not earn parole time and were often released without parole when their maximum sentence had been served. Youth who had not been successful in treatment and were not granted parole did not receive any services from Beaucaire. Youth categorized as unsuccessful in treatment were defined as those youth who have received two or more long-term treatments over a period of more than two years prior to their parole, were unsuccessful, and received some parole time. Most of these youth began in treatment settings at early ages of 8-10 years old or earlier and their treatments and early familial life interruptions have been extreme. They typically have run away from several treatment settings before being placed in secure placements.

Category four - Unsuccessful in treatment and on parole.

As indicated above, identifying participants who were “unsuccessful in treatment” was particularly difficult. Typically Beaucaire did not serve many clients who were unsuccessful in treatment. If services were offered it was

because the youth did show minimal improvement in treatment and the parole officer believed the services could make a difference. If the client was unsuccessful on parole, they were often discharged from Beaucaire and were sent back into secure residential placements. After the juvenile commitment ended for those who were unsuccessful on parole, many re-offended and were incarcerated, often in the adult system. Some of those who were located were, in fact, out on bail or awaiting trial for adult criminal charges. Some had served some time for adult charges and were out on probation or parole. To find a strong representation of this number, researches need access to the inmate population. Inmates were excluded from this study by the CSU Human Research Committee because of the cumbersome human research requirements and safeguards that are required to be able to get in contact and visit personally with his population

Data Collection

A total of fifteen male students were interviewed, seven in category one, 2 in category 2, 4 in category 3 and three in category 4. There was an effort to contact 56 participants but only 23 contacts were made. Six did not return calls, one was not living in Larimer County, and two did not keep their appointments. Eleven were in jail, 7 could not be located and a total of 33 were not contacted. A saturation of responses was achieved in category 1 and there were no more

participants available in the other three categories. There was no effort made to select for ethnicity or other criteria. Consent to phone and /or meet with participants was obtained through the Colorado State University, Human Research Committee. No actual names or overly-identifying characteristics of any of the youth are included in this study.

This study was conducted in several successive stages. First, the researcher, with the assistance of parole officers, selected the participants and ranked their success or lack of success in treatment and on parole. Second, two youth were interviewed as a pilot study to determine if the questions are appropriate and if they elicited enough of a response from the participants. Third, during the two pilot study interviews, it was evident that the existing questions were not going to elicit enough of a response from the participants. Two additional questions were asked that gleaned the necessary responses so, two additional interview questions were added: Questions 5 and 6. Fourth, the first group of participants was selected to contact. One participant from each category, was selected at random (names in separated into each category and each category separately drawn from a hat) and was contacted by phone to request an interview. Selected youth were informed of their opportunity to participate in this research study. A meeting date was set. Fifth, selected youth were interviewed.

Interviews were all audio-recorded. All in-person interviews involved an unstructured, open-ended interview format so that data obtained from each youth would be totally dependent on each participant's perceptions. Interviews lasted an average of 20 minutes for each person and the range was between 10 and 60 minutes. Youth were involved only through in-person interviews using the procedure followed by Moustakes (1994). Sixth, their responses were transcribed, coded and analyzed using HypeResearch. Seventh, the next participants were selected and the process proceeded from step four through seven until a satiation of responses was achieved or there were no more participants available. Eighth, the researcher's field notes and observations were gathered and sorted into categories and themes for analysis and comparison.

Interview Instrument

As supported by Kerlinger (1973), "The survey research is probably the best adapted in obtaining personal and social facts, beliefs, and attitudes" (p.422). As a pilot study, two sample participants were randomly selected to interview. Originally only the first four questions and follow-up questions were identified as being included in the survey instrument document presented below. The two subjects were asked these four questions. There was a lack of information gleaned and the respondents were rather brief in their descriptions and comparisons of their

life experiences. It appeared obvious before the first interview had been completed that the remaining three questions needed to be added to the survey instrument.

The interviews of the two subjects from the pilot study were also included in the final study.. A sample form for recording responses is included in the appendix.

Survey instrumentation was utilized that asked each respondent the following open-ended questions.

1. If I had been with you while you were on parole, what would I have seen you doing?
2. If I had followed you through a typical day, what would I have seen you doing?
3. What did you think about your parole experience?
4. What is your opinion of your parole experience?
5. How was your life on parole different from your life before parole?
6. How was your life on parole different from your life after parole?
7. Follow-up questioning: How did you feel about that? Tell me more about . . .

Responses gathered from this interview instrument were used to answer the research questions as illustrated in Table 3.2 below. Much information which was also garnered from the experience of the researcher while serving as the participant's program director, case manager and counselor. She used the information she knew about each respondent to answer research questions 2 and 3.

These questions are marked with an R in Table 3.2 indicating the documentation was obtained from researcher's notes and knowledge from her professional relationships with the respondents over a twelve month period while they were on parole and from contact they made with her after parole. A brief description of each respondent and their reaction to the interview is contained in the appendix.

Table 3.2 - Comparison of Research Questions to Survey Questions

Research Questions	R*	Survey Questions						
		Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7
1 The perceptions of youth before, during and after parole.		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
2 Differences and similarities of youth who were: successful and unsuccessful in treatment and on parole.	R	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
3 The experiences of youth who are successful and unsuccessful in treatment and on parole before, during and after parole.	R	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
4 What experiences they view as critical to their successes and failures.				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

* R = information from researcher's records and experience

The information known by the researcher was an important component of this study because it lent credibility and understanding to the participant's responses. However, the rankings reported by the researcher are quite subjective and are used in the study only as indicators to help further examine the similarities and differences among and between the groupings. The ratings given at the time of the interview describe only what was reported on the particular day of the interview and are not indicative of the bigger picture of the respondents' life experiences since parole. Some youth had re-offended and did not report this during the interview. Many had relapsed on drugs but only five respondents reported their current drug use during the interview. One was sentenced to the

department of corrections or community corrections programs because of new charges after the time of the interview. Some of the respondents had been charged with criminal activity that had occurred prior to the interview but this was unknown at the time of the interview, so the respondents who committed the crimes were still awarded a positive scores by the researcher. One respondent had re-offended right after he was discharged from parole, did his time and was currently participating in community correction program and doing well working and living independently at the time of the interview. The researcher had ongoing contact with these participants and was aware of situations not reported by them during the interview. This information enhance the research by lending a broader understanding of this population.

Validity Issues

Some threats to validity have been identified by critics of qualitative inquiry. They (Patton, 1990) charge that "the approach is too subjective" because "the researcher is the instrument of both data collection and data interpretation and because a qualitative strategy includes having personal contact with and getting close to the people and the situation under study" (cited in Lancy, 1993, p. 11). Researcher's who do get close to their informants have an advantage in that they do get their information "straight from the horse's mouth, so to speak" (Lancy, p.

14). Lincoln and Guba (1981) suggest that the many disadvantages of participant observation are ". . . offset by the flexibility, insight and ability to build in tacit knowledge that is a peculiar province of the human instrument" (Lancy, 1993, p. 14).

The researcher's interpretations of the phenomenon being investigated was addressed in chapter two of this study. "Lincoln and Guba (1985) use 'credibility' and 'trustworthiness,' Patton (1990) would substitute 'neutrality' for 'objectivity': 'The neutral investigator enters the research arena with no axe to grind, no theory to prove, and no predetermined results to support'". . . (Lancy, 1993 p. 29).

Every effort has been made to represent the population of adjudicated youth who have participated in parole supervision programs. The findings do appear to be generalizable. The observer did not have any effect on the data gleaned, but in a replicated study, the questioner would need to have a prior professional relationship with the participants so that the participants will feel comfortable sharing their perceptions. The researcher included known data about the respondents as another source of information and to validate the information received from the interviews. This process, known as member checks (Guba & Lincoln, 1989), is one method that can be an effective tool, to rule out the

possibility of misinterpretation of the meaning of the responses and the perspectives they have offered about their parole experience..

This research could be easily replicated using an interviewer who had a similar relationship to the subjects, one who had developed a prior professional relationship of trust and who knew the family and social histories of the participants. The coding of data may differ study to study but it appears that the overall understanding of the ethnography of this population would be comparable regardless of the coding.

“Because qualitative inquiry depends, at every stage, on the skills, training, insights, and capabilities of the researcher, qualitative analysis ultimately depends on the analytical intellect and style of the analyst. The human factor is the great strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis (Patton, 1990, p. 372).” The purpose of this research is to understand the perceptions of youth and to compare these perceptions with current research. Every effort was made to remain impartial and objective in interpreting the information that was presented by the participants. Even though I have attempted to lay aside my personal opinions and listen with unprejudiced ears to the perceptions of the participants in this study. I have reflected on what biases I have brought to this study:

- I feel that I might already understand some of the perspectives of adjudicated youth attitudes toward improving treatment services.
- I believe that treatment of adjudicated youth can make a difference in their success and/or recidivism rates.
- I believe that some youth may have unusual perceptions about what is normal, good, and/or average because they often have not experienced normal, good or average.
- I believe that family relationships are important for healthy mental and emotional development, and that dysfunctional or lack of parenting practices contribute to delinquency and other behavior disorders.

In order to make every effort to reduce the threats to validity, I focused on the following observational skills:

1. I made every effort to make my observational notes as detailed, concrete and chronological as possible. I had all interviews audio recorded and transcribed by an independent typist.
2. In order to assure that I did not impose my own meaning or interpretation on the perspective of the participants, I used member checks to systematically solicit feedback about my conclusions during each interview by asking the participants if what they said is what I actually heard.
3. I demonstrated integrity with regard to realizing my biases and understanding how my values influence the conduct and conclusions of the study.

I have stated what I perceived to be my biases and my awareness. Recognition of these assisted me in observing care and responsibility in my research.

Ethical Issues

Could this research harm the participants? To minimize any risk, no participant names have been identified anywhere in the study. The membership of the participant groupings was not revealed to any participants. All responses will be kept confidential and no identifying demographical information has been revealed in the study. The participant's identities have been kept confidential. Participant's case analysis discussed in the survey results will not be identified with names to protect the participant's identity. All participants will have completed their treatment program with Beaucaire and thus the information they give will not affect any treatment they have received.

CHAPTER FOUR

Findings

This chapter discusses the findings of this study beginning with a brief overview of the selection process, the interview demographics, the process of coding, and finally, a discussion of the results. An analysis of the respondent's interviews is compared for similarities and differences among and between the four categories of respondents and also across themes. The more significant findings in the analysis of responses are presented. Samples of participant dialogue are included to document support for the delineation of categories.

Demographics.

Fifty-three youth who had participated in the Beaucaire Consulting Intensive Parole Supervision Program were selected and rated by each of their parole officers for their success in treatment and on parole. The four categories of respondents were identified initially as successful in treatment and successful on parole, successful in treatment and unsuccessful on parole, unsuccessful in treatment and successful on parole, and unsuccessful in treatment and unsuccessful on parole. The 53 participants were then contacted by phone at random to schedule an interview. A total of fifteen participants were interviewed. As mentioned in chapter three, there was a difficulty getting respondents who were labeled as not successful in treatment (Category Three and

Four) because generally these youth were held in secure detention for the majority of their commitment with little or no parole time. Upon release, they had a short time before being discharged from parole or no parole time. Most of them either were not required to participate in the Beaucaire supervision program or any other supervision programs. Those who did participate in the Beaucaire Program were only in the program for 30-45 days and would not have had much of a parole experience. Their time in the program was so short that their experience would not have much relevance. Three of the eight participants who were rated as unsuccessful both on parole and treatment (Category Four) were not able to be located and one was incarcerated. Almost half of the group identified as successful in treatment but unsuccessful on parole (Category Two) were back in the prison system at the time of this study. Table 4.1 illustrates the reasons participants were unavailable and shows the number of participants in each category.

Table 4.2 below describes the demographics of the study and the groupings of the 15 participants who were interviewed. As shown, seven in Category One were rated as being both successful in treatment and successful on parole, four were categorized in Category Two as being successful in treatment and not successful on parole, two participants in Category Three were identified

Table 4.1 - Participant Numbers

Research Statistics	Participant Categories			
	1	2	3	4
Total identified	24	16	5	8
Could not locate	8	3	0	3
Incarcerated	1	7	1	1
Did not respond to calls or refused	2	2	2	2
Missed appointments	2	0	0	0
Did not contact – satiation	4	0	0	0
Interviewed	7	4	2	2

Table 4.2 – Participant Categories.

Category 1. Successful in treatment Successful on parole 7 participants	Category 2. Successful in treatment Not successful on parole 4 participants
Category 3. Not successful in treatment Successful on parole 2 participants	Category 4. Not successful in treatment Not successful on parole 2 participants

as being not successful in treatment and successful on parole and two in Category Four were labeled as unsuccessful both in treatment and on parole.

Table 4.3 lists the ages of the 15 respondents when they were first released on parole, when they were discharged from parole and at the time of the interview. This information was data that was known by the researcher as a result of serving this population of youth as their counselor and case manager while they were participants in the Beaucaire parole supervision program. The birth dates and ages were obtained from the researcher's personal files on each client. Participants were between the ages of 16 and 20 while on parole with an average parole age of 17.6. The average age of the participants at the time of the interview was 20.3 and ranged from 19 to 20.5. The average age of respondents in category one was about 6 to 12 months older than the other three groups at the time of parole, 5 to 18 months older at the time of discharge from parole and 4 to 18 months older at the time of the interview.

The average length on parole used to be 6 to 9 months but has recently been changed to a required 12 months on parole for all juveniles. How well they do on parole appears to the researcher to be dependent upon such things as: whether they are motivated, have a support system and a place to live, are employable and have the life skills to be able to support themselves independently. The length of time in a residential treatment program appears to

be dependent on similar factors, but also the length of their required commitment, how quickly the youth progress through the levels of their treatment program, if the treatment staff and parole officer feel they are ready and have an appropriate living situation lined up, and how well they do while on parole.

In order to get a more complete picture of the participants in this research study, a brief history and description of each respondent is contained in Appendix Two followed by comments regarding any significant details of their interview.

Table 4.3 - Respondent Ages

Case number	Group	Age at time of parole	Age at discharge from parole	Age at interview
Case 3	1	18	19	20
Case 4	1	20	21	24
Case 5	1	16	18	19
Case 6	1	19	20	21
Case 8	1	18	19	21
Case 10	1	18	19	20
Case 13	1	17	18	19
Average age of group one		18	19.1	20.5
Case 9	2	18	19	20
Case 11	2	17	18	19
Case 12	2	18	19	20
Case 15	2	17	18	20
Average age of group two		17.5	18.5	19.7
Case 1	3	18	18	20
Case 2	3	16	17	18
Average age of group three		17	17.5	19
Case 7	4	17	18	21
Case 14	4	17	18	22
Average age of group four		17	18	21.5
Average ages of total sample		17.6	18.6	20.3

Significance of the Findings

The following section will discuss the significance of the findings by comparing the data that was gathered to the research questions of this study. "It is important to understand that the interpretive explanation of qualitative analysis does not yield knowledge in the same sense as quantitative explanation. The emphasis is on illumination, understanding, and extrapolation rather than causal determination, prediction, and generalization (Patton, 1990, p. 424)." Patton (1990) discusses "themes (p. 39)" of qualitative inquiry that may be interconnected or separate depending on the study. This study used qualitative data and naturalistic inquiry with interconnected themes of design flexibility, personal contact and insight, and inductive analysis.

