Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014

1-1-1998

The incarcerated male adolescent's view of the meaning of his experience : a phenomenological study.

Ann Carhart
University of Massachusetts Amherst

Recommended Citation

THE INCARCERATED MALE ADOLESCENT'S VIEW OF
THE MEANING OF HIS EXPERIENCE: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL
STUDY

A Dissertation Presented

by

ANN CARHART

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts Amherst in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May 1998

School of Education
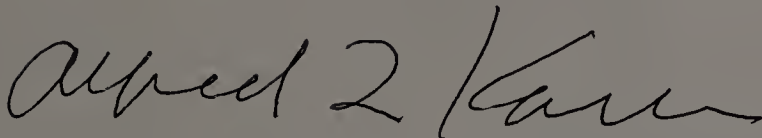
THE INCARCERATED MALE ADOLESCENT'S VIEW OF
THE MEANING OF HIS EXPERIENCE: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL
STUDY

A Dissertation Presented
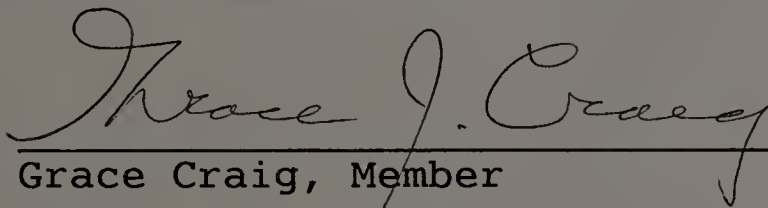
by

ANN CARHART
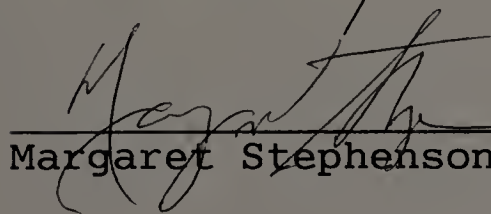
Approved as to style and content by:

_____
Alfred L. Karlson, Chair

_____
Grace Craig, Member

_____
Margaret Stephenson, Member

_____
Bailey W. Jackson, Dean
School of Education

DEDICATION

This research and the work that went into it is dedicated to the incarcerated youth of Westboro Secure Treatment.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

THE INCARCERATED MALE ADOLESCENT'S VIEW OF THE
MEANING OF HIS EXPERIENCE: A PHENOMENOLOGICAL STUDY

MAY 1998

ANN CARHART, M.A., LESLEY COLLEGE

M.A., LESLEY COLLEGE

Ed.D., UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AMHERST

Directed By: Professor Alfred L. Karlson

Each year in Massachusetts there are approximately
21,000 juveniles arraigned in court on criminal
charges. If trends continue as they have over the past
ten years, juvenile arrests for violent crimes will
double by the year 2010 (DYS, 1996). This indicates a
need to examine closely the current methods of
rehabilitation and socialization of incarcerated
youths.

This study examines the experiences of eight
ajudicated, incarcerated male adolescents to discover
the meaning these offenders are making of their daily
experience in a Massachusetts secure treatment unit and
indicates whether this experience is congruent with the
expressed goals and purpose of the Department of Youth
Service. This study also expanded on the work of Kegan
(1982) by investigating the applicability of his model

of developmental stages in meaning making systems to incarcerated male adolescents.

The qualitative approach of semi-structed interviewing was used in order to avoid imposing the ideas and standards of the psychological establishment as well as that of the experimenter's culture on the experience of the adolescents.

Using Kegan's model, African-American, Caucasian and Hispanic subjects were found to be all functioning at the same developmental level.

Qualitative analysis of the data revealed "trust" as a significant issue and identified the lack of the ability on the part of the subjects to take another's perspective as a major deterrent to the messages inherent in the program's stated goals and also to the actual methodology used by the staff.

Case history material from the Department of Youth Services and Kegan's semi-structured, subject-object interviews provided a multi-dimensional understanding of the complex picture of the adolescents' experiences. Conclusions are drawn from the data leading to suggestions for better communication between incarcerated adolescents and those professionals in whose care they have been entrusted.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

<u>Overview of the Topic</u>

Each year in Massachusetts there are approximately 21,000 juveniles arraigned in court on criminal charges. About six percent of these youth are eventually committed to the Department of Youth Services. Only the most serious offenders spend time in the several small, secure facilities situated throughout the state. Very recent changes in Massachusetts laws have resulted in a small, but increasing percentage of youth sent directly to the system. If trends continue as they have over the past ten years, juvenile arrests for violent crimes will double by the year 2010. (DYS, 1996). This disturbing trend certainly indicates a need to re-examine closely the current methods of rehabilitation and socialization of incarcerated youths.

Criminal justice practitioners and policy makers have been repeatedly informed that offender rehabilitation has been a failure; that according to Martinson (1974) "nothing works". Even though Martinson (1979) eventuallly recanted his views, the

anti-rehabilitation rhetoric took firm hold,
particularly in the United States, for a variety of
socio-political reasons (Cullen and Grendreau, 1989).
Despite the current trend to bind youthful offenders
over into the adult system, data has continued to
accumulate testifying to the potency of offender
rehabilitation programs. This evidence is accessible
in a variety of published offender treatment outcome
literature reviews. What are the broad results
emanating from this literature?

Lipsey (1992) published an impressive overview of
juvenile delinquency treatment in this country. He not
only provided an extensive review of the literature,
but using only studies that had control group
comparisons, Lipsey reviewed over 400 programs with
findings which supported reductions in recidivism.
Lipsey and Wilson (1993) have looked at the efficacy of
psychological, educational and behavioral treatment
through meta-analysis. From this encouraging analysis
emerged the realization that all data collected
represented the viewpoints and the meaning-making
systems of the adults involved and not the juvenile
offenders and raised many questions such as: what
actually transpired in those successful programs
according to the various caretakers and according to

2

the youthful offenders ? How did they understand their daily experiences together ?   What kind of an environment overall was created ? What works ? What doesn't work ? Why ?

This writer has spent the last ten years working as a secure treatment clinician in two different units. I have observed and been a part of successful and unsuccessful interventions made by staff and teachers and administrators and counselors and clinicians. Therefore, I am naturally pulled to examine more closely these questions. In addition, Lipsey's comprehensive study of 443 programs inspired me to wonder over and over again about the views of the adolescent residents held in these programs. This current study responds to the need to uncover the meaning incarcerated male adolescents make of their experience.

Essential to this examination is the understanding of the meaning-making systems of adolescents particularly as they may differ from adults.

Robert Kegan, whose research and theory is grounded in the work of Jean Piaget, provides a significant and original methodology to bridge the gap in communication and understanding between adults and adolescents. Although this study will concern itself

primarily with using the lens provided by Kegan which
he labels "constructive developmental" (Kegan, 1982),
to gain a further understanding of incarcerated male
offenders' meaning-making, a context from which to
examine and further explore Kegan's work will also be
presented.

Statement of the Problem

Educators, administrators, clinicians and
caretakers are engaged in a process aimed toward the
socialization and rehabilitation of incarcerated
adolescent male offenders in secure treatment units
located throughout Massachusetts. Studies have been
conducted concerning potency of offender rehabilitation
programs (Andrews & Bonta, 1994; Andrews, Zinger, Hoge,
Bonta, Gendreau & Cullen, 1990; Grendreau & Andrews,
1990; Gendreau, Cullen & Bonta, 1994; Izzo & Ross,
1990; and Lipsey, 1992) with little or no information
gained directly from the incarcerated male adolescents.

The differences between adolescent and adult
meaning-making systems have not been addressed in the
context of treatment. In addition, much of the
literature is theoretical in nature and explores the
dynamics of age-stage dysynchrony (Noam, 1984) rather
than highlighting communication difficulties between

4

stages from the perspective of one stage. Only one
study was found which examined the relationship between
sociopathy and developmental delays (Walsh, 1989),
however that study did not concern itself with the
meaning-making sytems of the adolescents themselves.

There is a gap in the research literature
concerning the assumptions adults make about adolescent
experience while operating at one stage of development
and that experience as understood by adolescents
operating at another stage of development.

In order to close this gap in the research I used
qualitative research methods to understand the meaning
incarcerated adolescents were making of their actual
experience beginning with their own words rather than
imposing any theory. Kegan's Subject-Object Interview
was used to gain further understanding through the
developmental stage perspective.

It is hoped that this research will help
clinicians and educators and line staff and
administrators more effectively serve the adolescents
entrusted to their care and that tentative hypotheses
for further research in the area of effective
interventions with incarcerated male offenders will be
developed.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore from a phenomenological perspective the meaning incarcerated male adolescents made of their experience in secure treatment. This study attempted to provide a better understanding of the meaning-making of these offenders by asking them directly about their perceptions and feelings using the Kegan semi-structured clinical subject/object interview.

The specific goals of this qualitative research approach were: 1) To explore how residents in a secure treatment program defined and understood the various interventions directed toward them on the part of staff. 2) To explore the goals of those who either developed or contributed to those same interventions. 3) To compare the residents' understanding with the stated or goals of the program whenever possible.

Significance of the Study

The limited research available concerning rehabilitation of adolescent offenders does not focus on the perspectives of the adolescents themselves but on the theoretical perspectives of others. Few studies have used a qualitative approach to explore the meaning-making of incarcerated adolescents. The use of

Kegan's phenomenological, clinical and semi-structured subject/object interview elicited the presentation of detailed descriptions of how different experiences and interventions impacted these offenders.

This study of eight residents incarcerated in a secure treatment unit contributes to the body of knowledge concerning the principles of effective interventions with troubled adolescents. The exploration of the meaning-making of these incarcerated adolescents can provide insight into how to best achieve the social and pro-social goals of the program and its staff. It is expected that the answers to the issues explored here will have practical implications for administrators, educators, and clinicians as well as for the direct service staff.

Assumptions

This study was based on the assumption that an adolescent's actual experience of life on a secure treatment unit, and the meanings made from this experience might differ from that intended by those who design and implement these programs. Furthermore, the belief that DYS administrators, educators, clinicians, and direct service caretakers, all share an interest in knowing more about the youth in their care and how to

7

better serve them was an integral aspect of this research.

Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation includes five chapters. Chapter One provides an overview of the topic in general, as well as the purpose and significance of the specific research study conducted for this dissertation. Chapter Two is a review of the literature, focusing on several areas significant to this study: meaning-making systems, meaning-making in the object relations tradition, meaning-making in the existential-phenomenological tradition, Kegan's perspective on meaning-making, gangs, incarceration and rehabilitation of adolescents. Chapter Three provides a description of the methodology used for this research study and describes the procedures, data collection, and data analysis. Chapter Four presents excerpts from the subject-object interviews including the questions asked by the reseacher. The Kegan stage coding for each participant has been indicated as well as the rationale for the selection of the indicated stage. Chapter Five offers a discussion of the findings and the themes that emerged from this study, as well as offering suggestions for future research.

8

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Although the literature on antisocial adolescent development is vast, empirical research concerning the meaning-making systems of those adolescents adjudicated and incarcerated is sparse. However exisiting theories and the research connected to these theories have impacted clinical treatment programs and units. This study is both research and theory driven.

Robert Kegan, whose research and theory is grounded in the work of Jean Piaget, provides a significant and original methodology to further understand both meaning-making of adolescents and the gap in communication between adults and adolescents. His theory examined the development of the activity of mean-making.

Before further exploration of Kegan's work and subsequent research based on his theory, it is important to examine the literature which includes the traditions of those psychological developmental theories seeking to explain meaning-making systems. A brief review of these theories is included.

Meaning-Making Systems

Selecting the most significant theories, those which have had the greatest impact on clinical and counseling psychology, could be considered an arbitrary process at best. Three major traditions have been addressed: 1) The Ego Psychology Tradition. 2. The Object Relations Tradition. 3) The Existential-Phenomenological Tradition.

Meaning-Making in the Ego Psychology Tradition

The study of ego in the 1930s included both Anna Freud's explanation of the ego and its defenses (1936) and Heinz Hartmann's more adaptive potential view (1939) reflecting much less conflict. These differing views at that time were never intergrated. It seems they were so tied to Freud's concept of intrapsychic function (Freud, 1911) believing that meaning-making was taking place in almost an internal vacuum, that they could not reconcile their differences. Either the self-protective ego created its defenses (A. Freud, 1936) and fully functioned or it broke down. Therefore the notion that growth and development could be tied to the ego's very activity of making meaning was missing at that time.

It was Erikson's psychosocial approach (1950) which introduced and supported the developmental theory that stages of development could be tied to predictable conflicts and crises present at certain predictable times in the life cycle.

Erikson's theory divides the human life cycle into eight stages: Infancy, Early Childhood, Play Age, School Age, Adolescence, Young Adulthood, Adulthood, and Old Age (Erikson, 1968). In each stage, according to Erikson, the individual faces predictable crises with certain positive or negative resolution of the crisis inherent in the stage. Adolescence is a time with a crisis noted as: Identity vs. Confusion; successful resolution brings the quality of fidelity. When studying the meaning-making systems of incarcerated male adolescents it is important to realize that problems of neglect and violence and drugs and the crime in the neighborhood appearing either in the Play Age or the School Age in Eriksonian terms, clearly impacts development. Many of these youths may have experienced early infant nurturing and care which would produce basic trust and lay the foundation for autonomy, initiative and industry, along with a sense of hope and will and purpose which Erikson suggests are the result of successful resolutions of these early

stages of development. The problems for these youth often stem from the choices offered them by the environments they are busy adapting to and here Erikson uses a systems evolution framework for his explanation of adolescent problematic development. (Erikson, 1958).

Erikson suggests that man continually prepares himself to adapt to and develop cultures in varied environments. A dangerous, violent environment then seems to logically produce that which society at large would label dangerous and violent. Nevertheless, this behavior may be largely adaptive behavior to the context.

Erikson indicates that it is precisely this struggle with his environment that the adolescent faces with an ideological mind, and it is the ideological outlook of a society which speaks more clearly to the adolescent than to anyone at any other stage of development (Erikson, 1980).

A literature search in connection with Erikson's contributions to understanding adolescent development and meaning-making revealed the important research led by Bourne.

Bourne's research expanded on Erikson's theory by dealing with the complexities in the roles people assume as they develop. Bourne shed light on why some

adolescents with some training may enter a workforce that offers them the potential of reasonably high self-esteem and others will reject jobs which offer good pay and traditional high social status, chosing instead to work in situations that allow them to be more genuinely helpful to their fellow humans. Still others follow the road to the label "anti-social". Bourne considered adolescence as a period of human development completely out of an intrapsychic self-representation into one involving relationships with people, community, and society. (Bourne, 1978).

Meaning-Making in the Object Relations Tradition

Of all those who have written about object relations, W.R.D. Fairbairn fashioned a model that is the most "pure", that is, free of a biological emphasis and purely psychological (St.Clair, 1986) In considering development Fairbairn (1956) examined the development of object relations; that is, the changing quality of the object that the individual seeks at various levels of development. Relationships with a person (object) involve dependency of some sort, and Fairbairn's developmental model considers the quality of an individual's dependency upon his or her inner objects. Development, then, proceeds from an infantile

13

dependence upon a part object (the mother's breast) to a mature dependence upon a whole object (a whole person with sexual features). Growth moves from an infantile attitude of taking to a more mature attitude of mutual giving and receiving between two differentiated individuals.

Jacobson used the term "self" in the same way Heinz Hartmann (1958) did, referring to the whole person, including the body as well as the psyche. The self is a term distinguishing a person as subject in distinction to the world of objects (Jacobson 1946). Jacobson saw growth and development as moving from undifferentiated, rudimentary forms toward differentiated, clearly distinguishable forms. Jacobson saw the self as having contact with the environment. Her understanding of development places objects within both drive and relational contexts. Her theme is that normal development rests on evolving images of self and others (objects). Jacobson said that, at first, drives as instinctual conflicts will be manifested in aggression, which finds expression in competitive struggles with powerful love objects. Later, the ego forms a concept of the self as an entity that has continuity and direction. In other words, there is the discovery of identity apart from drives

14

which are neutralized and used in the service of the ego (self).

Winnicott (1965) explained development in terms of the quality of dependence of the child on the mother. Developmental stages of the young child are inextricably intertwined with the kind and quality of maternal care. He defined three categories of dependence: absolute, relative, and toward independence. It is not easy to relate Winnicott's theory of development to the concepts of others (St. Clair, 1986) however his creative therapeutic work with children and his original ideas concerning the relationship between mother and child remain important.

Mahler (1968) set out to conceptualize childhood psychosis from a psychoanalytic viewpoint. She later broadened her scope to include observation of "normal" babies and their mothers. Mahler described three developmental phases: Normal autism, normal symbiosis, and separation and individuation. During separation and individuation, there are four subphases. During these different stages of development, considerable overlapping occurs, and no one phase is completely replaced by a following phase.

Briefly, Mahler defines normal autism during approximately the first month of life as a time when

15

the infant is seeking a new balance "outside the womb",
clearly undifferentiated and without "objects".
(Mahler, etal, 1975). Normal symbiosis takes place in
the second month of life, as the "good mothering" pulls
the infant from the tendency toward negative regression
to an increased sensory awareness (Mahler, 1968). The
infant gradually differentiates between pleasure and
good experiences and painful and bad experiences. If
the infant has an optimal experience of the symbiotic
union with the mother, then the infant can make a
smooth psychological differential from mother.
Separation and individuation, two simultaneous paths of
development, moves through four subphases: Body image,
Practicing, Rapprochement (second half of second year)
to Emotional Object Constancy and Individuality which
occupies mainly the third year of life but which has
distinct ending point.

Meaning-Making: Existential-Phenomenological Tradition

      A conception of developmental growth tied to the
ego's very activity of meaning-making is present in the
work of Carl Rogers (1951). Rogers' first principal is
the "actualizing tendency" which he defines as the
inherent tendency of the organism to develop all its
capacities in ways which serve to maintain or enhance

16

the organism. Rogers uses Maslow's terms not only when

indicating the process of meeting deficiency needs, but

also when he speaks about development toward

differentiation and expansions in terms of growth.

(Maslow, 1954). Kegan believes Rogers regards this

actualizing tendency as the one and only motive of

personality. In other words, there are no separate

systems with motives of their own. So it is presumed

by Rogers that there is a basic unity to personality,

but that this unity is best understood as a process.

This process gives rise to the "self" in Rogerian

terms, the meaning-making system with which the process

gets identified.

Rogers explains anxiety, defense, psychological

maladjustment and the processes of psychotherapy in the

context of a self-system of development attempting to

maintain or transform itself.

Rogers and Maslow's explanations have been

questioned in several areas. For example, since the

emphasis is upon development towards autonomy and

differentiation, is it "not crucial to know something

about the differences as well as the commonality

between an earlier transition and a later one; about

the different selves the actualizing tendency brings

into being?" (Kegan, 1982). Perhaps a neo-Piagetian

framework can both answer the question of different selves making-meaning at different times in history and provide a stronger justification and operational transition of basic Rogerian convictions. (Kegan,1982).

Piaget's Perspective on Meaning-Making

Piaget's perpective on intellectual development was formed during his early psychological studies in Binet's psychometic laboratory in 1919. Piaget's dissatisfaction with Binet and Simon's psychometric task, and the scoring of such tasks on a pass-fail system, led to the development of Piaget's "clinical method" (1952), in which the reasoning behind a child's answer was examined extensively. These investigations led Piaget to conclude that children's reasoning at different ages represented qualitatively different ways of thinking. A central question guiding the Piagetian perspective on intellectual development has been that of how to characterize the universal changes in mental functioning that take place from infancy to adolescence.

Piaget (1952) characterized intellectual development as a process of constructing knowledge from our interactions with the environment, a process resulting in cognitive structures that were

18

representative of a particular developmental period, or stage. Piaget viewed intelligence as the instrument that enables people to achieve equilibrium between their cognitive structures and their environment. Intelligence "is the form towards which the successive adaptions and exchanges between the organism and his environment are directed" (1950, p.6).

Piaget identified four broad stages of intellectual development which differed in the types of cognitive structives (described in terms of their logical properties) used to interact with their environment: (1) sensorimotor stage, (2) preoperational stage, (3) concrete operational stage, and (4) formal operational stage.

Piaget places only the younger adolescents at the concrete operational stage and grants older teenager full formal operational abilities. However, Piagetian theorizing and research have focused on the similarities in cognitive structures among individuals at a given develomental stage and have therefore not considered within stage variabilities. Can Piaget's theory explain the many social cognitive changes that characterize adolescent development or in particular anti-social development ?

Piaget's Critics

Research conducted by some of the critics of Piaget's approach indicates his theory cannot explain the social cognitive changes that characterize adolescent anti-socal development (Blasi & Hoeffel, 1974; Broughton, 1977; Lapsley, 1990, 1993). Concrete operations are adaptive if the causal structure is known and the deductive rules are correctly followed. Concerete operations are adaptive if the adolescent has a rich and varied social history from which to make the appropriate inductions.

Minimally, this necesitates taking a look at the social history informing the development of anti-social adolescents if only to provide a better understanding of the context of said development. In addition, this also indicates that the kinds of possibilities that concern the adolescent; i.e. plans, social and political commitments, ideological orientation, cannot be adequately explained by formal operational thought. Choices made by adolescents do not necessarily spring only from logical reasoning but from something else such as motivation, imagination, desire, and creativity. Again, these dynamics require examination then of the context in which they were informed and developed. (Lapsley, 1993).

In addition, the universality of Piaget's theory of cognitive development has been called into question by many researchers (Dasen, 1977; Greenfield 1976; Price-Williams 1980). Their research demonstrated great variation in the rate of Piagetian cognitive development and has examined the question of whether Piaget's stages appear in the same order in different cultures.

Crosscultural research demonstrated the rarity of formal operational performance among non-literate adults and so led to widespread concern that this stage represents a culturally specific course of development, perhaps best represented by the "Western scientist". Largely because of the cross-cultural evidence, Piaget revised his stance on the formal operational stage, stating that this stage may be one that appears only in specific familiar domains rather than being a structured ensemble. Later research conduced in the United States investigating performance on formal operational tasks across domains supports this reformulation (Kuhn and Brannock 1977).

The literature also reveals that Neo-Piagetian perspectives dating back to the early seventies, do indeed concern themselves with understanding how cognitive structures are applied more locally within a

21

domain and not universally across a domain (Case, 1985)

There have been studies concerning the post-traumatic

effect of war on cognition and emotional responses and

development on adults (Herman, 1992), but few similar

studies surfaced concerning children or adolescents.

Research is needed concerning the effect of those

dynamics on development and cognition of children.

Kegan's Perspective on Meaning-Making

Kegan makes it clear that his third tradition, his

constructive-developmental theory, deals solely with

the activity of meaning-making. It is that activity

which Kegan measures and organizes as stages. Kegan

identifies two traditions and considers his work to

represent a third.

Kegan states he is not attempting to add to the

body of knowledge set forth in ego psychology (A.

Freud, 1936; Hartmann, 1939; Erikson, 1950) or that in

object relations theory (Fairbairn, 1952; Jacobsen,

1964; Winnicott, 1965; Mahler, 1968). It is the

existential-phenomenological theory and approach

towards understanding human development manifested in

the work of Maslow (1954) and Rogers (1951), that he

holds most accountable as he introduces his own theory.

Kegan believes his theory has it's origins grounded in the work of Baldwin (1906), Dewey (1938), Mead (1934) but states that the central figures has certainly been Jean Piaget. Kegan clearly indicates that Piaget, although measuring cognition and intelligence and having little to say to counseling and clinical psychology is actually better equipped to deal with the very issues central to those psychologies which have been influential to the therapeutic enterprise. (1982)

Kegan's view of the Neo-Piagetian framework is that it shares the convictions of ego psychologists and object relation theorists. He outlines a central conviction that personality development occurs in the context of inter- actions between the organism and the environment, rather than through the internal processes of maturation alone.

Kegan credits Piaget with providing a researchable program which can bring together varing convictions into a consistent theoretical whole, joining ego and object relations psychologists in the effort to understand the processes and stages of development in our "self-other" constructions. (1982)

Kegan expands Piaget's stages of development to include subject/object balances of structure and context in a manner vital to understanding and communication. He presents an intrinsic limitation on the ability of any given individual at any particular stage. Again and again Kegan raises the question, "How can one dialogue with another if one does not understand how "the other" is understanding what is being said and experienced on more than just a basic cognitive level ?" Kegan's theory presents six stages of growth as follows:

Stage 0 Incorporative: The subject is all reflexes such as sensing and moving with no object at all, Kegan compares the psychoanalytic object relations viewpoint which looks to the events of the first years of life for its basic themes and categories with his subject/object theory. He admits that early infancy from a neo-Piagetian view has great importance, however he states clearly that in its most fundamental respect this period is not qualitatively different from any other moment in the lifespan. In other words, what is taken to be fundamental is the activity of meaning-constitutive evolution. Kegan also cites Freud's "mental functioning" and "pleasure and reality principles" as well as the organization of meaning under "assimilation" and "accommodation" (Freud, 1911, 1936) as, at the very least, not in any way in contradiction to his theory and uses these examples along with Piagetian conception of the all-assimilative, incorporate newborn (Piaget, 1952) to support this stage as the "dawn of object relations". Kegan sees the process of differentiation creating the possibility of integration bringing into being the theme of finding and losing. He also reports that many researchers agree that the universal infant reaction of protest upon separation from the primary caretaker first appears around ten months, peaks at twelve

24

months, and ceases at about twenty-one months (Kegan, 1982).

