MENORES INFRACTORES: TRATAMIENTOS BASADOS EN LA COMUNIDAD.

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Treatment of Deprived Children

Part I of a two-part series on the contrasting treatment of deprived and delinquent children. Sula Wolff was born in Germany, trained in medicine and psychiatry in the UK, practised in Cape Town and New York

Therapeutic intervention presupposes a framework of care and order in the child's life. Only when there is a stable home, providing affection, continuity of care and some basic social standards can a psychotherapeutic approach alone be helpful.

For a totally rejected child, for a neglected child from a family in which social standards are grossly lacking, or for a child who has lost his family and is being cared for under conditions in which he has no parent figures at all, psychotherapy as such is not appropriate. What such children need more than anything else is an adult who will assume parental responsibility. They do not need a doctor, they need a parent. But, because of their past deprivations and experiences of stress, such children need a very special kind of parent. They need a person or group of people who will guarantee unconditional affection and support, who are prepared to forego, often for many years, the satisfactions that parents normally get from their children and who will bring to their task professional understanding not only of childhood behaviour but of their own responses both to the

children in their care and to the parents whose inadequacies have brought the children to this plight.

These are enormous demands and it is not surprising that the care of deprived and delinquent children in our society is often at variance with the treatment principles and techniques recommended by professional experts such as psychiatrists educationalists and social workers. While neurotic children on the whole get competent treatment based on professionally accepted principles, the same is not generally true for deprived and delinquent children.

1. The Deprived Child

Psychiatrists are often consulted about children in foster care, in children's homes and in various special residential schools. Some of these children have behind them prolonged periods of maternal deprivation in infancy; many were reared by uniformed nurses in institutions governed by strict routines; many have experienced a series of separations from people to whom successively they had become attached. Such children present very special problems. Not only are they poor at forming relationships with others, not only are their capacities to express themselves in words limited and their ideas about the world in general immature for their age, they usually display marked behaviour disorders too. Aggressive outbursts, bed-wetting, soiling, stealing and running away are common among all children who find their way into foster homes or residential care. Grossly deprived children in addition often show obsessional patterns of behaviour. They may be compulsive masturbators; they may be obsessionally preoccupied with sexual topics and swear words; they may be fascinated by keys and locks; they may be fire-setters.

The basic need of such children is to have a permanent home, yet their symptoms, distressing enough in themselves, often make them quite unacceptable to foster parents and even to some children's homes. In this situation psychiatric help must be directed both to the home and to the child. Foster parents and house-parents require at least as much professional help as ordinary parents do. But the children themselves can often benefit from individual psychotherapeutic treatment. Lavery and Stone have stressed that grossly deprived children respond best when they are not required to enter into a close one-to-one relationship with the therapist all at once. The fear of yet another broken relationship prevents such children from coming close to their doctor and every approach from the other person evokes anxiety and retreat. In a less intensely emotional situation, for example in a play group with other children, the deprived child may more readily be able to make his initial contact with his therapist. For substitute parent and therapist alike it is important to let the child decide how much he can trust the adult and how much of himself it is safe to reveal. Given a stable substitute home, able to tolerate the child's disturbed behaviour and

not make excessive demands on him, deprived children can make considerable gains in personality development.

Often quite old children who have at last found a permanent home need to retrace their development steps, adopting for example at eight or nine years of age infantile dependent forms of behaviour. Psychological treatment aims to help the substitute parents recognize this behaviour as an attempt at self-cure, as a recapitulation of an earlier stage of development that failed to provide satisfactory experiences. Sometimes parent surrogates can then with support supply the needed satisfactions for the child; sometimes the psychotherapist is able in his treatment sessions with the child to provide the intense infantile satisfactions he craves, nursing him for example like a baby, feeding him from a bottle, making no demands on him at all. Such needs for infantile gratifications, if fulfilled, are gradually outgrown by the child. Oral behaviour may be followed by an anal stage, pleasure in messing and in testing out capacities for destruction, or by genital stage activities.

In summary, psychological treatment with such children has two aims: (1) to provide them in the present with experiences they have missed out in the past, and (2) to allow them to correct their distrust of human relationships.

It is less a matter of interpretation, of undoing defence mechanisms, than of providing stable supplies which the child can use to make good the gaps in his personality. This process takes many years. The main agents in treatment are, of course, the substitute parents and the psychiatrist's chief functions are to help them in their task and to supply directly for the child those experiences his particular substitute parents are unable to provide.

Next month: Treatment of the Delinquent Child.
These are two brief extracts from Wolff, S. (1973) *Children under stress* (Pelican Books)

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CLINIC

Treatment of Delinquent Children

Part II of a two-part series on the contrasting treatment of deprived and delinquent children. (See Part I here) Sula Wolff was born in Germany, trained in medicine and psychiatry in the UK, practised in Cape Town and New York

The basic problem of treatment for delinquent children, whose main defect is in their conscience structure, is how to help them acquire an inner set of stable standards and values. Often severely delinquent children are also deprived and the treatment problem is a dual one. Most successful treatment approaches have used group methods and these have been particularly rewarding in institutional settings.

The pioneer in this field was August Aichhorn whose book *Wayward Youth* was first published in 1925. It is a reflection of his genius, but also of the lack of progress in the treatment of delinquent children, that after thirty years little has been added to his original contribution.

Severely delinquent children, like deprived children, do not benefit from interpretative psychotherapy alone. They require intensive twenty-four-hour-a-day treatment. The popular notion that undisciplined, impulsive children who do not care about the consequences of their acts and are incapable of guilt feelings, require merely firm and consistent discipline has given comfort to a great many people working in approved schools

and in children's homes. Such institutions are with few exceptions run on disciplinarian lines and while children are in residence their behaviour is often kept in check. There is however little evidence that a regime of enforced discipline and order contributes anything to children's personality development. They accept unavoidable external restraints while they last, but they do not become identified with them and are no more able to exert inner controls than they were before.

Left: Anna Freud with August Aichhorn

In 1918 Aichhorn, a school teacher turned psychoanalyst, founded a home for delinquents that was run on very different lines. All children in his care had experienced gross parental deprivation in the past and had suffered from extreme severity and brutality in their upbringing. His first aim was to compensate the children for their past deprivation of love. He deliberately made the institutional environment as enjoyable as possible for children and staff alike. No demands were at first made on the boys and Aichhorn insisted that all staff members were affectionate, permissive and non-aggressive — even in response to aggressive attacks from the boys. The experience that their own aggression did not evoke retaliation was new for these children; it was unexpected and provided the essential corrective experience. When aggression was not met with counter-aggression it ceased to be satisfying and in fact led to intense outbursts of frustration and misery, and the first inklings of a guilty conscience. Aichhorn describes a regular sequence of behaviour shown by the asocial and aggressive delinquent boy in response to this permissive environment: an increased sense of his own power, more frequent and more violent acts of aggression, followed later by tears of rage when counter-aggression was not forthcoming, then a period of sensitivity and, finally, conforming behaviour. The emotional crisis which most boys experienced, and which was often deliberately provoked by the staff, contributed to the change from delinquency and unconcern for other people to increased tolerance of frustration and affectionate relationships with others. In time this group of serious delinquents established their own standards and values in the home and all of them later became adjusted in society.

Among the children in his care, Aichhorn distinguished between those who were asocial and aggressive, in constant conflict with their environment but with no inner conflicts and those in whom delinquency was merely an expression of an underlying neurosis. It was the first group of children who benefited most from the therapeutic community he created.

In a recent review of the literature on juvenile delinquency Donald West stresses the need for adequate diagnosis and for the careful selection of children for specific treatment approaches. The efficacy of different treatment methods cannot be judged on the basis of

results with unselected groups of delinquents.

Ernest Papanek set up a community at Wiltwyck school in New York similar to Aichhorn's. A study of his treatment results confirmed Aichhorn's finding that the therapeutic community approach was more successful in the case of delinquents whose socialization had been defective than in neurotic children with internal conflicts. A comparative study of Wiltwyck boys and boys living in a typical public reformatory where discipline was rigidly enforced, demonstrated the superiority of a therapeutic community approach. Thirty-five boys from each institution, similar in age, social background and the nature of their disorder were compared on a series of personality tests. It was found that Wiltwyck boys became less anxious the longer they were at the school while reformatory boys became more anxious. Authoritarian attitudes and prejudice decreased with length of stay at Wiltwyck; prejudice increased in the reformatory. Wiltwyck children tended to view the world as good rather than evil, to be satisfied with themselves, to see their parents and other adults as loving, and to be much more closely attached to the staff of their school. In the children from the reformatory all these attitudes were reversed. They saw the world as evil rather than good; they viewed adults as punitive and they had few attachments to the staff of their school. These findings tend to bear out the ideas of Papanek who is quoted as saying: 'Punishing teaches the child only how to punish; scolding teaches him how to scold. By showing him that we understand, we teach him to understand; by helping him, we teach him to help; by cooperating, we teach him to cooperate.'

Deprived and severely delinquent children require total care. The reparatory processes necessary to make good their defects of ego and super-ego development, that is, of emotional and intellectual functioning on the one hand and of conscience structure on the other, can occur only when the child spends twenty-four hours a day in an actively therapeutic environment. Moreover, recovery from gross deprivation or distortion of the socialization process in early life takes many years. It is not surprising that society has not yet found a way of meeting adequately the treatment needs of these children.

