Respectful Alliances

Positive Peer Culture

PPC

Positive Peer Culture

building strengths in youth

Larry Brendtro and Beate Kreisle

Foreword

Respectful Alliances brings together two training programs based on the Circle of Courage resilience model. The goal is to build strengths in youth, families, schools, and communities.[1]

• ***Response Ability Pathways*** provides adult and peer mentors with practical relational tools to respond to needs instead of reacting to problems. "RAP" employs three natural helping strategies: *Connecting* for support, *Clarifying* challenges, and *Restoring* respect. The first edition of RAP was published in South Africa as that nation transformed services to young people at risk.[2] These skills are now used in education, treatment, and youth development worldwide.

• ***Positive Peer Culture*** engages youth in prosocial roles using strategies to build bonds of trust, resolve problems, develop responsibility, and show care and concern to others. "PPC" originally grew from practice rather than research and was designed to turn around negative youth cultures and cultivate strengths in challenging youth. PPC is now an evidence-based practice[3] supported by research on resilience, neuroscience, and positive youth development.[4]

The Circle of Courage integrates traditional Native American child-rearing practices with the positive vision of youth work pioneers and findings from modern science. This model highlights four value-based needs for Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity. Applications of the Circle of Courage have been documented in three editions of *Reclaiming Youth at Risk*.[5] The research base of this model is reviewed in *Deep Brain Learning: Evidence-based Essentials in Education, Treatment, and Youth Development*.[6] Information on training opportunities is found at www.reclaimingyouth.org and www.starr.org, or e-mail info@reclaimingyouthatrisk.org

Positive Peer Culture

building strengths in youth

Contents

Introduction

Cultures of Respect

"*We treat each other with respect.***"**

—Youth in a Peer Helping Group

Wherever young people come together, a peer culture is born. Hopefully, this culture is positive—but too often, negative peer influences prevail. Some adults wage war against this this counterculture while others see it as inevitable. Positive Peer Culture (PPC) provides another option: enlisting groups as a positive force for growth and development. PPC has changed the cultures of regular and alternative schools, youth work programs, justice settings, and residential or community-based treatment.

This book is based on the belief that all individuals have strengths and potentials. The goal is to tap these resources by enlisting young people in helping their peers and others in need. This is not a process of *peer pressure*. Instead, young people become partners in their own empowerment, healing, and growth.[7]

At a professional conference in Germany, we met a group of young people who were alive with purpose and hope. These teens led a workshop session describing the core values they had chosen to guide their relationships with peers and adults:

We treat each other with respect!
We look out for one another!
We help others if they have problems!
We reject all physical or psychological violence!

Their values clearly challenge the self-centered mindset of contemporary culture. These young people were boldly espousing democratic principles for treating all persons with dignity. Most of the youth were immigrants to Germany. Their personal experience had shown that violence can be countered by values of respect. Translating their words:

Violence in any form includes humiliation and depreciation of the other person.
When we engage in violence, we want to make the other "small" and ourselves
superior. That stands in bold contrast to showing respect to one another.[8]

So how did these teens create their culture of respect? They are part of a Positive Peer Culture program operating in a unit of a large youth prison near Adelsheim in southern Germany. Accompanying them to the conference was a veteran prison guard. He recounted that many correctional staff used to call in sick because of the stress of this job. "*Aber jetzt kommen wir gerne zu Arbeit!*" he exclaimed. [But now we enjoy coming to work!] Although confined in a secure prison, these youth have formed bonds of respect with peers and adults in authority.

Recounting their transformation, one youth observed, "*We used to have fights every day, but now we never fight because we have learned to treat one another as human beings*." When the PPC groups mix with residents of other prison units, they encounter those who feel they must put on a front of toughness. While PPC youth are sometimes ridiculed by other inmates as being *soft*, they are secure in their core values: *"We treat each other with respect."*

We first visited Adelsheim two years earlier as PPC Germany launched this peer-helping program in a secure unit of a sprawling youth prison. We explained to the two dozen teens that they would be asked to help one another. The goal was to encourage each young person to develop strengths in the four areas of the Circle of Courage:

> **Belonging:** Building positive relationships with significant others
> **Mastery:** Thinking clearly, solving problems, and achieving
> **Independence:** Growing in personal power and responsibility
> **Generosity:** Developing empathy and concern for others

We displayed drawings of these concepts created by Native American artist George Bluebird for the book *Reclaiming Youth at Risk*. The young people were intrigued to learn that the artist is incarcerated for a crime committed in his youth.

While wary of *flaw-fixing* treatment, the youth quickly embraced the four goals of Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity. It is little surprise that young people seek to belong as seen in the lure of gangs. Further, they want to succeed, even though they struggle in school. The drive for independence and power is a centerpiece of adolescence. But generosity—getting teens hooked on helping—has been overlooked by major theories of learning that presume humans are self-centered.[9]

A unique feature of training in many German PPC programs was that both staff and young people participated together in workshops. To spark discussion about how to best respond to youth in conflict, we often use two contrasting photos of children in distress. The first visual shows a tearful youngster, the second a furious one. Most who view these images agree that their natural inclination would be to console the upset child—but the second image of the angry boy evokes little empathy from adults.

Youth from the PPC groups became very animated with the image of the angry boy. They proposed many plausible theories about what might be bothering this youngster. Troubled teens often have greater awareness of what another young person might need than many adults hired to handle such problems. This is consistent with James Anglin's research which showed that youth at risk are more likely to understand pain-based behavior while adults cling to control-based consequences.[10]

Decades of research have now documented the essential elements of effective peer-helping programs.[11] Yet those who focus on deficit and disorder have been skeptical of youth empowerment philosophies. A prominent psychiatrist criticized PPC for giving responsibility to irresponsible youth. Such pessimistic notions are countered by emerging research on strength and resilience.[12] Ironically, this is a return to the vision of Indigenous peoples and early youth work pioneers.

Chapter One
Roots of Reclaiming

Universal Values and Needs

The Circle of Courage provides a succinct approach to Positive Youth Development grounded in research on Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity.[13]
—William Jackson

The Circle of Courage resilience model is documented in *Reclaiming Youth at Risk: Futures of Promise.*[14] Lakota psychologist Martin Brokenleg described how traditional Native American cultures have reared respectful and responsible youth without resorting to harsh punishment. This Indigenous knowledge has been validated by modern research and the practice wisdom of youth work pioneers. The Circle of Courage focuses on four universal needs:

Belonging. *Attachment* and trust form the foundation for personal growth. All young people need supportive bonds with caring adults and positive peers.

Mastery. *Achievemen*t and social competence enable young people to develop their full potentials. All youth need practical problem-solving skills.

Independence. *Autonomy* involves self-control, self-confidence, and respect for the rights of others. These are essential in developing responsibility.

Generosity. *Altruism* has insured human survival and gives purpose to life. Youth are engaged in helping one another and contributing to their community.

Indigenous cultures were organized to meet these needs.[15] Children were reared by caring elders, and more mature youth modelled responsibility younger peers. But such cross-generational bonds have weakened in modern society. Stripped of support from family and community, youth are beholden to peers.

While history cannot be reversed, we can create environments matched to the needs of youth. Positive bonds to adults and peers are natural nutriments when elders and young live in mutual respect. Positive Peer Culture is not a contrived program but a community of concern where no one has the right to hurt, and all are responsible for helping. Circle of Courage values are a birthright of Indigenous children and should be the standard for all our young people.

Canadian anthropologist Inge Bolin describes how Indigenous people rear children in *cultures of respect* by meeting Circle of Courage needs.[16] Reviewing this literature, William Jackson found that scores of researchers on Positive Youth Development used synonymous terms to describe *Circle of Courage* needs.[17] A few examples are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: A Consilience of Research on Positive Youth Development

Circle of Courage	Belonging	Mastery	Independence	Generosity
The Hierarchy of Needs Maslow, 1943	Belongingness	Esteem	Self-Actualization	Self-Transcendence
Bases of Self-Esteem Coopersmith, 1967	Significance	Competence	Power	Virtue
Positive Peer Culture Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974	Trust	Problem-Solving	Responsibility	Care and Concern
Youth Aliyah Feuerstein, 1974	Unconditional Belonging	School Success	Managing Stress	Contributing to Community
Resilience Research Benard, 2004	Social Competence	Problem Solving	Autonomy	Purpose
Resilient Brains Masten, 2014	Attachment	Mastery Motivation	Self-efficacy	Spirituality/Purpose

The Hierarchy of Needs by Abraham Maslow[18] was shaped by his research on First Nations child-rearing.[19] In his final revision, Maslow added *Self-Transcendence* above Self-Actualization which is consistent with the values of most non-Western cultures.[20]

Bases of Self-esteem was the focus of classic research by Stanley Coopersmith.[21] Self-worth is based on *Significance*—acceptance and affection of others; *Competence*—success and achievement; *Power*—the ability to exert influence; and *Virtue*—moral and ethical standards.

Positive Peer Culture as first described by Harry Vorrath and Larry Brendtro[22] called for building a climate of trust, cooperatively solving problems, developing responsibility in youth, and showing care and concern by helping peers, family, and community.

Youth Aliyah in Israel formed treatment groups for traumatized immigrant youth. Reuven Feuerstein and David Krasilowsky[23] describe how unconditional acceptance by caring adults and positive peer relationships enabled these troubled youth to develop successful life outcomes.

Resilience Research reviewed by Bonnie Benard[24] summarizes findings from fifteen studies on resilience which all incorporated four themes corresponding to the developmental needs of the Circle of Courage.

Resilient Brains enable humans to cope with challenge, says Ann Masten.[25] Neuroscience shows that humans are endowed with brain programs that motivate Attachment, Mastery, Self-Efficacy, and the search for Spiritual Purpose.

The Circle of Courage was a precursor of a paradigm shift toward Positive Psychology.[26] There are now calls for Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) in schools and Positive Youth Development (PYD) in juvenile justice.[27] Treatment programs are shifting from a deficit focus to strengths and solutions. We are getting back to basics—Positive Peer Culture was *strength-based* decades before that term entered the professional literature as noted in this preface to the first PPC manual: "This book is dedicated to the true founders of Positive Peer Culture, those strong and noble young people who comprehend the power of caring."[28]

Early Reformers

Pioneers in work with troubled children sought, with mixed results,
to replace coercive discipline with democratic self-governance.[29]
Beate Kreisle

John Bosco who worked with street children of Rome observed in 1877 that two systems have been used through all ages to educate youth: *preventive* and *repressive*."[30] Studies spanning centuries document the failure to create lasting reform in programs serving challenging children and youth.[31] In predictable cycles, new approaches are adopted with great enthusiasm, only to be later abandoned in recurring cycles of *leniency* or *harshness*.

In 1927, Clara Liepmann completed a German law school dissertation studying progressive reforms in work with delinquent offenders.[32] From 1919 to 1933, Weimar Republic Germany experienced a brief interlude with democracy. During this period, schools and youth programs experimented with new systems of discipline that enlisted youth in self-governance. Liepmann documented the history of this democratic movement in correctional settings. Her father, Moritz Liepmann, was a law school professor who advocated replacing punishment with education. They toured progressive programs in the United States. Clara Liepmann combined their observations with historic and emerging developments in Germany and Switzerland.

With a history of democracy dating to the fourteenth century, Switzerland was unique among European states. In 1804, Johann Jakob Wehrli founded a school for children from the streets of Swiss cities. He believed that only a community could prepare someone to live in a community. Wherli lived with his students so that learning and work were intertwined. Initially, the groups were plagued with bullying and disruptive behavior. His solution was a *council of self-administration*, where the older youth were expected to be positive role models. These young mentors were deeply invested in guiding and educating their younger peers. The council was also involved in decisions about when a youngster was ready to leave the program.

In 1833, a 25-year-old theologian Johann Hinrich Wichern founded the Rauhe Haus in Hamburg, Germany. Boys and girls up to the age of 14 lived together like families, guided by elected peer leaders called *Friedenskinder* (peace children) who were given the task of instilling positive behavior within the group. Every four weeks, a new election was held so that many youngsters had the opportunity to show leadership as peace children. Rauhe Haus also became a training center for teachers and youth workers. Unlike many other early programs, Rauhe Haus has continued in operation with funding from a church-based foundation.

Liepmann described self-governance during that same era at the Boston House of Reformation, directed by Reverend E. M. P. Wells. He believed no child was inherently bad, no matter how bad the behavior. He tracked their growth in responsibility with a six-level system, and in only four weeks, a youth could reach the highest level. Students could lose a level by bad behavior but if they admitted wrongdoing, the level did not change. Every evening, students rated themselves and peers, giving feedback on how to develop more positive behavior.

After describing progressive historic youth work pioneers, Liepmann documented self-governance systems which she observed in the United States. Among these was George Junior Republic in Freeville, New York, which created a democratic community of delinquent youth. She also visited various prisons for young offenders and adults. All these settings developed close-knit communities where residents had responsibility for a wide variety of tasks, including ensuring positive conduct within the community.

Liepmann described numerous other projects which employed self-administration systems. A common theme was *no privilege comes without responsibility*. But most failed after a short time because the culture deteriorated into empty routines. Level systems became punitive. Rapid turnover disrupted groups as newcomers did not know how to operate in a community. Continuity of organizational leadership posed the biggest challenge. These progressive communities thrived for a time, but when charismatic leaders were no longer in charge, the reforms were lost.

The challenge of maintaining positive programs was the subject of careful analysis by Liepmann. Effective self-governance was not a set of techniques, but a way of thinking—trusting the good in every person. To be successful, self-governance programs gave tasks of real responsibility. Superficial rituals of youth empowerment failed to enlist youth in a partnership with adults.

Successful programs had strong adult leadership, but also an inner circle of positive youth leadership. This was a continuing challenge as new members entered existing groups. Ultimately, positive adult-to-youth relationships form the foundation of a culture of self-governance. Liepmann concluded that self-governance will only work if the adults have strong beliefs about the positive potentials of youth.

The early 20th century saw a flurry of self-governance programs given democratic-sounding names like Youth Republics, Commonwealths, Children's Villages, and Boys or Girls Towns. A

prominent example was Homer Lane who in 1907 became director of *Ford Republic* serving teens in trouble with the law.[33] The school's constitution was modelled after that of the United States: "We the people…in order to form a more perfect community." Mirroring the federal government, Lane established executive, legislative, and judicial systems with power exercised by the boys. But youth rule reflected the authoritarian mindset of the times. Lane gave boys the authority to administer corporal punishment and urged them to shout insults at lawbreakers. Controversial but charismatic, Lane charmed many with his exaggerated tales of success.

In 1913, Lane was invited to start *Little Commonwealth* in England. There he was exposed to psychoanalysis and did an about-face, replacing punishment with permissiveness. This co-ed facility would be his undoing as he was fired after repeated scandals of his sexual liaisons with teen girls. Still, many ignored moral concerns, and Lane was the inspiration for A. S. Neill who in 1920 created *Summerhill,* a renowned permissive school giving freedom to youth through self-governance, with staff and youth having equal votes.[34]

Also in 1913, Floyd Starr founded *Starr Commonwealth* in Michigan serving troubled and cast-off kids. This commonwealth was not an imitation democracy but more like an extended family bound together by shared values. The Starr Commonwealth Creed begins with the widely quoted belief, "There is no such thing as a bad boy" and celebrates the potentials of youth:

- Badness is not normal but the result of mis-directed energy.
- Youth will be good in an environment of love and activity.
- Children should find dignity in labor and the joy of accomplishment.
- Play is the young person's normal means of self-expression.
- Spiritual growth should accompany physical, mental, and moral development.
- Children should not be treated as a class but understood as individuals.
- Children merit trust by appealing to their inherent goodness.

The striking quality shared by youth work pioneers was a spirit of Pygmalion optimism. A prominent example is Karl Wilker who following World War I set out to transform Berlin's worst delinquency institution. His enthusiastic endorsement of the potential of problem youth in today's terms is a resounding strength-based philosophy:

> What we want to achieve in our work with young people is to find and strengthen the positive and healthy elements, no matter how deeply they are hidden. We enthusiastically believe in the existence of those elements, even in the seemingly worst of our adolescents.[35]

The basis for Wilker's success was caring relationships. His blind-spot was replacing punishment with permissiveness. This total freedom stirred a backlash among autocratic authorities and Wilker was fired. His reforms were abandoned, and predicably, *leniency* reverted to *harshness*.

A fatal flaw in self-government schemes was abandoning the role of adults as wise elders guiding the young. David Wills had been inspired by Homer Lane but sought to balance youth autonomy with adult authority. Beginning in 1935, he worked with the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) who had been leaders in creating therapeutic environments since the nineteenth century.[36] Wills formed groups of youth into a therapeutic community, first in *The Hawkspur Experiment,* an English hostel-school,[37] and then in the Barns Experiment, a camp in Scotland for *throw-out* kids.[38] Wills replaced self-governance with *shared responsibility*. The influence of adults was not based on treatment techniques but affection for their charges:

> They were all difficult boys, hating school, prejudiced against adults in general, punished often but not wisely, fearful, suspicious, aggressive, untruthful, uncared for and, in the main, unloved. During the early days of Barns they were their own worst enemies because they strove hard to compel us to furnish them with the only kind of security they knew—the security of outward compulsion; and we were determined to give them security on a different level—the security that comes from the knowledge of being loved.[39]

August Aichhorn of Austria also described love as the primary unmet need of *Wayward Youth,*[40] the title of his 1925 book. He described his philosophy as a *practical psychology of reconciliation*. Behavior evoking rejection in traditional settings was not punished, but neither was it permitted. Instead, problems were met with concern and communication. Adults would calmly talk with students about their problems. Thus, a young person returning from truancy was welcomed back—the only consequences were serious conversations. This was an early use of problems as opportunities for learning and growth.

August Aichhorn worked closely with Anna Freud, and they mentored Fritz Redl who came to the United States after the rise of Hitler. Redl established therapeutic group programs for troubled children at the University of Michigan Fresh Air Camp which trained youth professionals for thirty years.[41] Where others saw problems, Redl saw strengths. He quipped that he should write a book titled *The Virtues of Delinquents,* but it might be hard to find a publisher.[42] While these kids fought adults, they were loyal to peers. Redl described how individual therapy was sabotaged by "the gang under the couch."

Fritz Redl and David Wineman published *Children Who Hate*, a qualitative research study on young victims of trauma.[43] Every nuance of behavior in a group of aggressive boys at Pioneer House in Detroit was documented in detail. Redl challenged the unbridled permissiveness of those who believed that venting vitriol was therapeutic. These children had so much rage and so little self-restraint that acting out their darker feelings would only be retraumatizing. Instead, they needed trusting relationships to develop *Controls from Within,* the title of a companion volume.[44] Daily problems in the child's *life space* became natural learning opportunities.

Anna Freud had also escaped the Holocaust, emigrating to England where she worked with war orphans. In "An Experiment in Group Upbringing," she described how children alienated from adults forge strong bonds with peers.[45] Six young Jewish children were rescued from the Nazi concentration camp at Terezin. When placed in a group setting, they quickly bonded together to fight all efforts of adults to control them. Yet despite their total opposition to authority, they were remarkably kind and supportive to one another, showing great concern and self-sacrifice. Eventually, they learned to trust adults.

Samuel Slavson like others in the psychoanalytic tradition discovered the pitfalls of permissive groups.[46] In his book *Reclaiming Delinquents*, he describes group therapy meetings with teens in residential treatment. For the first 15 sessions, boys resisted talking about anything personal and interrupted anyone who attempted to do so. They complained about staff and bragged about their delinquency and sexual prowess. Slavson concluded that "freedom in a democracy does not mean blanket license to act out impulsively...Individual freedom must always be conditioned by the freedom, convenience, and happiness others."[47]

Social worker Jane Addams founded the modern juvenile court in Chicago and inspired the settlement house movement serving the flood of immigrants coming to the country. In 1909 she authored the classic book, *The Spirit of the Youth and the City Streets*. Addams tapped the power of groups to bring out positive qualities in youth. She recounted a small gang of seven teens hopelessly addicted to cocaine, none in school or working. After gaining trust in a counselling group, they agreed to treatment for their addiction at Presbyterian Hospital if they could go together. The teens completed a four-week program and spent six weeks camping in the country. All but one adopted productive lifestyles. Addams wrote: "It is doubtful whether these boys could ever have been pulled through unless we had been able to utilize the gang spirit and to turn its collective force towards overcoming the desire for the drug."[48]

Jacob Moreno was a charismatic young doctor in Austria who formed peer support groups with refugees and girls exploited by prostitution. Moreno believed that Freud's approach did not apply to real-world problems, and in 1912 he confronted Freud at a public lecture:

> You meet people in the artificial setting of your office. I meet them on the street
> and in their homes, in their natural surroundings. You analyze their dreams; I try
> to give them courage to dream again.[49]

Moreno emigrated to the U.S. and worked at the New York State Training School for girls where he pioneered psychodrama. He saw group therapy as an advancement over individual therapy, enabling members to take the perspective of others and develop social and emotional capacity.

Moreno inspired Viola Spolin who had worked with Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago. During the depression, as director of recreation in Chicago, she popularized psychodrama and improvisation. Spolin believed all can participate since play-acting is natural in childhood. Free

expression thrives in an atmosphere of equality, but authoritarian climates make people preoccupied with approval and stunt creativity. Spolin's "bible of psychodrama" contains hundreds of games to draw out creative, problem-solving abilities.[50] Humans are inherently social so belonging to a safe group is fun—and even funny. Spolin's son brought improvisation to Chicago's Second City Comedy Theatre, impacting drama and comedy world-wide.

Democracy in Education, authored by John Dewey in 1916, inspired educators to create groups where students could show concern for one another.[51] An early experiment occurred in the 1920s in a small California school for primary age children. The teacher, Marion Turner, scheduled peer group meetings to solve problems.[52] By the second year, students had learned to run their own meetings so she could take notes of the interactions. Children took turns giving their opinions on the problem and solution. They often proposed restorative responses such as apologies. At other times, the group would recommend mild consequences such as sitting in a chair for 15 minutes. When children started scolding one another, the teacher redirected them with a question like, "Who can suggest a better way?" Children learned positive scripts from their teacher and politely corrected one another, "May I offer a suggestion?" While time-consuming and never widely adopted, this experiment demonstrated that even children as young as six or eight can be taught to solve problems in a respectful manner.

Alan Paton is best known for his anti-apartheid novel *Cry the Beloved Country*. He spent thirteen years transforming South Africa's worst youth prison as recounted in his *Reflections on the Diepkloof Reformator*y. He described delinquent behavior as resulting from failure to meet "fundamental needs, of security, affection, and outlets for his creative and emotional impulses. The change in him is remarkable when these deep needs are met."[53] Paton found disobedience disappears when a youth finds purpose for life. He rejected the notion he was pampering prisoners since it is essential "to restore self-reliance, self-respect, and self-trust."[54]

Gisela Konopka was born in Germany and spent a lifetime fighting injustice. As a young member of the *Wandervogel* Youth Movement, she was inspired by Karl Wilker to seek a new democratic vision for working with youth. Konopka shared this philosophy on building a positive youth culture, written by a colleague who directed a German youth prison in 1923: "Ours was an attempt to create, together with especially difficult youth, a community of education that was founded not on fear and punishment but on friendship and trust."[55]

The democratic youth movement was dashed when Hitler came to power. Konopka, who was Jewish, escaped from Germany and spent a career at the University of Minnesota where she wrote several books on group work and an early study of adolescent girls.[56] She published the classic book, *Therapeutic Group Work with Children*, based on her work in the Red Wing, Minnesota, State Reformatory.[57] This was the same facility where Harry Vorrath would pilot Positive Peer Culture a generation later.[58] Having seen the perversion of youthwork in the *Hitler Jugend* of Germany, Konopka was a fierce advocate for democracy as the core of group work.

Another noteworthy pioneer in group work was Reuven Feuerstein who worked for over a half century to unleash the talents of immigrant youth in Israel.[59] Believing even *unteachable* youth could learn, he developed a restorative experience for traumatized youth who had failed in other settings.[60] Feuerstein placed these volatile youth in supportive treatment groups. Staff had to walk a tightrope: prevent destructive behavior without reacting with rejection. Nearly all students succeeded and were integrated into normal groups. Most went on to serve in the Israeli military. Like the Circle of Courage, Feuerstein focused on growth needs:

>**Unconditional Belonging**. Angry youth give staff and peers plenty of opportunity to reject or remove them. But exclusion repeats relational trauma and disrupts belonging. When staff give up on a youth, this triggers a threat of rejection among other group members as well. Thus, Feurstein had a zero-reject policy of unconditional belonging.

>**School Success**. Most youth in conflict had toxic experiences in school. These immigrants to Israel experienced cultural conflict and academic failure. When they could be re-engaged in learning, they made impressive progress. His premise that intelligence is not fixed but a product of learning has been validated by other researchers.[61]

>**Managing Stress**. Even routine stressors can trigger the loss of emotional control with traumatized youth. Their brains are already hypervigilant, alert for any sign of rejection or failure. Success with these youth requires creating a sense of security and safety so they can learn to manage emotions and cope with challenges.

>**Contributing to Community**. Youth were expected give back through assigned responsibilities. But to reduce stress, treatment groups were exempted from the work requirement and given high interest pseudo-work activities. When the students discovered they were not doing real work, they demanded to contribute like other youth.

In 1901, Janusz Korczak of Poland authored the first of twenty books, *Children of the Streets,* and dedicated his life to their cause.[62] Trained as a physician, he founded residential schools for Jewish street kids based on democratic governance. In his book *The Child's Right to Respect*, Korczak describes children as the ultimate underdog in a society preoccupied with power and wealth. He called for a deep respect of children, enlisting them in running their school. Moral development researcher Lawrence Kohlberg considered Korczak's school as the prototype of a just and caring community.[63]

When the Nazi's invaded Poland, Korczak with his 200 students and staff were sent into the Warsaw Ghetto in preparation for the *final solution*. On the day for their departure to Treblinka, the children and their caregivers marched to the train station, proudly carrying a green flag to signify life. To avoid making Korczak a martyr, a Nazi officer handed him a Swiss passport so he could escape the country. "Who would leave children at a time like this?" he asked with disdain, as he joined his charges on the boxcars. His last book, *Ghetto Diary*, was recovered after the war. In a final entry, Korczak observed, "I exist not to be loved, but to love and serve."

Positive Peer Culture

PPC is a peer-helping model designed to improve social competence and cultivate strengths in youth. Care and concern for others is the defining element of PPC.[64]
—California Evidence-Based Clearing House

Positive Peer Culture draws on the group work legacy from both the United States and Europe and the enduring wisdom of Indigenous peoples who reared children in cultures of respect. Psychologist Massud Hoghughi from England described two unique features of Positive Peer Culture.[65] First, as the only method specifically designed for work with the most challenging youth, it embraces those often excluded from other approaches. Second, PPC applies to pressing problems as it grew from direct practice rather than theory. A formidable body of research now provides the evidence base for successful peer helping programs.

The immediate precursor to PPC was Guided Group Interaction (GGI) which had its roots in a World War II Army prison at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Sociologist Lloyd McCorkle formed groups with soldiers who refused to bear arms. Ironically, at the end of these democratic discussions, soldiers had the choice to fight or remain locked in prison.[66]

Following the war, in 1950 Lloyd McCorkle established a group residence for delinquent teens at Highfields in New Jersey. Twenty youth were housed in the secluded country estate formerly owned by transatlantic aviator Charles Lindbergh. When their child was kidnapped and murdered, the Lindbergh family donated their residence for use as a children's home. The Highfields program became the legacy of the life of that child.

The Highfields treatment program was called Guided Group Interaction (GGI) to distinguish these peer helping groups from group psychotherapy. McCorkle and colleagues described their method in a widely heralded 1958 book, *The Highfields Story*.[67] That same year, a group of noted scholars published a research evaluation titled *Youthful Offenders at Highfields*.[68] Criminologist Walter Reckless observed that daily group sessions speed up the process of change, accomplishing in months what would take two years in traditional treatment groups as described by August Aichhorn. Psychiatrist Richard Jenkins noted, "Highfields was able to build close connections between staff and students which led to positive changes in the most challenging youth."[69] These included youth presenting two distinct types of problems: *Adaptive delinquents* belong to groups with antisocial values. Peer helping built positive values and behavior with these youth. *Maladaptive delinquents* have deeper emotional problems. Close bonds met relational needs and reduced frustration.

Harry Vorrath, who would later establish Positive Peer Culture, was a social work intern at the Highfields GGI program. Prior experience as a seminary student and a Marine gave him a dual perspective uncommon in his profession: he was equally committed to helping youth and demanding accountability. Vorrath had been impressed that the military could take a muddled

mix of young men and, in a dozen weeks, create a cohesive group who would give their lives for one another. He saw this spirit of helping in the early GGI programs. With great fervor, he began working with the most difficult youth in group programs and juvenile facilities.

As Guided Group Interaction proliferated in correctional settings, these became pale imitations of the family-like Highfields program. Transplanted to training schools, authoritarian cultures spawned oppressive group cultures. Highfields had been a secluded residential sanctuary where problems could be privately resolved, but GGI in community-based settings faced political pushback when students acted out in public.[70] Thus, youth were enlisted as enforcers to compel compliance in a warped form of behavior modification.

Vorrath was concerned that the original spirit of peer helping had mutated into peer pressure. He was strongly opposed to any group approach using peer coercion as discipline. Believing groups were only empowered to help, he split from GGI to form Positive Peer Culture. Peer concern replaced peer coercion. Vorrath was clear:

> Do group members punish? Absolutely not! In fact, the group may not even recommend punishment; their only function is to help. If a serious situation arises which the group cannot handle, the staff will decide what to do.[71]

PPC is not permissive, but a version of zero tolerance that deems any harmful behavior unacceptable. Any act that hurts self or others is seen as a problem, and the group is responsible for helping solve these problems. Adults model this ethic and challenge youth to show care and concern for one another.

Like the Marine he had once been, Vorrath charged into the dangerous settings to enlist youth as peer helpers. PPC rose to prominence in the book *Children in Trouble: A National Scandal.*[72] Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Howard James described how Vorrath was called to Red Wing, Minnesota when the state training school was rocked by a riot. After PPC was implemented, the once-violent institution was transformed into a community of respect. James portrayed PPC at Red Wing as an oasis in the wasteland of failed programs.

Harry Vorrath was invited to Starr Commonwealth in Michigan where he and Larry Brendtro co-authored the book *Positive Peer Culture* in 1974.[73] This publication sparked widespread interest in peer empowerment methods. The National Association of Peer Group Agencies and its successor Strength Based Services International became forums for professionals to share research and experience in developing PPC programs.[74]

Some organizations ran effective programs for a time but then faltered with changes in leadership. The lack of a solid research base and formal training systems fueled this instability. Yet certain programs—primarily in the non-profit sector—thrived for decades and produced a large professional literature. PPC is now recognized as an evidence-based intervention[75] and is firmly established in the research base of Positive Youth Development.[76]

Chapter Two
The Power of Peers

Group Dynamics

From the moment that they become part of a crowd,
the learned man and the ignoramus are equally incapable of observation.[77]
—Gustav Le Bon, 1896

In the classic 19th century book, *The Crowd*, French polymath Gustav Le Bon described how readily groups can override individual judgment. He correctly hypothesized that the reasoning brain shuts down and the brain stem takes over; a risk in joining groups is that individuals are easily misled. Le Bon identified key effects of group influence:

Power. A person in a group feels invincible, abandoning personal judgement and self-restraint.
Suggestibility. The group adopts a singular mind with views shaped by the strongest voices.
Contagion. Actions and beliefs are mirrored and spread as persons blindly support the group.

Le Bon was a pessimist about groups which can be stirred to destructive action against weaker members or outsiders. But he granted that groups can also be heroic. When deep values such as equality and democracy are imbedded in beliefs of the group, these can transform behavior. Change comes from evoking emotions and images the mind of the group and by simple, powerful ideas such as group loyalty.

Translating Le Bon's principles into peer-helping groups, the primary role of the adult leader is to inspire natural helping and expand the scope of who is one's neighbor. To prevent being manipulated by group pressure, young people need to learn to think for themselves and gain the courage to challenge views of the group.

German psychologist Kurt Lewin and his family were visiting the United States in 1933 when Hitler came to power. They chose not to return, and their extended family who remained in Germany was lost to the death camps. Lewin was deeply committed to principles of democracy which became a focus of his research. In 1939, he and Ron Lippitt studied three styles of adult leadership in groups of early adolescent boys: *democratic*, *laissez-faire*, and *autocratic*.[78]

Democratic leaders treated youth with respect and encouraged group discussion and decision making. The leader sought to downplay status differences by treating youngsters in a mature fashion and permitting group members to share in decision making. The leader was friendly but careful to walk the thin line between extremes of becoming a peer or an autocrat. Democratic groups were productive and when the adult leader left the room, they continued working cooperatively. Most significant were changed attitudes and relationships. Individual differences were accepted as group members neither mocked nor humiliated peers who showed unique or even bizarre behavior. They also were ten times more likely to have a "jovial" and "confiding" relationship with the adult leader as compared to autocratic groups.[79]

Laissez-faire leaders were highly permissive and allowed the members to do virtually whatever they wished. These leaders were uninvolved, and without guidance, groups reacted to random peer forces. Although a few of such groups eventually were able to self-organize and become productive, most fell apart. The boys either sat in sullen silence or exploited one another as scapegoats for their own anxiety or anger. The complete lack of structure or adult input left the group in a state of confusion. Groups were more engaged in play than productivity. But fun was not satisfying as they expressed four times as much discontent as those in democratic groups.[80]

Autocratic leaders kept an emotional distance from group members, issuing orders, assigning jobs, and making decisions. Although these groups completed tasks better than those with permissive leaders, two troubling reactions were observed: resistance and subjugation. Some boys opposed the leader by banding together to rebel against orders and assignments. These youth also treated those outside of their power clique with scorn and abuse. Other boys were apathetic, performing what was demanded of them but without any enthusiasm. Thus, autocratic groups produce members who either form an anti-authority subculture or sullenly bide their time. Conflict and bullying were 30 times greater in authoritarian groups than democratic groups.

Encounter Groups

The rapid expansion of group research in the mid-twentieth century led to the creation of the science of group dynamics by Kurt Lewin and colleagues. In 1946, Lewin was approached by the Connecticut State Interracial Commission for help find ways to combat racial and religious prejudice. The goal was to use a group process to foster change in beliefs and behavior. This led to the establishment of the National Training Laboratories by The Office of Naval Research and the National Education Association. The use of Training groups (T-groups) was widespread within corporations, government, and education. The goal was to create less hierarchical and more democratic organizations.[81]

In the human relations movement of the 1960s, *encounter* or *sensitivity* groups swept society.[82] Carl Rogers called these groups the most significant contribution of psychology in the 20th Century.[83] The goal of encounter groups was to encourage openness, honesty, confrontation, self-disclosure, and strong emotional expression. These groups built bonds of trust and seemed to be a panacea for deep needs for connection at a time when people were "probably more aware of their inner loneliness than has been true before in history."[84]

The sensitivity group movement was controversial from the onset, developing rapidly without leadership from behavior experts or researchers. In these unstructured groups without a clear agenda, participants explored their interpersonal relationships. The movement met criticism from many fronts and advocates could not secure federal support or major foundation grants. Mental health professionals believed groups without trained therapists were dangerous. Conservative political forces saw these groups as a Communist brain-washing conspiracy—Carl Rogers quipped one would never find a sensitivity group in the John Birch Society.

Group Casualties

The surge in popularity of all kinds of groups sparked concern about possible psychological harm to vulnerable persons. To explore this issue, Stanford researchers conducted an intensive study of ten models of group work, each led by advocates of those methods.[85] Undergraduate students registered for course credit and participated in a thirty-hour group experience. They were randomly assigned to the different types of groups. Participants completed self-report information, gave feedback after each group session, and completed evaluations at the end of groups and six months later.

Researchers defined *casualties* as including mental health crisis, decreased self-esteem, dropouts, and negative ratings by participants and group leaders. Sixteen of the 209 initial participants or 7.5 percent were identified as casualties. But based on peer evaluation, twice as many were judged to have been hurt by the group.

A surprising finding was that the *model* of group work had almost nothing to do with negative outcomes which resulted from *leadership style*. Researchers had also gathered data on the behavior of those conducting group meetings and found a strong link between six *modes of injury* and *therapist style*:

1. **Attack by the leader.** These groups were led by *Aggressive Stimulators* who were authoritarian and confrontive—albeit charismatic and caring.
2. **Attack by the group.** Members joined aggressive leaders in attacks, or they had groups with impersonal or uncaring leaders who failed to model supportive behavior.
3. **Experiencing rejection.** This was a problem with six individuals sometimes overlapping with attack. Others emphasized feeling rejected by the leader or group or both.

4. ***Inability to meet needs.*** Four casualties entered groups with unrealistic expectations to solve their severe problems. They might have been better served by psychotherapy.
5. ***Pressure for disclosure.*** Two members could not share their feelings. Unable to trust like others who shared intimate experiences, they felt empty and inadequate.
6. ***Emotional overload.*** Five persons were overwhelmed by the intensity of the experience. Three of these had psychotic episodes during or shortly after the end of the group.

The most destructive leadership style combined confrontive, authoritarian methods with charm and charisma. These leaders ignored individual needs and pressured members to respond the same. The leader was the center of attraction but failed to develop the potential of the group, providing a model for peer pressure instead of peer caring. This research led to recommendations about how to prevent destructive group dynamics:

Protect against harm. If a group causes a member to feel attacked or rejected, the leader has failed to prevent a toxic experience.
Avoid extreme pressure. A tone of reflection rather than emotional reactivity creates a climate for building trust.
Focus on needs. If a person has a level of needs the group cannot meet, additional social support or therapy should be arranged.

Several subjects entered the group in a highly vulnerable state yet benefited from the group experience. Although personally reserved, they profited from a sense of belongingness and by vicariously observing others work through their problems. "Some explicitly expressed gratitude towards their leaders who invited, encouraged, but did not demand participation and who always permitted them to select their own pace."[86]

The sensitivity group movement faded, but alienation in modern society went unabated with erosion of common values, rampant materialism, and transient lifestyles. But Rogers believed the most basic cause of loneliness was: *people fear that if they drop their protective shell or façade, no one will understand, accept, or care.*[87] Now in another century, creating a climate of unconditional belonging is a prime goal of any effective peer-helping group.

Negative Peer Influence

*How many things which for our own sake we should never do,
do we perform for the sake of our friends.*[88]
—Marcus Cicero, born 106 BC

Why do groups exert negative influence? In *Delinquent Boys: The Subculture of the Gang*, Albert Cohen observed that youth who believe they are not able to achieve status in mainstream society may join delinquent gangs.[89] They reject norms of the *middle-class measuring rod* and thus are not failures in their own eyes. This is most prominent with boys who lack positive male influence. Mothers provide girls a ready model for the female ethic of caring. But fatherless males may see goodness as a mommy virtue and badness as a badge of masculinity. They adopt a tough front believing caring is sissified, with defiance and delinquency proving one's prowess.

An example of destructive peer influence is the 1972 Stanford Prison Experiment.[90] College students were divided into *guards* and *prisoners* for a two-week simulation of incarceration. The guards initially ranged from permissive to aggressive. But as conflicts escalated, milder guards modelled their hostile peers. The experiment had to be stopped after a week because of fear of harm. But what caused this abuse? Investigative journalists have uncovered long-lost recordings of the instructions researchers gave to guards, coaching them toward cruelty by being "tough" on inmates.[91] As Lewin's group research had shown, leaders have a powerful effect on group dynamics, either creating a caring community or cultures of coercion.

Bullying

The pioneer in bullying research was Dan Olweus who developed prevention programs in Scandinavian schools.[92] Bullies are aggressive to peers, and some also intimidate adults in authority. Bullies have strong needs to dominate coupled with little empathy for victims. Olweus discounts the common view that youth with tough, aggressive behavior are insecure under the surface. In fact, most bullies have friends and are not plagued by anxiety or poor self-esteem. Still, a minority of bullies are emotionally troubled. These youth were victimized themselves and now attack others. They are called *bull-vics* in contrast to *bull-recs* who enjoy their status as bullies. Olweus identified four factors that contribute to the development of bullies:[93]

> ***Attachment to the primary care giver in early childhood***. A lack of parental warmth and involvement increase the risk that the child will become aggressive.
> ***Permissiveness for aggressive behavior by the child***. A lack of clear limits to aggression toward peers, siblings, and adults increases bullying behavior.
> ***Use of power-asserted discipline***. Frequent use of physical punishment and violent outbursts are linked to aggression in youth. Violence begets violence.
> ***Temperament.*** An active, hot-headed temperament is correlated with aggression compared to a calm temperament.

Parenting is the most potent cause of bullying. These findings indicate a lack of love and limits fuel the development of aggressive behavior. Bullying behavior is not related to the socio-economic conditions of the family but the way the child is reared.