Stage 1 Impulsive: Emerging at about ages five to seven, indicates the subject as impulses and perceptions with those same reflexes as objects, Kegan states that from infancy to stage one what is taking place is transitional and transformational in a process which has been called decentration (Piaget, 1937), emergence from embeddedness (Schachtel, 1959), the recurring triumph over egocentrism (Elkind, 1974). He further states that it has been referred to as a process in which the whole becomes a part to a new whole (Perry, 1970); in which what was structure becomes content on behalf of a new structure (Piaget, 1968);in which what was ultimate becomes preliminary on behalf of a new ultimacy (Kegan, 1980); in which what was immediate gets mediated by a new immediacy (Kegan, 1981). Kegan believes all of these descriptions speak to the same process, which is essentially that of adaptation. He refers to Mahler's term that we are indeed "hatched out" but he believes this happens over and over again at each stage. Therefore, in Stage One, all reflexes move over into the subject place and and impulses and perceptions seem to take control of the five to seven year old. (1982)

Stage 2 Imperial: Coming along at ages twelve to sixteen, has interests, needs, wishes as the subject with impulses and perceptions as objects. (You can see that each stage moves the subject out of the subject into the object place which is the key to understanding this theory and how to use it.) The adolescent at the beginning of this stage, according to Kegan, no longer lives with the sense that the parent can read his private feelings. He now has a private world which he did not have before. We see the emergence of a self-concept, a more or less consistent notion of a me, what I am (which Kegan contrasts to the earlier sense of self, that I am, and the later sense of self, who I am). Kegan addresses the limits of this stage again using examples of contrast. He states that if I, the imperial self, for example, betray a confidence because it suits my needs, I do not experience guilt but rather I may experience concern about whether the person I have betrayed will find out and what the consequences of their finding out will be. I would understand that another person has needs and interests as I do and I could understand how they might feel about being

25

betrayed but how they will feel is not part of the very source of my own feeling or meaning-making. For it to be so would require me to be able to integrate one needs-perspective with another which represents a new qualitative construction of the balance "in which I hang".(Kegan, 1982). Kegan sees this ability as the beginning of the next stage. (Noam in some slight contrast to Kegan points out that from a Piagetian perspective the crucial facilitator of development is social experience, especially opportunities to experience the inherent contradictions or limits of one's underlying psychologic. He suggests that the transition between stages 2 and 3 which usually takes place in the teen years sees the adolescent beginning to emerge from embeddedness in needs, though not without considerable struggle and the experience of loss.) (Noam, Kegan, Rogers, 1982).

Stage 3 Interpersonal: No age allocated here, the subject becomes the interpersonal, the mutuality with the needs, interests, and wishes moving over to the object place. This, again, is the crutial point in development for young adults who want to be in relationship with each other, for unless their own needs become object they can hold separate from themselves, they are, as Kegan states, "their own needs". (It is helpful to think about this phenomenon as epistemological, rather than to think of it as a dynamic well within the control of the individual.) It is at this stage that the feelings the self gives rise to are shared; somebody else is in there from the beginning. Stage three ambivalences or personal conflicts are not really conflicts between what I want and what someone else wants. They are more easily understood as what the self wants to do as part of this and that shared reality. The limits in this meaning-making system have entirely to do with the fact that both realities cannot be put in front of oneself simultaneously therefore not being subject to oneself. Taking oneself as an object is not possible until the next stage of development.

Stage 4 Institutional: Has the subject changing to authorship, identity, psychic administration, ideology, and moves interpersonal mutuality over into the object place. (It seems only logical then to realize that something else can be subject once one can view as object one's need for the interpersonal, or mutuality.)

26

Now, with a new sense of authority, sense of self, self-dependence, self-ownership, the stage four individual can move from "I am my relationships" to "I have relationships". This self is by nature, ideological, and so requires the recognition of a group to come into being: either the tacit ideological support of American institutional life, which is most supportive to the institutional evolution of white males, or the more explicit ideologies in support of a disenfranchised social class, gender, or race Conflict or the question changes from "do you still like me?" to "does my government still stand ?" Kegan believes that the balance here is that in self-government it has rescued the self from its captivity by the shared realities of stage three but that in having no self before which it can brings the demands of that goverment, it now risks the excesses of control that may obtain to any government not subject to a wider context. Kegan effectively illustrates this with story which ends with the character stating "How exhausting it is becoming and holding together. And until recently I didn't even realize I was doing it." This realization is the beginning of the next stage.

Stage 5 Interindividuality: The inidividual can hold authorship, identity, psychic administration, ideology in the object position. Here the rebalancing separates the self from the institution and creates an "individual", that self which Kegan describes as having the ability to reflect upon, or take as object, the regulations and purposes of a psychic administration which formerly were the subject of one's attentions. Stage five individuals can not only hear negative reports about its activites but it can seek out this information in order to alter its own behavior with some clear intentionality. The community in which this self functions is for the first time a "universal" one in that all persons, by virture of their being persons, are eligible for membership. (1982).

Research Based on Kegan's Theory

A review of the literature concerning research
based on Kegan's theory revealed several important
studies. One study (Walsh, 1989) examined the
relationship with scores in Kegan's structural
developmental model and clinically assessed sociopathy
in 15 men, all previously involved in the Criminal
Justice System. The research was designed to test
Kegan's hypothesis that sociopathy is the result of
developmental delay. Three questions were asked of the
subjects. A significant statistical relationship
between the diagnosis of Antisocial Personality
Disorder and assessments of delay at Kegan's Stage 2
epistemology was found. Also, a significant correlation
was found between the degree of sociopathy and
substages of cognitive development. Apparently a
relationship sought by the third question between
subject/object scores and standard M.M.P.I. measures
was not significant. Although the 15 subjects who
participated in this study were men between the ages of
20 and 40, volunteers from a population of ex-offenders
on parole, not adolescents, Walsh's work more closely
parallels this research than any other study found in
this search.

Kegan's own (1986) review of the empirical

literature that links sociopathy to socio-moral

development cites many studies in an attempt to offer a

clue to the etiology of sociopathy. Sociopathy, Kegan

contends, can be developmentally diagnosed by assessing

the Subject/Object balance of the Self. In contrast,

DSM-III and DSM-IV criteria for labelling or naming or

diagnosing the Antisocial Personality Disorder include

first that the current age be at least 18. This then

raises the stage/age question to be addressed.

Kegan (1986) addresses the stage/age question from

a structural developmentalist perspective and presents

his logic for considering developmental delay to be a

cause of sociopathy. He cites the early applications of

the structural-developmental paradigm to anti-social

behavior, emphasizing the cognitive structure that

relates to role taking for the Other as faulty in not

paying attention to the objectified structure of Self

that is the logical corollary of imagining a third-

person perspective.

Noam (1984) proceeded to look at "age-stage

dysynchrony" in a study wherein a group of hospitalized

early adolescents were compared with high school

students examining different expressions of pathology

at different levels of ego development. Results

29

indicated that 65% of the high school adolescents were at a higher stage than the psychiatric control group. Similar results were found with respect to moral development (Noam 1984). The great majority of hospitalized adolescent were reasoning at preconventional levels, whereas the majority of high school adolescents were reasoning at conventional levels. Noam states that these findings support the view that developmental analyses may provide a useful framework for addressing psychopathology as,at least in part, an instance of "age-stage dysynchrony". (1984).

In order to understand "age-stage dysynchrony" from another perspective in addition to the context of adolescent development defined by Kegan as "the activity of meaning-making between self and other" (1982), some researchers have examined the lives of adolescents, and have recognized the fact that a single developmental model might not accurately characterise all adolescents (Feldman & Elliott, 1990).

Erickson's psychosocial approach (1950) supporting that developmental theory includes stages of development with predictable conflicts and crises present at certain predictable times in the life cycle places the adolescent exploring alternatives and experimenting with choices as part of developing an

identity.   Although this model may accurately fit many White, middle-class adolescents, it may be less well suited to adolescents from low-income families, school dropouts, and unemployed adolescents.   For many of these youth, development often is more chaotic and restricted.   For such youth, social and ethnic barriers too frequently signal the presence of discrimination and prejudice.

Of special importance is the growing interest in the sociocultural contexts of adolescent development. Each adolescent's development occurs against a backdrop of contexts (Cooper, 1995; McLoyd & Ceballo, 1995).

Kegan acknowledges that Western culture tends to favor the side of independence over the side of inclusion and, in addition, supports the notion that men have more difficulty acknowledging their need for inclusion and tend to be more oriented toward differentiation and conversely that women tend to have more difficulty acknowledging their need for distinctness and tend to be more oriented toward inclusion.   He suggests the Jungian notion that there is a man in every woman and a woman in every man takes care of that difference.   He believes that Western and Eastern cultures reflect one side or other of this ambivalence but that they also project the other.   It

31

is clear that Kegan goes on to support the notion that
cultural influences and internal responses to these
influences take place inside, in the meaning-making
system and that "the differing emphasis among cultures
and sexes seems to me quite powerful, enduring, and
beyond question of noncomparable dignity and stature"
(p 209, 1982). It is equally clear and present
throughout the body of Kegan's work that he believes
the subject/object constructive-developmental theory is
not affected by either cross or multi-cultural issues.
This literature search did not disclose studies to
support or contradict this belief.

The notion that each adolescent's development
occurs against a backdrop of contexts (Cooper, 1995;
McLoyd & Ceballo, 1995) pointed to the need to expand
the scope of my search to further understand the
meaning of gangs for adolescents which form out of most
cultures present, at least in the Commonwealth of
Massachusetts.

Gangs

Whereas statistics concerning the number of youths
currently committed to the Department of Youth Service
known or even suspected to be gang affiliated are not
available, self-reported data suggests that the

percentages run high. Therefore it was indeed surprising to this researcher that the literature in this (and related) areas was, again, sparse.

Calabrese & Noboa (1995) examined the differences in the gang-socialization process between 300 African-American males and 139 Hispanic males in grades 6-8. Gang involvement and delinquency among Hispanic subjects was closely associated with intrapersonal variables, but gang involvement among African-American subjects was more closely associated with social or interpersonal variables. Subjects completed self-report questionnnaires on aspirations and values, family composition, perceptions of the gang problem, participation in gang and nongang antisocial events, and contact and relationships with a variety of peer and adult significant others. They found that gang involvement was an effective post hoc esimator of delinquency, but delinquency was not an effective estimator of gang involvement.

One significant study examined the differences between families of youths who were gang members vs. youths not in gangs (Adler, Ovando, & Hocevar, 1992). Target children were males who belonged to gangs that had well-known names, insignia, and territory who were involved in antisocial activies. Here data were

33

collected from 30 mothers using a semi-structured interview. Results indicated that family related variables distinguished families of gang members from the control families. Specifically, youths in gangs were more likely to come from families that put less emphasis on intrafamilial socialization, youth supervision, and outward expression of affection.

Techniques for using characteristics of the stereotyped adolescent gang to faciliate group therapy based on the concept that adolescence is a time when a teenager seeks independence from adults and gravitates towards peers and using the "natural sense of bonding among teenagers" are clearly necessary. (Moss, 1992). Adolescents placed in residential treatment centers are often mistrustful of adults and have often displayed antisocial behaviors with peers therefore, care must be taken to appropriately structure sessions and positively use peer pressure.

Many adolescent needs are met by gang and/or cult affiliations, which provide a sense of belonging, self-worth, companionship, and excitement. Prevention of alienation through family, school, and peers may minimize deviant involvements but in cases for which prevention is not effective, clinical treatment and intervention may be necessary. (Clark 1992.)

34

Therapists must be knowlegeable about adolescents' gang involvement, empathic to their circumstances, and sophisticated in their approach to treatment.

Incarceration and Rehabilitation

Prior to Lipsey's (1992) landmark overview study of juvenile delinquency in this country, outlined in Chapter One, McColgan, Rest, and Pruitt (1983) from the Tennessee Center for Health Sciences, assessed the relationship between moral judgment and a naturalistic measure of antisocial behavior. Their research tested 29 incarcerated male delinquents matching the results gained from two instruments against a comparison group of 41 nondelinquent males matched on age and IQ. Results indicated no significant differences between the two groups. The research did not indicate the use of clinical interviews to gain data beyond the two instruments used.

In 1988, McCown, Johnson, Silverman, and Austin, interested in comparing delinquent youths to schizophrenics, in terms of "social interest" compared 30 incarcerated male adolescents to 30 hospitalized young males diagnosed as schizophrenic according to DSM-III criteria. The test stimuli consisted of 50 slides and the comparisons made were based solely on

facial affects. The test stimuli consisted of 50 slides of 6 primary facial affects and 8 slides of neutral affects. There were highly significant differences in the number of slides decoded correctly by schizophrenic, delinquent, and control groups. Findings suggest that deliquents and schizophrenics evidence a lack of social interest. Conversation was not a part of this study.

Oyserman and Saltz (1993) explored the impact of the impulsivity of "possible selves", and social and communication skills on delinquent behavior. Their study looked at 230 inner-city high school and incarcerated adolescents. They found that self-reported delinquency among high school students stressed impulsivity as causal but causal elements were not even easily isolated or definable by the incarcerated adolescents. This study concluded suggesting "the importance of examining the subjective meaning.....for the individual".

This current study includes "self-reporting" in exactly the manner Oyserman and Saltz suggest using Kegan's subject/object clinical interview techniques.

Steiner and Feldman (1995) evaluated the discriminant validity of two self-report measures of adaptive style by normal, psychosomatically ill, and

delinquent adolescents. Using the Weinberger

Adjustment Inventory (WAI) which assesses distress,

restraint, denial, and repressive defensiveness, and

the Defense Style Questionnaire (DSQ) which assesses

immature, neurotic, and mature defenses, Steiner and

Feldman tested 272 adolescents which included 66

incarcerated male delinquents. The WAI styles for all

groups were only slightly differentiated. However, the

DSQ successfully discriminated normal from pathological

youth. Findings revealed that not all pathological

youth are incarcerated and not all incarcerated youth

are pathological. These findings were vital and

supported the concept that using developmental

theories, especially Kegan's theory and methdology, was

indeed an ethical way to proceed to measure the meaning

incarcerated adolescents made rather than to assume all

incarcerated youth were pathological and thus rely on

instruments designed to measure pathology.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Design of the Study

This study investigates the experiences of
incarcerated male adolescents. Utilizing Kegan's semi-
structured subject/object interview, adolescents were
asked to choose from ten different topics written on
index cards handed out at the beginning of the
interview The topics were: anger, anxious/ nervous,
success, strong stand/conviction, sad, torn, moved/
touched, lost something, change, and important to me.
Interviewees were asked to think about and jot down
notes to themselves on the cards regarding their own
recent experience of each of these topics. The cards
were not shared with the researcher, however once a
card was chosen by the interviewee to be discussed, the
conversation about the card was audio-taped.

Kegan's guide to the subject-object interview
outlines and defines how to successfully administer and
interpret these recorded conversations. In addition, my
own knowledge and previous experience of working with
the actual participants very much informed how to best
proceed to ask the necessary questions within the semi-

38

structured clinical interview set forth by Kegan as the
way to proceed with this qualitative, phenomenological
study.

Reliability and validity (see segments following
for more information) of the subject-object interview
has been established and will be examined with the goal
of understanding the meaning-making system of these
incarcerated adolescents.

Sample

The sample consisted of eight incarcerated adolescents between the ages of 14 and 19 with a mean age of 16, drawn from twenty-one residents in one Massachusetts secure treatment unit. Subjects had been incarcerated on this unit for a minimum of three months at the time of the interview.

This unit was chosen both for reasons of convenience and because management indicated an interest in the outcome of this research and a willingness to review the findings in the light of the way they would impact the environment.

In accordance with recommended qualitative practice (Strauss & Corbin, 1990; Marshall & Rossman, 1989), the sample size was limited to eight subjects.

Procedures

Each participant was interviewed individually using Kegan's semi-structured subject/object format. This enabled each adolescent to contribute his own experiences within a framework of relevant topics. All eight subjects already knew this researcher as one of a team of clinicans on their unit. They also understood that all residents were given at least the opportunity to volunteer to be part of this study. They were clearly informed that their decision to participate would not in any way effect their release from secure treatment. (Informed Consent Appendix A).

Individually in accordance with Kegan's design for the semi-structured subject-object interview, each participant was given ten index cards with the topics as indicated and asked to write down a few words to remind him of a recent experience on the unit related to the topic. Participants were informed that I would be asking questions about the topic and the importance and meaning of his experiences and that this conversation will be audio-taped only. Each subject was also told that we would talk for about one hour and that we probably would not get to all ten topics and that the index cards were for their eyes only and that they could take their index cards with them when they

left the interview. Participants were assured at the beginning and during the interview that they could change cards and hence the subject matter under discussion at any time they feel the need to do so.

Measures

Three measures were used in this study. 1) My primary method of data collection was the Kegan subject-object (S-O) semi-structured interview. This interview used the techniques of index card cues plus a methodology of questioning which probed for the internal meaning-making activity and system of the participant. 2) Additional information regarding the participants in this study was also gained from the Comprehensive Evaluation form (Appendix C) completed with the use of DYS case histories and files. Categories addressed were: Reason for Incarceration, Prior Criminal History, Undocumented Criminal History, Familial Constellation, Family Genogram, Family Demographics, Trauma History, Psychiatric/Medical History, Physical Description, Developmental History, Substance Abuse History, Substance Abuse Symptoms/Patterns and Academic Functioning. 3) The final measure included the DYS Mission statement (see Appendix B) as well as unit goals.

42

The psychometric properties of the subject/object interview include interrater reliability, test-retest reliability and validity.

Psychometric Properties of the Subject/Object Interview

The first dissertation (Goodman, 1983) to use Kegan's S-O interview in systematic research achieved agreement between two ratings at 67%; agreement within 1/5 stage was 82%. A second interrater reliability test was run once the research group experienced a "growing sophistication with theoretical, methodological, and scoring issues" and complete agreement between the two ratings was 89%; agreement within 1/5 stage was 100%. Kegan compares this with a general preference for interrater agreement in the 70-80% range however he states that the instrument which is most similar theoretically and methodologically which has the longer "track record" is the Moral Judgment Interview (MJI) (Colby, Kohlbeg, et.al; 1987) which has a mean of 60% and a mode and median of 63%. Also, the MJI contains only 13 possible distinctions while the S-O involves 21 possible distinctions which clearly indicates a favorable comparison.

Test-Retest Reliability

Lahey's dissertation research (Lahey, 1986) design permits at least a provisional consideration of test-retest reliability. Lahey pursed the question of "structural consistency": To what extent do persons exercise the same epistemology across quite different domains of life experience ? Lahey's results revealed correlations between the scores at time1 and time2, were .82 (Spearman coefficient) and .834 (Pearson's r). Percent agreement within 2/5 of a stage from time1 to time2 were .95;within 1/5 of a stage from time1 to time2 was .81; exact agreement from time1 to time2 was .50. Apparently these numbers are only a little less strong than the most similar better established measure, the Moral Judgment Interview (MJI).

This dynamic of structural consistency concerning different domains of life experience was not a component of this current research.

Validity

Kegan's reference assessing the validity of the S-O Interview is: <u>Standards for Educational and Psychological Tests and Manuals</u> (1966), wherein the American Psychological Association distinguishes three types of validity. These are: criterion-related

44

validity, content validity and construct validity. Here once more Kegan compares his S-O Interview with the MJI and contends that the appropriate validity concept for a developmental measure is construct validity.

He states that the real test of validity of the measure is its capacity to support or its inability to support the theoretical constructs that give rise to it as powerful explanatory tools for understanding the data produced.

Kegan summarizes the subject-object interview measure by admitting that it is still at an early stage of development and that its reliability/validity track record is a young one. Longitudinal investigations are apparently in place with results not yet available because of this dynamic. Kegan clearly believes however that the evidence suggests its reliability compares well with similar, better established measures such as the Moral Judgment Interview and the Sentence Completion Test.

Data Analysis

From a variety of data collection strategies, I selected three paths to follows. I would get background information concerning the participants in this study from the actual DYS case files using a

Comprehenive Evaulation form of my own design (Appendix

C). I would then use a semi-structured interview

supported by a developmental theory (Kegan, 1982) which

ten years of experience with the subject population had

demonstrated at least to this researcher to be both

effective and measurable. Lastly, the content of these

interviews would be re-examined as qualitative,

phenomenological data. The analysis of this data would

then be to determine how closely the goals of both the

developers and the staff of one secure treatment

program matched the experience and meaning-making of

the residents of that program. Marshall and Rossman

(1989) describes that process as one of "bringing

order, structure, and meaning to the mass of collected

data". Therefore, emergent hypotheses will be tested

against the data using the Marshall and Ross method of

testing for adequacy, credibility, usefulness, and

centrality.

My major goals for my work as a clinician have

always included: 1) Developing a better understanding

of the period known as adolescence in the framework of

human development and 2) Furthering my knowledge of a

special group of adolescents. My preparation for this

research and the work itself have also met those two

goals. This study provided rich data from the

participants which then needed to be identified, coded, and categorized according to prevalent patterns. To reach these ends requires maintaining a balance among the attributes of creativity, rigor, persistence, and above all, theoretical sensitivity. (Strauss & Corbin, 1990.)

Doing this sort of analysis does in fact require making interpretations. Concept, hypotheses and theories are not found ready-made in reality but must be constructed. (Diesing, 1971).

After the completion of the task of coding the material according Kegan's guide to interpretation of subject-object interviews, I thoroughly evaluated the transcriptions of the taped interviews and carefully identified significant units for analysis. These units were given headings reflecting stage and content. Content areas of significance were assigned a coding category. A list of coding categories were reviewed and refined for purposes of organization especially to avoid overlap. A number of formalized themes were thus identified. These themes as anticipated were grounded in the developmental data and expressed within the framework of research questions seeking the meaning-making of the participants and guiding this work as a whole. Theories which emerged are evaluated according

to Strauss and Corbin's (1992) constraints:
significance, theory-observation compatibility,
generalizability, consistency, reproducibility,
precision, and certification whenever possible.

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study which
the reader should keep in mind when interpreting and
using the findings presented here.

This research is a study of eight residents in one
secure treatment unit in Massachusetts. Although all
of the participants are from a range of backgrounds and
heritages they certainly cannot be seen as
representative of all of the youths entrusted to the
care of the Department of Youth Service. In addition,
the same limitation applies to the design and
implementation of the design of the secure treatment
unit and its staff of administrators, clinicians,
teachers, and direct care workers.

There were some inherent limitations arising from
both the theoretical background used and the type of
research methodology implemented. A qualitative case
study approach was used in order to gain a better
understanding of the residents and their life
experience on the unit because of the difficulty one

would experience if one tried to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context. In addition, there was a variation in the depth and content of individual narratives as they responded to the questions, which is always expected when phenomenological interviews are conducted.

Valle, King and Halling (1989) note that the German word "Lebenswelt" is used by phenomenologists because there is no comparable word in English that engenders the same meaning. The closest they can come is to say that "Lebenswelt" is the foundation "upon which existential-phenomenological thought is built. In the truest sense the "Lebenswelt" is the beginning." (Valle, King and Halling,1989,p9).

For me, this represents one of the major underpinnings of methodology for therapy and for research. Despite this, it is from my meaning-making system that all choices about what conclusions to reach are included from the position of the researcher. No researcher is bias free.

On some level, I no doubt believe that my ten years of working with incarcerated, male adolescents have turned me into an expert who "understands" these young men. The process of entering into the subjects "Lebenswelt" is promoted by the interviewee's interest

in participating in a cooperative dialogue whereby both share insights into the interviewee's experience.

As a clinician, I have found this attitude developing in the early stages of forming a therapeutic alliance. Two things that one cannot guarantee at the beginning of any research study; that the researcher herself will be completely free of presuppositions and that the subject will speak honestly and freely. My sixty-five years of living, plus studying and training and therapy have provided me with a strong awareness of and alertness to my own cultural and gender biases as well as a good ability to encourage free exchange of ideas.

I am certainly aware of the possible problems inherent in cross-cultural counseling and therapy and research (Helms, 1985, 1990), I believe I possess and use an internalized concept that I do not know what I cannot know and this belief system has turned me into a very willing, skilled and receptive listener. Because handbooks can sometimes tend to further cultural stereotypes, in a way that I have discovered individual speakers do not, I tend to listen to and believe the individual speaker. This highlights a different possible bias.

A second bias I was constantly on the alert for
again came out of my belief that I knew and
"understood" these particular adolescents. Although an
important and significant assumption inherent in this
sort of phenomenological study has to do with the
potential for deception on the part of research
participants, on some level I believed these
adolescents would tell me the truth. However, the
widespead assumption that all of the subjects will
attempt to deceive the researcher is based on a
commonly held belief that adolescent criminals have had
to lie on a frequent basis to avoid punishment and
incarceration. If we adopt this position and assume
that they will be deceptive than we will most likely
bias the results (Zaslow and Takaniski,1993).

Kegan states that he does not believe that we must
rule ourselves out as having "any capacity to judge, or
even think about, another culture unless we expunge
ourselves of our own origins" (p 209, 1982). Since I do
not think anyone capable of truly expunging oneself of
one's culture and origins, it is important to include
in the limitations of this study a word about the
influence of the ethnicity of the researcher upon the
research.

Levine (1981), Sue & Sue (1972) and Helms (1985, 1990) all clearly believe that enhanced cognizance of one's own culture and ethnicity is vital in order to produce meaningful research.