LA FAMILIA ENSEÑANTE (Achievement Place)

Programa de modificación conductual de estilo familiar (para delincuentes), basado en la comunidad.

Phillips, E. L., Wolf, M. M., Fixsen, D. L. y Bailey, J. S.

1.- El pre-delincuente es un joven con peligro real de ser clasificado como "delincuente". Desde el punto de vista de la teoría conductual, las fechorías del pre-delincuente son producto de deficiencias en su repertorio conductual. Su medio no le ha proporcionado ni los modelos, ni las instrucciones, ni las Contingencias de reforzamiento suficientes que le permitan desarrollar un conjunto completo de conductas socialmente aprobadas. Por consiguiente, para impedir que a la larga se vuelva un delincuente, se le ha de exponer a un ambiente que le proporcione los ejemplos, las instrucciones y las contingencias de reforzamiento correctivas y necesarias para que aprenda las conductas apropiadas.

2.- La hipótesis consiste en que una vez que las conductas apropiadas se establezcan entrarán en contacto con los reforzadores naturales y éstos las mantendrán adecuadamente.

3.- Desde el punto de vista físico, el Achievement Place se asemeja a un grupo hogareño típico (familia). Consiste en una casa (de 325 m2 en cada uno de sus 2 pisos) con dos adultos y comúnmente siete adolescentes. Los padres en éste sistema son padres docentes profesionales (en realidad profesores) cuyo objetivo explícito está en educar a los jóvenes en destrezas sociales, de cuidados personales, académicos y pre-vocacionales.

4.- El modelo del Achievement Place está concentrado en 8 áreas :

    I   El programa de tratamiento está controlado por la comunidad mediante una Junta Local de Directores.

    II   El programa está basado en la comunidad. Los problemas de un muchacho se dan en su comunidad y ahí es donde deben ser tratados : en su escuela, en su hogar y entre su grupo de compañeros.

    III   El programa ofrece un tratamiento de estilo familiar (lo que le permite implantarse en comunidades de cualquier tamaño).

IV El programa está dirigido por una pareja de padres docentes entrenados Profesionalmente (con nivel de maestría).

V En el modelo se pone de relieve el tratamiento individual.

VI Se procura un autogobierno supervisado, es decir que se enseña al grupo a tomar decisiones, así como las destrezas necesarias para efectuar gestiones, confrontar aveniencias y llevar a cabo discusiones, las cuales pueden ser útiles a los muchachos en otros ambientes familiares y soaciales.

VII Se efectúa la evaluación del progreso individual de los jóvenes mediante un sistema motivacional que proporciona retroalimentación constante, también se evalúa el programa total haciendo seguimiento de los egresados y se valora, finalmente, la eficiencia de procedimientos específicos para modificar conductas concretas en sujetos particulares.

VIII Se trata de un programa práctico que es suceptible de ser aplicado por padre docentes entrenados que llegan a convertir a sus alumnos en "instructores compañeros" de cada nuevo joven admitido.

5.- Con objeto de poder medir las conductas a afectar, éstas fueron definidas objetivamente y su confiabilidad evaluada mediante el acuerdo de dos observadores independientes.

6.- Todos los jóvenes que participaron en el proyecto eran definidos como delincuentes por un Tribunal Juvenil, provenían de familias de bajos ingresos, debían tener entre 12 y 16 años de edad, no haber cometido delitos violentos (asesinato, rapto) y no tener impedimentos físicos o mentales graves.

7.- La estancia promedio de un muchacho era de 10 meses, con un rango entre 3 y 40 meses.

8.- En 1970 se calculó un costo por muchacho en éste programa de 4 mil dólares, que comparado con los 9 mil que sale por alumno en la Escuela Industrial para Varones de Kansas, resulta muy económico.

9.- El programa de educación para padres docentes duró 9 meses, concediendo grado de Maestría en Desarrollo Humano, por la Universidad de Kansas. El currículo equivale a 30 horas académicas.

10.- El sistema motivacional está diseñado para proporcionar el máximo de retroalimentación al muchacho, ésta luego se va desvaneciendo sustractívamente con base a tres sistemas : el de puntos diarios, el de puntos semanales y el méritos. Se trata de economías de puntos mediante fichas. A los jóvenes se les conceden Puntos por conductas apropiadas y se les quitan por conductas impropias. En el Sistema de puntos diario, los puntos diariamente pueden cambiarse por satisfactores En tanto que en el sistema semanal la demora puede ser de hasta 7 días. En el Sistema de méritos en lugar de puntos se da retroalimentación social contingente a la conducta apropiada o inapropiada del participante.

11.- Las siguientes eran las conductas que hacían ganar puntos :
(1) ver las noticias de la tele o leer el periódico — 300 por día
(2) limpiar y mantener limpio su cuarto — 500 por día
(3) Conservarse pulcro y limpio — 500 por día
(4) leer libros — 5 a 10 por página
(5) ayudar en tareas domésticas — 20 a 1000 por tarea
(6) lavar los trastes — 500 a 1000 por comida
(7) estar bien vestido para comer — 100 a 500 por comida
(8) hacer la tarea escolar — 500 por día
(9) obtener buenas calificaciones — 500 a 1000 por calif.

12.- Y estas las conductas que hacían perder puntos :
(1) sacar bajas calificaciones — 500 a 1000 por calif.
(2) hablar con agresividad — 20 a 50 por caso
(3) manos sucias antes de comer — 100 a 300 por día
(4) Disputar — 300 por caso
(5) Desobedecer — 100 a 1000 por caso
(6) Retrasarse — 10 por minuto
(7) exhibir malos modales — 50 a 100 por caso
(8) adoptar malas posturas — 50 a 100 por caso
(9) cometer faltas gramaticales — 20 a 50 por caso
(10) robar — 10 000 por caso
(11) mentir — 5000 por caso
(12) timar — 1000 por caso

13.- Al ingresar, el joven queda en el sistema de puntos diarios . Cada quien lleva un registro de sus puntajes en una tarjeta de 5 x 7 cm. Para pasar al sistema de puntos semanal el criterio fue acumular al menos 1000 puntos diarios durante siete días consecutivos. Para pasar al sistema de méritos hay que acumular 100 vales y al llegar a éste ya no es necesaria la tarjeta de puntos. La única retroalimentación es en forma de alabanza o represión verbal. Recibe gratuitamente todos los privilegios.

14.- La falta de aseo personal y de colaboración en las tareas domésticas en sus hogares son características frecuentes de los jóvenes que llegan a Achievement Place. Por consiguiente, una de las metas principales de éste lugar consiste en mejorar la higiene personal del joven así como su cooperación en sus quehaceres de rutina.

15.- La prueba crítica de la eficacia del programa está en la manera como el joven se desempeñe en la escuela, en el trabajo o en la calle .

Resumen de :
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BPLAY
SISTEMA DE APOYO EN LA COMUNIDAD.

Harold L. Cohen

1.- El proyecto BPLAY Behavioral Programs in Learning Activities for Youth fue un programa de investigación de 3 años que se propuso manejar las actividades de los adolescentes durante su tiempo libre, a fin de reducir al mínimo las conductas problema.

2.- Se trata de un esfuerzo por establecer programas de prevención de la delincuencia en una comunidad urbana/suburbana que está pasando por un rápido crecimiento de su población.

3.- El antecedente de este proyecto lo fue el denominado LEAP Legal and Educational Alternatives to Punishment in Maintaining Law and Order.

4.- El personal del proyecto trató de trabajar en las escuelas y en otras agencias de la comunidad para proporcionar programas pos-escolares destinados a atraer a los adolescentes hacia ambientes y programas de aprendizaje, realizables durante las horas libres, programando recompensas por la asistencia y el desempeño.

5.- Es necesario establecer en la comunidad un amplio sentido de participación y de responsabilidad. También es deseable que el proyecto sea visto como un recurso de esparcimiento para jóvenes y no como un programa para delincuentes.

6.- En concreto, se propuso ofrecer a los muchachos, en un periodo crítico de sus vidas, maneras saludables de canalizar energías y repertorios adecuados de técnicas para solucionar problemas, lo mismo habilitarlos para que aprendan a manejar la frustración y el aburrimiento.

7.- Lo anterior, ya que la experiencia ha demostrado que las penalidades dictaminadas por la ley, para las conductas delictivas, han sido generalmente ineficaces para frenar la delincuencia y rehabilitar a los transgresores.

8.- Una de las posibles alternativas, consiste en unificar los recursos de la comunidad para proporcionar actividades y ambientes de tiempo libre que atraigan, interesen y entusiasmen a los jóvenes, a la vez que los recompensen por conducirse de manera constructiva y de modos socialmente aceptables.

9.- Se pretende atraer a los jóvenes hacia actividades de tiempo libre que les agraden y a la vez sean de índole educativa y que estén programadas de tal modo que resulten incompatibles con la vagancia por lugares de la comunidad que tengan potenciales elevados de conductas problema.

10.- El programa ofrece sus servicios a todos los jóvenes, no sólo a aquéllos rebeldes o de bajo rendimiento.