Olweus called for schools that reflect fundamental democratic rights in a climate of warmth and mutual respect. Bully prevention has been remarkably effective in Scandinavian schools which have a strong democratic ethos. However, a meta-analysis shows that most such programs have little effect in North American schools which fail to instill values of respect or create caring school climates.[94]

A positive peer culture is the most potent antidote to bullying because it primes altruistic behavior. Still, PPC does not focus specifically on stopping bullying which tends to imply physical intimidation. Instead, the goal is to institute a more pervasive norm: No one has the right to hurt another in any way, and we all have the responsibility to help. This mobilizes the silent majority in creating a culture of respect.

Polly Nichols has expanded the focus on peer mistreatment to include "lookism" which means ranking persons based on supposed physical attractiveness.[95] She sees lookism as part of a trifecta along with racism and sexism. Lookism is more pervasive than other *isms* and is marketed by a culture that values superficial appearance over inner character. Lookism like other insults is an attack on self-worth as seen in this example from a New England high school:

> The auditorium was packed with more than a thousand students who were restless as they listened to announcements. A heavy, awkward tenth grader made her way across the stage to reach the microphone located in the center. As she walked, several male students made loud barking noises to signify she was a dog. Others oinked like pigs. Later, a slender long-haired senior walked to the mike; she was greeted by catcalls and whistles. Nobody attempted to stop the demeaning and hurtful public evaluation of the appearance of these teenage girls.[96]

Each girl was evaluated based on looks. Both were demeaned and hurt—the girl who was applauded as though performing in a topless bar, and the one jeered as less than human. Had the boys yelled the N word, adults would have held them accountable. But under the locker-room culture, males ridicule and harass girls.

Youth Countercultures

It is ironic that schools and youth programs charged with socializing the young sometimes become staging areas for antisocial youth subcultures that defy adults and demonize weaker peers. This is particularly true in educational, treatment, or justice programs serving youth at risk. Some of these settings appear orderly and controlled on the surface but this may mask an underground of peer violence and victimization.

The 1962 book *Cottage Six* is a striking account of a negative youth subculture in a residential treatment center. Sociologist Howard Polsky lived eight months as a "participant observer" with a group of aggressive adolescents. Once youth were accustomed to his presence, he gained a window into a world otherwise hidden from adult surveillance.

This well-respected therapeutic program spawned a hostile underground hierarchy akin to *Lord of the Flies.* Negative leaders and their enforcers wielded power over submissive group members and scapegoats at the bottom of the pecking order. Professional staff were largely oblivious to this destructive climate which countered their educational and therapeutic goals. Instead, youth in this setting "are in effect conforming to a deviant society in which destructive values and social patterns have been raised to a virtue and by which status can be achieved."[97]

Polsky described this negative youth subculture as highly inequalitarian. All were preoccupied with their position in the pecking order as shown in Polsky's Diamond.

Polsky's Diamond
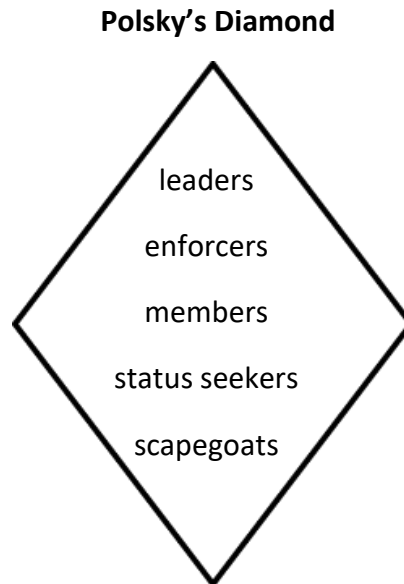
Atop the diamond are leaders and lieutenants who physically or psychologically intimidate peers. At the bottom are weak or passive scapegoats, targets for aggression. In the middle are the majority who would do almost anything to keep in good graces with hostile leaders.

Adults thought they were running a progressive, well-staffed, program. But operating out of view was a totalitarian peer subculture. When a new student entered the group, established members would *rank* the person by attributing real or imagined weaknesses. In a culture of pseudo-masculine toughness, those seen as weak became the underdogs. For example, the group harassed a timid boy, Chuck, by claiming he was having sex with a dog. Unable to defend himself from these spectacular accusations, he became the butt of hateful humor. This was not an isolated incident since scapegoating was the warp and woof of the social structure.

Most staff either were ignorant of peer abuse or chose to ignore it. Some even joined the bullying process, permitting harassment of low status members and giving bullies free rein. In this pervasive culture of intimidation, some staff also became intimidators, flaunting their own toughness with intimidating language and demeanor.

Polsky called for new ways to move from authoritarian to democratic climates: "Each individual has a right to participate in the decision-making process. Might is not right. Activities should fulfill rather than negate human dignity and integrity."[98]

A Counterculture of Traumatized Teens

Decades after Polsky's research, toxic countercultures are still prevalent. This is illustrated by a recent study of the perspectives of traumatized teen girls in an urban charter school and treatment setting.[99] These students were placed in residential care by the foster care or juvenile justice systems. In focus groups, four major themes emerged: relationships with peers, relationships with staff, the learning environment, and sensitivity to being touched. Students were asked to describe events that affected their mood. Responses were sharply negative.[100]

Peer Relationships. Interactions were hostile and fights were common. Anticipating both verbal and physical attack had a chilling effect on emotional well-being.
- *Other peers try to mess with you.*
- *People calling you names and saying shit that they don't have business saying.*
- *A girl tried to kick me down the stairs!*
- *You get a little too close, I got to hit you 'cause I feel threatened.*
- *If somebody gets too close to me, I feel like I should defend myself.*

Staff Relationships. The girls perceived most teachers and staff members as negative and unpleasant. They were upset by actions and comments which conveyed a lack of concern.
- *The staff don't even talk to us really; they blow us off.*
- *They think they can talk to you any kind of way.*
- *When I needed help for my reading, I asked the staff, they're like, "No, I don't like you."*
- *Staff is petty, very petty. They talk shit to you, and they expect you not to talk shit back and some will make comments like, "At least I get to go home at the end of the day."*

Learning Environment. The girls also believe they are not receiving quality education. The school was riddled with fights and constant disciplinary action. They expressed fears of not being able to be successful and better their lives.
- *I feel like being at this school, it's like this is a joke.*
- *I feel like everything here is just dumbed down.*
- *Yeah, and it's too easy. Like it's not challenging.*

Don't Touch Me. Sensitivity to being touched was a strong trigger due to their traumatic history. They want others to approach and interact with them in a less intrusive way.

> ● *Like, don't touch me, I'll break your wrist. I don't like being touched.*
> ● *Supervisors can trigger some of the kids. If they say "don't touch me" then don't.*
> ● *Some residents here, like they've been touched in a wrong way when they were young and that's why they don't like being touched now.*

The girls attended a charter school which implemented an alternative to traditional discipline. After behavior infractions, they were sent to the "Monarch Room" where trauma-trained paraprofessionals helped them deescalate, refocus, and return to class. The average time for this intervention was ten minutes. The girls reported their mood improved when they had a place to calm down and where adults listened to them. Ironically, this brief respite from the tempest masked the reality that these girls were being retraumatized daily by a toxic interpersonal climate. Some researchers believe this so-called *peer deviancy training* is inevitable, a position strongly contested by Positive Peer Culture research.

"Peer Deviancy Training"

It is unreasonable to expect that a group of youth with behavioral problems will somehow generate prosocial values and group norms by interacting with one another. [101]
—Scott Henggeler

For centuries, scholars have been intrigued with the question: *How can groups wield such power that individuals sometimes act in ways contrary to their personal beliefs?* In his autobiographical *Confessions,* Saint Augustine described how he and his boyhood peers would plunge headlong into delinquency and then brag about who was more beastly.[102] This 1600-year-old tale of unruly teens is being retold in our time. Howard Polsky described these *deviant subcultures:*

> Delinquents learn delinquent techniques from each other and overcome inhibitions about breaking the law by mutual stimulation and reinforcement.[103]

Time Out was a national study of juvenile corrections which showed that many settings increase *hardness* in youth.[104] Newcomers were more workable than *veterans* who learned to adopt a tough, delinquent image. And, while staff rated *develop emotional maturity* among the highest treatment goals, ironically, *a close relationship with youth* was a low priority.

Behavioral researchers, apparently oblivious that Polsky *discovered* this problem, minted the meme *peer deviancy training.*[105] This phrase was a byproduct of a simple research study showing that delinquents brag to one another about their rule-breaking exploits and reinforce one another's tales of defiance with laughter.[106]

Peer deviancy training is Saint Augustine *déjà vu*. But rebranded as science, this became a battle cry for sweeping attacks on any intervention that brought together youth at risk:

> Given the mutually reinforcing negative effects of deviant peers on one another, school, juvenile justice, and community programs that place troublesome youth together in special classrooms, treatment groups, and community activities may exacerbate rather than ameliorate delinquent behavior.[107]

The author of that biased assertion was Scott Henggeler, a leading advocate of replacing residential approaches with his own invention, Multisystemic Treatment (MST), a community-based ecological approach with behavioral interventions. Despite being widely marketed as an evidence-based intervention, independent research shows that MST is not superior to other treatment approaches.[108]

One cannot totally insulate peers from negative influence since young people seek out kindred spirits in any school or community setting. Whenever youth gather in groups, peer influence is in play. Before long, it became a cliché in research reviews to repeat the unfounded assertion that peer group approaches make *deviant* kids more deviant.[109]

Throughout human history, children and youth spent most of their time in contact with elders or in cross-age peer groups.[110] Today's youth are being socialized by peers. Without adult guidance, groups of youth in any settings can embrace reckless and destructive behavior. Early studies in a correctional institution showed that residents got nine times more reinforcement from peers than from adult staff. This influence was mostly negative as youth rewarded delinquent responses and punished socially conforming responses.[111] Youth rallied around rebellion and rule breaking.

Group treatment *per se* is not harmful. Researchers from Vanderbilt and Harvard Universities found that seventeen of eighteen studies showed no iatrogenic or peer deviance effects.[112] In contrast, programs with a group component were *less likely* to be iatrogenic than those that did not. This was supported by a study at Boys Town showed that over 90 percent of the youth living in teaching family groups did not display an increase in problem behavior; positive peer influences may be protective and inhibit problem behaviors.[113]

In a similar vein, University of Kentucky researchers put middle school students with conduct problems in problem-solving groups.[114] They were randomly assigned to either a homogeneous group of students with conduct problems or to a mixed group with mostly prosocial peers. Groups led by graduate students met 70 to 90 minutes a week for 9-12 weeks.

Training used an established prevention program for developing social competence. Contrary to expectations, youth at risk fared better in the conduct problem group than when mixed with prosocial youth. They showed better behavior in group sessions, participated more in discussion and activities, and complimented peers more frequently. They also reported liking other group members more than those placed with *prosocial* students.

Results of a six-month follow up study were the same. Students at risk showed greater gains when placed in pure conduct problem groups. Ratings from both parents and teachers showed lower rates of externalizing behavior. In sum, these findings contradicted the *peer deviance* hypothesis**.** The science shows that placing conduct problem youth in homogenous groups for treatment or skill training might even be preferable than attempts to mix them with positive peers. One can surmise that students with conduct problems felt more comfortable, competent, and accepted when interacting with kindred spirits. Further, many supposedly *prosocial* youth are not all that accepting of their peers who show problems.

Based on earlier research, Osgood concluded that Positive Peer Culture is designed to reverse *deviancy training* so that youth support prosocial behavior and accept responsibility.[115] The notion of *peer deviancy training* is also tainted by a deficit-based bias. Each of these three terms is at odds with research on developmental ecology, resilience, and neuroscience:

Peer points the finger of blame at young people—but it is a breakdown of adult bonds that makes kids desperate for peer approval.[116] In measurable terms, distance from adults is correlated with disruptive behavior. Teaching Family research showed strong negative correlations between delinquency and the time youth spent talking to group home parents (-.95) and even standing physically close to adults.[117]

Deviancy is a deficit-hyping term. This label stigmatizes delinquent acts that are normal developmental glitches common to teen boys in Western society.[118] Self-reports show that up to 90 percent of males entering college have committed such acts.[119] Even among delinquents, the vast majority prefer to be positive but need adult support to break from past patterns.[120] There is little doubt that youth would spurn adults who treat them as deviants.

Training implies a planned program of instruction. But the desire for having fun with peers is an emotional brain process not under full logical control.[121] Further, mirror neurons prime us to copy emotions and behavior of significant others.[122] Joining a group of friends creates a rush of oxytocin, the trust and bonding hormone. Adults who build trust with young people become models for prosocial values and behavior.

What researchers call *peer deviancy training* might better be diagnosed as an *adult deficit disorder.* Children and youth seek positive bonds with caring adults; the antisocial peer group is a substitute path to belonging. Certainly, settings that bring together youth with common problems can create delinquent dynamics, but such is not inevitable. As Arnold Goldstein notes, even gangs have prosocial qualities including "camaraderie, pride, identify development, enhancement of self-esteem, acquisition of resources, support, excitement, and related typical

adolescent goals. Such goals reflect normal and healthy adolescent aspirations.[123] Gangs also can meet many needs such as safety and belonging, power and independence, and loyalty to a group of friends.[124] Our goal as Goldstein suggests is to create a prosocial gang.

The peer deviancy training label obscures the fact that the needs for connection to positive adults have been disrupted. Thus, the most destructive programs are those which disrupt bonds of respect between youth and adults. A zero-tolerance school is iatrogenic if adults view difficult youth as disposable deviants.[125] Punitive treatment or justice programs that spawn negative staff and youth cultures are also iatrogenic. In contrast, quality alternative settings that bring together youth at risk create cultures of belonging with once marginalized youth.

Chapter Three
Action Research

There is nothing as practical as a good theory.[126]

—Kurt Lewin's Maxim

Kurt Lewin (1890-1947) emigrated from Nazi Germany to the United States with a passion to create social change. His brief life was like the arc of a comet lighting the way for generations of researchers who would follow, using science to transform society. In his words: "Research that produces nothing but books will not suffice."[127]

Deeply committed to democratic values, Lewin pioneered *action research* to seek practical solutions to societal problems. This included ground-breaking studies of group dynamics, democratic schools, and racial relations. Lewin lived for only 56 years, but his coworkers changed the world of children. They influenced the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision on school segregation and helped establish the Head Start program. Martin Gold, director of the Michigan Peer Influence Project, edited Lewin's most important works.[128]

Lewin's simple model of action research is illustrated below. Investigators reflect on a problem, plan an intervention, act to implement the change, and observe outcomes. One can learn as much from programs which fail as those that succeed. This chapter highlights action research about peer group interventions.
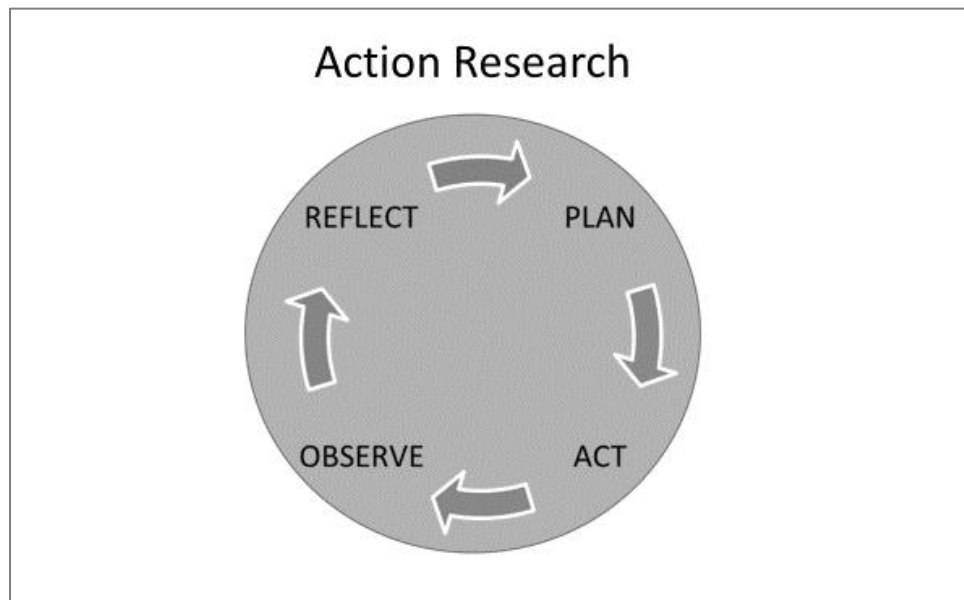
Peer Group Research

Programs don't change kids—relationships do.[129]
—Bill Milliken

Without respectful relationships, schools and youth programs revert to coercion and abuse. Howard Polsky documented the pecking order where powerful delinquent leaders dominate those weaker. There is a long tradition of staff using these bullies as enforcers to keep their comrades in line. In his 1950 book, *Our Rejected Children*, Albert Deutsch describes the peer culture at a large State Training School in Boonville, Missouri.

> A so-called "self-government" system among the inmates was actually a hierarchy of the bullies and the bullied. The stronger, older and more unscrupulous inmates formed themselves into "leader" cliques and called themselves the "Dukes." At the other end of the scale in the inmate "companies" were the weaker boys, known as the "Sanks" short for sanctified. The Sanks were under the virtually totalitarian control of the Dukes.[130]

This same toxic culture pervaded the Boonville State Training School decades later when Missouri authorities decided to adopt Positive Peer Culture. The senior author accompanied Vorrath to Boonville to launch this transformation. The most disturbed and disturbing youth were caged in a long row of cells, and the primarily White rural staff had a tense relationship with the 200 mostly Black youth from the distant cities of St. Louis and Kansas City.

Vorrath formed the first PPC group with youth who had the reputation of being the toughest in the institution. Once they became engaged in helping, others soon followed, and change was dramatic. But when the PPC consultants departed, changes could not be sustained, and the climate again became abusive. State officials then took the progressive step of closing Boonville and other large delinquency institutions. Small community-based programs were created using peer-helping groups and small staff teams to build positive peer cultures. This *Missouri Model* became an exemplar of juvenile justice reform.[131]

Howard Polsky's 1962 book *Cottage Six* sparked decades of research on group programs using peers as agents of change. The first generation of research on early GGI programs showed these were more effective in immediate behavior management than in long-term change. Subsequent relationship-based research established PPC as an evidence-based practice.[132]

Since the labels Guided Group Interaction (GGI) and Positive Peer Culture (PPC) are used interchangeably in some research studies, interpretation of findings is confusing. Thus, the reader must look beyond the nominal label and determine whether this is a peer pressure or peer helping program. The founders of Highfields described GGI as a climate of respect

"dominated by intimate fact-to-face relationships."[133] But as GGI programs spread to other settings, groups were used for behavior modification by *peer pressure*. In contrast, *peer helping* is foremost in PPC groups which do not have the power to punish or exclude.[134]

In 1987, Gary Gottfredson of Johns Hopkins University reviewed early studies of Guided Group Interaction and other peer treatment programs.[135] The timing of this publication precluded citing the research on PPC published in the second edition of *Positive Peer Culture*.[136] Still, Gottfredson gave important clues as to what can go wrong in group programs.

The Provo Experiment. This was a GGI program in the community with daily group meetings, education, and vocational experiences.[137] The group required disclosure of each member's delinquent history. If students lacked candor, their recalcitrance was met with ridicule or attack. Students were threatened that if they did not make progress, they would be sent to the state reformatory. Peers imposed sanctions ranging from derision, weekend detention, and even exclusion from the group—none of which would be permitted in PPC. Staff wielded power by keeping youth in the dark about their decisions, a classic authoritarian ploy.

The Collegefields Experiment. This community based GGI program served boys 14 and 15 years of age.[138] Students spent 10 hours daily, including GGI meetings and schoolwork at a nearby college. In a cult-like manner, groups demanded submission, repentance, confession, and forgiveness. Those withholding information about transgressions might be badgered, humiliated, and made to kneel and confess the infractions. The program also sentenced a youth to "time" alone in penitence, thinking about his transgression.

School-based Peer Group Models. Gary Gottfredson also reviewed research on Guided Group Interaction in school settings and found few benefits and some risks. For example, if discussion focused on home problems, this might stir parental conflict. However, there was some indication that these programs in Chicago schools enhanced school safety, lowered negative peer influence, and fostered schoolwide support of prosocial norms.

Delinquency Prevention in Schools. Denise Gottfredson reviewed research showing that most prevention programs lack strong evidence of their effectiveness.[139] This may be a limitation of programs or of the research, e.g., lack of randomized comparison groups. It is extremely expensive to do quality *outcome* studies. Thus, she suggests organizations select a program shown to work in prior evaluations and then study the *process* of implementation to see these are being operated properly. Chapter Ten discusses implementation of Positive Peer Culture.

Even programs with a solid evidence base can fail in a real-world application. Denise Gottfredson provides these guidelines to increase the likelihood of program success:[140]

> **Meet a Need**. Staff must believe reforms will solve a problem they are facing.
> **Avoid Complexity**. Successful innovations are practical, explicit, and not confusing.
> **Adequate Training**. Staff development has most impact after 22 hours of involvement.
> **Participation**. Involvement in planning for change affects the quality of implementation.

Peer Groups in Schools. Certainly, the confrontive peer counselling groups used in some treatment and correctional settings are alien to the culture of schools. But when the focus is on peer helping, group programs can provide positive behavioral support to individual students and perhaps impact the school culture.[141] To adapt peer-helping to the school schedule, groups have been organized as credit-bearing youth leadership courses.[142] Alternative schools are particularly flexible in using peer-helping groups as the core of a therapeutic community.[143]

The Erosion of Guided Group Interaction

The original Highfields programs created a climate of trust, caring, and peer helping according to outside experts who evaluated this early version of GGI.[144] Research methods were not sophisticated, but the positive climate was apparent. As GGI became widespread, two contrasting types of peer groups emerged: Vorrath described these as the *Hot Seat* versus the *Helping Circle*. One is based on peer confrontation, the other peer concern.[145] The core distinction is as basic as the contrast between authoritarian and democratic groups.

Howard Polsky, who first called for programs to reverse negative group cultures, was initially impressed with the GGI program at Glen Mills School in Pennsylvania. Youth were under control *Without Locks and Bars,* to use the title of a book promoting Glen Mills.[146] Physical confinement was replaced with intense confrontation by staff and peers if students did not conform to *norms*—a euphemism for unwritten rules. Thousands of confrontations each day challenged any behavior violating the exhaustive list or norms.[147] And the ultimate norm was "the non-confronter is confronted for not confronting."[148] Forty years after his original research, Polsky castigated these authoritarian methods: "A massive, suffocating thought-police system comprised of both staff and student look-alikes has been created."[149]

Late in his career, Polsky discovered Positive Peer Culture when collaborating with Larry Brendtro in a joint conference presentation. Polsky described PPC principles as inspirational, *like a stirring sermon from a rabbi*. Authoring a personal reflection on his Jewish heritage, Polsky recounted his belated discovery of PPC.[150] He had finally realized that the key was not confrontation but a community of respect. For forty years, he had been blind to the alienation of adults from youth because of his personal alienation—abandoning his Jewish community in pursuit of success. Polsky had reclaimed a truth from his book *Cottage Six*: adults must have genuine love for their charges to show them how they should relate to one another.[151]

The Michigan Peer Influence Project[152]

PPC attempts a kind of social judo…delinquents may exert a great deal of negative influence on one another, so it attempts to turn that force against itself, to convert it to prosocial ends.[153]
—Martin Gold and D. Wayne Osgood

The Michigan Peer Influence Project is the most extensive research on group treatment with troubled youth ever undertaken. In 1992, chief investigators Martin Gold and D. Wayne Osgood published a research monograph synthesizing a decade of research generated by this study. Since these data are highly technical and related research is scattered across dozens of articles, we will translate this research into principles for effective practice.

This multiyear study was undertaken by the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan and involved youth and staff teams from state training schools in Adrian and Whitmore Lake, Michigan, and from two nonprofit Michigan group treatment programs, Boysville and Starr Commonwealth. Michigan has long been a laboratory for piloting progressive approaches to youth at risk. Harry Vorrath and Larry Brendtro developed Positive Peer Culture programs at Starr Commonwealth and produced the first PPC manual.[154]

This quasi-experimental study tracked changes in 360 focal students entering 45 separate Positive Peer Culture groups. Each group was self-contained with its own staff team so findings may be applicable to group programs in a range of treatment and alternative settings. Since research studied changes occurring in a natural setting, results are more readily generalized.

Participants ranged from early adolescence to young adulthood with most 15-16 years old. All had contact with the police, having been arrested from 1-20 times. Slightly over half of students were white. A third were not attending school before admission and 44 percent had at least one prior placement. On average, the youth self-reported about one act of delinquency every three days immediately prior to placement.

In this natural field experiment, researchers tracked scores of variables about staff teams, youth characteristics, group climates, family status, and treatment outcomes. Although all programs were nominally PPC, natural differences were identified and related to student adjustment during treatment and after return to the community. A key finding was that youth overwhelmingly saw their groups as safe, providing the foundation for a positive peer culture.

Youth Mirror Staff

While it might be assumed that a group must have primarily positive members to effect positive change, this was not supported by research. Since groups were constantly changing membership, one could usually find support for both positive and negative values among peers. One of the most significant findings of this research is that the quality of staff teams strongly predicts outcomes with students.

A variety of measures about staff teams cluster together into generally positive or negative feelings about the program and job. Thus, a single index of staff morale was formed based on four subscales: team cohesion, team involvement, belief in program success, and pessimism vs. optimism about reform. This measure of staff morale was highly correlated with student ties to staff (.72), group cohesiveness (.62), program acceptance (.60), and low levels of delinquent values (.44). Students with high-morale staff teams also graduated from the program sooner.

Both staff and students reported that teams which encouraged youth *autonomy* had groups with better behavior. Autonomy was so highly correlated to the measure of staff morale (r =.89) that the two concepts cannot be separated. As summarized below, Positive Staff Morale is mirrored by similar qualities in Positive Group Climates.

Positive Staff Morale	Positive Group Climate
Team cohesion	Group cohesion
Team involvement	Participation in program
Belief in program success	Satisfaction with program
Belief on potential for reform	Lower delinquent values

Correlation is not causation so it is possible staff teams gave more autonomy to better-behaved youth. However, the cause-effect relationship ran in reverse: positive staff teams produced positive youth groups. Staff were stable with most having worked in these roles for several years. In contrast, there was constant turnover among youth. In sum, staff affected the students and the group more than the youth affected their staff team's practices.

Researchers followed youth from admission until six months after leaving the program. They were able to identify key factors predicting positive adjustment in the community. This short list suggests very tangible goals for fostering positive outcomes:

- Positive attachment to staff and peers
- Long-term relationship with a caring adult
- Increased interest and achievement in school
- Decreased delinquent values
- Decreased besetment (anxiety, depression)

Success in the community depends less on the nature of the neighborhood than the immediate micro-ecology of family, friends, school, job, church, and so forth. While many assume peers have more influence than adults, this study showed powerful effects when youth had close bonds with a caregiver. This usually was a female since over half of the youth could

not name a male adult who had been involved in their life in the last two years. Positive relationships to caregivers led to enhanced well-being, emotional adjustment, interest in school, and prosocial behavior. The more students sought adult approval, the less susceptible they were to negative peer influence.

There has long been debates about discipline—whether staff should focus on meeting emotional needs or demanding behavior accountability. The Michigan study showed that successful staff blend these presumably contradictory philosophies—maintaining order and discipline while meeting the students' emotional needs. They operate as a cohesive team and all staff participate in decisions. Staff believe that the program will be successful and are upbeat about the challenge of reforming difficult kids.

The Power of Schools

Gold and Osgood were particularly impressed with the strong, independent effect of improved scholastic skills regardless of other problems. Even if youth are from high-risk backgrounds, reconnecting them to school is a strong predictor of less delinquency. When success is structured, even those with disastrous school histories develop interest in school. Surprisingly, greater scholastic gain was a better predictor of outcome than staff ratings.

Students with emotional and behavioral problems are notorious for their poor attendance and behavior. When they have some success at school, misbehavior subsides. Two specific qualities characterize school programs that can rekindle learning with troubled students.[155]

> ***Students are prevented from failing.*** Initially this may require individualizing the curriculum, with each student presented tasks appropriate to his or her skill level. The curriculum is not dictated by age and grade, as typical of most schools. Assessing performance against a normal curve is replaced with continual encouragement and feedback about progress students are making week-to-week and month-to-month.

> ***Teachers give students uncommonly warm emotional support.*** School failure threatens self-worth, and many youth turn to delinquency to shore up their self-image, performing for other alienated peers. Defiance to adults in authority, especially teachers whose evaluations are denigrating, characterizes the delinquent performance. Effective teachers are those who can break this cycle of conflict and hostility.

At successive levels of education, schools are less likely to employ these two strategies. Nevertheless, there are encouraging models both in regular and alternative education that follow these research-based principles.

Gold and Osgood concluded that their study confirmed the viability of the peer helping premise. Contrary to the peer deviancy training hypothesis, successful group treatment

33

programs enlist youth as partners in the helping process. Powerful group norms develop where hurting is unacceptable and prosocial values are encouraged. PPC protects youth from being retraumatized by systematically denying the opportunity for negative group processes to operate underground without visibility.

Beset and Buoyant Youth

Michigan researchers identified personality traits that call for differential treatment. The power of adult relationships was most critical with *beset* youth whose problems were related to trauma and emotional dysregulation. This is in contrast with *buoyant* delinquents who are more troublesome than they are troubled. Their underlying problem is not so much emotional disturbance as commitment to *antisocial values*.

Children who were beset were likely to experience anxiety and depression. They related less well with peers and needed positive relationships with adults, not just group treatment. They experienced more time in out-of-home care and had patterns of thinking errors. They viewed the world through a dark lens and were likely to blame others for their problems. All youth benefit from positive adult relationships, but such bonds are critical for beset youth. It is even more difficult to change besetment than delinquent values.

Research indicates that beset students are at greater risk for failure in group settings.[156] This is particularly true if peer and staff relationships are compromised. Children who have experienced relational trauma need to be able to establish trusting corrective relationships. This requires both trauma-informed staff and peers who provide safety and support, even in the face of challenging behavior. Unfortunately, programs for young persons who have experienced serious abuse sometimes retraumatize these individuals.

Meeting Developmental Needs

Positive Peer Culture is linked closely to Positive Youth Development. We summarize findings of the Michigan study relative to these basic needs:

Attachment. All students benefitted from positive bonds with peers and staff. The more troubled or *beset* youth needed close personal relationships to reconstruct their lives. These attachments came from staff, supportive peers, and ideally the family. Staff who did not form close bonds diminished their ability to influence youth. Young people who liked their staff and peers engaged in more prosocial behavior in the program and the community.

Achievement. Youth with emotional and behavioral problems often have had terrible school experiences. Research shows that much delinquent behavior is provoked by scholastic failure and conflicts in school. Teachers in successful schools give students at risk uncommonly warm emotional support and prevent them from failing. Youth who become interested in school make significant achievement gains and have better subsequent adjustment to the community. Despite other problems, school success is a pathway to positive life outcomes.

Autonomy. The Michigan study gave strong support to the importance of a sense of shared responsibility for decisions affecting young lives. When teams gave students a sense of autonomy, adults were more closely bonded to youth, creating positive group cultures. In contrast, adult-domination and coercive control feeds negative peer subcultures that sabotage educational and treatment progress.

Altruism. The principle of caring became the core value in peer helping groups. Each student's behavior is assessed against the standard of whether it displays concern about the well-being and improvement of other group members. This ethos is in direct contradiction to the climate of harassment found in traditional correctional settings as well as many schools.

Martin Gold was the first to caution skepticism about peer group programs.[157] Thus, the conclusions from his research are particularly significant:

> The essential question was whether or not programs of this sort were indeed able to establish positive youth cultures. The research evidence is very encouraging. Youth were uniformly found to view their living environments as safe. Moreover, stronger youth groups, with greater perceived autonomy in their settings, were generally regarded by youth and staff as more positive and prosocial, and focal students had greater attraction to the more prosocial groups. To practitioners, this set of findings was an important validation because it meant that the conditions, at least, for effective group treatment were present.[158]

Related PPC Research

In the final analysis, only people with great belief in the dignity and potential
of young people will be comfortable or successful with peer culture models.[159]
—William Wasmund

William Wasmund was a psychologist and PPC researcher who worked with Harry Vorrath at Woodland Hills, a Minnesota treatment center. He was the first to study the efficacy of PPC and found it had positive effects on prosocial values, internal locus of control, and self-esteem.[160] Early PPC programs made building self-esteem the primary goal of intervention. Wasmund's subsequent research showed self-esteem was not the proper target for change.[161] Positive gains from peer helping do not come from self-concept *per se*. Those who developed social competence and positive values experienced improved feelings of self-worth as a byproduct.

Adopting a delinquent identity can raise self-esteem in youth who fail in school.[162] Bullies and youth who join gangs feel empowered and raise their self-esteem. Other examples of how

self-esteem can be *maladaptive* comes from the study, *Acting Out,* published by the American Psychological Association.[163] *Mad and bad* behaviors become strategies to enhance self-esteem:

> ***Advertising toughness*** to build a reputation admired by peers.
> ***Gladiating*** to developing combat skills for dealing with conflicts.
> ***Provoking*** others with hostility to pre-empt anticipated rejection.
> ***Countering affronts*** by reacting violently when feeling offended.
> ***Standing fast*** since admitting mistakes is seen as weakness.

While high self-esteem is not always healthy, low self-esteem is a sign of unmet needs. Coopersmith's classic 1967 research found that self-esteem comes from meeting core growth needs for significance, competence, power, and virtue.

Wasmund evaluated social climates of two peer group and two nonpeer group residential treatment agencies.[164] Students from peer group programs reported greater satisfaction, support, and freedom to express their feelings. They also were motivated to solve personal problems. In non-peer group programs, adults focus on managing behavior and believe they are creating an orderly environment; but youth in these settings perceive chaos and disorganization.

A common practice is to segregate aggressive and seriously troubled youth in settings that do not address their developmental need. For example, many presume that juvenile sexual offenders do not have the capacity to benefit from strength-based approaches and need highly restrictive interventions. Yet most *sexually reactive* youth were themselves abused and desperately need restorative interventions. Research shows PPC programs with these youth can be highly effective by building positive connections to adults and peers, and breaking patterns of offending.[165] Recidivism is low and entails property crimes rather than sexual reoffending.[166]

School violence also sparks reactionary policies which only deepen distrust between students and school staff. Punitive zero tolerance practices are counter-productive and a positive school climate is a shield against school violence. Here are key recommendations about school climate from a comprehensive study of violent incidents in American schools:

> ***Respect***. In safe schools, adults and students honor each other.
> ***Connection***. Every student has an adult who be there for him or her.
> ***Problem Solving***. Restorative discipline replaces fear and reprisal.
> ***Code of Openness***. Students share serious concerns with adults.
> ***Peer Support***. Students help friends and peers who are in distress.

This research was conducted by the U.S. Department of Education in collaboration with the nation's premier law enforcement agency, the U.S. Secret Service.[167] This is a straightforward description of principles for building positive staff and youth cultures.

Developing Peer Helping Skills

Contrary to the bad-apple paradigm, with skilled adult guidance, youth are in fact youth are in fact able to generate prosocial values and group norms. This strategy requires viewing youth as resources adversaries to be outmaneuvered.[168]
—Larry Brendtro and Mary Shahbazian

The antidote to *peer deviance training* is at hand: *peer helping training*. The motivation to help others is embedded in the human genome; caring experiences strengthen this natural capacity. PPC programs have used two different methods to train youth as peer helpers: *Experiential learning* uses naturally occurring events and problems to teach peer helping. *Direct instruction* provides formal training in skills assumed to be related to peer helping.

Experiential learning is the primary approach for developing peer helping skills in PPC. Throughout human history, cultures of respect used natural helping processes. These include three universal brain-based problem-solving processes: connecting for support, clarifying challenges, and restoring harmony and respect.[169] Adults model these skills which youth then employ in helping peers. Further, the major purpose of the summary at the end of each PPC group meeting is critical reflection on the peer helping experience.

Direct instruction in peer helping skills was proposed by John Gibbs from The Ohio State University.[170] Gibbs believed negative peer groups were due to deficits in helping skills and developed a curriculum called *The EQUIP Program* to *equip* youth with as peer helpers. While it was plausible that this formal training of youth would have added benefit, we co-authored a series of articles described how EQUIP could be used in PPC.[171] This direct instruction included *social skills, clear thinking, anger management,* and *moral development*. Chapter Ten discusses implementation challenges posed by the added complexity of EQUIP.

Whether by experiential learning or direct instruction, peer helping skills align with Circle of Courage needs for Belonging (social skills), Mastery (clear thinking), Independence (self-regulation), and Generosity (moral development). Related research is summarized below:

Social skills are essential to meeting needs for belonging. Early enthusiasm about the impact of social skill instruction has been tempered by the failure of formal lessons to generalize to the natural setting.[172] Emerging evidence indicates that social skills primarily develop in natural interpersonal relationships rather than through instruction.[173] A possible exception would be students on the autism spectrum who do not naturally acquire social competence. Even with this population, a meta-analysis shows social skill instruction to be minimally effective.[174] While individual youth may benefit from targeted training, prosocial skills are best acquired through relationships in the natural life space.[175]

Clear thinking is the foundation of problem-solving, mastery, and achievement. From the inception of PPC, groups learned to identify distorted thinking which fuels problem behavior.

Gibbs organized the most common *thinking error*s into the BAMMS list, an acronym for Blaming, Assuming the Worst, Minimizing, Mislabeling, and Self-centered Thinking.[176] BAMMS has proven to be a useful cognitive tool for students in PPC groups, so both staff and youth learn this simple vocabulary for identifying thinking errors.[177]

Anger management entails emotional regulation, a basis of responsible independence. Anger management training has been widely used to address emotional and behavioral problems. While evidence suggests such training can have modest effects, once again children primarily learn self-regulation through caring relationships.[178] This is particularly true of dysregulated behavior by traumatized youngsters.[179] In PPC, staff and peers learn to provide relational support with a calming manner rather than fueling conflict cycles.

Moral development is based on empathy and generosity, the centerpiece of Positive Peer Culture.[180] The EQUIP program used discussions of hypothetical moral dilemmas of youth in conflict to foster higher levels of cognitive moral development. While such activities may be interesting to students, working on real problems with persons you care about creates deeper learning than hypothetical moral discussions. As Nel Noddings observed, "To develop as caring persons, young people must have supervised practice in caring."[181]

Outcome Studies

Positive Peer Culture sets a goal of transforming the culture and climate
of the school so that youth and adults work together in a respectful alliance.[182]
—Erik Laursen

A half-century of research on peer group programs has yielded extensive knowledge about what approaches lead to positive outcomes. Brendtro and Caslor reviewed this research to identify elements that separated quality programs from those that are ineffective or even harmful. This is a challenge since group programs may show short-term benefits in behavior management but not have long-term effects. Supportive relationships have a strong effect on outcomes during life transitions. There is a need for longitudinal studies showing lasting impact; in juvenile justice, this entails recidivism research such as the following two studies.

The Ohio Research. An experimental study of recidivism in a PPC program using EQUIP peer helper training was conducted in an Ohio youth corrections facility.[183] Students were randomly assigned to experimental PPC groups or to control groups in the regular corrections program. Based on staff and youth reports, experimental groups were easier to manage and had greater school participation. In measuring recidivism, there was a sleeper effect as long-term positive impact was not evident until 12 months after release from the program. While recidivism rates

for the experimental group participants remained low and stable (15 percent at 12 months), rates for controls increased to over 40 percent at 12 months.

The Manitoba Research. Another study of recidivism was conducted in a well-established PPC youth corrections program in Canada.[184] Students in PPC were compared with youth in other corrections facilities in that province. Since populations were not randomized, participants were matched on a dozen variables. As with the EQUIP study, differences in recidivism were not immediately apparent in the first year. However, PPC youth had significantly lower re-charge and re-incarceration rate at virtually every 3-month interval than the comparison group over 24-month follow-up period. They had significantly fewer charges, convictions, incarcerations, and time incarcerated than the comparison group.