Sue holds White researchers accountable for portraying ethnic minorities as maladjusted, delinquent, or pathological (1993).

Mio and Iwamasa (1993) attempt to solve the question of whether or not White researchers should conduct multi-cultural research with powerful suggestions that difficulties be embraced toward seeking solutions through advocacy and alliance.

Sixty-five years of living, working, laughing and crying with people of many cultures, socio-economic backgrounds, races, religions, have taught me how much we need each other. Sue (1993) on the same theme, supports collaboration in the future of multi-cultural research. Ten years of clinical experience and working with residents like those in this study have provided me with a constantly changing understanding of my own assumptions and biases. I believe myself to be well aware of the early influences of family, church, community and state, class and culture. I have moved away from some and deeper into others. As a researcher, I realize that I don't know what I can't know. This

study was designed to provide a voice for its
participants.

Findings from intense and accurate listening and
tape-recording and transcribing and finally coding the
material from the interviews of the eight subjects in
this study follow in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

The findings of this study are presented in narrative form. The three specific goals concerning the exploration of the meaning residents in a secure treatment program were making from various interventions directed toward them as well as the exploration of the goals of those who developed or contributed to those same interventions and the eventual comparison of these two factors are addressed. Excerpts from the tapes of the interviews are included and scored according to Kegan's constructive-developmental theory.

This will provide the reader with the opportunity to hear both the researcher's questions and the participants' meaning-making, stage-related statements in their own words.

This chapter is divided into two major segments. The first segment will deal with matching the data to the Kegan material. I have done this by transcribing the interviews and marking segments where structure is clarified as units of analysis. Each unit is scored independently and an overall score is arrived at through a uniform process.

Kegan sets the age norms for Stage 2 meaning-making at 12 to 16. The ages of the participants in this study range from 14 to 19 yet I have coded all of them operating from a Stage 2 perspective with only two subjects (S2 and S8) even indicating the beginnings of Stage 3.

The second segment will provide a presentation of the major themes generated through my analysis of the data.

The Participants

The participants in this study were eight adolescent males between the ages of 14 and 19 who had been incarcerated in one secure treatment unit in Western Massachusetts for at least three months prior to the interview. Their charges included: manslaughter, aggravated rape, assault with a dangerous weapon, assault and battery with intent to murder, indecent assault and battery on a child under 14, armed assault with intent to murder and rob, Twenty-one youths reside on this unit. I announced that I would be looking for volunteers to participate in a research study. Twenty youths volunteered. A decison was reached to include a balanced selection of various ages

and heritages which would attempt to reflect the total
population. Discharges and admissions naturally change
the balance from time to time however the final
selection does reflect the appropriate distribution of
ages and heritages which exisited on the unit at the
beginning of this study.

The Interview Set Up

I conducted all eight of the interviews in my
office, a place which all of the subjects in this study
have spent hours of time in therapy and in informal
conversation. The interviews were held either during
free time in the evening after dinner or on Sundays
during free time. Kegan makes a point concerning the
importance of the comfort level of the participants in
his subject/object interview and the fact that this
researcher is well known by the subjects involved this
study clearly effected their ability to relax and enjoy
the process. Seven out of the eight participants
articulated unsoliticited positive responses at the end
of their interviews concerning this experience and the
last subject, when asked, replied "I didn't expect it
to be fun but it was OK". The interviews began with my
handing the subject the index cards and telling them to
take all the time they needed to select a topic they

felt they could discuss.   None of the subjects appeared
to have any problem with the procedure and the fact
that they had been individually briefed about the
process prior to the interview as suggested by Kegan
seemed to have helped them considerably.

The Interviews (Excerpts)

Subject (S1) is an African-American male, age 18
who prefers to be referred to as Black. In this segment
of the interview he is talking about Kegan card
"important to me".

> I could have gotten out earlier. But I didn't. A
> kid would have had to switch places for me. He
> wouldn't do it. I don't know. I felt angry I
> thought we were close. I thought he was a good
> friend.

WHEN HE WOULDN'T DO THIS, WHAT THOUGHTS DID YOU HAVE
THEN ?

> I thought the way he had been acting was a front
> or whatever that he...(long silence)

YOU THOUGHT MAYBE IF HE WAS AS TIGHT WITH YOU HE WOULD
HAVE SWITCHED IS THAT IT ?

> Yeah.

WHAT ELSE WHAT OTHER THOUGHTS DID YOU HAVE ?

> About the friendship. Like I would have done it
> for him.

YOU WOULD HAVE DONE IT FOR HIM IF THE SITUATION WAS THE
OTHER WAY

(Interupting) yeah, yeah, exactly. I thought that
friends help each other out. I trusted him.

HAVE YOU HAD A CONVERSATION WITH HIM ABOUT THIS ?

No.

IF YOU DID WHAT KIND OF QUESTIONS WOULD YOU ASK HIM ?

I would have asked him why he didn't move for me
that is the big question I would ask him.

DO YOU HAVE ANY UNDERSTANDING OF WHY HE DIDN'T WERE YOU
TOLD ANYTHING ABOUT WHY HE DIDN'T DO IT ?

Something about the distance. It wasn't near
where he worked.

SO IF YOU HAD A CHANCE TO TALK WITH HIM IS THERE
SOMETHING YOU WOULD TELL HIM ?

Yeah. I would tell him that I would do it for
him. That's how I am. If you are a friend, I will
do anything for you. I'd help you out.

WHAT WOULD IT MEAN IF YOU WOULDN'T DO IT FOR HIM I
WONDER ?

Like I wasn't being true. I wasn't a good friend.

CAUSE GOOD FRIENDS HELP EACH OTHER OUT...

Especially him being in the same position I was
in...

DO YOU MEAN CAUSE HE KNEW WHAT IT WAS LIK TO BE LOCKED
UP FOR SO LONG LIKE HOW EVERY DAY EVERY NIGHT COUNTS

Yeah. Yeah. I just nows think he is another
individual. I don't think he is the best friend I
thought he was.

HE DROPS DOWN A NOTCH OR SOMETHING

Yeah, definitely.

OK I GUESS I UNDERSTAND THAT BETTER NOW. HAVE YOU EVER
HAD A FRIENDSHIP WHERE SOMEBODY DIDN'T DO WHAT YOU

WANTED THEM TO DO OR WHAT SEEMED LIKE THE LOGICAL THING
TO DO AND THEY DIDN'T DO IT AND YOU STILL MAYBE STAYED
REALLY TIGHT WITH THEM ?

No. I don't think I'd stick with somebody who I
thought was my friend. Maybe with people I knew
from other things who were really my friends and
then something might happen I wouldn't take so
personal if I really thought about it. I don't
know, but I don't think so.

BECAUSE ?

I don't know.

BECAUSE YOU WOULDN'T BEHAVE LIKE THAT MAYBE ?

No I wouldn't. Not now. Not recently. I guess I
made mistakes in the past but not now.

According to the methodology supplied in Kegan's 433

page guide to the subject-object interview which

contains very detailed instructions as to the

administration and interpretation of the interview

itself, this speaker is clearly operating out of a

single perspective (his own). Based primarily on the

internal structure of his meaning-making system, it is

evident that this speaker has not yet internalized the

idea that one can speak from two perspectives. In

other words, one need not view the content of the above

to see that the speaker is embedded in a single

perspective; although in this case it is also evident

in the content that the speaker is not considering his

friend's needs. Therefore this subject, according to

Kegan's theory, would be seen as functioning at a Stage Two level developmentally. The moment this subject begins to consider his friend's independent view at the same time he takes into account his own, he would be transitioning from a Stage Two embeddedness in his own needs to the Stage Three world of interpersonalism. Examining the content of this except and other conversations I have had with this young man, he is beginning to intellectually look at the meaning of relationships, however he has not yet developed the ability to move away from a self which is subject to his own needs, wishes and interests and therefore considers others and relates to others only in terms of the possible consequences to his own world view. (Coded as 2.) The significance of this interview and the others which follow will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Subject (S2) is a 14 year old White male. The card he is speaking about is "conflict". He has identified that he believes he has recently gone through some kind of change.

IF YOU FEEL LIKE YOU WENT THROUGH THAT KIND OF CHANGE, COULD YOU SPEAK A LITTLE ABOUT HOW YOU WERE ABLE TO DO THAT ? WHAT DID IT MEAN TO YOU TO BE ABLE TO INITIATE CONTACT ?

You mean, like in that situation, like I see something coming and I

YES. EXACTLY. THAT IS EXACTLY WHAT I MEAN.

I just paid more attention to things. Like I
wanted to do good. I wanted to stay on top
levels...whatever. There was a certain amount of
wanting other people to do good. So when I did
see something coming, you know, like in chess, I
am thinking five moves ahead.

GOOD ANALOGY.

I'd think if this person is going to say that
thing, go on saying that thing, then that person
is going to get me... that's going to get me in
trouble because this person is going to get me
angry. I am going to get into it. So rather than
have all that happen why don't I say this or do
this and end it all. So if I can't change it,
make them do what I want them to do, then I will
just get myself out of that situation, you know,
I'll leave the room.

I HAVE CERTAINLY SEEN YOU DO BOTH OF THOSE THINGS.
THAT IS GOOD INFORMATION. I HAVE ONE MORE QUESTION
AROUND THAT. YOU DO SEEM TO HAVE A GOOD EYE. WHEN YOU
SAID THAT YOU LOOK AT SITUATIONS, POTENTIAL SITUATIONS
THAT MIGHT BE EXPLOSIVE IN SECURE TREATMENT, WHAT, YOU
SAID THAT YOU DIDN'T WANT TO GET IN TROUBLE AND YOU
DIDN'T WANT OTHER PEOPLE TO GET INTO TROUBLE, CAN YOU
SAY WHAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT TO YOU, WHAT IS
IMPORTANT ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE NOT GETTING INTO TROUBLE ?

It makes the unit run alot smoother. The unit
runs better if everybody is doing what they are
supposed to be doing. There are three or four
clowns who are always cracking on each other, it
makes things go alot harder because somebody will
get locked down or somebody will cause problems
for staff and the staff will get on you and
everybody will get tense and then you do something
little and then they will get on you and you get
stressed out. They will notice you more. So you
want everybody to be doing what they are supposed
to be doing. You know, they started up this thing
if there is an incident-free month, you get a
pizza party, so they do push people to try to be
good. One person can ruin it for the rest of the
people.

61

RIGHT.

I mean you have to do what you have to do for
yourself,but if you see somebody doing something
wrong, you can step in and help them on it, help
them to do better. That makes it better for you.

Subject S2 is now talking about another card he

selected later on in the interview: "important to me".

HOW DO YOU KNOW WHEN SOMETHING IS IMPORTANT TO YOU.
BREAK IT DOWN FOR ME.

Yeah when I have brought up a topic in group or
something, I know you were there in that group, I
think, you know when a person is close to you when
you are having a problem, when you are having
something that is not going, you know, the best it
can go and you need somebody to talk to, the first
person that pops into your head, you know that
person is important to you because that is the
first person you think about when you think I need
somebody to help me, I need somebody to comfort me
or whatever.

WHEN YOU NEED SOMEBODY TO COMFORT YOU, THAT'S A GOOD
ONE. WHAT DOES THAT PERSON DO THEN EXACTLY ?

Sits with you, comforts you, whatever you need
that person gets, if you need to get out of a
situation, helps you out,and it is not only about
that it is not only in here, it could be out
there, it could be drugs or something, you need
somebody to help you and the first person that
pops into your head to help you get out of it, the
first person for me will probably be my father
or M, or even if he is working at XXX, he will
come right there and pick me up out of that
situation because he knows what a bad situation
that would be for me. So that is something that
is important to me and that is how you know you
will be able to catch that.

RIGHT. HOW DO YOU KNOW WHEN YOU CARE FOR THAT PERSON ?

(SILENCE. QUESTION REPEATED. MORE SILENCE.) FINALLY HE
BEGINS AGAIN.

When something, anything, it could be a bad thing,
a good thing, when something, when you feel, you
know, warm fuzzies, cold pricklies, I was just
watching that movie.

THAT SIXTIES PARENTS THING WE SHOWED ON THE UNIT ?

Yeah, so you feel those warm fuzzies about a
person if they do something good and it happens
good, you'll feel happy for them, you will get a
special feeling, you will know and then if
something bad happens, you'll get the cold
pricklies, you will feel like, I don't want
that to happen, you'll be sad, cry, whatever, if
something really bad has happened, you will be
able to tell you because your feelings...(silence)

GOOD.   ANYTHING ELSE ?

No.

These two segments of the interview were chosen

because they manifest the structure needed to assess

this subject's unselfconscious principle of meaning-

making. This is particularly important because some of

the content here is bit misleading. For example, the

paragraph concerning overall unit behaviors and their

connection to privileges could be taken to point

developmentally to a Stage Three world view: that of

the importance of relationships. It is necessary to

assess whether or not this subject sees relationships

only in terms of how they meet his own needs. There is

some evidence of an internal conversation he is able to

have with himself about others. This represents a

point where it is necessary to see if the subject is

63

bringing inside the self a point of view which had been external but which now is taken as a source of his own point of view. When this subject points out his feelings provide him with a choice of behavior connected to something good happening to another person which may provide "warm fuzzies", he is a bit closer to the Stage Three person where the self actually is able to hold other points of view internally as the source of its own thoughts and feeling. Often this does begin with close family members as in this case. However, a careful examination of the data indicating this subject's concern about what would happen to him if the unit isn't running smoothly puts this subject still principally operating out of a Stage Two world view but perhaps at the beginning of an evolution to Stage Three. (Coded as 2(3).)

Subject (S3) is a 19 year old Hispanic male. He has selected the card marked "important to me".
DO YOU HAVE ANOTHER TOPIC ?

Yeah, I'll go with what's important to me.
OK GOOD ONE. SO WHAT IS IMPORTANT TO YOU ?

Important to me like I said before is
relationships with staff and important also to me
is the feeling of feeling safe...or being locked
up with a lot of different guys with different
backgrounds and all that... that's important to me
to be safe.

WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT ALL THAT, I DID
HEAR SAFETY, AND YOU USE THE WORD RELATIONSHIPS,
ANYTHING ELSE , YOU MEAN LIKE ALL THE RELATIONSHIPS
WITH ALL 20 RESIDENTS,

    Yes, residents and all. (silence)

OK SO LOOKING AT THE WHOLE THING, THAT IS A GOOD WAY TO
LOOK AT IT, SO WHAT IS IMPORTANT IS YOUR RELATIONSHIPS
AND HOW YOU GET ALONG WITH PEOPLE ON A DAY TO DAY BASIS
IS THAT WHAT YOU MEAN? WHAT ELSE IS IMPORTANT BESIDES
SAFETY?

    It's important to have good relationships with
    everybody because if someone is tied up, busy, and
    I need someone to speak to, one staff is tied up
    or even some several staff are tied up I can go to
    one of the other mature residents you know that I
    trust and I am able to speak to them and they are
    able to speak to me like a staff or an adult and
    give me some advice or something else I need.

WELL I NOTICE THAT THEY ARE ABLE TO SPEAK TO YOU SO
THAT IT SEEMS LIKE YOU MIGHT BE DOING SOME ADVICE-
GIVING TOO

    Yes, I do, I do.

DO YOU GET A DIFFERENT FEELING FROM BEING THE PERSON
GIVING THE ADVICE THAN BEING THE PERSON TAKING THE
SUPPORT OR THE ADVICE?

    Sometimes, yeah I do It is a little different.
    Giving advice is more like, you know say it is a
    person who had given me some good advice I feel
    like I owe it all to them, and if I can't give
    them the best advice I can give them I'd feel like
    I didn't fulfill a debt like sometimes I feel like
    I owe them

WELL LET'S SAY YOU DIDN'T - THAT'S VERY INTERSTING -
LETS SAY YOU DIDN'T, LETS SAY SOMEBODY THAT HAD HELPED
YOU OUT A WHOLE LOT AND THEY CAME TO YOU AND ASKED YOU
BLASE BLASE AND YOU REALLY CAME UP EMPTY- I DOUBT THAT
THAT WOULD REALLY HAPPEN - BUT LET'S SAY IT DID, WHAT
WOULD BE SIGNIFICANT ABOUT THAT TO YOU WHAT WOULD BE
IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT THAT YOU HAD LIKE NOTHING TO SAY
BACK

It would make me feel like I failed them at a time
of need you know

YOU WOULD FEEL LIKE A FAILURE

Right and then when it comes time for me and stuff
he might not be there

HE MIGHT NOT COME BACK

Yeah, (silence)

SO YOU COULDN'T KEEP IT GOING BACK AND FORTH HE MIGHT
NOT COME BACK

Yeah that would really concern me.

RIGHT, I UNDERSTAND.THAT'S A GREAT ONE I AM REALLY GLAD
YOU PICKED IT, IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE THAT STICKS OUT
ON THE UNIT THAT IS IMPORTANT TO YOU WE GOT
RELATIONSHIPS , WE GOT GIVING AND TAKING SUPPORT,
ANYTHING ELSE BEFORE WE MOVE ALONG

Not really just it is also important to me that
bond that alot of us residents have we are not
afraid to hug each other you know we and stuff you
know cry in front of each when we need to cry you
know that's important to me because I do cry and I
hope the person there will have some empathy for
me .Really that person can make me feel a little
better. So that's important to me because the way
that I see it is that is the way I am able to
maintain sanity on the floor and not
concentrate what's going on outside

RIGHT HAVING THE FREEDOM TO FEEL HOW YOU WANT TO FEEL
AND ACT HOW YOU WANT TO ACT ON THE UNIT WITHOUT SO
REGULATIONS,

Yeah that's how I maintain

IT STRIKES ME THAT THAT'S A CHANGE FROM THE XX I FIRST
KNEW WHEN YOU FIRST CAME ON THE UNIT YOU WEREN'T ABOUT
TO SHOW MUCH SENSITIVITY ON THE UNIT, IS THAT RIGHT ?

Yeah.

Subject S3 speaks out about the importance of relationships to him but we see the Stage Two view of relationships prevailing; that is, relationships are important from the perspective of what they do for me. Even when this resident is very sincerely concerned about being able to help others with his good advice, he is caught up in the idea that if he did not support others then they would not be there when he needed them. In addition, there is little evidence that any point of view other than his own is present. This resident is known on the unit as someone who will help others often. Kegan's explanation concerning Stage Two people who display the notion that other peoples viewpoints are indeed part of their own viewpoint is that these people truly want to be seen as someone who helps others and that is the satisfaction involved rather a sense of helping being the source of pleasure or that a multi-system world view is operational. (Coded as 2).

Subject (S4) is a 16 year old Black male. He is known as a young man of few words but when he does speak, it very often was with intelligent humor. Yet he approached this interview at least as seriously as any other participant. I have included his entire interview which he could not quite complete.

OK SO WHAT CARD HAVE YOU PICKED TO START OUT WITH ?

    Success.   So do you mean a success on the unit ?

YES. EXACTLY.

    Ok, so that would be me getting my Level Two.   Not
    next week, but the week after. I don't know
    defintely if I'll get it but I think I will.

SO IS THE SUCCESS COMING THIS FAR ?

    Yeah.

SO WHAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT TO YOU ?

    It's the way out of here.

OK, YOU SEE IT AS A WAY OUT, SO WHAT ELSE IS IMPORTANT
ABOUT IT, ANYTHING ?

    It means I will be on a high level.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU TO BE ON A HIGH LEVEL ?

    Same thing as leaving, I don't know, maybe more
    privileges, something.

DO YOU THINK YOU'LL BE TREATED DIFFERENTLY IF YOU ARE
ON A HIGH LEVEL. SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THAT. HOW DO YOU
THINK YOU WILL BE TREATED ?

    Some people will treat me differently, I'll get a
    little more...

DO YOU MEAN FROM STAFF ? DO YOU MEAN STAFF CUT YOU A
LITTLE MORE SLACK IF YOU GET ON A HIGHER LEVEL ?

    They do.

CAN YOU BREAK THAT DOWN A LITTLE FOR ME OF WHY THAT IS
IMPORTANT TO YOU ?

    I won't lose any points. I won't get embarrassed

EMBARRASSED, OR UPSET OR ANGRY ?

Yeah.

CAN YOU THINK OF ANYTHING ELSE THAT IS IMPORTANT TO YOU
ABOUT GETTING A HIGH LEVEL ? LIKE MAYBE WHAT PEOPLE
THINK OF YOU OR ANYTHING LIKE THAT ?

No, No, I don't care what people think about me.

WHAT ABOUT YOUR MOM ?

No, I don't tell my mom about levels or anything,
she don't know nothing about it here

YEAH, SO IT'S STRICTLY A UNIT THING FOR YOU ?

(LONG SILENCE)

SO IS THERE ANYTHING ELSE ON THE UNIT THAT LETS YOU
FEEL SUCCESSFUL ?

What do you mean ?

WELL, SO FAR I AM HEARING IF I AM GETTING IT RIGHT, SO
FAR YOU HAVE MENTIONED SUCCESS ON THE UNIT IN TERMS OF
WHAT I THINK EVERYONE WANTS TO GET OFF, TO GET OUT
RIGHT ? AND THEN TO MOVE UP IN THE POINT AND LEVEL
SYSTEM. SOME REWARDS WITH THAT. ANYTHING ELSE LET YOU
FEEL SUCCESSFUL ON THE UNIT ?

No, that's all.

THAT'S IT AND THE ONLY THING THAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT
THAT IS QUICKER TO GET OUT OR MAYBE QUICKER TO GET A
FEW MORE PRIVILEGES, IS THAT RIGHT ?

Right.

OK BEFORE WE MOVE ON, LET ME JUST ASK THIS, JUST TO
COMPARE THIS, HOW DID YOU KNOW YOU WERE SUCCESSFUL WHEN
YOU WERE OUTSIDE, I MEAN JUST TO COMPARE IT AND, YOU
KNOW, THERE WERE NO POINTS AND LEVELS ON THE OUTSIDE,
HOW OR WHEN DID YOU FEEL SUCCESSFUL ON THE OUTSIDE ?

When I would win something.

OK, AGAIN WHAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT TO YOU ?

    I don't know, it just feels better for me.
    (silence)

DO YOU HAVE ANOTHER CARD SELECTED?

    I picked change.

OK THAT IS A GOOD ONE. SO HOW DO YOU WANT TO TALK
ABOUT CHANGE ?

    I don't know, I didn't change. So maybe I can't
    talk about that. I didn't change. The unit did. I
    can talk about that how the unit changed.

YOU THINK THE UNIT CHANGED. OK. SO THAT'S OK TO TALK
ABOUT IF YOU CAN TELL ME HOW IT AFFECTS YOU.

    I think if we had stayed downstairs, I would have
    already had my level two.

YOU THINK SO. TELL ME WHAT WAS DIFFERENT ABOUT
DOWNSTAIRS.

    Well, there was alot more freedom there.

YOU MEAN WE HAD MORE ROOM TO MOVE AROUND.

    Yeah, Up here we are on the same side all day.
    It's more more

SOMEHOW MORE INTENSE ?

    Yeah.

ALSO, MAYBE, WHAT YOU DO SHOWS UP MORE HERE. SO SOUNDS
LIKE YOU THINK THE UNIT MOVING INTO SMALLER QUARTERS
WAS NOT A GOOD THING FOR YOU.

    Right.

OK BUT BESIDES THAT CHANGE THE UNIT CHANGE YOU DON'T
THINK YOU PERSONALLY HAVE GONE THROUGH ANY CHANGES

    Right. (silence)

HMM, WHAT WOULD HAVE TO HAPPEN I WONDER FOR YOU TO
CHANGE OR FOR YOU TO FEEL LIKE YOU HAVE CHANGED, I
WONDER ??

(SILENCE. HE MAKES A GESTURE INDICATING I SHOULD
SPEAK.)

SO IS THAT A GOOD THING THAT YOU DON'T FEEL LIKE YOU
HAVE CHANGED I HEAR LOTS OF KIDS SAYING WHEN THEY FIRST
GET HERE, DON'T THINK YOU ARE GOING TO CHANGE ME, I AM
NOT GOING TO CHANGE. IF ALL THIS IS TRUE WHAT DOES IT
TELL YOU ABOUT CHANGING ?

> That it is a hard thing. But if I get on a higher
> level, I'm still going to be the same way.

YOU ARE STILL GOING TO BE YOURSELF. YEAH. I THINK THAT
IS TRUE ABOUT YOU. YOU ARE GOING TO BE CONSISTENTLY
YOURSELF. HAVE YOU NOTICED OTHER PEOPLE LOOK LIKE THEY
ARE GOING THROUGH SOME CHANGES ON THE UNIT ?

> Level Ones. I see some Level Ones who when I first
> came in were level fours and threes.

SO THEY AT LEAST ON THE SURFACE LOOK LIKE THEY HAVE
GONE THROUGH SOME CHANGES TO YOU. HOW CAN YOU TELL
THAT?

> Well, they don't act the same. they don't say the
> same stuff. It is different.

RIGHT.

> They talk differently.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT THAT ?

> Well, that's on them.

THAT'S ONE THEM. YEAH. WELL, I KNOW SOME KIDS SAY THAT
IS LIKE SELLING OUT OR

> No, I don't say all that but

NO I GUESS YOU JUST SAY THAT IS THEM AND THIS IS YOU.

> Right.