The Process of Coding. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed into notes by an independent typist. Each transcript was then coded using HyperResearch. A total of 78 categories emerged in the first tabulation. These categories are contained in the appendix. New themes were added as they began to emerge during the coding process. The particular responses were identified as significant as the coding of each response was tallied. Once the patterns, linkages, and plausible explanations were discovered through inductive analysis, the researcher looked for rival and competing themes. This involved looking for other ways of organizing the data that might lead to different endings. Alternative

classification systems, themes, and explanations that were considered and tested during data analysis will be reported below.

The analysis of data went through several phases before finally arriving at key themes and sub-themes. Beginning with the placement of data into low-interference clusters directly derived from the interview, both within interview and across interview coding and analysis was performed to discern patterns. Ultimately, final codes, which transcend these original categories were derived and tested across all interviews and between groups (success and non-successful treatment and parole experiences). Upon examination of the number and types of responses in each category, a condensing of categories was attempted with the following result:

after activities after attitude after crime after drug use before activities before attitude before crime before drug use	family inactivity nonproductive jail compared to parole matured mentor motivation for change parole activities parole attitude	parole crime parole drug use parole negative exp parole positive exp relationships school spirituality working
--	---	---

After a summary of the interviews is presented, a cross-case analysis was generated by “grouping together answers from different participants to common questions or analyzing different perspectives on central issues (Patton, 1990, p. 376).” Categories can be added, subtracted or retained depending upon their relevance to the data collected (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). According to Maxwell (1996, p. 79), contextualizing strategies are necessary for building

theory and the two strategies (coding and contextualizing) need one another to provide a well-rounded account. In contextualizing, instead of fracturing the responses into discrete elements and re-sorting them into categories, there is an effort made to understand the data in context, using various methods to identify the relationships among the different elements of the interview text without focusing on relationships of similarity but instead looking for relationships that connect statements and events within a context into a coherent whole.

The responses were grouped into 24 final codes. Twelve of the 24 codes include four sub-themes each in the time span of “before parole”, “during parole” and “after parole”. These sub-themes are: activities, attitudes, crime and drug use. The other themes include reports of inactivity and non-productive behaviors, responses about school, work, jail, family, relationships, and motivation for change. Opinions about whether parole was a positive or negative experience was also coded as well their statements about their parole-mentor experience.

The significance of the results of this coding process will be reported for the major themes. Some of the coding was driven by the research questions themselves and other coding emerged as respondents elicited similar or opposing patterns. There was a need to label categories and activities that could be compared before, during and after parole that would be similar for all youth. There was also a need to find categories that would show differences between

successful and unsuccessful groups of youth. In the following sections, each research question will be followed by a brief report of the findings and quotes from the respondents to demonstrate the finding.

1. Perceptions of Youth

Research Question One: *What are the perceptions of youth concerning experiences before, during and after parole?* The differing perceptions of respondents are quoted not only for discussion of the first research question but in each of the sections below. Most of the responses about youth perceptions have been grouped for content under other various headings below to demonstrate various theme similarities and differences or to make various points. Many of the responses, or perceptions, answered several research questions and will not be repeated under the discussion for each research question. A full discussion and summary of the “perceptions of youth” or research question one, is contained in Chapter Five. Generally parolees stated that they felt that their lives before parole were out of control and chaotic, life on parole was more stable and balanced than they had ever experienced before (with the exception of their time incarcerated) and life after parole was described as freer. Many complained of the lack of a support system after parole. At the time of the interview, most respondents perceived themselves as doing better than they ever had before, even if they were still in the correctional system, using drugs, or awaiting sentencing for new

charges. There were four themes that emerged in the coding process that are simply perceptions and not categorized or discussed elsewhere. These four categories are motivation for change, remorse, spirituality, and relationships.

Motivation for Change. There were 30 entries in the theme “Motivation for Change” made by a total of nine respondents. Several respondents gave credit to more external locus of control that motivated them to change such as the parole supervision program, their family members, and just growing up. Five respondents listed the fear of going back to jail or the jail experience itself as the major motivator for them. Three of the five the respondents who indicated that they were motivated by jail went back to jail because they committed new crimes. Still others were still blaming their peers, the system, parole supervisors, and treatment programs for their refusal to change.

“... just everybody that was in the group with me, just really kept me off track”

“I just had this thing where if somebody tries to tell me what to do, then I won’t do it but if – I still, like I listen to what everybody tells me, you know, this is right, this is wrong. I listen to that but I won’t do it just because somebody is telling me. But I remember that and then after they are done pushing me around, then I remember those things and I use them.”

“I just didn’t care before, now I do care, I want that. . . seeing people, how they - - when they are doing bad, you know, how they look and stuff, how . . . Seeing people do good, you know, the respect they get . . . I don’t know, I’m trying to be somebody.”

“[I needed to have}less restriction, give yourself more rope to hang yourself by. I would have gotten in bigger trouble but it would have given me a chance to learn on my own. That’s the only way you can make it on parole, you can’t have someone telling you and watching you constantly day for day because once you’re out of parole you don’t got nothing. People need to – just like I said, once I got off parole, I didn’t have any guidance. I didn’t have nothing. The only thing I knew to do was just go back to using again.”

“Motivating myself to pay those bills I got. My parents just popped the money to help me out and I feel like I didn’t think they would so that kind of opened my eyes. I didn’t think they’d do it. It kind of makes me feel like I owe it to them now myself to show them that I can do better.”

Children were a motivator for three respondents. Two respondents who each have two children, measured their success as being a good father to their children. Another respondent stated that he would quit using drugs and be more responsible as soon as he has children.

“I just don’t have kids yet so I don’t really care. Once I have kids, it’s time for me to back down and be a father, you know. I’m going to quit cigarettes, I’m going to quit drinking, I’m going to quit pot. I don’t want them to have a bad influence in their life like I had, cause if I wouldn’t have had a bad influence in my life I – all the problems that occurred in my life would have never happened. I probably would have been a pretty good kid, if I didn’t have a bad influence. The way I see it, if I’m a good influence to my kids . . . “

Two other respondents also have children but did not mention children as a motivator for success.

Other more internal controls were mentioned as motivators. Maturity was a theme that was coded separate from “motivation for change” since there were 5 respondents that mentioned maturity as a motivator for their changes and will be considered a motivation for change for this discussion. One of the two that did not re-offend reported that jail was a powerful spiritual experience. His words follow:

“Jail was really good for me, it was just a kick in the ass. I found a sense of spirituality, a strong sense of spirituality that has helped me like every day.”

Another respondent in category three stated that he didn’t have a very high self-esteem prior to going to jail but that his self-respect and self-esteem was what

was keeping him going after parole. Four respondents in category one reported that their self-respect and their internal desire to be a good person were motivating them to change their criminal behaviors.

“I chose to do stuff to better my life . . .”

“I needed to change for myself, for me. . . which is something I’ve been doing the last couple of years.”

“Responsibility is what helped bring back my work ethic.”

“I found out a lot in that little time so I’m not so agitated all the time. That could be growing up too. It [jail] gave me a little time to grow up a little bit. A little more mature, I think.”

“Parole was wonderful. I needed the structure, the accountability, the peer support, groups. It was friendly, I was settling in, getting ready to be on my own. It was a perfect transition. It made me hold myself accountable. I am less motivated now It was wonderful. It was a positive thing that I will never forget. It gave me motivation.”

Remorse. Only five respondents voiced any remorse for not doing things differently. One in category one stated that he wished he would have done things differently before his commitment so that he wouldn’t have gotten in the system at all. Another respondent in category one just wished he could have done things differently, but stated that it just took him a long time to figure that out. One

respondent in category four and one in category two indicated that they wished that they would have used the time in parole to their advantage. Another respondent, from category two indicated that his parole supervisors were telling him all along that he would be back in jail but he just didn't care at the time.

Some of their quotes follow:

“Well, I wish I could have done it all over again and used the chance I had to get life straight and still have a clean slate. It took a long time for me to see the start of a turning point – it was a long process I had to go through to realize from experience what I had to go through to get my life straight.”

“Cause you guys always said if you keep doing this and doing that, you're going to have to re-commit me again. But I didn't think I would Because I didn't want to. I really didn't want to be committing crimes. I wanted to be good. But I did it anyway.

“[If I had it to do all over again] I would listen more to what people had to say in groups and . . . well, I know some of the issues that we talked about were some of the issues that I deal with in my life [and] maybe I could have gotten something out of it, but I wasn't really listening, [I] didn't really care so maybe I just missed some things that I should have learned about.”

Spirituality. Two respondents, both from category one, mentioned spirituality. Their transcripts follow:

“In jail I found God and got saved. I learned a lot about spirituality and God.”

“Jail was really good for me. I found a sense of spirituality, a strong sense of spirituality that has helped me like every day.”

Relationships. There were a total of twenty-five entries from twelve respondents coded for relationships. The entries ranged from their relationships before their commitments, while on parole and after parole. All categories seemed to respond similarly when mentioning family and friendships. There was little difference between the categories. The researcher believes that relationships prior to parole were shallow and centered on their drug and criminal activities rather than on personal interests and intimacy.

“Kicking it with the homies (gang term for gang member friends) at night.”

“Going to some parties,”

“I helped create this child and it was brought into the world and people were telling me I couldn’t be around him until I changed who I was. So that was a big motivational factor for me and then – for now, it was a good one but it was the wrong reason, I needed to change myself for me , which is something I’ve been doing the last couple of years.

During parole they were not allowed to have contact with old friends. Three mentioned he noticed their relationships were different when clean and sober.

“I guess I was just sober for little periods of time to where I could develop real relationships – it was pretty much the only difference [being on parole].”

“Then after five months of being on parole, I relapsed and I started hanging out with different friends.”

“Working on relationships that I thought I’d lost when I was in there. Hanging out with friends pretty much. . . . [I] learned while [I was] on parole that I didn’t have no friends.”

After parole one respondent indicated that they realized they had no friends and no support system. Another notice that they get along better with their friends when they aren’t using and another noticed that the girls don’t like his alcohol abuse.

‘I don’t have any friends.’”

“I get along with my friends a lot better.”

“I think [alcohol] might have an effect on my relationship with girls. I drink every night . . . And most ladies aren’t into that kind of stuff.

2. Differences and Similarities of Groups

Research Question Two: *What are the differences and similarities of youth who were successful in treatment and on parole and those who were unsuccessful in treatment and on parole?*

Much of the information that answered this research question was obtained through the observations and field notes of the researcher and documented in Table 4.4 and 4.5. This information was reported to the researcher prior to the interviews, either while the participants were participating in the parole supervision program or through ongoing contact after parole.

The tables above describe the field notes the researcher has gathered about each participant. Table 4.4 gives an overview of basic characteristics of each participant before parole, during parole, and at the time of the interview with regard to four categories: work history, history of school success and involvement, abstinence from drugs and alcohol, and general stability.

Work. The historical data does not give much information on work history, but records indicate that the lives of the participants were in such a state of disarray that probably none of them were employed at the time of commitment. Many of the respondents had positive work experiences, albeit short lived, prior to their commitment. Work history was labeled with a positive symbol (or +) in Table 4.4 if the youth had consistently worked 20 to 40 hours per week for at least a 1 month period of time prior to being committed. Thirteen respondents made

references to working. All of the respondents in Category One had successful work experiences before, during and after parole. Eleven worked successfully on parole. Two in category two, one in category three and two (or all) of category four were not successful at work while on parole. At the time of the interview, thirteen out of fifteen reported being in a successful work experiences. Four were required to work as a part of their supervision program for new felony charges.

School. Prior to being committed, all but one of the participants had dropped out of school. School was labeled with a + if the youth's records indicated that he had experienced a successful school experience at any time prior to being committed. It has been noted under the column "Before Commitment: School" that, prior to their commitment, eight of the respondents had been identified by school officials as having an educational disability. The handicapping condition is noted in Table 4.4as "LD" for Specific Learning Disability, "ED" for Emotional Disturbance, and "ADHD" for Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder. They were scored a + under the category "during parole" and "at the time of the interview" if they were successful in either high school or college by having completed a semester with passing grades. Some youth did not have a school experience during or after parole. Parolees are usually required as a part of their parole plan, to complete high school by either passing their G.E.D. test or earning a high school diploma. Respondents who did not have a school

experience on parole or after parole earned their G.E.D. while they were detained and did not choose to go to college. The five participants who were ranked as successful in school at the time of the interview were enrolled in college courses. Nine participants mentioned school in their interview responses and four related future plans to go to college. Eleven participants are either attending college or planning to attend college in the future. School experiences will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

Abstinence. Abstinence was scored with a plus if the youth reported that he had not been using drugs or alcohol during parole or reported being abstinent at the time of the interview. This was self-reported except for urinalysis and Breathalyzer monitoring during parole. Most participants reported using drugs and alcohol much less frequently after parole than they had prior to their commitment, and indicated that they felt that they had achieved some sort of balance or control over the types of drugs and their schedule of use. Four participants reported that they were abstinent, but only one participant reported that he had been completely abstinent since the time of his commitment and did not intend to use again. The other 3 abstinent participants were required to be abstinent as a part of their supervision program. Drugs mentioned in the interview included huffing paint, taking acid, smoking marijuana, and drinking alcohol.

Stability. Stability is a more comprehensive and subjective category to demonstrate a more global condition that exists for each participant. It has been defined in this study as having all of the following: a consistent place to live (not jail), living independently, limited or controlled drug or alcohol use, no new pending criminal charges, and consistently keeping a job or succeeding in school over a period of 6 to 12 months. Three who were ranked as stable were in supervision programs so their stability wasn't as independently stable as others who were not being supervised. Column 6 in Table 4.5 will give more information regarding the criminal activity of respondents after parole. Much of this information was documented from reports the participants gave to the researcher prior to and outside of the interview sessions.

Comparison of Social History to Post-Parole Activities. Table 4.5 documents data comparing the social history and gang activity to the post-parole activities of each youth. In column one, six participants reported being heavily involved in gangs prior to their commitment. In column two, four of the participants were Hispanic, one was Asian, and ten were variations of Caucasian. In column three, respondents were identified as having been diagnosed with a mental health condition requiring pharmacological treatments prior to being committed. Two participants in category one (27%) had been diagnosed, three respondents in category two (75%) were prescribed medications, one of two respondents in

category three (50%) and two out of two respondents (100%) in category four were identified as needing medications. There were seven youth that could be categorized as being low socio-economic status, five from middle-income families and three from wealthier families. Column five indicates that thirteen of the respondents reported during the interview that they regularly use drugs or alcohol. Four of those who are not using regularly are incarcerated or are in supervision programs and their use is being monitored. Only one of the five respondents who are not using reported that he has not used since his commitment and is committed to not using. In column six, seven respondents had been sentenced with serious new crimes that will include prison sentences, two others had been charged with crimes, which will include a lengthy probation period, and one is currently hiding from an arrest warrant for not appearing in court. In column seven it is reported that six of the participants are currently living independently and supporting themselves with five of these being from category one and one from category four. Only three respondents listed in column eight are currently succeeding in college but eleven respondents as describe in column ten indicated plans to return to college in the future. As described in column nine, nine respondents have consistently been working full-time (or full-time with work and school combined) and supporting themselves. Four of those working full-time are from category one, two from category two and one in category four are

still in supervision programs, which require full-time work. There are several commonalities and differences among and between each category, which will be reported in the following sections and discussed further in Chapter Five.