The sleeper effect found in both recidivism studies suggest that, with maturity, youth in PPC learn to draw on strengths and supports to overcome problems and achieve positive outcomes. PPC is a multicomponent program but this research did not show which elements led to change. German PPC researcher Christoph Steinebach contends that peer helping is the primary variable in developing resilience and self-efficacy.[185] Further, the quality of experiences following treatment are highly significant in determining long-term outcomes.[186]

Research on the first decade of PPC programs was reviewed in the second edition of *Positive Peer Culture*.[187] Many PPC outcome studies were in residential settings serving troubled children and youth. Far from being a limitation, this attests to its relevance in community settings which often fail with this population.[188] Changes were documented in three domains:

> *Behavioral*. A wide range of studies found youth in peer helping programs have lower rates of conduct problems and crisis behavior. Paradoxically, studies comparing PPC with behavior modification programs show better behavior with peer groups, both within the program and at follow-up.
> *Affective*. Beyond overt behavior, PPC aims to transform attitudes and values. Numerous studies show significant changes in self-esteem, now seen as a byproduct of meeting developmental needs. Research on several thousand youth show increases in self-worth, internal locus of control, and prosocial values. A robust measure of success was productivity, meaning youth were engaged in school or the workplace.
> *Academic*. Youth at risk typically have achievement levels well below norms. Such students have made only one-half to three-quarters of a year gain per year in prior schooling. Students in PPC at Starr Commonwealth PPC had 1.5 to 2 years average gain per year in the program.[189] Using a similar statistic, researchers at Elk Hill in Virginia reported 2.5 months of academic gain for each month in the PPC program.[190]

Strength-based programs challenge traditional approaches based on deficit and disorder. Robert Foltz has extensively researched the overuse of medication to manage troubled and

traumatized youth. He calls for human connections instead of chemical controls. We close this chapter with excerpts from an interview with Foltz published in *Psychology Today*.[191]

Beyond the Medical Model

We must re-establish the importance of relationships in care and incorporate ecological interventions and skill development into our treatment strategies.[192]
—Robert Foltz

The Adolescent Subjective Experience Treatment (ASET) study was an effort to understand what works – and what does not – for adolescents placed in residential care.[193] Eighty-seven youth were interviewed in seven different treatment centers and discussed medications, therapy, milieu approaches, trauma, and resiliency. One strong finding was that youth who are extraordinarily trauma-exposed commonly received diagnoses that did not acknowledge the traumatic experiences or their impact.

Receiving medications to subdue dysregulated behaviors will have temporary gains. Until the trauma is addressed, these youth will be slow to recover. Findings also included positive impressions of psychotherapy. Approximately two-thirds of youth reported positive beliefs about the power of therapy to help them, but only about a quarter of youth felt the same way about medications. Approximately half of youth had negative impressions of being medicated.

Relying on our typical 'medical model' of diagnosing and treatment is largely inadequate. The most powerful healing element is a safe, trusting, relational environment. Overemphasis on medications is an unfortunate distraction in the well-intentioned effort to control behavior. It reduces the intervention to *containment* rather than *treatment* of a condition. Many youth are on combinations of medications that do not have an evidence-base. Our current model of diagnosing and overemphasis on psychiatric medication has failed our most challenging youth. No doubt, some young people benefit from medication treatments, but as an organized, reliable, scientific strategy, we have a long way to go.

As a psychologist, I find my field has been infused with "evidence-based treatments." Yet in the use of medications, these standards are not utilized with fidelity. Moreover, diagnosis will change over time, yet our current model assumes that these conditions are persistent, if not life-long. The National Institute of Mental Health has determined the *DSM* model is insufficient. It is also important to listen to the person in pain.

Chapter Four
Trust: Restoring Belonging

Consider these children to have fallen among thieves, the thieves of ignorance
and sin and ill fate and loss. Their birthrights were stolen. They have no belongings.[194]
—Karl Menninger

Belonging is the centerpiece of traditional cultures which have endured for thousands of years. *Mitakuye Oyasin* is a Lakota term which conveys the belief shared by Native peoples of North America that humans and all of nature are related.[195] In Maori culture, *Whanaungatanga* is the deeply ingrained concept that expresses the desire to unite individuals with one another. In South African, *Ubuntu* describes the universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity.

Safety and belonging are closely intertwined since humans cannot survive without social support. Our brains are designed to scan social encounters for signs of threat. If we feel safe, we trust and socially engage. If a person seems to pose a threat, we are primed to fight or flee. A secure sense of belonging provides the confidence to transform a frightened, unsure person into a connected, caring individual.

Bruce Perry notes that the most destructive aspect of relational trauma is shattering human connections. Children harmed by those who are supposed to love them are robbed of a sanctuary for safety. Thus, healing from trauma involves restoring human relationships.[196] Martin Brokenleg observes that families, schools, and youth organizations are being challenged to form "new tribes" for all young people so there will be *no* "psychological orphans."[197]

Broken Belongings

Social rejection–being ignored or excluded–is a painful event and our brains have evolved to detect the slightest cues of ostracism. There are three stages in coping with rejection:[198]

> *Reflexive* reactions involve pain and distress from disruption of the need for belonging.
> *Reflective* responses seek to find ways to repair the rupture in relationships.
> *Resignation* responses result from long term, repeated ostracism. Attempts to gain acceptance seem futile and persons are at risk for self-harm or striking out in violence.

Social exclusion not only impacts belonging but other needs as well, interfering with learning, self-regulation, and sense of worth. Exclusion activates the brain's pain circuits, heightens stress, and creates health problems.

The dark side of our inborn need to belong is our tendency to reject those who have problems building relationships or fitting in to a group. PPC directly counters this tendency toward ostracization of the socially unskilled by building empathy and befriending peers who show pain-based behavior.

Jaana Juvonen has shown that young people cope with peer rejection in two main ways, aggression and social withdrawal.[199] About half of rejected children are aggressive and up to 30 percent show withdrawal. Ironically, *aggressive-rejected* persons do not report emotional distress since they blame others to block out evidence of their exclusion. Thus, distorted thinking can counter negative social feedback, and the rejected person may have an inflated self-image. However, they show little concern for others and are at risk for continuing problems. Correcting thinking errors and building empathy become goals of peer helping.

In contrast, *withdrawn-rejected* youth experience severe emotional distress. They protect themselves from the pain of rejection by avoiding relationships which is not an effective coping mechanism. Their thinking involves self-blame, a sense of powerlessness, and low self-worth. These youth benefit from corrective trusting relationships with both adults and peers.

> *When I first came, I didn't want to talk to anyone. But that just made them want to talk with me more. Before, when I didn't want to talk to counselors, they acted like it was my fault. Here, people could tell I was having feelings but just bottled them up. They showed a lot of respect and love toward me. When I realized I could trust and share, it felt like my shoulders were uplifted.*

Children have a natural inclination to comply with the wishes of their attachment figures. They also show generosity to adults who meet their needs as described by Scottish psychiatrist Ian Suttie in *The Origins of Love and Hate.*[200] But this natural spirit of kindness is lost if adults abuse children. English psychologist Denis Stott conducted intensive interviews with delinquent boys and found that over half had experienced the threat of abandonment.[201] The loss of love is a devastating experience for children who show a continuum of coping strategies: [202]

The Attachment Continuum

Securely Attached	Recruits Affection	Rages at Rejection	Avoids Attachment
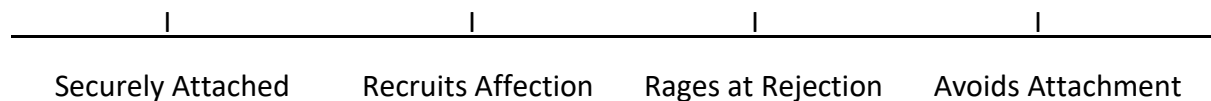
Early studies of "children who hate" described rage as a predictable reaction to loss of love—not a mental disorder.[203] Fritz Redl noted that if you pour poison down a person's throat, vomiting is not a symptom of illness but a healthy defense against harm.[204] Rejection is a profound trauma, and Bowlby describes two types of anger triggered by this loss of love: [205]

The anger of despair reflects the belief "I deserve rejection." Such youngsters experience deep shame and worthlessness and feel powerless to gain love. Their anger shifts between fantasies of revenge against the rejecting adult and obsession about self-punishment.

The anger of hope is seen in the belief "It's not fair; I don't deserve rejection." Drawing on memories of positive attachment, these youngsters believe they deserve better. Indignant at their treatment, they direct their anger at others rather than blaming self. Many seek substitute belongings with peers.

Early attachment experiences can have enduring effects that persist into adulthood and influence the next generation through parenting. But this is not inevitable since humans are highly resilient; problematic early relationships can be offset by later positive experience.[206]

Mary Wood described the evolving role of caregivers from infancy through adolescence. As children gain maturity, new styles of parenting and teaching relationships are required to meet their developmental needs as summarized below: [207]

Changing Adult Roles as Children Mature

Developmental Stage	What is important?	What is the adult's role?
Infant and Toddler	meeting needs bonding with caregiver	Ensuring safety Nurturing attachment
Preschool	pleasing adults learning cooperation	Providing approval Teaching standards
Elementary	regulating self showing kindness	Guiding behavior Teaching values
Middle School	taking responsibility connecting with peers	Being a role model Monitoring relationships
High School	respecting others making good decisions	Mentoring, advocating Supporting autonomy

Parents who do not adjust to their child's increasing autonomy create another kind of developmental risk. While young people need limits, intrusive parenting which seeks total psychological control of the child stymies developmental growth.[208] Both overly protective and overly domineering parenting impair confidence and coping skills. Summarizing decades of research, Werner and Smith concluded that resilient youngsters "all had at least one person in their lives who accepted them unconditionally, regardless of temperamental idiosyncrasies, physical attractiveness, or intelligence."[209]

Trust-Building Strategies

Trust is the glue that holds teaching and learning together.[210]
—Nicholas Hobbs

To profit from a group experience, each member must feel genuine acceptance.[211] Carl Rogers called this guaranteed belonging as *unconditional positive regard*.[212] In such groups, youth watch out for a member who does not feel accepted. Likewise, they recognize that a someone rejecting a group does not feel he or she belongs. Youth are encouraged to reach out to those who are not naturally popular or who act in ways that lead most others to reject them.

Youth with broken belongings engage in pain-based behavior that keeps people at bay. Students in Positive Peer Culture groups learn to build trust with relationship-wary peers instead of getting locked into confrontation and conflict cycles. A young person explains:

> *You might think that people don't want your help or don't need you, like they are just cruel or coldhearted. It's just that they are trying to hide their feelings. You don't want to give up on people no matter who they are.*

The table below contrasts Positive Peer Culture with Confrontation Groups.[213]

Positive Peer Culture Trust and Openness	**Confrontation Groups** Invasion and Exposure
1. I am afraid of showing myself to the group.	1. I am afraid of showing myself to the group.
2. The group tells me in time I will feel free with them. They tell me about themselves.	2. The group tells me that I must be totally honest with them. They try to find out about me.
3. I feel safe as the group shows they will not hurt me or take advantage of me.	3. I feel uneasy because they are trying to get me to tell them things I don't want to divulge.
4. The others are bringing out their problems so maybe I should face my problems too.	4. The others say I am being phony, but I can't see any reason I should tell them anything.
5. My defenses do not seem necessary, so I let down my guard.	5. My defenses are not strong enough so they break down my guard.
6. I open up to the group.	6. I am exposed to the group.
7. I feel better after opening up. I don't believe they would use anything against me.	7. I don't how I feel after being exposed. I am concerned they might use something against me.
8. When new members join the group, I will help them feel safe and accepted.	8. When new members join, I will know they are being phony and confront them.

Parents versus Peers

In 1909, Charles Cooley of the University of Michigan described *primary groups* as involving intimate face-to-face interaction with a spirit of *we*. The most influential primary group is the family, but the power of peers becomes stronger as youth mature:

> Children, especially boys after about their twelfth year in life, live in fellowships in which their sympathy, ambition and honor are engaged even more, often than they are in the family.[214]

Today, many young people have closer connections to peers than to their families. Early advocates of PPC who presumed adults lacked influence with teens largely ignored parents. We now recognize that attraction to negative peers is often the result of broken bonds with adults. Even if families are disrupted, a strong emotional attachment with at least one parent or other caring adult can have potent life effects. Among children removed from families to foster care, the best predictor of success is continuing contact with parents.[215]

Canadian researchers Gordon Newfield and Gabor Maté authored the widely acclaimed book *Hold on to Your Kids: Why Parents Need to Matter More than Peers.*[216] They contend that children and teens naturally seek direction from adults in forming their values, identity, and codes of behavior. But the *peer orientation* in modern society undermines family cohesion, impairs healthy development, and fosters a hostile and sexualized youth culture. Children become beholden to peers. Being *cool* matters more to them than anything else. Secondary schools also contribute to peer orientation by assigning large numbers of students to teachers which lessens the likelihood that educators will become mentors to their students.

Neufeld and Maté seek to empower parents to be what nature intended: a place of security, warmth, and guidance for the young. Excessive peer loyalty is a sign of the lack of parental power. "The power we have lost is the power to command our children's attention, to solicit their good intentions, to evoke their deference, and secure their cooperation."[217] This is their four-point plan for parents and adult mentors to reconnect with children and youth:

● First, we must get in the child's space in a friendly way. Those not in the child's life, we have little influence. We look for opportunities for friendly and fun engagement.
● Second, we give evidence of our warmth, including physical expressions if appropriate. We *touch* a young child as we "express our delight in his very being."[218]
● Third, paradoxically, close relationships with parents foster real independence. Premature autonomy leaves youth adrift without adult support and influence.
● Fourth, we continue to act as their compass and guide. While not controlling, we are the anchor, even as they become young adults.

Hold on to Your Kids is a corrective to the bias that peers matter more than parents, or that teens have little use for adult mentors. Staff in effective peer group programs do not disengage from relationships with young people. Particularly for children who have experienced relationship trauma, positive adult bonds strengthen positive peer cultures.

Performing for Peers

Youth who have not experienced secure relational bonds often learn to project toughness for protection or to gain acceptance. They expect attack or rejection and show what Dodge called *a hostile attribution bias*.[219] Since being positive might suggest weakness, they put on a front of delinquent prowess. They act tough and telegraph a readiness to join in delinquent activities—which they assume their peers endorse. A goal of peer-helping groups is to help such youth let down their guard and show their hidden positive qualities.

Until they trust the group, youth may feel compelled to maintain this toughness front. For example, one youth exclaimed "oh shoot" in front of peers and then quickly corrected himself to "oh shit." Positive Peer Culture cuts through this process by making caring mature and fashionable while delinquency is cast as immature and uncool. When group norms endorse prosocial behavior and values, members are free to abandon a negative identity.

Early research on peer group influence by Sherif and Sherif showed that the great majority of adolescent crime occurs with companions.[220] This ability to bond with delinquent peers usually rules out personal pathology. Being a responsible, reliable member of a group, who can be counted on even in secret or dangerous activities, is simply not possible if one is severely disturbed. In contrast, solo offenders are more likely to be *beset*—emotionally troubled.[221]

Peer group bonds are inherently prosocial—even if group behavior is not. So-called *antisocial* groups meet needs for belonging. Cliques and gangs are often better able to fulfill needs than schools or treatment programs. Thus, youth at risk seek out others with the same plight and "gravitate towards one another to pour out their hearts, to find comfort and support in one another's company."[222] This also describes the power of strong peer-helping groups where youth learn to trust.

From Rancor to Respect

Both adults and peers find it difficult to treat youth who disrespect or disparage others with respect. Thus, peer helping can mutate into peer hostility. Warning signs of this slippery slope are conveyed in both verbal or nonverbal messages. French psychologist Paul Diehl said the first step for restoring harmony in relationships is to remove any of *rancor* from interactions.[223] Rancor is an emotionally charged tone of malice and bitterness—prime symptoms of discord in any disrupted relationship.

Most groups have *problem members* who act in ways that try the patience of peers. They may refuse to talk or dominate discussion. They may be scrappers who seem to enjoy conflict or simply lack social skills. "There is always a reason for people to behave as they do, and, almost without exception, people want to be liked or respected by the group."[224] Thus, instead of rancor or rejection, the group learns to view such persons as having a problem and the solution is to help meet unfulfilled needs. Often, the group members did nothing to produce this peer hostility as the person is stuck on coping styles learned in other relationships.

We live in a culture of rancor which intrudes into our life through television and social media. Every hour of the day, personal animus is marketed as entertainment in reality TV, political debates, and even the nightly news. Since respect does not come naturally, all staff and young people are taught skills to restore ruptured relationships.

RANCOR	RESPECT
Hostile	Friendly
Blaming	Empathizing
Arrogant	Humble
Indifferent	Interested
Argumentative	Cooperative
Demeaning	Encouraging
Interrupting	Listening

Monitor Rancor in all Relationships. Rancor is the opposite of respect. Since all persons wish to be treated with respect, this is abundant motivation to learn the literacy of respect. An interesting and humorous way to teach these distinctions is to role play these, using either words, tone of voice, or nonverbal behaviors.

Disengage from Conflict Cycles. We spot *pain-based behavior* as a sign of a person in need. When groups retaliate to pain-based behavior, this is framed as hurting instead of helping. Both neuroscience and sacred proverbs agree: "A soft answer turns away wrath, but a harsh word stirs up anger."[225] But restraining the impulse to react in tit-for-tat fashion is a difficult task for persons conditioned to take hostility as a personal affront to their honor.

A new member will not automatically trust the group. Thus, it is the task of peers and adults to build trust with the new individual. Trust starts with a sense of safety which is not conveyed by words. Instead, we read subtle messages of acceptance, rejection, or indifference. Amazingly, the human brain has a polyvagal system for *social engagement* to judge if others are safe or threatening using cues from facial expression, eye contact, tone of voice, and bodily gestures. Instantly we make a judgement of friend or foe.

Helping Alliances

The quality of relationships is more powerful than any technique or treatment model.[226] The term *helping alliances* has emerged from fifty years of research showing that relationships are heart and soul of change.[227] This applies to teaching, counseling, and youth work. *Cohesiveness* in group work is the equivalent to the therapeutic relationship in individual therapy.[228] Specifically, the individual trusts the group and feels included and accepted.

Bonds of belonging challenge feelings of being unlovable. This requires infusing the group culture with the norm of acceptance. This is a balancing act: the group will challenge any *behavior* that hurts self or others but ensure that the *person* is accepted. Trauma therapists have framed this as a shift in questions from a judgmental "What is wrong with you?" to a supportive "What has happened with you?" The more secure a person is within a group, the more he or she will respect the judgment of the group and engage in prosocial behavior.

Nicholas Hobbs believed groups have potentials not found in individual therapy by providing direct experience in learning new ways to relate with others.[229] For those who have had few trusting relationships, allowing others to get close is profoundly healing. And it is often easier to talk in a group as members discover, "I had that happen to me, too." The few who are mostly quiet are learning from the experience of peers. The leader should not become the hub of communication. In an effective group, all members are giving and receiving support. As Hobbs suggests, in an effective group, "members seem to learn to be better therapists."[230]

John Seita was referred to Starr Commonwealth from the juvenile court in Cleveland, Ohio. He was removed from fifteen court placements by age 12 and developed sophisticated skills to keep adults at bay. At Starr, John formed close bonds with adult mentors and peers. Today, he is a resilience researcher at Michigan State University. He provides these practical strategies which adult mentors and peer helpers can use to connect with resistant and relationship-wary youth.

1. Turn problems into learning opportunities. *I need coaching, not preaching.*

2. Provide fail-safe relationships. *I am used to people giving up on me*.

3. Show warmth and concern. *I need to know that you really care.*

4. Don't pressure youth to expose their pain. *I need to know you are safe.*

5. Model respect to the disrespectful. *I learn from you how to show respect.*

6. Treat young people as equals. *I am the best expert on me.*

7. Don't demand obedience. *I need to learn self-control.*

8. Touch in small ways. *I am studying you to see who you are.*

9. Give seeds time to grow. *I am still learning so be patient.*

10. Connect to cultural and spiritual roots. *I need to find a purpose for my life.*

Voices of Youth

Teens from Positive Peer Culture groups in Minnesota were asked about their relationships with adults. Having experienced relational trauma, they are perceptive about who they can trust.[231]

What characteristics are important for you to trust adults?

Arthur, 18: They are clear on their own beliefs.

Cassandra, 18: They are reliable. They are not scared to stand up for their own opinions.

Luther, 17: Mutual respect.

Ella, 15: The way they carry themselves, their state of mind.

Jo, 18: They are understanding towards youth.

Tessa, 17: Honesty, empathy, open-minded, humble, and straight forward.

*Marshun, 18***:** Understanding youth.

What can adults do to help build relationships with you?

*Tessa***:** They don't act like they are better than me, they listen when I talk. They tell me things that will benefit me and don't make excuses for my behavior.

Marshun: They listen to what I have to say, understand where I came from, and show respect.

*Cassandra***:** Having the same interest in things (i.e., sports, books, etc.).

*Arthur***:** Be themselves and don't pressure me to be like them.

*Joe***:** Make the kid feel wanted and listen and show respect.

*Ella***:** Be honest, show unconditional love, and don't judge.

What do adults do to place barriers in the relationship?

*Cassandra***:** They use drugs or alcohol, or they are abusive. They avoid the problem and won't talk about what happened. Or they don't realize we are hurt.

*Luther***:** They say something one minute and then something totally different the next minute.

*Arthur***:** They ask personal questions before they actually build somewhat of a relationship.

*Tessa***:** They don't confront me when I do things that are wrong. Or they talk down on the way my life was lived. They don't give me feedback.

If you are struggling or experiencing a crisis, what could an adult do to help you?

Joe: Remove me from the situation and talk to me in a calm voice.

Cassandra: Be there for me even though I don't want them to be there.

Marshun: Allow me to calm down and then I will talk.

Ella: Tell honest stories that will help the situation. Be forgiving for the things that I may have said or done.

Arthur: Be their own selves, if that self wants to help—great, if not—don't.

Tessa: Don't let me give up on myself. Support me, talk to me, sit with me.

How do you know if an adult respects you?

Marshun: If they listen to what I have to say without cutting me off.

Ella: The honesty they give you. The quality of time they spend with you. If they look you in the eyes as they talk.

Joe: They are kind and don't place judgment.

Tessa: When they listen to me actively and use eye contact. When they don't interrupt me and don't give me all the answers.

Arthur: They expect me to be my own person.

Luther: They show it in their actions.

Cassandra: By the way they act towards me.

What advice do you have for adults who want to help kids?

Luther: Just relate and tell them about yourself.

Arthur: Don't ever be fake, even if it means not being nice.

Ella: Keep doing what you are doing. Don't give up.

Marshun: It will help if adults can put themselves in the youth's shoes.

Cassandra: Be yourself. You have to give a little to help, share of yourself.

Joe: Keep an open mind and don't think things are unbelievable.

Tessa: The kids who seem like they are never going to change or are the most "un-helpable" probably have the most potential and need the most help.

Chapter Five
Talent: Resolving Problems

We only think when we have a problem, the solution of which is worthwhile to us.[232]
John Dewey

Learning from Problems

John Dewey believed that learning to solve problems was more important than acquiring knowledge. We now know that human brains are designed for problem-solving—we keep wrestling with unresolved situations even during sleep and dreams. When not facing problems, we invent them, working on puzzles, hobbies, and surfing the internet. By engaging students in problem-solving, we create what Dewey called *habitudes*—lasting long-term learning.

In many cultures, "intelligence" is not defined as academic proficiency but interpersonal prowess. Social intelligence is separate from general intelligence (IQ) as it uses different parts of the brain, such as the amygdala and regions that read emotions.[233] Daniel Goleman suggests that social intelligence is not just a sideshow in the thinking brain. Instead, general intelligence is an offshoot of social intelligence.[234] The brain's main job is to negotiate our social world.

In *How to Explain a Brain*, Robert Sylwester describes intelligence as "a person's ability to respond successfully to challenge and to learn from such experiences."[235] By this definition, intelligence is resilience. Through mastering difficult tasks, the brain builds new neural pathways—literally, new intelligence. The brain is designed to become smart, and young people in any setting will learn and thrive if their essential developmental needs are met.[236]

Fritz Redl was one of the first to turn problems into learning opportunities. Kids in conflict do not think clearly about their actions and can react impulsively. If asked, "Why were you kicked out of class," a youngster might say, "Because the teacher is a jerk." As a mentor or group helps youth understand their behavior, they learn new ways to cope with challenges.[237]

A national study found that juvenile justice staff rated the highest treatment goal: "to teach youth how to deal better with everyday problems."[238] Peer helping groups do not ask members to relive the trauma of early relationships, but to focus on the challenges faced in *here-and-now* daily relationships. Far from being superficial, resolving real-world problems is the road to lasting change.[239] While probing the past is not the goal of PPC, youth often share deeply personal experiences with a trusting group.

Staff and peers must ensure that discussions of problems do not become put-downs. Frank Wood of the University of Minnesota described how well-meaning attempts to change behavior can make a youth feel more inadequate and resistant: *therapists feel good about the help they*

have given while clients feel their defects have been certified by an expert.[240] Rod Durkin quipped, "If what we are doing to children is so good for them, why do they fight us so much?"[241] What adults see as maladaptive behavior makes perfect sense to the youth. In John Seita's words, "Why would I trust someone I don't know when my own father discarded me?"

Positive Peer Culture puts the spotlight on strengths rather than fixing flaws. Helping others can be just as therapeutic as receiving help. Ninety percent of the time, a young person is in generosity mode, supporting other group members. Instead of expecting youth seek help, they are asked to give help. Just watching peers struggle with problems is a vicarious learning experience. As one youth observed, "His problems were a straight-up copy of me."

Some youth find a peer group safer than individual counseling, even in disclosing serious problems or past abuse. In other cases, young people may need additional individual support beyond participating in group meetings. When individual therapy is indicated, this can support the youth in a group rather than supplant peer helping.

Every youth has a story to share if a trusted listener can be found. Adults and peers who work most closely with young persons are in the best position to engage them in these discussions, both individually and in a group. Redl's proposal was simple: ask a young person to recount what happened in some significant event. For example, a teacher sends a student to the school office for some misbehavior. By exploring what happened in this problem event, we get a snapshot of how this young person thinks, feels, and acts.

Sharing stories is what the brain does best—the natural process of making sense out of life events. In fact, the brain has a special system for autobiographical events called *episodic memory*. Even children with cognitive disabilities communicate by relating stories of events. Sticking to events anchors conversation in real-world challenges. As we understand how an event unfolds, we see how a person copes with challenges in reactive or resilient ways.

CLEAR Problem Solving

Numerous problem-solving programs are marketed to individuals, schools, and business. CLEAR Problem Solving is unique because it is based on how the brain naturally solves problems in real time. The acronym CLEAR stands for five stages in the problem-solving process. In a single sentence, Challenge triggers Logic and Emotions causing Actions that lead to some Response. Here is a tour of this timeline:

Challenge is some external or internal event which triggers stress—in John Dewey's terms, all thinking starts with *felt difficulty*.[242] This ranges from a minor distraction to a big-time disaster. What was not known in Dewey's time, the *amygdala* is the human brain's sentry, alert for any threat or opportunity. The amygdala sets off a stress reaction which alerts brain and body for the potential challenge. The amygdala sends signals to brain regions involved in Logic, and Emotion. What is the practical implication? *When talking with a youth about some problem, it is good to know what was the trigger that set the event in motion.*

Logic involves perception, reasoning, and language. Individuals develop a unique style of *private logic,* a term coined by Adlerian psychologists. This thinking style is shaped by life experiences, e.g., an abused youth thinks nobody can be trusted. It can also be activated by inborn brain programs. Thus, the emotion of shame can trigger self-destructive thoughts. Private logic is used to make sense of the world and plan actions to meet goals. While reasoning is managed by the logical brain, under severe threat, emotion highjacks thinking. Does thinking shape emotions, or do emotions shape thinking? Both are correct. *To understand problems, one needs to know the private logic and world view of the inside kid.*[243] *Those who only see superficial behavior of the "outside kid" are operating blind.*

Emotions motivate by prepping for some preprogrammed reaction. The words *emotion* and *motivation* come from the same root word, "move." Without control from the logical brain, emotions lead to impulsive reactions. The emotional brain also connects to the primitive *reptilian brain* which governs reflexive fight/flight/freeze behavior. The human social brain has modules designed to meet needs for attachment, achievement, autonomy, and altruism. When these needs are not met, pain-based emotions and behavior result. When met, positive emotions are unleashed. Humans also have tied to self like shame and pride. *By understanding the emotions which propel behavior, we can strengthen positive emotions and address the unmet needs behind pain-based emotions and behavior.*

Action is behavior directed toward some goal. All behavior serves some purpose whether it makes sense to the outside observer. There are two types of coping behavior: managing *internal states* and meeting *external challenges*.[244] Behavior can planful, like the bully who steals from a weaker peer. Or it can be reactive, as when a furious person strikes out in aggression. An important distinction is whether behavior is adaptive and self-fulfilling or reactive and self-defeating. *By understanding the purpose of behavior, we help a person evaluate whether these actions are meeting personal needs and treating others with respect.*

Response refers to consequences of action. Responses can be *observable,* such as rewards, punishments, and the reactions of others. Often these are *private* payoffs such as "I enjoyed beating the crap out of him" or "It was great to help feed people at the homeless shelter." When individuals are caught in conflict cycles, their reactions can escalate into aggression. *As individuals have opportunity to reflect on their behavior, whether alone or with a mentor or group of peers, they can respond in more respectful and responsible ways*.

The structure of CLEAR does not suggest one should follow this rigid sequence which might make communications stilted. Rather, we explore a young person's account of some event to find out what happened. Understanding a problem will give answers to these questions:

Timeline of an Event

Challenge	Logic	Emotions	Action	Response	
What triggered this event?	What was the person thinking?	What was the person feeling?	What behavior resulted?	What was the outcome?	

One does not rigidly follow this formula since genuine communication involves listening with empathy and interest. By exploring the timeline of an event, mentors can get a window into how the person copes with challenges in resilient or reactive ways. And, the young person being helped is able to reflect on how his or her actions effect self and others.

Another way of looking at a timeline of an event are the Conflict and Resilience Cycles which draw from the research of Nicholas Long.[245] As shown in the diagram below, these cycles begin with some *Challenge* which activates stress. This leads to *Logic* and *Emotions* which propel Action. That behavior produces a Response that either restores *Calm* or escalates into a *Crisis*. Both adults and peers learn to spot these cycles in their everyday interactions.

CLEAR Conflict and Resilience Cycles
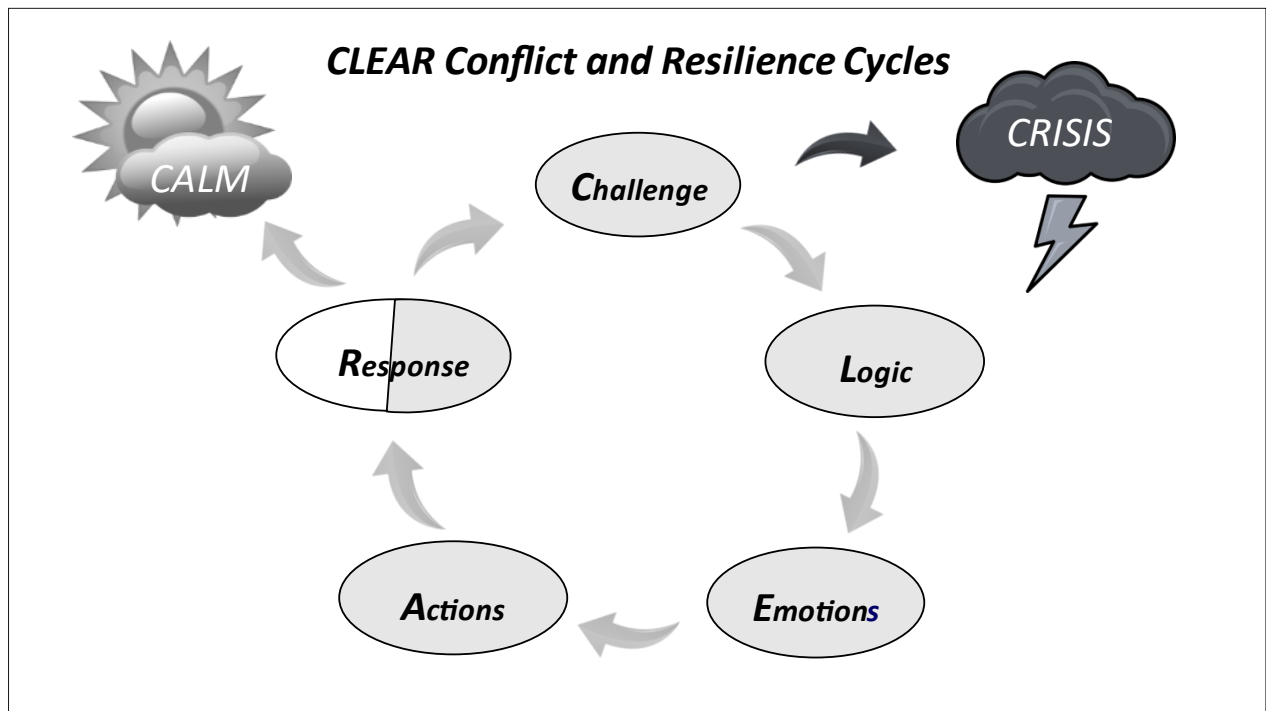
BAMMS Thinking Errors

Humans by nature are motivated to help others and refrain from hurting behavior. However, our prosocial nature can be sabotaged by thinking errors which permit persons to ignore or even attack those in need. Virtually all young people—including delinquents—know the difference between right and wrong says moral development researcher John Gibbs.[246]

When harmful behavior persists despite negative consequences, distorted logic and turbulent emotions may be overriding the voice of reason and conscience. Thus, peer-helping groups learn to recognize thinking errors that justify hurting behavior. This list known by the acronym BAMMS is summarized below.

Blaming: Assigning blame for one's own harmful actions to outside sources.
● *The teacher isn't fair.*

Assuming the Worst: Believing others have hostile intentions and failure is likely.
● *You can't trust anybody, they will just stab you in the back.*

Minimizing: Describing problems as causing no real harm or even being cool.
● *Everybody uses some drug, it's no big deal.*

Mislabeling: Referring to others with belittling or dehumanizing labels.
● *She is such a low-life, nobody can stand her.*

Self-centered: Ignoring the needs and views of others.
● *I don't care about anybody, I watch out for number one.*

Gibbs considers self-centered thinking as the primary distortion while the other thinking errors are variations on this egocentric world view. Once young people think more clearly, they can take responsibility for their actions and become better helpers.

Thinking errors are linked to problem behavior. For example, as Kenneth Dodge has shown, at an early age, aggressive boys see hostility where none exists and act accordingly.[247] While Gibbs identified BAMMS thinking errors in peer groups of antisocial youth, these distortions are also common among beset youth who are more likely to blame themselves than others. All of us use these defenses at times to rationalize our own failures.

Carefronting: Correcting with Concern

High expectations fosters learning and growth. Ideally, this is done through positive support. But sometimes it may be necessary to directly confront behavior that hurts self or others. The word *confront* is confusing since it has two possible definitions. It can mean *attack*, as to confront in battle. It also means *face directly*. The latter definition applies to peer-helping.

Youth who are comfortable with problem behavior have little reason to act differently. Only when they understand how their behavior hurts themselves and others will they be motivated to change. A warning: confrontation based in animosity or indifference is toxic—it rejects the person instead of the behavior. On the other hand, there is no more powerful influence than honest feedback from persons who deeply care about us.

Correction is more effective if balanced with positive messages. Boys Town researchers developed the *sandwich* method of respectful criticism: a critique is wrapped in support:

> **Support**: *Cindy, the other girls look up to you as a leader.*
> **Correction**: *Today you made fun of Maria who is new in the group.*
> **Support**: *If you make Maria feel welcome, other students will follow your example.*

As mentors model respectful corrections, young people begin to use this style in their own natural communications. Role playing can also be a way to teach the skill of receiving criticism without becoming defensive.

Learning from Peers

Throughout human history, learning from peers was a principal way of transmitting cultural knowledge and values.[248] More competent youth provided models and instruction to novice peers. Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky described this *apprenticeship in thinking* as the most powerful form of learning. He coined the cumbersome term: Z*one of Proximal Development*.[249] Simply, this is the difference between what one can learn *with help* versus *independently*.

Shared problem solving is superior to flying solo. In the give and take of discussion, youth explore ideas, resolve conflicts, and solve problems. Initially there is an imbalance in problem-solving skills—the novice learns from more mature peers but in time can mentor others.

Poor peer relationships are delays in developing social and problem-solving skills. Kenneth Dodge found that students with positive peer relationships generated more alternative solutions to problems, proposed more mature solutions and were less aggressive.[250] Peers can help a youth develop new ways of responding. For example, "Does the group have ideas of other ways John might have handled that insult other than to fight back?" They also share respectful feedback of how behavior is seen by others.

A little-recognized benefit of peer problem solving is a boost in cognitive abilities. There is a strong link between emotional and behavioral problems and learning and language delays.[251] Groups offer immersion in problem-solving, says Elaine Traynelis-Yurek.[252] As youth express themselves and acquire listening skills, they understand the views, values, and thinking of others. The intensity of interaction in the problem-solving groups appears to have a positive impact on thinking skills. A key focus of group sessions is to clarify cognitive distortions. The problem-solving process fosters self-control, mature thinking, and language development. Traynelis-Yurik describes three strategies that are particularly powerful:

Listening Skills. Group meetings follow a planned format ensuring engagement of all members in identifying and exploring problems. Listening to others is challenging to impulsive, egocentric youth. Intuitive turn-taking is a necessary component of language and cognitive development. Careful listening enables youth to develop awareness of self and others. The core value of respect involves the communication skill of courtesy.

Socratic questioning. A distinguishing feature of peer-helping groups is the use of *ask don't tell* strategies. Thus, instead of directly challenging a youth's thinking, the adult leader enlists peers in discussion with a question such as, "What does the group think about John's idea that everybody else causes his problems?" Group members quickly catch on and model this strategy with boundless variations in everyday interactions:

- *You said, "He made me mad." Do you let others control you?*
- *Can you tell us what you were thinking when you decided to hurt him?*
- *What do you suppose she was feeling when you made fun of her?*
- *Would you want others to treat you disrespectfully like that?*

Metacognition. This means *thinking about our thinking*. Entrenched dysfunctional beliefs are challenged. Self-control requires inner language to inhibit impulses—*think before you act*.[253] The executive brain replaces *hot* cognitions (driven by anger or fear) with *cool* cognitions needed to regulate emotions. Stopping to think gives the brain more time to manage internal stress and develop adaptive responses to external challenges. Changing thinking is important but cannot stand alone without attending to growth needs. David Roush proposes integrating cognitive training with youth development practices of the Circle of Courage.[254] Positive Peer Culture provides a user-friendly system for identifying problems and building strengths.

A Problem-Solving Vocabulary

All groups and societies use language to express core values. In cultures of dominance, language justifies hierarchical rank and demeans low status persons. In cultures of respect, language inspires all to treat one another with dignity. Thus, we pay close attention to the power of words in building a caring community.

In any setting where adults work with youth, one may encounter many different professions, each with a separate language. Educators, social workers, and courts all have their own terminology. To get reimbursed, mental health professionals may be required to use labels from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM-5) of mental disorders. Everyday language itself has a trove of terms to describe behavior. Psychologist Gordon Allport began his research on personality by going to a dictionary and identifying thousands of terms about human traits.[256] With a bigger dictionary, he found many more.

When everyone uses a different vocabulary, all on different wave lengths. Amidst this Babel, highest status goes to the profession describing problems with the most imposing terms. The new diagnostic labels in DSM-5 include *Disruptive Mood Dysregulation Disorder*, a fancy name for defiant kids with temper tantrums. Psychiatrist Allen Frances, who chaired the previous edition of DSM, saw the new diagnostic label as serving the interests of Big Pharma:

> First called "temper dysregulation," then rechristened with the tongue-twisting Disruptive Mood Dysregulation Disorder (DMDD); the idea of turning temper tantrums into a mental disorder is terrible…. DMDD is likely to increase inappropriate antipsychotic [drug] use, not reduce it.[257]

Research by Robert Foltz shows that diagnostic labels often mask relational trauma. The effect is that and youth who need therapeutic relationships only get medications.[258]

Beyond the DSM terms for disorders, another biased vocabulary is the slang of youth subcultures. Hundreds of terms glamorize problems and demean persons. Bullying is *drama*, drugs of abuse have exotic names like *angel dust*, and social outcasts are called *creepers*. PPC replaces both diagnostic jargon and derogatory folk labels with a plain-language problem list.