SO IF SOMEONE SAID TO YOU, GEE YOU HAVE REALLY CHANGED, WHAT WOULD YOU THINK ? IF SOMEONE SAID, YOU HAVE REALLY CHANGED SINCE I FIRST KNEW YOU ??

> I wouldn't know it.

COULD IT HAPPEN WITHOUT YOU KNOWING IT ?

(LONG SILENCE)

OK THIS IS A HARD QUESTION, WHAT DO YOU THINK YOUR FIRST INSTINCT WOULD BE TO DO IF PEOPLE SAID OH XXX YOU HAVE REALLY CHANGED ?

> Well, I think it would be better for me, at least initially it would be better. I don't know about the other stuff. I think I would just keep on doing what I am doing.

WELL I WAS WONDERING IF YOU WOULD BE ONE OF THOSE KIDS WHO WOULD SAY OH NO NOT ME I HAVEN'T CHANGED A BIT OH NO I HAVEN'T BUT THAT DOESN'T SOUND LIKE WHAT YOU WOULD SAY IT SOUNDS LIKE YOU MIGHT SAY IF I HAVE CHANGED I WOULDN'T OR DIDN'T NOTICE IT. SOMETHING LIKE THAT.

> Yeah.

DO YOU THINK YOU COULD START BEING A LITTLE DIFFERENT WITHOUT REALIZING IT, THAT'S WHAT I WANT TO KNOW. DO YOU THINK THAT IS POSSIBLE.

(SILENCE)

WELL ALL RIGHT LET ME ASK THIS TWO WAYS AND THEN WE WILL GO ON. I'D LIKE TO KNOW WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING TO YOU ABOUT NOT CHANGING. IF IT IS TRUE THAT YOU ARE JUST NOT GOING TO CHANGE ALL THAT MUCH, WHAT'S IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT ?

> I don't know. (followed by long silence, hand signal to cut off tape which I did for a while and then he just asked to switch to a new card which I of course allowed.)

> I'll talk about being anxious and nervous.

OK, ABOUT STUFF ON THE UNIT.

>Anxious to get out.

WHAT KIND OF THOUGHTS DO YOU HAVE DO YOU HAVE SOME
WORRIES?

>No, I don't think about it. No.

OK, BUT JUST NOW WHEN YOU SAW IT WRITTEN DOWN ON THE
CARD, YOU THOUGHT, WELL

>Yeah, I am anxious about getting out, (Silence).

EVERY KID WANTS TO GET OUT, I KNOW THAT BUT CAN YOU
TALK ABOUT GETTING OUT, WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU, WHAT'S
IMPORTANT ABOUT IT ?

>Just getting out. Just so that people don't tell
>you what to do.

THE FREEDOM.

>Yeah, the freedom.

THE WORSE PART OF BEING LOCKED UP FOR YOU IS PEOPLE
TELLING YOU WHAT TO DO ALL THE TIME THEN ?

>Yeah.

(LONG SILENCE)

DO YOU HAVE AN UNDERSTANDING OF WHY THAT IS SO TOUGH
FOR YOU ?

>It is not just tough for me. Nobody likes to be
>told not to do.

DOES IT MATTER TO YOU HOW YOU ARE TOLD ? THE WAY THAT
YOU ARE TOLD.

>What do you mean ?

I MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN TELLING AND ASKING, YOU
KNOW.

No, even if they told me in a nice way. (Silence)

CAN YOU SAY ANY MORE ABOUT THAT, LIKE WHAT MEANING
WOULD YOU MAKE OUT OF IT, LIKE IF YOU ARE ASKED
COMPARED TO WHEN YOU TOLD TO DO SOMETHING ?

Well, I guess if I don't like the way they ask,
the way I am asked, I won't...   (Silence)

CAUSE WHY, WHAT DOES IT EXACTLY MEAN TO YOU, GO A
LITTLE DEEPER WITH ME, WHAT DOES IT MEAN WHEN SOMEBODY
TELLS YOU, OR ASKS YOU, BUT THEY DO IT IN A NASTY WAY,
WHAT DOES THAT MEAN TO YOU, WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT
THAT, WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO YOU ?

I don't know, I don't know. I just don't like it.

WELL, YOU AND HALF OF AMERICA. NOBODY LIKES IT IF IT
IS DONE IN A NASTY TONE OF VOICE, BUT I WAS TRYING TO
GET SPECIFICALLY WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU IT MIGHT MEAN
SOMETHING A LITTLE DIFFERENT TO YOU THEN TO THE NEXT
PERSON.

I don't know. I can't answer this.

THAT'S OK, THAT'S OK. WANT TO PICK ANOTHER ONE.

Yeah, Angry.

GOOD ONE, OK NOW TRY TO GIVE ME AN EXACT THING HERE,
NOT JUST BEING ANGRY CAUSE YOU ARE LOCKED UP OK ?

Yeah, I know one. It is when I am acused of
something I did not do.

OH YEAH,THAT IS A GOOD ONE,HAS THAT HAPPENED RECENTLY ?

Last night.Well, we were in the Rec room and XXX
came in (another resident) saying some stupid
stuff like a little slang thing and we were all
making fun of that like mocking it and staff told
us to stop and so we stopped and then we went
outside and we was counting off and somebody said
it again, but it wasn't me and then two staff said
it was me, like one said it was me, and the sup
agreed even though it wasn't me so we all lost
points.

74

I CAN SEE, WHEN YOU ARE FALSELY ACCUSED, I MEAN THAT IS
WHAT IT IS, WHEN SOMEBODY SAYS YOU HAVE DONE SOMETHING
AND YOU KNOW YOU HAVEN'T YOU KNOW THAT YOU DIDN'T DO
IT..BUT BREAK IT DOWN A LITTLE MORE, AGAIN, WHAT'S THE
MOST IMPORTANT, OR IT DOESN'T NEED TO BE THE MOST
IMPORTANT BUT WHAT IS THE MEANING YOU MAKE OUT OF THAT?

> Well, maybe it's you got no say in it, you got no
> power

OK, IN THAT INCIDENT YOU JUST DESCRIBED, IS THAT
SOMETHING YOU WOULD NOT BE LIKELY TO DO

> No, I would do that but

OH YOU WOULD

> But I just didn't do it at that time

YOU DIDN'T DO IT THAT TIME AND YOU GOT ACUSED AND YOU
FELT ANGER SO DOES THE FACT THAT EVEN YOU SAY YOU WOULD
DO STUFF LIKE THIS HELP YOU UNDERSTAND WHY STAFF MAYBE
THOUGHT IT WAS YOU THIS TIME.

> No, cause I didn't this time.

OK, WHEN YOU DO GET ANGRY ON THE UNIT, IS BEING FALSELY
ACUSED ONE OF THE TOP REASONS WHY, OR ARE THERE OTHER
THINGS ON THE UNIT WHICH ANGER YOU

> When somebody talks about my, well, like say when
> I had a bad staffing and you went and told people
> I hate when people do that I don't want people
> knowing

OH I SEE TALKING ABOUT YOUR BUSINESS ON THE UNIT, THAT
WASN'T TOO COOL OF ME, I SEE, I REMEMBER THAT YOU ARE
RIGHT I KIND OF PUT YOU OUT THERE, I WONDER WHY, DO YOU
KNOW, I CAN'T REMEMBER RIGHT NOW WHAT I WAS TRYING TO
ACCOMPLISH WITH THAT ACTUALLY I AGREE I DON'T LIKE THAT
WHEN PEOPLE DO THAT TO ME, HMM, WHAT IS IT YOU LIKE THE
LEAST ABOUT THAT, PEOPLE KNOWING YOUR BUSINESS, BUT
WHAT ELSE ? WHAT IS IT YOU THINK THEY MIGHT THINK, WHAT
ELSE.

> It don't matter what they think, I just don't want
> them talking about me. I mean they wasn't at my
> staffing

75

RIGHT. THIS IS A GOOD THING THAT YOU BROUGHT THIS UP,
THIS WHOLE TOPIC IS GOOD. I'D REALLY LIKE TO KNOW IF
THERE IS ANYTHING ELSE ON THE UNIT THAT GETS YOU ANGRY.

When staff go on power trips. I don't know. Like
they want to be a supervisor and they got bosses
and they want (tape unclear)

IT LOOKS MORE LIKE THAT THAN ANYTHING YOU HAVE DONE IS
THAT THE WAY IT LOOKS TO YOU

I think they are nobody on the outside and they...
(silence)

OH OH NOW I GET YOU YOU THINK THEIR LIVES ARE PRETTY
SMALL ON THE OUT SIDE AND THEY GET IN HERE AND THEY ACT
LIKE THEY HAVE POWER OVER YOU

Yeah.

OK OK SO IF YOU DON'T MIND ME ASKING, HOW DO YOU THINK
YOU SHOULD BE TREATED IN HERE,

Just like regular people.

RIGHT, NOT EVERYBODY IS THE SAME, SO SOMETIMES ARE YOU
TREATED, I MEAN, NO NAMES, BUT ARE THERE SHIFTS THAT
ARE RUN DIFFERENTLY SO THAT YOU GET TO FEEL DIFFERENT
SO THAT DURING A CERTAIN SHIFT YOU DON'T GET AS ANGRY

Yeah. Second shift, No school, Better people,
names,

OK OK I AM INTERESTED IN YOU, SO I AM STILL INTERESTED
IN WHY YOU ARE UPSET WITH SOME PEOPLE,

When it is all about points.

LIKE DO YOU GET THE IDEA IT IS A GOOD DAY FOR THEM WHEN
THEY CAN TAKE A LOT OF POINTS.

Yeah, Yeah.

SO YOU DON'T THINK ANY OF THEM ARE DOING IT IN A WAY
THAT TEACHES YOU SOMETHING, THAT HELPS YOU

No, well yes. Some of them. I can't explain it.

COULD IT BE THAT EVEN THOUGH THE CONSEQUENCES ARE THE
SAME, SOME PEOPLE TREAT YOU DIFFERENTLY, YOU FEEL YOU
ARE BEING TREATED WITH MORE RESPECT COULD IT BE
SOMETHING LIKE THAT

Yeah. Can I change ? I picked this one. " Lost
something."

WHAT DID YOU LOSE ?

Freedom. I could do what I wanted to do. Go where
I wanted to go. Joke when I want to joke. Sleep
when I want to sleep, Eat when I want to eat.

DO YOU THINK LOSING THAT FOR THIS LENGTH OF TIME, HOW
WILL IT BE TO GET IT BACK DO YOU THINK

I don't even know. (silence)

YOU CAN'T EVEN IMAGINE.

(He shakes his head, body language for "No".)

WHAT'S THE FIRST THING YOU WILL DO WHEN YOU GET OUT

I don't even want to think about that. I don't
know. It may be a couple of months from now.

OK THAT WAS MY WAY OF TRYING TO GET AT WHAT YOU ARE
MISSING WHAT YOU LOST IN THAT LOSS OF FREEDOM. SOUNDS
LIKE YOU WERE TELLING ME THE MOST IMPORTANT THING YOU
LOST WAS DAILY LIFE AS YOU KNEW IT. YOU KNOW SOME
PEOPLE WILL SAY I MISS MY GIRL FRIEND OR

Yeah, that is all included in everything

RIGHT DO YOU THINK THAT PEOPLE MISS YOU

I don't knows probably. (silence)

YOU DON'T THINK ABOUT THAT MUCH LIKE WHOSE OUT THERE
WONDERING WHERE YOU ARE, WELL THEY KNOW YOU ARE HERE
BUT MISSING YOU YOUR COUSINS YOUR FRIENDS EVERYBODY
KNOWS (THIS RESIDENT GOT VERY VERY QUIET AND KIND OF
CHOKED UP AND EVEN WHEN I ASKED HIM TO JUST PICK
ANOTHER CARD, HE COULD NOT GO ON AND HE MADE A SIGNAL
TO JUST STOP THE WHOLE PROCESS WHICH OF COURSE I DID.)

77

From the interview with S4, and from the other
data available concerning him, I believe Kegan would
see him engaged in a battle defending the Imperial
Self, which is the self at a fully developed Stage Two.
From the content and structure it is clear that this
subject is highly insulted by the limits imposed on his
behavior. He wants to be able to do the most basic
activities (eat, sleep, and joke !) when he feels like
it. The notion that someone can tell him when to do
anything is an affront. Here we have a resident honest
enough to admit when he was ascused of certain
behaviors, they were indeed the type of things he was
apt to do, but he experienced a great deal of anger
because this time he was not the person who guilty. He
can not hold on to the idea that it could have been him
if it was not him and he cannot allow for the fact that
mistakes can be made. He truly believed staff should
have known this one time it was not he who did the
deed. This is the Imperial Self and this is a
developmental attitude. The significance of this will
be discussed in Chapter Five.

The next subject (S5) is a seventeen year old
White male with a long history of criminal activities
and placements.

SO HAVE YOU PICKED A CARD?

Yeah I picked anger.

WAS THERE ONE PARTICULAR INCIDENT WHICH MADE YOU ANGRY?

Yeah, the decision to put me on PR (program
restriction) XX's decision.

SO YOU WEREN'T PLEASED WITH THE DECISION.WERE THERE
SOME OTHER OPTIONS THAT HE DIDN'T USE ?

Yeah, and he wasn't there.

HE WASN'T THERE SO YOU WEREN'T HAPPY ABOUT HIS DECISION
SO YOU THOUGHT WHAT ? WELL WHAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT
THING ABOUT THAT DECISION TO YOU ?

What do you mean what's the most important thing ?

WELL, I'M INTERESTED IN, WELL THE CARD YOU CHOSE WAS
ANGER, SO WE ARE TALKING ABOUT ANGRY FEELINGS SO I CAN
SEE WHERE, I MEAN I FOLLOW THE INCIDENT ABOUT THE
ACCIDENT SO I GUESS I WANT TO KNOW WHAT THE DECISION TO
GO WITH SORT OF GUILTY AS CHARGED WHAT THAT MEANT TO
YOU

It meant that I was marked It's just everybody
now knows who I was , how I was so I don't know

FROM YOUR PAST

It made me feel like I wasn't trusted so that just
made me more angry

YET WHEN IT HAPPENED (INCIDENT RESIDENT IS REFERRING TO
IS A UNIT INCIDENT WHICH WAS SEEN AS AN ACCIDENT
BETWEEN THIS PARTICIPANT AND A STAFF PERSON) YOU SAID
YOU WERE ALSO ANGRY WITH YOURSELF I REMEMBER

Yeah.

AND BACK THEN YOU SAID YOU THOUGHT YOU HAD LET PEOPLE
DOWN AND YOU SAID IT WAS AN ACCIDENT AND SO I GUESS I
AM STILL HUNG UP ON HOW YOU COULD POSSIBLY LET ANYONE
DOWN BY BEING INVOLVED IN AN ACCIDENT UNLESS YOU ARE
THINKING ABOUT SOMETHING FROM YOUR PAST OR SOMETHING
ELSE I DONT GET IT BUT, WELL SO DOES THAT MEAN LIKE

HOW WOULD YOU HAVE FELT IF THE DECISON HAD BEEN
DIFFERENT

If I wouldn't have gone on PR

RIGHT

I would have felt like it really was an accident
like somebody actually took time and looked at the
situation, I would have felt like somebody was
trying to do their job in an appropriate way

LIKE YOU WOULD HAVE BEEN BELIEVED LIKE PEOPLE WOULD
HAVE LOOKED AT YOU LIKE YOU HAD CHANGED LIKE YOUR PAST
WASN'T HAUNTING YOU

Yeah, yeah.

DID YOU TALK TO XX ABOUT IT AFTER ?

Yeah, matter of fact we was talking about it the
other day, too,

WHAT DID YOU LEARN FROM THAT ?

What did I learn from it ?

YES

Not to play basketball with XX

NO I MEAN DID YOU PLEAD YOUR CASE AT ALL OR ANYTHING
ABOUT THE ACCIDENT

Not exactly, I went and talked to XX (different
person) and told him and he said he didn't think
it was right either and he took a couple days off
the PR and gave me back my level at just about
what it was... (silence)

WANT TO PICK ANOTHER CARD ?

Yeah yeah change what's that how I changed ?

YES OR YES HOW YOU CHANGED GOOD

In a situation ?

80

YEAH IF YOU HAVE ONE, BEHAVIOR OR

> Yeah, yeah I do like a week ago if somebody had come up to me and said something I didn't like, something that made me mad before, I'd say let's go to the bathroom (place where kids try to meet to try to have physical fights) that to me is change a big change

WHAT DID YOU DO ?

> I said yeah all right true and walked away so he was pissed too he was mad all day

YOU ARE SMILING, SO ARE YOU PLEASED WITH YOUR CHOICE?

> Of course I am !

YEAH IS THAT SOMETHING LIKE IF YOU HAD A CHOICE IS THAT SOMETHING YOU WILL USE WHEN YOU GET OUT OF HERE LIKE DOES THIS PROVE THAT YOU CAN DO IT

> Yes. (long silence)

I THINK FOR ME TO REALLY UNDERSTAND THAT I NEED TO KNOW A LITTLE BIT MORE ABOUT THE INCIDENT THAT YOU LEFT THAT YOU WALKED AWAY FROM

> Well this kid came up to me because of I supposedly said and I looked at him and said what do you mean and he told me the whole situation about what somebody else had said that I had said you know he said, she said stuff

RIGHT RIGHT

> and he said what do you want to do about it and I just walked away

OH SO THIS RESIDENT WAS READY TO FIGHT WITH YOU BECAUSE OF WHAT SOMEBODY ELSE SAID YOU HAD SAID

> Yeah, it's all straightened out now like the kid found out I didn't say nothing but last week this kid was ready to risk an extension to fight me

BECAUSE OF WHAT HE THOUGHT YOU SAID

> Because of what he thought I said but me I knew I
> didn't say it I didn't know nothing about all this
> stuff but I just said yep and walked away

WHEREAS IN THE PAST

> I would have said all right and fought

WHETHER YOU HAD SAID IT OR NOT JUST BECAUSE IT WAS AN
OPPORTUNITY TO FIGHT IS THAT WHAT YOU ARE SAYING

> Yes.

WHAT IS OF INTEREST TO ME IS THE IDEA OF WHETHER YOU
HAD SAID IT OR NOT YOU MADE YOUR CHOICE   WHY DID YOU
MAKE YOUR CHOICE NOT TO GO IN THE BATHROOM AND FIGHT ?
WHAT DO YOU THINK YOUR MAJOR REASON WAS ?

> My extension.

RIGHT OK   RIGHT LOOKING AT YOUR TIME SO SOMETHING TOLD
YOU IT WASN'T WORTH IT

> Right.

AND THAT'S LIKE A NEW SKILL TO BE ABLE TO EVALUATE LIKE
THAT

> Yeah.

ANOTHER THING IN THE TOOL BOX, ANOTHER SKILL.   SO DO
YOU THINK IT WOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENT IF YOU HAD SAID
IT WHATEVER IT WAS ?

> I don't know but if I had said it or anything I
> would have explained my reasons why I had said it
> and walked away hopefully I don't think it would
> have ended that different even out on the street I
> don't think it would have been different.

WAS THIS A RESIDENT THAT YOU WERE TIGHT WITH ?

> No this was a resident I haven't gotten along with
> since I've been here because he doesn't like to
> listen.

AND STILL YOU CHOSE NOT TO FIGHT ? GOOD !

    (silence, subject looking at his feet.)

HAVE YOU GOT ANOTHER CARD ?

    "Important to Me."

THAT'S A GOOD ONE.

    What's important to me ? That's family. family.
    and a job.

LET'S TALK A LITTLE BIT ABOUT THE FAMILY. WHAT'S
IMPORTANT ABOUT THE FAMILY TO YOU ?

    That it stays together. Stays strong. Not a lot
    of arguing.

NOT A LOT OF ARGUING. SO WHAT DO YOU THINK YOUR ROLE IN
THE FAMILY IS GOING TO BE ?

    Clinical Director.

SEEMS LIKE WE SAID THAT IN FAMILY THERAPY. SO WHAT IF
THERE ARE ARGUMENTS, WHAT DOES THAT MEAN TO YOU ?

    Family.

IF THERE ARE ARGUMENTS ?

    Yeah, Come on. Everybody gotta have their fights.
    There is no way six, four people, live together
    without having arguing. Something little,
    something big. I'm just saying I don't want to see
    nothing, every day, every day I don't want to see
    that

MAJOR DO YOU MEAN ?

    Yeah, well, everyday major stuff,

CAUSE WHAT WOULD THAT MEAN TO YOU IF THAT HAPPENED ?

    Dysfunctional family.

DYSFUNCTIONAL FAMILY AND WHAT WOULD THAT MEAN TO YOU ?

That it is time to go for more family therapy.

BECAUSE WHY?

Because why, because nobody gets along.

SO GETTING ALONG WITH YOUR FAMILY MEMBERS IS IMPORTANT
TO YOU IS THAT A CHANGE OR WAS THAT ALWAYS TRUE ?

I think its a change because I didn't always have
that much respect for them for my father well I
guess I had respect for my mother but not as much
as I should have that's a change.

SO THATS A CHANGE TOO   SO SAY SOME MORE ABOUT THAT   HOW
DID YOU GET THAT RESPECT FOR YOUR MOM ?

Cause she is there for me when I ask her
questions, she'll tell me and tell me the truth
too and you know just I know she'll do anything
for me now that I have gone through this this
mess.

AND SHE HAS BEEN VERY FAITHFUL ABOUT COMING UP HERE

Yeah she has only missed one visit thats was when
we were downstairs that's crazy missing only one
visit and that was the snowstorm - that's why
it's crazy.

IT'S NOT CRAZY IT IS GOOD !

No, it's crazy.

WHY IS IT CRAZY ?

Cause if it was me, cause if my son was up here, I
don't think I'd come every weekend I think there
would be no way I would waste a whole day, I know
it's your son or your daughter and you love them
and whatever but but that's just, I don't know I
don't think I would have done it. I don't know, I
don't think I...

YOU DON'T THINK YOU WOULD

(interupting) come every single Sunday, no I don't
think so, of course I'd, you'd, come to to see
your son or daughter whatever but not like she
did.

SO WHAT WAS IMPORTANT ABOUT THE FACT THAT SHE DID COME
EVERY SUNDAY ?

That I knew I still had a family out there
that what was important.

NOT JUST HER BUT LIKE THE FAMILY..WHAT ELSE IS
IMPORTANT TO YOU ?

Leaving here. Going home. That's important because
I have got to get my life in order. I have to get
it going. Do all the positive stuff that I have
been taught.

Again, one must look beyond the idea that

respecting the importance of relationships in the form

of family, indicate Stage Three functioning because

here we see this subject (S5) viewing the stability of

the family in terms of comfort to the self. Having

noted that particular dynamic, it is also important to

note that there appears to be some recognition of

another perspective in the comments concerning the fact

that he would not do as his mother did even though her

choice of behavior (to come visit often) benefited him.

This internalized awareness (that there is another

self, his mother, and that coming this distance Sunday

after Sunday may not meet her needs, he calls it

"crazy") is evidence which points towards Stage Three

thinking so this subject could be coded 2(3).

The next subject (S6) is an Hipanic male age 17 who has been in and out of institutions since the age of 8 and who has occasionally demonstrated out-of-control behaviors.

WHICH CARD DID YOU PICK

I picked anxious and nervous.

WAS THERE SOMETHING ON THE UNIT THAT MADE YOU FEEL ?

Yeah when I first entered the offender group.

TELL ME ABOUT THAT EXPERIENCE.

I had to speak about my charges my rape charge I kinda felt nervous or anxious to get it off my mind I kind of felt down about myself, how could I do this and stuff like that but I mean I went through it and it was all right I felt nervous because I didn't really believe I didn't feel comfortable I thought that I was better than everybody else in there and I just couldn't believe what group I was put in but I went through it and it went pretty good.

CAN YOU TELL ME WHAT YOU WERE WORRIED ABOUT SAY MORE ABOUT WHAT YOU WERE WORRIED ABOUT

I was worried more like about people getting on my back I don't know what I was worried about I was just nervous to talk about my charge, I didn't feel comfortable.

RIGHT, I REMEMBER, ANYTHING ABOUT THE FACILITATORS ? ANYTHING ABOUT BEING IN THE ROOM WITH THE OTHER KIDS AND THE FACILITATORS ?

About the kids I felt like this was a waste of time, at first,I felt,I mean I didn't feel, well like I said I felt like I was better than everybody in that group.

WHY WAS THAT WHY DID YOU FEEL LIKE THAT ?

> Because I didn't feel that I was a rapist I didn't
> feel like that and and that's it.

WHAT'S THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THAT TO YOU ?

> About the group ? The most important thing about
> the group is that they are going to help me
> realize who I am and what is my responsibility my
> triggers towards raping another person stuff like
> that is the most important thing about that group
> I will begin to understand my problems and what
> will make me do this again and hopefully help me
> understand there is a better life out there than
> to do this type of charge again.

HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN WITH US HERE ?

> I have been here three months and about a week and
> a half.

LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT THE GROUP ABOUT WHICH YOU WERE
ANXIOUS AND NERVOUS. WERE YOU MORE ANXIOUS AND NERVOUS
DOING THE GROUP WORK THAN YOU WERE IN OTHER EXPERIENCES
ON THE UNIT?

> Yeah.

I THOUGHT MAYBE THAT WAS THE CASE SO WHAT DO YOU THINK
THAT DOING IT WITH THE GROUP MADE YOU MORE ANXIOUS OR
NERVOUS ?

> I don't know.