Table 4.4. – Positive and Negative Experiences – Research Field Notes

Case number	Group	Before Commitment				During Parole				At time of Interview			
		Work	School ^S	Abstin	Stability	Work	School	Abstin	Stability	Work	School	Abstin	Stability
Case 3	1	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
Case 4	1	+	-	-	-	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	+
Case 5	1	+	+, ED	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
Case 6	1	+	-	-	-	+	*	+	+	+	*	-	+
Case 8	1	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Case 10	1	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
Case 13	1	+	+ ADHD	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Total for group one		7	5	0	0	7	5	5	6	7	5	2	6
Case 9	2	-	-, LD, ED	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Case 11	2	-	-, LD	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
Case 12	2	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Case 15	2	-	-, LD, ADHD	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
Total for group 2		0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	3	0	1	2
Case 1	3	-	+ADHD	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	*	-	-
Case 2	3	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*	-	-
Total for group 3		0	2	0	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	0
Case 7	4	-	-, LD, ED, ADHD	-	-	+	*	-	-	-	*	-	-
Case 14	4	-	- LD, ED, ADHD	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Total for group 4		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Totals of all groups		7	7	0	0	11	6	6	7	13	5	4	9

Abstin. = Abstinent from drugs and alcohol

^S = some respondents had been diagnosed with educational handicaps: LD for Learning Disability, ED for Emotional Disability, ADHD for Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder

• = Participant had not had a school experience during this time

Table 4.5 – Comparisons of Social Histories and Post-Parole Activities

Case number	Group	Social History				After Parole Activities					
		1. Prior gang involvement	2. Race	3. Meds	4. S.E.S.	5. Regularly using drugs or alcohol	6. Sentenced for new crimes	7. Living Independently	8. Succeeding at School	9. Employed consistently	10. Plans for school
3	1	Y	C	N	L	Y	N	Y	N	Y	Y
4	1		C	N	L	Y	Y	Y	N	Y	N
5	1		C	Y	M	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
6	1		A	N	M	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N
8	1		C	N	M	Y	N	Y	Y	Y	Y
10	1		H	N	L	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
13	1	Y	H	Y	L	N	N	N	Y	Y	Y
9	2	Y	C	Y	L	N*	Y	P	N	N	N
11	2	Y	H	Y	L	N*	Y	P	N	N	N
12	2	Y	H	Y	M	N*	Y	P	N	Y	Y
15	2		C	Y	L	Y	Y	N	N	Y	Y
1	3		C	Y	H	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
2	3		C	N	H	Y	N	N	N	Y	Y
7	4		C	Y	H	Y	N	N	N	N	Y
14	4	Y	C	Y	M	N*	Y	Y	N	Y	Y
Participant Totals		6		9		10	7	6	3	12	11

Race = C for Caucasian, H for Hispanic, A for Asian

Meds = Had a history of taking prescription medications for treatment of mental health conditions such as depression, bi-polar disorder, attention deficit disorder, anger .

S.E.S. = Socio-Economic Status: L for low, M for Medium, H for High.

* Participants who are not currently using because of incarceration or supervision but were using prior to being convicted of new crimes

Column 7 – P = Prison

Category One – Successful in Treatment and Successful on Parole. As reported in Table 4.4, there are some similarities that seem to emerge when considering the responses from category one participants. All of the respondents in category one had some success in both work and school. They also had less of a problem with mental health issues and educational handicapping conditions prior to commitment. In comparison to the rest of the groups, they have a fairly strong sense of self. They all mentioned goals about what they want for themselves in life and in the near future, they are fairly mature and they took responsibility for their actions. Five of them stated that they needed and appreciated the structure that the intensive parole supervision services offered to them. The average age of the respondents in category is older by 6 to 18 months across all time frames. This age difference may be a significant factor that explains some of the differences of their responses from the other three categories. Overall, this group of respondents was more compliant during parole as indicated in Table 4.5.

Category Two – Successful in Treatment and Unsuccessful on Parole. The four members of this group have a wider variation than the group above but one major similarity. They are all back in the legal system for crimes they have committed. All of the participants in this category stated in so many words that during parole they just didn't care. At the time of the interview, their motivators

for change were all external sources: a future family, jail, and wanting respect. While two of them had school plans, none of them had made any move in that direction. Drug addictions were a significant factor for all members of this group. One member is on a deferred sentence and admits that he continues to use drugs on a daily basis. One committed crimes while he was high on drugs and is in community corrections and working in the community. A third member was in community corrections and living independently at the time of his interview but has since been regressed back to a prison commitment for using drugs. The fourth member was sentenced to 10 years in prison after the interview and is currently serving his time. He was using drugs during the time that he committed his new crimes. All of the respondents in category two have had multiple issues which include learning difficulties, involvement with the legal system beginning at an early age, mental health issues, family and chaotic home difficulties.

Category Three – Unsuccessful in Treatment and Successful on Parole.

This grouping of two participants does not appear to be indicative of a normal sampling because the population of youth who are unsuccessful in treatment are seldom released on parole. This will be discussed further in Chapter Five. These two respondents were labeled unsuccessful in treatment because they were reported by their treatment staff to be “resistant.” Their treatment providers suggested that they were not committed to abstaining from drug abuse and

reported that they refused to work on their issues regarding their addictions. They were both from upper middle class families. They both did attend school or worked full-time while on parole and participated to the best of their ability in all program activities. They were somewhat reserved in addressing their addiction issues but urinalysis and breathalyzer tests were clean throughout their parole placement with one exception. One of the respondents relapsed on marijuana and went to detox for a 5-day period, reporting that this was helpful upon his return. His urinalysis tests after detox confirmed that he did not use drugs again while on parole. Ironically, both admitted to using hard drugs regularly after parole, but have not reported committing any new crimes. Both are working full-time and have moved in and out from living with family members and on their own since parole. Both reported some school success prior to being committed and stated that they intend to complete a four-year college program at some point in the future.

Category Four – Unsuccessful in Treatment and Unsuccessful on Parole.

The small sampling of the latter two categories makes the similarities and differences of the members of these two groups much less significant. The differences are interesting. The differences are: One of the members of category four has been sentenced to the Department of Corrections for 8+ years and the other one has had numerous small legal difficulties involving driving under the

influence and failure to appear in court but has not been accused of major crimes. One has a family and is living independently and the other is homeless and sleeps on the couches of his friends. One has numerous social supports and one has had a very limited support system and no close friends. One is very computer literate and is focused on a career plan and the other has a distant thought of being involved in the movie industry some way but has made no move in this direction. One is a construction laborer and the other is a computer technician. One reports missing the adrenaline rushes of using, gang fighting and committing crimes. The other presented himself as sad, tired, lonely and trapped in his cycle of addiction. The similarities that exist are that both are hard workers, have positive attributes that they admire about themselves and find employment easily. One has difficulty getting to work, however, because of hangovers from daily alcohol use. The other does not use drugs or alcohol because of his correctional supervision requirements and reports he is committed to staying abstinent. Their similarities are: Both admit to an understanding that their desire to "have fun at all cost" has been quite problematic for them. Both also admit that their addictions were a major contributing factor for their lack of interest in participating in either parole or treatment programs. Both are above average in intelligence and possess the skills and capability to be successful contributing members of society. Both cite relationships as the reason for changing their negative behaviors but one names

jail and his children as reasons why he has changed his criminal and drug using behaviors. The other youth reasoned that he won't be likely to find a serious love relationship until he decides to quite drinking.

Similarities Across All Categories. There were several similarities that existed across all groups. The similarities are: their SES, the groups were similar in their responses about relationships, in their reporting of continued drug use, and in their plans to attend school. Racial composition of the groups and socio-economic status did not appear to be significant to any groupings. A similar number of respondents from all categories had significant interruptions in their lives from continued drug use. One was charged with child abuse because of his drunken rages and was participating in a supervision program to be able to continue to live with his family. One was stabbed repeatedly in the face and neck for negative acts he committed while high, one was shot in the back for not paying his drug dealer, one was kicked out of college for continued marijuana use, one is on a deferred sentence for pawning stolen goods, one has had two DUI charges, one was charged with selling drugs, one saw his close friend comatose because of a drug overdose. Two committed crimes while high on drugs, and one was discharged from community corrections for several positive urinalysis tests, which indicated he was using drugs. Drug use continued to be a serious problem in most of the respondent's lives. One interesting hypothesis emerged when

comparing those who admitted to relapsing on drugs to those that reported that parole was a negative experience. All eight respondents who indicated that they felt parole was a negative experience and a waste of their time had relapsed during parole.

When considering similarities and differences of all four categories, it becomes apparent that category one is significantly different from the other three categories. It seems logical to consider categories two, three and four as a consolidated group for comparison with category one respondents and to combine those groups to form just two comparison groups: Category one and All Other Respondents. Combining categories two, three and four will be useful in determining if there is anything special about Category one respondents that made them successful.

Comparison of Category One to All Other Respondents. When comparing category one to categories two through four collectively, the numbers and percentages of the differences that appeared to be significant are illustrated in Table Six. Respondents from category one were almost one year older at the time they were committed and at the time they were discharged from parole. The older age of both respondents from Category four made the age difference comparison at the time of the interview insignificant, but the respondents in category one were still almost a year older than both category two and three respondents. Six of the

respondents in categories two through four were identified as having educational disabilities (others may have had in the past but it was not reported in their files) while only two of the respondents in category one were labeled by school officials prior to their commitments. Three (compared to zero) of category one respondents are still attending college. Twenty eight percent of category one respondents compared with 75% of the rest of the respondents have been charged with committing new crimes since their discharge from parole. Twenty eight percent of category one respondents had prior gang involvement compared to fifty percent of the others. Seven out of eight respondents in categories two through four have had a history of mental health concerns requiring medications compared with twenty-eight percent of category one. Six out of seven of category one respondents are living independently while none of the other respondents reported living independently. All of category one respondents reported working successfully full-time, while only sixty-three of the rest of the respondents reported to be successfully employed. While seven out of eight respondents in category one reported using drugs and alcohol regularly, compared to sixty-three of the other respondents; four of the respondents in categories two through four and one in category two were in programs requiring them to be monitored for drug and alcohol use regularly. A total of ten respondents, five from each of the two groups shown in Table Six, stated that they have either reducing and are

controlling their use so that it does not impede their ability to work and/or go to school or are not using at all.

Table 4.6 -Comparing Category One Respondents to All Other Respondents

	Category One Successful in Treatment Successful on Parole		Categories Two-Four Unsuccessful in Either Treatment, Parole or Both	
	N	% of 7	N	% of 8
Total number in group	7	100	8	100
Older than 17.6 at commitment	5	71	3	38
Older than 18.6 at discharge	7	100	7	88
Older than 20.3 at time of interview	5	71	6	75
Identified Educational Disability	2	28	6	75
Charged with new crimes after parole	2	28	6	75
Compliant while on parole	7	100	2	25
Gang involved prior to commitment	2	28	4	50
History of mental health R _x	2	28	7	88
Living independently after parole	5	71	0	0
Successfully employed	7	100	5	63
Regularly using drugs or alcohol	6	86	5	63
Supervision requirements prohibit drug use	1	14	5	63
Serious interruptions from drug use	4	57	5	63
Controlled use or no use at interview	5	71	5	63
Currently attending school	3	43	0	0

3. Experiences before, during and after parole

Research Question Three: *What are the experiences of successful and unsuccessful youth before, after and during parole?*

Before Parole. Again, as reported in Table 4.5, prior to parole, the activities of all respondents appeared to be fairly chaotic, unstable and criminal. Drug abuse was reported to be the daily norm for the majority of respondents. Nine respondents mentioned that they just didn't care about anything but doing whatever they wanted and having fun. Many of their responses about activities before parole included nonproductive inactivities termed "hanging out, chilling, kickin' it with friends, staying at home, watching TV, talking on the phone, or doing nothing" Eleven respondents reported twenty-five entries of inactivity that was considered to be non-productive.

For example, according to one respondent from Category one:

"In the summertime, occasionally I'd get a summer job. Most of the time I'd get sick of work because I wanted to hang out with my friends and do drugs, ditch school, and just do anything I wanted to without somebody telling me . . ."

Another said, "I wasn't acting like a kid my age, it all started when I was 14 or 15 years old. I was staying out late, coming home at like 11:00 or 12:00 at night. I would sometimes go to school still drunk , , , . My life was pretty trashed."

“I didn’t answer to anybody.”

“At first I was just like I blamed everything else but me, like it’s the judge’s fault, it’s my parent’s fault, it’s my friends’ fault. It took me a few months to realize well maybe it’s my fault for being there right now. I made a choice to do this – I won’t come here ever again.”

Similarly, Category two respondents reported:

“My life was pretty crazy before I got committed.”

“Back then, I would smoke from morning until night and numerous other drugs throughout the day. I mean, I would just constantly be out of my mind – blitzed.

One category three respondents mentioned self-esteem:

“Before parole I had a very low self-esteem. . . . I was pretty depressed.”

Category four respondents both commented that having fun was their main objective before parole.

“Before I went to jail – it was all pretty much carefree, I didn’t care because I knew I was in trouble but I’d just have fun and do the same stuff pretty much. I was a juvenile delinquent. . . . I didn’t really care what happened to me as long as I had fun. I had no ambition at all.”

During Parole. Nine people mentioned attending groups and other program activities while on parole. Three mentioned positive hobbies such as:

working on cars, installing car stereos, coaching little league soccer, and playing pool. Thirteen mentioned work. Five reported committing crimes while on parole and eight admitted to using drugs while on parole. Five respondents, all in category one, reported that the structure and support of the parole supervision program was helpful. Twelve reported that their parole experience was helpful. Eight indicated that part of their parole experience was a negative experience, however, four of the eight respondents that indicated that their parole experience was negative, also named several characteristics that were coded as positive experiences. One was from category one, four from category two, one from category three and one from category four. Six of those same eight respondents have been charged with new serious crimes in the adult legal system. Four of the respondents who indicated that parole experience was a negative experience, also blamed outside causes for their situation and, during the interview, took no accountability for their criminal behaviors. All eight reporting parole as a negative experience are also still using drugs regularly. One person in category one expressed remorse for getting in the system in the first place.

Category one respondents reported parole as a positive experience:

“Parole was wonderful, I needed the structure, the accountability, the peer support, groups. It was friendly, I was settling in, getting ready to be on my own.”