For a more in-depth view of problems, we follow Abraham Maslow's maxim that most emotional and behavioral symptoms are the result of unmet needs.[259] Therefore, problem-solving is linked to needs for Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity. PPC has uses a vocabulary of *Problems* and *Strengths* shown in the accompanying tables. Stated simply, *problems result from unmet needs and solving problems builds strengths.*

Problems	Strengths
~~BELONGING~~	**BELONGING**
1. Mistrust	Trust
2. Conflict	Cooperation
~~MASTERY~~	**MASTERY**
3. School Difficulty	Talent
4. Social Difficulty	Social Skills
~~INDEPENDENCE~~	**INDEPENDENCE**
5. Lacks Self-Control	Self-Control
6. Lacks Self-Confidence	Self-Confidence
~~GENEROSITY~~	**GENEROSITY**
7. Self-Centered	Caring
8. Disrespect	Respect
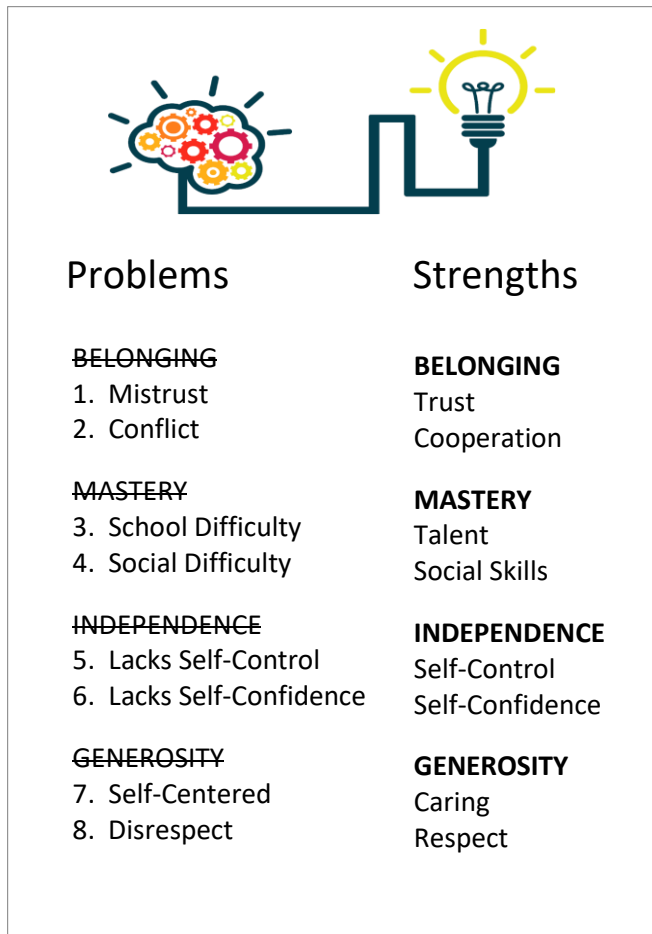
The use of problem vocabularies evolved from Guided Group Interaction at Highfields.[260] Most youth did not plunge into problem-solving when they experienced pain, shame, and blame for their behavior. A boy at Highfields described his initial reaction to discussing problems:

I knew I wasn't going to like it. I don't give a shit about problems. I didn't have any problems. I never heard of problems before. I didn't even know what a problem was. I wasn't going to say anything in meetings. I was just going to sit there and do my time. [261]

To overcome such resistance, Positive Peer Culture groups take a positive, solution-focused approach. Problems are listed side-by-side with strengths to emphasize that problem-solving builds resilience. One can also describe problems using visuals to brighten what otherwise might be bleak discussion. Here we provide images for these problem labels along with descriptors. No set of labels can encompass all possible problems, but our goal is to help youth reflect on challenges they face. In general, most problems result from too much stress with too little support.[262] The most critical stressors interfere with meeting developmental needs.

PROBLEMS AS UNMET NEEDS

NEED FOR BELONGING

1. Mistrust
- Few close bonds with adults or peers
- Is mistreated, bullied, or excluded
- Feels unsafe and relationship-wary

2. Conflict
- Hassles with authority, adults, or peers
- Hostility to persons seen as different
- Belongs to a negative gang or group

NEED FOR MASTERY

3. School Difficulty
- Fears failure in school or work
- Gives up when facing difficult challenges
- Not motivated to engage in learning

4. Social Difficulty
- Needs skills for building relationships
- Seeks attention in inappropriate ways
- Behavior irritates or aggravates others

NEED FOR INDEPENDENCE

5. Lacks Self-Control
- Easily angered, upset, or discouraged
- Feels anxious, fearful, or helpless
- Acts impulsively without thinking

6. Lacks Responsibility
- Is easily misled or manipulated
- Feels powerless to control life events
- Lacks maturity and responsibility
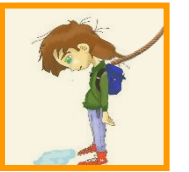
NEED FOR GENEROSITY
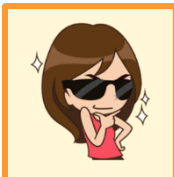
7. Self-Centered
- Selfish and lacks empathy for others
- Ignores feelings of persons in need
- Acts superior and uses put-downs

8. Disrespect
- Actions that disrespect others or self
- Mistreats, bullies, or excludes others
- Uses power to hurt or mislead others

The purpose of the problem vocabulary is to foster genuine communication. There is nothing magical about these labels and youth should be permitted to explain in their own words how they are thinking and feeling. As one youth explained: "Sometimes I like to talk from the heart instead of using program language."

60

This list of Problems updates that developed by Vorrath and incorporates a half century of research and practice in peer helping programs. By linking problems to Circle of Courage needs, youth and adults can focus like a laser on issues that have the greatest impact on positive life outcomes. Here is a brief rationale for each problem:

Mistrust. Trust is the foundation of belonging[263] and "the most fundamental prerequisite of mental vitality."[264] Close bonds with caregivers and supportive peers can heal trauma.[265]

Conflict. This includes authority problems and other disruptions of adult and peer relationships resulting from discord in the family, peer group, school, and community.[266]

School Difficulty. This problem was added in recognition of research on the profound impact that engagement in learning and school achievement have on life-long outcomes.[267]

Social Difficulty. Some youngsters want to get along but lack social skills to build positive relationships. This includes those with attachment problems or on the Autism spectrum[268]

Lacks Self-Control. With maturity, the executive brain manages emotions and impulsivity. Dysregulation of emotion and behavior is a core problem of relational trauma.[269]

Lacks Self-Confidence. Persons who are easily misled or manipulated need to develop inner controls to manage their lives by taking responsibility for their actions and future.

Self-Centered. Youth who show little concern for others develop an egocentric lifestyle. Research shows Generosity develops purpose in life and resilient outcomes.[270]

Disrespect. These actions cause risk to others or oneself. This includes mistreatment, bullying, and social exclusion. Individuals use their power to harm or misuse others.[271]

Low self-esteem is no longer included in the problem list despite extensive research showing that PPC enhances feelings of self-worth. As discussed in Chapter Three, building self-esteem is now considered a byproduct of meeting developmental needs.[272]

Most problems can be described using one of these eight labels. Some programs serve youth with serious issues such as substance abuse, mental health disorders, criminal behavior, and sexual offenses. While stigmatized labels are not on the problem list, even serious problems can often be discussed as examples of ***disrespect*** for self or others. This is not to preclude clinical treatment for mental health problems, but groups keep the focus on developmental needs.

When the problem list is posted for reference and used in natural conversations with youth, it provides a framework for group members to discuss problems. Linking problems to strengths avoids a narrow focus on deficits. While a common vocabulary is useful, these are a few potential *problems with problems:*

Added Problems. Proliferating problems is a pitfall like the DSM handbook, which adds more disorders with each edition, creating more complexity but not more clarity.[273]

Multiple Problems. Some behaviors fit more than one problem. A person with *Social Difficulty* may also get into *Conflict Cycles*. Instead of debating labels, focus on solutions.

Trivialized Problems. Groups can get bogged down in insignificant issues, e.g., *You disrespect others because you belched.* Look for patterns of problems that harm individuals.

Contrived Problems. Some groups conspire and invent problems to distract from real issues. These rigged meetings show the group has not yet taken responsibility for helping.

Weaponized Problems. Groups may dump problems on a low status member or use problems as put-downs. This is treated as a problem of hurting instead of helping.

Stigmatized Problems. To keep problem-solving positive, PPC groups avoid using deficit-based psychiatric or criminogenic labels, even if these are in the diagnostic records.

The Power of Questions

The group leader is a coach who cultivates the problem-solving potential of young people. The leader can guide discussion without excessive use of directive statements by using a questioning style, which Thomas Lickona calls "ask, don't tell."[274] Here are examples:

● Several members talk at once and drown out a perceptive comment by one youth. The group leader simply asks, "Did anyone hear what Carla said?"
● If one person dominates the meeting, the group leader may ask, "How many members are in the group?"
● If Tom intimidates others, this might be managed with a question: "Why does the group let Tom push them around?".

Should the group become hostile, the leader may have to intervene to keep members safe. Even here, a question may work better than a command. If peers become frustrated with a member's resistance and the tone becomes hostile, the query might be, "What is happening now?" or perhaps, "Is the group going to let Sheri trick them into treating her in the same disrespectful way she seems to be acting toward them?"

With too little adult leadership, the group flounders. With too much intervention, the group becomes dependent. By posing questions, one can exert influence and draw out the strengths of youth. Andrew Malekoff offers this example of how a skillful group leader uses questions to shift the group from scapegoating to helping: [275]

The most out-of-control member asked Mark, "Hey Paco, why are you so fat?" and other group members laughed instead of protecting him. The group leader avoided the urge to rush to Mark's defense by asking whether the group really wants to know about his weight, or was that just another put down? After a pause, a group member said, "It's because he's depressed." Another youth who also struggled to fit in asked Mark why he had no friends.

Sensing a willingness to listen, Mark shared that after his mother's divorce, they lived in a small apartment in an urban high rise without a bedroom or any friends nearby. The boy who originally asked Mark the provocative question shared, "I used to have it like that after my parents divorced. I mean I had no space, I felt violated."

After some discussion, the group leader asked if the members saw Mark differently now, and one boy responded, "I didn't realize how hard his life is." Another added, "We don't want to make fun of you anymore."

While Mark knew there still might be some teasing, he said, "If they tease me again, it will be different than before. You know, I'm the one who usually helps everybody else. I'm like everyone's psychiatrist. This is the first time anyone has tried to help me."

This questioning style allows the leader to have influence without being controlling. While questioning can be overused, this can be a powerful method of natural communication. As groups mature, questions from the leader diminish since youth spot most issues themselves. The summary at the end of each meeting is a time to equip the group as effective peer helpers.   This can include a series of questions about how the group can best support its members. And, in this coaching role, the group leader can offer guidance and inspiration.

Chapter Six
Power: Sharing Responsibility

Fundamentally, all the major stakeholders in youth work, except for young people themselves, are looking for ways to make troubled young people less troublesome for the rest of us.[276]
—Kiaras Gharabaghi

Rethinking Discipline

Kiaras Gharabaghi of Ryerson University in Toronto observes that no one of any stature in the youth work would describe the purpose of this field as changing behavior. Yet workers judge themselves successful when youth conform, and they admonish young people who fail to comply. The formula is simple: if there is bad behavior, punish or reduce rewards; if behavior is good, increase rewards and reduce punishment. The most pervasive discipline strategy is to secure compliance, ideally by rewards, but, if necessary, by consequences.[277]

For over half a century, manipulating reinforcements has been the dominant style of discipline in programs for challenging youth. Yet a growing body of research shows that adults who empower youth have more authority than those trying to control them. Rather than demanding submission to authority or to the group, Positive Peer Culture sets great expectations for responsibility—*demanding greatness instead of obedience.*

Two early studies contrasted PPC with behavioral level systems. An adolescent treatment center implemented each program model with groups of forty youth in the same facility.[278] PPC was more effective at decreasing runaways, physical aggression, property destruction, and self-injurious behavior. The most striking difference was physical aggression towards staff; in a six-month period, there were 19 such incidents in the Level System and none in PPC. A second study compared the social climates of two peer group and two non-peer group programs using treatment environment questionnaires.[279] PPC students reported a more orderly climate with greater support, involvement, and freedom for expression of feelings.

In theory, professionals across disciplines endorse the idea of youth empowerment, but in practice, compliance continues as the absolute priority.[280] Avoiding pain and seeking pleasure are wired into the brains of all creatures, so persons in power have long sought to manipulate rewards and punishments to control subordinates. However, moral development research shows that coercion is a poor strategy for building controls from within.[281]

Behavior modification promoted by B. F. Skinner shaped a half century of practice in youth work, education, treatment, and business.[282] Skinner considered free will to be an illusion and

believed all behavior was dependent on reinforcement by reward and punishment. This is a myopic view of human motivation. Daniel Pink has described three *operating systems* anchored in the human brain that motivate behavior:[283]

Motivation 1.0: Survival. The goal is to meet basic physical and safety needs.
Motivation 2.0: Carrots and Sticks. Using reward and punishment to modify behavior.
Motivation 3.0: Self-Determination. Most human behavior is motivated by intrinsic drives.

Motivation 1.0: Survival. This automatic reflexive reaction to danger overrides higher order needs. One might think that only a despot would threaten survival to gain compliance—but the history of humanity is littered with such travesty. Totalitarian rulers and street gangs impose loyalty under threat of mayhem. Perhaps the most widespread threat to survival is the abuse and trauma of children by persons entrusted with their care. A colleague in Australia described the case of a father who would ruthlessly beat his twelve-year-old son. To further terrorize the boy, he kept a loaded shotgun propped against the wall outside the boy's bedroom as an ever-present threat. Shifting to survival mode, the boy shot his father first.

Motivation 2.0: Carrots and Sticks. This is used in folk discipline as well as formal operant conditioning. The coercive mindset is so pervasive that it can coexist with rhetoric about resilience and strengths. Note this news account of a "Positive Behavior Support" program:

"We teach it and try to enforce it," Moore said. Part of that teaching includes posters throughout the school as well as assemblies. "We talk about the desired behavior that we want," she said, with the school giving rewards throughout the school day for kids that behave well. Rewards include things like school dances, which you have to have good behavior to attend, or certain classes that receive the most points for being positive, polite and prepared, get to have a no-uniform day, which is announced on Fridays. Moore said you can hear the classes who win cheer each time.[284]

What is called *positive support* is really the manipulation of basic needs like belonging (who can go to the dance) and independence (who can choose their own attire). In the family, school, or workplace, extrinsic reinforcers pale compared to natural motivation to meet biosocial needs.

Motivation 3.0: Self Determination—Richard Ryan and Edward Deci and challenged the primacy of the pleasure and pain motive with research on intrinsic psychological needs.[285] They describe universal needs for *autonomy*, *competence*, and *relatedness* (the latter combining both belonging and generosity in Circle of Courage terms). Humans have a natural drive toward well-being which requires meeting these psychological needs. Personal autonomy is threatened by control strategies of rewards, punishment, surveillance, and high stakes evaluation.

Pressuring people to *compete against others* reduces intrinsic motivation, while *competing with others* is a natural human motivation, for example, children's spontaneous chasing games. Doling out rewards can suppress intrinsic motivation, turning an interesting task into drudgery. While some rewards and sanctions may be necessary, System 2.0 requires a major upgrade. Pink suggests it is time to toss the autonomy-stifling word *management* into the linguistic trash heap along with *icebox* and *horseless carriage*. The solution is not better behavior management but self-direction. "We are born to be players, not pawns. We are born to be autonomous individuals, not automatons."[286]

Martin Brokenleg describes how traditional Native American cultures encourage even small children to make decisions and show personal responsibility—all the while keeping them connected with the community.[287] To interfere with a child's will is seen as disrespect unless behavior is harmful to self or others, when elders intervene. A similar approach is practiced by the Aka tribe of Central Africa. Training in autonomy starts in infancy. Only if a child is in real danger or hits another child do elders interfere. As small children, they learn to cook over the fire and by age ten, they have enough skills to live in a forest alone if necessary. [288]

Thomas Sergiovanni observes that adult-imposed discipline fails to build responsibility. *Imposing consequences* uses sanctions to enforce compliance. Those in power are the controlling force. *Instilling Responsibility* draws on natural motivation for belonging, learning, responsibility, and a caring community.[289] Sergiovanni proposes that the Circle of Courage values arising out of respect be used to build democratic communities in schools. Positive Peer Culture creates relationships of responsibility and respect. This is a major transformation of contemporary culture organized around using power to dominate others.

Rankism

The measure of a man is what he does with power.
—Plato

In his book *Somebodies and Nobodies*, Robert Fuller coined a new term to describe the abuse of power: *rankism*.[290] Fuller, a retired college president, described volunteering to tutor school dropouts in math. They felt like *nobodies* in schools that rejected them. He found he could teach them math only by treating them as *somebodies*. All of us have had the experience of being treated as nobodies, and we resent it. Treating others as nobodies is rankism.

Fuller defines rank as a sign of *dignity*, being respected by others, while rankism is *indignity*, using one's power for ill. Rankism is the abusive behavior of those who use their position or strength to bully or exclude others. Rankism has been called the mother of all *isms*. Racism, sexism, ageism, bullying, and all such pseudo superiority mindsets are rankism. Whenever we treat another as less than our social equal, we show rankism. There is nothing wrong with high

rank based on merit. We want doctors, teachers, sports stars, and musicians to be highly talented. The problem is using power to hurt rather than to help and serve.

The primitive survival brain determines rank through the rules of raw power—dominate or submit. But the higher social brain of humans has a more refined alternative. All persons are endowed with a desire for self-determination.[291] Ideally, the drive for power would be reined in by brain programs for empathy, and cultural values of respect.

In social groups, some leaders gain respect because of their competence, compassion, and ability to inspire cooperation. Others grab power by intimidation or aggression. Democratic cultures monitor the process by which people rise to the top and try to put limits on the power of those who gain such rank.[292] Egalitarian indigenous cultures had complex social structures for power leveling to curtail alpha males.[293] Democracy itself has roots in the Native American legacy of freedom of the Iroquois Confederacy which dates to the 12th century.[294]

In Positive Peer Culture, the power of youth is used to serve others and protect the most vulnerable. Status in peer-helping groups is measured by making the greatest contributions to others. "Great persons are those able to do great kindnesses," said Miguel de Cervantes. Empowering youth does not mean weakening adult influence. While effective staff are not authoritarian, they are authoritative and able to influence the lives of youth. Only adults who are secure in their own sense of personal power can exercise strong yet noncoercive influence over the young. The goal of Positive Peer Culture is to forge a partnership where adults and youth work together to transform lives.

The Language of Disrespect

Respect and disrespect are built into thousands of daily micro-communications of dignity or indignity. Ramon Lewis of Melbourne, Australia, has studied discipline in secondary schools worldwide.[295] He found that sarcasm and group humiliation were common with stressed-out teachers who lacked positive discipline strategies. However, if teachers used these negative methods, students behaved in less responsible ways. Youth may ridicule one another, but they place much higher expectations on adults in this regard than they would on peers.

Persons in authority can easily slip into mild humor or sarcasm that is deeply humiliating to children. Irwin Hyman documented how mistreatment in schools can create enduring trauma in many students. Through an instrument called the My Worst School Experience Scale, he found that sixty percent of the traumatic events reported by students were related to peer ridicule and mistreatment. But he was astounded to find that forty percent of these destructive encounters were with school staff. For example, a student reported:

One day in Spanish class, I told the teacher I was lost and didn't know what was going on; in reply he said, "There is a place for people like you to go and it's called the 'lost and found.'" The whole class laughed but to me it wasn't funny, and I was embarrassed.[296]

Sarcasm is a thinly veiled hostility, a form of passive aggressive rankism.[297] It has the same intent as direct verbal insults, namely, to demean the self-worth of the targeted individual. The old sticks and stones metaphor has been buried by brain science. In fact, words are the most potent weapons to create deep shame, perhaps the most powerful of negative emotions. Our brains are highly attuned to social rejection and are equipped with a sarcasm detector.[298] This is how it works. For example, a teacher says to a distracted student, "Glad to see you are working so diligently." To spot the real meaning of this remark, the frontal brain cross checks the "compliment" decoded by the left brain with the sarcastic tone and presumed intent of the speaker. Sarcasm treads a fine line between harsh humor and cutting contempt. It allows the attacker to hide behind innocent-sounding words while throwing emotional daggers.

Individuals and groups also use sarcasm to demean outsiders and to put down authority figures.[299] These small attacks are called micro-insults. The aggressor may not even be conscious of the message being delivered. Micro-insults were first described in research on racism but permeate all types of rankism.[300] For example, direct name calling was common in old-fashioned racism and is still prevalent in school bullying. More subtle racism hides behind microinsults.

Microinsults are used to demean a person's heritage or identity. Comments belittling *today's teens* fill the public discourse. Political rhetoric such as berating immigrants conveys a profound message to those in the out group are unwanted. Non-verbal microinsults such as rolling eyes, turning away, and shunning closeness erode self-worth. Some may feel that these examples are no big deal and kids need to just buck up and take it. However, micro-assaults are a big deal because these fuel anger and ruin relationships.

Voices of Girls

Youth work pioneer Gisela Konopka from the University of Minnesota was one of the first to use group work to empower adolescent girls in conflict.[301] Carol Gilligan and colleagues observe that young girls enter the teen years confident, only to discover that their voices are silenced.[302] Some who have been mistreated refuse to accept this injustice and decide to fight. While the world considers them troublemakers, they take pride in being more provocative, powerful, and manipulative than their male counterparts, defiantly declaring, "We don't take any crap!" Being a fighter has helped them survive, albeit in ways others see as maladaptive.

Carin Ness interviewed troubled teen girls in a Positive Peer Culture program.[303] These resilient persons had learned that survival entails fighting adults. Young people had outwitted staff in other placements using coping strategies like these:

● *I acted mean until they kicked me out which was what I wanted.*
● *I hugged my staff and promised to change to get them off my back.*
● *I ran away when they started getting close to my problems.*

However, In peer-helping groups, girls found their manipulative tears and tantrums did not work. Instead, they were expected to help others solve their problems. Girls who prided themselves on the ability to outmaneuver therapists quickly discovered they could not con their peers. Most remarkable was their tenaciousness in working to help their struggling peers:

- *My group didn't give up on me, even when I kept rejecting them.*
- *They believed in me even when I didn't believe in myself*.

In the past they had performed for privileges. Here, adults demanded greatness rather than obedience. When asked what advice they would give to others facing similar struggles, they responded with resilience: *Keep pushing yourself. Don't give up on yourself.*

The Road to Responsibility

Children learn how to make good decisions
by making good decisions, not by following directions.[304]
—Alfie Kohn

Building responsibility is a developmental process. From a helpless state at birth, children gradually learn *self-regulation*. Overcoming challenges builds *self-efficacy*, the sense of power to control their lives. Responsibility also requires mature *decision-making* without being easily misled. Responsible people own their own behavior instead of blaming others or assuming victim status. And responsibility means using one's power in a way that respects the rights of others. Those lacking responsibility show behavior of helplessness, conflict, or coercion.[305]

All children have a robust desire to be their own person, to do their own thing. This basic need intensifies in the teen years as a prep course for independence. The Search Institute found that autonomy measured by items like "I make my own decisions" increased more than any other value in early adolescence. Another goal that gains prominence among teens is "to do something important with my life." Youth want to make a difference in the world. While the need for autonomy surges in early adolescence, opportunities for autonomy do not.[306]

Resisting Authority

"*You are not going to get me to change*." This challenge to authority is not a refusal to change—in fact, teens are more open to change than their elders. The real message is, "I am not going to be changed by you." Struggling for autonomy, youth resist influence from persons doing things *to* them rather than *with* them. This desire for more freedom than adults are willing to give sparks cross-generational conflict. Adults seek control, youth seek freedom.

Many programs for youth at risk rely on point and level systems, first called *token economies* by behaviorists in the 1960s.[307] By "earning" points, a youth advances to higher levels where privileges are increased; bad behavior has negative consequences. Point and level systems continue in wide use for behavioral control despite abundant evidence that power assertion fails to change thinking and values.[308] This system ignores developmental needs and teaches youth to produce superficial behaviors to get what they want.

The term *reactance* describes the natural human tendency to oppose those who seek to restrict our freedom.[309] Reactance is a more accurate term than *defiance,* which implies hostility. As seen below, reactance increases steadily until the end of adolescence.[310]

"REACTANCE"
Growing Resistance to Authoritarian Control
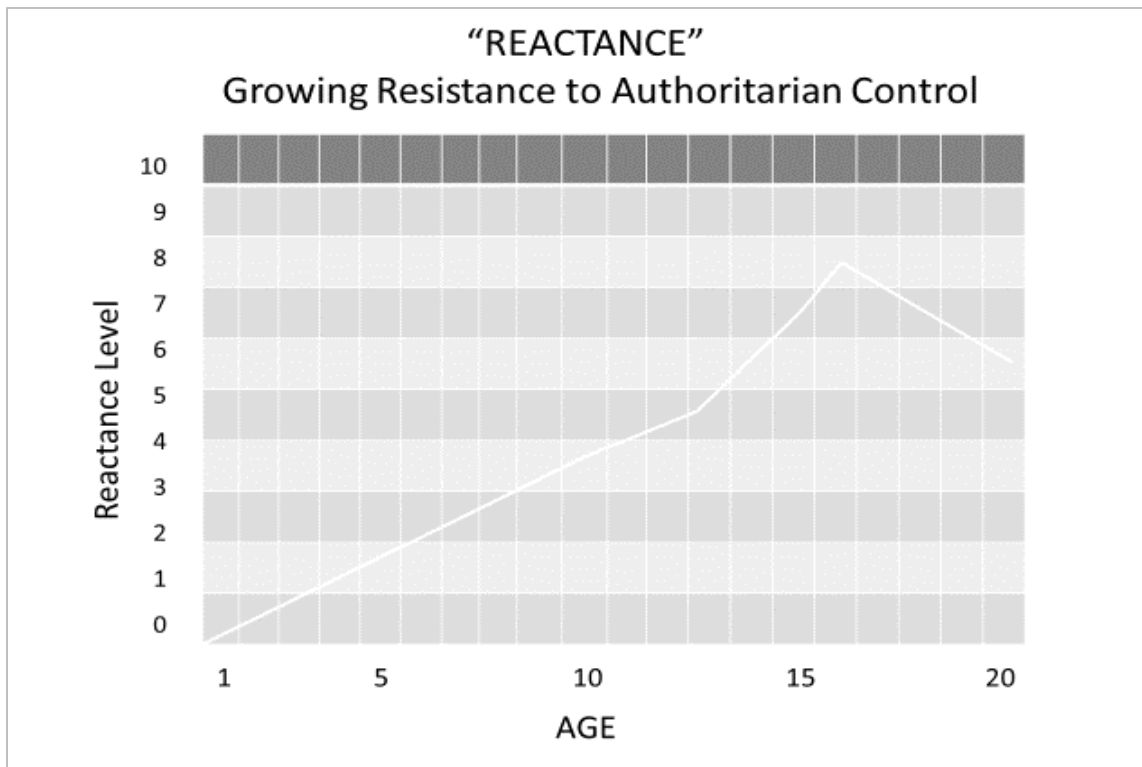
Western philosophies of education and child-rearing are rooted in thousands of years of coercive cultures. But research shows that obedience training impedes self-responsibility. Imposed goals, high-stakes evaluation, sanctions, and surveillance all undermine intrinsic motivation.[311] External controls are necessary until children develop controls from within. However, whether in family, school, or the workplace, coercive strategies stifle motivation.

Intending to eliminate autocratic systems, educators and group workers sometimes tilt to permissiveness.[312] Effective groups do not abandon adult authority and turn all decisions over to members. In a climate of *shared responsibility*, young people know their voices are heard. In effect, the youth realizes, "I get my say even I don't always get my way."

There are many creative strategies to develop responsibility in youth. A century ago, Ukrainian Anton Makarenko proposed that all young people need opportunities both in *leading* and *following* to foster social awareness and feelings of equality.[313] Makarenko was not permissive but combined "the utmost expectations … with the utmost respect."[314]

Involving children and youth in meaningful work is a natural way to develop responsibility. Cultural psychologist Barbara Rogoff describes how Indigenous Central American cultures encourage Learning by Observing and Pitching In (LOPI) so all children can contribute to their family and community.[315] These youngsters naturally "pitch in" and help at home and school, in contrast with Eurocentric heritage children who need prodding or pay to participate.

Developing skills for work is prominent in youth development programs such as 4-H and Scouting. The students in the Highfields GGI program all worked, helping at a nearby state hospital. In his 1913 Starr Commonwealth Creed, Floyd Starr wrote of the dignity of labor:

> We believe that each child should be given some work suitable to childhood and be taught that the value of labor is to be found, not alone in the completed task, but in the training of the mind and the hand, and in the joy of accomplishment.

Cultivating responsibility is the theme of Redl's book, *Controls from Within*.[316] The least-intrusive method of encouraging self-control is called *checking*; if a youth is acting in a questionable way, peers can give a brief nonverbal or verbal cue that behavior is out of line. This is useful when an extended discussion would be distracting, such as in the classroom or during a trip or activity. The goal is for the individual to manage self without further staff or group support. Sometimes a brief, calming conversation helps an excitable or agitated individual regain self-control. The tone of any correction is key since youth may interpret even subtle messages as attacks. In time, a youth understands we are speaking to them in the language of respect.

The Reversal of Responsibility

We have forty million reasons for failure but not a single excuse.[317]
—Rudyard Kipling

Persons who do not take responsibility for their problems have little motivation to change. Their defensive tactics to shift the blame elsewhere can become a fine art. Since youth are adept at putting off responsibility, adult and peer helpers need verbal skills for *reversing responsibility*. This is done with simple interactions, such as the following:

Student: *Why should I care? Nobody cares about me.*
Mentor: *So, I guess it's up to you to take charge of your life.*

71

Student: *Jack is a jerk and insults everybody's mother.*
Mentor: *He won't get help with his problems if the group gives up on him.*

Student: *What do you expect? My parents are both drunks.*
Mentor: *Is Tony trying to blame his problems on his parents?*

While youth are usually ready to help their friends, the real test of empathy is the willingness to help persons who are hard to like:

Student: *I ain't going to help him, I can't even stand him.*
Mentor: *If you were walking down by the river and saw a little kid fall in, would you help?*
Student: *Sure, I'd pull him out.*
Mentor: *Even if you don't know him or like him?*
Student: *Of course, I would still pull him out.*
Mentor: *Well, I guess you do understand about helping people even if you don't like them.*

Some youth look for ways to manipulate the adult rather than work on their own problems. One strategy is to lure the staff into revealing information about their private lives. Staff should not put too much effort into trying to distinguish between innocent questions and those that may be a trap. Often it is best to use a reversal to shift focus back to the youth:

Student: *Mrs. Peterson, do you drink?*
Mentor: *What does that have to do with working on your problems?*
Student: *Oh, I was just interested in whether you drink.*
Mentor: *Oh, I see, but I still don't see what that has to do with helping you succeed.*
Student: *Never mind.*

Some youth are skillful at using verbal putdowns with one another and staff. Becoming upset by negative comments and reacting to them directly is not so effective as using a reversal. Staff can shift the responsibility for problem behavior back to the individual and the group:

Student: *You people are all a bunch of retards.*
Mentor: *Does the group understand why Rita thinks she has to hassle others?*

Frequently students raise complaints against staff. One should not ignore such criticism, but, unless this involves abuse, it is seldom useful to reinforce them. A group grumbled to the principal they were not learning much because of their teacher's stupidity. The principal made a mental note to check with the teacher but responded with the comment: "You mean that a smart group like you can't work with one teacher to make a great class?"

When a group is indifferent about the problem of a member, a reversal is in order. A girl ran away from a group home; the staff asked her peers why they didn't do something to help her:

Student: *We didn't know she was going to run away.*
Mentor: *Oh, do you mean she was smarter than all the group?*
Student: *Well, we thought she might run but didn't know for sure.*
Mentor: *The group thought she was going to run away but did nothing?*
Student: *Well, it's not our job to watch her every moment, we had other things to do.*
Mentor: *There was something more important than helping her not hurt herself?*

A teen boy regularly mixed humor with hostility by teasing a teacher about his bald head. The teacher had tried different approaches including humor and ignoring the comments, but to no avail. The problem was effectively handled with a reversal:

Student: *Did you polish your head again today?*
Staff: *It will really be good when you feel great enough about yourself that you don't have to go around putting other people down.*

Sometimes youth try to justify their negative behavior as the result of provocations by others. The process of teaching youth how to respond to putdowns is seen in the following interaction:

Student: *I slapped her because she called me a name.*
Reversal: *Names upset you?*
Student: *Yeah, it bothered me. Do you like to be called names?*
Mentor: *We are not talking about me. Did you do something to get her to call you a name?*
Student: *I didn't do a thing to her.*
Mentor: *What does that show if someone calls people names for no reason at all?*
Student: *There must be something seriously wrong with her.*
Mentor: *What do you mean?*
Student: *Oh, I see. I should have helped her with her problem instead of making it mine. Is that what you are saying?*

The reversal is not a counseling technique but a brief verbal communication. The goal is not to become embroiled in arguments or extended discussions. Rather, these short interactions communicate in a respectful way that we believe the youth is mature enough to assume responsibility. The effectiveness of reversals depends on the attitude, tone of voice, and goal of the speaker. Verbal contests that have a winner and loser must not develop.

Staff use reversal procedures most in the initial stages of establishing a positive culture. Later the procedures will not be necessary since the students themselves will become effective

in helping peers take responsibility. The reversal sets a tone that pervades the atmosphere of the program: *We believe in your great potential and will reflect your words and actions back to you so you can assume responsibility for helping yourself and your peers*.

As reversing responsibility is modeled by adults, youth start using these scripts with peers. One student explained to a new group member not to blame problems on others. *They even talk to you different. It's like talking into a mirror, and then you find the answer to everything inside yourself.* Whether an event is minor or serious, the objective of a proper reversal is to show care and concern. We persist in expecting the best from within these young people:

Student: *I got a copy of the Positive Peer Culture book, so I know what staff are trying to do.*
Staff: *Great! Now you will really be able to help.*

Problems as Opportunity

Convince me and bring home to me that I do not think or act right, gladly will I change.
—Marcus Antonius

Families, schools, and treatment programs are often overwhelmed by young people in conflict. Prosocial discipline turns problems into opportunities for learning and growth.[318] An official statement from the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry declares that "Within the review of crisis behavior lie opportunities to prevent their reoccurrence…to create a Phoenix out of the ashes."[319]

Moral development researcher Martin Hoffman described three types of discipline: power assertion, love withdrawal, and problem solving (which he called inductive discipline).[320] While power assertion is sometimes necessary, if this is the primary method, youth fail to develop empathy and moral values. Love withdrawal is decidedly destructive since it jeopardizes the most basic needs for safety and belonging. Only problem solving engages youth in developing more responsible values, thinking, and behavior. Daily life experiences become teachable moments to strengthen personal responsibility and self-discipline.

Ironically, people resort to coercive force when their power is slipping away. Parents are more likely to abuse offspring when they feel powerless to deal with a defiant child. Adults whose own needs are not met are not equipped to address needs of their children. Parents who experience threatening and uncertain environments may disengage or become more controlling with their offspring.[321] Both interfere with the development of self-control.

It is a challenge to deal with difficult behavior without becoming punitive or coercive. Yet without limits, young people cannot develop responsible independence. There is wide agreement that children and youth who are still maturing need structure. Diana Baumrind

contrasts *authoritarian* and *authoritative* parenting. Intrusive authoritarian control undermines a child's confidence while authoritative parenting builds competence and responsibility. The parent is not a dictator but an authoritative person with more wisdom and power to guide and protect young people.[322] Children are more receptive to guidance when offered in a warm relationship that respects their needs.

Emotional distancing from parents or other adults is a good way to gain autonomy. Responsible independence is promoted by a supportive, noncoercive climate:[323]

1. Respecting perspectives of young people
2. Providing choices whenever possible
3. Minimizing the use of coercion and power assertion
4. Helping youth explore personal values and interests
5. Creating opportunities for youth to exercise leadership
6. Asking youth for feedback about how their needs are being met

Defusing a crisis begins with a personal choice not to fight with an individual in stress. This does not mean one capitulates in the face of conflict. Instead, as Nicholas Long observes, one becomes a thermostat rather than a thermometer.[324] A thermometer is controlled by the surrounding climate. If we allow ourselves to become overheated—or turned off—by problem behavior, we are under control of the youth. But a thermostat makes the necessary adjustment to keep the climate in balance. When turbulent emotions kindle, we tamp them down. When individuals are depressed, we raise them up. This is a *double struggle* since we must manage our own emotions while trying to help the young person do the same.[325] Brain research and clinical experience suggest specific practical strategies for defusing angry conflict.[326]

> ***Never take anger personally***. Conflict is a mirror image: both parties feel threatened and believe they have been violated. The sooner empathy can crowd out anger, fear, or blame, the easier it is to deescalate. Tell yourself that this is a person in pain and don't add to it or let the upset person's pain become yours.

> ***Monitor and defuse your own emotional arousal***. This requires awareness of internal cues that anger or fear is reaching disruptive levels. If you are unable to manage your feelings, it is usually better to disengage for a time until you are no longer telegraphing rancor.

> ***Monitor and defuse a youth's agitation***. In a brewing conflict, an alert mentor carefully tracks a youth's emotional arousal to avoid explosive outcomes. This involves reading cues in facial expression and tone of voice as well as listening with empathy.

Allow sufficient time for cooling down. In a natural course, intense emotion spikes and then decays. Time is our ally if we avoid rekindling the fires. Talking in a calm and concerned tone can often quiet turbulent emotions. Sometimes you may need a bit of separation, but never disengage with a tone of rancor or rejection.

Model a generous spirit. There is no greater act of giving than forgiving. Small acts of kindness can have powerful restorative effects as they communicate benevolence instead of malevolence. We are also modeling how to heal damaged relationships.

Balancing Power with Generosity

Since all humans seek to exercise power over their lives, this need can only be met in cultures where power is shared. Power will inevitably corrupt unless it used to serve others.[327] Positive power involves tapping our brain-based motivation for generosity:

Respect. There is no greater reward than being treated with esteem. Those with less power are often the most gifted purveyors of respect—praise, polite language, humble behavior—virtues that all should share. We display respect by asking questions, listening, and showing curiosity; we offer genuine compliments, praise with gusto, and express gratitude.

Empathy. This includes the ability to read the emotions of others as well as understand what they may be thinking. Empathy is often an automatic response to those we care about and who are like us. The challenge is to develop concern for those who may be different and even belligerent. As a youth in a peer-helping program said, "It is hard to like kids who hurt others, but it is our job to help them with their problems."

Gratitude. Expressing appreciation for the contributions of others doubles the likelihood that persons will be helpful with a future task. Gratitude activates the reward and safety regions of the brain, also calming stress. Gratitude can be conveyed in nonverbal communication as well as the spoken word.

Kindness. Small recurrent acts of kindness weave the fabric of social communities. For example, touching is a natural way that people provide support to one another. A reassuring pat on the back or warm embrace releases oxytocin, which promotes trust, cooperation, and sharing. Acts of kindness make persons feel esteemed and valued.

These values guide peer-helping groups. *The ultimate antidote to abuse of power is generosity.*

Chapter Seven
Purpose: Serving Others

The meaning of life is to find your gift. The purpose of life is to give it away.
—Pablo Picasso

Born Generous

Charles Darwin saw compassion as one of the strongest instincts in humans. In contrast, the concept of "survival of the fittest" was coined by Social Darwinists to justify theories of racial superiority.[328] After the death of his beloved young daughter, Darwin became absorbed in studying concern for others—which he called sympathy. He concluded that compassion was even stronger than self-interest in most persons. In *The Descent of Man,* he wrote that "those communities which included the greatest number of the most sympathetic members would flourish the best."[329] Stated in simpler terms, this is survival of the most generous.

One of the most inspiring accounts of teaching generosity comes from Johann Pestalozzi who worked with castoff children over two centuries ago. Here he describes his conversation with orphans at Stans when a neighboring Swiss village had been destroyed by fire:

> I gathered the children round me, and said, "Altdorf has been burnt down; perhaps, at this very moment, there are a hundred children there without home, food, or clothes; will you not ask our good Government to let twenty of them come and live with us?" I still seem to see the emotion with which they answered, "Oh, yes, yes!" "But, my children," I said, "think well of what you are asking! Even now we have scarcely money enough, and it is not at all certain that if these poor children come to us, the Government would give us any more than they do at present, so you might have to work harder, and share your clothes with these children, and sometimes perhaps go without food. Do not say, then, that you would like them to come unless you are quite prepared for all these consequences. But they were not in the least shaken in their decision, and all repeated, "Yes, yes, we are quite ready to work harder, eat less, and share our clothes, for we want them to come."[330]

In his 1935 classic, *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Scottish psychiatrist Ian Suttie criticized both behaviorism and psychoanalysis for failing to recognize that giving and receiving love were the primary human motivations. Children are born with a generous disposition, and, if their gifts are rejected, children feel bad and unlovable.

The baby then not only starts life with a benevolent attitude, but the Need-to-Give continues as a dominant motive throughout life, and, like every other need, brings anxiety when it is frustrated.[331]

Most professionals recognize needs for Belonging, Mastery, and Independence, but may overlook Generosity. In *Self Determination Theory*, Richard Ryan and Edward Deci combine Belonging and Generosity into a generic drive for *relatedness.*[332] They define this broad term as "the need to love and be loved, to care for and be cared for."[333] But these two needs do not always co-exist—a youth may belong to a gang but pursue a totally self-centered lifestyle.

Belonging and Generosity actually use different brain-based circuits.[334] Attachment develops in the first eighteen months as child and caregiver connect through right brain processes.[335] On the other hand, caring involves other brain structures which give children the capacity to mirror the feelings of others and develop empathy.[336] From a biological view, belonging serves self-protection while generosity prepares us to serve and protect others.

An international body of researchers summarized evidence that generosity is universal across cultures because it is designed into the human brain.[337] In the article, *Forget Survival of the Fittest: It's Kindness that Counts,* DiSalvo heralded the pivotal role of generosity to well-being with examples from positive psychology research:[338]

● Reflecting on compassion for others boosts immune functions and shifts the brain to the left hemisphere, the source of positive emotions.
● Talking about what we are thankful for—whether in classrooms, at the dinner table, or in a diary—boosts happiness and health.
● Helping others rather than pursuing pleasures leads to lasting well-being.