OK, THAT'S OK. DO YOU HAVE ANOTHER CARD YOU WOULD LIKE
TO TALK ABOUT ?

> I'll pick up chance.

WHAT OH THAT'S MY HANDWRITING THAT'S CHANGE.

> Ok, I'll pick up change.

GOOD WHAT DO YOU WANT TO SAY ABOUT CHANGE ?

> I don't know I have made a lot of improvements on
> myself. I am working hard on how to speak about
> females and being more honest like don't try like

87

just to be more convincing sometimes.

WHAT'S IMPORTANT ABOUT HOW YOU SPEAK ABOUT FEMALES ?

Can I say how ?

YOU CAN SAY ANYWAY YOU WISH.

Like before I used to say females were bitches,
hoes, I don't know I put females down instead of
dealing with them as equals we are equals now I
still have that as part of how I think but I don't
have it as strong as I used too, I still think
that all females are equal,before I used to think
that only the females that I know they are not
those type of females but treatment is helping me
change it's helping me.

WHY IS IT IMPORTANT NOW THAT YOU THINK ABOUT ALL
FEMALES EQUAL AND NOT JUST LIKE THE ONES THAT YOU KNOW
REAL WELL OR YOUR FAMILY ? WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT?

Why is that now ?

YES WHY IS THAT IMPORTANT NOW ?

Cause it's cruel to see females as bitches and
hoes it is not a nice thing a female is we are all
human beings we are all human beings aint no need
for us to be putting each other down especially
for the type of change that I am in here for I
shouldn't see people the way that I do because if
I see them the way that I do I might commit
another rape again, cause I'm going to think that
females aint nothing that I can do whatever I want
to females I can hurt them I can do whatever I
want so I need to know they are equal same thing
as men that's the way I see it I'm trying to see
it that way.

HAS TREATMENT HELPED YOU LOOK AT THINGS THAT WAY IS
THAT WHAT YOU ARE SAYING OR OR WHAT ?

It's helping me like leading me to the right path
to go down.

WOW THAT'S A GOOD ONE, I'M GLAD YOU PICKED THAT ONE,
ANY OTHER CHANGE, ANYTHING ELSE WHAT ABOUT LIVING LIKE

88

THIS ON THIS UNIT ALL THESE KIDS AND EVERYTHING   WHAT
IS THAT LIKE FOR YOU ?

> I don't really know. I just go through things in
> the day. I have been locked up I don't think about
> it time just flys I just have fun I try to put my
> mind into recreation that this unit has and stuff
> like that I mean I don't try to think about time
> when I think about time I think about when am I
> going to get out when am I allowed to get out but
> I don't really concentrate really hard hard
> hard...

YOU ARE NOT DOING THE CROSSING A DAY OFF AT A TIME
THING

> Yeah, I'm not.

GOOD FOR YOU.

> Cause I mean I have been locked up since I was a
> young kid I am kinda used to it.

YOU HAVE BEEN IN AND OUT IN AND OUT

> Yeah Like time goes by like a month goes by quick.

WHAT'S CHANGED ABOUT YOU ?

> What's changed about me ? I have changed in a lot
> of ways. I changed on my behavior I improved a
> lot.

YES.

> Cause the last place I was at I didn't care, I
> mean staff told me something, I just I mean
> sometimes I'd tell him to watch his back and then
> all of a sudden the next day when he comes in I'd
> hit him I didn't really care during then but when
> I came to treatment I decided this is my turn this
> is my chance to improve my life I ain't going to
> go no where like this, I am always going to be in
> prison, so that's the change.

GOOD FOR YOU.

> My anger changed a little bit. My ways of talking
> about females changed.

DO YOU HAVE A SENSE OF WHAT HAS HELPED THAT HAPPEN ?

Clinicians, groups I guess...(long silence)

WANT TO PICK ANOTHER CARD?

Yeah, "torn".

OK GOOD, YOU KNOW WHAT THAT MEANS, RIGHT LIKE PART OF YOU FELT ONE WAY AND ANOTHER PART OF YOU FELT ANOTHER WAY.

Yeah I know I know...(long silence) I can't really think of anything.

ANYTHING ON THE UNIT YOU FELT TWO WAYS ABOUT.

I can't really think of one.

THAT'S OK, JUST PICK ANOTHER CARD.

OK, I pick "Important To Me" The most important thing to me right now is trying to get this out of the way, trying to get this treatment out of the way so I can get my life over and done with - not that I want to pass away but trying to get my life right here over and done with so I can go on with my life but I can say the most most most important thing to me right now is my family my life and how my family is I worry about my family alot because I don't want nothing to happen to them my sister got burned the other day that kind of torn me up. (silence)

YOU WANT TO SPEAK ABOUT THAT THAT'S ALL RIGHT.

That kind of torn me up a little bit I don't know my sister was cooking and she kind of burned herself in her chest, her arm and her leg her face that kind of torn me up I mean I haven't seen her she doesn't want to come up she doesn't want to come here I mean like that that kind of torn me up because she could have died from that fire she could have died.

90

YOU WERE WORRIED.

      Yeah yeah.

HOW WOULD IT HAVE AFFECTED YOU IF YOU LOST YOUR SISTER?

      How would it have affected me ?

YEAH.

      Well I am locked up, If she would have past away
      I would rather be locked up than out there.

WHY IS THAT?

      Because out there I would have probably taken my
      anger out on people stuff like that so...

OH YEAH YOU ARE REALLY THINKING.

      Yeah, I'd rather be in here.

WHERE YOU CAN'T CAUSE ANY PROBLEMS.

      Yeah, where I can't cause any problems, I mean
      I'll be hurt and real torn up inside.

YOU WANT TO SAY MORE ABOUT THOSE FEELINGS, I MEAN LIKE,
ARE YOU CLOSE TO YOUR SISTER?

      Yeah, I am close to all my family. I am close
      to her, I mean I love her.

I KNOW YOU ARE CLOSE TO YOUR MOM CAUSE I HAVE SEEN YOU
WITH YOUR MOM.

      Yeah, I love my mom.

WHAT ELSE ABOUT YOUR FAMILY IS IMPORTANT TO YOU ?
CAN YOU EXPLAIN A LITTLE MORE I DON'T WANT TO SOUND
STUPID BUT PEOPLE HAVE DIFFERENT REASONS WHY THEIR
FAMILY IS IMPORTANT TO THEM AND I WANT TO HEAR YOURS.

      All my family is important. (long silence)

I KNOW I BELIEVE YOU.

I mean because they love me, they show me love and appreciation to me, they show a lot of strength coming every week to see me being locked up they don't have to do all that stuff I love my family for a lot of reasons I love them because they help me out in life they love me.

RIGHT RIGHT I KNOW SO IF YOU HAD TO TRY AN FIGURE OUT - HERE I COME WITH THESE QUESTIONS AGAIN - FIGURE OUT THE MOST IMPORTANT REASON...

I don't know, I love them because they are my family.

It appears that this subject (S6) even with his strong family ties and feelings, cannot take two perspectives, his own and his mother's or his sister's or his family's as a unit. His family seems to be an extension of himself. Additional data, such as his out-of-control behaviors on the unit and his in-depth discussions in therapy center around his connection to his family and himself. His self is out of control for example when he does not get a visit, especially a visit his mother "promised" him via the telephone. In a therapy session focused on just this topic, S6 revealed that although he wanted to tell his mother not to lie to him about coming up to see him but to just "tell me straight out so I won't look forward to something I am not going to get", he admitted he could not bring himself to do that. His reasons for not wanting to do that had little to do with upsetting or

92

hurting her feelings and a great deal to do with his fear she would get angry and refuse to visit him at all. In addition, once when she was hospitalized, nearly all of his articulations had to do with his worry that she would not be in his life for him and little to do with her pain and suffering. According to Kegan, this is an unavoidable, developmental response and not a selfish one. Rather it is a self-defensive protective reaction on a very deep level. (Coded as Stage 2.) The significance of this understanding will also be examined in Chapter Five.

The next subject (S7) is a 14 year old Black male who had been placed in and out of fostercare and residential placements since about age seven. He was in secure treatment for his first serious offense.

The card S7 selected was "Change".

OK CHANGE WHAT DO YOU WANT TO SAY ABOUT THAT ?

> I just mean about this floor, I mean when we moved the whole thing changed. Everything changed. The staff, the cool staff,they changed the whole floor changed they wanted us to do stuff do more, well they were on our backs or encouraging us to do more you gotta do this, you gotta do that, well we know what to do, we are here 24/7 you don't gotta, some staff have this power, I don't know they want to be supervisors or have the sup see them they are on a power trip, they have changed everything, the whole schedule, we have to watch this, we can't watch that...

SO TO YOU, WHAT DOES THAT MEAN TO YOU, WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT THAT THAT THE UNIT HAS GONE

THROUGH A LOT OF CHANGES, CAUSE YOU ARE RIGHT ABOUT
THAT.

What does it mean to me ?

YEAH TO YOU PERSONALLY.

To me it seems like a lot of BS, like for no
reason,like they just want to be on our backs,the
rules, you know and everything, It is supposed to
be treatment - little do they know they are
stessing us out even more having us go to groups
every day they do think it is good for us but it
is stressing us out and they talk about it, like
it always is reality, like reality is you can not
walk away from a fight, that's reality you just
can't say NO if somebody is putting drugs in your
face or money, you just can't say NO like that,
nobody can just say no because it is hard, that's
temptation out there, it's hard, you can't just
walk away from your friends and stuff, they are
talking about the books that is what they are
talking about stuff out of books.

SO YOU DON'T THINK THAT PEOPLE HAVE A SENSE OF WHAT
YOUR LIFE IS REALLY LIKE, WHAT IT IS REALLY LIKE OUT
THERE!

Yeah, they don't really know what it is really
like maybe some of them went through something
when they were kids but they don't know what it is
really like now.

SO YOU KNOWING THAT THEY, THAT NO ONE, I DON'T WANT TO
PUT MYSELF IN THERE BUT I GUESS I HAVE TOO, KNOWING
THAT NO ONE KNOWS WHAT IT IS REALLY LIKE OUT THERE LIKE
WHAT A DAY IN YOUR LIFE WAS REALLY LIKE, SO YOU HAVE
THAT KNOWLEDGE IN YOUR HEAD ALL THE TIME RIGHT, SO WHAT
DOES THAT DO TO WHAT ANYONE SAYS TO YOU.....OR TRYS TO
SHOW YOU OR ANYTHING, WHAT DOES IT DO TO THAT ?

I don't know.

WELL, IF THAT IS WHAT YOU BELIEVE, THAT NO ONE
UNDERSTANDS MY LIFE SO HOW DO YOU LOOK AT THE STUFF
THAT PEOPLE SAY TO YOU. WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT WHAT
PEOPLE SAY ?

94

Phony.   I think it's phony.

OH PHONY, IT DOESN'T MATCH YOUR WORLD.

Right, it matches TV shows. They watch too much
TV. It's only movies.   Like they go to surburban
areas and talk about drugs and stuff. They should
come to the cities. We had to watch a thing where
people went and talked to the kids and they
listened and everything, so what, so what if those
kids did, it was a suburban area.   Come to the
cities.

I AM REALLY INTERESTED IN THIS. I AM REALLY GLAD YOU
PICKED THIS AND YOU ARE TALKING ABOUT THIS IN A VERY
REAL WAY AND I APPRECIATE IT. I AM TRYING TO UNDERSTAND
SO, WHAT YOU DEAL WITH YOU HAVE ALL THESE DIFFERENT
KINDS OF PEOPLE, TEACHERS, CLINICIANS, STAFF,
ADMINISTRATORS, AND THEY ARE ALL SAYING ALL THIS
STUFF, AND MOST OF IT SEEMS TO YOU LIKE IT COMES OUT OF
A BOOK OR OFF A TV PROGRAM AND IT IS NOT A MATCH FOR
YOUR REAL LIFE YOUR REALITY, SO NOW, SO THEREFORE, HOW
DOES WHAT ANYBODY SAYS EVER GET THROUGH TO YOU HOW DO
THINGS HAVE ANY MEANING FOR YOU I KNOW LIKE MOST OF THE
TIMES IT DOESN'T IT SEEMS PHONY BUT A COUPLE OF
DIFFERENT TIMES WHAT SOME PEOPLE AROUND HERE HAVE SAID
TO YOU SEEMS TO MATTER TO YOU RIGHT IS THAT RIGHT ?

Yeah, sometimes, it depends on what they are
talking about.

HOW DO YOU DECIDE SOMEONE KNOWS WHAT THEY ARE TALKING
ABOUT?

I don't know. It's just there. It just happens.
you know. you know if what someone is saying is
phony or not. You can match up whatever they are
saying with what you are thinking. Like you can
walk away from a fight, that's not reality, that's
phony. You can get killed that way. That's crazy.

MAYBE NOT ONCE IT IS GOING ON MAYBE YOU CAN'T BUT IF
YOU KNOW THAT THEY USUALLY FIGHT OVER SOMETHING ON THE
CORNER OF THIS AND THAT , YOU CAN AVOID THE DAMN
CORNER, THAT'S WHAT I SAY,

Yeah, yeah you can do that.

YOU CAN AVOID THE PLACE, BUT IF YOU GO THERE YOU GOTTA
SURVIVE BUT IF YOU DONT GO THERE...

Yeah, but sometimes its about your problems, why
you gonna avoid your own problems ?

I CAN'T TALK YOU INTO MOVING RIGHT

(LAUGHS) Right.

OK OK THE FEW PEOPLE THAT YOU LISTEN TOO, TELL ME AGAIN
WHY YOU DO.

Cause they know what they are talking about.

AND HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT?

Cause their situation related to mines.

SO IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE, LIKE FOR ME, TO SAY
SOMETHING THAT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR YOU BECAUSE I NEVER
HAD A LIFE LIKE YOURS?

Some of it might be useful.

IN WHAT SITUATION COULD IT BE USEFUL. WHAT COULD
POSSIBLY BE USEFUL ?

Probably knowledge. School. Schoolwise. Humm
(long silence)

SO DO YOU THINK YOU HAVE A CLOSED DOOR BETWEEN, A
CLOSED MIND DO YOU THINK LIKE A WALL BETWEEN YOU AND
ME OR BETWEEN YOU AND ANYBODY ELSE WHO TRYS TO GET
THROUGH TO YOU IN ANY WAY ?

No.

SO WHAT HELPS YOU DECIDE TO LISTEN ?

My judgment.

SO IF YOU DECIDE IT MAKES ANY SENSE...

I accept it.

DO YOU EVER TELL YOURSELF, LIKE HERE COMES TROUBLE, OR
DON'T LISTEN TO THIS. DO YOU EVER LIKE WARN YOURSELF IN
ADVANCE.

Oh yeah. I always make a point of warning myself.
I always do that.

YOU LEARNED HOW TO DO THAT A LONG TIME AGO I BET. CAN
YOU REMEMBER WHEN YOU DIDN'T DO THAT? WARN YOURSELF.

(Long silence) No.

I HAVE ONE MORE QUESTION. IF IT WERE A MEMBER OF YOUR
FAMILY WOULD THAT BE LIKE AN AUTOMATIC IN ?

No, not well if they know what they are talking
about.

WOW, SAME STANDARDS, GOOD FOR YOU. SAME STANDARDS.

Like I said, I know when someone knows what they
are talking about I mean, in my family, I would
listen, but it would be like, I'd be out for a
walk,

IN ONE EAR AND OUT THE OTHER MY MOTHER USED TO SAY HAVE
YOU EVER, I KNOW I SAID THAT WAS MY LAST QUESTION BUT
THIS IS SO INTERESTING , YOU ARE SO INTERESTING, HAS IT
EVER HAPPENED TO YOU THAT YOU GO THROUGH SOMETHING AND
YOU HAVE THE EXPERIENCE LIKE AHA THIS IS WHAT MY COUSIN
OR MY GRANDMOTHER MEANT WHEN THEY SAID SO AND SO,

Yeah.

SO DOES THAT MEAN SOMEONE CAN TELL YOU SOMETHING THAT
YOU HAVEN'T EXPERIENCED AND YOU REMEMBER WHAT THEY SAID
AND YOU IN SOME PART OF YOUR GOOD BRAIN CARRY THAT
AROUND AND THEN WHEN SOMETHING HAPPENS YOU CAN RECALL
THAT WAS WHAT THEY SAID YOU CAN EVEN USE IT, PULL ON
IT, IS THAT RIGHT ?

Yeah.

YOU ARE SURE. I DO NOT WANT TO PUT WORDS IN YOUR MOUTH,
THIS HAS TO COME FROM YOU.

No, it's true.

CAN YOU THINK OF AN EXAMPLE WHERE THAT HAPPENED EVER?

Yeah like now my grandmother, everybody told me
that if I keep acting the way that I am acting I
am going to be locked up in the next two or three

97

years maybe and they were right about that, I know cause I was bad I never got caught for anything but my mother used to tell me the cops the cops but I didn't care about the cops I was so sure I would never get caught I was quick then I got caught and I got to deal with it and so I am dealing with it. I listened to my cousin, he had been locked up before and he told me how to do it, how deal with things, what to do and stuff and I listened to him.

IS THAT A PART OF WHAT HAS KIND OF KEPT YOU YOUR OWN MAN AND STUFF SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN HERE ?

Yeah.

YOU KNOW HOW YOU ALWAYS SAY LIKE YOU ARE WHO YOU ARE KIND OF THING THAT WORKS FOR YOU AND AGAINST YOU SOMETIMES I THINK

(Interupting me) No.

I KNOW YOU DON'T THINK IT WORKS AGAINST YOU BUT WELL JUST AS SOMEONE WHO HAS TRIED TO GET THROUGH SOMETIMES YOU KNOW IT IS LIKE, HMMM, THAT'S GREAT. THAT IS SO GOOD. DO YOU HAVE ANOTHER CARD?

I have "Anxious & Nervous".

OK GOOD NOW LET'S SEE IF WE CAN GET JUST ONE SINGLE INCIDENT, LET'S NOT GENERALIZE, ONE INCIDENT WHERE YOU WERE ANXIOUS AND NERVOUS.

Well, one time I got in trouble here I don't know I don't think I lost any points for it but I was kind of anxious to find out what happened like something happened out in the yard, some threatening, and well I thought we might all get locked down or something, I wasn't nervous, I was kinda anxious, like that I'm never nervous.

YOU HAVEN'T BEEN NERVOUS SINCE YOU HAVE BEEN IN THIS PLACE?

Yeah. Well, No. Cause I am kind of nervous now that I am almost leaving here. I'm nervous, anxious too.

98

OK WELL LET'S GO BACK TO BOTH OF THOSE THINGS. THE
INCIDENT FIRST BUT DON'T LET ME FORGET WE WANT TO TALK
ABOUT LEAVING, TOO, CAUSE THAT'S A GOOD TOPIC FIRST
LET'S TALK ABOUT THE INCIDENT SO YOU WERE ANXIOUS YOU
WERE NOT NERVOUS, YOU WERE ANXIOUS TO SEE WHAT ?

        The consequences.

OK YOU WERE ANXIOUS TO FIND OUT WHAT THE CONSEQUENCES
WERE TO THE INCIDENT IN THE YARD BECAUSE YOU WERE ON
LEVEL TWO THEN RIGHT ?

        Right. (Long silence)

AGAIN, WHAT WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ON YOUR MIND
AT THAT TIME ?

        Losing my level.

SO WHAT DID THAT MEAN TO YOU ?

        Well that was it I lost my level. I didn't want
        to do anything after that.

WHAT DID THEY WANT YOU TO DO ?

        You know. They wanted us to shake hands and all
        that. I didn't want to do it. I lost my level over
        it,right? One other kid lost his level too and he
        didn't even say nothing. He lost his level.
        Everybody loses points for what two people, maybe
        three people are doing..

RIGHT, I REMEMBER THAT WAS ONE OF THOSE THINGS WHERE
THEY TOOK POINTS FROM EVERYBODY.

        Right.

SO WHAT WAS YOUR UNDERSTANDING OF WHY POINTS WERE TAKEN
FROM EVERYBODY ?

        I don't know. They just give us excuses.

WHAT IS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN EXCUSES AND REASONS ?

        Excuses is when you talk BS about something.
        Reasons is when you are really trying to tell me
        why I was losing points.

99

THE TRUE THING.

>   Yeah, yeah, that's it the true thing.

HOW DO YOU KNOW WHEN YOU ARE SITTING WITH ONE OR THE
OTHER HOW DO YOU KNOW ?

>   Cause then, that time, they told us two different
>   stories.

OH AND THE REASON WHY YOU DIDN'T WANT TO GO AHEAD AND
SHAKE HANDS WITH THE KID WAS?

>   Cause it wasn't me. I didn't do anything. Why
>   should I shake hands with a kid crazy didn't I
>   just lose points for no reason just cause three
>   other kids were acting up and now they want me to
>   shake hands don't make no sense.

YOU JUST COULD NOT SEE ANY REASON IN THAT THEY GAVE YOU
REASONS BUT THEY TOLD YOU TWO DIFFERENT STORIES SO YOU
DO NOT BELIEVE EITHER ONE OF THEM.

>   Right.

WHAT DID THEY TELL YOU?

>   That I was talking trash about - that I was one of
>   the people - and the kid even said it wasn't me,
>   it was one of the other kids, and the staff said I
>   had said something first that I was capping on him
>   and I hadn't and then get this the other staff
>   said I spelled a word wrong and I said OK I did
>   that and then I lost points for spelling a word
>   wrong, that's BS

I DON'T KNOW I DON'T KNOW I GUESS MAYBE THIS IS OLD. I
DON'T KNOW IF ANY KID HAS EVER REALLY LOST POINTS
AROUND HERE FOR JUST SPELLING A WORD WRONG THERE MUST
BE SOMETHING ELSE TO IT.

>   Well, you don't know....(can't hear tape)

SO HOW COULD THAT WHOLE THING HAVE BEEN RESOLVED
DIFFERENTLY WHAT WOULD LIKE FOR YOU TO MAYBE DECIDE TO
SHAKE HANDS OR SOMETHING...

>   Nothing. No. If I got my points back ? No. Not
>   even then, what for,I didn't do anything. It would

100

have been like apologizing for something I didn't
do.

RIGHT I HEAR YOU. WELL NOT THAT THEY WOULD EVER DO THIS
HERE, BUT WHAT IF THEY SAID, LOOK WE WANT PEACE SO MUCH
WE ARE GOING TO GIVE EVERYONE BACK POINTS IF THIS IS
DEAD WOULD YOU HAVE THEN?

I don't know.

THAT'S A HARD ONE HUH? CAUSE IF YOU REALLY DIDN'T THINK
YOU HAD DONE ANYTHING WRONG BUT THERE WOULD HAVE BEEN
SOMETHING IN IT FOR YOU.

Well, I know I didn't think like that then but
maybe I would have just to keep my level and stuff

RIGHT.THEN HOW WOULD YOU HAVE FELT ABOUT YOURSELF
THEN,I WONDER?

I would not have felt, it would not be about peace
it would be OK.

SO YOU WOULD HAVE MADE IT OK?

With myself... yeah.

OK GOOD LET'S GO TO THE OTHER ANXIOUS/NERVOUS THING
WHICH IS A BIG ONE BECAUSE YOU ARE LEAVING HERE RIGHT
TELL ME WHATEVER YOU CAN ABOUT BEING ANXIOUS AND
NERVOUS ABOUT LEAVING HERE.

What do you mean ? It's a new place. I'm nervous
about going to a new place.

RIGHT,I WOULD NOT TRUST ANYONE WHO WASN'T CAUSE IT IS
BRAND NEW FOR YOU RIGHT. WHAT ARE YOUR CONCERNS?

Am I going get things done? Am I going to run? Is
the place going to be good for me? Am I going to
like it? I might not like it or something. All
that. How it is going to be there? How long I am
going to have to stay? All that.

GOOD QUESTIONS. MAYBE IF YOU HAD TO PICK THE MOST
IMPORTANT ONE. YOU KNOW I SAID I AM ALWAYS INTERESTED
IN WHAT YOU THINK IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING.

What?

101

OUT OF ALL THE THINGS THAT ARE MAKING YOU ANXIOUS   AND
NERVOUS? IF YOU HAD TO LIKE PUT THEM IN ORDER LIKE WHAT
WOULD IT BE?

    I don't know. They are all important.

OK THAT'S FAIR, ARE YOU CONCERNED ABOUT THE STAFF THERE
WHAT THEY ARE LIKE?

    No.

HAVE YOU LEARNED ANYTHING ABOUT HOW TO GET ALONG STAFF
HERE TO TAKE WITH YOU TO USE OVER THERE ?

    No...I know how to get along with staff sometimes
    there are some staff I don't want to get along
    with.

BECAUSE?

    Because of who they are what kind of attitude they
    have.

WHAT KIND OF ATTITUDE ?

    Well, they like Level Ones better than all of us.
    You know what I am saying ? If they talk they tell
    you to get on Level One, it means they like Level
    Ones more better, that's what they are saying.

IS THAT WHAT YOU THINK THEY ARE SAYING?

    Yeah.

WHY WOULD THEY WHY WOULD ANYONE MEAN THAT?

    I don't know, maybe they think high levels are
    more cooler.

COULD THERE BE ANY OTHER MESSAGE IN THAT? DO YOU THINK?
IF THEY TREAT THE LEVEL ONES WITH MORE RESPECT, IS THAT
WHAT YOU ARE SAYING ?

    No, it's not that.they like the Level Ones more.

HOW DO YOU KNOW THAT ?