“It made a difference. It helped me out, get structured and get used to the world again. From my personal view, it helped. I probably wouldn’t have done as good without it.”

“All the help I got on it, from my tracker, my mentor, my parole officer, they all helped me out.”

Category two responses reported that their parole experience was stressful or worthless.

“It was a waste of my time.”

“It was rough. I was always messing up. So ---- was constantly in my business. I wasn’t putting my whole heart into it. I didn’t really care.”

“I started getting high again. I did whatever I wanted. I didn’t care. . . . It sucked, it was f--- sh--. It was worse with people watching me. . . like having people chase you around. . . catching you tripping acid and smoking weed and drinking, huffing paint.”

Category Three respondents reported mixed impressions. They didn’t like it but believed it was helpful in keeping them from committing crimes

“When I was on parole, I used but I didn’t steal anything.”

“I didn’t like all the supervision. . . I didn’t like the groups.”

“I probably would have broken the law if I wasn’t on parole.”

Category Four respondents reported feeling hassled and remorse for not taking advantage of the help. They admitted that it kept them from stealing.

“It was an annoyance. The system was a real hassle. It was a good opportunity that went by me. I was always watching for the last UA (drug urinalysis test) so that I could sneak by. I had my freedom, but I took no accountability. On parole I didn’t steal any more. I was still sneaky, but I took more caution.

After Parole. Knowledge of continued criminality and drug use was obtained through the respondents contact before and after the interview or through information from their prior parole officers. Out of the seven who had committed new crimes since their discharge from parole, only two respondents reported committing crimes after parole during the interview. Five mentioned their continued drug use. Two respondents indicated a remorse for re-offending and not taking advantage of the parole supervision services offered during the time they were on parole. Four indicated that they planned to go back to college. All respondents reported during their interviews that they thought they were doing better now than they had done previously in their life.

Category one responses reported important relationships and reduced drug usage.

“I never thought, I would never even have guessed what my life would be right now. I mean, being on my own, I have a girlfriend that I love, and I’m going full time to [college] so I can thank some of that because of my parole experience. A little bit.”

“Responsibility is what helped bring back my work ethic and the realization that alcohol is a severe problem for me. It’s not just the fact that - - I didn’t drink that much, I’d only have like two or three a night because it’s all I could take, but it would still affect the relationship with my wife and my kids.”

Category two respondents also reported using less drugs after parole and a desire to grow up and slow down their drug usage. One reported that he had no structure or guidance and didn’t know what else to do but go back to his old ways.

“I didn’t quit using. I just cut down – I just stopped doing everything else but pot – I smoke pot still but I cut down on that too, cause I just, I don’t know, I’m getting to the point now where I just don’t want to screw my brain up to where I can’t talk through it when I get older. I was just realizing that drugs were just fogging my mind – I just couldn’t think straight about anything. I couldn’t think rationally, I couldn’t make decisions about things right. I don’t know. I decided I had to stop.”

“... Once I got off parole, I didn’t have any guidance. I didn’t have nothing. The only thing I knew to do was just go back to using again.”

“I want to get out on my own and actually get a good job, go back to school. grow up – that’s what I want to do – grow up. I haven’t grown up yet.”

Category four respondents indicated a change since parole. One has reduced his drug usage and increased his alcohol use, the other is in a supervision program and his drug usage is being carefully monitored. He reports he life is more boring.

“Instead of doing drugs and stuff, I just drink a lot more.”

“After parole, I still didn’t have any fear or respect for the law. I don’t fear it because I’m not doing anything wrong and I don’t put myself in the position to be afraid. Now I get up, eat, take a shower, go to work, play on the computer, go to group and go to bed. It is boring but it is keeping me free. I have my kids around me, I am more stable. I feel like a wild animal in a zoo. There’s no edge. no excitement.”

4 Success and failure

Research Question Four: *What experiences do these youth view as critical to their successes and failures?*

No mention of success or failure was made in the survey questions, so as not to lead the respondents to elicit these topics if they hadn’t considered it on their own. For that reason, few made mention of “success” or “failure” per se. Experiences and perceptions of success and failure can

be extracted from the responses to some extent and the researcher has some insights based upon her continued conversations with the respondents. Before parole, youth generally viewed success as getting their basic needs for fun and relationships met. As the demographics reported earlier indicated, most of them had many prior failures in school and in the legal system, but few mentioned school or earlier criminal history in their measure of how successful or unsuccessful they were. Instead, as was mentioned earlier and quoted above, youth described their failures before parole as being out-of-control and chaotic, being depressed, getting high or using drugs day after day, shoplifting and committing crimes, being on-the-run, having low self-esteem, being stressed out, and being non-productive. Prior to being incarcerated, many respondents inferred that getting caught committing a crime was considered a failure. They seemed to view failure as going to jail and being out-of-control. It appeared that looking back, most respondents felt that they were failures prior to their commitments but did not feel that they were failing at the time. During parole, respondents seemed to view success as moving through their program levels, going to school, working, and building family and peer relationships. It was interesting to note that they did not mention stability as indicated by staying in school long enough to successfully complete a semester or to get passing

grades or by keeping the same job for a month or more. They viewed failure as going back to jail for a time out, going on ankle monitor, relapsing on drugs or committing new crimes. In short, it appeared that their perceptions of what experiences are critical for success and failure were at a much lower standard than what would be expected in the real world. Since this population of youth had such a limited experience for prior successes, their perception for success and failure appeared somewhat distorted. For example, going to school and succeeding in high school or college for even one month was longer than they had ever succeeded in school for many years. The same example can be cited for using drugs, committing crimes, and work. Several respondents from Category one cited that being successful in school, having meaningful relationships with family and peers, and working were their new measures for success after parole. They did not mention the effect drugs or alcohol had on the success of their relationships and on being successful workers, but it appeared obvious to the researcher that this was a determining factor. Many of the category one respondents have been able to retain their primary relationships and their jobs while continuing to use drugs or alcohol but they reported using more recreationally rather than daily as they had before parole. The category one respondents' reports also indicated a more

internalized locus of control. No other respondents mentioned the concepts of success or failure when asked to describe their experiences after parole.

Summary

As each research question was considered, a clearer picture of the perceptions, the differences/similarities, and the experiences of adolescent parolees emerged. Patterns and categories began to become more obvious and a new understanding of the phenomenon and experience of adolescent parole was realized. There were some definite distinctions between category one and the other three categories of youth as well as differences in their perceptions before, during and after parole. There were some differences in perceptions between older and younger participants and between those with multiple problems and those with lesser issues. Both the age factors and the multiplicity of problems were observed by comparing the differences in categories since age and problem areas were both characteristics of the differences between category one and the other categories. There was also a difference in the depth and insight of the responses of those youth in Category One.

To summarize the major findings:

1. Drugs and alcohol played an important part in the respondent's lives before parole and was still an issue to a lesser extent after parole.

Drugs and alcohol abuse continued to cause disruption in the majority of the respondents' lives.

2. Relationships played an important part in their motivation for change, but few respondents reported having meaningful relationships.
3. This population of youth had little or no school success and the majority of the unsuccessful respondents had learning disabilities and mental health issues that played a major role in their school failure.
4. Maturity and self-esteem were mentioned by more successful respondents as motivators for change while more external factors such as fear of jail, lack of support and peer pressures were mentioned by those as reasons for failing on parole. Defining success for this population seemed to be relevant to past successes and failures. Those who had few successes had lower expectations and were more content with small accomplishments.

The issues that interfere with the success and failure of this population are complex and multi-faceted. Defining success and failure was even difficult as there are so many factors to consider. The researcher will discuss these findings further and compare them to the current literature in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

The purpose of this study is to analyze the voices of adjudicated youth concerning their experiences on parole and to compare their perceptions and their experiences to the current research findings. This chapter will discuss the results of the findings and compare the results to the research questions and to the current literature. Conclusions about the comparisons that have been made will be followed by a discussion of implications of the research results, limitations of the study and recommendations for further research.

Research Questions

1. What are the perceptions of youth concerning their experience before, after and during parole?

This study discovered the perceptions of youth concerning their experiences before, during and after parole. The results are documented in Chapter Four. During the first two interviews, which were considered to be a pilot study, the interviewer added two questions to elicit more description and to obtain the following comparisons: comparisons of parole to before commitment, to jail and to their life after parole. These additions did garner more information but the detail was still less than optimal. The perceptions of youth appeared to differ

depending on how successful they were on parole and in treatment and also whether or not they had re-offended or were charged with new crimes. The majority of the negative comments concerning their parole experience appeared to be related to the respondents' desire to continue to use drugs and do whatever they wanted while dodging continued supervision and monitoring. Responses about perceptions before parole had the most similarities and one single common theme: to have fun at all costs. Some did comment that life before parole was stressful, out of control and chaotic. Generally, the respondents that made this negative generalization about life before parole were experiencing more success at the time of the interview, had experienced more success and more time had passed since their commitment began. Most respondents, however, gave only a shallow and limited description of what their life was like before parole. The researcher had hoped for a richer response and, because she knew the details of the respondent's situations, she had expected them to express these details. The data did, however, yield enough information to understand a great deal about the ethnography of this population. Four respondents reported that their experience on parole was entirely negative, four reported both some negative experiences and some positive experiences and five felt that their parole experience had been helpful and positive. Two others described their parole experience but did not

judge it as positive or negative. All eight that reported negative experiences had been charged with committing new crimes since their discharge from parole. All fifteen respondents indicated that their life after parole was much better in comparison to before and during parole, but they didn't internalize this imposed structure upon their release from parole. A common measure they reported was freedom from the system. Their own maturity was mentioned by many as a factor for improvement along with new supervision programs they were participating in for new crimes or continued drug use. There seemed to be a relationship between those who reported doing poorly after parole and their comments that indicated that they still had the desire to have fun at all costs.

2. What are the differences and similarities of youth who were successful in treatment and on parole and those who were unsuccessful in treatment and on parole?

As indicated above, there did seem to be a difference in the experiences of the different groups. These experiences are summarized in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5 in Chapter Four and discussed in detail in Chapter Four. To summarize, the greatest difference in experiences was the difference between respondents in Category One – Successful in Treatment and Successful on Parole and all the other respondents from Categories Two, Three and Four. During parole, Category One

respondents were more successful in school (71%), did not use drugs or alcohol (71%), were more stable (86%), and were more compliant and motivated in general. Category one respondents were also about one year older on parole than the other respondents, which could explain the maturity factor. The differences between the participants in Categories Two, Three and Four appear to be insignificant for several reasons: the numbers of each of these groups are too small to compare for differences, the participants in each category have few other similarities besides their lack of success, and they have many similarities as a single group when compared to Category One participants. In general, respondents from Categories Two, Three or Four could be labeled “unsuccessful” for the purpose of this study, while participants in Category One could be labeled “successful.” As mentioned in Chapter Four, participants from the “unsuccessful” groups had more of a pyramid of multiple ‘problems’ in their early years prior to entering the correctional system than those in the successful group. These problems included being on prescription medications for behavior or mental health problems, having school difficulties or learning disabilities, not having a positive and stable familial support system, and having no prior work experiences. All participants suffered traumatic circumstances such as: significant losses or early abandonment, serious and/or long term medical conditions and chronic or severe physical and sexual

abuses. Perhaps these factors may be important when trying to understand what caused the participants to choose to be delinquent but, in this study, it did not appear to predict their ability to be successful. It is the researcher's opinion that the addition of this information would have been interesting but not enlightening when considering the success or the lack of success on parole or the differences between categories. The major factor that was apparent in comparison of the successful and unsuccessful participants was the pyramid effect of early problems. The participants who were unsuccessful had more difficulties or obstacles prior to their involvement in the criminal system. There appears to be a link between the number of early risk factors and the ability to be successful in treatment, while on parole, and after parole. Maturity also appeared to be an important factor for success in treatment, on parole and after parole.

3. What are the experiences of successful and unsuccessful youth before, after and during parole?

Based on both the responses and the information from their files, for all categories of respondents, their lives before parole were out of control and chaotic. The experiences of all categories of youth before parole were similar with one exception. As mentioned above, youth from Categories Two, Three and Four had experienced more failures and early life difficulties. Most of the respondents in

Category Two, Three or Four had been in the legal system for more than four years and had committed their first crime before their teen years. They had more failures in school, had few or no positive work experiences, had limited positive familial supports and they had been diagnosed with one or more mental health issues requiring medications. They were not in school, not working, had no stable living environment and they were using drugs on a daily basis. The majority of them had been existing like this for at least a year.

Except for the stress that comes with constant monitoring, parole for all respondents was a more stable experience than either before parole or after parole. All of the respondents used fewer drugs or alcohol during parole than either before or after. Four of the respondents were more stable after parole only because they were in a more stringent supervision program because of new adult sentences. The youth who did well on parole reported experiencing the supervision support as positive or helpful, for the most part. Even though they didn't like the supervision, they saw the Beaucaire supervision as a support more often than they interpreted it as a policing of their activities. They mentioned the recreational activities and the time they spent with their mentor as the most memorable parts of parole. Youth who had re-offended and had incurred major criminal charges for their new offenses all identified a common attitude of not caring about themselves while on parole.

One gave a insightful definition of himself as a “juvenile delinquent:” “Not caring about anything or anyone except having fun.” The idea of immediate gratification at all costs was a recurrent theme for these unsuccessful respondents. Their comments were negative and incriminating when comparing their lives before parole to their lives during parole.

Experiences after parole tended to be more similar for all groups than their parole experience. Most reported that they struggled with stability by reporting that they had moved in and out of their parents home several times since parole, had changed jobs several times, had quit school and enrolled a semester later. All had continued to use drugs fairly regularly. Respondents from Category One had more experiences with work, school and positive supportive relationships; while the respondents from the other three categories had more involvement with the legal system, with unemployment, and little or no school experiences. Ironically, those reporting a desire for freedom, non-productive activities and doing whatever they wanted, also reported more loss of control and a more chaotic and stressful lifestyle.

4. What experiences do these youth view as critical to their success and failures?

The motivation that respondents gave for changing their criminal behaviors differed between Category One and the other three categories also. Respondents in category one generally were motivated by their belief in themselves and their desire to be a better person. A majority of the respondents in the other three categories indicated that they were motivated to change more by external criteria: a desire not to go to jail, to be with family, or because they were growing up. The reasons respondents in categories two, three and four gave for re-offending focused on blaming the system, their lack of support, the program, and their lack of maturity.

Comparison to Current Research

For at least the past twenty-five years, research has been suggesting that more aid to high risk populations of youth needs to begin earlier and be more continuous to prevent delinquency (Bachman, 1991; Hawkins & Catalano, 1989; Lipsitz, 1991; Loughreh & Harris, 1991; Schultz, 1991; Sherman, 1987; Vogel, 1994; and Waggoner, 1991). Based upon the demographics of the respondents in this study, preventative programs may have been helpful to this population. It is interesting to note that seven out of eight respondents in the unsuccessful categories had been diagnosed with medical mental health or behavioral conditions requiring medication prior to their parole. Six of them had also been diagnosed with a learning disability or attention deficit disorder which required their school

program to be modified. Some preventative efforts such as pharmacological therapy and special education assistance had been attempted, but it is unknown to what extent or if any of these youth had participated in any preventative programs such as head start, pre-school, counseling or drug treatment prior to their commitments. It is possible that preventative programming early in their lives may have reduced the pyramid effect of their difficulties.

