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FOR THOSE WHO LIVE OR WORK WITH CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE

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Crossroads and Connections

Today, in Cape Town, I attended a CYC-Net Board meeting. Who would have thought, all those years ago, that there would be a time when the Board of Governors of CYC-Net would actually be able to meet together around the same table? When we first started we thought it was amazing to be connected through the – then clunky – internet. Now we meet face to face.

We discussed CYC-Net of course, but also the Child and Youth Care World Conference and Child and Youth Care work, by its broadest definition, in other parts of the globe – Africa, India, North America, the UK, Australia, Europe, etc. Who would have thought, all those years ago, that CYC would be (could be?) connected in such a way? We used to be thrilled to be connected with another child caring team in the other part of town.

But this is what we are, isn't it – a field of connections and connectness. Connections permeate our field – indeed we might even say that *connections are our field*. When we read the litera-



ture, attend to the trainings or enter into discussions about our work that is the obvious conclusion.

Not simply connections, of course, but a certain kind of connection: filled with a concern for the healthy quality of the connectedness. Whether it is with children, with our colleagues, with friends or with families or anyone, our concern, always, is with the quality and meaning of our connectedness with others: how is the other experiencing the connection? How is the other feeling about self in the context of this connectedness? What meaning are we all making of it?

It is not a coincidence, I think, that the theme of the first ever CYC World Conference, to be held in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador June 25-28, 2013, is *Connecting at the Crossroads*. For just as our field is a field of connectedness, so,

too, is it a field constantly coming to the crossroads: the crossroad between this moment and the next, the crossroad between this day and the future, the crossroad of constant

decisions and actions.

Our field is, itself, at an important crossroad, I think. In a rapidly changing world, we move forward into the future. We have decisions to make. How will we connect globally? What will our practice look like in the future? Who will lead us forward? Where do we go from here?

Like all crossroads, this is a time of opportunity for us all. If we build strong connections, with a concern for the quality of our connectedness, we can (as we should) determine together our own future. Or we can do as we have done so many other times, in so many other places, and wait for someone else to determine what direction we will take at this important crossroad.

I hope not; not this time. It is *our* field, *our* work, *our* lives. It is *our* responsibility to determine our future. If we come together – all of us concerned with direct care work with young people – however we call ourselves – we can shape the future together.

We have waited long enough.

And now the World is waiting for us in Newfoundland and Labrador.

See you in St. John's.

Thom



Pull the Lever Billy, the Kids are Revolting

Cedrick of Toxteth

The other day my favorite tabloid ran yet another rant about how today's kids are "undisciplined, disrespectful, demanding, lazy, uncommitted, resistant and aggressively entitled." Fair enough. Take a stroll through the shopping malls or high school precincts and it's there for all to see.

But, having made this perfectly rational observation, editor William (Billy) Bombast spews out a familiar and totally irrational solution. In a nutshell, he argues that we should bring back the child rearing methods that made him what he is today (i.e. a self-righteous blowhard who thinks the relationship between cause and effect is an infinitely negotiable arrangement). A world full of Bombasts might be fun for a while, but definitely 'unsustainable'. Silly Billy.



When it comes to logic, I'm the last person to shout the odds. But it doesn't take a genius to figure out that if A causes B, when you really want C, you put the boot to A and take a shot at something else. Even laboratory rats know this. When their strategically placed little lever produces an electric

shock rather than a food pellet, they catch on very quickly. First they defecate, then they shift into 'learned helplessness' and, unless the 'Great Experimenter' changes the program, they finally die of starvation. Yet, even in the throes of their miserable demise, nobody jumps up and yells, "Never mind the shit and the pain lads, just keep pressing, we're bound to get a pellet someday."

To be fair, Billy isn't alone. This evangelical brand of simplistic reasoning runs

rampant in the world kids are destined to inherit. Take the global financial meltdown for example. We all know what caused it – greed. And we all know who led the way – the bankers. So what do our leaders do? They hand over whatever chips we have left to the Wall St. Boys so they can keep pulling on the same levers until the kitty runs dry. Brilliant! And what about the environmental crisis? How did we get conned into believing that power-addicted politicians, profit-seeking corporations and soul-less technocrats will become our ecological saviors if we recycle our Coke bottles and turn out lawns into cabbage patches? And what about the twisted logic of the pulpit-prattlers who tell us that spiritual harmony will prevail if we keep seeing off the rabble in the other camps? Perhaps we should learn from the rats and shit ourselves before making the next move.

Anyway, back to Billy the Kid ...

Pampered, over-indulged and spoilt rotten? Oh no ... not our Little Willy (a name disparagingly bestowed upon him at birth by his father, Big Willy). From the get-go he was taught to obey his parents, respect his elders, listen to his teachers and mow the neighbor's lawn every Saturday. If he'd been a good boy all week, Big Willy would unlock the cookie safe after church on Sunday. Oh how he looked forward to munching on one of mommy's special goatmeal crumbles while they sat around the kitchen table listening to Lawrence the Whelk on the old steam radio. But, if his evaluation was below par, the cookie safe would remain locked and he would be dispatched to his room to "think," while the distant strains of *Happy*

Days are Here Again drifted up from the kitchen. He understood that the things he longed for must be earned, so he spent his confinement scribbling out the promises that would earn his release. But, even his best intentions would go awry sometimes. Then there would be spontaneous punishments and deprivations, thoughtfully designed to fit the crime. Worst of all were the delayed interventions following the dreaded "wait until your father gets home" exhortation. Yet, even the harshest penalties, like a good thrashing, turned out to be valuable lessons in teaching Bronco Billy how to ride high in the saddle, become a credit to his family and an upstanding servant of the community. So, in the end, it was all good.

Of course these are only glimpses of the traditional family values our eminent editor would like to bring back into circulation but I'm sure you get the point. You may consider his cherished reflections to be worn out relics of a bye-gone age, which of course they are. But take a closer look. Much of what Billy is advocating can still be found in residential care programs for wayward kids from Athabasca to Alabama. The prescriptions may be more 'professional, but the intentions and practices are essentially the same as those espoused by none other than Big Willy himself. Ah yes, the good old lever has many disguises.

My point is that what Billy proposes is not the solution but the root of the problem. What he learned from his own parents he passed on to his three kids – one sports reporter, one alcoholic and one corporate lawyer (make that two alcoholics). Papa was never fully satisfied with

how his protégés turned out, but the wheels really fell off when they tried to dish out the same crap to their own disenfranchised offspring. Times had changed and families were no longer tightly knit arrangements in which Daddy knows best, Mommy does the cooking and the kids fall obediently into line. One by one, the grandchildren challenged the rules with their attachment disorders, oppositional defiance, hyperactivity, adolescent adjustment reactions, clinical depression and just plain belligerence. The exception was dear little Millie who tried so hard to please everybody until she presented a classic case of anorexia nervosa at the age of fourteen. By that time the sports reporter and the lawyer had given up on family life in favor of more meaningful relationships and Billy was left to account for the shambles.