11.- **O B J E T I V O S :**

- Obtener una línea base sobre conductas delictivas, en un área específica

- Establecer un programa piloto de actividades extra-escolares, organizado Por personal de la comunidad entrenado en técnicas conductuales.

- Impartir un curso de leyes.

12.- En el trabajo aplicado se atacó un área donde había 4 preparatorias y 11 secundarias. Se involucró a todos los jóvenes entre 12 a 17 años. La población donde residían tenía 14 998 habitantes y había en ella 5 194 casas con un promedio de 5.1 cuartos en ellas.

13.- La recolección de los datos se inició con un supervisor y dos recolectores, apoyados en un sistema de códigos. En seguida se reproduce el modelo de información que se recogía cada vez que se tenía un reporte de conducta problema :

- Acerca del Estudiante
  Nombre, fecha de nacimiento, sexo, raza, domicilio, escuela, grado escolar, edad cuando ocurre la conducta.
- Acerca de la conducta problema :
  Descripción, fecha de ocurrencia, día de la semana en que ocurrió, hora, lugar, compañía en que se encontraba.
- Acerca de la persona que lo reporta :
  Cuál es su estátus, qué dependencia representa, qué relación hay entre ésta persona y el estudiante reportado, identidad de la persona que descubrió el acto, si hubo afectación a alguna persona o propiedad.

14.- El proyecto, en su primera etapa, pudo obtener líneas base con datos sobre el número de incidentes, su distribución, la edad de los infractores de primera vez, la distribución de incidentes por día de la semana, por mes del año, la distribución mensual de dos años de incidentes que implicaban consumo de alcohol u otras drogas.

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PROYECTO BURLINGTON – HUNT .

NUEVAS ESTRATEGIAS DE INTERVENCION BASADA EN LA COMUNIDAD .

Burchard, J. D., Harig, P. T., Miller, R. B. y Amour, J.

1.- Las estrategias basadas en la comunidad o de "ambiente natural" han ido ganando popularidad porque atacan más directamente los problemas de los jóvenes antisociales.

2.- El primer paso de los programas basados en la comunidad consiste en reducir al mínimo el estigma social relacionado con el tratamiento y acrecentar al máximo el efecto del ambiente ordinario del joven sobre el cambio comportamental.

3.- Actualmente se practican 3 tipos de intervención conductual ante los problemas que generan los jóvenes agresivos :

- Programas residenciales u hogares grupales en la propia comunidad.

- Contratos conductuales en los que interviene el joven y los miembros importantes de su medio social

- Programas de entrenamiento para padres, destinados a mejorar las relaciones entre padres e hijos.

4.- Este proyecto trató de un Centro para Adolescentes, sesionando 2 veces a la semana, en la tarde, en un local de la escuela secundaria. El centro creció en torno a una economía de fichas, en donde los puntos se usaron como artículos intercambiables por actividades especiales, premios y refrescos.

5.- Es importante destacar que los asistentes lo hacían voluntariamente, es decir que eran libres de llegar i de irse cuando quisiesen.

6.- O B J E T I V O S :

- Promover y mantener la asistencia regular

- Analizar las características reforzantes naturales

- Introducir, por medio de un sistema de puntos, un método para incrementar el tiempo pasado por los muchachos en áreas no preferentes.

7.- Los participantes tenían problemas de ajuste a la escuela y a la comunidad. Los primeros se definieron por un bajo promedio escolar el año anterior o por un número de faltas superior a 25. Los segundos en relación a algún contacto con la policía debido a su comportamiento antisocial.

8.- El personal eran estudiantes de psicología en un curso de modificación de conducta con dos "coordinadores de programa". Se trabajaba de 7 a 10 de la noche, los lunes y los miércoles. Había 4 áreas de actividad :

- el gimnasio
- el salón de fumar
- el taller de artes y artesanías
- la biblioteca

9.- La siguiente es la lista de actividades que se podían realizar en el Gimnasio : basquetbol, potro, colchoneta, minitrampolín, paralelas, volibol, badminton, trampolín, tiro a la canasta, carrera de obstáculos, salto, relevos, carrera de encostalados.

10.- Ahora las actividades permitidas en el Salón de Fumar : juegos de cartas, juegos de mesa (damas, indicio, monopolio), fumar, ver revistas, ver TV, oír estéreo.

11.- Por lo que toca al Taller : modelismo, juegos eléctricos, filmación de video, cocinar, dibujar y pintar, bordado, modelado en barro, adornos de fieltro, macramé, papel maché, arte con palillos, esculturas móviles, fabricación de velas, adornos navideños, letreros de fantasía.

12.- En la Biblioteca : hacer tareas, escribir informes, resolver cuestionarios, escribir artículos para el boletín del proyecto, participar en discusiones de grupo.

13.- Respecto a la Economía de Fichas, el nuevo miembro recibe 10 puntos por haber llegado. Puede ganar más puntos con las siguientes actividades :

- de 20 a 30 puntos por pasar 15 minutos en alguna de las áreas de actividad

- 40 puntos por permanecer trabajando en la biblioteca

14.- Artículos y acontecimientos que pueden comprarse con puntos :

Artículos del Almacén : donas y pasteles, bebidas suaves, barras de chocolate, galletas, papas fritas, sandwiches .

Admisión a las actividades : cafetería, gimnasio

Diversos : boletos para rifas, artículos subastados, coches modelo, permiso para salir y regresar a las 20:30, nueva libreta de banco, ficha para ruleta.

15.- R E S U L T A D O S :

La asistencia promedio por noche fue de55

El sistema de puntos logró mantener a los jóvenes en áreas no preferentes.

El Gimnasio fue el área más popular

16.- P R O B L E M A S :

- El Centro tenía un acceso limitado.

- Se usaron estudiantes no graduados en el personal.

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PICA.

Programming Interpersonal Curricula for Adolescent .

Cohen, H. L.

1.-   El proyecto PICA tiene dos aspectos :

-     Es un programa matutino, fuera de la escuela, en el que adolescentes de secundaria estudian materias académicas mediante programas especiales. Viven en sus casas, con sus familias y asisten a sus escuelas respectivas en las tardes.

-     El desarrollo de conductas interpersonales adecuadas : hábitos de estudio, relaciones recíprocas con maestros, con el personal o con sus familiares.

2.-   El programa académico dispuso de 75 cursos de auto-enseñanza, para los grados del 2 al 12 (sistema americano), en las áreas de estudio de inglés, lectura y matemáticas.

3.-   A cada estudiante se le dispuso de un gabinete privado para estudiar y además podía asistir a la biblioteca.

4.-   El personal del proyecto fue constituido por 4 especialistas en educación con tiempo completo y 7 de medio tiempo, formado por psicólogos, educadores, diseñadores, maestros, estadígrafos y ayudantes de educador.

5.-   El programa de destrezas interpersonales distinguió entre destrezas individuales y destrezas colectivas. En el primer caso se trata de aumentar la capacidad del alumno para mantener relaciones recíprocas con otro alumno o con algún miembro del personal docente. En el programa colectivo, a cada alumno se le entrena para tratar eficazmente con grupos de otros alumnos y maestros.

6.-   Son componentes integrales del programa de destrezas individuales la orientación individualizada a petición del alumno, el adiestramiento en destrezas de estudio y procedimientos de auto – control. Por el lado de las destrezas colectivas, se dan 4 opciones de actividad para los alumnos : ciencia del diseño, aspectos conductuales. aula contemporánea (hábitos de estudio) y aspectos interpersonales.

7.- RESULTADOS:

Se trabajó con 12 alumnos. Ocho de ellos siguieron en la escuela. Dos de plano desertaron y otros dos tratan de entrar a otra escuela.

Los alumnos eran transportados a las instalaciones del proyecto en un autobús que pasaba por ellos y al llegar, tenían que checar su entrada y su salida en una tarjeta.

A los muchachos se les asignaba trabajo académico en forma de enseñanza programada o se les colocaba en una clase. También tenían diversas sesiones especiales de tutoría, donde con un docente trabajaban juntos 2 horas a la semana en una materia especializada (guitarra, electricidad, etc).

Todas las actividades y sus duraciones se registraban individualmente por alumno, en la llamada "hoja rosa"

Se usaba una banca para ubicar al alumno que estuviera en "tiempo fuera" y éste Podía recibirse como contingencia por portarse mal o uno lo podía elegir voluntariamente, si no tenía ganas de trabajar.

En cualquier momento los alumnos eran libres de ir al baño o de tomar agua.

En el proyecto se valoraron a los alumnos mediante una batería de test que eran correlativos en sus items a los contenidos académicos de la escuela y permitían una buena evaluación del progreso académico de cada uno.

No se emplearon instrumentos proyectivos de ninguna clase.

Resumen de :
Ps Jaime E Vargas M.
IMSS – HGZ1 – OAXACA .

Developmental Aspects of Adolescence Which Influence Therapy

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Cognitive Development

- Cognitions organize meaning and influence adaptation to change.
- Inhelder and Piaget suggested four stages of development but adolescents are likely to operate within the later two: concrete or formal.
  - ☞ Adolescents who emphasize concrete operations are dominated by rules while those who rely on formal operations are able to consider abstract concepts.
  - ☞ Formal operations is associated with the ability to
    - ❖ consider possibilities,
    - ❖ test hypotheses,
    - ❖ plan for the future,
    - ❖ be introspective,
    - ❖ consider and expand beliefs.
- IQ scores do not represent intelligence.