Research statistics point to the long term benefit to society of reaching this population of youth, yet legislators are reluctant to allocate funding for intensive long term treatments for criminals (Sherman, 1987; Vogel, 1994; and Waggoner, 1991). There seems to be a current philosophy in criminal rehabilitation that supports the belief that criminals should be incarcerated, but their ability to be rehabilitated or treated is limited. Many of these youth had been receiving treatment for a year or more. Many of those unsuccessful respondents had been in “the system” since before their teen years. Because of a lack of adequate and appropriate treatments, many of the unsuccessful participants will remain in “the system” for many more years. This study supports the research that suggests that treatment needs to be intensive, lengthy and will be cost effective no matter how long it takes or at what age it is received. As one participant who has recently been sentenced to five years in the adult system, “Once I got off parole, I didn’t have any

guidance. I didn't have nothing. The only thing I knew to do was just go back to using again." All participants who were categorized as successful in this study have indicated either verbally or with their continued criminal conduct, drug abuse and lack of stability that they needed continued support and treatment. Effective treatments need to be intensive, long term, tightly structured and should fit the unique needs of each individual.

The population of youth interviewed in this study all fit the definitions of a delinquent taken from the Encyclopedia of Adolescence (1990) as being "unable to sustain normal, close interpersonal relationships, and by having impulsive behavior marked by sensation-seeking and failing to learn from their punishments. Many respondents alluded to this definition in their responses. "I didn't really care what happened to me as long as I had fun." "I didn't answer to anybody." "Now off parole, you don't have anything to look forward to, just another day's work and you end up making a routine and it's like the same old routine over and over so there's nothing really to look forward to the next day." "I just had this thing where if somebody tries to tell me what to do, then I won't do it. . . I listen to that but I won't do it just because somebody is telling me." "I just don't have kids yet so I don't really care." "I don't have any friends." "After parole, I still didn't have any fear or respect for the law. I would steal a lot more." One respondent, when

asked what their opinion of this one year long parole experience was just said, "Glad it's over."

Many others indicated that they finally figured it out either while they were in jail, on parole, or after a significant life event such as the birth of a child, the threat of doing a lengthy prison term, or a spiritual experience. "A little bit after I got my deferred sentence, they were like really wanting to send me to jail. I was like, I have to stop this . . . drugs." "The realization that alcohol is a severe problem for me. It's not the fact that - - I didn't drink that much . . . but it would still affect the relationship with my wife and kids." "It took me a few months to realize, well maybe it's my fault for being there right now. I made a choice to do this. I won't come here ever again. So jail was really good for me." "I helped create this child and it was brought into the world and people were telling me I couldn't be around him until I changed who I was."

It appears that those who were categorized as being successful, learned along the way from their punishment, though their reasons had no similarities to one another and were quite varied. Again the only connection seems to be based more on a pyramid effect. The more issues and risk factors, the more difficult it was to make a choice to be successful.

Bernard's (1991) research theories indicate that resiliency can be determined by the frequency, duration and severity between risk factors, stressful life events and the protective factors that are in place in the school, family and community systems. The researcher attempted to compare the protective factors of the respondents in this study to Bernard's resiliency indicators. An S indicates that the researcher feels the respondent has a strong factor and a W indicated that the researcher believes the respondent is weak in this risk factor. Based on this ranking, Respondents from Category One had strong protective factors in place from either their family, school or community after their commitment. Respondents from Categories Two, Three or Four were identified by the researcher as having weaker protective factors. In the table below, the researcher has attempted to evaluate the quality of the protective factors of each participant, using Bernard's predictors of family, school and community. Family was marked as strong if the respondent had a close bond with at least one person who is consistent, stable and supportive. Strong school indicators were marked if the respondent viewed their school experience as being a caregiving environment and having peer support with meaningful opportunities for involvement. Community support included being successful in work or sustaining positive involvement in a community or social system. Community could also include participating regularly in satisfying leisure

time activities that are not delinquent, or the existence of positive social relationships.

Table 5.1- After Commitment:

Comparison of Bernard's Protective Factors to Respondent's Protective Factors

	Successful							Unsuccessful							
Case Number	3	4	5	6	8	10	13	9	11	12	15	1	2	7	14
Family	S	S	S	W	S	S	S	W	W	S	W	S	W	W	W
School	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	W	W	W	W	W	W	W	W
Community	S	S	S	S	S	W	S	W	W	S	W	W	S	W	S

* S stands for strong factor and W stands for weak factor.

Comparing Bernard's factors to the protective factors that existed for this population of youth, demonstrates the needs that exist in each system for these youth. In order for youth to be successful, supports are needed in all systems.

According to research, education is the one social system that can be modified (Alber, 1986; Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Bachman, 1991; Cuban, 1989; Department of Education, 1987; Sagor, 1990; Wells, 1990, and Cuban, 1989), especially when compared to the other two systems: family and community.

Activities at school such as athletics, academic competitions, and the entire grading system are created to encourage excellence for high achievers. There are few school activities that encourage youth with multiple risk factors to experience

success. Many of them have learned early to survive the harshest of battles. Many alternative programs have reported to be successful with delinquent youth when they focus on providing meaningful opportunities for involvement as Bernard (1991) suggests. The youth in this study have suggested that they need a purpose or a feeling of satisfaction in their daily activities in order to re-focus for success. All respondents reported that they either didn't care about school or hadn't been attending. School officials might view this lack of interest as a lack of desire for an education, while it may be an inability to be successful in the current inflexible educational system where they often feel isolated and unwanted. School was mentioned by nine out of the fifteen respondents as something they are interested in pursuing after parole. One respondent said, "The most important thing I did while I was on parole was got into school."

One respondent reported, "Before parole I had very low self-esteem." Harter's (1990) factors that are predictive of self-esteem can be compared to Bernard's protective factors and were stated in Chapter Two on page 24. Going to jail in and of itself is a huge blow to the self-esteem and tends to negate these factors. Building self-esteem is a difficult task and demands intensity over time. Loughrey and Harris (1990) report that school success is affected by self-esteem. The Grant Commission (1988) agreed that at-risk youth need help in multiple areas

such as participating in community activities, satisfaction in the workplace, and special help with disabilities and mental health issues in order to be successful. The respondents in this study did not define the specifics of their needs but were more general and global in their perceptions of their experiences before parole. "My life was pretty trashed." "My life was pretty crazy before I got committed." "I was pretty depressed." "I was making very poor choices for me and my life." "Nothing could have made me care." "I just didn't care." They were unable to identify what would have made a difference. When they were pushed to identify what made the difference, most answered with a simple "I don't know." Some could identify external motivators such as family, added responsibilities, and school. The respondents categorized as successful indicated by their limited comments about life after parole and the fact that the majority had attempted school one or more times since parole, that school was an important factor in their perception of success for themselves. Since school success can be a major contributing factor to success for this population, it is logical that education should be one of the main solutions to crime reduction and juvenile delinquency.

Developmental theorists (Entwisle, 1990; Harter, 1990; and Muuss, 1985), suggest more research needs to be done to understand the interaction between psychological well-being and cognitive development. Rawlins (1992) indicates that

there is a relationship between learning how to develop friendships and relationships and the adolescent task of identity development. The statements that the youth in this study made about their experiences before their commitments were similar to what Muuss (1985) described in Chapter Two as “a desire for independence, a search without a goal, an expression of inner discontent, and restlessness.” The adolescent task or search for identity for this population has resulted in an unresolved conflict including the removal from one’s environment and a failure to define one’s identity. Since the respondents in this study were unable to successfully traverse through the earlier developmental stages successfully, they begin to lag behind in development from their peers early in their development. The gap widened as they reached adolescence and their developmental needs mushroomed until their pleas for attention and support reached levels that were dangerous and intolerable to the rest of the community. If ignored long enough, Erikson suggests that the damage will manifest into diagnosable personality disorders that are more difficult to treat. It is apparent that the respondents labeled as unsuccessful in this study may have had more difficulty moving through earlier developmental stages than those successful delinquents in Category One because of the excessive number of difficulties with school, family, health, stability, losses, addictions, and the general lack of support and nurturing. It seems predictable that

they may have more difficulty with rehabilitation efforts and may in fact develop serious psychopathologies. As Muuss (1988) was quoted in Chapter Two, "Ego diffusion and personality confusion, when they become permanent, can be observed in the chronic delinquent and in psychotic personality disorganization."

As stated in Chapter Two on page 32, Muuss (1988) believes that youth may self-medicate to treat their anxiety. Youth may take drugs to self-medicate for other conditions such as depression, bi-polar disorder and Attention Deficit Disorder. All of the respondents but one indicated that they were continuing to use either drugs or alcohol on a regular basis (with the exception of the eight respondents who were participating in a correctional or court ordered program which requires them to be drug and alcohol free). All respondents but one had used drugs after parole and prior to their new adult commitments or sentencing. Excessive and frequent drug abuse may reduce anxiety and depressive symptoms for a short term, but a reduction in anxiety also reduces motivation and further delays one's identity development.

Research regarding the treatment of juvenile delinquents suggests that multilevel, multimodel approaches are most effective (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Goldstein, 1990; Lipsitz, 1987; Phelan, 1990; Schoenwald, 1997; Schreiner, 1993; and West, 1991). Treatments are recommended that consider the multiple and

changing needs of adolescents. Recent government requests for proposals have endorsed a fee for service approach that allows for flexibility and modification in the type of service, the intensity services, and the frequency and duration of services. This allows services to be tailored to specific individual needs and changes as they occur. The responses from those respondents indicating the positive and negative aspects of their parole supervision experience support the current research trends for delivery of services. They commented: "I should have spent more time with my mentor." "I needed the structure, the accountability, the peer support, groups. It was friendly." "I like the mentors, and the way you concentrate so much on treatment and we all just hung out and I had a good time. We did a lot of fun things like hiked up to Horsetooth Rock, jet skiing, played pool a lot . . ." "The parole support helped me to build a structure. Slowly the structure helped me. I got help with getting into school." "It made a difference. It helped me out, get structured and get used to the world again. From my personal view, it helped. I probably wouldn't have done as good without it." "All the help I got on it, from my tracker, my mentor, my parole officer, they all helped me out." I learned a lot of things too. There were like little things you would have us do like, I don't know, like little sheets that we filled out." "I gained confidence through it cause I didn't want to end up like other parolees who were just going back into jail

and stuff. I wanted to be like an exception.” “I was always messing up. So you were constantly in my business.” It was a perfect transition. It made me hold myself accountable. I am less motivated now.” “. . . some of the issues that we talked about were some of the issues that I deal with in my . . . maybe I could have gotten something out of it.” “It was a good opportunity that went by me. . . . I had my freedom, but I took no accountability.” While these responses are somewhat vague and lack detail in describing the exact services that were most helpful, they do reflect that the needs dictated by current research are appropriate for this population.

This study, like previous ones suggests that early interventions can prevent or reduce the risk for youth. It also suggests that multimodal and multilevel treatments are effective treatments for delinquent youth because of the complexity and numerous issues they present. The changes needed for schools to meet the diverse needs of this population would be easily remedied if educators and educational policy makers understood the perceptions and unique developmental needs for all youth and modified their program philosophies to meet these needs.

Implications

It appears that youth who have had limited experiences with success and multiple interruptions in their development will require a more lengthy and intensive

treatment in order to be rehabilitated. Currently in the United States, once a criminal reaches a certain point in his career and earns the label “habitual criminal,” the interventions and attempts at rehabilitation are reduced and criminal justice programs focus more on protecting the community than on treating their behaviors and thinking errors. There are two philosophies that currently exist concerning the treatment of offenders:

1. There are some offenders for which no treatments or rehabilitation efforts will be effective. It is more cost effective to focus on those offenders who show potential for success and demonstrate sincere motivation to distance themselves from their criminal past. This philosophy is similar to the public school’s reluctance to meet the needs of this same population. It may be difficult if not impossible to treat or rehabilitate subjects who are not motivated or developmentally ready to change.
2. The more risk factors that are identified, the more needs and the more intensive services that are warranted. Youthful offenders can benefit from preventative programs targeting their needs for support, education, work training, drug, and mental health treatment.

Proactive treatments and early interventions for high risk youth are cost effective and can be worth the efforts.

Based upon the results of this study, both philosophies may have merit. One philosophy may not be exclusive of the other. However, it seems unconscionable to give up and throw away such a large percentage of youth without further research. More preventative community-based programs are needed that are tailored to meet the individual needs, level of functioning, and handicapping conditions of each unique child regardless of their age or desire for treatment. Maturity and motivation definitely plays an important role in the success of any treatment. There are implications for further education and training in higher education, training for parole officers, for community human service agencies and for public school program development that addresses the issues of this unique population. The treatment needs of this population isn't so different than many of the treatments that are already being offered, but the intensity, duration and frequency need to be drastically increased. Adjudicated youth returning to the community after their incarceration need to have their lives micro-managed until they stabilize. They need to have help and support in every aspect of living, much like the relationship of a young child with a nurturing but strict parent. Services can be decreased or increased as needed. Families need to be included in the treatments. If a family is

not supportive or motivated to offer the necessary supports, other living arrangements must be available. Community human service and mental health agencies need to integrate their service delivery with the schools and schools need to change the perceptions of their role as merely dispensers of academic information for eager learners, and adopt a more inclusive system that won't allow any of their students to slip between the cracks. If the schools do not feel that it is appropriate to take on the responsibility of providing the counseling, health care, supervision, support, mentoring and nurturing that this population is demanding, then they need to take a leadership role in making sure these services are available in the community for the youth who need them.. There is a need for community inter-agency collaboration to effectively disseminate the services that are available, to increase access to those services and to develop the most efficient and effective community supports for high risk and delinquent youth. This type of change can come from teacher preparation courses and in college courses offering preparation for parole officers, counselors, police officers, and other human services and criminal justice education and training courses.

Limitations of the Study

Group three respondents labeled "Unsuccessful in Treatment and Successful on Parole, were not indicative of unsuccessful in treatment. The circumstances of

being unsuccessful did not allow youth to participate in parole or in a parole supervision program. The new legislation for youth sentenced after January 1997 requires all committed youth to serve 12 months on parole will force parole officers to release youth prior to the end of their commitment. The majority of the youth in this study were committed prior to January 1997 and were not required to serve the mandatory 12 month parole requirement, so their experiences varied in months from 4 months to 12 months. Some were shorter because they were revoked for non-compliance and released later without having a parole experience.

It was very helpful to have historical data and current informational data that was not only from the respondents self-reporting. It was fortunate that the interviewer was somewhat familiar with the respondent's background and history, but it would have been helpful to include the formal gathering and analysis of this data for all respondents for comparison of records with responses. Respondents were not always completely honest and tended to minimize their negative behaviors and maximize their successes.