Poor old Billy, the patriarch of the Bombasts. No wonder he took to his desk to carve out his tirades against entitled kids, gutless parents and impotent teachers. Given what he'd been taught, no wonder he screamed out for the good old days when discipline, respect and obedience were the order of the day. If only he could get his hands on that well trusted lever, he would pull it until his eyes boggled and his long johns vanished up his ass.

But let's not be too hard on the old goat pounding out his exasperation on his beloved Underwood. At least he has a cause to feel passionate about; which is more than you can say about the spineless, wishy-washy, brigade that buy off their kids with Nikes under the guise of progressive and permissive parenting. Not to mention the misdirected martyrs

who are prepared to sacrifice their own lives in the service of their entitled little psychos. These are the folks who really piss Billy off, and for good reason. They're not trying out new levers, they're simply pulling his old one in the opposite direction. Either way, the outcomes are identical. What Billy has to offer may be classified as child abuse but this feeble alternative is nothing short of child neglect. And, therein lies the crux of the problem.

At the heart of the matter, children don't come into this world as monsters that need to be tamed and battered into submission. Nor do they expect to be smothered by doting adults who have no lives of their own. Sure kids have needs – they want to be loved, fed and cared for but this is no sacrifice – it's simply a case of being human. But these are not the most critical areas of neglect. What Billy and his liberal antagonists have in common is they don't know how to live together as caring and compassionate human beings. They either live off each other, or for each other, hiding behind their cocked-up roles and phony identities. So how the hell can they be expected to relate to children who want to be seen, heard and cared for as they struggle to create lives of their own? What they don't want is to be shackled and coerced into living through the Gospel according to King Billy or eternally indebted to parents who have given up their own lives for the sake of their kids. And, as sure as God made little scorpions, they don't want to be abandoned to watch T.V., play video games, smoke weed and have sex in the name of fun or freedom.

So what do kids really, really want?

Well, notwithstanding Billy's rants and the festering mounds of psychological bullshit, let me offer some suggestions from a professional idiot:

They want parents who will sing and dance with them, without demanding a performance.

They want teachers who will respond to their curiosity, without telling them what to think.

They want counselors who will encourage them to create possibilities, without telling them what to do.

They want guides who will help them find their way, without expecting them to become mindless disciples.

They want coaches who will teach them the skills they need for the choices they want to make.

And they want to know that, whatever is going on in this crazy world, they have the right and the resources to live in har-

mony with others and with the planet that cries out for their attention.

These simple notions may never find their way into the parenting manuals, psychology texts or Billy's perennial rants but, in the mind of a fool, they offer a few alternative levers that might be worth the odd pull. Meanwhile, what's wrong with having a generation of kids who are "undisciplined, disrespectful, demanding, lazy uncommitted, resistant and aggressively entitled"? Would you rather have a pathetic bunch of passive patsies who shit their pants and sink into 'learned helplessness'? Carry on I say.

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Combat or Cooperation?

Thomas F. Tate and Randall L. Copas

The best intentioned efforts of adults are often sabotaged by coercive climates of bullying among peers and conflict with adults. The solution is to create cultures where youth cooperate with authority and treat one another with respect.

Coercive Climates

If what we are doing for children is so good for them, why do they fight us so much? – Roderick Durkin¹

Unions gain or lose members, scout troops flourish or flounder, church groups thrive or decline—all on the basis of participants' perceptions of the group's ability to achieve common, important goals. Membership in these groups is elective, situational, and therefore constantly changing. Not so with many groups in treatment, education, or corrections. These groups have captive audiences

that have little alternative but to react to what the staff demands. Their options are to defy or comply with the usually well-intentioned but sometimes arbitrary edicts of staff members. Therefore, the task of the staff is to create a condition in which students see more benefit in cooperating than they do in combating staff efforts.

Of all the forms of dysfunction that can occur in a group setting, scapegoating is among the most tyrannical, devastating, and

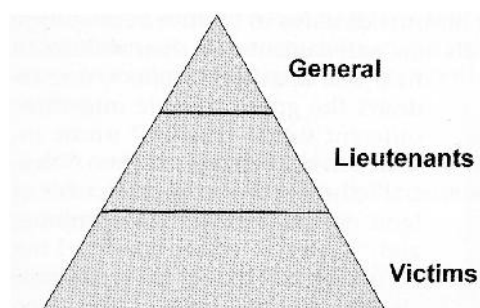
destructive. Unfortunately, it is also the most common. In any group, a natural hierarchy forms. That order can be constructive and can foster group co-operation. Or it can be a destructive "pecking order."

The classic study of negative peer influence was conducted by Howard Polsky (1962) who lived for several months as participant observer in a residential cottage of troubled youth. Beneath the veneer of this distinguished residential treatment program, he found an underground of rule breaking and peer victimization. Polsky's pioneering work sparked the creation of specific methods designed to transform negative peer group cultures (Vorrath & Brendtro, 1985; Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995; Tate and Wasmund, 2000; Polsky & Berger, 2002; Brendtro, Mitchell, & McCall, 2007).

Because most constructive relationships do not occur by chance, undirected, naturally-formed groups usually possess some undesirable characteristics. When those characteristics become too undesirable and the group no longer meets the needs of its members, conflicting cliques form or members leave the group. Unfor-

tunately, groups formed in schools or treatment settings for troubled youth do not permit most student members to simply resign. So tyranny can become the norm, and students try to cope in that toxic system.

Students in traditional group settings typically organize themselves into hierarchies with the most effective leaders (often bullies) at the top and the least powerful (often victims) at the bottom. (See the accompanying graphic.)



This social pecking order occurs so predictably in group work environments that some staff legitimize it by enabling or empowering bullies to maintain order. Both students and staff may consider this predatory caste system inevitable (“after all, that’s the way these kids are”) and learn to operate within it. Superficially, this structure might reduce overt incidents. Some erroneously believe this is a positive peer culture—where youth are given the power to confront and coerce those who violate rules. Instead, one coercive system has been replaced with another.

Staff may decide that formalizing this

informal hierarchy is effective because the bullies who had defied staff members before seem more manageable and cooperative, and scapegoats are quieter and less volatile. Staff may applaud themselves because bullies seem employed in more productive, less adversarial roles. In reality, bullies learn to become better bullies and victims better victims. This coercive culture violates the Adlerian concept of social equality and promotes a primitive “survival of the fittest” mentality which exploits weaknesses (Dreikurs, 1983). It discourages deep value change because it is simply an expedient way to control children. Instead, it only enforces the belief that “might makes right” and that the world is not fair.

When staff members fail to correct this system, they perpetuate scapegoating, legitimize bullying, and create a socially unjust culture. Coercive cultures exist because they occur naturally and do not require staff skill or courage. In such an environment, one does not need to challenge bullies’ practices or beliefs; one only needs to pay them off. Staff send frightening messages to weaker group members. Favoring or “playing” (name calling, wrestling, etc.) with the negative leaders signals that even staff are afraid of the “general” and “lieutenants.” Because cultures are built upon thousands of daily “microcommunications” of respect or indignity, each staff member’s interaction with youth has a profound impact on his or her perceived safety and confidence in the therapeutic environment (Brendtro, Mitchell & McCall, 2009).