Cognitive Development: Presenting Problems

◆ Concrete Operations:

☞ Rules: adolescent breaks family "rules" which are vague or abstract.

☞ School: adolescent may struggle academically with assignments which require abstraction.

☞ Sibling conflict: adolescent may try to enforce parental rules but younger siblings may resist and older siblings may resent these efforts.

◆ Formal Operations

☞ Adolescent may rebel against school and family rules that s/he feels are arbitrary.

☞ Conflict may increase in family

❖ as adolescent begins to challenge parent authority;

❖ because adolescent begins to recognize and point out inconsistencies in parents' value system.

Cognitive Development: Treatment Issues

- Assess Level of Cognitive Development.
- Identify and "normalize" problems associated with level of cognitive development.
- Concrete Operations:
  - ☞ Abstract interventions (e.g., externalizing a problem) may frustrate an adolescent.
  - ☞ Make linkages between intervention and goals explicit.
  - ☞ Solution-focused, problems focused, and other goal-directed, behaviorally-oriented models are most appropriate.
  - ☞ Encourage parents to be very specific about expectations or rules.
- Formal Operations:
  - ☞ Adolescents may object to arbitrary rule-setting.
  - ☞ Adolescents may resist hierarchical interventions.
  - ☞ Adolescents will respond most positively to interventions in which they collaborate.
  - ☞ Promote negotiation between parents and adolescent.

Self-Esteem & Self Concept

- A drop in academic performance may be influenced by self-esteem.
- The change in self-esteem may be related to family factors such as parenting style.
- Family conflict may escalate if parent(s) and adolescents have different short- and long-term goals and aspirations.
- Self-perception is strongly influenced by social interaction.
  - ☞ Excessive parental pressure to succeed has a negative impact on self-esteem.
  - ☞ Family cohesion promotes positive self-esteem.
- Self-esteem and self-concept influence adolescent identity development.
- Identity provides a sense of personal control (e.g., internal versus external locus of control), personal meaning, and personal identification.

Self-Esteem & Self Concept: Presenting Problems

- School
  - ☞ Poor grades, truancy.
  - ☞ Conflict with teacher or peers such as
    - ❖ arguing with teachers,
    - ❖ fighting.
  - ☞ Isolation or withdrawal.
- Family
  - ☞ Conflict with parents or siblings.
  - ☞ Isolation or withdrawal.
- Anti-Social Behaviors
  - ☞ Substance abuse
  - ☞ Sexual promiscuity
  - ☞ Increased risk-taking.
- Suicide Attempt

Self-Esteem & Self Concept: Treatment Issues

- Assess adolescents' self-esteem. The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE) is an excellent measure.

- If self-esteem is low, assess the following:
  - ☞ parental expectations and parenting style;
  - ☞ family dynamics (The Family Assessment Device, FAD, is an excellent measure);
  - ☞ peer relations;
  - ☞ locus of control (the Internal Control Index is a reliable measure).

- Indirect Interventions: Address Family Dynamics
  - ☞ Develop interventions which facilitate greater cohesion (e.g., joint activities for all family members).
  - ☞ Address family conflict, communication, and parenting style.

Self-Esteem & Self Concept: Treatment Issues (cont.)

- ◆ Direct Interventions
  - ☞ Solution-focused interventions provide opportunity to recognize successes:
    - ❖ When has the adolescent felt good about her/himself? Explore details.
    - ❖ Normalize difficulty, if appropriate.
    - ❖ Formula First Session Task.
  - ☞ Identify activities that the adolescent would like to attempt. Reinforce effort rather than outcome.
  - ☞ Work to promote an internal locus of control:
    - ❖ What does adolescent have direct control over?
    - ❖ How does s/he have influence in areas in which s/he doesn't have direct control. For example, a student can't control the amount of homework s/he receives but s/he can control the amount of time spent working on it.
  - ☞ Explore gender roles and gender-role expectations.

Egocentrism in Adolescence (based on Elkind, 1967)

- <u>Personal Fable:</u> refers to feelings of uniqueness which are often associated with feelings of invulnerability and enhanced risk-taking.

- <u>Imaginary Audience</u> is an adolescent's belief that other's are preoccupied with her/his behavior which contributes to heightened self-consciousness.

Egocentrism: Presenting Problems

- ◆ Personal Fable
  - ☞ Adolescent may engage in delinquent behaviors without considering consequences.
  - ☞ Personal fable may lead to increased risk-taking, substance abuse, and sexual promiscuity.
  - ☞ Parent may be frustrated when trying to establish or enforce rules.

- ◆ Imaginary Audience
  - ☞ Adolescent may embarrassed to ask for help from parents, friends, or teachers. This may lead to poor grades and isolation.
  - ☞ Self-Esteem and Isolation:
    - ❖ Heightened self-consciousness and isolation may lead to a suicide attempt.
    - ❖ Adolescent may not take necessary risks in order to challenge her/himself for fear of embarrassment.

Egocentrism: Treatment Implications

◆ Parents may inadvertently damage their relationship with adolescent children because they fail to recognize the level of seriousness their child attaches to a problem. For example, a parent who tells a child they s/he is overreacting or "going through a phase" may embarrass the child who may also be reluctant to trust the parent with future disclosures.

◆ Normalize adolescent behavior to parents.

◆ Educate parents about personal fable and imaginary audience.

◆ An adolescent may perceive a "normalizing" intervention as invalidating.

◆ Make interventions relevant to adolescent.

◆ Paradox:

☞ encourage safe risk-taking;

☞ examine consequences of dangerous risk-taking.

New Research Demonstrates Effectiveness of "Restorative Practices" in Programs for Delinquent and At-Risk Youth
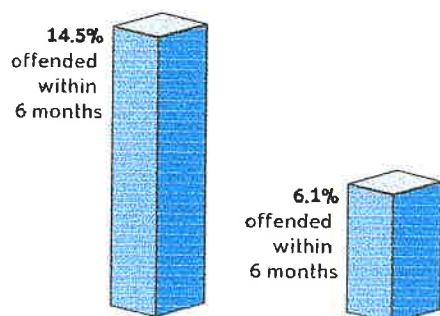
At the American Society of Criminology's annual meeting in Chicago in November, 2002, Dr. Paul McCold, director of research for the International Institute for Restorative Practices (IIRP), presented the results of a two-year study of six school/day treatment programs operated by Community Service Foundation (CSF) and Buxmont Academy. The schools serve adjudicated delinquent and at-risk youth in southeastern Pennsylvania.

"I was a researcher at the New York State Division for Youth for ten years and never saw results so dramatic. None of the programs we evaluated demonstrated a reduction in reoffending," said McCold. His report presents outcome measures for 919 youth discharged between June 1999 and

August 2001. The CSF Buxmont schools produced positive results in youth in three performance measures: offending rates following discharge, program completion rates and youth attitudes.

The evaluation protocol used in the IIRP's research was developed by Temple University's Crime and Justice Research Center. Dr. Philip W. Harris, associate director of the Center and associate professor at Temple University's Department of Criminal Justice, observed, "We must applaud the Community Service Foundation for its efforts to measure and use program outcome data. It is unfortunate that so few programs for delinquent and at-risk youths can produce the kind of information about program quality that CSF has managed to assemble."

1 LOWER OFFENDING RATES

14.5% offended within 6 months

6.1% offended within 6 months

Participation   0-3 months   3+ months

· Offending during the six months following discharge was reduced by 58% for those youth who completed the program successfully with more than three months participation.

· Even high-risk youth were less likely to offend following discharge, including those discharged unsuccessfully, if they participated in the program for more than three months.

· The greatest reduction in offending occurred among youth with the highest risk factors for offending.

2 HIGH PROGRAM COMPLETION RATES

581 youths   305 youths

65.6%   34.4%
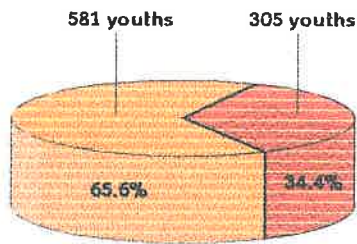
Completion   ▦ completed   ▦ did not complete

- Nearly two-thirds (66%) of the youth who entered the CSF Buxmont schools completed the program successfully.

- Those who were discharged prior to completing the program did not differ by age, gender, race, prior offending, or other risk factors.

- Youth with the lowest social values and self-esteem scores upon entry stayed longer than others and showed the most improvement.

3 POSITIVE CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

10% increase
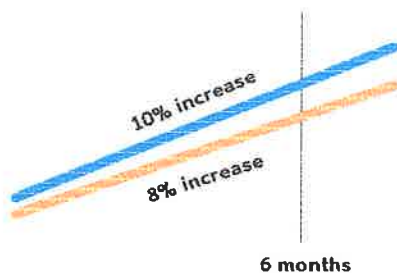
8% increase

6 months

Category   ▦ social values   ▦ self-esteem

- Social values scores increased an average of 10% after six months of participation.

- Self-esteem scores increased an average of 8% after six months of participation.

- These improvements were independent of referral source, age, gender, race, prior offending, or other risk factors.