Youth who had not resolved their own identity crisis had difficulty expressing or defining their perceptions. Unsuccessful youth, who appeared to have limited introspection into their identity and needs had difficulty interpreting their perceptions for the researcher and responded frequently with "I don't know"

or similar statements. They had difficulty identifying any factors that contributed to success or failure. Their opinions did not appear to be well thought out or insightful. It might have been helpful if they could have studied the questions and had time to consider their answers or if the researcher had spent more time trying to draw them out, but possibly because of their lack of personal insight about what they value and who they are, they might not have been able to give any more information than what they gave no matter how the interview was modified. Additional interviews with parents, counselors or parole officers would have offered a comparison to the information offered by the youth. Psychological assessments, social histories, and the perceptions of treatment professionals could further support and enhance the interpretations and the evaluation of the information which was gleaned from the respondents in this study. The information about the participants which was provided by the researcher was an important aspect of the analysis and the comparisons of their responses. It allowed the researcher to more fully understand and analyze their responses and their perceptions.

Recommendations for Further Research

The responses from the youth in this study have demonstrated that there are certain implications for future research. The responses of high risk delinquent

youth are limited in detail and depth. It would be beneficial to study background information concerning childhood history of psychological issues, school records, treatment records, social history, perceptions of past treatment providers and parole officers. Future research could compare perceptions of youth to the factual data describing their experiences. A quantitative study of the correlation between different levels of treatment and success after parole would validate the benefit of differing levels and intensities of parole services. Additional research with this same population in six and twelve months from parole to measure the differences in responses over time. There is a need to study other parolees who have been on parole for the mandatory twelve month period who have received different levels of treatments. Further research needs to be implemented that studies a larger number of parolees who have successfully transitioned from parole to compare youth who had differing levels and intensities of parole services. Finally, an interesting phenomenon emerged when documenting the demographics of this study. Many of the respondents had absent mothers and limited nurturing supports early in their lives. It would be interesting to study the relationships that exist between between long-term absent mothers or the lack of nurturing in young children and levels of those children's delinquency.

Recommendations for Practice

The predictors for rehabilitation seem to have a pyramid effect. It appeared that the more issues and problems that characterize a youth's history and circumstances, the more difficulty they had changing their negative and criminal lifestyles. Youth who had re-offended had been diagnosed with mental health conditions, had more difficulties in school, little support, an unstable living environment and little or no success with employment. This group also took little responsibility for their situations, were often pessimistic about their circumstances, and generally had reportedly few plans for their future. It also appeared that as they got older and more mature, their self-esteem improved and they began to care more about doing something worthwhile with their lives. Since all respondents but one continued to use drugs and alcohol, it is difficult to know what part abstinence or addictions may have played in the successful rehabilitation of these delinquents.

In summary, based upon the responses for fifteen adjudicated delinquent youth, the researcher makes the following recommendations:

1. Youth with less interruption in their development caused by learning disabilities, loss, trauma, abuse, a lack of support, supervision or nurturing appear to be able to learn more quickly from their mistakes and are amenable to treatments and efforts to rehabilitate them than those with

numerous and multiple interruptions. The more risk factors, the greater the need for intensive and lengthy rehabilitation treatments. Bernard (1991) found similar results in his resiliency research that suggested that outcomes for resiliency was based on the number, frequency, duration and severity of risk factors as well as the developmental stages that were affected.

2. Success at school increases self-esteem. Respondents who realized some, even minimal, school success reported higher self-esteem than those respondents who had repeated and numerous school difficulties. The feelings of failure that are brought about by being adjudicated delinquent are reinforced by the memories of early school failures. Once a person believes he is a failure, rather than his behavior was a failure, it is easier for him to rationalize his choices to continue to do bad things. Wells (1990), also agreed that failure in school is linked to other failures and these repeated academic failures cause a domino effect. It makes sense that it would be more difficult to rehabilitate a person once he begins to believe that he is destined to be bad. Harter (1990) reported that feelings of competence is predictive of self-esteem. Loughrey and Harris (1990) reported that at-risk youth who remain in school have high self-esteem. It appears to be somewhat of a catch-22 but, schools might provide a greater

benefit to society if they changed the definition of their principal emphasis to focus on the development of psychological well-being and on cognitive thinking skills rather than on academic achievement.

3. **Maturity is a contributing factor to desisting in adolescents and is a complicated issue. All of the respondents who were ranked as successful in treatment and on parole were older than the other respondents. Many indicated that maturity was definitely a factor in the improvement of the quality of their lives and their choices to be more responsible. Developmental researchers (Harter, 1990; Loughrey & Harris, 1990; Entwisle, 1990; and Muuss, 1988) agree that adolescence is a time of discontent and restlessness for all youth. Harter (1990) agrees that when the developmental task of identity formation has been interrupted as it has been for this population of youth, they are unable to move forward until the identity confusion is resolved. Maturity coupled with healthy developmental growth allows young people to begin to internalize their values and improve their self-concept as was demonstrated by the responses of some of the more successful participants in this study. Many of the respondents had been treated for mental health problems, indicating that their delays in**

development may have already presented the possibility for more permanent personality disorders.

4. Adolescent youth who are not successful in treatment or on parole have not resolved their own personal identity crisis and are limited in their ability to fully evaluate or describe the perceptions of their experiences.. They appear to contradict themselves, they lack self-knowledge and insight and, because of this, they are not able to fully identify or understand the factors that contribute to their success, failure or desisting. Their perceptions by the very nature of their developmental status is distorted. As Harter (1990) infers, the developmental task of adolescents is the process of integrating and understanding their own identity. The fact that they should not be expected to be able to define their own identity makes the task of understanding their perceptions a most difficult one, especially with this segment of youth whose development has been so confused by the numerous and chronic interruptions they have endured.
5. Youthful offenders can be rehabilitated, but the treatment needs to be lengthy and continuous to be effective. None of the research gathered spoke to the length of effective treatments, however, most of the respondents entered the legal system before their teen years and indicated

that there was still a need for support. It would seem logical that, the more accustomed to the criminal lifestyle that offenders have become, the longer the treatment would need to be for successful rehabilitation.

In summary, our criminal justice system has adopted the “three strikes and you’re out” rule for habitual offenders. Lengthy prison sentences tend to provide limited rehabilitation treatments and doom criminals to repeat their past criminal patterns because they aren’t able to learn or practice how to change their lives and they aren’t able to receive the treatments and supports that are necessary for them to experience and define success for themselves. The successful treatment of youthful offenders who have been unsuccessful in residential treatment programs or on parole needs to be multi-modal, multilevel, individualized, intensive, long term and must adapt to the changing needs of each adolescent. These respondents are representative of the population of our criminal society that eventually become the “habitual” criminals and are eventually “thrown away” in long-term secure prison placements because there exist few alternative treatments that have proven effective. It is the belief of this researcher that this population can be rehabilitated if effective treatments are implemented that address the demanding and complicated developmental issues and the necessary treatment and support modalities needed for this population.

APPENDIX ONE**Survey Instrument**

Participant Name: _____ Date : _____

Phone: _____ D.O.B: _____

1. If I had been with you while you were on parole, what would I have seen you doing?
2. If I had followed you through a typical day, what would I have seen you doing?
3. What did you think about your parole experience?
4. What is your opinion of your parole experience?
5. How was your life different on parole compared to before parole?
6. How was your life on parole different compared to after parole?
7. Follow-up questioning: How did you feel about that? Tell me more about. . . .

COMMENTS & OBSERVATIONS:

APPENDIX TWO

Respondent Histories

The following histories were composed based on the researcher's memories from contacts with the participants during parole, after parole and during their interview. A brief description of any significant behaviors or details of each interview follows each history.

Case 1

This client was charged with marijuana possession distribution. He was turned in by his mother and reports growing and selling marijuana from the basement window of his mother's home. He reported using large quantities of drugs, particularly marijuana and acid daily prior to his commitment. He was projected not to be successful on parole because of his reluctance to participate in counseling and drug treatment activities during his incarceration. He was shy and reserved throughout his parole commitment, but he worked full-time throughout this time period, saved up his money and bought a car. He was compliant and did not fail any of his urinalysis during parole. During parole, he had several bizarre hair colors and styles. He prompted Beaucaire to enforce a new rule of no body piercings or tattoos because of his repeated body peircings. He was only on parole

for 6 months. This youth continues to work full-time and uses various drugs recreationally.

During the interview, this respondent was very reserved. He had few comments and volunteered very little information. The interview lasted only 5 minutes.

Case 2

Most of his early years were spent with both parents, an older brother and two siblings who were at least 7 years younger. His older brother was also adjudicated delinquent and participated in this study. This respondent's parents divorced prior to his conviction and he was living with his mother at the time he was convicted. Upon his release, he chose to live with his father and older brother. His father was a professional engineer and his mother was completing a college courses at the local community college during his parole. Neither parent was very involved in his parole treatment, but the father was somewhat communicative. This youth reported using acid over 1000 times and smoking marijuana almost daily. His drugs of choice were acid and marijuana. This youth is very bright though he had low motivation for work. He easily completed his GED while on parole and did attempt to attend community college while on parole and was interested in horticulture, music and art. He reported a desire to get a bachelor's

degree but he dropped out of school after two relapses on marijuana and ecstasy. He was initially sentenced to probation for car theft but was committed for non-compliance of his probation. He reports selling drugs prior to and during his probation. During treatment he was non-compliant and unmotivated. He refused to address addictions issues. He was on parole for 12 months and his parole progress was good for the first six months and poor after his relapse. Since that time he has continued to use drugs regularly. He has moved out of his father's home on several occasions, and at the time of his interview, he was living independently with his brother. It is reported that he has lost over 60 pounds since his discharge from parole, due to his continued drug use.

This respondent was very communicative and thorough during the interview.

Case 3

This respondent was the oldest of four children born to deaf and dumb parents. His parents were leaders of a motorcycle drug addict gang during most of his childhood. They would leave their children for weeks at a time with other adults who neglected and abused them. His first and primary language was sign language. His crime involved bringing one of his father's guns to school. Two of his three siblings were also in the criminal system. During parole, he attended two

semesters of college. He was a talented writer, but his inability to follow through, focus on his priorities or manage his time resulted in his failure. He possessed the ability to be successful in school but could not complete his assignments on time. He enjoyed the relationships he made with parole staff and participated successfully in program activities. He was a hard worker and kept the same job throughout his parole. During parole, he lived independently and supported himself while going to school. He stayed in a committed relationship throughout parole. This resulted in a child but the relationship ended before the child was born. After parole, this client began using drugs again and had difficulty keeping a job.

During the interview, this respondent was overly complimentary about the program and his parole experience. He appeared to be dramatic in his reporting and opinions. He tended to minimize the negative aspects of his experiences and excited about the positive experiences he reported.

Case 4

This client first began parole living with his father, stepmother and small step-sister. His mother lived in another state and he had little contact with her. His father kicked him out after two weeks. This client first presented as a biker type, complete with bandana, long hair, chains and black leather jacket and chaps.

He was sentenced as a sex offender and had been molested as a child. He had been trained while incarcerated in auto mechanics and secured a position with a company who manufactured race cars for children. He was a hard worker and he kept this position for 8 months until the company began downsizing because of financial problems. He quickly secured another position as an auto mechanic. He had a 2 year old child and, after living with his father, he moved in with his son's mother and grandmother. He later secured an apartment with his girlfriend and child. He was unable to get a driver's license because he owed \$26,000 in restitution for a car accident in which the victims were seriously injured. This client was alcoholic and attended AA twice weekly throughout his parole. Throughout parole, he demonstrated that his girlfriend and child were very important to him. After parole, he got married to the mother of his child and had another child. He began drinking again and during this time he was charged with child abuse and was forced to live in his truck for an extended period of time. He attended parenting classes and quit drinking again and was allowed to return to his home.

At the time of the interview, he had just completed a parenting class and many of his statements sounded as if they came from what he had learned from his court ordered counseling sessions. He indicated that he would be moving his

family out of state so that he could get a driver's license and get out of the control of the "system".

Case 5

This client was the middle child of professional parents. His father abused marijuana daily for most of the client's youth and worked 20 hour days, seven days per week. His mother reports struggling with depression for much of this same time period. His parents participated in marriage counseling while he was on parole. He was identified as emotionally disturbed in school and placed in special education classes early in grade school. He ran away from home at the age of 13 and lived on the streets of Denver for several months before entering the criminal system. His drug of choice is cocaine. While on parole, beginning at the age of 16, he successfully attended college for two semesters, lived independently, and worked part-time. He enjoyed the supervision program and became closely bonded with his mentor and counselors. He continued counseling after parole until he began using drugs. He was a positive leader in the program activities and he demonstrated a strong sense of self. He had two severe relapses during parole and he was unable to quit using on his own without being arrested. He took an anti-depressant medication. While on parole, he enjoyed boxing competitively and had begun competing professionally at the time of the interview. He continues to live

independently with his girlfriend and is currently training to be a Nurse's Aid. He reports smoking marijuana on a daily basis and still struggles with his cocaine addiction intermittently.

He came to the interview high on marijuana. Because of prior attempts to intervene with his parents in an attempt to get him into drug rehabilitation, he brought an attitude with him to the interview. He was negative and derogatory. He could have been quite insightful and informative, but he chose not to reveal much information or share his many of his opinions.

Case 6

This client came over to the United States with his family on a small boat from Viet Nam when he was a toddler. He witnessed his uncle murdering his mother about two years later and he and his siblings were placed in foster homes at the age of 5. His father moved away but visited at often. This respondent was a good student and made good grades but was caught selling marijuana at school. This was his committing offense. He had several older siblings and, during parole he stayed in contact with two brothers who lived in town. This client was a hard worker and very serious about his success on parole. He played on a ball team, installed car stereos, and worked overtime in his construction job whenever he could. He was completely self-supporting throughout his parole, and shared an

apartment with one of his foster mother's daughter, and three others. After parole, his father bought him a car and he was sharing an apartment with one other friend

Case 7

This respondent was born to a drug addicted mother and was taken into social services' custody during his first year of life. He lived in a foster home until he was three and then was adopted. He keeps in contact with his foster mother but he does not know the whereabouts of his natural mother or the identity of his natural father. His adopted father is reported to have molested him but the respondent denies this claim. His adopted mother re-married when he was in grade school. He competed for his parent's attention with three other siblings who were the natural children of his adopted mother and step-father. He was diagnosed with Attention Deficit Disorder and other emotional problems when quite young and was sent to military schools, psych hospitals and treatment centers for years at a time during his grade school years. He was in special education in elementary school for emotional problems. He took Ritalin. He got his GED while incarcerated. His parents were openly verbally abusive and quite critical of him. During most of his parole, he lived in the camper in his parent's yard and later moved into his own apartment. He reported his drug of choice was acid and marijuana but he admits to abusing alcohol daily since his parole. He worked in

construction with his adopted step-father who drank daily. This client was returned to detention several times during parole for using alcohol and marijuana. He expressed a desire to attend school in the field of cinematography. He is bright and insightful but struggles with negative self-concept. At the time of the interview he was unemployed and couch surfing at friends. He had several warrants for his repeated failure to appear in court for drunk driving charges. He stays at his parent's home from time to time.