Building a positive culture requires some way to challenge the behavior of

bullies and prevent the scapegoating of less adequate students. It entails “equalizing” the social structure of the group—enabling the weak and demanding help from the strong—to provide a democratic, egalitarian environment. While there will always be variations in power in any social group, when those most powerful bully the weak, this is rankism (Fuller, 2006). The central value in positive peer cultures is that young people—and adults—must use their power to help rather than to hurt.

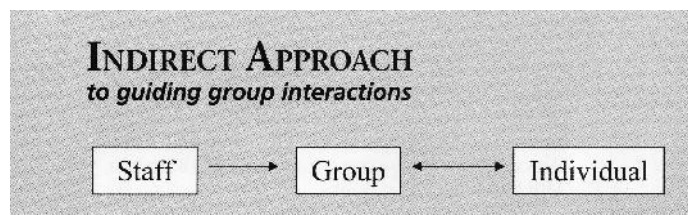
The Power of an Indirect Approach

Adolescents don't resist change — they resist being changed, particularly by adults – Harry Vorrath²

Democratic group cultures cannot be formed by turning over all decision making to youth. Neither will responsibility and respect develop in an atmosphere of authoritarianism. Instead, adults must be trained to switch strategies from “insist” to “enlist” (Tate & Copas, 2003). Empowering youth while still preserving adult influence requires using an “indirect approach” to guiding group interactions.

The authors have found that the indirect approach is probably the most difficult thing for most staff to master, because it runs counter to much previous training and experience of educators or youth professionals. However, this practice is exceptionally powerful since it provides strategies to enlist young people in the process of creating a climate of where concern replaces coercion.

Application of the indirect approach means that when staff members believe that an individual must change, they present their opinion to the group whose members interpret this to the individual in question. But when staff members confront problems directly, they circumvent



the group process and deny the group an opportunity to clarify values.

This indirect approach empowers youth to hold one another accountable for their behavior. It flattens the hierarchical pecking order, and provides a level playing field where the lesser-skilled (weaker) members feel able to speak up about the social injustices imposed by the more negative youth in the group.

It is critical, that staff are highly supportive of the efforts put forth by those lesser-skilled youth as they experiment with this new role of challenging the behaviors of the general and his lieutenants.

Addressing problems indirectly serves several purposes. First, youth who showed the problem learn that the staff are sensitive to feelings and are not seeking to punish them for having problems. Second, the staff reinforces the position that the group is responsible for helping their peers. Third, by addressing problems indirectly, the staff demonstrates faith in the group's ability to make significant contributions to others, and challenges them

to think through the problem-solving process. And most importantly, the group learns that help is a “preventative” act, not an autopsy after a peer has failed.

In a positive culture, staff members strive to actively develop social equality, not promote inequality. In effect, they topple the coercive social pyramid. People are not superior to others simply because they are stronger, bigger, or smarter. Instead, those who possess those skills are obligated to use them to help others-to contribute to the greater good.

The Power of Helping

People really want to help each other, but it is just that they are trying to hide their feelings. You can't just give up on people that easily. – Starr Commonwealth Student

The new measure of status in Positive Peer Culture is based on how well students use their abilities to help one another. In effect, one redraws the group triangle into three different strata: “Positive” (those invested in helping one another), “Neutral” (those who are un-

predictable or tend not to declare their opinions), and “Negative” (those who hurt but do not help). The middle group puzzles many who cannot easily ascertain their intentions. Who belongs to which subgroup may change from one situation to another. However, student roles usually remain reasonably constant: they are a function of whether the individual has yet committed to showing empathy and social interest.

Staff are often tempted to “enlist” the positive subgroup when they need help or want something to change. But, the “Positives” are really already enlisted. So, without enlisting the less motivated members, staff overload other students by asking them to do more and more.

The “Negative” subgroup is probably not negative in all situations, so enlisting them when possible provides the opportunity to avoid conflict entirely. They sometimes rise to the challenge when some crisis occurs with a group member they care about. But even when youth refuse to cooperate, staff still have other options and potential helpers.

Those in the “Neutral” subgroup are in social limbo-they have not yet decided what to do or what is right in certain situations. This indecision makes them disturbingly unpredictable. When the negative subgroup refuses to cooperate, simply remind those holdouts that they missed an opportunity to help-and then offer the job to neutrals. If the neutrals do well, they become heroes; if they do not, the positive subgroup is still available.

In anticipation that neutrals may side with either the positives or negatives, take the initiative and ask them to help before

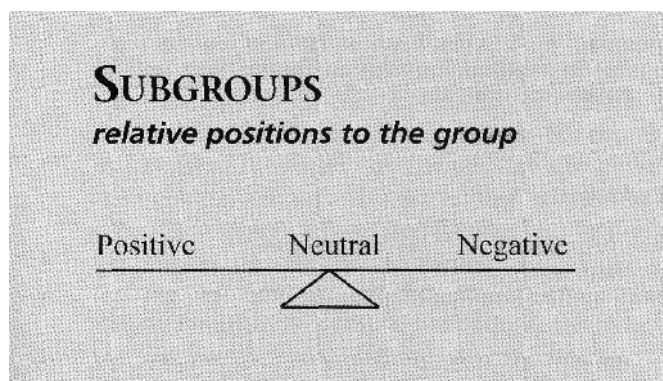


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turning to the positives. Whatever the neutrals do (positive or negative) ends the mystery of where they stand. When they assume a positive role, encourage them; when negative, say “I guess you’re not quite ready, but there will be more opportunities for you to help.”

This is a process of value internalization: The positives have learned and accepted what staff have to teach; the negatives have not; and the neutrals are still mulling it over. While negatives will need the most dramatic transformation, neutrals feel the most dissonance and can be swayed by either group faction.

It may help to visualize a teeter-totter as representing the relative positions or contributions to the group of these three subgroups.



Not only are neutrals uncertain, their ambivalence often creates a “smoke screen” behind which “negatives” can operate freely. As the neutral members move toward the positive end of the teeter-totter, the negative students become easier to identify, and “lonelier.” Since all persons want to belong, the growing isolation of negative members allows fresh opportunities to recruit them as helpers.

In any case, as negative members become a minority, neutrals become more willing to embrace positive roles without fear of reprisals.

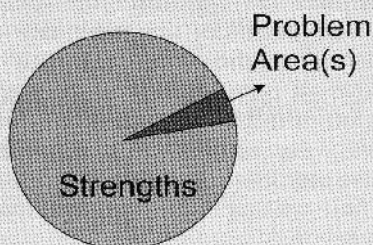
Whenever possible, staff members work through or with the group. If an angry student, in the company of two group members, hurls a rock through a window, the issue is not only that the one student behaved inappropriately; equally important is what the others did to try to prevent this problem. A positive group process dispels all delinquent denial of responsibility and the “everybody for themselves” philosophy.

All youth remain accountable for their behavior and no one has the right to hurt others-or self. But staff try to instill these values with the indirect approach. They strategically decide not to confront the student who had the problem directly. Instead they consult with (enlist) the group members who had the responsibility to help this student stay out of trouble. When an individual shows a problem, part of that problem may be with group process that others did not help. So staff find out why his “lifeguards” failed to keep him safe. This is a rallying call to the core value: If you are not helping, you are hurting.