    I see it, everybody sees it.

WHAT LEADS YOU TO THINK THAT? DESCRIBE THE BEHAVIOR.

     They are more lenient with them.

OH,THEY LET THEM GET AWAY WITH MORE STUFF AND YOU THINK
THAT MEANS THEY LIKE THEM BETTER.

     Yeah. They give them stuff.

HOOK THEM UP WITH THINGS.

     Yeah, you know they say "he's cool ,he's cool but
     if I get Level One I will act the same way I act
     when I was on a lower level if you don't like the
     way I act well too bad just cause I'm on level,
     Level One, well don't try to be my friend when I
     am on a higher level and when I was on a lower
     level I was a nothing, a nothing.

WELL THEN THE CONCEPT THEY ARE TRYING TO TEACH YOU
ABOUT EARNING PRIVILEGES THAT DOESN'T HAVE ANYTHING TO
DO WITH IT, CAN YOU SEE THAT THERE MIGHT BE SOME STAFF
WHO - BECAUSE WHAT YOU ARE SAYING IS TRUE, I AM NOT
DISAGREEING WITH YOU, BUT CAN YOU SEE THAT STAFF MIGHT
BE TRYING TO SEND MESSAGES LIKE IF YOU DO THE RIGHT
THING WHATEVER THAT IS,YOU WILL GET MORE PRIVILEGES

     No.

YOU CAN'T SEE THAT YOU THINK IT IS JUST A QUESTION OF
LIKE AND DISLIKE OH WELL THEY ARE NOT DOING IT RIGHT
THEN ARE THEY ? CAUSE I THINK WHAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO
BE TEACHING IS IF YOU KIND OF LIKE HOW THE WORLD RUNS,
IF YOU SCRATCH MY BACK, I'LL SCRATCH YOURS

     If they are trying to do that well they are not
     doing it right cause I know kids who have been on
     Level Four-

FOREVER ME TOO.I KNOW I KNOW AND YOU THINK THAT IS
STAFF'S FAULT.

     No, I think it's the kid's fault but I didn't try
     my hardest to get on Level One because staff
     didn't like me.

WAIT, DIDN'T YOU LIKE IT WHEN YOU WERE ON LEVEL TWO ?

103

Yeah, I liked it. I liked it because I got more
privileges but I didn't like it because I wanted
staff to like me well if they didn't like me when
I was on the lower levels, what difference does it
make when I am a two ? See?

I UNDERSTAND.IT IS INTERESTING TO ME BECAUSE YOU KNOW
THIS IS ALL ABOUT FIGURING OUT HOW YOU FIGURE THINGS
OUT RIGHT, YOU KNOW THAT, IT SOUNDS TO ME LIKE YOU
THINK YOU ARE PUTTING HOW MUCH SOMEBODY LIKES SOMEBODY
ON THIS UNIT ANYWAY TO HOW HIGH A LEVEL THEY ARE AND
HOW THEY GET HOOKED UP AND THAT WHAT THE UNIT IS TRYING
TO DO IS TO SHOW YOU THAT YOU CAN EARN YOUR WAY UP THAT
IT IS NOT ABOUT LIKING OR NOT LIKING, IT'S ABOUT LIKE
YOU BEING IN CHARGE OF YOUR BEHAVIOR AND YOUR BEHAVIOR
BEING GOOD AND THEN SOMETIMES I THINK IT IS ABOUT HOW
RELATIONSHIPS GO BECAUSE OBVIOUSLY IF A KID IS NOT
GOING TO HELP OR DO THE THINGS THE WAY THEY ARE
SUPPOSED WHICH MAKES A STAFF'S LIFE EASIER - WELL IT
STANDS TO REASON THAT THE KIDS WHO DO HELP OUT ARE
GOING TO GET HOOKED UP ANYWAY BUT OFTEN A KID ON THE
LOWEST LEVEL IS WELL LIKED, BUT HE IS NOT GOING TO GET
HOOKED UP DO YOU UNDERSTAND, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT?

A little.

BECAUSE I'VE SEEN IT, I KNOW IT IS TRUE. AND THEN THOSE
SAME PEOPLE WHEN THEY LIKE A KID GET FRUSTRATED WHEN
THE KID ISN'T MOVING UP BECAUSE THEY DO LIKE THE KID

I did.

I KNOW.

I tried. Sometimes I'd just get mad and lose it.
but some staff would just get on my back. They
should be happy for me but some just threatening
me, threaten to pull my passes, my level,
threatening me I might get extended.

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY MEAN BY THAT ?

They don't want me to leave. They threaten to get
me extended.

WHAT DO YOU THINK THEY THINK THEY ARE TRYING TO TEACH
YOU ?

104

I don't know. They just don't want me to leave.

I BELIEVE YOU THAT THAT IS WHAT YOU THINK. I THINK
THEY ARE TRYING TO TELL YOU AT THE VERY END HERE NOW
KEEP IT TOGETHER.

Then, they should just tell you that, no threats.

THAT'S WHAT I SAY.

They should tell you "keep it together".

WELL, KEEPING IT TOGETHER , YOU HAVE TO DO THAT BY?

You don't have to threaten.

NO. BUT YOU THINK OF IT AS THREATS

Everybody thinks of it as threats.

REALLY DO ALL THE KIDS ?

Everybody, like "I'm going to take your points"
that's is threatening. If you want people to do
good, you just ask them just ask them, you talk
about taking points, you get kids more mad at you.
Some staff talk to you. But some staff, it seems
like they just want you to stay here forever.

I THINK STAFF WANT TO SEE FRUITS OF THEIR LABOR I THINK
MAYBE THEY WANT TO SEE A KID GO THROUGH SOME CHANGES
AND THEN THEY CAN FEEL OH THEY INFLUENCED THIS KID.

No one influenced me. The only person who can
influence a resident is himself you can not
influence another resident.

WHY IS THAT ?

That how kids, that's how we are. We aint going to
listen to no staff maybe if we have to, but we
ain't going to listen to them you listen to what
your mother say, maybe a few important people in
your life.

RIGHT

And yourself.

105

YOURSELF.

> Maybe later on in life you put some trust in
> people maybe (long silence).

HOW DID YOU GET SO SMART !
.

This subject (S7), only just barely fourteen years of age, has such a clear sense of himself and his beliefs. Not only that, he is absolutely certain that what he thinks is exactly what all the other residents think. His complete separation from staff in this case can be understood as as a metaphor for his stage development according to Kegan. It is apparent from this excerpt that no matter how the next stage of development (Stage Three thinking) is presented to S7, he will not embrace it. Indeed his equilibrium depends at this point in his development upon a complete embeddedness in his current meaning-making system or activity. How the environment of a unit may or may not support this embeddedness will be addressed in Chapter Five. (Coded as a full Stage 2).

The last subject (S8) in this study is a 19 year old White male who prior to this offense had only dismissed property damage and disorderly charges on his record.

HAVE YOU PICKED A CARD ?

    Yeah, Torn,

OK SO TELL ME ABOUT SOMETHING WHERE YOU WERE TORN

    Torn from not knowing which way to go - like good
    or bad.

IS THAT ABOUT LIKE HOW TO BE ON THE UNIT YOU MEAN ?

    Yeah whether to do good things or bad things.

WAS THAT THE KIND OF THING LIKE YOU WAKE UP IN THE
MORNING AND AND YOU DIDN'T KNOW WAS IT LIKE YOU HAD A
CHOICE EVERY DAY OR WAS IT LIKE A LONG-TERM FEELING OF
BEING TORN ?

    It's a long term thing because like if something
    bad happens on the unit and I lose a lot of points
    and I think well it doesn't matter and I'll
    continue doing bad cause it seems nothing is going
    to go right so but then things will start going
    good, like things are going good right now so I
    think I think I'll probably continue doing good.

OH SO WHO DECIDED OR HOW DO YOU COME TO YOUR DECISION
THAT THINGS ARE GOING GOOD OR BAD ?

    Like compliments that I get or privileges I don't
    know it is just a feeling.

JUST A FEELING THAT THINGS ARE GOING GOOD, OK THEN SO
THE OPPOSITE WOULD BE TRUE IF THINGS ARE GOING BAD WHY
DON'T YOU TELL ME ABOUT THE KIND OF AN INCIDENT LIKE ON
THE UNIT THAT WOULD MAKE YOU DECIDE WELL, LIKE YOU
MIGHT AS WELL HAVE THINGS GO THE BAD WAY.

    It seems like I might just lose a few points for
    being sarcastic or something and then it seems
    staff are on me for every little thing and I just
    continue doing bad.

SO MAYBE WHAT WENT ON FOR YOU WAS LIKE AN INTERNAL
PROCESS THAT WAS LIKE AN EVALUATION OH LOOK AT THIS ALL
THESE THINGS ARE GOING BAD I MIGHT AS WELL GIVE UP.

    Right, right exactly.

SO IT WAS MAYBE LIKE A DIALOGUE WITH YOURSELF IN A
SENSE

Yeah.

OK SO DID ANYBODY ELSE EVER INFLUENCE THAT OR CHANGE
THAT

No.

(MUCH LAUGHTER ON MY PART) I GUESS I ALREADY KNOW THAT
HUH WELL SO LIKE (now he is laughing) NOTHING ANYBODY
COULD SAY BUT AT SOME POINT IN TIME SOMETHING HAPPENED
BECAUSE YOU WOULD DECIDE TO CHANGE SO TELL ME ABOUT AN
INCIDENT

interupting - it's just that I'd stop losing
points, I'd notice maybe I did stop doing this and
that or maybe they didn't notice but I'd stop
losing points and I'd start doing good again

SO EVEN THOUGH YOU FELT LIKE YOU WERE CONTROLLING IT
ALL WHAT HAPPENED ON THE OUTSIDE OF YOU LIKE HOW PEOPLE
TREATED YOU LIKE IF THEY DID OR DID NOT TAKE YOUR
POINTS FOR SOME LITTLE THING YOU COULD KIND OF KEEP
TRACK OF THOSE.

Right.

OK WELL TELL ME TWO MORE THINGS ABOUT THIS AND YOU CAN
GO ON TO ANOTHER, WAIT MAYBE THREE MORE THINGS, I'D
REALLY LIKE A SPECIFIC INCIDENT THAT MADE YOU THINK
NEGATIVELY OR BAD, A SPECIFIC THING LIKE MAYBE BETWEEN
YOU AND A STAFF PERSON, ONE THAT MADE YOU THINK
POSITIVELY OR GOOD, AND MAYBE A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THE
FEELINGS INSIDE.

An incident with a staff like I was playing darts
and I went and got a pen from the desk when we
were playing darts to keep score and it seemed all
of a sudden he said listen, listen, this isn't
your pen go back over there and put it back and I
was like damn but I just started to walk back to
put the pen back without saying something and he
said something but I just kept walking to put the
pen back but I started laughing and he must of got
real angry because he said you can keep laughing
all right and not just for this shift and then I
just got mad cause I thought I started off doing

108

things right and I get in as much trouble as when
I do things wrong I don't know but it seemed to go
on like that for a couple of days.

DO YOU MEAN THE FEELING LEFT FROM THAT EXPERIENCE
LASTED A LONG TIME ?

Yeah.

I CAN SEE THAT I CAN SEE THAT I WONDER WHAT COULD HAVE
CHANGED THAT FOR YOU HOW COULD HAVE THAT PLAYED OUT
DIFFERENTLY?

No. Cause I think what I did was right. Instead of
saying something I laughed, I was telling myself
this ain't worth it so instead of saying something
I laughed and went to return the pen so I did
think I was doing something good instead of
getting mad and this and that and just blow up I
thought I was doing right and I got sanctioned for
it and not going to then do good at that moment.

BECAUSE STAFF DIDN'T UNDERSTAND OR APPRECIATE YOUR
CHOICE OF BEHAVIOR THEN AND THERE?

I felt disrespected.

SO COULD STAFF HAVE DONE IT DIFFERENTLY?

Yeah, I think so,

SO THAT FEELING WOULD BE SOMETHING THAT WOULD LAST,
THAT FEELING THAT STAFF DIDN'T UNDERSTAND OR APPRECIATE
YOUR BEHAVIOR AND YOU LOST POINTS SO WHAT IS SOMETHING
THAT WOULD CHANGE THAT?

At this point in time I don't know.

OK OK I THINK YOU PICKED A REALLY GOOD TOPIC HERE, YOU
DO KNOW THAT YOUR TIME ON THE UNIT IF YOU ARE
EVALUATING WEEKS AND MONTHS YOU GET IN TOUCH WITH THIS
FEELING OF BEING PULLED BOTH WAYS TORN (right) BUT YOU
CAN'T TELL ME OF AN INCIDENT OR EXPERIENCE A SINGLE
INCIDENT OR EXPERIENCE THAT TURNED THE TABLES, RIGHT?

I can't think of specifics but I know there are
times when I say something to staff or I'll say
something to a resident and other residents will
tell me to calm down or I'll decide not to say

109

something back and I'll avoid a problem, like I'll still be angry and I may kind of carry that around with that staff but I won't go wrong.

DOES IT DEPEND ON WHO TRIES TO INTERVENE? LIKE WHAT YOU THINK OF THAT PERSON WHO TRIES TO HELP?

I don't think so, lots of residents will try to help, I don't think it matters at the time unless maybe it is a resident who is constantly every other second being disrespectful to staff then what's the point I won't listen I won't listen!

SO THE LAST QUESTION ABOUT FEELINGS I GUESS IS DO YOU FEEL THAT WAY A LOT ON THE UNIT TORN? HAS THAT CHANGED RECENTLY OR WHAT?

Well, I still have it, but right now I can say NO because right now things have been going good so there isn't really no reason to go back because things are looking up for me and as I am doing good I am getting good outcomes so if I continue doing good and bad outcomes come then I may switch over or I may.....(silence)

AT LEAST FEEL THAT TORN FEELING - I KNOW I SAID THAT WOULD BE THE LAST QUESTION BUT I ALWAYS THINK OF ANOTHER ONE BUT MAYBE COULD YOU THINK OF SOMETHING YOU COULD TELL YOURSELF, LIKE YOU COULD FEEL TORN, BUT WOULD YOU BE ABLE TO TELL YOURSELF SOMETHING SO THAT YOU WOULDN'T CHANGE DOING GOOD,

Yeah, I do that now, I got Level Two I can think well I worked so hard to get my Level Two, you know what I am saying, so that I can see it can work for me because I don't want to lose my Level Two so I can tell myself it isn't worth saying what I feel like saying.

RIGHT OK GOOD. WANT TO PICK ANOTHER CARD?

I picked "Change".

GOOD.

This sort of ties into the other one cause you know like from good to bad or bad to good, Like I said trying to get Level Two the majority of the time I was on Level Four or maybe Level Three but

110

Level Two, well that's a big change for me.

IT IS. DO YOU LIKE IT?

(long silence) Sometimes. It's like a challenge -
(can't understand tape for a few seconds) I can't
do that because most of the time I can't say what
I want to say because it is disrespectful so I try
like to say it to myself so I won't say it at all
and that's a challenge.

SO DOES THAT DO ANYTHING TO LIKE YOUR OPINION OF
YOURSELF OR LIKE YOUR IDENTITY? OR LIKE DO YOU FEEL
LIKE YOU ARE IN A DIFFERENT SKIN OR SOMETHING KNOW WHAT
I MEAN LIKE THIS IS JUST NOT LIKE HOW I WAS FOR SO
LONG?

Yeah I feel like it is someone else like it is not
me I am not used to it like it wasn't me before.

WHAT HELPS YOU DO IT?

Getting my Level Two, people stop me, like
encouraging me, knowing that I am doing good,
giving me little privileges here and there or
people say keep on doing good.

SO YOUR RELATIONSHIPS HAVE CHANGED?

Yeah.

WE ARE TALKING ABOUT CHANGE, RIGHT?

Right.

DID YOU CHANGE YOUR OPINION OF ANY PEOPLE ON THE UNIT?
NO NAMES HERE BUT DID YOU HAVE ONE OPINION OF SOMEBODY
AND NOW HAVE A DIFFERENT OPINION?

Maybe a slight change. nothing dramatic.

NOTHING BIG. OK BUT WHAT HELPED THAT HAPPEN?

Mostly observing.

OH WATCHING.

Yeah.

HOW THEY TREAT OTHER PEOPLE BESIDES HOW THEY TREAT
YOU...IS THAT A CHANGE FROM HOW YOU USED TO EVALUATE
OR?

>   No, I always did that, I ,like when I first came
>   here I didn't like jump into anything in the
>   program I sat back.

THAT'S TRUE.

>   I observed staff, residents, watching which staff
>   were cool, that's pretty much how I always do
>   things.

WELL, NOW I AM WONDERING I BELIEVE YOU THAT THAT'S HAVE
YOU HAVE ALWAYS DONE THINGS OR AT LEAST YOU HAVE BEEN
THAT WAY FOR A LONG TIME AND I KNOW THAT YOU ARE A
GREAT OBSERVER SO I KNOW THAT'S TRUE AND YOU WERE, ARE
ALWAYS OBSERVING SO SO HOW COULD YOU CHANGE YOUR
OPINION OF SOMEBODY OH WAIT MAYBE JUST BY COLLECTING
MORE DATA, SEEING MORE STUFF, IS THAT RIGHT?

>   Right, seeing the interactions between different
>   people and by what they say to me, this and that.

DO YOU THINK THAT PEOPLE ARE TREATING YOU A LITTLE
DIFFERENTLY TOO SINCE YOU ARE ON A HIGHER LEVEL?

>   Yeah, I think so now that I am doing good yeah I
>   think I see a difference yeah.

YEAH AND IT SEEMS LIKE IT'S SITTING OK WITH YOU, IT'S
SITTING ALL RIGHT OK ANY MORE YOU WANT TO SAY ABOUT
CHANGE?

>   Not really.

WANT TO PICK ANOTHER CARD?

>   Success.

GOOD. THESE ALL KIND OF FIT TOGETHER.

>   Yeah, I tried to put them like that.

YOU DID YOU DID YOU GOT IT RIGHT OK LET'S REALLY BREAK
IT DOWN HERE, THIS MIGHT GET A LITTLE BORING FOR YOU
BUT REALLY BREAK DOWN ONE SUCCESS FOR ME.

112

Making Level Two.

OK NOW WHAT IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING ABOUT MAKING
LEVEL TWO FOR YOU?

I earned a lot of respect from different people
because a lot of people had doubts about me ever
achieving Level Two because of my general attitude
the way I look at things so I mean that's a
success for me proving I can do this, I can make
Level Two, I can maintain it,cause I am
maintaining it now.

RIGHT AND THAT IS YOUR BIGGEST SUCCESS SORT OF PROVING
THEM WRONG IF THEY HAD ANY IDEAS THAT YOU COULDN'T DO
IT?

No. Not proving them wrong but just proving that
if I want to do something, if I set my mind to it,
if I say I am going to do something I am going to
do it.

OK SO IT IS KIND OF UNDERLINING LIKE WITH A RED MARKER
UNDERLINING YOUR WORD, LIKE SAYING ALL RIGHT LOOK AT
THIS IF I SAY I AM GOING TO DO I AM GOING TO DO IT!

Right, that's what it is.

ALSO IT IS A WAY TO REINFORCE THE GOOD STUFF ABOUT
YOURSELF IS THAT CLOSE? I MEAN IN OTHER PEOPLES EYES IT
IS A WAY OF PROVING?

No. No that's not it. Because you really can't
disprove all the bad things that I have done, so
no matter what, all the bad things I have done
they are still there the only thing I can do the
way I feel now is that I can try to improve myself
and show that I have changed like talk about
different things so therefore I can't delete
it, but I can cover it up a little bit.

LIKE YOU CAN ADD SOME NEW GOOD STUFF TO THE POOL OF
INFORMATION ABOUT YOU.

Right.

SO PRETTY SOON THE BALANCE SHIFTS TOO.

Yeah.

113

LIKE IF I PICTURE A SCALE IF YOU PILE UP ALOT OF GOOD
STUFF THAT'S THE PART THAT IS GOING TO WEIGH HEAVILY
LIKE IN PEOPLES UNDERSTANDING OF YOU.

> No. I don't think like that because if I do
> something wrong, people say look he is doing this
> since I have been here people look more at the bad
> things.

OH SO YOU BELIEVE LIKE YOU COULD DO TEN GOOD THINGS
AND IF YOU DO ONE BAD THING THAT'S WHAT EVERYONE WILL
FOCUS ON THAT.

> People would remember two good things.

OUT OF THE TEN, THAT'S WHAT YOU THINK. OH MAYBE. THAT'S
TOO BAD I THINK YOU MIGHT BE RIGHT, LIKE IT'S PART OF
HUMAN NATURE SOMETIMES THAT'S TOO BAD. BUT BUT THAT
ISN'T STOPPING YOU FROM HAVING SUCCESS IS IT?

> No.

SO THEN LET ME ASK YOU HOW YOU COME TO THE DECISION
THAT IT IS WORTH IT TO DO GOOD THINGS?

> Cause of some of my terms. I have told people that
> making Level Two well this is what I want , I want
> to get out of here so I look at that and I look at
> the bad things I have done and I put two and two
> together and if I continue to do bad things I
> won't get out of here.

OK AS PART OF YOUR SUCCESS WHEN I LOOK AT YOUR SUCCESS
I THINK MAYBE YOU DON'T SO I WANT TO KNOW WHAT DOES IT
MEAN TO YOU WHEN SOMEONE LIKE XX   REALLY HORSEPLAYS IN
THE HALL LIKE WITH YOU TODAY, WHAT DOES THAT MEAN TO
YOU, THAT DOESN'T HAPPEN WITH EVERYBODY, I THINK YOU
KNOW THAT IS TRUE.

> I think that along my stay here that person and I
> click anyway and I think maybe that is just a
> natural bond and so that kind of joking around
> doesn't happen if a kid is doing bad but if a kid
> is doing good, it is just a natural thing.

I LOVE THAT WORD, BOND. NOW DO YOU THINK THE BOND GOES
AWAY WHEN YOU ARE DOING BAD ?

No I don't think it goes away it lessens.

IT LESSENS.

He would know I am doing bad and everything and I am upset with myself and that isn't no time to joke around like that.

I SEE. SO HOW DOES IT MATTER WHAT'S IMPORTANT TO YOU ABOUT IT, ABOUT YOU BEING UPSET WITH YOURSELF AND ABOUT XX

Because me and that person talk, The things I have done bad and this and that and I've said that I am not going to do this and do that or I'm going to try not to do this or that and then weeks or a month later and I do the same thing and I am back on restriction or whatever and I know that XX is upset and I'm upset myself I kind of let myself down you know what I am saying I was going to try to be good and I am doing this, I am doing bad so I disappoint myself and I disappoint that person.

AND WHAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT THAT DISAPPOINTMENT ?

Because I think it loses respect, trust, whatever. Because I said I am going to try to do this and I don't, it doesn't get me no trust when I do the same thing over and over again right after we had a talk.

OK I UNDERSTAND. THANKS.

In this interview we see some indication that S8 makes meaning with some view toward another response to his actions besides his own. However, what is missing is an indication that the other's feelings influence his decision-making prior to his taking any action. In other words, an internalized dialogue based on holding two perspectives inside of oneself, reflecting on the

115

ramifications of one's choice of action based on the possible feelings of another; ie: if I do or say this, then the other person may feel this, so perhaps I better not say it, is not taking place prior to action. There is evidence that some thoughts take place after the fact. However, these thoughts are apparently initiated because this individual is worried about loss of trust for himself as much as the other's actual feelings, therefore I would code this 2(3) not 2/3. This individual could be acting out of Stage 2 and Stage 3 (2/3) meaning-making systems simultaneously if there was an equal balance of concern in the making of meaning for self and for other present. It seems the activity of meaning-making is still going on primarily from one perspective; that of self, hence the conclusion that the appropriate code is still Stage Two with a new, emerging understanding that this might not be a totally adequate way to view the world: 2(3).

Kegan only briefly refers to factors which may inhibit the progression from one stage to another. He suggests that a high risk for the development taking place during Stage 2 is, for example, if the family is relocated during the transition period which he calls roughly early adolescence, 12-16. Other sources of trauma are not dealt with in terms of how they may

116

delay development. Kegan asks that the reader
continually bear in mind that his theory is about human
being as an activity. It is not about the doing which
a human does; it is about the doing which a human is.
The lives of the adolescents who participated in this
study include trauma produced from events which
certainly could have had far more dramatic impact than
a family relocating. Death or disappearance of a parent
or a sibling, for example. Sexual or physical abuse
during early childhood. Watching your mother or some
other member of your family or a friend suffer physical
or sexual abuse or being shot at or knifed or even
being that victim or offender yourself. Continued use
of drugs from early childhood through the teenage
years. The list is long and the effects, known and
unknown, surely have influenced the meaning-making
systems of these participants. The significance of
this will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 1 Demographic Summary

Subject and Kegan Stage	Age	Ethnicity	Crime	Family Involvement
S1 K2	18	African-American	Manslaughter	Mother
S2 K2(3)	14	Caucasian	Manslaughter	Parents
S3 K2	19	Hispanic	Manslaughter	Parents
S4 K2	16	Cape Verdian	Armed Assault	Parents
S5 K2(3)	17	Caucasian	Assault with Dangerous Weapon	Mother
S6 K2	17	Hispanic	Aggravated Rape	Mother
S7 K2	14	African-American	Assault with Dangerous Weapon	Grandmother
S8 K2(3)	19	Caucasian	Indecent Assault	DSS only

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The disturbing trend in the increased numbers of juveniles incarcerated yearly certainly indicates a need to examine the current methods of rehabilitation and socialization of these adolescents. Historically the research has not included data taken directly from the adolescents themselves. As these numbers of adolescent offenders increase, there is an even greater need to explore the meaning these incarcerated adolescents are making of their experience. The differences between adolescent and adult meaning-making systems have not been addressed in the context of the incarceration and treatment of youthful offenders.