This respondent was sincere and honest during his interview. He complained of difficulty with alcoholism but states that he is not ready to stop his daily bingeing.

Case 8

This respondent lived with his mother, step-father, and two younger siblings during parole. He worked with his mother in the family's roofing business. This client reported that he found a strong spirituality while incarcerated and contemplated becoming a minister and attending a seminary early in his parole. This client was a mature individual who enjoyed discussing his spirituality and looked forward to the counseling sessions to work on his personal issues and improve himself. He enrolled at Colorado State University and successfully completed two semesters during parole. He was quite successful on parole and

had no drug relapses during parole, but was suspended from college for one semester after parole for possession of marijuana in his dorm. He was attending college again at the time of his interview but admitted that he had been using marijuana recreationally and socializing with others who were addicted to drugs.

During the interview, this respondent was open and sincere. He made an effort to give as much information as he could in answering the questions. His answers showed depth and introspection unlike the majority of respondents.

Case 9

This respondent is the middle child of three siblings. His father left the family and had no contact for 4 or 5 years when he was four years old and before his youngest sibling was born. His mother left the three children with maternal grandparents for over a year soon after the youngest was born. Both parents have a history of drug and alcohol abuse. Neither parent was attached to this youth during parole. Mother lived in another state and father provided a place to live for the first month, but soon became disenfranchised and asked his son to find other living arrangements. This respondent was first kicked out of school in kindergarten at the age of 5 for fighting and dropped out of school for the first time in grade school. He was in special education classes for emotional problems and learning disabilities beginning in grade school and dropped out several times before

attempting high school briefly. He completed this GED while incarcerated and attempted to attend community college while on parole, though he became disinterested after two weeks and dropped out. His first drug use was at age 8. He began gang affiliations around the same time and began living outside of his family home at the age of 13. His drug of choice is heroin and he has tried all street drugs. He reports a lifestyle for all of his teen years of living to use drugs daily. He began selling drugs at about the age of 10 and stole to support his drug use. He reports having over \$16,000 in his pocket from drug sales at the age of 14. He has committed numerous burglaries, his committing offense. During parole, he was caught using drugs, huffing paint, taking acid and drinking over 50 times. He was on parole for 12 months and he was incarcerated for time outs three times during parole. He is currently serving time in the adult system for burglary.

During the interview, this respondent became agitated and ended the interview early. He was in the process of being tried for adult charges of burglary at the time of the interview and he was reluctant to discuss his current status or progress.

Case 10

This respondent was one of the few clients who completed high school in a public high school while on parole. He was very bright and was dedicated to graduating. He lived with his mother and step-father and one small step-brother. His father lived in a different state and had little contact. His parents had little involvement in his parole supervision. The family struggled with finances and this client worked after graduation and bought himself a car. This client had difficulty with relationships because of his superior intelligence and his need to demonstrate his knowledge as often as possible. Prior to parole, he spent much of his time while in detention working on lawsuits and legal threats surrounding his criminal charges. He had difficulty taking responsibility for his criminal behaviors and delinquent thinking. After parole, he formed his own private investigation company, got his criminal record expunged, and purchased a gun and a detective badge. He boasted making several citizen's arrests for crimes he witnessed. He was incarcerated several times after parole for drug and alcohol related charges. One time he spent several weeks in a jail in Mexico for assault. He reported the jail had no running water, toilets or sanitary conditions. He could find no friends or family who would help him to get released. At the time of the interview, he was awaiting a court decision for a recent incident for breaking and entering at an

acquaintance's workplace while drunk.. The police dogs ended up mauling him because he could not be detained. He does not believe he has a drug problem or that he has ever committed a crime.

During the interview, he attempted to exonerate himself concerning his criminal charges. He used the session as a vehicle to show his irritation with the system, but demonstrated a lack of insight to his own issues or experiences.

Case 11

This 15 year old respondent lived with his mother and her husband and two younger step-brothers. He had an older brother who was in prison at the time of his parole. His mother had a history of mental health problems and she was medically disabled because of this. She was hospitalized on a couple of occasions during his parole. His natural father had abused his mother and the children when he was young and he had been incarcerated for this. He had lived with his grandmother for much of his childhood. This respondent was in special education throughout his school years. He had difficulty with reading, writing and math skills, but the school did a great job of specializing his school needs. He graduated from high school while on parole and was planning on attending a vocational college for auto mechanics. He had a child and his 16 year old girlfriend became pregnant with his second child near the end of his parole. He was fairly closed

throughout his parole, and while he did a good job in school and at work, he was fairly resistant to looking at his criminal thinking and addiction issues. He was caught using drugs on two occasions. During the last month of his parole, he was charged with burglary and charged with 16 years in the adult system.

At the time of the interview this respondent was on non-resident status in the community corrections program. After the interview, he was found to have several urinalysis tests that were positive for drugs and he was returned to prison to serve out his time.

Case 12

This client was raised by both parents. Both have full-time jobs and one older child. They were quite permissive with this youth. His mother suffered with severe depression for several years when he was in grade school and his father worked long hours and was not as attached as his mother. He did well in school until he began using drugs at the age of 13. He was somewhat gang involved although he was also active in athletics throughout grade school. This client stole gas and abused alcohol on his first day of parole. He received no treatment while he was incarcerated. While on parole he relapsed several times on marijuana, acid, paint, alcohol, and cocaine. He went to detox twice. He received his GED while in jail and attempted to attend community college classes during parole. He lasted

until the last few weeks of the first semester. He also lived independently for 5 months, coached a little league soccer team and worked during most of his parole. He returned to using drugs daily after parole and was charged with burglarizing four houses, six months after his discharge. He is currently in a halfway house, working construction and has been clean for 6 months. He was sentenced to 8 years in the adult system.

During this respondent's interview, he appeared to be honest and sincere, but he took little responsibility for his situation or his inability to build a support system for himself. He has very supportive and doting parents who would do anything for him, however his perception was that, after parole, he had "no one" to support him.

Case 13

This respondent was originally charged with a gang shooting. He was released early because of his successful progress in treatment. During his incarceration, he had several physical problems treated. His drug abuse had caused several physical problems. He lived with his fragile and disabled mother and a younger sister. His father had a history of addictions and crimes and had little contact with the family. This client worked and attended community college throughout his parole. His sister and mother struggled with several medical

problems during this time. His family was quite close and supportive of each other, but had difficulty trusting the system. This respondent was quite serious about maintaining his drug abstinence. He became quite involved in religious activities while on parole. His career interest was in art and computer drafting. He graduated with a two year college degree after parole and continued to work and attend school after his graduation.

During the interview, this respondent was reserved but communicative and honest. He answered all the questions but most of his answers were lacking in detail and depth.

Case 14

The researcher had known this respondent for several years prior to his parole, through another program he attended for several months while he was on probation. He lived with his mother, who had worked for several years in computer technology. He had an older brother who lived on his own and his father was a drug addict and a felon who died of cirrhosis of the liver at an early age. He had little contact with his father throughout his childhood. This respondent was in special education classes throughout school for emotional problems. He took ritalin and other medications on and off for depression, bipolar disorder and Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder. This respondent began

abusing drugs and alcohol at an early age. His drug of choice was marijuana and alcohol but often he used anything that he could get. At one point during his parole, he overdosed on some prescription drugs that he took from a friend's grandparents. He became catatonic and spent three days in a padded room in a hospital. He was of above average intelligence and was interested in attending college, but was discharged unsuccessfully from parole for continual drug use and for not working. His original charges were for burglary. He told a locksmith that his parents had gone on vacation and he lost his key and then he would give the locksmith money or property he found inside the house. After parole, he was caught making and selling methamphetamines. He was sentenced as an adult to 10+ years and was on non-residential status with the community corrections program at the time of the interview. He had two children and was living with his children and the children's mother and grandmother. He was interested in computers and the internet and was applying for a position in computer tech support at the time of the interview, which he later secured.

During the interview he expressed remorse for not taking advantage of all of the help he had been offered on probation and parole. He reported that he struggled with the lack of excitement in his life without drugs, gangs and crime. He also indicated that he was committed to being successful for his children.

Case 15

This client lived with his mother and two younger siblings. He had no contact with his father. His maternal grandparents were a strong support system for him and he spent many nights at their house. His mother had a stable job and worked many of her off hours restoring the family home. She tore out walls, floor, bathrooms, kitchen and pretty much gutted the interior all by herself. They didn't have a functioning kitchen or bathroom for several months. The respondent didn't have a bed until the last few months of parole. Two years later, when his younger brother entered the parole supervision program, the house was still pretty much in the same condition. This youth reported that he used marijuana every day during the twelve months of his parole. He stated that he used products to clean his urine so that he was seldom caught. During his parole, he had difficulty holding a job for more than a few weeks. He did not attend school or take his GED. He had a learning disability and worked on basic math computations during his parole. He missed many program activities weekly. He did poorly while on parole in all areas. During parole, his mentor was giving him guitar lessons. The respondent pawned the guitar and amplifier, but this could not be proven conclusively and no charges were brought against him. He appeared to be chronically depressed but would not

take medications. His mother was communicative but did not have much energy for supporting her son and often made excuses for his malingering behaviors.

During the interview, this respondent indicated that he didn't do well on parole because he didn't ever do well when pushed. He indicated that he thought he was successful because he was living independently, had purchased a car and had been supporting himself. He didn't have a job at the time and reported continuing to use marijuana daily. He had some minimal criminal and traffic charges but was not currently in the system and had nothing new pending.

APPENDIX THREE

Index Codes

different friends	motivation for change
after attitude	needed parole
after crime	no accountability
after drug use	not in trouble
after freedom	other peers cool
after goals	parole attitude
after more responsibility	parole crime
after support	parole drug use
allowance	parole good reminder
always late	parole helpful
before activities	parole negative exp
before attitude	parole positive exp
before crazy	parties
before crime	phone
before drug use	recreation with mentor
before gang	regret committing crime
before mood	regrets parole failure
before school	relapse
before self esteem	relationship issues
before supervision	school
car	self esteem
church	sleep late
crime against parents	spirituality
detox	structure or support
detox helped	supervision
during free	time with mentor
empathy	transition
family	transportation
family support	treatment
friends	trying to survive
girls	TV
grew up	wants respect
group	wants to be better person
had to do it	working
hanging out	working on parole
hobby	would offend without parole
home	
jail experience	
job hunting	
low work ethic	
made amends	

REFERENCES

- Andrews, D.S., & Bonta, J. (1994). The psychology of criminal conduct. Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Publishing Co.
- Bachman, Jerald G. (1991). Dropouts, school. In R.M. Lerner, A.C. Peterson, & J. Brooks-Gunn, (Eds.) Encyclopedia of Adolescence (pp. 254-255) NY: Garland Press.
- Barber, B. (1986). The academy in mentoring: a model for encouraging the academic achievement of young adolescent girls. Atlanta, GA: Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Teacher Educators.
- Bernard, B. (1991). Fostering resiliency in kids: Protective factors in the family, school and community. Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, 101 S > W > Main Street, Suite 500, Portland, OR.
- Bloch, D.P. (1991). Missing measures of the who and why of school dropouts: implications for policy and research. The Career Development Quarterly, 40, 36-47.
- Boldero, J. & Fallon, B. (1995). Adolescent help-seeking: what do they get help for and from whom? Journal of Adolescence. 18(3), 193-209.
- Brambling, M., Losel, F., & Skowronek, H. (1989). Children at risk: Assessment, longitudinal research, and intervention. NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Branes, N. A. (1992). The relationship among family competence, physical child abuse and juvenile delinquency. Long Beach, CA: California State University.
- Bucke, J. (Ed.) (1986). Retention strategies. Office of Student Affairs and Special Programs, City University, NY.
- Calhoun, P. (1989). Ambassadors: Models for at-risk students. Educational Leadership. 46(5), 64.

- Chase-Lansdale, P.L., et al. (1995). A psychological perspective on the development of caring in children and youth: the role of the family. Journal of Adolescence, 18(4), 515-556
- Chrysler Corporation Fund. (1990) A special report on mentoring from Project PLUS and the Aspira Association, Inc.. Pittsburg, PA: One PLUS One.
- Clark, T.A. (April, 1991). Evaluation: Key to reflective management of school reform for at risk students, Urban Education, 26(4), 105-117.
- Clark-Lempers, D.S., Lempers, J.D., & Ho, C. (1991). Early, middle, and late adolescents' perceptions of their relationships with significant others. Journal of Adolescent Research, 6(3), 296-315.
- Clements, B.S. (1991). What is a dropout? Pilot program collects meaningful data for improving schools, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 5-9.
- Collins, A. Brown, J.S., Newman, S.E. (1987). Cognitive apprenticeship: teaching the craft of reading, writing, and mathematics. (Technical Report No. 403) University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Champaign, IL.
- Coleman, J.C. (1987). Working with troubled adolescents: A handbook. NY: Academic Press.
- Cotterell, J.L. (1992). The relation of attachments and supports to adolescent well-being and school adjustment. Journal of Adolescent Research, 7(1), 28-42.
- Congor, R.D., Congor, K.J., Elder, G.H., Lorenz, F.O., Simons, R.L., and Whitbeck, L.B.(1992). A family process model of economic hardship and adjustment of early adolescent boys, Child Development, 63(), 526-541.
- Coyle, L.M. & Witcher, A.E. (January, 1992). Transforming the idea into action: policies and practices to enhance school effectiveness, Urban Education, 26(4), 390-400.
- Creswell, J.W. (1994). Research design: qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.

- Crist, K. (1991). Restoring opportunity for dropouts: Reasons & results, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 36-39.
- Dryfoos, J.G. (April, 1991). School-based social and health services for at-risk students, Urban Education, 26(4), 118-137.
- Eccles, J.S., Lord, S. & Midgley, C. (August, 1991). What are we doing to early adolescents? The impact of educational contexts on early adolescents, American Journal of Education, 521-542.
- Elder, G.H.Jr., Modell, J., & Parke, R.D. (Eds.). Children in time and place: developmental and historical insights. NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Elliott, D.S., Huizinga, D., & Menard, S. (1989). Multiple problem youth: delinquency, substance use, and mental health problems. NY: Springer-Verlag.
- Entwisle, D. R. (1990). Schools and the adolescent. In Feldman S.S. & Elliott, G.R. (Eds.) At the Threshold: the developing adolescent. (pp.197-224). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Epstein, J.L. & Petersen, A.C. (August, 1991). Discussion and Outlook: Research on education and development across the years of adolescence, American Journal of Education, 643-657.
- Erikson, E. (1950). Identity, youth, and crisis. New York: Norton.
- Esman, A.H. (1990). Adolescence and culture, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Farmer, J.A. (1990). High-risk teenagers: real cases and interception strategies with resistant adolescents. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Pub.
- Feichtner, S.H. (1989). School-to-work transition for at-risk youth. (Information Series no.339) Columbus: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education, Center on Education and Training for Employment, The Ohio State University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 315 666).