A Strength-Based Philosophy

Effective treatment environments foster strong pro-social relationships among peers and positive attachments with adults. – William Wasmund & Randy Copas³

How staff should view children in STRENGTH-BASED PROGRAMS



At the foundation of any effective peer group program must be the staff belief that all children, provided Significant adult guidance and support, can build a socially interested view of the world. At the basis of this belief must be the message from staff that all children are terrific human beings—they simply need to change some small part of how they think and behave to become more successful in their interactions with others. The following diagram highlights how staff should view children in strength-based programs; that view paves the way to building adult to child bonds of respect.

Dr. James Longhurst, a colleague at Starr, suggests that it may be beneficial to help newly-placed youth develop an understanding of their strengths. Much of what comes in the case file concentrates on deficits, disorders, and deviance. Longhurst suggests that group leaders devote an hour within the first couple weeks of a youth's placement to exploring strengths. One effective way of doing this is by asking the youth to complete the VIA (Values in Action) Youth Survey online (www.viacharacter.org). This process can be

an excellent strength-based “ice breaker.” The survey results provide the staff, the group, and the youth with a strengths orientation that can be incorporated into treatment goals and objectives. It is critical that staff teams are aware of and regularly promote each youth's strengths, even when shrouded by problem behavior.

A positive peer culture is built on values of dignity and mutual respect.

Thus, any educational or corrective

method that disrupts bonds of respect is iatrogenic, a medical term meaning the treatment makes the patient worse (Brendtro, Mitchell & McCall, 2007). When programs allow staff to behave disrespectfully to children, or use their positions to simply “control” youth, countercultures flourish. Likewise, when weak staff “join the opposition” or overlook hurting behavior, vulnerable group members feel unprotected and at risk for bullying.

Expecting the best from youth — demanding greatness — is a hallmark of any effective peer group program. This is accomplished by celebrating each youth's strengths, and cultivating strong adult/child and peer relationships.

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1. Source unknown, cited in www.cyc-net.org
2. Vorrath, 1971
3. Wasmund & Copas, 1994

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Connecting at the Crossroads

**Child & Youth Care
World Conference**

June 25-28, 2013
St. Johns, Newfoundland & Labrador – CANADA

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The Case for Rebels

Kiaras Gharabaghi

In my life time, responsible, well educated, well mannered, socially and economically successful people in positions of leadership have brought us the Vietnam War, the coup in Chile followed by 25 years of dictatorship, several wars involving Israel and its neighbours, not one but two wars in Iraq, and bloodshed and mayhem in many other places around the world. Over the course of the past ten years or so, the very same responsible people have presided over the dismantling of democracy as we know it, usually in the name of security, and sometimes in the name of economic growth and prosperity. My planet is on the verge of collapse thanks to these responsible people, and if global warming doesn't do us in, the depletion of natural resources such as water, oil, trees, and clean air surely will soon enough. Today, it is abundantly clear that the most successful and responsible citi-

zens are to blame for the collapse of the American economy and the crisis in Europe. Most certainly it is the well mannered, socially valued, politically influential people who have dismantled the welfare state in much of North America and Europe, contributing to child poverty rates in the richest parts of the world that are scandalous to say the least. What is most amazing about all of this is that these very successful and high status people have been able to do all this without any significant opposition whatsoever. In fact, much like myself, many of my friends, my peers, my colleagues, and all the other people I respect greatly have either stood by idly as the world changes for the worse, or worse, they have supported these measures. At least in North America, it turns out that it is not the political and economic elite that is quickly and efficiently dismantling all that our parents and

grandparents died for in war and economic crisis; in fact, it is us, the middle class, the educated masses, the generally well-to-do who are making it all happen.

Take for an example the current student protests in Quebec. For months now, students have been disrupting the social, political and economic life of Montreal, Canada's second largest city and Quebec's largest city and economic engine by far. The students are protesting a proposed university tuition fee hike, which would bring tuition fees in Quebec close to (but still below) tuition fees in the rest of Canada (which are much lower than in most of the United States). At the moment, Quebec students pay about half the tuition fees paid by anyone else in Canada. The students have organized marches, protests, some violence against property (not people), and they have boycotted classes and effectively ended the academic year for Quebec university students prematurely (although technically it was the Quebec government that officially ended the academic year for all students). In response to this student movement, the Quebec government has suspended the (constitutional) right to free assembly in Montreal, and although the Quebec people were initially divided over who to support in this student-gov-



ernment conflict, there is now an overwhelming rejection of the student movement, which is seen as disruptive. In the rest of Canada the prevailing view is that Quebec students ought to get over it; they have had it good for too many years, paying only about half the tuition fees paid

by all other Canadian students. Somehow, this argument is resonating amongst Canadians, and overwhelmingly now the student protests are greeted with disrespect, dismissal, and rejection. This is how incredibly stupid we have become. The idea that it is worth fighting for something that creates access to education for more people is rejected in favour of the argument that everyone ought to be treated equally badly, unfairly, and in exclusionary ways.

How dare Quebec students fight for lower tuition fees; they ought to submit to the same inaccessible, outrageous and profoundly unjustifiable tuition fees the rest of us do.

I must admit that I am slowly despairing at what I believe is a broad social commitment to conformity that will do us in sooner than any of us expected. While I try my best to not be overcome with cynicism, I confess to believing that we are being led by political leaders who excel at

nothing, who have not had a creative idea in decades, and who at the best of times are spineless cowards. Our economic elite is single mindedly delusional, having messed up the financial systems in all of the major economies of the world, brought unemployment and poverty to levels we haven't seen since the aftermath of World War 2, and basing their hopes for economic growth on the same strategies that led to this economic disaster in the first place. Our democracies are in decay, based on elections in which we vote for candidates who can reasonably be expected to keep maybe 10% of their election promises.

I believe that we are making a major mistake in teaching our children and young people to find their way within this system of decay. Everything we do, from broadly accepted parenting strategies to our support for teachers and schools, to the law enforcement agenda so easily advanced by our political leadership will do little more than to create more pawns in this game of greed, profit, and unencumbered political power. In my most recently published book "Being with Edgy Youth" (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2012) I make the argument that the worst thing we can possibly do in being with edgy youth is to take the edge away from them. I argue that we desperately need the capacity of edgy youth to look at something, think about it, and then resolutely and not always politely reject it. Indeed, if democracy, reasonable levels of social equity, and at least the possibility of social change are to have any chance at all, we need people who are deeply committed to non-conforming lifestyles, to non-compliance as their default

position, and to rebellion whenever the opportunity arises. We need edgy youth to say "f@ck you" when confronted with ridiculous ideas and policies, because we already know that we, the middle class of educated and economically successful people, can't do it. We have failed miserably in protecting the values and ideals of democracy, freedom and self-determination.

I thought my argument in favour of protecting non-compliance and the rebellious streaks of edgy youth was a radical one; it certainly is an argument that flies in the face of the 'treatment rhetoric' so dominant in North America and increasingly elsewhere. I also expected my argument to be a difficult sell, largely because I did not think too many people would support the idea that it is useful to have non-conforming young people amongst us. I was therefore very surprised to find support for my argument in the most unlikely of places: *The Economist*, that penultimate neo-liberal news magazine that virtually never endorses anything outside of the hegemony of the corporate agenda. And yet, in the June 2nd edition of the magazine, I came across the



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article “In Praise of Misfits”.