In this chapter, I will indicate how the problems of rehabilitation and socialization might be understood differently when viewed through the developmental lens provided by Kegan's constructive-developmental theory. The significance of this for treatment environments will be included. The participants in this research have been given a voice. Themes introduced by the subjects during their interviews will be identified and discussed. Areas for future research will be suggested.

119

Discussion and Conclusions of Findings

All eight subjects in this research study fall clearly into the epistemologial category Kegan calls Stage Two. Only two participants demonstrated even a view towards the next stage. What is the significance of this basic finding ? A brief review of the abilities of anyone functioning at this stage, and Kegan makes the point that although the age norms are thought to be 12 through 16 or 17, some adults remain at this stage perhaps for an entire lifetime, includes an ability to look beyond the immediate givens. Stage Two people are able to distinguish between how something appears and how something is; which is to say they are no longer subject to their own perceptions and can take as object these perceptions. In addition, they are able to coordinate perceptions over a period of time. However, it is important to remember that Stage Two people are subject to their own needs and cannot take these needs as object.

It has been helpful to think about this in the following manner: I am an adolescent with a self which is subject to my own needs and wishes and interests and therefore I am only able to relate to you by viewing your needs in terms of the possible consequences for my

world view. This is a developmental, epistemological "truth" according to Kegan. Expectations concerning certain behaviors of any adolescent on the part of any adult guided and informed by this belief and knowledge would necessarily be more realistic. Judgments and evaluations might change. Treatment plans clearly would need to be differently designed.

The first important finding of this research is that the eight participants in this study function at Kegan's Stage Two level of development. It is important to look at the developmental differences between adults and those adolescents entrusted to their care. When viewed through Kegan's developmental lens, these differences explain conflict and communication problems and point the way towards effective solutions.

The moment someone is able to begin to consider another person's independent view at the same time he is taking into account his own, this moment marks the transition from a Stage Two embeddedness in one's own needs to the Stage Three world of interpersonalism, according to Kegan's theory. The Stage Three self brings inside the self the other's perspective.

Another important dynamic these interviews revealed was almost no ability on the part of the participants to take another's perspective. When staff

121

believe that an important part of socialization and
rehabilitation is to "teach" these incarcerated
adolescents to do what they are developmentally
incapable of doing, we can see the source of the
conflicts as mentioned by the subjects in this study.
Staff functioning at Kegan's Stage Three often feel
"disequilibrium" when conflict is experienced which is
a developmental explanation for how staff often feel
working with these adolescents. Stage Four adults
rather expect that different people will have different
takes on one situation and often experience less
conflict however problems arise here too for Stage Four
adults and their expectations of Stage Two adolescents
are even more disparate. Kegan's theory includes the
concept that while the strength of the institutional
self of Stage Four lies in its ability to generate and
excercise values and standards, its limitation lies in
its identification with the generator or the
institution who creates them. This means that loyality
to the way we do things here can be strongly
articulated to Stage Two people who are totally,
developmentally embedded in the way they do things
themselves. The meaning-making systems of the people
attempting to understand each other are also in
conflict.

One theme which appears in more than half of the interviews has to do with a difference in the meaning-making systems of the residents on the treatment unit and the staff there. Often a simple directive on the part of a staff person to a resident leaves the resident believing, again because he is embedded in his own needs, he has been intentionally disregarded or disrespected or misunderstood. Not only is this belief evident in the interviews but this is a fact known to me as the result of hundreds of conversations with these incarcerated adolescents over the years. In addition, many times I have been part of processing an incident with both staff and resident alike individually and then together with a positive resolution once the meaning has been completely processed and understood by both parties. One example: residents are required to line-up and stand quietly whenever they transition from one place within the unit to another. Security is a major issue here for staff, especially when residents move to another part of the building for meals. Residents often lose points for talking in line at such times. It is a time of great confusion. On occasion, the wrong person is identified as the cause of the noise. There is no time to process

at the time of the line-up. Unless you have been part

of this experience, it would be difficult to imagine

how affronted an adolescent is when wrongly accused in

front of his peers. It is also quite amazing to see

the results of better communication when staff and

resident are able to meet and talk over even something

as simple as this misunderstanding. One of the unit's

strengths is that whenever possible such staff/resident

sessions take place as soon as possible after the

incident.

Another important theme identified in these

interviews (and in my conversation with these

adolescents over the years) can be called either

"trust" and/or the overall "environment of

incarceration". Although S1 is primarily thinking

about when he can leave the unit, S2 clearly believes

"the unit runs alot better if everybody is doing what

they are supposed to be doing". S3 talks about being

"safe" while S4 reflects on "staff/supervisor

relationships and power trips" and yearns for the

freedom simply to "joke" when he feels like it. S5

talks about being angry when he believed "I was marked"

and "I wasn't trusted". S6 is concerned with being

locked up in a "place away from his family" (this tends

to come up in conversations with most of the

124

residents) and S7 worries about which residents are the
most well liked by staff on the unit. S8 reflects on
the "bond" that is created especially when a resident
is doing well on the unit. He believes it "lessens"
when a resident is not doing as well or loses his
level. What do these issues tell us about the
environment in which they arise ? Is there anything
which could be changed to better address these issues ?
What meaning were these adolescents making of their
experience on a locked, secure treatment unit? How do
these meanings reflect or not reflect the intentions of
the staff on the unit and the program itself ?

Inherent in the behaviors of the participants in
this study if not always manifested in the content of
the interviews is the fact that they bought into the
unit's behavior modification system at least to the
extent where they cared about their own progress within
it. S1, who in his interview talked mostly about
topics relating to leaving because he was scheduled to
leave shortly, was a Level One resident which means he
earns daily at least 90% of all his points. Residents
do continually complain and criticize staff but even
these articulations indicate a desire to do well within
the system and a feeling that they are not being
accurately evaluated is articulated daily.

125

The unit offers a model whose philosophy is based upon a reparenting modality which highly stresses role modeling for youth which represents their belief that these adolescents either do not have families or parents or come from highly dysfunctional families with many problems. Behavior modification techniques are used along with the constant message of adherence to and obeyance of rules. It is believed that paying attention to the unit's rules is an important part of the socialization and treatment process.

Underlying the unit's reparenting model are four principles evident in most aspects of it's programming: 1) Inappropriate behavior is controlled by social learning theory through a point and level system wherein residents are confronted and given known sanctions in accordance with a clearly stated policy. 2) Special emphasis is place on family, family vists, and family therapy which is provided to all who are able to take advantage of it. Outreach work and community networking is done from the unit's base in order to attempt to safeguard against youths returning to the same delinquent peer group. 3) Staff provide role models for youth to enable them to see what appropriate behavior is about and an advocate system is in place which in most cases can offer each resident an

126

individual advocate from his own culture. Resident and
staff relationships on this unit are considered to be
as important a dynamic of treatment as individual,
group, and family therapy. Treatment is defined as a
combination of the work done by all staff and all
residents. 4) Educational and vocational goals are
also an intregal part of treatment and residents attend
daily classes on unit.

The unit's philosophy is one which sees the youth
and their needs as the principle tie which binds all of
the professionals together. Staff are asked to
understand that we are united in our efforts to
rehabilitate these residents with serious emotional and
behavioral problems who were, until very recently,
seriously criminally active. The unit believes it can
provide experiences to give residents respect for
themselves and then teach them respect for others.

Although most, but not all, youths in secure
treatment know the DYS system, they tend to come into
the unit with the idea that since "I did the crime,
I'll do the time", the unit attempts to counteract that
thinking with the idea that caring staff will be
setting firm limits and holding residents accountable
for their own behavior. Not to give restrictions when
appropriate on this unit carries not a message of

caring but rather one of not caring, according to staff. Unit philosophy also states that disciplinary actions warrant a thorough explanation to the resident of what was done wrong and why it was wrong. Room confinements and mechanical restraints are rarely deemed necessary on this unit and only to the extent required to protect people and help a resident stabilize some momentary uncontrolled behavior. These actions are always short term and as soon as a resident has gained control of himself these actions are no longer considered necessary. Counseling and processing then follow. To continue these restraints further than necessary is considered unnecessarily punitive and eroding of the messages of mutual respect. It is clearly stated that it is expected that residents will make mistakes and that staff need to be there to help them.

The work is defined as "demanding and tough" and staff are encouraged to work together and support each other with the goal of helping the residents. Staff trainings conclude with the hope that the entire work experience will be rewarding for staff and residents.

The major behavior modification technique in place on the unit is it's point and level system. A resident may earn all of his 100 points on any given day by

following unit rules consisting of clearly outlined

behavior such as forming a straight,quiet line when in

transition from one place to another on the unit. The

list of required behavior is experienced by most

adolescents as endless but moving up in the system

requires compliance with the rules and most residents

buy into the system to earn the privileges which come

with each advanced level.

In addition, as part of the behavioral

modification plan, residents are required to sign a

contract as they begin treatment. This contract begins

with a list of eight "I agree not to" statements which

cover behavior which is in any way physically violent

or verbally abusive or sexually inappropriate and ends

with five "I agree to" statements which cover

participation in school, program activities, therapy,

chores, and compliance with all other general rules and

regulations. All residents must sign the unit contract

before they are officially accepted into the program.

All do.

The most useful explanations and possible

solutions of why a caring staff functioning in what

appears to be a fair environment still leaves residents

with all the concerns and issues and problems found in

these interviews and those which have been identified

by residents to me in my ten years of experience with adolescents in three different secure treatment units are manifested and inherent in Kegan's theories.

Kegan (1982) states that it is not his intention to provide a sophisticated analysis of behavior modification. He also admits that in considering what such treatment means from a constructive-developmental perspective, he is in no way ruling it out of court. However he does take this system of rewards for "good" behavior and sanctions for "bad" behavior to task in several ways which seem applicable to the environment of a secure treatment unit. He suggests that behavioral treatment amounts to a kind of polyester version of an imperial culture of embeddedness; in other words a Stage Two environment.

At first glance one would think this appropriate and nearly a perfect match for the subjects in this research who, according to Kegan's theory are indeed all coded as Stage Two residents. However, Kegan (1982) explains this environment lacks the capacity, because of the rigidity of its rules and regulations, to move with or to foster the movement of the organism it cultures (that is the resident). It is not merely geared to, but locked on, the imperial balance, neither recognizing or inviting the emerging capacities for

internalized mutuality, Stage 3. This could be an explanation for the fact that the eight subjects in this research showed little variation in the stage they were functioning from: coded 2,2(3),2,2,2(3),2,2 and 2(3). Three other definite possibilities for their age range were not reached: 2/3, 3/2 and 3(2).

Kegan (1982 p175) also holds such environments accountable for the fact that they tend to reproduce street culture which he identifies as the the natural milieu of many persons who become detained at this balance. Kegan believes this is true because although behavior modification environments are more orderly and without the violence of the street, they are often unresponsive to an interpersonal psychology as the street, where it is every man for himself. In shaping the superficial behaviors without any attention to the organization of the person giving rise to these behaviors, Kegan states we are fostering the return of old behaviors, especially if the organism returns to the familiar culture (that is if the resident returns to the old neighborhood).

Examining the secure treatment unit which holds the eight subjects in this research it is evident that some of Kegan's descriptions of behavior modification environments in general do not adequately define this

unit. For example, the advocate system in place on this unit encourages relationships which, in theory, should "invite capacities for internalized mutuality" or stage development and should "foster the movement of the organism". The coded results indicate that it has not done so, at least with eight subjects. Why not ?

Kegan states that problems arise for youth and those in their environment primarily because of the differences in the meaning-making systems of adolescents and adults. Staff advocates in their discussions with residents, can hold their own needs and wishes and desires and beliefs out in front of themselves and even label them as such, whereas adolescents who are fully embedded in Stage Two actually make meanings as though they are these needs, wishes, desires, and beliefs. They cannot separate themselves from these beliefs. Words encouraging adolescents to do something for someone else's sake go unhead, but they go unheard because they quite literally are not understood by the adolescent's meaning-making system. This particular deafness is not willful. Cooperation for the sake of the unit does not make sense to most residents unless, as indicated in S2's interview, there is an emerging sense of mutuality. Advocates who do favors for residents, like

132

buying a Mother's Day card or picking up a special shampoo, are often frustrated at the lack of appreciation or reciprocity demonstrated by residents.

Kegan's concerns that people discharged from a place which has not actually fostered any social awareness or growth who return to the same environment which produced the anti-social acts will return to the old patterns of behaviors is valid.

The information collected as background for this research indicated that this secure treatment unit which houses the eight subjects in this study begins working through families whenever possible and community supports and networks and residential programs and foster placements and any other possible resource at the **admission** of a new resident. The single major frustration identified by most of the administrators and educators and clinicians and staff is still the lack of sufficient, appropriate aftercare for the graduates of secure treatment programs across the state of Massachusetts.

Implications for Practice

In terms of the implications for practice, the findings of this study could be used for clinicians, administrators, staff, teachers, and parents to

facilitate better communication between themselves and the adolescents in their care. A shared belief that adolescents, whether they are seen to be anti-social, social, or pro-social, are operating within the limits of a stage of human growth and development and therefore articulations from their meaning-making system are not representative of willful or oppositional choices would clearly impact judgments and expectations concerning children and young adults.

Communication between parents and their adolescent children has been considered difficult for generations. A better understanding of how to speak to adolescents includes knowledge of the limitations of their stage of development. Semantics taking a think-of-yourself over and against a think-of-the-family approach have a better chance of successful resolution of family problems. Parental recognition of the importance of a positive peer group is necessary. Parents need to have a greater awareness of how they can use positive community resources to foster social values and indicate to their children how they can cope with these values and the laws of society.

Teachers and principals need to recognize that adolescents clearly are not "passive receptacles to whom appealing curricula must be brought in order to

initiate the learning experience". (Kegan, 1982). This study indicates that an understanding of the meaning-making system already in place would aid teachers to either facilitate or thwart the agenda they find their students already have in place.

School psychologists, counselors, clinicians and other mental health professionals also need to realize the limitations of both the exisiting meaning-making systems of adolescents and the use of psychotherapy. From the research on the outcomes of psychotherapy there is good reason for believing the success of therapy is not a function of the particular personality theory or identifiable therapeutic approach favored by the therapist (Smith & Glass, 1977). The usual conclusion drawn from such research is that "it's the therapist not the theory". Kegan maintains it is a mistake to use theories and the approaches theories give rise to as the hoped-for determiner of outcomes in the first place.

Instead he challenges therapists to understand how the therapeutic process works "all on its own, without the presence of professionals" (Kegan, 1982). He continues this approach by suggesting that once a better understanding of the therapeutic process is developed, evaluations can be made concerning which

135

professionals replicate these processes. I am suggesting that the use of developmental theory aids the clinician to enter into the meaning-making system of the adolescent and communicate from a more informed perspective. If I do not percieve an adolescent as oppositional, but simply acting appropriately out of his stage of development, and, in addition, is acting in a way which is as epistemologically correct as a plant turning to the light, then obviously I will be responding to this individual in a much different manner than if I had reached a different conclusion.

Kegan's overall theory of stage development includes a close examination of the "holding environment" (Winnicott, 1965) or the "culture of development" (Kegan, 1982). He identifies five cultures to correspond roughly with his five stages of development. Kegan states that each stage of development or culture has the same three major tasks of confirmation, contradiction and continuity. The five cultures are:

1) The mothering culture responsible for tending the needs of the infant; providing a warm, close, comfortable physical presence and accepting the utter dependence upon and merger with its culture. Kegan also holds this culture responsible for recognizing at

the appropriate time when to move the toddler out of his embeddedness in this culture. He suggests some of the difficulties present when the mothering culture is not willing to become "other", to be moved into the object place and places transitional and separation problems in this stage due to that dynamic.

2) The parenting culture responsible for acknowledging and nurturing the child's capacity for fantasy and accepting the child's intense attachments and rivalries within the family. He holds this culture responsible for recognizing at the appropriate time when to promote the child's emergence from his embeddedness in this culture and he identifies the problems of divorce or separation in a family just at a time when the child himself needs to be separating from it.

3) The role-recognizing culture of the adolescents Kegan states is responsible to support and acknowledge the child's tests and exercises of self-sufficiency, competence, and role differentiation. Kegan holds the family responsible for providing ample opportunities to speak and be listened to within the family. He stresses the importance during adolescence of providing many oportunities for personal responsiblity, definition and control citing examples as basic as chosing ones own clothing or waking oneself up in the morning. He

137

underlines the need for the family to seek to discover
and support at least one involvement; such as athletics
or the arts or academics or even entrepreneurial
enterprises so that the adolescent might have a
continuing opportunity for self-display so vital at
this stage of development. Finally Kegan holds this
culture strongly responsible for recognizing and
promoting the adolescent's emergence of his
embeddedness in this culture.

4) The culture of self-authorship is responsible for
acknowledging and supporting an individual's
psychological self- definition and needs to, according
to Kegan, confirm and recognize the person as someone
gathering a sense of himself as the origin of his
meanings and purposes. This culture needs to provide a
public arena in which the individual may exercise
personal skills and power while providing an
environment which is a system allowing for other,
larger systems. In other words, a culture of self-
authorship needs to first encourage a person's
emergence from embeddedness in independence and self-
definition in favor of interdependence without the job
being lost or the spouse leaving.

5) This last culture, the culture of intimacy must
acknowledge and support the exercises of inter-

138

dependence. It needs to allow for self-definition and the autonomous self in relationships with many identities and ideologies.

This research study of adolescents and the meaning they make of incarceration looks closely at Winnicottt's holding environment and Kegan's cultures of embeddedness. The findings highlight the difficulties between optimum conditions for development and the necessity for certain restraints present in a secure treatment unit. Kegan clearly believes to hold without constraining is the first essential requirement of care. The unit's first essential concern is around the issue of security. How much freedom for movement and growth, either literally or developmentally, is necessarily subject to the safety of all present? Can one rehabilitate phsyically violent or potentially violent or physically acting up or acting out youths without constraint or in more accurate unit terms, without restraint ? The unit currently believes it own actions concerning physical restraints and rules and regulations are both necessary for safety and also an indication of it's care for the residents.

Kegan would no doubt believe that prior to any of this violent action a more understanding and supportive interaction needed to take place. However, the unit in

this research, has an advocate system in place for the purpose of demonstrating the kind of care Kegan believes to be of primary importance in both the parenting culture and the role-recognizing culture. However, advocates often get caught up in attempting to "teach" the residents from their own value system or stage of development or belief system.

Residents, it is clear both from some of the interviews in this study and certainly from my conversations with many residents in secure treatment units over the past ten years, often do respond to their advocate by feeling misunderstood or disrespected, by experiencing the holding environment itself as attempting to hold them too close. In addition, if by chance, any staff are making meaning in the exact same way, from the Stage Two level, this dynamic only produces more conflict which again is understood as resident rebelling against authority. Kegan might define this as conflict between two people for whom their own particular needs always come first. The staff "needs" to be in control of the situation and the youth "needs" to state his position in the incident.

In a place where residents are reminded by bars on the window and the locked metal doors all over the

140

unit, that their physical freedom is restrained, acts which constantly constrain their mental processes, their emotional freedom, are felt intensely. Ofter residents respond by getting defensive or shuting down or by, conversely, acting out. In the case of these incarcerated adolescents then, the environment would prohibit the growth necessary for them to strive to reach the next stage, Stage Three, wherein they would developmentally be much more capable to achieve the criteria the Department of Youth Service has identified as vital and necessary for discharge: remorse for those they have hurt in any way in the past, including breaking the basic laws of society, and care and concern for the relationships they make in the future.

Implications for Research

The findings of this study point to several questions which remained unanswered, as well as suggesting directions for future research.

Kegan's theories of stage development were used as a lens to view eight incarcerated male adolescents in one secure treatment unit in Western Massachuetts. It would be interesting to see the results of the same semi-structured interviews conducted with residents in other units . The participants in this study were all

male so the question of the role gender plays in Kegan's stages of development was not addressed. (For additional questions in this area see the works of Gilligan (1982, 1986) and Belenkky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule (1986).) Although Kegan reports his belief that his subject/object theory and semi-structured subject/object interviews required for coding and understanding his stages of development cut across cultures without bias, even in this small phenomenological research study, the three white male adolescents scored ever so slightly higher than the three Black and two Hispanic participants. The administration and interpretations of these interviews were done according to careful and precise guidelines provided by Kegan. I raise the question that a possible bias could exist somewhere along the line either in the criteria for stage development or in the coding methodology or in an unrecognized gender or cultural bias present in this White female researcher. This leads to the next area needing additional research.

A major premise underneath Kegan's theory that the human organism goes through predictable if not uniform stages of development is the concept of embeddenness and the supports needed to encourage movement out of that embeddeness towards growth and

142

development. During adolescence, this culture's responsibility is to aid, encourage and support what Erikson called psychosocial development. Kegan identifies "naturally therapeutic contexts" such as family, school, or peer groups. As a multi-cultural society we are still basically uninformed about ourselves in terms of our similarities and differences. What is therapeutic in one culture may be close to insulting in another. Our methods of helping, of supporting, of encouraging human development need to include cognizance of the cultures themselves.

Additional research based on interviews with anti-social, social, and pro-social members of different cultures is required to identify actual needs in terms of support for growth and change.

The scope of this study was informed and therefore limited by the use of one major theory to uncover the findings. Additional studies of the meaning-making systems of youthful incarcerated offenders, both male and female, speaking directly with the adolescents themselves, but using other theories or systems of understanding are needed to afford the most complete picture possible about these adolescents in our care.

Conclusions

This qualitative study explored the meaning
incarcerated male adolescents were making of their
experience on a Department of Youth Service locked,
secure treatment unit in Western Massachusetts.

Kegan's five stage theory concerning meaning-
making was used based on the results of semi-structured
interviews to measure the stage of development present
in these adolescents and all of the participants scored
in the anticipated range of development at the
appropriate stage . Kegan's theory sees this stage
(Stage Two) as one in which the individual is "embedded
in his own needs and desires". This then requires an
understanding of adolescent behaviors, especially those
exhibited during incarceration, based on the concept
that they often are epistemological in nature and not
necessarily oppositional or anti-social. Discharge
criteria seeking the presence of remorse in an
adolescent may indeed be asking for articulations which
are not analogous to his stage of development and
therefore we may be fostering insincerity unless we are
sensitive to this dynamic as we encourage this kind of
insight. In addition, this also calls into question the
behavior modification systems used by most locked,

144

secure treatment units in Massachusetts. The findings of this study indicate that the residents tend to initially resist and eventually adapt to the structure provided for them and that fact alone requires that we look at what Kegan refers to as the culture or environment we create in order to facilitate positive growth and development.

The unit which housed the participants had already put into place many of the kinds of support which Kegan identifies as necessary to promote growth and movement, especially those needed to move adolescents from a place where they are embedded in their own needs to a place where consideration of others is internalized. The advocate system is one good example of this kind of support. Kegan believes to hold without constraining is the first essential requirement of care. Any secure treatment unit housing adolescents demonstrating at time violent and dangerous behaviors has to have as its first concern the issue of safety and security for everyone; staff and residents alike. These two concerns need not necessarily be conflictual if intergrated with sophistication and care. The unit's advocate system presents an opportunity for this kind of intergration. However when a staff person who is a resident's advocate and therefore seriously engaged in working to

145

develop a positive and supportive relationship with him
is put in the position of having to criticize or
discipline this resident in front of his peers,
confused feelings of disrespect and mistrust clearly
arise even when this is framed as "care". Kegan
identifies care as being of primarily importance in the
holding environment however, again, the advocates on
this unit are caught in this parenting role, attempting
to "teach" residents from their own stage of
development or from their own value system without
sufficient knowledge about the residents' developmental
abilities. Staff trainings need to include more
information about adolescent development in order to
aid them with these complex problems and issues.

In conclusion, I am suggesting that Kegan's work
has shown us a way to understand how locked up, Stage
Two, troubled adolescents make meaning in this world
and how most Stage Three (and Four and Five) adults
make different meanings. I think a better and truer
understanding of how adolescents actually do make
meaning would change all of society's expectations
concerning adolescent behavior. Families, schools,
hospitals, prisons, treatment centers, all would need
to change the way they interact with adolescents.
Behavior modification techniques quickly indicate to

residents that certain behaviors will lead to certain
rewards while certain other behaviors will result in a
loss of privileges. For some residents this is all
they need to understand in order to advance in a unit's
sytem. Residents call this "playing the unit game".
It works. Kegan reports that Skinner called it
"teaching pigeons to bowl." Staff may be happy with the
residents' continued controlled behavior and residents
are happy with their extra store runs and color TVs.

Kegan believes this is exactly the kind of
environment which both replicates the embeddedness of
the imperial culture of Stage Two and prohibits growth
and development. Since growth and development are vital
in order for adolescents to internalize the many
positive messages sent by staff on a secure treatment
unit, for example, more understanding on the part of
adults concerning a general adolescent meaning-making
system would eventually no doubt influence how to
appropriately "speak" to incarcerated adolescents in
order to be "heard and understood" by them.