- The overall trend toward more positive social values and higher self-esteem continued the longer youth stayed in the CSF Buxmont schools.

RESTORATIVE PRACTICES

The CSF Buxmont schools utilize "restorative practices" which emphasize doing things WITH youth, rather than TO them (punitive) or FOR them (permissive). CSF Buxmont creates an environment in which the youth actively problem-solve and take responsibility, not only for their own behavior, but for the well-being of the whole school community.

CONCLUSIONS

The findings of this evaluation present sufficient evidence to conclude that the changes in attitude and behavior of youth were the result of the restorative practices employed at the CSF Buxmont schools. Very few programs for delinquent and troubled youth can demonstrate similar positive outcomes.

READ THE ENTIRE REPORT ONLINE   http://www.restorativepractices.org/Pages/erm.html

www.restorativepractices.org   PO Box 229 Bethlehem, PA 18016-0229   610 807 9221

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale

The Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (RSE; Rosenberg 1965) is an attempt to achieve a unidimensional measure of global self-esteem. It was designed to be a Gutman scale, which means that the RSE items were to represent a continuum of self-worth statements ranging from statements that are endorsed even by individuals with low self-esteem to statements that are endorsed only by persons with high self-esteem. Rosenberg (1965) scored his 10-question scale that was presented with four response choices, ranging from •strongly agree• to strongly disagree,• as a six-item Gutman scale. The first item included questions 1 through 3 and received a positive score if two or three of its questions were answered positively. Questions 4 and 5 and questions 9 and 10 were aggregated into two other items that were scored positively, if both questions in the item had positive answers. Questions 6 through 8 counted individually formed the final three items. For the negatively worded RSE questions, responses that expressed disagreement and, hence, were consistent with high self-esteem, were considered positive or •endorsed.• Rosenberg (1965) demonstrated that his scale was a Gutman scale by obtaining high enough reproducibility and scalability coefficients.

Multiple studies have been conducted to investigate the validity and reliability of the RSE. Their results are summarized in table 3. Whereas some studies have shown that the scale is a valid and reliable unidimensional measure of self-esteem, others have found that the RSE is comprised of two factors. Goldsmith (1986) suggested that the RSE factor structure depends on age and other characteristics of the sample. Accordingly, table 3 includes age and occupation of the subjects. It is notable that the studies presented in the table match Goldsmith•s hypothesis. Investigations that used high school or college students supported the scale•s unidimensionality (Silbert and Tippett 1965; Crandal 1973; McCarthy and Hoge 1982), or obtained factors that were interdependent and had similar patterns of correlates (Rosenberg 1979; Hagborg 1993). In contrast, analyses completed with adults identified two meaningful and, sometimes, independent dimensions of personality (Kaplan and Pokorny 1969; Shahani et al 1990). The identified dimensions were mostly defined by negatively worded vs. Positively worded RSE items and were called self-derogation and self-enhancement (Shahani et al. 1990).

Not all studies that employed the RSE have used Guttman scaling to obtain a self-esteem score. Many researchers have preferred to calculate the scale's total score by summing subjects' responses across all ten TSE questions (Kaplan and Pokormy 1969; McCarthy and Hose 1982; Shahani et al 1990; Hagborg 1993). Further, the investigators have differed in the number of points that they have included in the response scale for each questions. For example, McCarthy and Hoge (1982), similarly to Rosenberg, used a 4-point scale, whereas Shahani et al. (1990) employed a 6-point scale. Empirical evidence has been provided for the reliability of all these later versions of the RSE (table 3).

Table 3

Study	Subjects	Scaling	Unidimensional ?	Construct Validity[1]	Convergent Validity[2]	Reliability
Rosenberg 1965	• High school juniors & seniors • (N=5,024)	Guttman scaling	Yes Reproducibility=.92 Scalability=.72	Significant association (p<.05) between the RSE and self-reports and nurses • and peers • ratings of depression, psychophysiological indicators of anxiety, peer group reputation, and other relevant constructs		
Silbert & Tippett 1965	• College students • (N=44)	Guttman scaling	Yes		Pearson rs • of .67 with Kelly Repertory Test (Kelly 1955); • of .83 with Health Self-Image Questionnaire (Heath 1965); • of .56 with interviewers • ratings of self-esteem	2-week test-retest coefficient of .85 (N=28)
Kaplan & Pokorny 1969	• Community adults • (N=500)	Calculated two factor scores by summing responses ranging from 1 to 4 across the questions	• No; • Two uncorrelated factors accounting for 45% of the total variance; • Factors represent substantive dimensions of personality	• Significant association (p>.001) between the RSE Factor 1 and psychophysiological indicators of anxiety, depressive affect, and utilization of psychiatric and other medical resources; • Factor 2 was not related to these variables		

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[1] Further in the test the word •correlation• is symbolized by •r• and the word •correlations• by •rs.•

[2] Further in the text Cronbachs alpha is symbolized by •a.•

Listed below are statements that concern how you feel about yourself. Read each statement carefully, and then decide how much you agree with it. Press the number that corresponds to your answer.

Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree A Little	Agree A Little	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
1	2	3	4	5	6

I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.

I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

I am able to do things as well as most other people.

I feel that I do not have much to be proud of.

I take a positive attitude toward myself.

On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

I wish I could have more respect for myself.

I certainly feel useless at times.

At times I think that I am no good at all.

IN NEED OF CARE: DELINQUENT YOUNG WOMEN IN A DELINQUENT SYSTEM[1]

Jenny Bargen

PERPLEXING ISSUES ARISE IN ANY CONSIDERATION OF THE MEANINGS attributed to notions of delinquency and detention when these are applied to young women. Some of these issues are raised in this paper by telling stories about reports, young women, and reform in juvenile justice in NSW. Questions about just who or what is "in need of care", and who or what is "delinquent" inevitably arise. Are the young women in whose lives "the system" intervenes delinquent? Do the underlying philosophies from which justifications for interventions by "the system" are drawn need more careful and overt articulation? Does the interaction between young women and the system of juvenile justice contribute towards or minimise the production of young women's delinquency? Some of the questions raised are at present without satisfactory answers. They provide fertile ground for future research. Others elicit superficially easy responses which require further interrogation.

Nevertheless, it is clear that a concentration only on issues related to detention is misplaced. We need to consider the reasons why young women enter, and often re-enter, secure detention, and whether the outcomes of detention practices bear any relation to the reasons stated for detention. Underlying justifications for officially sanctioned acts should be scrutinised carefully.

A number of young women have died in recent years soon after release from youth custody in New South Wales; many reports on juvenile justice have been released over the same period. Will implementation of the recommendations contained in these reports minimise the possibility of death

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in future? Are the recommendations designed to ensure, so far as is possible, that this will be the case? My conclusions on this point are somewhat pessimistic.

Most Australian jurisdictions can cite numerous reports on juvenile justice related issues (*see* Seymour 1988; Blackmore 1989; Youth Justice Project 1990b). New South Wales alone has seen the release of three reports since 1990. All have been part of the continuing debate on juvenile justice issues and all contain an agenda for "reform". Unfortunately, "reform" has often meant recycling recommendations from previous reports, recommending further research, rearranging some practices and conditions at the bureaucratic level and implementing changes at the practice level only on the basis of parsimonious, and/or economic, pragmatism (*see*, for example, Naffine, Wundersitz & Gale 1991 in relation to South Australia).

The reforms made at "ground" level, such as those currently occurring in New South Wales, at least where young women are concerned, are usually directed towards the better "management" of young women and the establishment of further and more effective programs designed to better reintegrate young women into the community (*see*, for example, Office of Juvenile Justice, March 1993). Few changes which can be directly related to report recommendations seem to have occurred in underlying structural conditions which may play a significant part in the entry and continued re-entry of young women into juvenile justice detention.

The processes by which gender issues have been included in juvenile justice report and reform exercises, and the relatively low level of importance accorded to these issues, provide a possible link with the concentration on program reform rather than structural change where young women are concerned. The major structural determinants of juvenile justice intervention in young women's lives tend to be marginalised, particularly in aspects of reports which are released to the media. Marginalisation has occurred, not only in young women's particular experiences with juvenile justice, but also in the experiences of those seeking to ensure that gender issues are not relegated merely to considerations about detention centre management and programs. Gender, together with race and class, has not consistently been part of the research agenda for reports on juvenile justice. The variable impact of all of these factors has not permeated reports on juvenile justice designed as blueprints for reform of legislation, policies and practices.

Aspects of gender often neglected in thinking about strategies which could provide a measure of justice within juvenile justice interventions directed towards young women include the gendered ways in which poverty, violence and homelessness affect their lives. While measures to address these structural problems are generally outside the direct powers of juvenile justice agencies, this should not prevent interdepartmental cooperation in doing so. Attention needs to be focussed on these issues by agencies working in the fields of education, housing and social welfare. Other neglected gender issues include the ways in which young women enter the net of juvenile justice, and the multiplicity and complexity of race and class issues intersecting with these gender issues. While these issues are not given equal attention in the processes of preparation, presentation, and

implementation of reports on juvenile justice, there is a sense in which the practice of juvenile justice where young women are its object can be said to remain "delinquent".