The Editors of the magazine took a closer look at what it takes to provide leadership in the corporate world in these challenging economic times, and they were surprised to find a peculiar commonality amongst the CEOs of the most successful corporations in the world. Many of them, they point out, are individuals with Learning Disabilities, ADD or ADHD, Asperger’s Syndrome or other regulatory issues that render them eccentric, chaotic, non-conforming and challenging to be around. Amongst others, they point to Steve Jobs (Apple), Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook), Richard Branson (Virgin Airlines), Paul Orfalea (Kinko Copying) and David Neeleman (JetBlue). Leadership, they argue, can no longer be seen as the domain of ‘organization man’¹, the individual who works the machinery of organizational bureaucracy efficiently and effectively. Instead, they argue, this is the age of ‘disorganization man’, made for individuals who are different, who think in revolutionary ways, who exhibit social skills that no long ago were seen as dysfunctional and signs of ill health.

I think *The Economist* has finally realized something that transcends the normative discourse of compliance and conformity required for the hegemony of neo-liberalism. Success does not mean adjusting to the norms and values of what is, but leading the way to reinventing all

that we have taken for granted for too long. It seems to me that edgy youth, with all of their traumatic and sometimes tragic experiences are well placed to assume the mantle of leadership in our coming world (dis)-order. They certainly think differently, they are not good with rules and the commands of others, and they certainly are good at stimulating our interest in things we might not have been able to imagine. Sure, some guidance, mentorship and feedback may be necessary to prepare our young people for these roles of leadership; there is likely no harm in slightly softening the edge of edgy youth. But perhaps this is a good time to re-think the project we have been engaged in for decades. Rather than treating edgy youth, instead of clinically altering their very souls, and in place of punishing their every expression of individuality and uniqueness, perhaps joining them on their journey, with the occasional caution and suggestion for alternatives, might be a better way to go. In the words of *The Economist* (June 02, 2012, p. 84):

The replacement of organization man with disorganization man is changing the balance of power. Those square pegs may not have an easy time in school. They may be mocked by jocks and ignored at parties. But these days, no serious organization can prosper without them.

¹ It has taken a mere hundred years for *The Economist* to acknowledge difference of any kind. I am somewhat optimistic that in a hundred more years, the magazine may also make fleeting reference to women.

The Importance of Child Care History

David C. Lane

Chair, Child Care History Network

I am told that in the United Kingdom there are up to seven university institutes funded by the Wellcome Trust for the study of the history of medicine. It is an important subject and has lessons for current medical practice.

However there is no official recognition of any sort for the importance of the history of child care, in the sense of children in care and needing care, and the people, organisations and institutions involved in trying to provide that care. There is no university institute, no professorial chair nor, as far as I am aware, even a lecturer or researcher designated to look into child care archives and previous child care practice.

Certainly there are plenty of archives. At the Thomas Coram Foundation in London, which dates back to 1742 and claims to be the world's first incorporated charity, there are eight tonnes of them, but they are also to be found in local authority repositories, in universities which specialise in welfare archives such as Liverpool and Warwick or in archives such as the Planned Environment Therapy Trust,

which holds the records of several of the pioneers of therapeutic child care in the UK. There is also The National Archive at Kew, which holds an enormous wealth of records.

The study of child care history is important for a number of reasons:

- (a) people who were in care or in special education often want to understand their past, to know what happened to them and why, and to recall the staff and children with whom they shared their childhood; their relatives may also wish to know what happened;
- (b) policy-makers and managers need to know the way that the thinking underlying child care services has developed, in order to understand where we are today;
- (c) they also need to know what worked in the past and what did not; there is an amazing amount of excellent research which is still relevant but is not easily accessed so that people in power are unaware of its findings;
- (d) child care workers may value a sense

- of professional identity, recognising the problems faced by their predecessors and their indebtedness to the earlier pioneers;
- (e) the archives need to be championed; otherwise they risk being lost, destroyed, or badly maintained;
 - (f) the subject is fascinating for its own sake.

One might think that the subject ought to be the focus of academic activity or governmental investigation before putting out new ideas. Indeed, a number of the larger child care organisations have archivists and librarians, and there are local authority staff who care for their archives, but until the Child Care History Network was founded in 2008 there was no organisation of any sort which focused primarily on child care history. There were organisations which looked at the history of education or the history of social work or for archivists in charities, but not for child care. So a group of interested professionals came together to set up CCHN (usually pronounced *see-chin*). They included librarians, archivists, senior managers in child care, therapists, retired child care workers, educationists, early years workers, residential child care workers and so on.

Importantly, they also included people who as children had been in residential or foster care or who had been educated in residential special schools. After all, a lot of the archived records are actually about them, and increasingly such people have been seeking to have access to their records, a right permitted by law in the UK. The Board of CCHN has always had one

or more members who have been in care or educated in residential special schools, and this is felt to be important because it demonstrates a shared concern for the archives; it is not just professionals talking about them.

Since 2008 CCHN has held annual conferences, with a few additional events thrown in. There have always been two principles guiding the choice of subject matter:

- (a) the focus has to be historical, rather than current, practice, though it may be relatively recent, especially if trends and developments which have shaped the present are being considered;
- (b) the relevance of the learning for current practice is considered; the study of child care history is not simply an intellectual subject, but any learning needs to inform our current thinking.

We have had a broad time-span for our subject matter. We have had a paper on the significance of eighteenth century philosophy for current child care methods, and we have heard from a researcher who has created children's life story books by videoing the young people's neighbourhood with them. Conferences have addressed all sorts of issues, such as access to records, ethical matters, electronic archives, re-unions of people formerly at the same establishment, redaction, retrospectives on former child care workers' lives, and the evolution of day services for young children.

One of the most interesting aspects of the conferences is the blend of delegates — archivists, professors, former children

in care, managers — and it leads to fascinating opportunities to network and share ideas. Geographically, CCHN covers the whole of the UK and so, although most events to date have been in England, our most recent conference was held in Glasgow, with a strong Scottish flavour. This was an international conference with delegates and papers from eight countries, and it is anticipated that the Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland (CELCIS, our partner organisation in running the conference) will be publishing the papers in a special edition of their journal.

Indeed, although CCHN does not presume to have a wider remit, it seems clear that the situation in the UK is replicated more widely across the world. I understand that child care history in the Netherlands is subsumed within the history of education, and I gather that there have been conferences on the history of child care (or social pedagogy) in Germany. The picture generally, however, is that there are quite a number of individuals interested in child care history, some of whom undertake research or write books on historical themes, but there appear to be no formal organisations with a focus on child care history.

CCHN is a small organisation and, in view of its specialist niche, that is unsurprising. However, it is fulfilling a useful role, and it is prepared to act as the focus for international interest in this field, if people in other countries wish to join in. Although the Board meets face-to-face and conferences are held in the UK, most of CCHN's work is undertaken electronically. It has occasional Newsletters, a

website (www.cchn.org.uk), and runs a Google group for discussion of current issues (<http://groups.google.com/group/cchnetwork>).