When humans experience safety and trust, this activates the brain's polyvagal system which strengthens social engagement and overrides defensive fight/flight reactions.[339] Shelley Taylor describes this as *tending and befriending*.[340] The level of compassion registers in the vagus circuit which Dachner Keltner calls the *caretaking nerve.*[341] Activity in this nerve determines whether we show compassion to someone in need or disconnect and focus on self.

Compassion is among the strongest positive emotions in humans, even young children. But it can be overridden by negative emotions or distorted thinking, like prejudice. In such cases, humans stop treating others as truly human. Brain imaging studies show that observing the poor, homeless, and those of different racial backgrounds does not always arouse empathy but may lead to indifference or even disgust. This insensitivity is not inborn but is a learned bias.[342] A depersonalized, materialistic society needs to restore the bonds of community.

Our Moral Brain

If I am not for me, who will be? But if I am only for me, what good am I?
—Hillel the Elder, born 110 BCE

Neuroscientist Gerald A. Cory Jr. notes that the human brain operates with two algorithms, self-preservation and concern for others—he calls these Ego and Empathy.[343] Children have the capacity for *emotional* empathy from birth and by school age develop *cognitive* empathy, the ability to imagine what others may be thinking or *theory of mind*. Of course, the logical brain can become ensnared with thinking errors that rationalize self-serving behavior.

Empathy is strongest if persons feel securely attached to a person or group. But whatever threatens attachment security also undermines compassion. Therefore, to create a climate of concern, all members must feel accepted and valued. Sometimes gangs do a better job of this than adult-operated programs.

Harvard researcher Carol Gilligan demonstrated that humans have two standards for making moral decisions: *justice* and *caring*.[344] Males are more inclined towards justice (fairness) while females are strongly motivated by caring (compassion). However, both are essential to living in harmony. The prophet Micah proclaims, *act justly and love mercy*. These values are the moral foundation of peer helping programs.

Researchers from the Max Planck Institute in Germany have conducted novel studies showing children have moral minds and display caring and justice from early years.[345]

> *Caring*. When toddlers observe an adult dropping an object, they automatically pick it up and give it to the person. Most two-year-olds show compassion to others, and this head start in helping predicts their prosocial behavior into adolescence.[346]
>
> *Justice*. Preschoolers embrace values of fairness and begin enforcing these in their play. They share rather than hoard resources, and if they see a peer damaging another child's artwork or stealing property, they object and intervene.

Indigenous cultures nurture this inborn drive for altruism; but in Western society, students become more tolerant of violence and bullying as they advance through the school years.[347] Positive Peer Culture activates the spirit of care and concern which is innate in humans—even those engaged in antisocial behavior. While some see angry, hardened kids as untreatable, this is a lag in moral development. In Fritz Redl' s terms, the task is to *massage numb values* and uncover hidden virtues in children who hate.[348]

John Gibbs has simplified moral development stages as seen in the accompanying ladder.[349] At the lowest rung is *power*, might makes right. Next come *deals* such as behaving to avoid punishment or get rewards. Most people advance to the level of *cooperation* since they want to

be accepted by others. But going along with the group can make a person prisoner of peers. Thus, the highest level of moral development is based on *respect*—treating others as you wish to be treated. As a youth in a peer-helping group said, "You don't have to like a person to help them." This is altruism in its truest form, the Golden Rule of all major faith traditions.

RESPECT

COOPERATION

DEALS

POWER
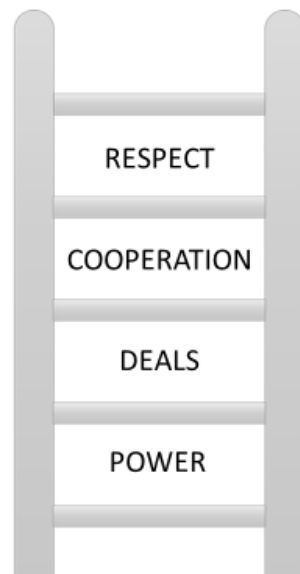
By participating in peer-helping groups, youth with moral lags can develop perspective taking and learn to respect views of others. Even most delinquents affirm the importance of moral values like keeping promises, telling the truth, helping others, not stealing, and obeying the law.[350] But if asked why honesty is important, they may give immature reasons based on power (don't get in trouble) instead of respect (treat persons like you want to be treated).

John Gibbs developed the EQUIP program which added direct instruction to "equip" youth as helpers in PPC groups. Training included social skills instruction and discussing hypothetical moral dilemmas—for example, being tempted to join peers in a delinquent act.[351] Research suggests such formal training had little significant effect on behavior or recidivism.[352] In order to enhance transfer of training, PPC groups focus on natural helping experiences in real-world situations rather than debating contrived moral dilemmas.[353]

Traditional discipline practices deal with antisocial behavior using suspension and expulsion. The rationale is that exclusion is painful and should motivate cooperative behavior. To the contrary, social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior such as helping and cooperating. The socially excluded person adopts an attitude best described as wary. The excluded person may be interested in developing new relationships, but having recently been burned, he or she is reluctant to expose the self to the risk of being hurt again.[354]

Positive Peer Culture engages young people in helping others in need. This begins with peers, but the long-term goal is to transfer caring behavior beyond the ingroup. A promising format for transfer of training is volunteer service-learning in the community.[355]

Service Learning

There are three ways of trying to capture the young; one is to preach at them—
I am afraid that is a hook without a worm; the second is to coerce them—
that is of the devil; the third is an appeal which never fails, "You are needed."[356]
—Kurt Hahn

Kurt Hahn was a leader in the democratic youth movement in Germany. After escaping Nazi oppression, he founded Outward Bound in an abandoned castle in Gordonstoun, Scotland. Seeking to help young people find some *grand passion*, he trained them to conduct sea-rescues of pilots and sailors. Service to others was an antidote to the lack of purpose.

Humans have survived for millennia by caring for one another, but this spirit of generosity must be cultivated anew in each young person. In the past, societies had natural helping roles for the young; today opportunities for service must be intentional. As youth reach out to others, they discover genuine proof of their worth—being of value to someone else. Piaget saw concern for others as essential to healthy adolescent development. As teens *decenter* and ponder the purpose of their life, they often develop idealistic goals of "a glorious future."[357]

The expansion of service-learning programs grew out of the alienation of modern youth but has a rich place in history. All major faith traditions extol the value of extending kindness to others. In the 1800s, educational philosopher Horace Mann argued that childhood should be an apprenticeship in responsibility to prepare children for democratic roles and service to others. A wide range of service activities can strengthen the spirit of altruism. Here are some examples:

• Students studied poverty and volunteered to help feed homeless families.
• Teens assisted in Special Olympics and in horseback riding with disabled children.
• Children presented a musical performance for elderly residents of a care facility.
• A class "adopted" a refugee family, planting flowers in their yard and bringing toys.
• Peer groups painted houses for the elderly and visited residents of nursing homes.
• Groups performed skits for children at care centers and tutored younger children.
• Groups served as volunteers helping citizens clean up after a tornado.

Serving others is the mainstay of communal cultures but is often neglected in individualistic and materialistic societies. Since young people may not initially be invested in the service ethic, the challenge is to whet their interest draw on their sense of idealism. Here are some strategies:

1. Present the project as a challenge to appeal to their strength: *This will be a tough job,* rather than *this will be easy*.
2. Stress how helping will benefit others: *These people need your help,* rather than focusing on personal payoffs. *This will look good on your college application*.
3. Balance short projects bringing instant results with long-term commitment that build helping relationships.
4. Make projects exciting and spontaneous rather than routine and regimented.

While court-ordered community service may be preferable to harsh punishment, the greatest benefits come from volunteering to serve, not serving a sentence. And, while ecological clean-up projects are valuable, the most powerful emotional impact comes from person-to-person helping. Some service projects have life-altering outcomes as when youth help in time of disaster or search for a lost child. Once youth become hooked on helping, they are creative in finding opportunities for service. One PPC group at Starr Commonwealth solicited surplus flowers from a department store after Mother's Day and distributed these to residents of a nursing home who did not have anybody give them flowers.

The systematic use of service learning can transform youth once seen as social problems into societal assets. Yet while youth benefit from service, the focus should always remain on those being helped. Otherwise, as Martin Buber warned, persons who approach helping to satisfy their own needs are engaged in counterfeit altruism that is devoid of purpose.[358] Service learning is an antidote to narcissism, irresponsibility, and consumptive lifestyles. Once the spirit of generosity is established, these experiences can be transformative. By stepping beyond themselves to help others, young people gain added proof of their own significance.

The Spiritual Dimension

Humans are born with a natural motivation to search for purpose in life. The Commission for Children at Risk reviewed research which indicates that children are biologically hard-wired, not only for close connections to others, but also for "deep connections to moral and spiritual meaning."[359] Modern youth are described as having little motivation; the challenge is finding a source for motivation, some purpose for living. Purpose involves pursuing something meaningful to self and contributing to others.[360] Scott Larson, who founded a nationwide network of faith-based mentoring programs for youth in the justice system, makes this observation:

Troubled youth are often more spiritually attuned than those from more stable backgrounds. Because of traumatic life experience, they ask questions like *Why was I ever born?* and *What happens when I die?* Living amidst pain and suffering brings one front and center with the search for meaning and purpose in life. Many leading adolescent theorists now recognize the short-sightedness of ignoring the spiritual dimensions in work with those from troubled backgrounds.[361]

Resilience researcher Emmy Werner found that individuals who overcame traumatic childhoods generally had some higher purpose in life that supported their positive outlook and adjustment.[362] Thousands of studies in positive psychology have linked spirituality with positive life outcomes,[363] and the Search Institute has documented the role of spiritual development in positive youth development.[364] Adolescents who embrace spiritual beliefs are better able to cope with adversity such as peer victimization, while those without such an anchor are more vulnerable to depression and suicide.[365]

In the 4th Century BC, Aristotle wrote that finding happiness and fulfillment is achieved by loving rather than being loved.[366] Those pursuing a selfish, hedonistic lifestyle may experience pleasure in the moment without finding fulfillment in life.[367] Resilience research also shows that persons who are engaged in helping others develop a sense of purpose in life.[368]

From Peer Deviancy to Peer Helping

Positive Peer Culture is unique among educational and treatment models by putting generosity at the core of philosophy and practice.[369] In PPC, the process of helping others is given the highest priority. Young people do not have to be cured from disorders. They are not punished because of deviance. They do not have to be enlightened because of ignorance. Rather, by showing care and concern, they transform the lives of themselves and others.

Positive Peer Culture is designed transform negative peer influence into prosocial peer helping. Surprisingly, this process got a boost from a leading researcher on *peer deviancy*. Noted sociologist Joan McCord co-authored an oft-cited article in *American Psychologist* contending peer group treatment fosters peer deviancy training.[370] We first met Dr. McCord at a meeting of the Coordinating Council on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. She presented an impassioned critique of *iatrogenic interventions* meaning the *cure* causes harm. She began with boot camps and Scared Straight. McCord then added Guided Group Interaction (GGI) and Positive Peer Culture (PPC) to her list of suspect programs.

McCord was familiar with the critique of Guided Group Interaction by another prominent sociologist, Martin Gold of the University of Michigan.[371] However, she was unaware that Gold and colleagues had subsequently conducted extensive research showing that PPC built positive cultures among youth at risk. Joan McCord, Martin Gold, and other researchers accepted an invitation to participate in a symposium on peer group treatment at Starr Commonwealth.

During that visit, McCord had a firsthand opportunity to interview youth from PPC programs and was intrigued by the positive peer climate. She became very enthusiastic about PPC, and we were working with her on strategies to document the efficacy of PPC when she died of cancer. We end this chapter with youth from PPC groups describing their experiences in peer helping.

A Dialogue on Peer Helping

James Longhurst and Joan McCord
with Starr Commonwealth Students

This dialogue is from a symposium on peer group treatment and involves students representing nine different Positive Peer Culture groups. [372]

Dr. James Longhurst: All too often, experts talk about issues concerning young people without hearing the voice of youth. Here, students share how helping others has changed their lives.

David: Thank you all for coming up and joining us for this research symposium. I feel that helping others is one skill that everybody should have because it is not easy to go through life without helping others. Two years ago, I was hurting others, not caring. I didn't even care about myself. I didn't like others and really didn't care how my actions affected others. I learned that helping others is a very complicated process. I had a lot of barriers as my family has not shown me much support and hasn't been part of my treatment. My Dad would call me to tell me he was coming up and then he wouldn't. But I learned to cope with it by interacting with other family members. I base my success on being able to help them, and I was able to help myself.

Marquis: In the past, I had problems with my anger. Now I respect people. If you can help people before they get mad, they are more apt to listen to you. When they are mad, other things going through their head and they act disrespectfully. Basically, you set the pace and calm them down. I feel good when I help somebody, so they won't be in the same position that I was in. I am going to keep trying to help others when I go back out into the community.

Jim: On a personal note, I am bipolar and take medication. It is not a sure thing; medication is not a cure for your problems. I often feel like what is the use of really going on? I don't see the point of living. One thing can really help me get out of depression. If you go out of your way to help some-body, it makes you feel better about yourself. There is this student nobody gets along with; he has a bad disposition and is not friendly. I asked a counselor, "Do I really have to help him?" He said, "Jim, you were the same way when you first got here, and we didn't give up on you." Our group helps at a homeless shelter. One day, I was feeling really bad about myself, but my counselor encouraged me to go. By the time it was over, my face was beaming and happy again because I had helped somebody. It gives me a feeling of euphoria.

Anthony: I have Asperger's, a form of autism. I used to have trouble sticking up for myself around others. I would get mentally and physically abused by them, but I would keep running back to them because I just wanted friends. Now I have been learning to get a more positive

image about myself. Our group goes to this center where we help disabled kids ride horses. I am one of the best helpers there because I don't talk down to the kids. Even if they are ten years younger in age, I talk to them on the same level, like they are my buddies. They are always anxious for me to lead their horses. I have an internship there this summer.

Josh: Before, I was negative all the time and didn't listen to my grandmother or people who were trying to help me. My group said to me, "Look, Josh, you need to check the way you come off to people because you are rude sometimes and maybe the tone of your voice or the way you carry yourself sometimes is kind of arrogant." That brought me to my senses. They didn't sugarcoat anything for me, just told me flat out "you need to change." To help someone, you need a relationship with them. You have to know what triggers them, what sets them off, what gets them mad, and you need to talk to that person, one-on-one to get to know that information. You may not see the effects of helping until down the road, maybe that person will do something with their life. If you put in your effort, you can say, "I tried to help that person. Now it is up to them to do that extra step."

Sean: When I first came, I acted out, trying to be against the rules. If somebody provoked me, I would fight because I was worried how I looked to other people. But change wasn't that easy. I thought, all I have to do is impress these people. But I started building more trust. Then in turn, my group members started helping me and I helped them. I began to tell people about my own life experiences: "Man, I used to get mad like that and get into fights and cuss people out, and it hasn't got me anywhere; it got me into trouble." They can understand what I am saying and respect that because I am their own age and have been through the same problems. So, they say, "He has changed. He had the same problems I have had. If he did it, I can change, too."

Nick: When I arrived, I was always thinking in terms of myself. I was real arrogant and was not going to make any friends. I would just do my treatment and get out of here. But when I was struggling, I couldn't always get myself out of it, I had to count on other people because I didn't have all the answers. A group member who helped me a lot was Duwann. If I was having problems, he would come to me naturally, not in program language like a psychologist. He made me feel more comfortable to open up to him. After a while, I started helping other people like that and it made me feel better about myself. People have to decide if they want to listen or not and accept the help. But they can still go out and help other people.

Antonio: When I first came, if anyone tried to help me, I would hurt them to get them away from me. I was roasting people, trying to make them feel bad because I felt bad about myself. I pushed a lot of people out of my life, like my parents. But people started getting to me. I would see others doing the same thing I used to do, hurt people. When I see them act from the help that I give them, that makes me feel good about myself; it kind of gives me goose bumps on my arm and puts a smile on my face. I would try to hide it because I wouldn't want anybody to see

me as a mushy person. You might think that people don't want your help or don't need you, like they are just cruel and cold-hearted. In reality, they are trying to hide their feelings. You can't just give up on people that easily.

Erik: When you help your group members. It is like letting your real self comes out; basically, you don't have a *front* anymore. Your group members talk to you about how you need to respect people. If you start helping others, it is going to help make you feel good about yourself. I let others help me and I help them. I don't disrespect people anymore.

Dr. Joan McCord: I do a lot of research and I work with teenagers, trying to understand what would help most. A lot of times, the teenagers seem to be saying being in a group makes it tough. It is clear that all of you are saying being in a group makes it good. Can you tell me some of the differences?

Youth: I think it is beneficial to be around teenagers your own age with similar issues. A peer tells me, "Man, I used to do the same stuff that you do. I used to get mad and hit people, so I know how to change and how to help you." I am more willing to listen because it is from someone my own age. He has changed and is making progress. We have a relationship, so I know this is the truth and his life is now working. You see how they changed, and you want to make progress.

Youth: Other programs are mostly staff run and staff tell you what to do. The group doesn't have a say about what goes on, so they like to mess each other up. In this setting, the kids actually make the program. Most of the time they come together for the greater good.

Dr. Joan McCord: So many teenagers that I talk with say groups are harmful. They do things, they make me misbehave, I show off to them, that sort of thing. You people are all saying being in a group is helping you. Helping you figure out how to change your life, how to do something with it. I am trying to understand how that got started. What is going on that makes this one work well and so many other groups don't?

Youth: If there is a lack of respect in group settings, that plays a part. I also think that if you have a good mindset, you will be more prone to respect somebody. A lot of people don't really have the best mindset maybe because they weren't taught respect. Now they are in this new place and don't know what to do, and it is very confusing. They feel all alone and believe they need to try to get relationships by giving in to peer pressure. I don't know about other groups, but my group tells me that we try not to have peer pressure. Respect is where everybody's mind is at.

Youth: Eeveryone has similar issues. People can relate to how you are feeling. If there is one thing that will make a kid sick it is if an adult says, "I was there. I know how you feel." That just doesn't work with us. It is better having someone your own age telling you, "I know how you feel." We actually see them suffering the consequences just like you are.

Youth: I feel we are working harder in this program. There are a lot of challenges if people are disrespectful. But we are going to be faced with all of these things in the world. If you can overcome them here, it is a lot easier to overcome them in the community, it is a lot easier to overcome them there. I am thankful that this program is hard, because I feel it has made me a better person. It made me work harder.

Youth: I told you earlier about my question, "Do I have to help this group member?" If you can put up with and learn to help or show empathy toward the lowest member in your group, the worst to get along with, you can show empathy to anybody. I think that is another reason why the group setting is so helpful because it teaches you to show empathy toward everybody.

Youth: I would compare this program to the last program I was in. Nobody ever really sat down and talked about situations. Here if you do something wrong, people are going to take time to talk to you. In my group, as soon as I came in, people were asking "Do you need help with this?" or talking about getting my GED. Another program I went to, the first thing they talked about was walking out the door.

Youth: I think what makes these groups easier is understanding. At first you might be kind of timid and scared, like, "All right I don't want to say this or that to offend anybody. They may look at me differently." But everybody has stuff that they have done that they don't want people to know about or they just want to forget about. Here they teach you this is okay as long you correct it and don't make the same mistakes. You change your thinking and your values.

Chapter Eight
Peer Helping Groups

A Culture of Helping

The one thing I really enjoy about being in a peer group is that I can take what I have learned and help other people to apply it to their lives, sort of like everybody helps each other out. So, within the group, we all pitch in to make everything better

—Youth in a Peer Helping Group

This chapter is an introduction to conducting peer group problem-solving sessions. These formal group meetings are a laboratory where members learn to be effective helpers. Formal sessions are the hub of the wheel with other helping opportunities occurring in the living or learning environment as needs arise. While it is essential to have natural helping opportunities outside of the meetings, without regular formal group sessions, youth have less opportunity to learn effective methods of peer helping. Group meetings also provide prosocial skills that transfer into the natural ecology of the family, school, and community. Settings which shorten or skip scheduled meetings are unlikely to create lasting change.[373]

The group meeting does not stand alone. Positive Peer Culture also requires active staff involvement to extend the caring culture to the life space. Formal group sessions enable youth to focus full attention on giving and receiving help. Youth acquire remarkable helping skills not common among those who have not had this opportunity. A teen explains:

To me helping is more of a prevention process. Rather than seeing somebody making mistakes, you prevent it from happening. You know the triggers, the warning signs, what causes them to act the way they act. That's where you should step in and help.

Strategies learned in group meetings serve to create a total culture of helping. Peer support can occur spontaneously between individuals; as a youth said, "I can tell when he is getting stressed out, so I talk to him person-to-person to help him calm down."

There is vast literature on using groups for therapeutic purposes. A leading text in this field is *The Theory and Practice of Group Psychotherapy* by psychiatrist Irvin Yalom.[374] He highlights key factors for successful groups akin to Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity.

Relationships. Those with turbulent backgrounds gain new tools for connecting with others. The group is a miniature human community, so what is learned there readily transfers to other settings. By resolving conflicts and supporting peers, youth develop relational skills and strengthen belonging.

Learning. Maxwell Jones who developed *therapeutic communities* in the 1950s gave lectures to patients.[375] While peer helping uses cognitive strategies, this is not an instructional group but experiential learning using the life expertise of peers. Formal training (e.g., learning about conflict cycles) can occur outside the meeting.

Hope. Believing positive change is possible and that the group will help is uplifting to those who feel discouraged and helpless. Brain scans show that positive expectation is a powerful placebo effect that changes brain functioning.

Helping. Persons not only receive help but, perhaps more importantly, help others. Altruism is profoundly restorative for demoralized persons who feel they have nothing to give. Those who are self-centered or lack empathy can develop new skills and values by helping others. Caring is the core of effective groups.

   Yalom also emphasizes the value of *universality*—you are not alone in your problems. "Welcome to the human race…there is no human deed or thought that is fully outside the experience of other people."[376] Many feel deeply flawed—unlovable, incompetent, harboring a shameful secret. Discovering and supporting others in the same boat is liberating:

   You know you're not the only person who had this issue. If you mess up, they're not jumping on your back. They tell you what's best for you to do and that makes me feel like being honest. One of my staff told me that helping is not an incident, it's a lifestyle.

Stages of Group Development
   Groups tend to develop in a predictable sequence. Educational psychologist Bruce Tuckman[377] created the clever mnemonic labels of Forming, Storming, Norming, and Performing. These are compared with stages in developing PPC groups.

Small Group Development	Positive Peer Culture
Forming	Casing
Storming	Limit Testing
Norming	Polarization
Performing	Positive Peer Culture

1. *Casing*. Initially members are not comfortable with one another and put up a front. They are vigilant to see if the group is safe, carefully observing peers and adults. This may be a brief honeymoon as youth do not yet know how to act in this new setting.

2. *Limit Testing*. One can only learn so much by sitting and watching. Thus, members begin testing the limits to see what is permitted and how others will respond. As they struggle to find their position in the group, they form cliques and try to establish rank.

3*. Polarization*. Groups form factions. Some want to become serious in group meetings while others are resistant. Those most eager to participate may be low on the status hierarchy so it will be important to recruit reluctant youth into positive roles.

4. *Positive Peer Culture*. As members become comfortable and build trust, the natural helping processes takes hold. Staff are also active outside of meetings to cultivate a culture of helping. This is not just a verbal process as group activities can foster an *esprit de corps*. The group becomes cohesive, the foundation for a positive culture.

When PPC is first being implemented, the burden of creating a group culture rests on staff who guide youth and teach helping skills. However, if another well-functioning PPC group is available, those group members may help *seed* new groups by explaining and modeling helping strategies to members of the fledgling group.

Negative Peer Leaders

Particularly when starting a new group, a common challenge comes from strong-willed youth who try to sabotage meetings and recruit others in their resistance. Groups may have a member who is highly skilled at controlling, conning, or even intimidating others. Vorrath called this the Negative Influence Leader (NIL) who usually operates with a couple of lieutenants. The immediate challenge is neutralizing their resistance, in effect rendering their negative power "NIL." The goal is not to strip NIL of power but turn this person into a positive leader.

One usually does not directly challenge NIL in the presence of peers, since this may boost status and rally group resistance. A more oblique strategy is to undermine the base of support by holding NIL's lieutenants accountable for supporting their friend's hurtful behavior. For example, "How can those who claim to be Tony's friends let him keep messing up his life?" When Tony sees his supporters being challenged, he may act out to regain power which provides further proof he has problems and needs help. The intent is to put the Negative Influence Leader in a bind, so the only options are powerlessness or positive leadership. When they turn around, these youth often become the most strongly positive members of the group.

In the absence of positive group influence, staff are responsible for conveying the clear message that hurting others will not be tolerated. In extreme situations, it might be necessary to remove a youth for a time. This must always be a staff decision and not the province of peers.

However, sometimes a temporary removal can become a teaching moment as the group helps prepare the youth for a positive return. Negative leaders are in fact leaders, and the goal is to turn their talents from harassment to helping. A youth explains:

> *I was a negative influence all the time. I just thought people were meant to be used to my advantage. But my peers and staff started teaching me that it makes you feel better to help others. I began looking at my thinking and looking at my heart and tried to find the real love for people cause it's still there; you're just hiding it*.

Group Composition

Most peer helping programs involve adolescents. Younger children are thought to be less peer oriented and more dependent on adult guidance. But research on altruism shows that even small children have innate motivation to help one another. With strong adult support, peer group programs have succeeded with younger children. German PPC programs have adapted groups to elementary-aged students, as an adult speaks through a large stuffed animal to help guide the discussion. Starr Commonwealth converted a behavioral program for young children into peer helping groups—albeit with greater adult input. Prior to PPC, these youngsters were being managed with mostly extrinsic behavioral rewards. But when they saw older peers engaged in helping, they wanted to have groups as well. This sparked a new-found maturity as children found helping others highly rewarding.

Many peer culture programs operate single sex groups, even in coeducational settings. The rationale is that youth may be less guarded and are more accustomed to relating to a reference group of the same gender. However, coeducational groups have been effective in schools and community-based group homes. Boys in a co-ed group remarked: *We had to learn to be more sensitive to what girls are feeling rather than just dominate them*—a lesson for a lifetime.

While typical peer helping groups have 8 to 12 members, many factors influence optimal group size. Research indicates that overly large groups tend to break into cliques and have less consensus and participation.[378] Large groups are constantly in danger of self-destructing through the proliferation of subgroups and a status hierarchy. Older, more mature youth can handle larger groups than younger, immature children. One must be aware of the complexity as larger groups create exponential increases in the number of relationships to manage.

An opposite problem occurs where groups are too small, such as a group home with three residents. While peer helping can occur with any *quantity* of youngsters, it takes a critical mass to create *quality* group helping. Tiny groups lack diverse talents and are easily dominated by a single member—or overpowered by the adult leader. An exception is students with cognitive deficits who may function better in smaller, less complex groups.

Günther Opp developed PPC programs in German schools.[379] Observations of peer-helping groups in different settings for three years and identified these different learning styles.[380]

Quiet Learners are reserved in meetings and usually stay in the background. Still, they are interested in discussions and profit from the positive culture and solidarity of belonging without feeling threatened.

Active Talkers continually bring up their problems for discussion. They have a tremendous need to speak out, not always geared to solutions. Talking seems to relieve stress by clarifying and reframing their conflicts.

Problem Solvers willingly enter into discussions and seek solutions to problems of self and others. They assume responsibility for their problems and take active steps to transfer solutions into their life space.

Natural Leaders enjoy personal growth and share challenges in their everyday lives. They keep the group tone positive and protect vulnerable peers. Groups provide these youth powerful learning experiences.

Generally, groups function best if they are similar in maturity and sophistication, but diverse in personality. Most populations of troubled youth have a wide variety of problems which can be successfully handled by positive groups. Sometimes, funding bodies call for homogeneous groups of youth sharing the same problem, such as substance abuse or sexually reactive behavior. This provides opportunities to add evidence-based strategies to address these specific problems. However, youth are more than a set of symptoms so peer helping should keep the focus on meeting developmental needs.

The Group-Meeting

PPC groups have a unique format and a definite procedure
of operation and operate within a highly defined structure.
--Harry Vorrath

Formal PPC peer helping sessions contrast with other group models ranging from unstructured discussions to adult-dominated instruction. While there are many varieties of groups, neither impromptu bull sessions nor directive teaching solve socioemotional problems. William Morse analyzed group life space interviews with troubled youth and found that these often ended in chaos.[381] In some cases, resistance was so strong that nothing could be accomplished. To try to keep chaos in check, more staff were added—thereby making the meeting property of the adults. Morse described PPC as the solution to these challenges: "We have needed a group process which is relevant to professional and lay worker alike. It must be explicit so that all can understand. It must involve the youth themselves."[382]

The formal groups session is the heart of Positive Peer Culture. In school settings, the length of meetings is adapted to the class schedule. Intensive residential and community-based treatment settings run 90-minute group sessions held five days a week. Dosage matters and sharply limiting the length or frequency of group meetings can collapse of the culture. For example, a group leader who cuts stormy meetings short is rewarding resistance.

The Group Meeting Agenda

Although group meetings begin by identifying problems, the focus on flaw-finding will frustrates participants. The group meeting is not a free-for-all but follows a specific agenda. Here are the four stages of a formal 90-minute session with rough time estimates:

Reporting Problems (typically about 10-15 minutes)
Going around the circle, each group member reports *problems* occurring since the last meeting or not previously discussed. If a member omits problems, others can share their observations. This brief "check-in" takes the pulse of the group but is not the time for extended discussion.

Awarding the Meeting (typically 5-10 minutes)
Group members go around the circle again to decide who will receive help. For example, "I think Rachel should get the meeting for her easily angered problem." Individuals may also request the meeting for themselves. The group reaches a consensus on who is to be *awarded the meeting*. If this turns into lengthy arguments, the group is more willing to waste time than to help. While more than one student may need help, only one is selected and others can be supported outside the meeting.

Problem-Solving (typically about an hour)
This is the heart of the meeting as the group helps the individual explore a challenge, identify needs, and build coping strengths. While the group explores the specific problem reported, sometimes the person being helped shares new concerns. With a mature group, the leader makes minimal input, using questions to draw out ideas from group members.

Leader Feedback (typically 10 minutes)
The group leader allows time for a summary of each meeting. This is a coaching role, reflecting on the meeting to help members to become more effective peer helpers. If the meeting has been stressful, this is the time tone down the tension. If some individuals still need help beyond the meeting, this also is addressed. The summary need not be in lecture mode as the leader can draw out observations from members.

Unstructured group counseling with youth can become chaotic bull-sessions and fail to focus on what matters most. This is the rationale for using a structured agenda in peer-helping groups:

- Groups find ritual and order provide a safe structure in emotionally charged situations.[383]
- All members are given opportunity to participate, much as in Indigenous talking circles.[384]
- A structured vocabulary of problems and strengths fosters clear communication.
- Youth use natural peer-helping methods to provide support and build strengths.[385]
- The group leader's feedback becomes an opportunity to develop peer-helping skills.

Structured meetings also allow supervisory and training staff to monitor the quality of the peer-helping process. Groups do not go rogue but follow established protocol. Just as airline pilots are periodically observed to see if they are following proper procedures, supervisory staff or peer evaluators can observe group meetings to monitor program fidelity.

A variation to typical meetings is the *life story* where a youth asks to share his or her background with the group. If a new member is entering an established group, peers find opportunities to share their own background with the newcomer. Individuals ask for a life story meeting when they feel they trust the group, not because disclosure is demanded. As members learn about a person's life situation, they are better able to identify problems and strengths and provide help to one another.

As described earlier, the EQUIP Program developed the BAMMS list of cognitive distortions or *thinking errors*. This has been an important contribution to peer-helping programs. When group treatment skeptic Joan McCord first toured a PPC program at Starr Commonwealth, she was surprised that students openly described how their thinking errors and problem behavior hurt themselves and others. They had learned to use the vocabulary of BAMMS thinking errors.

PPC is at its core a strength-based model and there has been a debate about how much peer groups should concentrate on deficits or strengths. In his EQUIP model, John Gibbs described problem behavior with three deficit labels: *Deficiencies* in social skills, *Distortion* in thinking, and *Delay* in moral reasoning. He proposed that students begin peer group meetings a) by reporting their problems using the PPC vocabulary, but b) also adding the thinking errors from the BAMMS list. In contrast, strength-based researcher Erik Laursen contends that PPC group meetings should avoid a deficit mindset and link problems to Circle of Courage goals. Psychologist J.C. Chambers who ran groups for youth with substance-abuse problems put it succinctly: "Glance at problems, gaze at strengths." PPC programs now use the BAMMS thinking error list but only as these arise naturally in the peer-helping process. For example, if a student is *blaming* others, peers help correct this thinking error on the spot.

Problems are powerful opportunities for learning and growth. There is a clear distinction between *controlling* problems and *solving* problems. While it is necessary to prevent harmful behavior, superficial behavior management does not build the strengths necessary for positive life outcomes. The accompanying table contrasts controlling problems with solving problems.[386]

Solving Problems	Controlling Problems
Problems are a normal part of every person's life. By solving problems, individuals develop strength and resilience.	Problems are abnormalities in people and seen as mental illness, immorality, ignorance, or deviant behavior.
People with problems are like all humans: they sometimes hurt themselves or others.	People with problems are different and show behavior that is objectionable to society.
Acknowledging that one has problems is a sign of strength.	Acknowledging that one has problems is a sign of weakness.
If a person has problems, these can be shared with people we trust.	If a person has problems, these should be concealed from others.
When problems arise, others help the person become more considerate of self and others.	When problems arise, others try to get the person to stop troublesome behavior.

Problem-solving builds strengths and resilience. As Bill Wasmund noted, young people need something to live up to, not more to live down.

> Our students have much more experience showing problems than solving them. They will not develop the courage they need to change if we just remind them of their weaknesses. Instead, we must acknowledge helpful attempts and insist that young people contribute according to their abilities.[387]

The Tone of the Meeting

"It's like going into surgery. We have someone's life in our hands."
--Youth describing a peer-helping meeting.

The PPC group meeting is the single most intensive activity in which students participate. Staff strive to create an aura of serious importance around the meeting. Effective groups approach the meeting in a respectful manner—horseplay, flippant behavior, and jocularity are alien to the task at hand. No interruptions are tolerated, and cell phones are left outside or turned off and out of view. Staff do everything possible to avoid cancelling a meeting which suggests something else is more important. Meetings start on time, and the adult who expects

the group to be prompt sets the tone. Before the meeting, students enter the room and arrange the chairs if necessary, as this is their meeting and their responsibility.

During the group session, students should feel to express their real feelings and use the vocabulary they are comfortable with as long as it does not hurt others. There is no value in having members scream profanities at one another, but the group leader should not be in the position of trying to police all verbalizations. "We don't talk like that in here" might work in a regular classroom but does not set the proper tone for a group meeting.

Various settings have different norms about profanity. Nevertheless, it is useful to understand the distinction between three different kinds of profane expressions:

> **Profanity as pain** is a reaction to intense frustration or emotional distress. Intervention does not sanction swearing but addresses what is causing the hurt.
> **Profanity as a weapon** is a problem of disrespect. As a youth explained: "People who swear to put someone down or put on a front need better ways to express feelings."
> **Colloquial profanity** ("that's bullshit") might be routine to the person swearing but offend others. Mature persons avoid language that disrupts harmony in relationships.

Staff should set the proper tone by avoiding using profanity. Swearing does not make adults more authoritative but models hostility. Since being the target of swearing is painful, it is widely used by authoritarian persons to compel compliance. Even should a youth become subservient, this erodes relationships of respect. Swearing can also incite Tit for Tat conflict cycles. Effective authoritative adults learn to set limits and express concern without having tantrums.

Group interaction may become so intense that students speak over the top of one another. Members must learn not to interrupt a person who needs to be heard. However, arbitrary controls impair spontaneity (e.g., raising hands to talk, passing around a talking stick). A group where all are trying to help at once is better than a boring meeting.

The layout of seating for groups has been a topic of continuing interest. The group typically is seated in a circle so all can see one another as shown in this diagram:
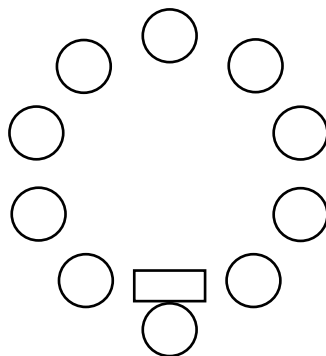
Having all members sitting in a circle conveys equality. This face-to-face format also maximizes the opportunity for empathy. A conference table would become a barrier between members. The group leader can enter discussion as needed—but is not seated in a position of dominance (such as presiding at the head of the table) or posing as a peer (snuggled in the circle). A small table can mark the adult's separate but attentive role. Since group leaders may wish to jot down ideas for their summary and feedback, the table serves this purpose.

Confidentiality

This is less of a legal matter than a question of trust. Members believe that what they say in meetings will not be used to hurt them or be peddled to persons outside the group. In early stages, youth may view reporting problems as informing on one another, and they must learn that discussing problems is helping, not hurting.

Ordinarily, a person who reveals information in the meeting should not be punished for that openness. Youth must be free to bring out problems without fear of retribution from either staff or peers. If there are mandated reporting laws or policies, members should be aware of these so as not to incriminate themselves.

The here-and-now focus helps to keep discussion on real-world events instead of dredging up pain from the past. But in trusting groups, there are times that a student wants to share emotionally charged experiences with peers. If the group leader detects that the group will not take this seriously or will use the information against the youth, this will require protecting the student from disclosure. Some issues are best handled with the tighter shield of confidentiality of individual therapy.

Students should realize that a staff team shares in responsibility for the well-being of students. Thus, the group is aware that the group leader will keep team members apprised of issues that impact the best interests of individuals in the group. This does not mean that all group conversations are repeated verbatim or conveyed in written reports. In a respectful alliance, all members—old and young alike—comprise a community of caring.

In instances when either students or staff violate these values and use information to hurt another, this would be dealt with by the peer group or the staff team. When youth register complaints against staff, they are assured that the staff team will deal with such. Just as peers do not cover up problems, staff are held to these same expectations within their team.

If meetings are recorded for training purposes, this must have the permission of the group. Likewise, if professional visitors want to observe a meeting, students should know who they are and their purpose. When visitors are not part of the staff team or supervisory structure, the person getting the meeting can ask them to be excused if their presence creates discomfort. In any case, visitors must be unobtrusive and not speak or make eye contact. While observing is the best way to learn how peer groups operate, training is always secondary to treatment.

Groups on the Go

In addition to structured groups, youth have untapped potential to deal with impromptu challenges through a natural process of peer helping. Malekoff calls these *group-on-the-go*.[388] In traditional programs, when a problem or crisis occurs, this is usually handled by an adult on a one-to-one basis. However, since peers have powerful influence on one another, *groups-on-the-go* can be formed to resolve conflicts or provide support.

At times staff might recruit a couple of students to encourage a youth struggling with some issue that they also had experienced, such as loss of a parent. On a larger scale, the entire group may be mobilized and *circle up* to help a peer in conflict or crisis. These are circles of encouragement rather than coercive encounters.

Unlike treatment settings where *circling the group* may be a natural event, educators may be wary that forming groups-on-the-go will upset the routine of the school. Communicating with school staff about the purpose and value of such groups is essential. Groups-on-the-go can provide unique genuine support to peers in pain. For example, a student was melting down in school after the suicide of a friend, and a small group of peers was able to provide support in this time of crisis. Altruism is a powerful force.

People used to say, "that boy's bad." As I thought about it, I can't be too bad because others are always trying to help me. Facing my issues was hard to do because I didn't know how others were going to respond—were they going to call me names? I've seen others in the group taking risks and they weren't hurt by it, they were getting help. So I began to express myself and found out it feels a lot better to be open and honest. If you're not helping, you're hurting.

Chapter Nine
Total Teamwork

Just as PPC youth are formed into efficient and cohesive groups,
staff also must be organized into efficient and cohesive teams.[389]
—Harry Vorrath

This chapter examines the critical role of teamwork in building positive organizational and relational climates. Many early youthwork pioneers gained prominence because of the charisma of their personalities. Individuals like Janusz Korczak did not just direct their programs; they were the program. Unfortunately, their innovations often ended with their tenure. What is needed is a way to organize staff to build and sustain positive cultures.

Depersonalized Organizations

During the 19th Century, Frederick Taylor's principles of *scientific management* which forged the assembly line were adopted by education and youth organizations.[390] The basic factory-like structure of schools and institutions has changed little since then. In 1938, sociologist Lewis Mumford mocked the notion of making education *economical* or *comprehensive* in schools holding 1500 to 3000 pupils as a "megapolitan perversion."[391] He argued instead for small units framed to the human scale.