The Context

Research in Australia and elsewhere indicates that many young women who are drawn into the juvenile justice net have generally experienced violence in their lives prior to contact with the system (*see* Women's Coordination Unit (NSW) 1986). Race, class and socioeconomic status are further important factors which intersect with the violence experienced by these young women. Research also indicates that most of these young women are victims of sexual and/or physical assault at home, or have left home because of such assault, or for other reasons which make it impossible for them to remain there. Many become homeless, and, as "street kids", particularly vulnerable to state intervention. These young women are more likely than young men to have encountered the state system of care, and to be either wards of the state or subject to some form of implicit control by welfare agencies (Women's Co-ordination Unit (NSW) 1986). Many are likely to enter the net of juvenile justice because of their subjection to the state care system (*see*, for example, Carrington 1989). Indeed, some research suggests that female state wards are forty times more likely to proceed into juvenile justice institutions than non state wards (O'Sullivan 1991). Anecdotal evidence indicates that approximately 70 per cent of the complainants in criminal matters concerning young women are state welfare personnel (Carrington 1993). Incidents of "acting out" in institutions or foster placements can result in the laying of criminal charges for property damage (Women and Girls in Custody Advocacy Group 1990). Police are more readily called than would be the case for children outside state control. Bail refusals, guilty pleas, control orders, and characterisation as "serious offenders" almost inevitably follow.

Such contact with juvenile justice agents often means continued violence towards young women (Cunneen 1991). For many young women, and in particular Aboriginal young women, police interrogation often involves both physical and sexual assault (Alder et al. 1992; Cunneen 1991). The violence is further exacerbated as young women are drawn deeper into the net to become the often marginalised and always managed objects of juvenile justice practice.

Young women suffer violence during their incarceration in detention centres—often at their own hands (although it is uncommon for young Aboriginal women to engage in self-mutilation in these circumstances (personal communication with official visitors 1993)). This experience of violence is often exacerbated on release from incarceration, as the following stories indicate. The few programs available within detention centres which claimed to provide lessons in post-release survival strategies for young female detainees were apparently ineffective for these young women. An alternative reading of juvenile justice intervention and treatment which challenges conventional understandings that these young women are delinquent is that such intervention constitutes a criminalisation of young women's survival strategies. This response is taken up later in the paper.

Between May 1990 and January 1991 six young women died shortly after leaving juvenile justice custody in Sydney. Four of these young women were Aboriginal. At least one had been sexually abused in police custody, and had felt suicidal while being held in detention (Cunneen 1991). The coroner found the immediate cause of death in each case was a drug overdose.

Other young women who had also been in custody in Sydney died of drug overdoses elsewhere in Australia in the same period (Harvey 1991; McDermott 1991). Media representations of these young women were of "silly girls who had thrown away their lives".

In January 1993 a young woman of 17 who had recently been released on bail from state detention was allegedly murdered by a client after a sexual transaction. She was a ward of the state but had had little or no contact with the Department responsible for her welfare for some months prior to her death. Her parents had no knowledge of her whereabouts, having reluctantly agreed to her wardship after she had run away from home. This young women was also known to have had "serious drug and alcohol problems" (*Sydney Morning Herald* 1993).

State Reactions

None of the 44 young women for whom the Children's Court found a prostitution offence proved during the period between July 1991 and June 1992 was committed to custody. Most (35) received a fine; a small number of cases was dismissed (Office of Juvenile Justice 1992, pp. 104, 107).

However, since the last death, increasing numbers of young women have been committed to juvenile justice custody. In January 1993 there were 11 young women in juvenile justice (detention) centres in New South Wales. Since that time, the numbers have risen steadily. By June 1993, 27 young women were subject to custodial orders. Only one of these young women was officially committed to custody for a prostitution offence (Office of Juvenile Justice, unpublished statistics, July 1993).

Despite this, the offences with which young women are presently being charged may include those related to prostitution. Official statistics give no indication whether this is the case because of the counting and ordering rules employed. (Court statistics indicate only the most serious charge for which an offence has been found. Prostitution offences are placed lower in the level of seriousness than, for example, break and enter offences or riding in a stolen vehicle (information from OJJ statistics officer, July 1993)). The conclusion that police may be arresting young (homeless) women for soliciting more frequently than was the case prior to January 1993 is almost irresistible. Further research investigating the available anecdotal evidence must be undertaken to examine this disturbing hypothesis. On the assumption that soliciting forms part of the background for the increasing numbers of young women in custody, then one can reasonably speculate that section 19 of the *Summary Offences Act 1988 (NSW)* is being utilised, together with the usual public order provisions such as offensive language and resist arrest, as easy and convenient justifications for interference in the lives of young women. The underlying justifications may have their source in a concern about young

women's engagement in unacceptable lifestyles, or possibly on the basis of an underlying assumption that they are homeless and in need of care. If this is the case, very little has changed in the official (paternal) response to the survival strategies of young women since the seventies. Then, the moral transgressions of young women were the most significant factor in decisions giving rise to state intervention in the lives of young women, whether these interventions were for care or criminal matters (Carrington 1989). Now, status offences, the route by which numbers of young women formerly entered the juvenile justice system, have been abolished (Blackmore 1989). But the underlying assumptions and justifications for the imposition of control orders on young women seem remarkably unchanged.

Young Women's Reactions

Most of the twenty or so young women sentenced under control orders at Reiby detention centre in April 1993 knew some or all of the young women who died. This information emerged from my discussions in early 1993 with juvenile justice centre official visitors and Community Youth Centre (CYC) workers. Not surprisingly, these young women claimed that they felt "safer" in secure custody than on the streets (*see* Saville 1992). Clearly, this information requires careful interpretation. Even if young women do consider that the only "safe" place for them is in a detention centre, this belief on their part provides little justification for increasingly punitive responses to young women on the part of police and magistrates, particularly when so many young women experience high levels of distress and engage in self-mutilation during their periods in custody. In the next section I attempt to move beyond this simplistic justification for control and management.

Readings of Young Women's Delinquency

Feminist analysis of the law-breaking of women and girls which utilises a social constructionist approach suggests that many young women subject to juvenile justice intervention can be characterised as "criminalised" rather than "delinquent" (*see* for example Maher 1992). Cohen (1988, p. 257) discusses the process of criminalisation as follows:

> Criminalization is a particular reaction to a defined social problem. The empirical question is: Under what conditions do certain people consider that a given conflict requires state intervention, and if it does, should this intervention take the form of criminal justice ... ? The political question is why and how this preference becomes reality. The pragmatic question is, what do we gain by defining the problem in terms of crime?

Indeed, what do we gain by criminalising the survival strategies of young women? It is a familiar claim that only young women who have committed serious offences are currently held in secure custody. These "serious offences" may well be the result of acting out behaviour in welfare institutions or inappropriate foster placements, as suggested earlier. The practice of viewing such young women as (seriously) delinquent/criminal, and hence as, subjects for criminal justice intervention, reflects a failure to understand "the

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structures, processes and relations that mediate individual agency in specific contexts" (Maher 1992, p. 153). If, in addition, any of these young women are now being held in secure custody for prostitution related offences, as suggested above, then, in effect, it is their survival strategies which are being criminalised. In addition to harms resulting from institutionalisation and other juvenile justice interventions such as arrest, remand and trial, the targeting of young women engaged in sex-work for arrest and incarceration may be rendering them more vulnerable within the context of the street economy. Possibly such targeting may be forcing them to engage in high risk practices in the context of sex-work and drug use which increase vulnerability to HIV infection. Research elsewhere has suggested that this is the case. We have little other than anecdotal information and the media to rely on in Australia to date (although *see* Davis 1993; Howe 1990).

Reports, Young Women, and Juvenile Justice Policy and Practice: A Brief Discussion of Recent Attempts to Reform Juvenile Justice in NSW

The following remarks are confined to the recommendations concerning young women to be found in reports on juvenile justice and on young women since 1985. The purpose here is to attempt to draw connections between the relative emphases on gender issues in the reports and the outcomes for young women referred to above. In some of the reports discussed below sex and gender *issues* are not thoroughly explored, even where extensive *recommendations* are made concerning young women. At one time the subsuming of young women into the broader and more superficially understandable category of "young people" was said to be justified because the number coming to official notice and being drawn into the net of juvenile justice was too low.

Currently, gender concerns cannot be said to be generally absent from reports or present policy and practice. However, the concerns tend to be focussed on issues arising in the custody of young women, with the emphasis on appropriate management. The more recent reports discussed below have succeeded in convincing juvenile justice personnel that, while few in number, young women constitute one of the groups with pressing needs which juvenile justice practice to date has failed adequately to address. Unfortunately, the focus on young women, while welcome as long overdue, may have the unintended outcome that more young women, rather than less, are drawn into the juvenile justice system, because of the narrow concentration on detention issues. Perhaps the available research findings and theoretical analyses of young women's delinquency in this country (for example, Alder 1986; Carrington 1989, 1990a, 1990b; Goodall 1990; Howe 1990) which suggest that preventive measures can be implemented to minimise the risks of criminalisation for young women, have not played a prominent part in the final formulation of the reports or current policy. This should not come as a surprise, given that traditionally, policy formulation in juvenile justice in Australia and elsewhere has occurred in an androcentric research context. Research findings based on male samples are generalised as applicable to females. Rarely are such generalisations tested for their

applicability to young women generally, and more rarely for their applicability to a multitude of diverse subgroups of young women.