Looking to the future, it has further conferences planned on child migrants on 15 October this year in Liverpool, and on safeguarding on 21 March 2013. We are considering local meetings, and there is the possibility that we might establish a journal. If so, we shall probably need to set up an international Editorial Board. If you are interested or have ideas we should be following up, please do get in touch.

If you are interested in making contact please write to:

CCHN Information Officer
c/o Planned Environment Therapy Trust
Barns House
Church Lane
Toddington, near Cheltenham
Glos. GL54 5DQ

email: craig@pettarchiv.org.uk

Join the Google group at www.cchn.org.uk

CCHN works on a shoe-string but it does need some funds for its basic core costs and to underwrite events.

If you would like to join and support CCHN, the best way is to pay a one-off life subscription of £75 if you are 65 or over and £150 if you are 55 to 64.

Alternatively the annual subscription is £15 for individuals and £30 for organisations.



Generosity, Learning and Residential Child Care

Max Smart

*Service to others is the rent you pay for
your room here on earth*

— Muhammad Ali

I was mowing the lawn the other day. Two weeks had gone by and I had neglected the lawn, being a bit preoccupied with some training I was booked to deliver. Whilst mowing, I noticed the lawn of my elderly neighbour was also overgrown. Irene, my neighbour, is in her 70's still sprightly, but her hands get sore with arthritis so I cut her grass also. As I pulled the lawnmower from my garden to hers a 10-year-old boy who also lives in the same street approached me.

He sat on Irene's wall and watched me intently as I cut Irene's grass. He struck up conversation and asked me, with childhood curiosity, why I was cutting my neighbour's lawn. He asked, "Why cut someone else's grass, it's not your grass".

My nine year old then appeared and struck up conversation with the other boy, and was asked by this child, "why does your dad cut Irene's grass? Aiden, my son, replied frankly, " 'Cause Irene's hands are sore ... so my dad does her grass".

Had I thought faster I would have got into a conversation with the boys about helping others but I missed it as Aiden had taken over, but the conversation got me thinking and inspired me to write this article; something I had promised Charles Sharpe a few months previously and had forgotten about. What got me thinking was the notion and the surprise of the other boy, that helping someone else was a strange thing to do. It got me thinking about acts that are apparently without material reward and how we perceive them in our fast moving society. It brought to mind when (Cutler, 2001) lamented, "we seem to have stopped doing things because they are kind or fair or the decent thing to do".

So has that spirit of generosity gone, is it still out there but subtly obscured from our day-to-day vision? Whilst these questions are general ones for our society, our times and our culture, I'm interested in these questions not only out of my own curiosity about the human condition but also specifically from an interest about how emotional growth can be fostered in residential care. So let's understand what is generosity?

Re-enabling a Spirit of Generosity

Generosity involves giving to others. It may take many forms: time, caring, recognition, material goods, and services but all involve a giving of self or a part of self for the benefit of all. Cobb, (1976), reports that “humans function best when they are part of a community of mutual social support. As they fulfil obligations to others, they discover that they are valued and esteemed”. Cobb’s assertion resonates with my experiences of raising my own children and also of working with children in residential care. When their needs are met, confidence grows and young people grow and thrive.

Generosity is not selflessness however. It does not discount the person’s own interests. If people are to be generous they require balancing their needs as well as the needs of others. A person who is generous has an appreciation that what is given does come back in the kind acts of others. It is what Hans Selye (1978) refers to as “reciprocal altruism” giving to others with no expectations of material rewards as it comes back later, (Fulcher & Garfat, 2008). So, there is something that is balanced here; we give and receive over time. As Brokenleg (1999) reports, “Altruism is inborn, and the rudiments of empathy are apparent even in a newborn”.

Teaching Generosity

My assertion here is that generosity is both biological and taught. It is taught not just by parents and grandparents but also by extended families, communities and societies. Human beings are experiential learners and we learn by example. How-

ever, we also teach by example and if our young are taught caring and consideration for others, modelled by the examples of their care givers they are likely to demonstrate the same behaviour. The opportunities for demonstrating generosity are numerous. In making a sandwich with your child you can ask what they think their friend would like in their sandwich and encourage your child to make the sandwich for their friend.

These opportunities occur hundreds of times in my home, as I’m sure they do in yours. They are what Adrian Ward describes as opportunity led, day-to-day, moment-to-moment learning that becomes internalised. This teaching by example is potent. It allows discussion about other people’s wants and needs, changing the emphasis from self to other. Generosity also tastes good; it connects us to others and reinforces bonding. In short, being aware of the needs of others feels good.

Generosity therefore, is not separate from the meeting of other growth needs and therefore seems to be as much about being connected and attached, as it is to confidence and competence. For example, we would find it hard to be generous if our survival is compromised; wouldn’t we all struggle to be generous if we didn’t belong? We should remember that our primary attachments arise out of dependency, (Cairns, 2010), and humans are interdependent in order to survive. Human evolution has been predicated upon banding together to survive where all are mutually dependent on each other to endure. This has been a guiding tenet of tribal life throughout human history,

(Brokenleg, 1997). Giving to others and giving back to the community are fundamental core values in many Native cultures, where adults stressed generosity and unselfishness to young people as this contributed to the good of all, (Strand, 2003).

“Helping others,” teaches young people about connection and interdependence with other human beings. Learning that they are interrelated to each other in the community helps form a sense of obligation to other people and caring beyond one’s immediate family (Lickona, 1983). So I suspect that generosity has been “hard wired” into human psychology but it needs to be fed and nurtured for it to survive.

Generosity in Residential Care

I have been privileged to work with young people in residential care since 1995. The young people I have encountered enter care with fear and suspicion. Their “private logic” (Redl & Wineman, 1951) about the world they have encountered is one where they have had to take care of themselves as others have not taken care of them in the way they should have. Consequently this logic leads to a significant mistrust of adults and adult motivations. Often this private logic leads to actions that from outside observation can be seen as selfishness, an attitude of, look after number 1 or I have to take care of me because no-one else will.

The behaviours that look selfish are often just coping strategies, albeit self-defeating coping strategies, from their past. When entering the world of residential care, feeling threatened and insecure, it is

hard for these youngsters to invest and connect. The pain of past experiences combined with confusion of the present, leads many at-risk youngsters to act out and to push away adult help and support further away.

Acts of generosity must seem a luxury ill afforded. Yet, the purpose of residential care, in my opinion, should not be to “fix” these troubled young people. It should be to help young people grow and develop and to “massage the numb values” (Redl, 2008) that lie dormant in our young people. Simply put, our task is to demonstrate that they are not on their own and that we all survive with interdependence and not alone in isolation. As Quigley (2004) observes, “being connected is a commonly missing developmental piece in the life of at-risk children”.

Acts of generosity build connectedness and these acts of kindness should be modelled by adults in the care setting. As Quigley (2004) suggests, “receiving help and helping others is a way to develop the interconnectivity that is needed to bind people together in common community”. When kindness is offered young people are given opportunities to reciprocate with others; a staging post in the development of moral reasoning, “which can help a troubled adolescent begin to make better decisions”, (Quigley, 2004).