When schools served only compliant children and shucked off the rest, the bureaucracy could survive. But there can be no disposable kids since there are now evidence-based strategies for reclaiming our most vulnerable youngsters. The most reliable predictor of positive peer cultures among students is the quality of the teamwork environment of staff. Thus, effective PPC programs place great emphasis on developing a strong, positive staff culture which Howard Garner calls *total teamwork*.[392]

Despite rhetoric supporting the "team concept," many organizations are marked by competition instead of cooperation. Protecting one's turf is more important than serving needs of youth, and staff feel trapped and frustrated instead of creative and powerful. Thus, a positive staff climate is a prerequisite to a positive peer culture. Here are some organizational problems that must be addressed to create a positive organizational climate.

Depersonalization. Individuals do not feel they matter in large organizations which are not structured to make primary relationships possible.

Stagnation. Without a process of renewal, the natural tendency for a closed system is to move toward entropy, a state of decline and decay.

Youth in conflict. Negative youth subcultures fuel fight or flight as youth scapegoat weaker peers or escape by absenteeism or dropping out.

Staff in conflict. Tension between staff and with administration causes burn-out and turnover, or numb-out with loss of morale.

Communication breakdown. Effective enterprises require collaboration, but layers of bureaucracy and turf-tending prevent effective teamwork.

This distressing state was described by Howard Garner as "organizational bedlam."[393] He lists popular theories that purport to explain this dysfunction:

Lack of clear philosophy. Presumably, confusion would clear up if schools followed prescribed policies, and youth organizations used manualized treatment methods.

Lack of staff training. This theory assumes there is a specific knowledge base which should be taught so staff can adopt the proper approach.

Relationship hang-ups. If only people could get along, problems would disappear. Solutions may range from encounter groups to beer parties.

Problematic personalities. The belief is that conflict is caused by troublemakers, and if they could be purged, the organization would be fine.

Insufficient resources. Perhaps adding staff or more layers of supervision would make things right, but if we are not organized now, this compounds chaos.

Another popular way to explain bedlam is to *project the blame* on disruptive children, bad parents, or indifferent communities. While all such theories might have a trace of truth, these can be a copout instead of reexamining the effectiveness of the organization.

Research by James Anglin on group care programs for youth at risk in Canada found that successful programs have a shared understanding of how to serve the best interests of children and youth.[394] There must be a *congruence* of values and principles embraced by stakeholders at all levels: contractual authorities, executives, supervisors, direct care teams, youth. and families.[395] All need the knowledge and vision to support development of positive peer Cultures.

Israeli research by Martin Wolins and Yochanan Wozner identify the essential elements of the *reclaiming* organization as meeting the needs of both the young person and the broader society.[396] Their stark contrast of reclaiming and *non-reclaiming* environments is consistent with Circle of Courage values as seen below:

> ***Belonging***. Experiencing a community of support rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.
>
> ***Mastery***. Opportunities for learning rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.
>
> ***Independence***. Empowering young people while recognizing society's need to prevent harmful behavior.
>
> ***Generosity***. Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just passive recipients, dependent on the care of others.

Transforming Leadership

The servant leader makes sure that other people's highest priority needs are being served.[397]
—Robert Greenleaf

Adults are unlikely to convince young people to help one another unless they model this ethic of service. The servant leader concept developed by Robert Greenleaf[398] has direct application to building organizations that empower both youth and adults:

> Servant leadership represents a significant departure from hierarchical systems of leadership often employed in educational and social service programs. The premise of servant leadership is deeply rooted in the leader's priority of serving others, to ensure that other people's highest priority needs are being served before one's self.[399]

Consistent with a large body of research, servant leadership enables staff to become more trusting, skillful, responsible, and motivated to serve others.[400]

Discussions of leadership frequently distinguish authoritarian and democratic styles. As documented by anthropologist Walter Miller, participative leadership predates Western civilization.[401] The French military officer Baron de LaHontan, observing Native Americans in the 17th Century, was amazed to discover tribal leaders had great influence but did not exercise authoritarian control. Indigenous peoples had remarkably progressive concepts of leadership:

- Power should be equally available to all.
- Power was temporary, serving in a specific situation.
- Having power did not give any right to control others.

Miller noted that Western concepts of power were shaped by the philosophy of the divine right of kings; a person in authority was assumed to have some special connection with God. The language conveys this hierarchical bias, i.e., "climbing the ladder of success" and "rising to the top." Contemporary culture rewards those who overpower others.

Authoritarian and participative leaders have different views of human behavior which Douglas McGregor labeled as Theory X and Theory Y which are contrasted in the table below.[402] These polarized labels are an oversimplification since most managers show elements of both Theory X and Theory Y. Researchers increasingly agree that participative organizations are the most effective by tapping the talents of all. These principles are even being taught to military officers in democratic nations.

Theory X Leaders	Theory Y Leaders
People avoid work if they can and need the security of being controlled.	People enter willingly into work if committed to the organizational goals.
People perform best if closely monitored and directed.	People are capable of self-control and responsibility.
Economic incentives, coercion, and threat foster productivity.	Intrinsic satisfaction is a more powerful motivation than external controls.

The leadership philosophy of an organization should match the model of education or treatment being used.[403] Thus, autocratic leadership might fit adult-dominated behavior modification, while servant leadership is attuned to the goals of empowering youth. Staff who themselves experience Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity are able to meet these needs in young people

Student cultures are shadows of staff cultures. In simple terms, staff must decide whether to encourage good behavior or fight bad behavior. Persons with positive outlooks view problems as opportunities for growth. But those desperate to control often evoke *counter-control*.

Successful programs transform adversarial cultures by building beliefs and values shared by both adults and youth. Traditional discipline systems which demand instant obedience create an us-against-them climate. This motivates the subjugated to keep a united front against those in authority. Changing these entrenched views requires more than drive-by staff training in a setting that remains custodial and coercive.[404]

Staff Roles and Behavior

Staff teams can be enhanced by a natural diversity of healthy personalities. Further, children learn to get along with persons showing different styles of personality. Three distinct types of adults all have something unique to contribute to Positive Peer Culture:

The Demander. These adults can set expectations and are comfortable even in situations involving confrontation. They are seen as strong and not easily intimidated. Youth accustomed to manipulating authority need to learn to relate to this type of individual. While the demanding style can be useful, these persons must not become uncaring, autocratic, or hostile.

The Soother. These persons set a relaxed tone and keep the group climate from becoming too stressful. They nurture more easily than they confront and can gain voluntary cooperation. Youth with authority problems see them as easily manipulated. This may be a signal that the soother may need to develop a more authoritative presence. A possible limitation of these adults is making the group too comfortable when youth need to be challenged.

The Stimulator. These adults add intensity, excitement, and fun to groups which can help build *esprit de corps*. Youth need some joy in their daily experiences, and the stimulator functions as an antidepressant. If a group becomes lethargic, creative activities can motivate group involvement. A limitation is that the stimulator may get the group too wound up and create unwanted behavior contagion.

Since youth may be attracted to adults with different personality types, all who work in the field of child and youth work can become relationship-builders. When selecting staff, a key consideration is what natural qualities or skills would make this person attractive to youth—particularly those who are relationship wary. Effective youth workers are not just focused on treatment of problems, but creating rich environments for learning, growth, and fun.

Adults in authority draw from their own folk psychology and life experiences to develop their style of working with youth. But sometimes our intuitive approaches to discipline may be ineffective and even fuel more conflict. The power of peers can confound our most valiant attempts to reach resistant youth. Positive Peer Culture has been specifically designed to reverse the negative group dynamics which pit adults against youth. This requires rethinking our approach, viewing peer groups as a resource instead of a risk. Here are six common responses of adults in authority to the power of peers:

Ignorance. "Out of sight, out of mind." Many persons in authority are clueless about what is going on in the subculture of youth.

Conflict. "Do what I say." In this contest for power, adults seek obedience and youth resist control, fueling conflict cycles.

Permissiveness. "Let them do their own thing." These adults ignore the reality that youth need the benefit of mature adult guidance.

Surrender. "There is nothing I can do; they won't listen." Adults give up and thus deprive young people of the benefit of their guidance.

Joining the opposition. "Let's be pals." Adults who become virtual peers lose their authority and risk involvement in inappropriate relationships.

Respectful Alliances. "Working together." Young people are enlisted in helping peers and cooperating with adults to meet the needs of individuals and groups.

Teamwork Primacy

I realize how much my own outer and inner life is built upon the labors of my fellowman, and how earnestly I must exert myself in order to return as much as I have received.[405]
—Albert Einstein

Most research on teams draws from Western cultural viewpoints which reflect individualistic rather than community thinking.[406] As Stephen Brill has noted, our society has built a cult of get-ahead meritocracy instead of a culture of service.[407] A special issue of *American Psychologist* highlights the research base for building teamwork.[408] These democratic principles do not only apply to programs serving youth. Many might be surprised to learn that teams are the nucleus around which the modern military is organized.[409]

When the U.S. military shifted from a mandatory draft to an all-volunteer professional force, it was necessary to maximize the effectiveness of units while operating with a more streamlined staff. Further, as tasks became more complex, teamwork was more critical. Thus, leadership changed from boss-like management of subordinates, to helping teams develop their effectiveness. Summing up the power of teams, researchers conclude:

Teams can be more effective than the sum individual team members. Cohesive teams (strong bonds among members) perform better and stay together longer than do non-cohesive teams. Teams can absorb more task demands, perform with fewer errors, [and exceed] individual performance.[410]

Theodore Newcomb, who inspired research on Positive Peer Culture stated that humans are so thoroughly socialized that virtually all their problems must be solved by working with

others.[411] Effective teams are able to manage conflict. This includes *task-based conflict* (how to best achieve team goals) and *relationship-based conflict* (interpersonal tensions).[412] When personality conflict is high, groups do not achieve their goals. But when interpersonal harmony reins, conflicts about how to best perform tasks can often be constructive. Thus, effective teams manage conflict by fostering understanding and treating all members with respect.

A prime assumption in teamwork is: "Trust among team members is critical for effective collaboration."[413] But trust cannot develop if persons of different backgrounds are treated as the out-group. This calls for more than training in tolerance but rather *developing cultural humility*— being open to learning from one another and eliminating power imbalances.[414]

Teamwork taps diverse talents and perspectives to solve complex problems.[415] While birds of a feather may flock together, a team of think-alike clones has limited expertise. While a shared consensus on goals is essential, teams benefit from varied experience, training, and life maturity. Further, building positive peer cultures broadens the definition of expertise to include the missing experts, those young people and families we serve.[416]

While staff in education and youthwork typically operated as individuals, there is growing interest in developing teams in these settings.[417] PPC provides a format for planning and problem-solving which focuses on meeting growth needs of students. In *Helping People through Teamwork*, Howard Garner describes the essential role of staff teams in building positive youth cultures.[418] Participative democracy applies to both staff teams and youth groups. One cannot have a cohesive team of youth and a chaotic or dispirited group of staff. Instead, *teamwork primacy* becomes the top organizational goal. Garner proposes that staff measure team effectiveness against these guidelines for total teamwork:

• Teams should include all staff who regularly serve a specific group of students. Administrators may briefly join team meetings for direct communication but should not stay to run or monitor these meetings as this undercuts team effectiveness.
• The number of adults serving a group of students should be kept to the minimum. Large numbers of transient workers prevent team cohesiveness and interfere with developing close bonds with youth. Ordinarily, an individual serves on one team.
• Teams are organizational units with both responsibility and authority. Educational and treatment planning enlists an interdisciplinary team that brings together the expertise needed to execute effective programs.
• Status differences should be minimized so all team members have opportunity for input into team decision making. The team will hold regular meetings, and Garner proposes that all members take turns serving as chairperson.

The team meeting agenda covers five topics: 1) communications between team and administration 2) periodic review of progress with individual students, 3) strengthening the peer group culture, 4) strengthening the teamwork culture, and 5) other practical logistics.

The team is responsible for monitoring its own functioning and resolving conflicts. Major problems in team functioning might require targeted attention outside of regularly scheduled meetings. Likewise, there may need to be separate meetings for treatment planning, staff training, crisis situations, and other issues that cannot be handled in team meetings.

There is wide disparity on how many staff are engaged to *manage* groups. On one hand are correctional settings where officers patrol large groups, basically using crowd control methods. At the other extreme are programs with such high staff-to-youth ratios, this can stifle peer group development. Adult density may be prescribed by regulations, sometimes paired with *professional distance* mythology which render staff impotent, whatever their numbers.[419] Certainly, staff need to feel safe and have adequate backup in crisis. But smothering peer groups with too many staff is adultism that disempowers youth. Too many adults with transient relationships erode staff teams and group cultures.

Michigan researchers cite many benefits that accrue from total teamwork in PPC.[420] All staff feel part of the action and receive encouragement, emotional support, and insight from colleagues. Team members develop skills and expertise by learning from one another in a climate of trust. Viable educational or treatment plans are developed and consistently implemented. The need for back-up staff is diminished as teams manage problems and conflicts. The failure rate for students and turnover of staff plummets. Finally, staff feel they are contributing to youth which is why they originally went into this work.

The Impact of Staff Teams[421]

Martin Gold and D. Wayne Osgood

We have demonstrated that group norms and climate affect individual's adjustment. We now turn to the likely source of these differences among the groups—the staff teams responsible for them. Although all 45 groups were nominally using Positive Peer Culture, implementation varied substantially from group to group in the different settings. We believe that these variations were due largely to differences among staff teams.

The virtually random assignment of youth to groups created the opportunity for the quasi-experimental design of this study. It is *quasi* experimental because we researchers did not have control over variations in staff behavior. Natural differences occurred, and we recorded these. Because the research did not alter the treatment program, findings more plausibly generalize to similar groups in their natural states.

Staff Morale. Organizational psychology suggests the importance of staff morale. If positive student adjustment is the goal of the program, then this should be related to staff morale as research has shown. Our original plan was to measure several different aspects of staff morale. To our surprise, this was not practical because the variables were so highly correlated that they were not distinct. It seems that a wide variety of factors are clustered together in a general pattern of positive or negative feelings about the program or job. Thus, we formed a single index of staff morale with items measuring four staff characteristics: *Team Cohesion, Team Involvement, Belief in Program, Belief about Potential for Reform*. Here are key findings:

> ***Autonomy given to youth.*** This is an important aspect of how staff teams work with young people. It reflects the absence of authoritarian staff control over students.
> ***Youth decision-making.*** Our interest in group participation in day-to-day decision-making came from an early study of group dynamics by Lewin, Lippitt, and White.[422] Groups were better behaved, more productive, and happier in a climate of democratic decision making.
> ***Treatment versus accountability.*** To measure this emphasis, we asked questions such as "How important is maintaining order and discipline?" and "How important is developing students' emotional maturity?" It turned out these were not contradictory as staff who found one important embraced the other as well. Ironically, *when staff emphasized the boys' emotional problems but not their behavior, boys were more distant from staff.*

We were interested in how staff teams affect groups—but it was also possible that staff were responding to the behavior of students in their groups. However, students were constantly turning over while most staff remained on their teams for several years. This suggested the primary influence was staff on youth. We measured staff morale, autonomy given to youth, and youth participation at three points over the span of a year. These were all highly correlated indicating team behavior was stable.

Staff team morale was strongly and significantly correlated with many group properties. When teams enjoyed higher morale, their group reported less delinquent values, more acceptance of the program, more group autonomy, and greater group cohesiveness. Thus, there is considerable evidence that when staff members feel better about their jobs, their group has more prosocial norms and a more positive group climate.

Staff morale was very closely related to the autonomy staff report giving to groups. This correlation is so strong ($r = .89$) that the two concepts are not distinct from one another. However, group participation in decision-making had no effect. It seems feelings of autonomy result more from ongoing informal relationships than formal decision making.

We have found that certain practices of staff are more likely to develop prosocial groups. Our findings are strikingly similar to those describing a democratic style of leadership[423] and effective parenting of adolescents.[424] The style that most encourages prosocial groups is called

authoritative in the literature on parenting. The most effective management style appears to be one that upholds high but reasonable standards of behavior. Response to problems is infused with concern for the feelings and motives that prompted the misbehavior.

PPC maintains that the groups take responsibility for behavior of the members. An effective staff team usually has to help the group practice autonomy because many youth are not good at it. We found that it made no difference how many specific matters were decided by the students rather than the staff. We interpret this as a reflection of adolescents' impatience with a lot of inconclusive talk: "Okay, group, how are you going to deal with this?" Most groups appear to need active, albeit democratic, leadership from staff.

In these settings, physical coercion among the youths or by staff seemed rarely a problem. However, groups sometimes went overboard in making individuals subservient to peer pressures. Groups are more likely to adhere to prosocial norms established in their group if the staff and the group give them space for self-control. Prosocial peer group norms lead to better behavior and prosocial change in attitudes and values. These changes carry over as youth seek more positive reference groups in the community. These students also tend to look more to adults than to peers for approval and do not admire delinquent behavior very much.

This study suggests that social bonding may be inherently prosocial. Attachments appear to matter whether these happen with youth groups, with childcare staff, with teachers, with caretakers, or with community reference groups. If we can reduce psychological and social isolation and assist youth in forging these prosocial bonds, we can help them to return to us as members of the community.

The essential question was whether treatment programs of this sort were indeed able to establish positive youth cultures. The research evidence is very encouraging. Youth were uniformly found to view their living environments as safe. Stronger youth groups with greater perceived autonomy were generally more positive and prosocial. To practitioners, this set of findings was an important validation because it meant that the conditions, at least for effective group treatment, were met.[425]

Planning Restorative Outcomes:
Strength-Based Assessment

Mark Freado

Deficit-based assessment is mismatched to Positive Peer Culture. Planning Restorative Outcomes (PRO Assessment) is designed to meet Circle of Courage needs as shown in this case of a student removed from several schools because of peer conflict.[426]

Positive psychology offers an alternative to traditional approaches that focus on deficit and pathology. Strength-based assessment recognizes that each child draws on internal resources and external supports to cope with challenges and meet needs. Thus, each significant person in the child's ecology has information that can inform outcomes. The goal is to measure what matters most rather than using simplistic schemes to label the child.

Traditional assessments address risk but ignore resilience. PRO Assessment engages the young person and other stakeholders in identifying resources that can be used to solve problems and find solutions. This philosophy embodies values of dignity and respect in the belief that all young people have potential and promise. Youth and families are viewed as the ultimate experts on their lives. Since assessment is based on universal needs, this applies across settings and disciplines including:

Schools. Educational planning and positive behavior support
Social Service. Case management and care coordination
Mental Health. Treatment planning and therapeutic intervention
Juvenile Justice. Restorative planning and disposition hearings

The scope of the assessment is adapted to the seriousness of the problem and the time and resources available. There are three levels of increasingly more comprehensive assessments:

Level 1: Support: Resolving Conflict. This assessment provides a rapid way to manage critical incidents by responding to needs instead of reacting to problems. The goal is to connect with a youth in conflict, clarify problems, and develop immediate solutions.[427]

Level 2: Growth: Planning Positive Futures. This is the mainstay in educational and treatment assessment. Youth, staff team, and family collaborate to develop plans for growth. A useful tool for teams is the CLEAR Problem-Solving format.[428]

Level 3: Reclaiming: Transforming Lives. These highly intensive plans are used when life-altering decisions are being made about a youth (e.g., school expulsion or placement in a restrictive setting). This is a team effort involving extensive direct communication with the youth and significant others.

PRO Assessment addresses two key questions: How did this young person get to this critical situation? What is necessary for restorative outcomes? The answers to these questions are found through the following process:

Examining Records. Identify patterns to form hypotheses about the function or purpose of behavior. If material in files is primarily deficit based, other sources of information will be discovered through PRO Assessment.

Scanning the interpersonal ecology. Identify sources of strain and potential support from family, educators, and other who work with the youth.

Exploring timelines in behavior. Discussing challenging events opens a window onto the person's private logic, motives, and coping strategies. Attention is given to strengths and resilience as well as problems.

Formulating a plan. Restorative outcomes address the needs of the youth and the community. The focus is on the vital signs of positive youth development, namely Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity.

Since there are many ways to interpret behavior, it is important to cross-check information from various sources—including members of the staff team and other adults or peers that know the youth well. For the young person to become a primary data source, one must be able to build trust and connect with the youth in conflict.

Strength-Based Assessment in Action

PRO Assessments are reported in narrative form. The following discussion uses a case example of Jason, a ten-year-old student who had been removed from three schools because of violent behavior. Jason frequently made threats to other students. Teachers report that most peers fear him, and he has been repeatedly suspended for fighting. At the time of the assessment, he was permanently excluded from school and receiving a once weekly visit from a homebound teacher. A team of a teacher, social worker, psychologist, special education consultant, and parent collaborated to produce an individualized educational program (IEP). A brief ecological scan set the behavior in an interpersonal context:

Family: Jason lives with his single mother and three-year-old half-sister. Mother struggles with health problems including asthma, diabetes, and obesity. Until first grade, the family also included his mother's boyfriend Frank whom Jason idolized and called "Dad." However, Frank was incarcerated for violating probation and Jason no longer has contact with him.

Peers: Jason has a history of conflict with peers. He has few friends either in school or the neighborhood. He is quick to react with aggression if teased. He clearly needs to learn how to make friends and be part of a positive peer group.

School: Jason has above average ability and normal achievement. His school problems are related to conflict with peers and some teachers. He had difficulty in two previous schools and was expelled after only two months in his last school. His problems are social rather than academic. School reports tend to describe his behavior difficulties as *deliberate* and *antisocial*.

Community: Jason has contact with a court worker and reports monthly to a community mental health social worker. He was evaluated by a court psychologist who gave a diagnosis of "early-onset conduct disorder" and described Jason as being "on the pathway to antisocial personality disorder." He is receiving no medication or counseling.

In examining key developmental events, mother reports that Jason had a normal early childhood. He was well-behaved and showed no unusual developmental problems. He loved school until his mother's boyfriend was sent to prison. Jason began acting out in school and initially fought kids "who said stuff about my dad."

Mother reports she switched schools three times to give him a fresh start, but problems persisted. After Jason attacked another child in the playground, the student's parents filed charges with the police. A court worker advised the principal to contact police if Jason became aggressive, "even if the school ordinarily would handle such issues internally."

Since the youth is the key source of information, an important goal is to clarify Jason's private logic. Since his "dad" left, Jason has been afraid to be separated from his mother. She says he worries about her health and is very nurturing, voicing fears that something will happen to her. He recently asked, "Who would take care of me if you die?" When his mother's partner was imprisoned, Jason would say, "Please tell Daddy to come back home, I will be good."

Jason sees himself as a "bad" person because "I get in lots of fights." He reports that "most kids are mean" and "teachers hate me." He claims not to start fights, "but I finish them." He is hypersensitive to any sign of peer rejection. As Jason describes it, a typical incident begins with some perceived provocation from a peer. This triggers feelings of rejection verbalized as "kids don't like me," which is expressed in anger and aggression. After such an incident, "I feel bad, even if I don't get into trouble." However, Jason says he does not apologize because "I don't want to look like a sissy."

Jason seems to have a conscience and yet puts on a front as a bravado bully. He does not pick on weaker students, but reacts if he feels hurt or provoked, even attacking larger children. Jason said, "I sort of like to be home to help my mother." He then quickly added that he is

"lonely" at home and wants to go back to school. During an interview, he said, "I have been out of school for 84 days; can you find a school that doesn't want to get rid of me?" He also volunteered, "I'm scared that I'll end up in prison like my Dad."

Nothing in Jason's bulky case files made any reference to possible strengths and interests. In fact, Jason is bright and responds readily to adults who give him attention. He is very protective of his younger sister and takes care of her when his mother is busy with other tasks. Jason likes to read and is artistic, although he mostly draws scary monsters. He is physically well developed and occasionally goes to the community recreation center. Jason is kind to animals and has a dog who is a constant companion during the long days he is at home on school exclusion. Beneath his tough exterior is a thoughtful, sometimes caring person.

The foregoing information provides the basis for establishing goals for growth. Jason is not the usual bully but is very fearful and insecure about *belonging* and expects rejection from both peers and adults. He displayed *mastery* in the classroom and had no academic problems*. He also showed *responsibility* by taking care of his room and sharing in household duties. Jason showed potential for marked *generosity* as he likes to help others and is very attentive to his sister. However, he rarely displays this warm side at school.

Specific interventions were designed to strengthen Jason's bonds with caring adults and positive peers. Jason was transferred to a small alternative setting. The school psychologist worked with him on self-blame about his father's imprisonment and his hypersensitivity to rejection. Any recurrence of peer conflict became an opportunity to develop social skills and self-control. Staff trained in RAP problem-solving processed these problems to help clarify cognitive distortions and develop prosocial skills. To strengthen empathy, Jason was given a role hosting new students and tutoring a younger peer.

PRO Assessment dose not give a diagnostic label but tells a story. This narrative describes how Jason got onto this trajectory of antisocial behavior, and taps his strengths, connecting him with caring adults and peers in an environment in which he can grow and thrive.

Chapter Ten
True to Principles

While many respectful methods can build on a shared value base, it is a mistake to mix PPC with coercive methods such as punishment-based behavior modification or highly confrontive peer group interventions. The important point is that any added element must meet the core principles of the Circle of Courage resilience model where the goal is to develop Belonging, Mastery, Independence, and Generosity.[429]
—Derek Allen

Flexibility and Fidelity

A Chinese proverb advises: "Be stalwart as a pine on principle but flexible as a willow on details. Adapting Positive Peer Culture to a new setting creates both risk and potential. There is considerable discussion of what qualifies as *true PPC* which some see as strictly following the *Positive Peer Culture* book.[430] Vorrath himself fueled the pursuit of purity, concerned that changes would contaminate this model. But behind this apparent rigidity was this principle: *Positive Peer Culture is not a program but a way that humans should relate to one another*.

Change is inevitable when a program model is adapted to various organizations or populations. However, one needs to distinguish between proposed changes that promise to enhance effectiveness and those that may compromise core principles. There is no limit to creativity in peer programs that stay true to core principles. Here we contrast changes that have been adopted which enhance Positive Peer Culture with those that may impair program fidelity.

Changes that Enhance

While no single method can meet the needs of all youth, it is possible to blend compatible approaches to strengthen the power of Positive Peer Culture.[431] For example, counseling methods of *Motivational Interviewing* build intrinsic motivation by helping youth explore reasons for change in their lives.[432] And, *Life Space Crisis Intervention* provides therapeutic strategies to communicate with young people in times of crisis, particularly when problems cannot wait until a youth has opportunity to get help in a group meeting.[433]

The evolution of research and practice has increased effectiveness of peer group programs. The most dramatic change came when coercive peer pressure was replaced with peer support. Here are other key examples of positive changes based on Michigan research:[434]

Family Involvement*.* Early programs focused solely on the group but largely ignored family bonds in the mistaken belief that peers were more important than parents. But research has shown that a close relationship with a caregiver has strong positive effects on life adjustment.

School Engagement*.* Students with emotional and behavioral problems have the highest rates of school failure of any disability group. School failure has toxic effects. But even if other areas of life are chaotic, school engagement puts a young person on a pathway to success.

Individual Relationships*.* An early myth was that close staff-student relationships might compromise peer treatment. But aloof staff cannot create positive peer cultures. *Beset* youth, in particular need warm relationships with caring adults to heal from trauma and abuse.

Individual Therapy. In some early peer group programs, individual counseling was thought to interfere with groups. But beset youth have needs not readily satisfied solely by a peer-helping group.[435] Further, some issues are more complex than peer groups can manage.

Differential Treatment. Youth with specific personality problems may need targeted attention to benefit from PPC. Such is particularly true of those who avoid close relationships.[436] This includes beset youth with trauma histories and youth ensnared in antisocial values and behavior.

Changes that Impair

Most educational and treatment programs are eclectic, mixing methods from different sources that seem to offer promise. Many who work with kids in conflict use *green thumb* approaches based more on folk psychology than formal theory.[437] Some of these practical strategies are successful. However, since PPC is a total system, one must ensure that novel methods do not conflict with the goals of building a positive staff and peer climate. Here are examples of changes that can compromise successful peer helping:

Clashing models*.* Some have tried to combine PPC with incompatible methods. One setting used a point system to reward youth who spoke up in peer group meetings, turning helping into pay for performance. In another case, the best-behaved youth *earned* the right to skip PPC meetings; the group lost a helper as the *honor student* could abandon peers in need. Understaffed correctional programs have tried to

justify physical restraint by peers which is rank with risk. The test for a marriage of methods is that these foster respectful relationships.

Evidence-based trivia. Programs may have some *statistically* significant effect—yet negligible practical effects. As Li and Julian show, developmental relationships are the active ingredient in all successful interventions with youth at risk.[438] Other approaches, even with evidence-based labels, have limited impact. The standard for success is not trivial change but transformation.[439]

Autocratic drift. The initial excitement about group treatment sparked a surge of programs in various settings. While dramatic changes were common, many programs had a limited shelf life. Leadership changes and popularization of zero-tolerance policies resulted in a shift towards adult domination.[440]

Mix and Mismatch. Some programs called themselves Positive Peer Culture but in reality were punitive versions of behavior modification.[441] Vicki Agee describes how a resistant peer group was sent to bed early or forced into a two-day marathon confrontation. This mindset is seen in the title of Agee's book, *Treatment of the Violent Incorrigible Adolescent*.[442] She coined another cynical label for youth: *Aversive Treatment Evaders,* meaning kids *adults* find aversive.

Settings that permit staff to become aversive are using primitive folk psychology instead of informed professional practice. This distinction is explained by JD, a youth who compared PPC with his previous placements in programs using point and level systems:

Behavior Mod gets you to do the right thing by making you *afraid of the consequence*, but PPC *allows* you to figure out on your own to make the right decisions because *it is the right thing to do*.

The Science of Trauma and Resilience

There has been a gulf between research on *relational trauma* and *resilience science.* Literature about *trauma* often ignores advances in *resilience,* and the reverse is true as well. The narrow preoccupation with trauma is a deficit and disorder mindset. And promoting resilience without addressing relational trauma neglects the needs of our most troubled youth. The most effective interventions create a synergy of trauma and resilience research. Here are three examples which define trauma and resilience in terms of Circle of Courage needs:

Trauma-Informed Resilience-Focused. Caelan Soma and Derek Allen of Starr Commonwealth link trauma and with the Circle of Courage model of resilience[443] This synergy permeates Starr's research and training programs with schools, residential treatment, and community-based programs.[444]

Trauma and Resilience in the Other 23 Hours. Howard Bath and John Seita note that many trauma models are designed for therapists but their book, *The Three Pillars of Care*, focuses on those who work directly with youth.[445] Bath has extensive experience with Indigenous youth in Australia and Seita is a former youth at risk who is now a resilience researcher.[446]

Trauma-Wise Youth. In schools and treatment settings, too often, young people themselves produce trauma by peer mistreatment. PPC seeks to develop *trauma-wise* youth who treat one another with respect. Youth learn to use natural helping strategies to connect with peers for support, clarify challenges, and restore bonds of respect.[447]

Simplicity versus Complexity

Albert Einstein suggested that everything should be as simple as possible but not simpler. Chris Walter of Camphill Schools in Scotland describes the Circle of Courage in these terms:

> One of the advantages of using this framework is that it not only rests on solid research evidence but also feels intuitively right as a description of universal human needs. It is simple without being simplistic and can be appreciated and understood by young people and their families without use of complicated psychological jargon.[448]

Keeping things simple counters Parkinson's Law which is the tendency for work to expand and become more complex.[449] Instead of increasing effectiveness, complexity makes it more difficult to target core goals, train staff, and maintain program quality.

Peer group programs have not been immune from Parkinson's Law. For example, UK researcher Masud Hoghughi created a complex 70-page "Master Code" for planning treatment interventions by merging Positive Peer Culture and a myriad of other models.[450] This complexity precluded its practical usefulness. In Benjamin Franklin's words: "The most exquisite folly is made of wisdom spun too fine."[451]

The first rule in helping professions is *do no harm*. Brendtro and Ness identified ten potential abuses and misuses of peer-group programs.[452] John Gibbs interpreted this to show that troubled teens cannot be effective helpers without additional formal training. However, this research described failures of *staff*, not incompetence of *students*. Still, the hypothesis that formal training would make youth better helpers merited consideration. The EQUIP Program operated with two parallel sets of group meetings run by different staff. Three days a week, a

coach ran peer-helping groups. Twice weekly an *equipper* trained youth in social skills, thinking errors, anger management, and moral decision-making.[453]

Initial research supported the efficacy of the EQUIP program. However, the failure to replicate these findings when the peer helping component was reduced or omitted is particularly telling. This became clear when the Ministry of Justice in the Netherlands chose EQUIP as the treatment model for all youth in their facilities. Studies showed it was not implemented in the same careful manner of the original developers of EQUIP:[454]

● The ethic that meetings are sacred was sullied by frequent cancellation of group helping sessions.

● Peer helping groups were the biggest casualty, only meeting one third of the scheduled times.

● Meetings were supposed to last a minimum of an hour but were timed as averaging only 44 minutes.

● Various group leaders rotated through sessions precluding opportunity to build stable therapeutic relationships.

● Perhaps most telling, staff working directly with youth were not trained to develop positive youth cultures.

The complexity of running multiple types of meetings confounded the core goal of peer helping; these programs had low fidelity and negligible long-term impact.[455]

Harry Vorrath often warned that PPC will fail if it becomes a program instead of a way of relating to one another. The active ingredient in successful peer helping groups is simply peer helping, not formal skill instruction. The Netherlands version of the EQUIP program neither equipped youth as effective helpers nor created a positive peer culture.[456] It now seems clear that peer helping does not require EQUIP meetings. A program that tries to add too many bells and whistles will collapse. Complexity makes it difficult to train staff and youth and gain their commitment to the program.

Measuring What Matters Most

While many endorse the importance of building positive staff and youth environments, few measure progress towards that goal. Rudolf Moos of Stanford University was a pioneer in scientific evaluation of climates in schools and treatment organizations.[457] A climate is defined as a relatively stable set of social perceptions by participants in particular environments. A standardized instrument for evaluating environments in PPC programs is now available.[458]

The Treatment Environmental Survey developed at Starr Commonwealth was standardized on a national sample of 2,154 students and 712 staff in 28 peer-helping programs. Students and staff anonymously complete environmental surveys on a periodic basis. Results track climates in individual groups and programs which can also be compared to the national norms. A factor

analysis of the 49 items in the survey identified eight variables which are listed below with sample descriptors.

Treatment Factors

Staff Effectiveness

Staff know what they are doing.

Staff see problems as opportunities to help students.

Treatment Effectiveness

Group meetings help students.

Students are learning to solve their problems**.**

Intimidation (eliminate)

Students in the group pick on other students.

Students in the group are afraid of each other

.

Counterculture (eliminate)

Students keep their problems secret from the group.

The group makes decisions only to look good for the staff.

Relationship Factors

Student-Staff Relationships

Staff try to get to know students personally.

Staff respect students.

Communication

Staff listen to what students say.

Students can openly express personal feelings to staff.

Staff Involvement

Staff are involved with students in activities.

Staff make schoolwork interesting.

Family Values

Staff think that families are important.

Staff try to improve students' family situations.

Effective programs develop specific procedures to provide feedback to staff and young people so that this critical information can be used for continuous quality improvement. Otherwise, surveys of staff and youth become tedious and even threatening. For example, in one setting, surveys were discontinued because staff found them too demoralizing. Howell and Lipsey proposed these principles for evaluating and improving program quality:

- A written manual describing desired goals and strategies
- Staff learning opportunities keyed to this program protocol
- Procedures to monitor effectiveness in reaching these goals
- Procedures for corrective action if lapses are identified[459]

Quality Control

Without careful management, the most positive treatment philosophy can mutate into malpractice.[460]
—William Wasmund

In a panel discussion at a national conference, group work pioneer Gisela Konopka called for research to identify abuses and misuses of peer group methods. Brendtro and Ness accepted this challenge. They conducted qualitative research to identify potential problems in maintaining the integrity of peer group programs, leading to guidelines for effective practice.

Peer-helping groups operate in a full range of educational and treatment environments. Brendtro and Ness surveyed ten PPC programs—two from each of these settings: public schools, alternative schools, community group homes, private residential treatment centers, and public juvenile corrections facilities. Structured interviews with staff and youth formed the basis of recommendations for effective peer-group programs.

These group programs in four Midwestern states served adolescents from ages 13-17. Male, female, and co-educational groups were all represented. These youth presented a range of challenges within their homes, schools, and communities. Moderate problems in school adjustment, delinquency, and substance abuse were common across all settings, with youth in residential placements presenting the most severe problems.

Information was gathered in structured interviews with staff teams and separately with youth peer groups. Questions were designed to elicit open-ended discussion, for example, "If you were the director of this program and could make any changes, what would they be?" All interviews were conducted at the program site by one of the researchers who recorded commentary from the discussion. Interviews generally lasted about an hour. Participants in the staff interviews typically represented three roles: group leader, teacher, and program administrator. Youth groups averaged ten members.

Because the interviewers had a known association with peer group methods, staff appeared free to express concerns and suggestions for improvement. On the other hand, youth groups tended to focus on positives as they described their ability to help others and profit from the program. This may reflect the fact that PPC encourages youth to concentrate on their own problems and leave program issues to staff teams. Further, while youth only spend months in their group, staff took a long-term view as these ten programs had operated for an average of six years. Thus, staff recalled historic problems no longer existing in current groups.

The researchers reviewed all staff comments to identify patterns of perceived problems or suggestions for program improvements. Ten categories emerged, and each is discussed below:

Abuse of Confrontation. Nine of the ten staff teams indicated they had taken steps to prevent abusive confrontation. Positive peer cultures are grounded in trust and honest communication. But groups can become frustrated with defensive peers and try to force openness with intense confrontation. Respondents also suggested that certain fragile children needed to be protected from the robust encounters that most other youth would be able to handle. Nearly all programs reported that they had abandoned earlier practices of intense confrontation, in favor of teaching youth to communicate with empathy.

Staff had learned to identify warning signs when confrontation was deteriorating into hostility such as the tone and volume of voice, demeaning language, and an unfriendly, punitive manner. Some abuses of confrontation were provoked by staff who purposely escalated groups into a state of high tension, contradicting the core principle of helping and not hurting. Non-stop, stressful group confrontations do not allow young people time to calm. Some students who reject help need space to think, not a circle of confrontive peers. There was agreement that staff were responsible to ensure confrontation does not become hostile.

Staff learned to *watch the language* to spot abuse. Groups sometimes fabricate unique terms to disguise questionable tactics. In one setting, surrounding a student with screaming peers was called *giving a haircut*. Several programs reported that parents were concerned about confrontation, particularly the use of negative language. Some staff erroneously believed that peer counseling was most effective when youth used the vernacular of the streets, abundantly punctuated with profanity. However, a respondent suggested such language conveyed hostility and macho aggressiveness, impeding respectful communication. As programs matured, there was a marked decline in the use of intense confrontation. In all cases, staff reported greater satisfaction and effectiveness when any behavior that could be interpreted as intimidation or harassment was eliminated.

Mechanical Verbalizations. Six of the ten programs reported concern about a tendency for conversations in problem-solving sessions to become superficial and jargon based. Communications that sound like *program language* are of questionable authenticity. Sometimes techniques for *reversing responsibility* deteriorated into a ritualized encounter. The most

frequently reported examples of mechanical verbalizations dealt with the problem list. While solving problems is tied to building strengths, the compulsive use of problem labels can, as one respondent said, sound like *rat-a-tat-tat*. Labels can also pigeon-hole a youngster, precluding more sophisticated understanding. Frequently a specific description of the behavior is more useful than an ill-fitting label.

Family Estrangement. Six of ten programs had experienced challenges in this area. Historically, many peer group treatment programs operated in residential centers where there was limited family involvement. Even as the methodology was extended into other settings, some staff still viewed the peer group as the sole change agent without regard for the family. Following the simplistic belief that adolescents are more responsive to peers than parents, the family was largely ignored. Six of the programs had struggled with the challenge of securing family involvement. One concern of parents in public school programs was that the content of group meetings would reveal too much information about family problems. Some parents also felt that peer group allegiance might further alienate them from their child.

Even programs that employ rhetoric about the importance of parent involvement frequently exclude parents or limit their role. This was most pronounced in residential settings. In one case, students were not allowed to go home and visit their parents without elaborate group approval procedures. This minimized family contact and suggested that parent/child interactions were the property of the group. In another instance, parent visits were held hostage to group behavior.

Several respondents contended that children should be encouraged to have parental contact regardless of how their group is functioning. Particularly distasteful was the practice in some programs where the group monitored parent contacts by listening in on phone calls and visits to see if communication was inappropriate. This fostered distrust and violated the privacy that family members value and demand. Several respondents reported that they had taken steps to reverse patronizing practices, so parents were treated as full partners. Unless there are issues of custody or safety, contact between a student and family is neither questioned nor restricted but strongly encouraged.

Poor Listening Skills. Five of ten programs surveyed marked inadequate listening skills as a key challenge. The natural tendency is for youth (and adults as well) to slip into *preaching* which precludes listening. As programs mature, staff were likely to place greater emphasis on teaching young people communication skills, particularly increasing their sensitivity to the nuances of verbal and nonverbal behavior. While there are listening skills curricula, the most effective learning occurs in the natural problem-solving setting.