On a larger, more universal scale, judgment about
what consititutes "antisocial" behaviors for adolescent
male offenders while encarcerated on a secure treatment
unit and the punitive response to those acts would

hopefully change into more constructive reactions on
the part of caretakers. Experiences which allow
adolescents to make choices and decisions for
themselves in order to promote growth and development
need to be provided during their incarceration as well
as during their immediate and long-term aftercare
situations.

APPENDIX A

INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT

I am aware that I,

_____

(Last)   (First)   (Middle)

will be participating in a research project that Ann
Carhart, M.A., is conducting in order to complete her
doctoral dissertation at the University of
Massachusetts in Amherst,Massachusetts. I understand
that the study is titled, The Incarcerated Male
Adolescent's Understanding of His Experience: A
Phenomenological Study. I have been told that the
purpose of this study is to learn more about the
meaning I and some other residents are making of my
(their) incarcerated experience.

I understand that my participation will include the
following meetings with Ann Carhart:

a) An initial meeting in which I will be informed of
my rights and the purpose of this study.

b) A data gathering interview in which I will talk
about my
experiences on the unit and the meaning I make of them.
I am aware that portions of this interview will be
audiotaped.

c) A final meeting in which I will have the
opportunity to review and clarify questions about the
data gathering interview.

I understand that Ann Carhart will need to briefly
review my Department of Youth Service record.

Right to Non-Participation

I have been assured that I am free to decline

participating in this study from its onset, and further can withdraw at any point while it is in progress. If I do decide to withdraw from the study I can ask to have all of my contributions removed from the study up until the final meeting. I do not have to answer any questions that I find uncomfortable. I have the right to ask Ann Carhart any questions with regard to the interview process. In addition, I realize there is no penality for non-participation in the study.

Confidentiality

I have been assured that my name will be immediately replaced by an identification number. I realize that Ann Carhart will keep a listing of my name paired with my identification number in a confidential file which is stored in a different location than the remainder of this study. I understand that the purpose of this listing is to provide me with the option of withdrawing from the study at any point prior to the last meeting with Ann Carhart.

I realize that my voice will be audio-taped at various times during the interview and that the taping equipment will be in full view whenever it is utilized. I understand that the tape(s) will be transcribed into a text format. I have been assured that any identifying information will be edited out of final written transcript.

I am aware that I can contact the following people and discuss any complaints or concerns about this study anonymously at any time or after the study is completed.

Human Subjects Review Committee	Dr.Irving Seidman (413) 545-3126
DYS Research Review Committee	Scott Taberner (617) 727-7575
Dissertation Chairperson	Alfred L. Karlson (413) 545-1306

My signature as well as the signatures of my legal guardian and/or caseworker on separate copies of this form indicate that I have been informed of my right to decline participating in this study, as well as my rights to remain anonymous and informed consent.

No promises have been made to me in exchange for
participating in this study. My caseworker and/or
legal guardian will also receive copies of the forms
they sign.

_____

Subject's Signature

_____

LegalGuardian/Caseworker

Subject's DOB _____

Mailing Address ;

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX B

DEPARTMENT OF YOUTH SERVICE OVERVIEW EXCERPTS

EXCERPTS FROM:
Commonwealth of Massachusetts
Department of Youth Services
Overview

DYS SNAPSHOT

Mission Statement:
The Department of Youth Services is the juvenile
justice agency of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
The mission of DYS is to protect the public, prevent
crime and promote positive opportunities for juvenile
offenders. Guiding principals of DYS include:
- holding youth accountable for their behavior
- assessing youth and providing an array of
  services based on individual need
- forging partnerships with the criminal justice
  system, public officials, the private sector and
  the community.

Vision Statement:
The vision of the Department of Youth Services is to
promote the ideals of self respect, individual
responsibility and respect for others.

Total DYS Population:
As of March 6, 1996 there were 2,685 youth being served
by DYS. 2,493 of these youth were convicted of crimes
and had been committed to the custory of DYS until
their 18th birthday. At the request of the court, 192
youth were being held at DYS facilities availing the
outcome of their trial.

Juvenile Crime in Massachusetts:
Each year in Massachusetts there are approximately
21,000 juveniles arraigned in court on criminal
charges. Of these youth, some 4,000 annually are held
on bail at DYS facilities while they await the outcome
of their trial. Approximately 1,100 annually (less than
six percent of all juveniles arraigned in a given year)
are eventually committed to DYS.

National Trends:
According to the US Department of Justice, (1992 data):
Nationally, juveniles were responsible for one in five
violent crimes. After a decade of gradual increases,
the juvenile arrest rate for weapons violations

154

increased 75% between 1987 and 1992. One is seven
violent crimes involved juveniles in groups.
If trends continue as they have over the past ten
years, juvenile arrests for violent crimes will double
by the year 2010.

Demographic Profile of DYS Committed Youth:
(as of July, 1995)
. 91% male, 9% female
. 44% White, 28% Black, 24% Hispanic, 2% Asian and 2%
  other
. Average age at time of initial commitment to DYS is
  15 years and 4 months
. Average age of current popoulation is 16 years and 2
  months

Education:
. 44% of the population had completed ninth grade as
  their last grade prior to commitment.

Family Background:
. 86% of DYS youth come from broken homes.
. In only one of every eight cases do both of the
  juvenile's biological parents service as his or her
  legal guardian (12%).
. More than 40% of the families of DYS committed
  juveniles were receiving Aid to Dependent Children
  (AFDC) at the time of commitment.
. More than half of the biological mothers of the DYS
  committed population were unemployed at the time of
  their child's commitment.
. Only 40% of the biological fathers of the DYS
  committed population were employed either full or
  part time at thetime of their child's commitment.
. Less than 50% of the biological mothers and fathers
  of the DYS committed population had completed 12th
  grade.

Alcohol and Drug Use:
. Nearly four of every five (80%) committed juveniles
  reported using alcohol prior to commitment, with
  one-third of the population reporting at least
  weekly consumption.
. Three of every four (75) committed juveniles
  reported using marijuana prior to commitment,with
  nearly half of the population reporting at least
  weekly use.

APPENDIX C

COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATION

COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATION

ID #:   RELIGION:
AGE: ETHNICITY:

REASON FOR INCARCERATION:
    Charge:
    Date:
    Location:
    Current Status:
    Description:

    Group or Alone?
    Property or Person?

PRIOR CRIMINAL HISTORY:

(1) Charge: (2) Charge:
    Date: Date:
    Location: Location:
    Current Status: Current Status:
    Description: Description:

    Group or Alone?   Group or Alone?
    Property or Person?   Property or Person?

(3) Charge: (4) Charge:
    Date: Date:
    Location: Location:
    Current Status: Current Status:
    Description: Description:

    Group or Alone?   Group or Alone?
    Description: Description:

(Include any other offenses, noting undocumented
criminal activities in the same format as above using
the other side of this paper if necessary.)

FAMILIAL CONSTELLATION:
        Mother: Father:
                Age: Age:
                Education: Education:
                Occupation: Occupation:
                Criminal Hx: Criminal Hx:

                Psychiatric Hx: Psychiatric Hx:

        Marriages/Children: Marriages/Children:

        Relative: Relative:
                Age: Age:
                Education: Education:
                Occupation: Occupation:
                Criminal Hx: Criminal Hx:

                Psychiatric Hx: Psychiatric Hx:

Marriages/Children: Marriages/Children:

        Relative: Relative:
                Age: Age:
                Education: Education:
                Occupation: Occupation:
                Criminal Hx: Criminal Hx:

                Psychiatric Hx: Psychiatric Hx:

Marriages/Children: Marriages/Children:

        Relative: Relative:
                Age: Age:
                Education: Education:
                Occupation: Occupation:
                Criminal Hx: Criminal Hx:

                Psychiatric Hx: Psychiatric Hx:

Marriages/Children: Marriages/Children:

(Include any significant persons in constellation such
as foster families, neighbors who may have played a
significant role, etc., using the other side of this
paper if necessary.)

158

FAMILY GENOGRAM:

FAMILY DEMOGRAPHICS:
    Income:
    Moving History:

    Discipline Practices:

    Living Environment:

        Physical:

        Ethnic:

        Social:

        Crime:

RELATIONAL HISTORY:
    (Include friends/role models, significant others,
    sexual partners.)

Gender   Age   How Long?
Activities/Location

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

10.

TRAUMA HISTORY:
     (Indicate physical or sexual trauma or both.)
Parents:

Siblings:

Relatives:

Peers:

Neighbors/Strangers:

Additional Comments:

PSYCHIATRIC/MEDICAL HISTORY:
     (Includent hospitalizations, school counseling,
     substance abuse, therapy, operations.)

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION:
     Height:
     Weight:
     Scars:
     Tattoos:

DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY:
       Pregnancy?
       Birth Complications?

       Walking?
       Talking?
       Toilet Training?
       Enuresis?

       Other significant milestones?

SUBSTANCE ABUSE HISTORY:

Substance	Amount/Freq.	First Time/Last Time	Feeling
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			
6.			
7.			
8.			

SUBSTANCE ABUSE SYMPTOMS/PATTERNS:
       (Include truancy, theft, sleep disturbance,
       agression, blackouts, change in peer group, mood
       swings.)

ACADEMIC FUNCTIONING:
        (Include academic achievement, social engagement,
        sports, teachers, students, held back, truancy,
        current grade equivalent, learning disability,
        expulsions/suspensions.)

REFERENCES

Adler, P., Ovando, C., Hocevar, D. (1984). Familiar correlates of gang membership: An exploratory study of Mexican-American youth.Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences Mar Vol 6(1) 65-76

Baldwin, J.M. (1906). Social and ethical interpretations in mental development. New York: Macmillan.

Baydar, N.,Brooks-Gunn, J., & Warren, M.P. (1989). Determinants of depressive symptoms in adolescent girls. The Educatonal Testing Service. Princeton, N.J.

Blasi, A. & Hoeffel, E.C. (1974). Adolescence and formal operations. Human Development, 17, 344-363.

Blos, P. (1962). On adolescence. New York: Free Press.

Blos, P. (1989). The inner world of the adolescent. In A. H.Esman (Ed.) International annals of adolescent psychiatry (Vol.1) Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Bourne, E. (1978).The state of research on ego identity: a review and appraisal (Part 1).Journal of Youth and Adolsecence, 7. 223-251

Boyes, M.C.,Giordana, R., & Galpern,K. (1993) Moral orientation and interpretive contexts of moral deliberation Paper presented at meeting of Society for Research in Child Development, Chicago

Broughton, J. (1977).Beyond formal operations: Theoretical thought in adolescence. Teachers College Record, 79, 87-96.

Calabrese, R. & Noboa, J. (1995) The choice for gang membership by Mexican-American adolescents. High School Journal Apr Vol 78(4)226-235

Carnegie Council reprint, (1989). Washington, D.C.

Case, R. (1985).Intellectual development: Birth to adulthood. New York: Academic Press

Clark, C. M. (1992) Deviant adolescent subcultures:
     Assessment strategies and clinical interventions.
     <u>Adolescence Sum Vol 27(106)</u> 283-293

Cooper, C.R. (1995). <u>Multiple selves, multiple worlds:</u>
     <u>cultural perspectives on individuality and</u>
     <u>connectedness in adolescent development.</u>Paper
     presented at Society for Research in Child
     Development, Indianapolis, IN.

Cullen, F., & Gendreau, P., (1989) The effectiveness
     correctional rehabilitation: Reconsidering the
     "Nothing Works" doctrine. In <u>The American prison:</u>
     <u>Issues in research policy.</u> 23-44. New York:
     Plenum.

Curry, G.D. & Spergel, I.A. (1992) Gang involvement and
     delinquency among Hispance and African-American
     adolescent males. <u>Journal of Research in Crime and</u>
     <u>Delinquency Aug Vol 29(3)</u> 273-291

Damon, W. (1988). <u>The moral child.</u> New York: Free Press

Dasen, P.R. (1977). <u>Piagetian Psychology: Cross-</u>
     <u>Cultural Contributions</u> New York: Gardner Press

Dasen, P.R. & Heron, A (1981) Cross-cultural tests of
     Piaget's theory. <u>Handbook of Cross-cultural</u>
     <u>Psychology, Vol.4</u> Boston: Allyn & Bacon

Dewey, J. (1938). <u>Experience and education.</u> New York:
     Collier.

Diesing, P. (1971). <u>Patterns of discovery in social</u>
     <u>sciences.</u> Chicago: Aldine

Elkind, D. (1974). Egocentrism in children and
     adolescents. In <u>Children and adolescents.</u> New
     York: Oxford University Press

Erikson, E.H. (1950). <u>Childhood and society.</u> New York:
     W.W.Norton

Erikson, E.H. (1968). <u>Identity: Youth and crisis.</u> New
     York: W.W. Norton

Erikson, E.H. (1980). <u>Identity and the life cycle.</u> New
     York: W.W. Norton

165

Erikson, E.H. (1964). Insight and responsibility. New
        York: W.W. Norton

Erikson, E.H. (1958). Young man Luther: A study in
        psychoanalysis and history New York: W.W. Norton

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1952). Psychoanalytic studies of the
        personality. London: Tavistock Publications

Fairbairn, W.R.D. (1962).An object relations theory of
        personality, New York: Basic Books

Feldman, S. S. & Elliott, G.R., (1990) Progress and
        promise of research on normal adolescent
        development. In At the treshold: the developing
        adolescent. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University
        Press

Freud, A. (1936). The ego and mechanisms of defense.
        Madison, CT: International Universities Press.

Freud, S. (1911) Formulations regarding the two
        principals in mental functioning. The standard
        edition. Vol 11, 409-417. London: Hogarth Press.

Gilligan, C. (1982). In a different voice Cambridge,
        MA.: Harvard University Press.

Greenfield, P.M. (1976).Cross-cultural research and
        Piagetian theory: Paradox and progresss. in K.F.
        Riegel & J.A. Meacham (eds) The developing
        individual in a changing world. Vol 1. Chicago:
        Aldine.

Hall G.S. (1904), Adolescence. New York: Appleton-
        Century-Crofts.

Hartmann, H. (1939, 1958) Ego psychology and the
        problem of   adaptation. New York: International
        Universities Press

Helms, J. E. (1985) Cultural identity in the treatment
        process.In Handbook of cross- cultural counseling
        and therapy. Westport, CT:Greenwood.

Helms, J. E. (1990) <u>Black and White racial identity</u>
     <u>theory and professional interracial collaboration.</u>
     Paper presented at American Psychological
     Association: Boston

Herman, J.L. (1992).<u>Trauma and recovery.</u> New York:
     Basic Books

Jacobson, E. (1946). <u>The self and the object world.</u> New
     York: International Universities Press

Kegan, R. (1982). <u>The evolving self: problem and</u>
     <u>process in human development.</u> Cambridge, MA.:
     Harvard University Press

Kegan, R. (1983). A Neo-Piagetian approach to object
     relations, In B. Lee and G. Noan (Eds.)
     <u>Developmental approaches to the self.</u> New
     York:Plenum

Kegan, R.,Noam, G., & Rogers, L. (1982) The Psychologic
     of Emotion: A Neo-Piagetian View In <u>New Directions</u>
     <u>For Child</u> <u>Development Emotional Development</u> 16.
     San Francisco: Jossey Bass

Kegan, R.,& Lahey, L. (1984) .Adult leadership and
     adult development: A constructivist view. In B.
     Kellerman (Ed) <u>Leadership: Multi-disciplinary</u>
     <u>perspectives.</u> Edglewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall

Kegan, R. (1985). Kohlberg and the psychology of ego
     development; A predominately positive evaluation.
     In S. Modgil & C. Modgil (Eds.) <u>Lawrence Kohlberg:</u>
     <u>Consensus and controversy,</u> 163-183. Philadelphia:
     Falmor Press

Kegan, R. (1986). The child behind the mask:
     Sociopathy as developmental delay. In Reid,
     Bonner, Dorr & Walker (Eds.) <u>Unmasking the</u>
     <u>psychopath.</u> New York; W.W. Norton

Kohlberg, L. (1981). <u>The philosophy of moral</u>
     <u>development.</u>   New York:Harper & Row

Kohlberg, L. (1958).<u>The development of modes of moral</u>
     <u>thinking and choice in the years ten to sixteen.</u>
     Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of
     Chicago

Kohlberg, L. (1969). Stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization. In D.A. Goslin (Ed.), Handbook of socialization theory and research. Chicago: Rand McNally

Kuhn, D. and Brannock, J. (1977)Development of the isolation of variables scheme in experimental and natural experiment contexts, Developmental Psychology 13,9-14.

Kurtines, W.M. & Gerwirtz, J. (Eds.) (1991). Moral behavior and development: advances in theory, research, and application. Hillsdale, NJ:Erlbaum.

Lapsley, D.K. (1990) Continuity and discontinuity in adolescent social cognitive development. In R. Montemayor, G. Adams, & T. Gulotta (Eds.) From childhood to adolescence: A transitional period ? Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Lapsley, D.K. (1992) Moral psychology after Kohlberg. Paper presented at the meeting of the Midwestern Psychological Association.

LeVine, R. (1981) Psychoanalysis and other cultures: an African perspective. In The self psychology, psychoanalysis and anthropology. New York Plenum Press.

Lipsey, M.W. (1992). Juvenile delinquency treatment: A meta-analytic inquiry into the variability of effects. In Meta-analysis for explanation. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Lipsey, M.W. & Wilson, D.B. (1993). The efficacy of psychological, educational, and behavioral treatment: Confirmation from meta-analysis. American Psychologist, 43, 1181-1209.

Mahler, M.S. (1968) On human symbiosis and the vicissitudes of individuation, Vol.I Infantile Psychosis. New York: International Universities Press.

Mahler,M.,Pine F., & Bergman, A. (1975) The psychological birth of the human infant. New York: Basic Books.

Marcia, J. E. (1987). The identity status approach to the study of ego identity development. In T. Honess & K. Yardley (Eds. <u>Self and identity. Perspectives across the lifespan.</u> London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Marcia, J.E. (1989). Identity and intervention.<u>Journal of Adolescence, 12,</u> 401-410

Marcia, J.E. (1994). The empirical study of ego identity. In H.A. Bosma, T.L.G. Graafsma, H.D. Grotevant & B.J. DeLevita (Eds.) <u>Identity and development.</u> Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (1989) <u>Designing Qualitative Research.</u> Newbury Park: Sage Publications

Martinson, R. (1974). What Works ? Questions and answers about prison reform. <u>The public interest.</u> 35,22-54

Martinson, R. (1979). New Findings, New Views: A Note of Caution Regarding Sentencing Reform. <u>Hofstra Law Review,</u>243-258

Maslow, A.H. (1954). <u>Motivation and personality.</u> New York Harper & Row.

McColgan, E.B., Rest, J.R., & Pruitt, D.B. (1983) Moral judgment and antisocial behavior in early adolescence. <u>Journal of applied develoopmental psychology Vol 4,</u> 189-199

McCown, W.G., Johnson, J., Silverman, N. & Austin, S. (1988) Social interest and recognition of facial affects of emotion. <u>Individual psychology journal of Adlerian theory,research and practice. Vol 44(1)</u> 41-48

McLoyd, V.C. & Ceballo, R. (1995).<u>Conceptualizing economic contex</u> Paper presented at Society for Research in Child Development Indianapolis, IN.

Mead, G.H. (1934). <u>Mind, self and society.</u> Chicago University of Chicago Press

Mio, J.S., & Iwamasa, G. (1993) To do, or not to do: That is the question for white cross-cultural researchers. The Counseling Psychologist, 21(2) 197-212

Moss, W.L., (1992) Group psychotherapy with adolescents in a residential treatment center. Journal of Child and Adolescent Group Therapy Jun Vol 2(2) 93-104

Noam, G (1984) Self,morality, and biography: Studies in clinical-developmental psychology. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University

Noam, G. (1988) The theory of biography and transformation: Foundation for clinical developmental therapy. In Shirk SR (Ed.) Cognitive and child psychotherapy 273-318 New York: Pelnum

Noam, G. (1990) Beyond Freud and Piaget: Biographical worlds Interpersonal self. In Wren TE (Ed.) The moral domain 360-399 Cambridge MA: MIT Press

Noam, G (1993)Ego development:True or false. Psychological Inquiry 4,(1),43-48.

Noam, G.(1996)High-Risk Youth: Transforming Our Under-standing of Human Development Human Development 39:1-17

Offer, D. & Offer, J.B. (1975). Teenage to young manhood: A psychological study. New York: Basics Books.

Oyserman, D & Saltz, E. (1993) Competence, delinquency, and attempts to attain possible selves. Journal of personality and social psychology; Vol.65(2) 360-374.

Perry, W.G. (1970) Forms of intellectual and ethical development in college years: A scheme New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Perry, W.G. (1981). Cognitive and eithical growth: the making of meaning. In Chickering (Ed.) The Modern American College Jossey-Bass

Petersen, A.C., & Hamburg, B (1986) Adolescence: A developmental approach to problems and psychopathy Behavior Therapy, 13, 480-499

Piaget, J. (1948). The moral judgment of the child. Glencoe: Free Press

Piaget, J. (1952). The origins of intelligence in children. New York: International Universities Press.

Piaget, J. (1954,1937) The construction of reality of the child. New York: Basic Books

Piaget, J. (1967) The mental development of the child. In D. Elkind (Ed.) Six psychological studies by Piaget. New York: Random House.

Piaget, J. (1972) Intellectual evolution from adolescence to adulthood. Human Development, 15, 1-12.

Price-Williams, D.R. (1975).Explorations in cross-cultural psychology, San Francisco: Chandler & Sharp

Puka, B. (1991), Toward the redevelopment of Kohlberg's theory: Preserving essential structure, removing controversial content.In W.M. Kurtines & J. Gewirtz (Eds.) Moral behavior and development: Advances in theory, research and application Hillsdale,N.J: Erlbaum

Rest,J. R. (1976). New approaches in the assessment of moral judgment. In T Lickona (Ed.),Moral development and behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston

Rest, J.R. (1983) Morality. In P H. Mussen (Ed.) Handbook of child psychology. (4th ed.,Vol.3), New York: Wiley

Rest, J.R. (1986) Moral Development Advances in theory and research. New York: Praeger

Rogers, C. (1951) Client centered therapy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Rutter, M. (1980). <u>Changing youth in a changing
   society.</u> Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press

Rutter, M., Graham, P., Chadwick, O.F.D., & Yule, W.
   (1976)   Adolescent turmoil: Fact or fiction ?
   <u>Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry,17,</u>35-
   56.

Schachtel, E. (1959) <u>Metamorphosis.</u> New York: Basic
   Books

Skitka, L.J., Piatt, A.L., Kitterson. T.,Timothy, U.,&
   Searight, R.H.(1993) Offense classification and
   social facilitation in juvenile delinquency.
   <u>Social Behavior and Personality. Vol 21 (4).</u> 339-
   346

Smith, M. & Glass, G.V. (1977). Meta-analysis of
   psychotherapy outcome studies. <u>American
   Pyschologist</u> (September) 752-761.

Smith, W.R., Smith, D., & Norma, E. (1986) The multi-
   dimensionality of crime: a comparison of
   techniques for scaling delinquent careers.
   <u>Journal of Quantitative criminology Vol 2 (4)</u> 329-
   353

St. Clair, M. (1986). <u>Object relations and self
   psychology</u> Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole Publishing
   Company

Steiner, H.,& Feldman, S. (1995) Two approaches to the
   measurement of adaptive style: Comparison of
   normal,psychosomatically ill, and delinquent
   adolescents. <u>Journal of the American academy of
   child and adolescent psychiatry: Vol. 34(2)</u> 180-
   190.

Strauss, A. & Corbin, J. (1990) <u>Basics of Qualitative
   Research</u> Newbury Park: Sage Publications

Strober, M. (1986). Psychopathology in adolescence
   revisited. <u>Clinical Psychology Review, 6.</u> 199-209

Sue, D.W. & Sue, S. (1972) Ethnic minorities:
   Resistance to being researched. <u>Professional
   Psychology, 2,</u>11-17

Sue, D.W. (1993) Confronting ourselves: The white and racial/ethnic-minority researcher. <u>The Counseling Psychologist,21(2)</u> 244-249

Valle, R.S., King, M., & Halling, S. (1989). An introduction to existential-phenomenological thought in psychology. In <u>Existential-phenomenological Perspectives in Psychology.</u> 3-16. New York: Plenum Press.

Valsiner, J. (1989).<u>Human Development and Culture.</u> Lexington,MA: Lexington Books

Vygotsky,L.S. (1987).<u>The collected works of L.S. Vygotsky, Vol. Problems of general psychology.</u> New York: Plenum Press.

Walker, L.J.,deVries, B., & Trevethan,S.D.(1987).Moral stages and moral orientation in real-life and hypothetical dilemmas <u>Child Development.58,</u> 82-858.

Walsh, P. (1989) <u>Kegan's structural-developmental theory of sociopathy and some actualities of sociopathic cognition</u>. Doctoral Dissertation, Pittsburgh

Winnicott, D.W. (1965). <u>The maturational process and the facilitating environment.</u> New York: International Universities Press.

Yussen, S.R. (1977). Characteristics of moral dilemmas written by adolescents. <u>Developmental Psychology, 13</u> 162-163.

Zaslow, M.J. & Takanishi, R. (1993). Priorities for research on adolescent development. <u>American Psychologist, 48,</u> 185-192.