- Feldman, S.S. & Elliott, G.R. (1990) At the threshold: the developing adolescent. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fine, M. (1991). Framing dropouts: notes on the politics of an urban public high school. NY State University of New York Press.
- Flaxman, E. et. al. (1988). Youth mentoring: Programs and practices. Urban Diversity Series No. 97, N.Y., NY: Teacher's College Press.
- Freedman, M. (1988). Partners in growth: Elder mentors and at-risk youth. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures.
- Gerber, Paul J. & Ginsberg, R.J. (1990). Identifying alterable patterns of success in highly successful adults with learning disabilities. Richmond, VA: Virginia Commonwealth University.
- Gerber, Paul J. & Reiff, Henry B. (Eds.). (1994). Learning disabilities in adulthood: Persisting problems and evolving issues. Stoneham, MA: Andover Medical Publishers.
- Gerber, Paul J. & Reiff, Henry B. (Eds.). (1994). Speaking for themselves: Ethnographic interviews with adults with learning disabilities. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Goddard, H.W., Allen, J.D. (1991). Using the ABC-X model to understand resilience. (Report No. CG 023 779) Washington, D.C. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 338965.
- Goertz, M. E., Ekstrom, R.B. & Rock, D. (1991) Dropouts, high school: issues of race and sex. In (Ed.) Encyclopedia of Adolescence (pp. 250-253). NY: Garland Publications, Inc.
- Guthrie, L., Long, C. & Pung Guthrie, G. (1989). Strategies for Dropout Prevention. San Francisco, CA: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.

- Hanft, R., Ernst, F.A., Satcher, D., Stephens, B. & Wadley, F. (1991). A research and policy agenda for children at risk, Journal of Health Care for the Poor and Underserved, 2(1), 216-235.
- Harter, S. (1990) Self and identity development. In S.S. Feldman & G.R. Elliott, (Eds.) At The Threshold: The Developing Adolescent. (pp.352-387). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harter, S. (1990) Causes, correlates, and the functional role of global self-worth: a life span perspective. In R.J. Sternberg & J. Kolligan, Jr. (Eds.) Competence Considered. (67-97). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Harter, S. (1990) Self and identity development. In S.S. Feldman & G.R. Elliott, (Eds.) At The Threshold: The Developing Adolescent. (pp.352-387). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harter, S. (1990) Causes, correlates, and the functional role of global self-worth: a life span perspective. In R.J. Sternberg & J. Kolligan, Jr. (Eds.) Competence Considered. (67-97). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hergert, L.F. (1991). School resources for at-risk youth. Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 10-14.
- Hilson Research Abstracts. (1992). Hilson Adolescent Profile (HAP). Hilson Research Inc., NY: Kew Gardens. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 341 720).
- Hubert, R.P. (1993). Desistence: The true positive of delinquency. Guelph: University of Guelph.
- Juhasz, A. M. (August, 1990). A role-based approach to enhancing self-esteem: implications for teachers, counselors and health professionals. Paper presented at the meeting of the International Conference on Self-Esteem, Oslo, Norway.
- Kane-Ronning, S.D. (1994). An intensive intervention for high risk students. OR: University of Oregon.

- Kronick, R.F. & Hargis, C.H. (1990). Who drops out and why - and the recommended action. Springfield: Il, Charles C. Thomas.
- Kryder-Coe, J.H., Salamon, L.M., & Molnar, J.M. (Eds.)(1992). Homeless children & youth: a new american dilemma. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Lancy, D.F. (1993). Qualitative research in education: an introduction to the major traditions. NY: University of Toledo.
- LeCompte, M.D. & Dworkin, A.G. (1991). Giving up on school: student dropouts and teacher burnouts. Newbury Park, CA: Corwin Press, Inc.
- LeCompte, M.D. & Preissle, J. (1993). Ethnography and qualitative design in educational research (2nd ed.). San Diego, CA: Academic Press, Inc.
- Lerner, R. M., Petersen, A. C., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (Eds.). (1991) Encyclopedia of Adolescence. NY: Garland Publications, Inc.
- Linn, M.C. & Songer, N.B. (August, 1991). Cognitive and conceptual change in adolescence, American Journal of Education, __ (), 380-417.
- Lipsitz, Joan, (1991). Public policy and young adolescents: a 1990's context for researchers. Journal of Early Adolescence, 11(1), 20-37.
- Losel, F., Bliesener, T. & Koflerl, P. (1989). On the concept of "invulnerability": Evaluation and first results of the Bielefeld Project. In M. Brambring, F. Losel, & H. Skowronek, (Eds.). Children at risk: Assessment, longitudinal research, and intervention. (pp. 157-172). NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Loughrey, M.E. & Harris, M.B. (1990). A descriptive study of at-risk high school students. High School Journal, __, 187-193.
- Maag, J.W. et al. (1994). Prevalence and predictors of substance use: A comparison between adolescents with and without learning disabilities. Journal of Learning Disabilities, 27(4), 223-234.

- Masters, J.C. (1991). Strategies and mechanisms for the personal and social control of emotion. In K.A. Dodge and J. Garber (Eds.), The development of emotion regulation and dysregulation (pp. 182-207). Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Maxwell, J.A. (1996). Qualitative research design. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- McPartland, J.N., Nettles, S.M. (August, 1991). Using community adults as advocates or mentors for at-risk middle school students: A two year evaluation of project RAISE, American Journal of Education, 568-585.
- Miller, P.S. (1991). Increasing teacher efficacy with at-risk students, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 30-35.
- Mishler, E.G. (1986). Research interviewing: context and narrative. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Morrow, D.H. & Zigmond, N. (1991). Prevocational immersion as risk intervention in a mainstream setting: An evaluation of Project OASES, Journal of Vocational Education Research, 16(1), 79-103.
- Muro, G. & Wise, A. (1988). Meeting the student's needs: A transdisciplinary approach. An unpublished manuscript.
- Muuss, R.E. (1988) Theories of Adolescence. NY: Random House.
- Myll, N.C. (1988) The dropout prevention handbook. NY: Parker Publishing Company.
- Nash, M.A. (1990). Improving their chances: a handbook for designing and implementing programs for at-risk youth. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin-Madison Vocational Studies Center.
- National Council on Education Standards and Testing (1992). Raising standards for American education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

- National Institute of Mental Health. (1990). Research on children & adolescents with mental, behavioral & developmental disorders. (DHHS Publication No. ADM 90-1659). Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.
- Natriello, G. McDill, E.L. & Pallas, A.M. (1990). Schooling disadvantaged children: Racing against catastrophe. Columbia University, NY: Teacher's College Press.
- Nettles, S.M. (1990). Community Involvement and disadvantaged students: A review and annotated bibliography. Report No. 8, Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students, Baltimore, MD.
- Newmann, F.M. et. al. (1991). National center on effective secondary schools: final report on OERI grant no. G-008690007. Wisconsin Center for Educational Research, Madison. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service NO. ED 334 703).
- Norton, C.S. (1988). Mentoring: A representative bibliography. N.Y., NY: Teacher's College Press.
- Orr, M.T. (1987). Keeping students in school: a guide to effective drop out prevention programs and services. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- O'Sullivan, Rita G. (1990). Validating a method to identify at-risk middle school students for participation in a dropout prevention program. Journal of Early Adolescence, 10(2), 209-220.
- Patton, M. A., (1990). Qualitative evaluation and research methods, 2nd Ed. Newbury Park, CA. Sage Publications.
- Pauly, E. (1991). The Classroom Crucible: What really works, what doesn't and why. Basic Books.
- Pelavin, D., Siegel, P. & Kirshstein, R. (1991). Implimentation of the chelsea school project: A case study. Washington, D.C.: Pelavin Associates, Inc.

- Peterson, K.D., Bennet, B., & Sherman, D.F. (1991) Themes of uncommonly successful teachers of at-risk students, Urban Education, 26(2), 176-194.
- Phelan, Patricia, Ed. (1991). Renegotiating Cultural Diversity in American Schools.
- Polonio, N.A. & Williams, R.A., (1991). The politics of funding at-risk programs in the 1990s. Urban Education, 26(1), 43-55.
- Price, L.H., et. al. (February, 1994). When academic assistance is not enough: Addressing the mental health issues of adolescents and adults with learning disabilities. Journal of Learning Disabilities. 27(2), 82-90.
- Price, R.H. et. al. (1990). School and community support programs that enhance adolescent health and education. Washington, DC: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.
- Protinsky, H. (1988) Identity formation: a comparison of problem and nonproblem adolescents. Adolescence, 23(89), 68-72.
- Rawlins, W. K. (1992). Friendship matters: communication, dialects, and the lifecourse. NY: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Reed, S. & Sautter, R.C. (1991). Children in poverty. In F. Schultz, (Ed.) Education. Guilford, CN: Duskin Publishing Group, Inc.
- Reiff, H.B., Gerber, P.J., Ginsberg, R. (1997). Exceeding expectations: Successful adults with learning disabilities. Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.
- Reiff, H.B. (January, 1995). New perspectives on teaching from successful adults with learning disabilities. Remedial and Special Education. 16(1), 29-37.
- Rensetti, C.M., & Lee, R.M. (Eds.)(1993). Researching sensitive topics. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Robertson, E. (1991). Neglected Dropouts: the gifted and talented, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 62-74.

- Rogoff, B. (Ed.) (Winter, 1991). U.S. children and their families: current conditions and recent trends, 1989. Newsletter of the Society for Research in Child Development. Washington, E.C.: Child Trends.
- Rothman, J. (1991). Runaway and homeless youth: strengthening services to families and children. White Plains, NY: Longman Publishing Group.
- Sagor, R. (1990) Theory driven assessment for at-risk prevention programs, The High School Journal, 75, 64-72.
- Sample, P.L. (1995). Postschool outcomes following receipt of transition best practices for students with significant emotional disturbances. Fort Collins, CO: Colorado State University.
- Sansone, J. & Baker, J. (1990). Ninth grade students at risk for dropping out of high school, The High School Journal, , 218-231.
- Sapone, C. V. (1989). A mentorship model for students at-risk. Paper presented at the 14th Annual Conference of the National Council of States on Inservice Education, San Antonio, TX.
- Sartain, H.W. (1989). Nonachieving students at risk: School, family, and community intervention. National Education Association, Washington, D.C.
- Savin-Williams, R.C. & Berndt, T.J. (1990). Friendship and peer relations. In S.S. Feldman & G.R. Elliott, (Eds.) At The Threshold: The Developing Adolescent. (pp.277-307). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Scarr, S. (1992), Developmental theories for the 1990's: Development and individual differences, Child Development, 63(), 1-19.
- Scherer, M. (January, 1993). On savage inequalities: a conversation with Jonathan Kozol, Educational Leadership, 50(40), 4-9.

- Schoenwald, S.K. et. Al. (1997). Effective community-based treatments for serious juvenile offenders. In S. Wl Henggeler & A.B. Santos (Eds.). Innovative services for "difficult to treat" populations. Washington D.C.: American Psychiatric Press.
- Schreiner, G.B. (1993). Family therapy with juvenile delinquents : Impact of learning disabilities, antisocial attitudes and family resources. TX: Texas Tech University.
- Schultz, F. (Ed.)(1991). Education. Guilford, CN: Duskin Publishing Group, Inc.
- Sherman, J. D. (1987). Dropping out of school, volume I: causes and consequences for male and female youth. Prepared by Pelavin Associates, Inc., Washington, D.C: for The Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation, U.S. Dept. of Education.
- Sherman, R.R., & Webb, R.B. (Eds.) (1988) Qualitative research in education: focus and methods. NY: Falmer Press.
- Slavin, R.E., Karweit, N.L. & Wasik, B.A. (January, 1993). Preventing early school failure: What works?, Educational Leadership, 50(4), 10-18.
- Slavin, R. & Madden, N. (1987). Effective classroom programs for students at risk (Rep. No.19). Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University, Center for Research on Elementary and Middle Schools.
- Smey-Richman, B. (1991). At-risk, low achieving students: Characteristics and instructional implications, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 25-29.
- Smink, J. (1990). Mentoring programs for at-risk youth: A dropout prevention research report. National Dropout Prevention Center, Clemson, SC.
- Stephens, R.T. & Repa, J.T. (April, 1991). Dropping out and its ultimate consequence: A study of dropouts in prison, Urban Education, 26(4), 401-422.

- Sullivan, J.L., & Feldman, S., (1979) Multiple Indicators: an introduction. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Tanner, K.C. (1989). Probable impacts of education policy on at-risk students. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 22(2), 1-6.
- Texas State Council on Vocational Education (1988). The dropout dilemma: Searching for formulas that work. Austin, TX.
- Tolan, P.H. (1990). Multi-systemic structural-strategic interventions for child and adolescent behavior problems. NY: Haworth Press.
- Tress, W., Reister, G. & Gegenheimer, L. (1989) Mental and physical resiliency in spite of a stressful childhood. In M. Brambring, F. Losel, & H. Skowronek, (Eds.). Children at risk: Assessment, longitudinal research, and intervention. (pp. 157-172). NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- Velez, W. & Fernandez, R.R. (1991). The ASPIRA association school retention study, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 55-61.
- Vogel, S.A. (1992). Educational alternatives for students with learning disabilities. NY: Springer Verlag.
- Waggoner, D. (1991). Undereducation in America: the demography of high school dropouts. NY: Auburn House.
- Waldie, K & Spreen, O. (1993). The relationship between learning disabilities and persisiting delinquency. Journal of Learning Disabilities. 26(6), 417-423.
- Wehlage, G.A. (1991). School reform for at-risk students, Equity & Excellence, 25(1), 15-24.
- Wells, S. E. (1990). At-risk Youth: Identification, programs, recommendations. Englewood, CO: Teachers Ideas Press.

- Werner, E.E. (1989). Vulnerability and resiliency: a longitudinal perspective. In M. Brambring, F. Losel, & H. Skowronek, (EDS.). Children at risk: Assessment, longitudinal research, and intervention. (pp. 157-172). NY: Walter de Gruyter.
- West, L.L. (Ed.)(1991). Effective strategies for dropout prevention of at-risk youth. MD: Aspen Publishers, Inc.
- Wexler, D.B. (1991). The adolescent self: Strategies for self-management, self-soothing, and self-esteem in adolescents. NY: W. W. Norton & Co.
- Williams, J.A. (1991). Students at risk: A comprehensive approach to dropout prevention. Dayton, OH: Dayton City Schools.
- Wise, K.L., Bundy, K.A., Bundy, E.A., & Wise, L.A. (1991). Social skills training for young adolescents. Adolescence, 26(101), 233-241.
- Yates, B.T. et. Al. (1994) Locus of control in severely disturbed adolescents : Loci for peers, parents, achievement, relationships and problems. Journal of Youth and Adolescence. 23(3), 289-314.
- Yin, R.K. (1989). Case study research design and methods. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Zambie, E. & Porporino, F. (March, 1990). Coping, imprisonment, and rehabilitation: Some data and their implications. Criminal Justice and Behavior. 17(1), 53070.