This would concur with Brendtro’s (2004) observation that people who experience kindness and generosity – learn to return it. Offers of kindness and generosity, however, should not be taken for granted. Responsibility and learning to be responsible are also part of growing up. This means that one does not tread on the

rights of others and if someone has done something wrong they should apologise and repair what has been broken, particularly broken relationships.

We should remember that an apology is in itself a generous act; “because it puts one in a position of humility”, (Brokenleg, 1999). When we resolve conflicts we “take on the perspective of the other before reaching resolution”, (Fulcher, 2008) and these acts of kindness apply to adults and young people alike. Long (1997) advises that one of the most powerful therapeutic interventions is simple kindness, and small acts of kindness can have massive pay back as young people grow to believe that they matter to someone else. Long reports,

Just as sunlight is the source of energy that maintains organic life, kindness is the source of energy that maintains and gives meaning to humanity. Without sunlight and kindness, neither organic nor compassionate life can exist on this planet

Putting Generosity on the UK Residential Radar

Although the childcare sectors in the US and South Africa have been talking and writing about generosity as a developmental area for many years, it has received scant attention in a UK childcare context. Generosity needs to be given a place in our understanding about the growth needs of our young people in care settings. As Quigley (2004) advises “teaching children to help other human beings is to equip them with a practical set off social skills that will assist them throughout life”.

Just as the generation of empathy and

understanding are laudable goals in rearing children at home, they should also be imperative in the development of quality care environments for children away from home. Consequently, we need to elevate sector and practitioner understanding of the importance of generosity and place it firmly on the UK residential radar. We need to create climates of mutual concern, where adults and young people care for and about each other, with a strong sense of community. This means that we need to teach and model generous behaviours in our relationships with our young people.

Generous behaviours can be practically modelled in the daily lifespace via compliments of others, via speculation in our day-to-day encounters about the needs and wishes of others and by stories about how generous acts from others towards you have helped in your life. We can model genuine respect for others, practice empathy and understanding and can build generosity into our cultures and our care settings. Positive cultures of care are created by a focus on relationships and responses to growth needs. Promoting growth and development and the creation of strengths rather than deficit based thinking, seems to me to be far more creative than concentrating on the elimination of negative behaviours of troubled young people.

The Value of Generosity

Martin Brokenleg, Clergyman and co-author of the renowned book “Reclaiming Youth at Risk” (1990) advises people to look at the Lakota phrase “Mitakuye Oyasin” which translated

means, “we are all relatives.” This notion of community giving goes back a thousand years in tribal societies but it is something Western societies may need to reconnect with. If we do we will encounter true generosity, where communities reach out to young people in difficulty and pain to find healing and belonging. This may diminish the need to lash out in the anger and frustration we see in delinquency and crime. For a lot of youngsters in our care, generosity and kindness may be that first encounter with a safer and more helpful world.

We will leave the last words to Winston Spencer Churchill who famously wrote “we make a living by what we do but we make a life by what we give”. So, I think I will continue to cut Irene’s grass, because it makes me feel good, as well as being something that helps Irene. Hopefully, when my hands are sore later on in life, someone will do the same for me!

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The Habits of Highly Effective Families

*We have all learned from **Stephen Covey** about the Habits of Effective People. In this book he offers his insights to those who live in families, who work with families or who manage alternative family environments.*

When I ask people worldwide what are the three most important things in their lives, 95 percent put “family” or “family relationships” on the top-three list. Fully 75 percent put family first.

Our greatest joys and our deepest heartaches surround what’s happening in our family life. We want things to be right. When we sense a gap between our vision of the rich, beautiful family life we want to have and the reality of every day, we begin to feel “off track.”

One evening when I was in the middle of working late, my wife called.

“What are you doing?” she asked impatiently. “You knew we were having guests for dinner. Where are you?”

I could tell she was upset, but I was in

the midst of my own frustration over delays at work and I replied curtly, “Look, Sandra, it’s not my fault that you scheduled dinner. And I can’t help it that things are running behind here. You’ll have to figure out how to handle things at home. I’ll come when I can.”

As I hung up the phone I suddenly realized that my response had been completely reactive. My wife’s question had been reasonable. She was in a tough social situation. But instead of understanding, I had been so filled with my own situation that I had responded abruptly and undoubtedly made things worse. This was not the way I wanted to behave toward my wife. These were not the feelings I wanted in our relationship. If I had been more considerate — if I had

acted out of my love for her instead of reacting to the pressures of the moment — the results would have been completely different.

Creating a Pause Button

Family life would be a whole lot better if people were proactive, that is, if they acted based on their deepest values instead of reacting to the emotion or circumstance of the moment. What we all need is a “pause button” that enables us to stop between what happens to us — and our automatic reaction to it, and to choose our own response.

It is possible to develop this capacity to pause and to give wiser responses. The ability comes from the cultivation and use of four unique human gifts. These gifts — self-awareness, conscience, creative imagination and independent will — reside in this space we humans have between what happens to us and our response to it.

I have one friend who uses these gifts to make a powerful proactive choice every day. When he comes home from work, he sits in his car in the driveway and pushes his pause button. He literally puts his life on hold. He gets perspective. He thinks about the members of his family and what they are doing inside the walls of his home. He considers what kind of environment and feeling he wants to create when he goes inside. He says to himself, “My family is the most enjoyable, the most pleasant, the most important part of my life. I’m going to go into my home and feel and communicate my love for them.”

When he walks through the door, instead of becoming critical or going off by himself to relax and take care of his own needs, he goes around the house and in-

teracts in positive ways with every family member — kissing his wife, rolling around on the floor with the kids or doing whatever it takes to create pleasantness and happiness — whether it’s taking out the garbage or helping with a project. He rises above his fatigue, his challenges at work, his tendencies to find fault with what he may find in the house. He becomes a conscious, positive, creative force in the family culture. Think about the proactive choice this man is making and the impact it has on his family! Think about the way he is building relationships and how this is going to affect every dimension of family life for years, perhaps for generations to come!

A Circle in a Circle

The essence of proactivity lies in taking the responsibility to focus on the things in our lives we can actually do something about. One way to do this is to look at our lives in terms of what I call the Circle of Influence and the Circle of Concern.

The Circle of Concern is a large circle that embraces everything in your life you may be concerned about. The Circle of Influence, which embraces the things you can actually do something about, is a smaller circle within the Circle of Concern.

Now, the reactive tendency is to focus on the Circle of Concern. But this only causes the inner Circle of Influence to be diminished. The nature of the energy focussed on the outer Circle of Concern is negative. And when you combine that negative energy with neglect of the Circle of Influence, the Circle of Influence gets smaller. But proactive people focus on

their Circle of Influence — what we can actually do about things — and as a result, that circle increases.

For instance, I know of one set of parents who decided that the behaviour of their daughter had deteriorated to the point where it was destroying the family for her to continue to live at home. The father determined that when she got home that night, he would tell her that she had to do certain things or move out the next day.

So he sat down to wait for her. While he was waiting, he decided to take a card and list in ultimatum form what changes she had to make in order to be able to stay.