Lack of Individualization. Respondents in five of ten programs described how individual needs may be overlooked because of excessive concern with the group. Some staff even avoided communicating individually with students, lest they undercut the group process: "If they bring problems to me, they won't share their problems in group meetings." In contrast, one

respondent quipped, "The group members were supposed to be free to give and seek help from everyone except staff."

Several programs have changed the policy concerning the integration of individual counseling with group treatment. Historically, counseling and therapy were viewed as competing with the group. Some topics are not easily aired with an audience and some problems cannot wait until the individual gets a turn at having a group meeting. Programs with individual counseling reported this did not jeopardize positive group process.

Respondents in one public correctional program reported youth were not even permitted to talk with peers on a one-to-one basis. Another questionable technique called "togetherness" required youth in some residential settings to remain with the group, or a subgroup of three, at all times. Total group immersion can make it difficult to preserve individual identity. Most of the staff recognized that while some youngsters may need strong group structure, others may benefit from more flexibility.

Distant Staff Relationships. Respondents in five programs identified depersonalized relationships as having been problematic. Questions surrounding the individual relationships in a group program can make staff wary of getting close to individual children. Sometimes new staff are oriented by veteran staff to "not become too familiar." The novice assumes this means keeping a safe distance from the students. The emphasis on group responsibility can also provide a cop-out for avoiding interpersonal connections with youth. But without positive staff and youth relationships, there is no support system if the group culture falters.

An unwritten tradition in some early peer programs was for the group leader to maintain an aloof stance, keeping students off-guard to build an aura of power and mystique. In other cases, staff believed if they displayed warmth it would undercut their influence. A century ago, Janusz Korczak punctured that myth, telling his staff that their authority was directly proportional to their value as an esteemed adult. It is fiction that one cannot be both authoritative and nurturing. In fact, research shows that those who blend those qualities have greatest impact.[461] This is the evidence-based foundation of relational child and youth care.[462]

Staff Abuse of Control. Respondents in three residential programs identified a potential misuse where staff subvert peer helping into peer harassment. Some staff initially embrace the idea of using peer power—but for behavior management rather than therapeutic ends. Autocratic staff may maintain dictatorial control by conscripting the group into service as enforcer. These staff enlist youth in the bullying process as peer concern mutates into peer coercion. Such adults would have considerably less bravado without the protection of PPC. Harry Vorrath put this most poignantly: *Once the peer group program pulls the teeth from the tiger, even cowardly staff become very brave.*

The concern about staff abuse of control was reported only by teams in residential settings—which have been called *powerful environments*.[463] This total milieu can be used for good or ill. Putting a powerful technology into the hands of persons who abuse power is

malpractice. When positive group cultures are well-established, most youth are more compliant. They no longer fight authority and even learn to live with domineering staff. Thus, it is the task of the team to police any abuse of staff power.

Inadequate Professional Training. Concern about staff competence was prominent in two peer group programs and is a particular challenge with paraprofessional staff. The best antidote to this problem is training. Individuals without formal credentials can be highly effective but may have blind spots if their only knowledge comes from life experience. For those who do not fully understand youth development, group methods become a grab-bag of patent medicines. The issue is perhaps best summed up in this observation by a staff member from a group home: "While degrees do not make a successful group worker, one with professional training has a greater knowledge base and understanding of treatment and of the human condition."

Group Leader Superiority. Respondents in two programs reported concern about the inappropriate status wielded by group leaders. In one case, the group leader designed a desk-oriented, do-nothing job largely confined to conducting the group counseling sessions and writing reports. Those who act like they are more important than other staff weaken the team. Another symptom of group leader elitism was the issue of confidentiality. When the group leader keeps other staff totally in the dark, this sabotages teamwork. In a school setting, when the group leader was opaque about the program, teachers and counselors shut off referrals. Staff in another program accused their group leader of overplaying confidentiality to protect his status as *group therapist*. Respondents questioned how one staff member could possibly keep treatment secrets from the rest of the team and still call it a team. Therapeutic territoriality is a vestige of times before teamwork.

Purist Rigidity. Respondents in two programs described this problem with inflexibility. When staff operate *by the book*, this prevents tailoring the program to unique needs of the setting or clientele. In one group home, a senior staff member invoked some supposedly sacred principle that co-ed groups were forbidden. In fact, this mixed group functioned quite effectively. The presence of members of the opposite sex can sometimes impede discussion of certain sensitive issues. However, relationships are more natural and there may be less tendency toward inappropriate behavior which sometimes characterizes single sex groups. In another program, over-dependence on teachings of a particular guru were cast in stone, preventing staff from questioning assumptions or developing creative adaptations. This respondent challenged the view that there is only one right way. Persons with evangelical fervor may need to balance this with humility and openness to other ideas.

Interviews with Youth

Interviews were also completed with nine different youth groups, while the tenth group could not be assembled because of program disruption. Despite an obvious enthusiasm for the

program, fascinating themes emerged from the interviews with young people. Some of their criticisms were similar to those reported by staff.

A frequently mentioned concern was the need for privacy and more unstructured time as described in three residential groups. Youth complained about being forced into constant interaction: "Sometimes people need time to think, but we are with the group 24 hours a day." A particular criticism was forced *togetherness* carried to ridiculous extremes—students could scarcely go to the bathroom without escorts. One group complained that all their money was managed and receipted, making them feel they could not be trusted. Likewise, their mail was regularly read by group members, purportedly to help peers better understand their problems. This intrusiveness raises questions about the rights of young people. Since most PPC programs function without invasion of personal privacy, this invalidates the rationale for surveillance.

Youth from three groups expressed the desire for more time to pursue personal interests. Recurring comments were made about the lack of time for leisure or creative individual activities. In the words of one youth, "We are overprotected. The structure is so tight we can't handle a lack of structure." Youth in a residential treatment facility questioned a rule that they could not even talk to someone from another PPC group. A youth in a community-based group home complained that visits from outside friends were limited to 30 minutes per week: "How can we be involved in the community with a rule like that?"

Several youth were frustrated with being expected to express feelings fully and honestly at all times. Others experienced initial difficulty in openly confronting problems of peers which conflicted with the prevailing youth-subculture norm forbidding "busting on your friends."

A recurrent criticism was problem trivialization. A youth who overlooked a cup while setting the dinner table was identified by the group as being "inconsiderate of others." Youth felt groups sometimes create problems that do not exist which then must be handled in group discussion. Youth in most group programs displayed mastery of the vocabulary of a *problem list*. While not denying the utility of standard terminology, members in one group observed that "the problem list can become artificial. We should be able to think for ourselves without *always* packaging the discussion into the list."

Some respondents described instances of group punishment which contradict PPC principles. For example, if one youth acted out, all group members might lose an activity. A youth reported that a group member who got a D on a report card lost privileges, but with two Ds, the entire group was punished. While youth acknowledge their responsibility for peers, they felt it was inappropriate to punish them for the actions of others.

Some residential groups reported a lack of sensitivity to the students' needs for parent contact, and many desired to spend more time with their families. Youth in a training school program objected to a requirement that new students must have other group members physically monitor family visits. This was an isolated concern, since in most programs, parents were part of the team and had virtually unlimited access for visiting their child.

Most students reported good relationships with staff; but in one group, they felt they were treated as inferior and were not allowed to express themselves. Another perceptive group questioned the assumption underlying peer group programs that "kids always wish to be with other kids." This fails to recognize the need of most youth to be close to adults as well. Two groups of students commented on the potential problem of powerful bullies who wield a strong negative influence, subverting helping into harassment.

At one alternative school, the researchers were unable to communicate with the peer group because of extreme chaos. Students were roaming the building or arguing with staff and there was no semblance of structure. It would have stretched the truth to dub this alternative school as a *holding operation*. The program had been imposed by outside consultants who apparently kept the knowledge to themselves as to how peer group treatment should be run, communicating mainly with students but not with staff. When the consultants departed, they left behind beleaguered teachers and belligerent students. While it would have been interesting to get the students' perspective, this demonstrates how a positive methodology can deteriorate without sensitive, competent personnel.

Implications for Practice

The foregoing qualitative research provides a fount of information about the need for fidelity to core principles that guide effective peer helping. The researchers were impressed with the collective wisdom of both staff and students. Their comments were not vague or esoteric but concrete and pragmatic, derived from direct experience. These contributions by over 30 staff and 100 students have clear implications for practice. Virtually every conceivable misapplication of the methodology had been marked and apparently resolved by most programs. Still the interviewers noted numerous *blind spots* where staff were unaware that certain practices would be viewed as malpractice by colleagues in other programs. Further, the preceptive observations of youth show that staff are not always aware of issues that may be impeding group progress.

Gary Gottfredson conducted an extensive review of peer group programs.[464] He suggested the Brendtro and Ness research on misuse and abuse of this model be incorporated into guidelines for program fidelity. This information is now included in standards for operating quality peer group programs. In summary:

1. *Replacing peer coercion with peer concern*. Assigning to peers the responsibility for helping one another carries with it no authority to employ punitive interventions. Staff must ensure the group process remains respectful. Harassment, name-calling, screaming in someone's face, hostile profanity, and physical intimidation have no place in a quality program. Groups using peer coercion instead of peer concern cannot be called therapeutic.

2. ***Establishing authentic communication***. Any structured system of problem identification, labeling, and resolution is valuable only insofar as it facilitates understanding. Staff must make certain that the message is clear and authentic. Therapeutic communication must always be genuine, intensely human, and not mechanical. For communication to be effective, youth need skills in listening.

3. ***Building positive staff relationships***. It is a misconception that staff cannot have therapeutic relationships with individual students in peer group settings. Successful programs are marked by strong, caring bonds between adults and youth. If staff model interactions that are aloof, coercive, or hostile, the group will follow. Staff involvement also entails a willingness to reassert adult authority if the group members are unable to handle problems in a responsible, caring manner.

4. ***Providing private time and space***. Every individual needs and deserves periods where he or she can be physically and psychologically alone. No individual should have inner feelings continually exposed to group confrontation. No group regimen should be so controlling as to stifle a person's individual interests or relationships with family and friends.

5. ***Involving the family***. Parents must be viewed as full partners in Positive Peer Culture. One factor in the *Treatment Environmental Survey* specifically measures whether families are respected and involved in the program process. Staff are expected to support and strengthen families. Peer group programs that build bonds between youth and families are more effective. Attempts to limit family contact deny parents their proper role.

6. ***Developing total professional competence***. The complexity of problems presented by youth will not yield to simplistic panaceas. Thus, the skills of every team member must be developed to the greatest extent possible. No staff member should assume that one person's contributions are more important than those of other team members, and no treatment model should be assumed to have all the answers.

Peer group approaches offer great potential for improving youth-serving organizations. Practitioners should be committed to searching for creative ways of improving the quality of these programs. Rigid adherence to any narrow model carries the risk of being unable to differentiate between central truths and peripheral trappings. Unless commitment is tempered with open-mindedness, the most dynamic principle soon becomes dogmatic practice.

When pilots prepare to launch a flight, they go through an extensive checklist to ensure safety and success of the journey. This research, drawing both from staff and youth, provides a virtual checklist for quality control. Since adults may not always recognize that they have strayed from program fidelity, listening to the voices of youth is a healthy corrective.

The ultimate quality control in group programs is the Circle of Courage. We close this discussion with a brief quality-control checklist that links PPC to these four overarching goals:

□ **Belonging —** *Do adults model positive relationships?*
  Aloof or domineering persons cannot build positive youth cultures.

□ **Mastery —** *Is communication and problem-solving genuine?*
  Techniques are less important than establishing a culture of respect.

□ **Independence —** *Is the individual dominated by the group?*
  A group should not stifle a person's spirit of self-determination.

□ **Generosity —** *Is group influence peer coercion or peer concern?*
  Youth are empowered to help, not to control or hurt.

Positive Peer Culture is unique among education and treatment models in that the ultimate measure in program quality does not come from researchers. Instead, we rely on collaboration with the ultimate experts, those young people who are transforming their lives. We close with voices of teens from peer-helping groups in Germany and the United States.

Growing up to be My Best Self

Beate Kreisle interviews teens from Jugend-Kolleg am See, a coed residence near Lake Constance in Germany.[465] Coming from highly troubled backgrounds, most stay until graduating to independent living. They attend community schools and are responsible for care of their group home. In groups they help one another and explore life goals. The residence is also a temporary shelter for the county offering youth real-life opportunities to show generosity— sometimes in the middle of the night when a teen is brought off the streets by police.

 What do you think about being here?
• It's okay, because I am not abused in any way.
• It's much better than anywhere else, and believe me, I know what I am talking about.
• Here I am treated like a person who is able to learn, who can find out things on his own.

What do you think is better?
• You learn a lot for your own life that you need to know when you are on your own like cooking, washing, cleaning, and being respectful.
• At home, my mom used to do everything for me. I did not know what was important for living as a grown up.
• Here there are not many rules, I can remember each one of them. I am held responsible and need to make my own decisions. And people trust me, they do not try to control me all the time, which makes it easier to comply with the rules.

Would you say you could grow as a person here?

• Definitely, there is no drill to perform. people want you to become who you can be.

• Here you learn to solve problems, even if you did not manage to follow the rules. If you were late coming home in other places, you would have been grounded. Here you negotiate to regain responsibility, like helping someone do their homework or making a cake for a birthday party—some extra task in exchange for getting a new chance.

Try to imagine ten years from now; what would you say you got from being here?

• I learned a lot for my adult life.

• I learned to share a room, a house, appliances, and think I will be ready to live together with roommates, which I could never imagine before.

• This place helped me growing up to be my own best self.

What Youth Want from Adults

For over a century, Starr Commonwealth in Michigan has served troubled youth and their families in residential, community-based, and alternative school programs. Teens from PPC groups describe the qualities they seek in adults who work with them:

Humble. Staff who act like *this guy has a lot of problems* need to humble themselves. *We all have a lot of problems*. If we work on the same level, it's not *I'm right and you're wrong,* but *Let's determine what's right*.

Caring. If you're caring and respectful, you get a reputation and youth will show you respect and caring, too. Staff who feel comfortable will probably work here for a long time–get addicted to some of the peers.

Compassion. I ask staff *why do you want to work here*? They usually tell me someone needs help. They've probably been through the same stuff we have. They might have just one word that can help me change my life.

Honesty. Not holding anything back–the ability to talk about everything in a helpful, respectful way. I may not necessarily agree, but I respect that person enough to say *I believe you and I'm going to try this.*

Respectful. Group members might not always show staff respect, but you automatically know it's respect when staff will go out of their way just to make you feel better. If I'm struggling, you're going to help me.

Bibliography

Acevedo, G. (2017). Urban youth gangs. In N. Phillips & S. Straussner (Eds.), *Children and the urban environment: Linking social policy and clinical practice. Third Edition* (pp. 136-165). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Addams, J. (1909). *The spirit of youth and the city streets.* New York, NY: Macmillan.

Agee, V. (1979). *Treatment of the violent incorrigible adolescent*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.

Allen, D. (2015). Empowering youth to make responsible decisions. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23*(4), 36-38.

APA. (2018). Special issue: The science of teamwork. *American Psychologist, 74*(4).

Aichhorn, A. (1925/1935). *Verwahrloste Jugend.* Vienna, Austria: Internationaler Psychoanalytischer Verlag. English translation, 1935, *Wayward youth*. New York, NY: Viking Press.

Ainsworth, M., & Bowlby, J. (1991). An ethological approach to personality development. *American Psychologist, 46*(4), 333-346.

Aknin, L., Barrington-Luigh, C., Dunn, E., Helliwell, J., Burns, J., Biswas-Diener, R., et al. (2013). Prosocial spending and well-being: Cross-cultural evidence for a psychological universal. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 104*(4), 635-652.

Allport, G. (1937). *Personality: A psychological interpretation*. New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.

American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry. (2002). Practice parameters for the prevention of management of aggressive behavior in child and adolescent psychiatric institutions, with special reference to seclusion and restraint. *Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 4*(suppl.), 4S-25S.

Anglin, J. (2002). *Pain, normality and the struggle for congruence: Reinterpreting residential care for children and youth.* Binghamton, NY: Haworth Press.

Ankeney, E. (2007). Review: Hold on to your kids: Why parents need to matter more than peers. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 15*(4).

Aristotle. (340 BC/1998). *Nicomachean ethics.* Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Augustine. (400 AD, 1923). *The confessions of St. Augustine*, translated by T. Matthew. London, UK: Collins.

Ayllon, T., & Azrin, N. (1968). *The token economy: A motivation system for therapy and rehabilitation*. New York NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

Babcock, R., & Sorensen, P (1979). Matching treatment and management systems in correctional institutions. In J. McClure (Ed.), *Managing human services: Perspectives and practices* (pp. 133-138). Davis, CA: International Dialogue Press.

Barber, B. (2002). *Intrusive parenting: How psychological control affects children and adolescents.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bath, H., & Seita, J. (2018). *The three pillars of transforming care: Trauma and resilience in the other 23 hours.* Winnipeg, MB: University of Winnipeg, Faculty of Education.

Baumeister, R. (2012). Need-to-belong theory. In P. Van Lange, A. Kruglanski, & E. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of theories of social psychology* (pp. 121-140). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Baumeister, R., Vohs, K., Aaker, J., & Garbinsky, E. (2013). Some key differences between a happy life and meaningful life. *Journal of Positive Psychology*, *8*(6), 505-516.

Baumrind, D. (2013). Authoritative parenting revisited: History and current status. In R. Larzelere, A. Morris, & A. Harris (Eds.), *Authoritative parenting: Synthesizing nurturance and discipline for optimal child development* (pp. 11-34). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Bebout, J. (1978). Basic encounter groups: Their nature, method, and brief history. In H. Mullan & M. Rosenbaum (Eds.), *Group psychotherapy: Theory and practice* (pp. 305-329). New York, NY: Free Press.

Bedian, A. (2016). A note on the aphorism "there is nothing as practical as a good theory." *Journal of Management History, 22*(2), 236-242.

Bellini, S., Peters, J., Benner, L., & Hopf, A. (2007). A meta-analysis of school-based social skills interventions for children with autism spectrum disorders. *Remedial and Special Education, 28* (3), 153-162.

Benard, B. (2004). *Resiliency: What we have learned*. San Francisco, CA: West Ed.

Bennis, W. (1994). *An invented life: Reflections on leadership and change*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Benson, P., Williams, D., & Johnson, A. (1987). The q*uicksilver years: The hopes and fears of early adolescence*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row.

Bergin, C. (2018). *Designing a prosocial classroom: Fostering collaboration in students from Pre-K-12 with the curriculum you already have*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Bernard, C., & Curlychek, M. (2010). *The cycle of juvenile justice*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Blanchard, K., & Broadwell (2018). *Servant leadership in action: How you can achieve great relationships and results*. Oakland, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publishers.

Blum, B. (2018). The lifespan of a lie. *Medium,* June 7, 2018. https://medium.com/s/trustissues/the-lifespan-of-a-lie-d869212b1f62

Boehm, C. (2012). *Moral origins: The evolution of virtue, altruism, and shame.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Bolin, I. (2006). *Growing up in a culture of respect: Child-rearing in Highland Peru.* Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Bolin, I. (2010). Chillihuani's culture of respect and the Circle of Courage. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 18*(4), 12-17.

Bosco, J. (1877). Cited in S. Fitzpatrick, St. John Bosco and the secret of education. *Crisis Magazine*, Jan. 30, 2014.

Bowlby, J. (1969/1982). *Attachment and loss. Vol. 1, Attachment*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Boyes-Watson, C., & Brokenleg, M. (2011). *Peacemaking circles and urban youth.* St. Paul, MN: Restorative Justice Press. https://rpscurriculumandinstruction.weebly.com/remote-learning-at-rps.html

Boyling, E. (2011). Therapeutic environments and the Religious Society of Friends. *Therapeutic Communities, 32*(1), 64–76.

Brannon, J., & Troyer, R. (1991). Peer group counseling: A normalized residential alternative to the specialized treatment of adolescent sex offenders. *International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology, 35,* 226-233.

Brehm, S., & Brehm, J. (1981). *Psychological reactance: A theory of freedom and control*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Brendtro, L. (2019). Grosszügigkeit als grundlegendes Element der Positive Peer Culture [Generosity as the fundamental element in Positive Peer Culture]. In D. Süss & C. Negri, *Angewandte Psychologie: Beiträge zu einer menschen-würdigen Gesellschaft* [*Applied Psychology: Contributions to a society of dignity*] (pp. 27-42). Berlin, Germany: Springer Verlag.

Brendtro, L. (2020). Trauma-wise teens. *Thriving: Children, Families, Communities*, *5*(1), 1-7.

Brendtro, L., Brokenleg, M., & Van Bockern, S. (1990, 2002). *Reclaiming youth at risk: Our hope for the future.* Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree.

Brendtro, L., Brokenleg, M., & Van Bockern, S. (2019). *Reclaiming youth at risk: Futures of promise (3rd ed.).* Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree.

Brendtro, L., & Caslor, M. (2019). The effectiveness of Positive Peer Culture with youth at risk. *Global Journal of Human Social Science A. Arts and Humanities—Psychology, 19*(10), 7-14. Online: https://globaljournals.org/GJHSS_Volume19/2-The-Effectiveness-of-Positive-Peer.pdf

Brendtro, L., & du Toit, L. (2005). *Response Ability Pathways*. Cape Town, South Africa: Pretext Publishers.

Brendtro, L., & du Toit, L. (2021). *Response Ability Pathways.* Lennox, SD: Resilience Resources.

Brendtro, L., & Longhurst, J. (2006). At-risk behavior. In S. Feinstein (Ed.), *The Praeger handbook of learning and the brain (Vol. 1)* (pp. 81-91)*.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Brendtro, L., & Mitchell, M. (2015). *Deep brain leaning: Evidence-based essentials in education, treatment, and youth development*. Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Brendtro, L., Mitchell, M., & McCall, H. (2009). *Deep brain learning: Pathways to potential with challenging youth.* Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Brendtro, L., & Ness. A. (1982). Perspectives on peer group treatment: The use and abuse of Guided Group Interaction/Positive Peer Culture. *Children and Youth Services Review, 4*, 301-324.

Brendtro, L., & Ness, A. (1983). *Re-educating troubled youth: Environments for teaching and treatment*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Brendtro, L., & Shahbazian, M. (2004). *Troubled children and youth: Turning problems into opportunity*. Champaign, IL; Research Press.

Brendtro, L., Steele, W., & Freado, M. (2017). Beyond school and community environments: Providing environments where children thrive. In N. Phillips & S. Straussner (Eds.), *Children in the urban environment: Linking social policy and clinical practice* (pp. 82-108). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas Publisher, Ltd.

Brendtro, L., & Wasmund, W. (1989). The peer culture model. In R. Lyman, S. Prentice-Dunn, & S. Gabel (Eds.), *Residential and inpatient treatment of children and adolescents* (pp. 81-95). New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Brill, S. (2018). *Tailspin: The people and forces behind America's fifty-year fall—and those fighting to reverse it*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

Brokenleg, M. (2014). Restoring bonds of respect. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 22*(4), 12-13.

Brokenleg, M. (2018). Cited by D. Bjoraker, *The power of restorative circles.* https://rpscurriculumandinstruction.weebly.com/tools-tips--tricks/the-power-of-restorative-circles

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Alienation and the four worlds of childhood. *Phi Delta Kappan, 67,* 430–436.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (Ed.). (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Brugman, D., & Bink, M. (2011). Effects of the EQUIP peer intervention program on self-serving cognitive distortions and recidivism among delinquent male adolescents. *Psychology, Crime, & Law, 17*(4), 345-358.

Buber, M. (1970). *I and thou.* New York, NY: Charles Scribner and Sons.

Buehler, R., Patterson, G., & Furness, J. (1966). The reinforcement of behavior in institutional settings. *Behaviour Research and Therapy, 4,* 157-167.

Calkins, S., & Leerkes, E. (2011). Early attachment processes and the development of emotional self-regulation. In K. Vos & R. Baumeister, *Handbook of self-regulation, second edition* (pp. 355-373). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Casey Family Programs (2016). Elements of effective practice for children and youth served by therapeutic residential care: Research brief. *Safe Children, Strong Families, Supportive Communities* (May 2016). https://www.casey.org/media/Group-Care-complete.pdf

CEBC. (2021). *Positive Peer Culture*. California Evidence-based Clearing House. www.cebc4cw.org/program/positive-peer-culture

Chambers, J., & Freado, M. (2015). *The art of kid whispering: Reaching the inside kid.* Sioux Falls, SD: Authors.

Cicchetti, D., Rogosch, F., & Toth, S. (2006). Fostering secure attachment in infants in maltreating families through preventive interventions. *Developmental Psychopathology, 18*(3), 623-649.

Cicero, M. (1910). *Cicero's three books of offices, or moral duties*. Translated by C. Edmonds. London, UK: George Bell & Sons.

Clarke, A. (2011). Three therapeutic residential care models, the Sanctuary Model, Positive Peer Culture, and Dyadic Developmental Psychotherapy, and their application to the theory of congruence. *Children Australia, 36*(2), 81-87.

Cohen, A. (1955). *Delinquent boys: The subculture of the gang*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Commission for Children at Risk. (2003). *Hard-wired to connect: The new scientific case for authoritative communities.* New York, NY: Broadway Publications.

Cooley, C. (1909). *Social Organization*, New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Coopersmith, S. (1967). *Antecedents of self-esteem.* San Francisco, CA: Freeman.

Correa-Chávez, M., Mejía-Arauz, R., & Rogoff, B. (Eds). (2015). Children learn by observing and contributing to family and community endeavors: A cultural paradigm. *Advances in Child Development and Behavior, 49*, 2-435.

Cory Jr., G. (2000). *Toward consilience: The bioneurological basis of behavior, thought, experience, and language*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic.

Cozolino, L. (2014). *The neuroscience of human relationships: Attachment and the developing social brain (2nd ed.).* New York, NY: Norton.

Dahms, W. (1978). Authority and relationship. *Child Care Quarterly, 7*(4), 336-344.

Darwin, C. (1871). *The descent of man*. New York, NY: Appleton.

Deci, E. (1996). *Why we do what we do: Understanding self-motivation.* New York, NY: Penguin.

Deloria, E. (1943). *Speaking of Indians*. New York, NY: Friendship Press.

Deutsch, M. (1950). *Our rejected children.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company

Dewey, J. (1910). *How we think.* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy in education*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Dewey, J. Cited in P. Zimmers. (1918). *Teaching boys and girls how to study*. Madison, WI: Parker Educational Company.

Diehl, P. (1987). *The psychology of re-education*. Translated by Raymond Rosenthal. Boston, MA: Shamblala.

DiSalvo, D. (2009). Forget survival of the fittest: It's kindness that counts. *Scientific American Mind,* https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/kindness-emotions-psychology/

Dishion, T., McCord, J., & Poulin, F. (1999). When interventions harm: Peer groups and problem behavior. *American Psychologist 54*(9), 755-764.

Dodge, K., Dishion, T., & Lansford, J. (Eds.) (2006). *Deviant peer influences in programs for youth: Problems and solutions.* New York, NY: Guilford Publications.

Dodge, K., & Somberg, D. (1987). Hostile attribution bias among aggressive boys are exacerbated under conditions of threat to the self. *Child Development, 58*, 213-234.

Duncan, B., Miller, S., Wampold, B., & Hubble, M. (2010). *The heart and soul of change: Delivering what works in therapy.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Durkin, R. (1988). Restructuring for competence: A case for the democratization and communitization of children's programs. In R. Small & F. Alwon (Eds.), *Challenging the limits of care* (pp. 353-368). Needham, MA: Albert E. Trieschman Center.

Driskell, J., Salas, E., & Driskell, T. (2018). Foundations of teamwork and collaboration. *American Psychologist, 74*(4), 334-348.

Dweck, C. (2006). *Mindset: The new psychology of success.* New York, NY: Random House.

Edwards, R. (1991). *A. S. Marakenko's general educational ideas and their application to a nontotalitarian society*. Doctoral Dissertation. Chicago, IL: Loyola, University.

Elias, M., Leverett, L., Duffell, J., Humphrey, N., Stepney, C., & Ferrito, J. (2015). Integrating SEL with related prevention and youth development approaches. In J. Durlak, C. Domitrovich, R. Weissberg, & T. Gullotta (Eds.), *Handbook of social and emotional learning* (pp. 33-49). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Empey, L., & Erikson, M. (1972). *The Provo experiment: Evaluation community control of delinquency*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company.

Epstein, N. & Slavson, S. (1962). Further observations on group psychotherapy with adolescent delinquent boys in residential treatment. *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy, 12*, 199-294.

Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Falik, L. (2019). *Changing destinies: The extraordinary life and times of Professor Reuven Feurestein*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris.

Fanshel, D., & Shinn, E. (1978). *Children in foster care: A longitudinal investigation*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Feitosa, J., Grossman, R., & Salazar, M. (2018). Debunking key assumptions about teams: The role of culture. *American Psychologist, 74*(4), 376-389.

Feldman, R., Caplinger, T., & Wodarski, J. (1983). *The Saint Louis conundrum: The effective treatment of antisocial youth*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Ferrari, P., & Rizzolatti, G. (2015). *New frontiers in mirror neurons research*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Feuerstein, R., & Krasilowsky, D. (1974). The treatment group technique, In M. Wolins (Ed.), *Successful group care. Explorations in the powerful environment* (pp. 345-361). New York, NY: Routledge.

Foltz, R. (2011). Re-Ed principles in evidence-based practice. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 19*(4), 28-32.

Foltz, R. (2016). The future of mental health. From an interview with E. Weise, *Psychology Today*. https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/rethinking-mental-health/201604/robert-foltz-adolescent-residential-treatment

Foltz, R., Brendtro, L., & Mitchell, M. (2015). The vital balance. In L. Brendtro, L. & M. Mitchell, M., *Deep brain leaning: Evidence-based essentials in education, treatment, and youth development* (pp. 96-112). Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Foltz, R., Dang, S., Daniels, B., Doyle, H., McFee, S., & Quisenberry, C. (2013). When diagnostic labels mask trauma. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 22*(2), 12-17.

Frances, A. (2013). *Saving normal: An insider's revolt against out-of-control psychiatric diagnosis, DSM, big pharma, and the medicalization of ordinary life*. New York, NY: HarperCollins Books.

Franklin, B. (1998). *Benjamin Franklin wit and wisdom.* White Plains, NY: Peter Pauper Press, Inc.

Freud, A. (1951). An experiment group upbringing. In A. Freud, *The writings of Anna Freud* (pp. 163-229). New York, NY: International Universities Press.

Freado, M. (2017). Strength-based Assessment. In N. Phillips, & S. Straussner (Eds*.). Children in the urban environment*. (pp. 97-103). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.

Fuller, R. (2003). *Somebodies and nobodies: Overcoming the abuse of rank.* Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

Gallardo, M. (2014). *Developing cultural humility: Embracing race, privilege, and power.* New York, NY: Sage Publications.

Garfat, T., & Fulcher, L. (2012). *Child and youth care in practice*. Cape Town, South Africa: Pretext.

Garfat, T., Fulcher, L., & Digney, J. (2016). *Making moments meaningful in child & youth care practice*. Cape Town, South Africa: Pretext.

Garner, H. (2002). *Helping others through teamwork: A handbook for professionals.* Washington, DC: Child Welfare League of America.

Gharabaghi, K. (2014). The purpose of youth work. In K. Gharabaghi, H. Scott-Meyer, & M. Krueger (Eds.), *With children and youth* (pp. 3-24). Toronto, Canada: Laurier.

Giacobbe, G., & Traynelis-Yurek, E. (1993). *Elk Hill: A successful residential treatment program for young men.* Richmond, VA: G & T Publishing.

Giacobbe, G., Traynelis-Yurek, E., & Laursen, E. (1999). *Strengths based strategies for children and youth.* Richmond, VA: G & T Publishing.

Gibbs, J. (2019). *Moral development and reality: Beyond the theories of Kohlberg, Hoffman, & Haidt, 4th ed.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., & Goldstein, A. (1995). *The EQUIP Program: Teaching youth to think and act responsibly through a peer-helping approach.* Champaign, IL: Research Press.

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., Goldstein, A., & Brendtro, L. (1996a). Frontiers in psychoeducation: The EQUIP model with antisocial youth. How EQUP Programs help youth change. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 4*(4), 22-29.

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., Goldstein, A., & Brendtro, L. (1996b). From harassment to helping with antisocial youth: The EQUIP program. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 5*(1), 40-46.

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., Goldstein, A. & Brendtro, L. (1996c). Equipping youth with mature moral judgment. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 5*(3), 156-162

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., Goldstein, A., & Brendtro, L. (1997). Equipping youth to think and interact constructively. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 6*(2), 120-126.

Gibbs, J., Potter, G., Goldstein, A., & Brendtro, L. (1998). How EQUIP Programs help youth change. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 7*(2), 117-122.

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

Gold, M. (1966). Undetected delinquent behavior. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *3,* 27-46.

Gold, M. (1974). A time for skepticism. *Crime and Delinquency*, 20(1), 20-24.

Gold, M. (1995). Charting a course: Promise and prospects for alternative schools. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems, 3*(4), 8-11

Gold, M., & Mann, D. (1984). *Expelled to a friendlier place: A study of effective alternative schools.* Ann Arbor, MI; University of Michigan Press.

Gold, M., & Osgood, D. (1992). *Personality and peer influence in juvenile corrections.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Goldstein, A., & Glick, B. (1994). *The prosocial gang: Implementing Aggression Replacement Training.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Goleman, D. (2005). *Emotional intelligence: Why it matters more than IQ.* New York, NY: Bantam Books.

Goodwin, G., Blacksmith, N., & Coats, M. (2018). The science of teams in the military: Contributions from over 60 years of research. *American Psychologist, 74*(4), 322-333.

Gottfredson, D. (2001). *Schools and Delinquency*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gottfredson, G. (1987). Peer group intervention to reduce the risk of delinquent behavior. A selective review and a new evaluation. *Criminology, 25*, 671–714.

Grissom, G., & Dubnov, W. (1989). *Without locks and bars: Reforming our reform schools*. Westport, CT: Praeger.

Greenleaf, R. (2002). *Servant leadership: A journey into the nature of legitimate power and greatne*ss. 25th Anniversary edition. Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Gregg, V., Gibbs, J., & Basinger, K. (1994). Patterns of developmental delay in moral judgment by male and female delinquents. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, 40*, 538-553.

Grolnick, W. (2002). *The psychology of parental control. How well-meant parenting backfires*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Hahn, K. (1959): Dr. Kurt Hahn at the 48th annual dinner of Old Centralians. http://www.kurthahn.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/2017-oldcentral.pdf

Helms, S., Gallagher, M., Calhoun, C., Choukas-Bradley, S., Dawson, G., & Prinstein, M. (2015). Intrinsic religiosity buffers the longitudinal effects of peer victimization on adolescent depressive symptoms. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology, 44*(3), 471-479.

Helmund, P., Overbeek, G., & Brugman, D. (2015). An examination of program integrity and recidivism of a cognitive behavioral program for incarcerated youth in the Netherlands. *Psychology, Crime and Law, 21*(4), 330-346.

Henggeler, S., Schenwald, S., Borduin, C., Rowland, M., & Cunningham, P. (1998). *Multisystemic treatment of antisocial behavior in children and adolescents.* New York, NY: Guilford.

Hermann, W. (1923). Das Hamburgische Jugengefängnis Hahnöfersand. Ein Berict uber Erzeihungsarbeit in Strafvollzug. *Hamburgische Schriften zur gesamten Strafrechtswissenschaft, Heft 4*. Hamburg, Germany: W. Gente.

Hewlett, B., & Lamb, M. (2005). *Hunter-gatherer childhoods: Evolutionary development & cultural perspectives.* New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.

Hobbs, N. (1951). Group-centered psychotherapy. In C. Rogers, *Client-centered therapy*. Reprinted 1965. (pp. 278-319). Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin.

Hobbs, N. (1982/1994). *The troubled and troubling child*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Hoffman, E. (1988). *The right to be human: A biography of Abraham Maslow*. New York, NY: Jeremy P. Tarcher, Inc.

Hoffman, M. (2000). *Empathy and moral development: Implications for caring and justice.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Hoghughi, M. (1988). *Treating problem children: Issues, methods and practice.* London, UK: Sage Publications.

Howell, J., & Lipsey, M. (2012). *Research-based guidelines for juvenile justice programs.* Nashville, TN: Peabody Research Institute, Vanderbilt University.

Hyman, I., & Snook, P. (1999). *Dangerous schools: What we can do about the physical and emotional abuse of our children.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Inhelder, B., & Piaget, J. (1958). *The growth of logical thinking from childhood to adolescence.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Jackson, W. (2014). *The Circle of Courage: Childhood socialization in the 21st Century.* (Doctoral dissertation). Detroit, MI: Wayne State University.

Jackson, W. (2015). Defining youth development. In L. Brendtro & M. Mitchell, *Deep brain learning: Evidence-based essentials in education, treatment, and youth development* (pp. 24-26). Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

James, H. (1970). *Children in trouble: A national scandal.* Philadelphia, PA: David McKay.

James, S. (2011). What works in group care? A structured review of treatment models for group homes and residential care. *Child and Youth Services Review, 33*(2), 308-331.

Jenkins, R. (1958). Treatment considerations with delinquents. In H. Weeks, *Youthful offenders at Highfields* (pp. 149-156). Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Johansen, B. (1998). *Debating democracy: Native American legacy of freedom*. Sante Fe, NM: Clear Light Publishers.

Jones, M. (1953). *The therapeutic community: A new treatment method in psychiatry.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Juvonen, J. (2013). Peer rejection among children and adolescents: Antecedents, reactions, and maladaptive pathways. In C. DeWall (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of social exclusion* (pp. 101-110). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Keller, O., & Alper, B. (1970). *Halfway houses: Community-centered correction and treatment.* Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath.

Keltner, D. (2009). *Born to be good: The science of a meaningful life*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

Keltner, D. (2016). *The power paradox: How we gain and lose influence.* New York, NY: Penguin Press.

Kemp, C. (1970). *Perspectives on the group process: A foundation for counseling in groups*. New York, NY: Houghton Mifflin.

Kipling, R. (1901). The lesson (poem). https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Five_Nations/The_Lesson

Kohn, A. (2015). *Schooling beyond measure*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Koltko-Rivera, M. (2006). Discovering the later version of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Review of General Psychology, 10*(2), 302-317.

Konner, M. (2002). *The tangled wing: Biological constraints on the human spirit (2nd ed.).* New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company.

Konopka, G. (1949). *Therapeutic group work with children.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Konopka, G. (1963). *Social group work*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Konopka, G. (1966). *The adolescent girl in conflict*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Konopka, G. (1972). *Social group work: A helping process*: Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Kreisle, B. (2008). *Hier läuft alles irgendwie anders: PPC im Jugend-Kolleg am See*. Berlin, Germany: Pro Business Verlag.

Kreisle, B. (2010). Punishment or self-discipline? Early roots of reform. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 19*(3), 14-15.

Kreisle, B. (2012). Caring communities in Germany. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 21*(2), 40-42.

Lantieri, L. (2008). *Building emotional intelligence.* Boulder, CO: Sounds True.

Larson, S., & Brendtro, L. (2000). *Reclaiming our prodigal sons and daughters.* Bloomington, IN: Solution Tree.

Larson, S. (2014). Transforming young lives. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23*(1), 19-23.

Larson, S. (2016). Spiritual formation of children and youth. In CF Learning (Ed.), *A thousand fires burning: Reclaiming youth at risk* (pp. 28-29). Lennox, SD: CF Learning.

Laursen, E. (2008). Respectful alliances, *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 17*(1), 4-9.

Laursen, E. (2010). The evidence-base for Positive Peer Culture. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 19*(2), 37-43.

Laursen, E., Moore, L., Yazdgerdi, S., & Milberger, K. (2013). Building empathy and social mastery in students with autism. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23*(3), 19-22.

Le Bon, G. (1896). *The crowd: A study of the popular mind*. Reprinted 2002. Mineola, NY: Dover Publications.

Lee, B., & Thompson, R. (2009). Examining externalizing behavior trajectories of youth in group homes: Is there evidence for peer contagion? *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 37*(1), 31-44.

Lee, R. (1996). FIRO-B scores and success in a Positive Peer Culture residential treatment program. *Psychological Reports, 78*, 215-220.

Leeman, L., Gibbs, J., & Fuller, D. (1993). Evaluation of a multi-component group treatment program for juvenile delinquents. *Aggressive Behavior, 19*, 281-292.

Lewin, K. (1999). *The complete social scientist: A Kurt Lewin reader*. Edited by M. Gold. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Lewin, K. (1946). Action research and minority problems. *Journal of Social Issues, 2*(4), 34-46.

Lewin, K., Lippitt, R., & White, R. (1939). Patterns of aggressive behavior in experimentally created social climates. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 17*, 97-107.

Lewis, R. (2001). Classroom discipline and student responsibility: The student's view. *Teaching and Teacher education, 17*(3), 307-319.