Girls at Risk Report (1986)

This report drew on a range of feminist research evidence then available about young women and the results of the research carried out by the project team. It was not specifically concerned with young women in the juvenile justice system, but rather sought to explore the factors which contributed to the entry of young women into state care. The "central concern" of the project was to "give the girls a voice and to outline what girls in care and girls at risk see as their issues and concerns" (NSW Women's Coordination Unit 1986, p. 30).

Prepared by the New South Wales Women's Coordination Unit, *Girls at Risk* was published in 1986, and provided a detailed picture of the lives of young women "at risk", who were defined as those who "[were] homeless or living in untenable housing, . . . [who] had experienced or were experiencing physical, sexual or emotional abuse, . . . [or] were pregnant and unsupported or lacked adequate income and were unsupported" (NSW Women's Coordination Unit 1986, p. 28).

One hundred young women spoke with the project team about matters of concern to them. A distressing picture of violence, family break-up, constant moving, inappropriate placement and often unhelpful or negative contact with welfare agencies and the police emerged (NSW Women's Coordination Unit 1986). The report considered the relationships between family breakdown, sexual assault, homelessness, state care and delinquency for girls. It envisaged that the programs and policies recommended would go some way towards breaking this vicious cycle, by ensuring that the problems were addressed (rather than exacerbated through criminalization via juvenile justice intervention) *before* the risk faced by these young women materialized. The press release stressed that:

> . . . a girl who has left home because of incest should be helped to establish a new life before she leaves school and becomes vulnerable to drug addiction and prostitution (NSW Women's Coordination Unit 1986).

The report overwhelmingly succeeded in its central concern and remains the most detailed exposition of the lives of girls at risk in NSW, from the perspective of the young women themselves. Few of the recommendations in *Girls at Risk* were implemented.

Nonetheless, there is merit in the claim that the findings and recommendations contained in *Girls at Risk* remain pertinent to today's young women at risk. The specific young women may have changed, but the picture painted in 1985 has not faded. If anything, the picture has been magnified, particularly through the lens of increasing youth unemployment and the specific disadvantaged position of young women in the labour market, which, since 1985, has deteriorated alarmingly. The loss of full-time jobs has affected young women more markedly than young men (State and Territory

Youth Affairs Councils and Networks 1992). The scale of homelessness among young people generally remains high and continues to grow. Despite calls for adequate income support through the availability of immediate allowances for this increasing number of young homeless people (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1989), the Young Homeless Allowance continues to require that strict and often unreasonable eligibility conditions be met. Consequently, it can be said with some degree of confidence that the dangers that young womens' survival strategies will be criminalised have increased since 1985, while the mechanisms to avoid such dangers remain to be established.

Kids in Justice (1990)

Four years after the release of *Girls at Risk*, the Youth Justice Coalition (YJC), a small group of youth workers, lawyers working with young people, and academics, initiated another research project. YJC's objective was to "independently review" the New South Wales system of juvenile justice. Their focus was on "the experiences and perspectives of the users of the system—primarily the young offenders and their families, as well as victims, members of the public, and community workers involved with them" (Youth Justice Coalition (NSW) 1990a, p. 1).

Kids in Justice dealt with five "key areas": the social context of juvenile crime and juvenile justice; the "system" of juvenile justice; the policing of young people; community based options; and detention centres. It is one of the most detailed analyses of juvenile justice systems produced in Australia to date, drawing on project research, in addition to research from other Australian and overseas jurisdictions.

The *Kids in Justice* researchers found that young women were "amongst the most distressed and resentful of all [their] respondents", and that:

> [a] higher proportion of girls than boys . . . had serious drug problems, for which there was little or no treatment available. Of the six girls from one detention centre interviewed by the project, two girls had mutilated themselves; one had been cutting her arm; [an]other had smashed a window and cut herself "for something to do" (Youth Justice Coalition (NSW) 1990b, p. 314).

Despite this the final report devoted comparatively little space to analysing gender issues. Few recommendations relating to young women were included. Only three of the 233 recommendations in *Kids in Justice* are specifically concerned with young women. These suggest the establishment of community based accommodation for girls on remand, pre-release and on parole, and a special detention centre for girls, with appropriate policies and programs. The third recommendation is that, where a detention centre holds girls (and boys), the ratio of men and women on staff should be proportionate to the number of males and females held in the centre. All of these recommendations concentrate on requirements for girls *within* juvenile justice practices. All three are directed towards detention. None consider how to address issues surrounding the entry of girls into the juvenile justice system.

Kids in Justice succeeded, more than any previous report, in getting juvenile justice on the political agenda in New South Wales. The energy with which those involved in preparing the report publicised its "findings" in the media and actively and persistently lobbied politicians to move on their recommendations contributed to this outcome. The project had been funded by the Law Foundation, whose director had strong links with the Law Society and key government figures. Many recommendations, particularly those concerned with the formation of committees within cabinet, separate bureaucracies, and advisory bodies, were capable of immediate implementation without fundamentally changing the practice of juvenile justice. Nonetheless, while juvenile justice was on the (political) agenda, the fact remains that little consideration was given, by lobbyists, politicians, or public servants, to the importance of investigating the ways in which young women enter the juvenile justice system and the outcomes of their experiences within juvenile justice, despite the fact that one of the primary impetuses for change in juvenile justice was the deaths of some young women who had been subject to juvenile justice intervention. The concentration on issues arising in the treatment of young women within juvenile justice practices, particularly detention, narrows the domain of action to those aspects where control practices can be more easily adjusted. To seek to remedy criminalisation practices involves political choices which may be unpalatably difficult.

Social Issues Committee Report (Standing Committee of the Upper House of the NSW Parliament) 1992

The announcement of the Social Issues Committee's reference on juvenile justice was a further response to concerns about the state of the juvenile justice system. Yet another inquiry was considered necessary—this time by the Parliament itself!

The Social Issues Committee commenced hearings for its reference on juvenile justice just prior to the release of *Kids in Justice* in 1990. This work was suspended for some months when Parliament was prorogued after the calling of an election. The hearings recommenced in late 1991, were completed by early 1992 and the report was released in May of that year (Standing Committee on Social Issues 1992). This Committee received numerous representations stressing the need to consider young women's issues. Consequently, some time was spent investigating these issues. Young women who had been subject to juvenile justice intervention and those who had been or were working with similarly situated young women, were among those who gave evidence at Committee hearings. *Girls at Risk* was part of the research material which the Committee examined. Importantly, the Committee considered that, together with Aboriginal people, people from non-English speaking backgrounds, and rural young people, girls were among:

[t]he most pronounced groups which are either disproportionately represented, or have a set of needs which sets them apart from the bulk of the juvenile justice population (Standing Committee on Social Issues 1992, p. 21).

The committee made 134 recommendations, many of which concerned young women. Some simply reproduced unimplemented recommendations from *Girls at Risk*. By taking up such recommendations, the Committee overtly recognised and reiterated the need to establish services outside the immediate domain of juvenile justice practices which would ensure that girls who were unable to remain at home because of violence or abuse were provided with accommodation and programs designed to meet their specific needs (Recommendations 4 and 5). They recognised the importance of an effective voice for girls at the policy level by recommending that the Policy Officer (Girls) position, recommended in *Girls at Risk*, implemented and then abolished in a departmental reshuffle (Moore 1990), be re-established within the (then) Office of Juvenile Justice (Recommendation 12). The crucial issue of means of entry into the system is reflected in the recommendations that police and magistrates should be specially trained to develop specific skills for working with young people (Recommendation 102). Ways in which the damaging effects of juvenile justice intervention can be minimised were also considered. A fostering scheme for both remanded and sentenced young people was suggested (Recommendation 116). Recommendations were made about sentencing options, and policies and programs within and as adjuncts to detention centres (Recommendations 76-85; 102-3).

The Committee thus recognised that the needs of young women were not confined to management or treatment within detention centres but that preventive action could be taken to minimise the possibility of criminalisation. The recommendations directed towards police training also recognised that overt action is required to reverse the negative behavioural trends apparent in the work of some police officers with young women.

Green Paper on Juvenile Justice (1993)

Two of the most significant "bureaucratic rearrangements" implementing recommendations in *Kids in Justice* were the creation (in 1991) of a separate office, the Office of Juvenile Justice (OJJ), within the portfolio of the Minister for Justice, and the establishment of the Juvenile Justice Advisory Council (JJAC). The JJAC is composed of a range of "experts in juvenile justice", whose brief is to advise the Minister on juvenile justice issues. One of the first tasks carried out by the JJAC at the request of the Minister was the preparation of a Green Paper, *Future Directions for Juvenile Justice in New South Wales* (1993). The Green Paper was the result of work over many months by a variety of working parties convened to consider the formulation of recommendations on specified areas of juvenile justice. The parties were directed to consider the recommendations contained in *Kids in Justice*, and recommendations made in previous reports which had touched on juvenile justice issues. The previous reports included the National Report of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (1991), the report of the

Standing Committee on Social Issues of the New South Wales Legislative Council (1992), and the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission reports of the National Inquiry into Racist Violence (1991), and the National Inquiry into Homeless Children (1989), but did not generally include *Girls at Risk*.

The document was released by the Minister for public comment, after some delay during which the recommendations were costed, in February 1993. The result of this costing exercise has not, to my knowledge, been released for public scrutiny.

A Charter of Principles for juvenile justice in New South Wales is set out at the commencement of the Green Paper. This contains the "key principles" said to "underpin the juvenile justice system in New South Wales". These principles recognise the primary importance of prevention, diversion and reintegration, emphasise that detention should be a last resort measure, and call for the development of a "comprehensive range of pre- and post-release services" for young offenders. The principles acknowledge that specialised programs and services are required to address the "unique requirements and special needs" of young women (Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW 1993, pp. 5-6).

This acknowledgment is somewhat curious, given that the JJAC did not establish a separate working group to consider, report on and make recommendations about the treatment of young women in juvenile justice. *Kids in Justice* and, more obviously, the Social Issues Committee's report, had stressed that young women were a group with "a special set of needs". This finding called for the establishment of a separate working party on young women to consider how to meet these needs. Admittedly, there are rarely more than 25 young women out of a total of around 400 young people in custody at any one time. A mere one-fifth of the young people subject to juvenile justice intervention between July 1991 and June 1992 were young women (Office of Juvenile Justice 1991/92). Nevertheless, the small proportion represented by young women of the total numbers of young people in detention centres and the juvenile justice system does not provide a compelling justification for the lack of a special working party to consider issues surrounding young women's involvement in the juvenile justice system when their needs have repeatedly been identified as urgent. In contrast, and properly, given the high proportion of Aboriginal young people in detention centres—over 20 per cent in 1992 (Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW 1993, p. 218)—the interests of Aboriginal young people were clearly addressed by a separate working party which ensured continued emphasis on these special needs, not only in a separate chapter but throughout the Green Paper. (However, it should be noted that no distinction is made between Aboriginal young people and Aboriginal young women. These two sets of young people do not necessarily constitute mutually inclusive categories. (*See*, for example, Goodall (1990) and Carrington (1990b)).

Twenty-three of the 429 recommendations of the Green Paper specifically concern young women. Others are impliedly applicable to young women. These twenty-three recommendations, particularly those on programs within detention centres, draw heavily on the recommendations contained in *Girls at Risk*. This is not surprising, since the working party on sentencing options

was specifically instructed to consider *Girls at Risk* in formulating its recommendations. The source of these recycled recommendations could equally be said to be the Social Issues Committee report, available to all working parties.

While the first "key principle" of the Green Paper recognises the importance of "crime prevention" generally, no recommendations in the chapter on crime prevention refer specifically to the preventative programs for young women recommended by the Social Issues Committee and *Girls at Risk.* I have previously noted that the latter recommendations were directed towards the provision of drug and alcohol programs, housing programs, education, improvement in the nature of police contact and so on. They were measures designed to ensure that young women who had been forced to leave home had the opportunity to develop the skills and resources to establish new lives *before* they left school and became vulnerable to drug addiction and prostitution. The Green Paper's chapter on crime prevention has some sensible comments on the nature and causes of juvenile crime, talks broadly about the establishment of bureaucratic and community structures for crime prevention and makes recommendations which, if implemented will improve cooperation between relevant state government agencies in the "development, implementation and monitoring of juvenile crime prevention strategies" (Juvenile Justice Advisory Council of NSW 1993, p. 85).

However, the overt recognition of the importance of measures directed towards the minimisation of the possibility of criminalisation of young women found in both *Girls at Risk* and the Social Issues Committee report is lacking in the Green Paper. The bulk of the recommendations specifically about young women in the Green Paper are directed towards programs to be established in detention centres *after* the young women have been subject to the processes of criminalisation. Chapter 3 of the Green Paper, "Juvenile Entry into the Juvenile Justice System" largely concentrates on police practices concerning juveniles. It is pleasing to note, however, that one recommendation in this chapter recognises the need for police training in understanding the special needs of young women in an interview situation. The Green Paper contains little discussion focussed on the ways in which young women enter the juvenile justice net. These omissions may well have been remedied by the presence of a specific working party on young women, given the interactive process undertaken in the preparation of the Green Paper. Each working party was required to comment on the drafts from all other working parties and these comments were incorporated into the final version of the document.

Recycled Recommendations?

We have seen that both the Social Issues Committee report and the Green Paper repeat many of the recommendations from *Girls at Risk,* but that only the former overtly addresses the risks of criminalisation of young women through juvenile justice intervention. Only the former acknowledges, by reference to *Girls at Risk,* that these risks are different for diverse groups of young women and young men. Unless the forthcoming White Paper

acknowledges these differences and outlines the steps necessary to implement strategies to minimise these risks, then the outcome of this present "reform" process, at least where young women are concerned, may well be a perpetuation of the present problems.

Gender Issues Within the Process and the Outcomes of Report Writing

This section briefly sketches some of the gains and losses for women which were connected with the production of two of the above reports, *Kids in Justice* and the Green Paper. Connections are then drawn between gains and losses directly attributable to processes or outcomes, and possible gains and losses for young women in the juvenile justice system.

A number of women participated in the *Kids in Justice* project. The research included interviews with young women in and outside of detention centres. A position paper reflecting the observations from this part of the research was prepared by the project coordinator. These observations suggested that young women were victimised as well as criminalised within juvenile justice processes. This material warranted more than mere inclusion in the final report (add women and do not stir?). Any thorough analysis of "the system" would surely reflect the gender biases, in addition to the race and class biases which research implicates as inherent in juvenile justice policies and practices. Whilst this argument was generally accepted by the steering committee, the final report included only one small section on gender issues. Gender issues were not incorporated into the analysis in every part of the report. Consequently, a major failing of the report is that it contains no discussion or analysis of the applicability to young women of findings based on male research samples. For instance, the application of the asserted link between unemployment and crime to women has recently been challenged (Alder 1986; Naffine & Gale 1989). I know of no research testing the assertion that young people "grow out of crime" with young female subjects.

The formation of the JJAC and the preparation of the Green Paper were not accomplished without some compromises. In particular, requests for inclusion in the working parties from some community groups who were concerned that the interests of young women would be marginalised were refused. The outcome is described above. At present, no member of the JJAC specifically advocates for the concerns of young women.

One reading of these responses is that the processes and procedures utilised in formulating reports and the responses to recommendations designed to ensure that the interests of young women are considered in every instance of juvenile justice intervention, are themselves reflective of the shifting knowledge/power relations between men and women generally, and of the negative outcomes for young women in juvenile justice interventions specifically.

Further, the unproblematised presentation in recent reports of young *people* (and, although differently, Aboriginal young *people*) as an aggregate category, "devoid of specificity, context and particularity" has continued the tradition of constructing an essentialist analysis of juvenile justice, based on

"theories, paradigms and accounts of male 'crime'" (Maher 1992, p. 153). By failing to incorporate gendered understandings into juvenile justice recommendations, policies and practices, report writers, politicians and bureaucrats with the power to implement reports contribute to the perpetuation of (mis)understandings about the nature of criminalisation/ delinquency in young women, reinforcing dominant paradigms which present juvenile justice policy formation and practice as androcentric—de-gendered, de-classed and de-raced. The consequences include continued harm to young women.

Concluding Remarks

Girls at Risk drew on empirical and other research information available at the time, was based on extensive consultation with young women, and was grounded in the contexts of their daily lives. This project was fundamentally concerned to give these young women "a voice". However, is it justifiable, eight years on, to continue to reproduce (and misplace) their recommendations? Can we assume that the "little sisters" of the original *Girls at Risk* remain the "little sisters" of today? Do young women today speak in the same voices? Are they similarly positioned within a similar cultural, political and economic context?

The answer is probably no. But more research needs to be done. Certainly, the young women of today face multiple risks; not only the criminalisation of their survival strategies and marginalisation of their issues in the processes and outcomes of reform exercises, but also the possibility of premature death hastened by subjection to juvenile justice practices, as illustrated by the stories set out in the second section of this paper. Since *Girls at Risk* was published much good feminist work has been undertaken in Australia on, for example, prostitution (Allen 1990; Perkins 1991), and we also have more information on child sexual assault and violence against women. All this work was available and could usefully have been drawn on in the preparation of the Green Paper.

We do know that, for the most part, the structural variables identified in *Girls at Risk* remain unaltered, and that violence, poverty, homelessness in the lives of young people generally have worsened. What we cannot yet state with any degree of certainty is the relationship, if any, between these variables and the criminalisation of young women.

Nonetheless, the recommendations in *Girls at Risk* remain valid, since they were grounded in a feminist framework which presupposed a recognition of the need for fundamental shifts in gender relations—especially as they affect the gendered/sexed nature of violence, homelessness and poverty.

Even if these recommendations specific to young women remain valid, their adoption as they appear in the Green Paper is doomed to failure, because they have been removed from the context of the feminist vision in which they were made. To reiterate, until juvenile justice policy and practice specifically acknowledges the multiplicity of gender, together with class and race, issues intersecting this field, young women will continue to be criminalised by these very policies and practices. Until the dominant

power/knowledge paradigm is successfully challenged in the processes of preparing and presenting reports, there can be little hope that this will occur.

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