Li, J., & Julian, M. (2012). Developmental relationships as the active ingredient: A unifying working hypothesis of "what works" across intervention settings. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 82*(2), 157-166.

Lickona, T. (2018). *How to raise kind kids.* New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Liepmann, C. (1928). *Die Selbstverwaltung der Gefangenen* [Self-governance by offenders]. Mannheim, Germany: Bernsheimer.

Lifton, B. (1988). *The king of children: The life and death of Janusz Korczak.* New York, NY: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux.

Long, N. (2013). Disengaging from conflict cycles. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23(*1), 33-37.

Long, N. (2015). Perspectives on conflict in the classroom after fifty years. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 24*(1), 9-14.

Long, N., Fecser, F., Morse, M., Newman, R., & Long, J. (2014). *Conflict in the classroom (7th ed.).* Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.

Long, J., Long, N., & Whitson, S. (2016). *The angry smile.* Hagerstown, MD: LSCI Institute.

Long, N., Wood, M., Fecser, F., & Whitson, S. (2021). *Talking with students in conflict*: *Life Space Crisis Intervention (3rd ed.).* Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.

Longhurst, J., McCord, J., & Starr Commonwealth students. (2007). From peer deviance to peer helping. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 15*(4), 194-199.

Ludwig, J., & Shah, A. (2014, May). *Think before you act: A new approach to preventing youth violence and dropout.* Washington, DC: The Hamilton Project, Brookings Institute.

Mager, W., Milich, R., Harris, M., & Howard, A. (2005). Intervention groups for adolescents with conduct problems: Is aggregation harmful or helpful? *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 33*(3), 349-362.

Makarenko, A. (2004). *Makarenko, his life and work: Articles, talks and reminiscences.* Honolulu, HI: University Press of the Pacific.

Malekoff, A. (2015). *Group work with adolescents. Third Edition*. New York, NY: The Guilford Press.

Marineau, R. (2014). *Jacob Levy Moreno 1889-1974: Father of psychodrama, sociometry, and group psychotherapy*. Princeton, NJ: American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama.

Marquoit, J., & Dobbins, M. (1999). Strength-based treatment for juvenile sexual offenders. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 7*(1), 40-43.

Maslow, A. (1943). A theory of human motivation. *Psychological Review, 50*, 370-396.

Maslow, A. (1959). *New knowledge in human values.* New York, NY: Harper & Row.

Masten, A. (2014). *Ordinary magic: Resilience in development*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

McCall, H. (2003). When successful alternative students "disengage" from regular school. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 12*(2), 113-117.

McCorkle, L., Elias, A., & Bixby, L. (1958). *The Highfields story: A unique experiment in the treatment of juvenile delinquents*. New York, NY; Henry Holt and Company.

McCord, J. (2003). Cures that harm: Unanticipated outcomes of crime prevention programs. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 587*, 41-54.

McGregor, D. (1960). *The human side of enterprise.* New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

McIntosh, K., & MacKay, L. (2008). Enhancing generalization of social skills: Making social skills curricula effective after the lesson. *Beyond Behavior, 18*(1), 18-25.

Menninger, K. (1982). The church's responsibility for the homeless. In R. Gillogly (Ed.), *Sacred shelters* (pp. 54-62). Topeka, KS: The Villages.

Miller, W. (1955). Two concepts of authority. *The American Anthropologist*, *57,* 271-289.

Milliken, B. (2007). *The last dropout: Stop the epidemic!* New York, NY: Hay House.

Mitchell, M., & Ameen, C. (1992). *The Mitchell and Ameen treatment environmental survey.* Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Mitchell, J., & Cockrum, D. (1980). Positive Peer Culture and a level system: A comparison in an adolescent treatment facility. *Criminal Justice and Behavior, 7*(4), 399-406.

Moos, R. (1974). *Evaluating treatment environments.* New York, NY: John Wiley.

Moos, R. (1979). *Evaluating educational environments.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Morse, W. (1974). Jacket commentary. *Positive peer culture: Charting a new course to education and treatment with contemporary youth.* Chicago, IL: Aldine Publishing Company.

Morse, W. (1985). *The education and treatment of socioemotionally impaired children and youth.* Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Morse, W. (2008). *Connecting with kids in conflict.* Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Mumford, L. (1938). *The culture of cities.* New York, NY: Harcourt Brace.

Murphy, L., & Moriarty, A. (1976). *Vulnerability, coping and growth: From infancy to adolescence*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Nas, C., Brugman, D., & Koops, W. (2005). Effects of the EQUIP programme on the moral judgement, cognitive distortions, and social skills of juvenile delinquents. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 11*(4), 421-434.

National Research Council. (2013). *Reforming juvenile justice: A developmental approach*. Washington, DC: National Academies Press.

Ness, C., and girls from Woodland Hills (2000). Fighting to survive. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 8*(4), 213-214.

Neufeld, G., & Maté, G. (2005). *Hold on to your kids: Why parents need to matter more than peers.* New York, NY: Ballantine Books.

Neill, A. S. (1960). *Summerhill: A radical approach to child rearing.* New York, NY: Hart Publishing Company.

Newman, D. (2011). Nicholas Hobbs and schools of joy. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 21*(1), 25-28.

Nichols, P. (1996). Lessons on lookism. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 5*(2),118-122.

Nisbett, R. (2009). *Intelligence and how to get it: Why schools and cultures count*. New York, NY: Norton.

Noddings, N. (2013). *Caring: A relational approach to ethics and moral education (2nd ed.).* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

NYLC. (2007). *Growing to greatness: The state of service learning*. St. Paul, MN: National Youth Leadership Council. www.peecworks.org

Olweus, D. (1978). *Aggression in the schools: Bullies and whipping boys*. Washington, D.C.: Hemisphere Press.

Olweus, D. (1996). Bully/victim problems at school: Facts and effective intervention. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Problems, 5*(1), 15-22.

Olweus, D. (2013). School bullying: Development and some important challenges. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, *9,* 751-780.

Opp, G., Unger, N. (Eds.). (2006): *Kinder stärken Kinder. Positive Peer Culture in der Praxis*. Hamburg, Germany: Körber-Stiftung.

Opp, G., Unger, N., & Teichmann, J. (2007). Together, not alone: Positive Peer Culture in a German school. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 15*(4), 234-242.

Osgood, D., & Bridell, L. (2006). Peer effects in juvenile justice. In K. Dodge, T. Dishion, & J. Lansford (Eds.), *Deviant peer influence in programs for youth: Problems and solutions* (pp. 141-161). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Panksepp, J., & Bivin, L. (2012). *The archeology of mind: Neuroevolutionary origins of human emotions.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

Parkinson, C. (1980). *Parkinson: The law*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Paton, A. (1949/1986). *Diepkloof: Reflections of Diepkloof Reformatory*. Cape Town, South Africa: David Philip.

Peeters, B. (2015). Language and cultural values: adventures in applied ethnolinguistics. *International Journal of Language and Culture 2*(2), 133-141.

Perry, B., & Szalavitz, M. (2007). *The boy who was raised as a dog.* Philadelphia, PA: Basic Books.

Peterson, C. (2006). *A primer in positive psychology*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Peterson, C. (2013). The strengths revolution: A positive psychology perspective. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 21*(4), 7-14.

Peterson, C., Maier, S., & Seligman, M. (1995). Learned helplessness: A theory for the age of personal control. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Petrock, F., Brendtro, L., & Dunn, R. (1975). Models for treatment. In J. Pulliam & W. Ettinger (Eds.) *Proceedings of the National Association of Training Schools and Social Agencies* (pp. 75-78). Minneapolis, MN, June 15-18, 1975.

Pilnick, S., Allen, R., Dubin, H., Youtz, A., Treat, R., White, J., Rose, O., & Habas, S. (1967). *Collegefields: From delinquency to freedom*. Newark, NJ: Laboratory for Applied Science, Newark State College.

Pink, D. (2009). *Drive: The surprising truth about what motivates us.* New York, NY: Riverhead Books.

Polsky, H. (1962). *Cottage six: The social system of delinquent boys in residential treatment*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Polsky, H. (1972). Changing delinquent subcultures: A social-psychological approach. In J. Whittaker and A. Trieschman, *Children away from home: A sourcebook of residential treatment*. (pp. 86-102. New York, NY: Routledge.

Polsky, H. (2002). *How I am a Jew: Adventures into my Jewish-American identity.* Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Polsky, H., & Berger, R. (2003). *From custodialism to community: A theory-based manual for transforming institutions*. Washington, DC: Lanham, MD: University Press of America.

Porges, S., & Dana, D. (2018). *Clinical insights from the polyvagal theory: The emergence of polyvagal-informed therapies.* New York, NY: Norton.

Power, F. (2015). Lawrence Kohlberg: The vocation of a moral educator. In B. Zizek & D. Garz (Eds.), *Kohlberg revisited* (pp. 187-198). Rotterdam, Netherlands: Sense Publishers.

Project Förderende. (2017). Gruppen-Kultur in Jugenstrafvollzug der JVA Adelsheim [Group-culture project in youth justice in JVA Adelsheim]. Presentation November 27, Kreglingen, Germany.

Redl, F. (1966). *When we deal with children: Selected writings*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Redl, F., & Wineman, D. (1951). *Children who hate.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Redl, F., & Wineman, D. (1952). *Controls from within.* Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Regan, S. (2014). Teachers split on success of discipline in St. Paul schools. *Twin Cities Daily Planet,* May 4, 2014. http://www.tcdailyplanet.net/teachers-split-success-discipline-st-paul-schools/

Rhee, S., Friedman, N., Boeldt, D., Corley, R., Huitt, J., Knafo, A., et al. (2013). Early concern and disregard for others as predictors of anti-social behavior. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 54*(2), 157-166.

Roehlkepartain, E., Benson, P., King, P., & Wagener, P. (2006). *Handbook of spiritual development in childhood and adolescence*. San Francisco, CA: Sage Publications.

Rogers, C. (1963). The actualizing tendency in relation to "motives" and to consciousness. In M. R. Jones (Ed.), *The Nebraska symposium on motivation, Vol. 11* (pp. 1-24). Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Rogers, C. (1970). *On encounter groups*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Rogoff, B. (1990). *Apprenticeship in thinking: Cognitive development in social context.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The cultural nature of human development.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rogoff, B. (2014). Learning by Observing and Pitching In to family and community endeavors: An orientation. *Human Development, 57*(2-3), 69–81.

Rollnick, W., & Miller, S. (2012). *Motivational interviewing: Helping people change* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Rosenfield, S., Newell, M., Zwolski Jr., S., & Benishek, L. (2018). Evaluating problem-solving teams in K-12 Schools: Do they work? *American Psychologist, 74*(4), 407-419.

Ross, A. (1989). *Mitakuye oyasin: We are all related.* Denver, CO: Wicóni Wasté.

Roush, D. (2015). Reforming conditions of confinement in juvenile detention: Evidence-based research from the U.S. District Court intervention in Cook County, IL. *Journal of Applied Juvenile Justice Services.* National Partnership for Juvenile Services. npjs.org/jajjs/

Ryan, J. (2006). Dependent youth in juvenile justice: Do Positive Peer Culture programs work for victims of child maltreatment? *Research on Social Work Practice, 16*(5), 511-519.

Ryan, R., & Deci, E. (2017). *Self-determination theory: Basic psychological needs in motivation, development, and wellness.* New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Seger, V., & Koehler, N. (2011). The CLEAR problem-solving model: Discovering strengths and solutions. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 20*(1), 16-19.

Seita, J. (2014). Reclaiming disconnected kids. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23*(4), 29-32.

Seita, J. (2010). Missing data: Discovering the private logic of adult-wary youth. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 19*(2), 51-54.

Seita, J., Mitchell, M., & Tobin, C. (1996). *In whose best interest. One child's odyssey, a nation's responsibility*. Elizabethown, PA: Continental Press.

Sergiovanni, T. (1994). *Building community in schools.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Shamay-Tsoory, S., Tomer, R., & Aharon-Peretz, J. (2005). The neuroanatomical basis of understanding sarcasm and its relation to social cognition. *Neuropsychology, 18*(3), 288-300.

Sherif, M., & Sherif, C. (1964). *Reference groups: Exploration into conformity and deviation of adolescents*. Chicago, IL: Henry Regnery Company.

Skinner, B. F. (1972). *Beyond freedom and dignity.* New York, NY: Vintage Books*.*

Slavson, S. (1965). *Reclaiming the delinquent.* Toronto, ON: Collier-Macmillan Canada Ltd.

Smith, L. (2004). A retrospective review of *The Aggressive Child:* An early and major exemplar of qualitative inquiry. *Qualitative Social Work, 3*(2), 221-231.

Smith, M. (2011). Where extremes meet: Camphill in the context of residential care in Scotland. In R. Jackson (Ed.), *Discovering Camphill: New perspectives, research, and developments.* Edinburgh, UK: Floris Books.

Soenens, B., Vansteenkiste, M., Lens, W., Luyckx, K., Goossens, L., Beyeers, W., & Ryan, R. (2007). Conceptualizing parental autonomy support: Adolescent perceptions of promotion of independence versus promotion of volitional functioning. *Developmental Psychology, 43*(3)633-646.

Solnick, J., Braukmann, C., Bedlington, M., Kirigin, K., & Wolf, M. (1981). The relationship between parent-youth interaction and delinquency in group homes. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 9*(1), 107-119.

Soma, C., & Allen, D. (2019). *10 steps to create a trauma-informed school*. Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Somers, C., Day, A., Niewiadomski, J., Sutter, C., Baroni, B., & Hong, J. (2018). Understanding how school climate affects overall mood in residential care: Perspectives of adolescent girls in foster care and juvenile justice systems. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal, 69*(4), 43-58.

Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance: Communication and cognition.* Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Spolin, V. (1999). *Improvisation for the theater: A handbook of teaching and directing techniques, Third Edition*. Chicago, IL: Northwestern University Press.

Sroufe, L., Egeland, B., Carlson, E., & Collins, W. (2005). *The development of the person: The Minnesota study of birth and adaptation from birth to childhood*. New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Steinebach, C., Jungo, D., & Zihlmann, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Positive psychologie in der praxis: Anwendung in psychotherapie, beratung, und coaching* [Positive psychology in practice: Application in psychotherapy, counseling, and coaching]. Weinheim, Germany: Beltz.

Steinebach, C., Schaer, M., & Knafla, I. (2019). Generosity, peer support, and positive development in youth. In C. Steinebach & A. Langer (Eds.), *Enhancing resilience in youth: Mindfulness-based interventions in positive environments* (pp. 57-78). New York, NY: Springer.

Steinebach, C., Schrenk, A., Steinebach, U., & Brendtro, L. (2018): *Positive Peer Culture. Ein Manual für starke Gruppengespräche*. Weinheim, Germany: Beltz Verlag.

Steiner, M., with Woodland Hills Youth (2008). Don't let me give up. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 17*(1), 10-11.

Stephenson, R., & Scarpitti, F. (1974). *Group interaction as therapy*. *The use of small groups in corrections.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Street, D., Vinter, R., & Perrow, C. (1966). *Organization for treatment: A comparative study of institutions for delinquents.* New York, NY: The Free Press.

Stott, D. (1980). *Delinquency and human nature (2nd ed.).* London, UK: Hodder and Stoughton.

Strother, M., Maikoetter, M., Freado, M., & Brendtro, L. (2016). The drive to thrive: Lighting the fire. In CF Learning, *A thousand fires burning: Reclaiming youth at risk* (pp. 39-51)*.* Lennox, SD: CF Learning.

Sue, D., & Spanierman, L. (2020). *Microaggressions in everyday life.* New York, NY: Wiley.

Suttie, I. (1935). *The origins of love and hat*e. London, UK: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd.

Sylwester, R. (2005). *How to explain a brain: An educator's handbook of brain terms and cognitive processes.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Tate, T. (2001). Peer influences and positive cognitive restructuring. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 9*(4), 215-218.

Tate, T. (2003). Servant leadership for schools and youth programs. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 12*(1), 33-39.

Tate, T., Copas, R., & Wasmund, W. (2012). *Partners in empowerment: A practitioner's guide to implementing peer group treatment models.* Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Taylor, F. (1911). *The principles of scientific management.* New York, NY: Harper & Brothers.

Taylor, L., Gilligan, C., & Sullivan, A. (1996). What gets me into trouble is my big mouth: Women, girls, race and relationship. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 5*(2), 68-73.

Taylor, S. (2002). *The tending instinct: How nurturing is essential to who we are and how we live.* New York, NY: Holt.

Thayer, A., Petruzzelli, A., & McClurg, C. (2018). Addressing the paradox of the team innovation process. *American Psychologist, 74*(4), 363-375.

Toch, H., & Adams, K. (2002). *Acting out: Violent behavior in confinement.* Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

Tomasello, M. (2014). The ultra-social animal. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 44*(3), 187–194.

Traynelis-Yurik, E. (1997). Thinking clearly through Positive Peer Culture. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 6*(2), 87-89.

Traynelis-Yurik, E., & Giacobbe, G. (1998). A communication rehabilitation regimen for incarcerated youth. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation, 26*(3-4), 157-167.

Tuckman, B. (1965). Developmental sequence in small groups. *Psychological Bulletin*, *63*(6), 384–399.

Turner, M. (1957). *The child within the group: An experiment in self-government*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Twenge, J., Maumeister, R., DeWall, C., Ciarocco, N., & Bartels, J. (2007). Social exclusion decreases prosocial behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 92*(1), 56-66.

USSS/USDOE. (2004). *Threat assessment in schools: A guide to managing threatening situations and creating safe school climates.* Washington, DC: Author.

VanderVen, K. (2000). Cultural aspects of point and level systems. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 9*(1), 53-59.

Vinter, R. (1967). The essential components of social group work practice. In R. Vinter (Ed.), *Readings in group work practice* (pp. 8-38). Ann Arbor, MI: Campus Publishers.

Vinter, R., Newcomb, T., & Kish, R. (1976*). Time out: A national study of juvenile corrections programs*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan, School of Social Work.

Vorrath, H. (1972). *Positive Peer Culture: Content, structure, process*. Lansing, MI: Michigan Center for Group Studies.

Vorrath, H., & Brendtro, L. (1974). *Positive Peer Culture.* Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Vorrath, H., & Brendtro, L. (1985). *Positive Peer Culture, 2nd ed.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wallach, M., & Wallach, L. (1983). *Psychology's sanction for selfishness.* San Francisco, CA: W. H. Freeman and Company.

Walter, C. (2013). St. Andrew's Project: Building inclusion using "Outcomes that Matter." *Scottish Journal of Residential Child Care, 12*(2), 40-48.

Wasmund, W. (1980). *A research evaluation of the Woodland Hills residential treatment program.* Duluth, MN: Woodland Hills.

Wasmund, W. (1988). The social climates of peer group and other residential programs. *Child and Youth Care Quarterly, 17*(3), 146-155.

Wasmund, W. (1995). Counteraggression in group treatment: Good intentions gone awry. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 4*(1), 34-37.

Wasmund, W., & Brannon, J. (1987). Integrating affective change: A reevaluation of offender self-concept and peer group treatment. *Residential Treatment for Children and Youth, 5*, 93-101.

Weeks, H. (1958). *Youthful offenders at Highfields: An evaluation of the effects of short-term treatment of delinquent boys*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Weiss, B., Caron, A., Ball, S., Tapp, J., Johnson, M., & Weisz, J. (2005). Iatrogenic effects of group treatment for antisocial youth. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 73*(6), 1036-1044.

Werner, E. (2012). Risk, resilience, and recovery. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 21*(1), 18-23.

Werner, E., & Smith, R. (1992). *Overcoming the odds: High-risk children from birth to adulthood.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Wesselmann, C. & Williams, K. (2013). Ostracism and stages of coping. In C. DeWall (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of social exclusion* (pp. 20-30). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

White, R., & Lippitt, R. (1960). *Autocracy and democracy: An experimental inquiry*. New York, NY: Harper and Brothers.

Wilker, K. (1921). *Der LIndenhof.* Translated into English in 1993 by Stephan Lhotsky. Sioux Falls, SD: Augustana College.

Wills, D. (1941). *The Hawkspur experiment*. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.

Wills, D. (1945). *The Barns experiment.* London, UK: George Allen and Unwin.

Wills, D. (1964). *Homer Lane: A biography*. London, UK: George Allen & Unwin.

Wilson, H. (2014). Turning off the school-to-prison pipeline. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 23*(1), 49-53.

Wolins, M. (Ed.). (1974). *Successful group care: Explorations in the powerful environment*. Chicago, IL: Aldine.

Wolins, M., & Wozner, Y. (1982). *Revitalizing residential settings: Problems and potential in education, health, rehabilitation and social service.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Wood, F. (1995). Positive responses to student resistance to programs of behavior change. *Reclaiming Children and Youth, 3*(1), 30-33.

Wood, M., & Long, N. (1991). *Life Space Intervention: Talking with children and youth in crisis.* Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.

Wood, M., Quirk, C., & Swindle, F. (2007). *Teaching responsible behavior: Developmental therapy-developmental teaching for troubled children and adolescents* (4th ed.). Austin, TX: Pro-Ed.

Yalom, I., with Leszcz, M. (2005). *Theory and practice of group psychotherapy. Fifth Edition.* New York, NY: Basic Books.

Yalom, I., & Lieberman, M. (1971). A study of encounter group casualties. *Archives of General Psychiatry, 25*(16), 16-30.

Yang, H., Davis, R., Ryan, J., & Wasmund, W. (1998). *Assessing the climate of residential programs: Development and application of youth environmental survey.* Albion, MI: Starr Commonwealth.

Zimbardo, P. (2008). *The Lucifer effect: Understanding how good people turn evil*. New York, NY: Random House.

[1] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019.
[2] Brendtro & du Toit, 2005.
[3] Casey Family Programs, 2016; CEBC, 2021.
[4] Laursen, 2010; Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.
[5] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019.
[6] Brendtro & Mitchell, 2015.
[7] Tate, Copas, & Wasmund, 2012.
[8] Project Förderende, 2017.
[9] Wallach & Wallach, 1983.
[10] Anglin, 2002.
[11] For example, see: Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985; Gold & Osgood, 1992; Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995; Brendtro & Mitchell, 2015; Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.
[12] Werner, 2012.
[13] Jackson, 2015, p. 25.
[14] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019.
[15] Correa-Chávez et al., 2015; Rogoff, 2003.
[16] Bolin, 2006, 2010.
[17] Jackson, 2014.
[18] Maslow, 1943.
[19] Hoffman, 1988.
[20] Koltko-Rivera, 2006.
[21] Coopersmith, 1967.
[22] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974.
[23] Feuerstein & Krasilowsky, 1974.
[24] Benard, 2004.
[25] Masten, 2014.
[26] Peterson, 2013.
[27] Elias et al., 2015; National Research Council, 2013.
[28] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974, p. v.
[29] Kreisle, 2010, p. 14.
[30] Bosco, 1877.
[31] Bernard & Curlychek, 2010.
[32] Liepmann, 1928.
[33] Wills, 1964.
[34] Wills, 1964.
[35] Wilker, 1921, p. 69.
[36] Boyling, 2011.
[37] Wills, 1941.
[38] Wills, 1945.
[39] Wills, 1945, p. 11.
[40] Aichhorn, 1925/1935.
[41] Morse, 2008.
[42] Redl, 1966.
[43] Redl & Wineman, 1951; Smith, 2004.
[44] Redl & Wineman, 1952.
[45] Freud, 1951.
[46] Epstein & Slavson, 1962.
[47] Slavson, 1965, pp. 18-19.
[48] Addams, 1909, p. 66.
[49] Marineau, 2014, p. 38.
[50] Spolin, 1999.
[51] Dewey, 1916.
[52] Turner, 1957.
[53] Paton, 1949, p. 99.
[54] Paton, 1949, p. 99.
[55] Hermann, 1923, p. 255.
[56] Konopka, 1949, 1963, 1966.
[57] Konopka, 1949.
[58] James, 1970.
[59] Falik, 2019.
[60] Feurstein & Krasilowsky, 1974.
[61] Dweck, 2006; Nisbett, 2009.
[62] Lifton, 1988.
[63] Power, 2015.
[64] CEBC, 2021.
[65] Hoghughi, 1988.
[66] Petrock, Brendtro, & Dunn, 1975.
[67] McCorkle, Elias, & Bixby, 1958.
[68] Weeks, 1958.
[69] Weeks, 1958, p. 147.
[70] Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974.
[71] Vorrath, 1972, p. 4.
[72] James, 1970.
[73] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974.
[74] Giacobbe, Traynelis-Yurik, & Laursen, 1999.
[75] CEBC, 2021; James, 2011; Laursen, 2010.
[76] Brendtro & Mitchell, 2015.
[77] Le Bon, 1896, pp. 15-16.
[78] Keller & Alber, 1970.
[79] White & Lippitt, 1960, p. 45.
[80] White & Lippitt, 1960.
[81] Bennis, 1994.
[82] Bebout, 1978.
[83] Rogers, 1970.
[84] Rogers, 1970, p. 116.
[85] Yalom & Lieberman, 1971.
[86] Yalom & Lieberman, 1971, p. 278-279.
[87] Rogers, 1970.
[88] Cicero, 1910, p. 194.
[89] Cohen, 1955.
[90] Zimbardo, 2008.
[91] Blum, 2018.
[92] Olweus, 1978, 2013.
[93] Olweus, 1996.
[94] Juvonen & Graham, 2013.
[95] Nichols, 1996.
[96] Nichols, 1996, p. 118, citing Sadker and Sadker.
[97] Polsky, 1962, p. 169.
[98] Polsky, 1972, p. 95.

[99] Somers et al., 2018.
[100] Somers et al., 2018.
[101] Henggeler et al., 1998, p. 130.
[102] Augustine, 400 AD.
[103] Polsky, 1962, p. 21.
[104] Vinter, Newcomb, & Kish, 1976, p. 228.
[105] An article in *American Psychologist* (Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999) launched a spate of publications on what was called "peer deviancy training." For perspectives on this theme, see Dodge, Dishion, & Lansford (Eds.), 2006.
[106] Feldman, Caplinger, & Wodarski, 1983.
[107] Henggeler et al, 1998, p. 129-130.
[108] Duncan et al., 2010.
[109] Weiss et al., 2005.
[110] Rogoff, 2003.
[111] Buehler, Patterson, & Furness, 1966.
[112] Weiss et al., 2005.
[113] Lee & Thompson, 2009.
[114] Mager et al., 2005.
[115] Osgood & Bridell, 2006.
[116] Bronfenbrenner, 2005.
[117] Solnick et al., 1981.
[118] Gold, 1966.
[119] Gold, 1966.
[120] Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995.
[121] The desire to play with peers is a brain-based emotion. Panksepp & Biven, 2012.
[122] Ferrari & Rozzolatti, 2015.
[123] Goldstein & Glick, 1994, p. 10.
[124] Acevedo, 2017.
[125] McCall, 2003.
[126] Bedian, 2016, p. 236.
[127] Lewin, 1946, p. 35.
[128] Lewin, 1999.
[129] Milliken, 2007, p. 3.
[130] Deutsch, 1950, p. 129.
[131] National Research Council, 2013.
[132] Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.
[133] McCorkle et al., 1958, p. 111.
[134] Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.
[135] Gottfredson, 1987.
[136] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985.
[137] Empey & Erickson, 1974.
[138] Pilnick, 1967.
[139] Gottfredson, 2001.
[140] Gottfredson, 2001.
[141] Malekoff, 2014.
[142] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985.
[143] McCall, 2003.
[144] Weeks, 1958.
[145] Brendtro, Mitchell, & McCall, 2009.
[146] Grissom & Dubnov, 1989.

[147] Grissom & Dubnov, 1989.
[148] Polsky & Berger, 2003, p. 47.
[149] Polsky & Berger, 2003, p. 48.
[150] Polsky, 2002.
[151] Polsky, 1962.
[152] Gold & Osgood, 1992.
[153] Gold & Osgood, 1992, p. 2.
[154] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1974.
[155] Gold, 1995; Gold & Mann, 1984.
[156] Ryan, 2006.
[157] Gold, 1974.
[158] Gold & Osgood, 1992, p. 212.
[159] Brendtro & Wasmund, 1989, p. 95.
[160] Wasmund, 1980.
[161] Wasmund & Brannon, 1987.
[162] Gold & Mann, 1984.
[163] Toch & Adams, 2002.
[164] Wasmund, 1988.
[165] Marquoit & Dobbins, 1999.
[166] Brannon & Troyer, 1991.
[167] USSS & USDOE, 2004.
[168] Brendtro & Shahbazian, 2004, p. 123.
[169] Brendtro & duToit, 2005, 2021.
[170] Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995.
[171] Gibbs, Potter, Goldstein, & Brendtro, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997, & 1998.
[172] McIntosh & MacKay, 2008.
[173] Cozolino, 2014.
[174] Bellini et al., 2007.
[175] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019; Garfat, Fulcher, & Digney, 2016.
[176] Gibbs et al., 1997.
[177] Thinking errors ares discussed in Chapter 6.
[178] Calkins & Leerkes, 2011.
[179] Bath & Seita, 2018.
[180] Brendtro, 2019; Gibbs, 2019.
[181] Noddings, 2013, p. xviii.
[182] Laursen, 2008, p. 4.
[183] Leeman, Gibbs, & Fuller, 1993.
[184] Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.
[185] Steinebach, Schaer, & Knafla, 2019.
[186] Giacobbe & Traynelis-Yurek, 1993.
[187] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985.
[188] Hoghughi, 1988.
[189] Brendtro & Mitchell, 2015.
[190] Giacobbe & Traynelis-Yurek, 1993.
[191] From Foltz, interviewed by Erik Weisel, 2016.
[192] Foltz, 2011, p. 31.
[193] Foltz et al., 2013.
[194] Menninger, 1982, p. 59.
[195] Ross, 1989.
[196] Perry & Szalavitz, 2007.
[197] Brokenleg, 2018.

198 Wesselmann & Williams, 2013.
199 Juvonen, 2013.
200 Suttie, 1935.
201 Stott, 1980.
202 Ainsworth & Bowlby, 1991, p. 338.
203 Redl & Wineman, 1951; Suttie, 1935.
204 Redl, 1966.
205 Bowlby, 1969/1982.
206 Cicchetti, Rogosch, & Toth, 2006.
207 Adapted from Wood, Quirk, & Swindle, 2007.
208 Barber, 2002.
209 Werner & Smith, 1992, p. 205.
210 Newman, 2011, p. 26.
211 Konopka, 1972.
212 Rogers, 1970.
213 Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985, p. 11.
214 Cooley, 1909, pp. 24-25.
215 Fanshel & Shinn, 1978.
216 Ankeney, 2007; Neufeld & Maté, 2006.
217 Neufeld & Maté 2006, p. 49
218 Neufeld & Maté 2006, p. 184.
219 Dodge & Somberg, 1987.
220 Sherif & Sherif, 1964.
221 Gold & Osgood, 1992.
222 Sherif & Sherif, 1964, p. 298.
223 Diehl, 1987.
224 Kemp, 1970, p. 304.
225 Proverbs 15:1
226 Li & Julian, 2012.
227 Duncan et al., 2010.
228 Yalom, 2005.
229 Hobbs, 1951.
230 Hobbs, 1951, p. 311.
231 Steiner with Woodland Hills Youth, 2008.
232 Dewey, cited in Zimmers, 1918, p. 17.
233 Taylor, 2002.
234 Goleman, 2005.
235 Sylwester, 2005, p. 87.
236 Strother, Maikoetter, Freado, & Brendtro, 2016.
237 Brendtro & du Toit, 2005.
238 Vinter, Newcomb, & Kish, 1976, p. 228.
239 Empey & Erikson, 1972.
240 Wood, 1995.
241 Durkin, 1988, p. 361.
242 Dewey, 1910.
243 Chambers & Freado, 2015.
244 Murphy & Moriarty, 1976.
245 Long, 2014.
246 Gibbs et al., 1995.
247 Dodge & Somberg, 1987.
248 Rogoff, 1990.
249 Vygotsky, 1978.
250 Cited in Tate, 2001.
251 Traynelis-Yurik, 1997; Traynelis-Yurik & Giacobbe, 1998.
252 Traynelis-Yurik, 1997, p. 87.
253 Ludwig & Shah, 2014.
254 Roush, 2015.
255 Peters, 2015.
256 Allport, 1937.
257 Frances, 2013, p. 177.
258 Foltz et al., 2013.
259 Maslow, 1959.
260 Stephenson & Scarpitti, 1974.
261 McCorkle, Elias, & Bixby, 1988, p. 6.
262 Sroufe et al., 2006.
263 Baumeister, 2012.
264 Erikson, 1968, p. 96
265 Bath & Seita, 2018.
266 Long, 2015.
267 Brendtro & Caslor, 2019; Gold & Osgood, 1992.
268 Laursen et al., 2013.
269 Bath & Seita, 2018.
270 Steinebach et al., 2019.
271 Gibbs, 2019.
272 Coopersmith, 1967; Brendtro & Mitchell, 2015.
273 Frances, 2013.
274 Lickona, 2018, p. 104.
275 Malekoff, 2015, condensed from pp. 370-371.
276 Gharabaghi, 2014, p. 7.
277 Gharabaghi, 2014.
278 Mitchell & Cockrum, 1980.
279 Wasmund, 1988.
280 Gharabaghi 2014.
281 Gibbs, 2019.
282 Skinner, 1972.
283 Pink, 2009.
284 Regan, 2014.
285 Ryan & Deci, 2017.
286 Pink, 2009, p. 106.
287 Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019.
288 Hewlett & Lamb, 2005.
289 Sergiovanni, 1994.
290 Fuller, 2003.
291 Ryan & Deci, 2017.
292 Konner, 2002.
293 Boehm, 2012.
294 Johansen, 1998.
295 Lewis, 2001.
296 Hyman & Snook, 1999, p. 60.
297 Sperber & Wilson, 1986.
298 Shamay-Tsoory, Tomer, & Aharon-Peretz, 2005.
299 Long, Long, & Whitson, 2016.
300 Sue & Spanierman, 2020.
301 Konopka, 1966.
302 Taylor, Gilligan, & Sullivan, 1996.

[303] Ness, 2000.
[304] Kohn, 2015, p. 65.
[305] Peterson, Maier, & Seligman, 1995.
[306] Benson, Williams, & Johnson, 1987.
[307] Ayllon & Azrin, 1968.
[308] Hoffman, 2000; VanderVen, 2000.
[309] Brehm & Brehm, 1981.
[310] Polsky & Berger, 2003, p. 30.
[311] Kohn, 2015.
[312] Vinter, 1967.
[313] Makarenko, 2004.
[314] Edwards, 1991, p. 166.
[315] Rogoff, 2014.
[316] Redl & Wineman, 1952.
[317] Kipling, 2018.
[318] Bergin, 2018.
[319] American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 2002, p. 195.
[320] Hoffman, 2000.
[321] Grolnick, 2002.
[322] Baumrind, 2013.
[323] Soenens et al., 2007.
[324] Long et al., 2014.
[325] Long et al., 2014.
[326] Brendtro & Longhurst, 2006, p. 89.
[327] Keltner, 2016.
[328] Keltner, 2009.
[329] Darwin, 1871, p. 130.
[330] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019, p.108.
[331] Suttie, 1935, p. 53.
[332] Ryan & Deci, 2017.
[333] Deci, 1996, p. 84.
[334] Panksepp & Biven, 2012.
[335] Cozolino, 2014.
[336] Gibbs, 2019.
[337] Aknin et al., 2013.
[338] DiSalvo, 2009.
[339] Porges & Dana, 2018.
[340] Taylor, 2002.
[341] Keltner, 2009.
[342] Ludwig & Shah, 2014.
[343] Cory Jr., 2000.
[344] Gilligan, 1982.
[345] Tomasello, 2014.
[346] Rhee et al., 2013.
[347] Lantieri, 2008.
[348] Redl & Wineman, 1951, 1952.
[349] Gibbs et al., 1996.
[350] Gregg, Gibbs, & Basinger, 1994.
[351] Gibbs et al., 1995.
[352] Brugman & Bink, 2011; Nas et al., 2005.
[353] Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2019.
[354] Twenge et al., 2008, pp. 63-64.

[355] NYLC, 2007.
[356] Hahn, 1959, p. 6.
[357] Inhelder & Piaget, 1958, p. 345.
[358] Buber, 1970.
[359] Commission for Children at Risk, 2003, p. 5.
[360] Larson & Brendtro, 2000.
[361] Larson, 2016, p. 28.
[362] Werner, 2012.
[363] Peterson, 2006.
[364] Roelhkepartain et al., 2006.
[365] Helms et al., 2015.
[366] Aristotle, 340 BC, 1998.
[367] Baumeister, Vohs, Aaker, & Garbinsky, 2013.
[368] Werner & Smith, 1992.
[369] Brendtro, 2019.
[370] Dishion, McCord, & Poulin, 1999; McCord, 2003.
[371] Gold, 1974.
[372] From Longhurst, McCord, & students, 2007.
[373] Helmond, Overbeek, & Brugman, 2015.
[374] Yalom, 2005.
[375] Jones, 1953.
[376] Yalom, 2005, p. 6.
[377] Tuckman, 1965.
[378] Vinter, 1967.
[379] Opp & Unger, 2006.
[380] Opp, Unger, & Teichmann, 2007.
[381] Morse, 1985.
[382] Morse, 1974.
[383] Hobbs, 1994.
[384] Boyes-Watson & Brokenleg, 2011.
[385] Brendtro & du Toit, 2021.
[386] Adapted from Toch & Adams, 2002, p. 398.
[387] Wasmund, 1995, p. 36.
[388] Malekoff, 2015.
[389] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985, p. 128.
[390] Taylor, 1911.
[391] Mumford, 1938, p. 472.
[392] Garner, 2002.
[393] Garner, 2002.
[394] Anglin, 2002.
[395] Clarke, 2011.
[396] Wolins & Wozner, 1982.
[397] Greenleaf, 2002, adapted from p. 27.
[398] Greenleaf, 2002.
[399] Tate, 2003, p. 33.
[400] Blanchard & Broadwell, 2018.
[401] Miller, 1955.
[402] McGregor, 1960.
[403] Babcock & Sorensen, 1979.
[404] Street, Vinter, & Perrow, 1976.
[405] Einstein, cited in Brendtro & Ness, 1983, p. 93.
[406] Feitosa, Grossman, & Szalazar, 2018.
[407] Brill, 2018.

[408] APA, 2018.

[409] Goodwin, Blacksmith, & Coates, 2018.

[410] Goodwin, Blacksmith, & Coates, 2018, p. 329.

[411] Driskell, Salas, & Driskell, 2018.

[412] Driskell, Salas, & Driskell, 2018.

[413] Feitosa, Grossman, & Szalazar, 2018, p. 381.

[414] Gallardo, 2014.

[415] Thayer, Petruzzelli, & McClurg, 2018.

[416] Seita, 2010.

[417] Rosenfield et al., 2018.

[418] Garner, 2002.

[419] Smith, 2011.

[420] Gold & Osgood, 1992.

[421] Summarized from Gold & Osgood, 1992, pp. 85-94; 198-199; 212, 214.

[422] Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939.

[423] Lewin, Lippitt, & White, 1939.

[424] Baumrind, 2013.

[425] For the unabridged quote, see Gold & Osgood, 1992, p. 212.

[426] Adapted from Freado, 2017.

[427] Brendtro & du Toit, 2021.

[428] Seger & Koehler, 2011.

[429] Allen, 2015, p. 37.

[430] Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985.

[431] Allen, 2015.

[432] Rollnick & Miller, 2012.

[433] Long, Wood, Fecser, & Whitson, 2021.

[434] Gold & Osgood, 1992.

[435] Gold & Osgood, 1992; Ryan, 2006.

[436] Lee, 1997.

[437] Morse, 2008.

[438] Li & Julian, 2012.

[439] Larson, 2014.

[440] Brendtro & Caslor, 2019.

[441] Agee, 1979.

[442] Agee, 1979.

[443] Soma & Allen, 2019.

[444] www.starr.org

[445] Bath & Seita, 2018.

[446] Seita, 2014.

[447] Brendtro, 2020, Brendtro & du Toit, 2021.

[448] Walter, 2013, p. 41.

[449] Parkinson, 1980.

[450] Hoghughi, 1988, pp. 209-279.

[451] Franklin, 1998, p. 24.

[452] Brendtro & Ness, 1982, 1983.

[453] Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995.

[454] Brugman & Bink, 2011; Helmund, Overbeek, & Brugman, 2015.

[455] Helmund, Overbeek & Brugman, 2015.

[456] Brugman & Bink, 2011; Helmund, Overbeek, & Brugman, 2015.

[457] Moos, 1974, 1979.

[458] Yang, Davis, Ryan, & Wasmund, 1999.

[459] Howell & Lipsey, 2012.

[460] Brendtro & Wasmund, 1989, p. 90.

[461] Dahms, 1978; Gold & Osgood, 1992.

[462] Garfat & Fulcher, 2012.

[463] Wolins, 1974.

[464] Gottfredson, 1987.

[465] Kreisle, 2008, 2012.