In this emotionally pained spirit, as he continued to wait for her to come home, he turned the card over. The other side was blank. He decided to list on that side of the card the improvements he would agree to make if she would agree to her changes. He was in tears as he realized that his list was longer than hers. In that spirit, he humbly greeted her when she came home, and they began a meaningful talk beginning with his side of the card. His choice to begin with that side — to work from the inside out, focussing on the Circle of Influence — made all the difference.

The Emotional Bank Account

Think about the word responsible “response-able” — able to choose your own response. That is the essence of proactivity. One practical way to apply this idea is by using the metaphor of the “Emotional Bank Account.”

The Emotional Bank Account repre-

sents the quality of the relationship you have with another person. It’s like a financial bank account in that you can make “deposits”— you can do things that build trust in the relationship — or you can make “withdrawals” — you can do things that decrease the level of trust. At any given time, the balance of trust in the account determines how well you can communicate and solve problems with that person.

If you have a high balance in your Emotional Bank Account with a family member, then there’s a high level of trust. Communication is open and free. You can even make a mistake in the relationship and the “emotional reserves” will compensate for it.

But if the account balance is low, or overdrawn, then there’s no trust, and thus, no authentic communication. You have to measure every word. And even your better intentions are misunderstood. One of the great benefits of being proactive is that you can choose to make deposits instead of withdrawals. No matter what the situation, there are always things you can do that will make your family relationships better.

Let me share some ideas for “deposits” you can make in your family.

Being Kind

Some years ago I spent an evening with two of my sons, an outing complete with gymnastics, hot dogs and a movie. In the middle of the movie, Sean, who was then four years old, fell asleep. His older brother, Stephen, who was six, stayed awake, and we watched the rest of the movie together. When it was over, I car-

ried Sean out to the car and laid him in the back seat. It was very cold, so I took off my coat and gently arranged it over him.

When we arrived home, I carried Sean to bed. After Stephen put on his ‘jammies’ and brushed his teeth, I lay down next to him to talk about our night out. Suddenly he turned over on his side in bed and asked, “Daddy, if I were cold, would you put your coat around me, too?”

Of all the events of our special night out together, the most important had been that little act of kindness — a momentary, unconscious showing of love to his little brother.

In relationships, the little things are the big things. Little kindnesses go a long way toward building trust and unconditional love. Just think about the impact in your own family of using words of courtesy such as thank you and please. Or performing unexpected acts of service — such as taking children shopping for something that’s important to them. Or finding little ways to express love, such as tucking a note in a lunch box or briefcase. Or expressing gratitude or appreciation. Or giving compliments. Or showing recognition, not just at times of special achievement or on occasions such as birthdays, but on ordinary days, and just for the fact that your spouse or your children are who they are.

Apologizing

Perhaps there is nothing that tests our proactive capacity as much as saying “I’m sorry” to another person. It pushes our human gifts to their limit.

Even though our bad temper may surface only one hundredth of one per cent

of the time, it will affect the quality of all the rest of the time if we do not take responsibility for it and apologize. Why? Simply because people never know when they might hit our raw nerve, and so they’re always inwardly worried about it and defending themselves against it by second-guessing our behaviour and curbing their own natural, spontaneous responses.

Son, I’m sorry I embarrassed you in front of your friends. That was wrong of me. I shouldn’t have done it. I hope you’ll give me another chance. Sweetheart, I apologize for cutting you off. You were trying to share something with me, and I got so caught up in my own agenda that I just came on like a steamroller. Please forgive me.

Notice in these apologies how all four gifts are being used. First, you’re aware of what’s happening. Second, you consult your conscience and tap into your moral sense. Third, you have a sense of what is possible — what would be better. And fourth, you act upon the other three. If anyone of these four is neglected, you will end up trying to defend, explain or cover up the offensive behaviour. You may apologize, but it’s superficial, not sincere.

Sometimes apologizing is incredibly hard, but the effort says, “Our relationship is supremely important to me.” And that kind of communication builds the Emotional Bank Account.

Being Loyal

Next to apologizing, one of the most important deposits an individual can make

— or an entire family can adopt as a fundamental value and commitment — is to be loyal to family members when they are not present.

In other words, talk about others as if they were present. That doesn't mean you are unaware of their weaknesses. It means, rather, that you focus on the positive instead of the negative — and that if you do talk about someone's weaknesses, you do it in such a responsible and constructive way that you would not be ashamed to have the person you're talking about overhear your conversation.

A friend of ours had an 18-year-old son whose habits irritated his brother and sisters and their spouses. When he wasn't there, the family would often talk about him.

At one point, this friend decided to follow the principle of being loyal to those not present by being loyal to his son. Thereafter, when such conversations began to develop, he would gently interrupt any negative comments and say something good he had observed his son do. Soon, the conversation would lose its spice and shift to other, more interesting subjects.

Our friend said that he soon felt that the others in the family began to connect with this principle of family loyalty. They began to realize that he would also defend them if they were not present. And in some almost unexplainable manner — perhaps because he began to see his son differently — this change also improved his Emotional Bank Account with his son, who wasn't even aware of the family conversations about him. Bottom line: The way you treat any relationship in the fam-

ily may affect every relationship in the family.

Keeping Promises

Over the years, people have asked if I had one simple idea that would help people cope with their problems, seize their opportunities and make their lives successful. I've come to give a simple four-word answer — “make and keep promises.”

When I was 12 years old, Dad promised to take me with him on a business trip. We talked about the trip for months. We planned every detail. After his meetings, we planned to take a taxi into town and have our favourite Chinese food, then see a movie, then take a ride on the trolley, then have hot fudge sundaes. I was dying with anticipation.

The day arrived. The hours dragged by as I waited at the hotel for Dad to be finished with his meetings. Finally, at 6.30, he arrived with another man, an influential business acquaintance, who wanted to take us out to dinner. My disappointment was bigger than life. I will never forget the feeling I had when Dad said, “Bill, I'd love to see you, but this is a special time with my girl. We've got it planned to the minute.” We did absolutely everything we had planned. We didn't miss a thing. That was just about the happiest time of my life. I don't think any young girl ever loved her father as much as I loved mine that night.

I'm convinced that you would be hard pressed to come up with a deposit that has more impact in the family than making and keeping promises. Just think about it! How much excitement, anticipation and hope are created by a promise! And the promises we make in the family are the most vital and tender promises of all.

Forgiving

For many, the ultimate test of the proactive muscle comes in forgiving.

When my parents died, the four of us children met to divide their things. We had always been an emotional family, but this time we argued beyond anything we had ever known. Each of us left that meeting feeling bitter. We stopped visiting or phoning one another. This went on for four years. Then one day I realized that love is a verb, something I must do. That night I called my oldest brother. His emotions matched mine. We raced to be the first to say I'm sorry. The conversation turned to expressions of love and forgiveness. I called the others. Each responded as my oldest brother had. For the first time in years, pain was replaced by the joy of forgiveness.

When you forgive, you open the channels through which trust and unconditional love can flow. You cleanse your own heart. You also remove a major obstacle that keeps others from changing — because when you don't forgive, you put yourself between people and their own conscience. Instead of spending their energy on interior work with their own

conscience, they spend it defending and justifying their behaviour to you. One of the greatest deposits you can make in your relationships with other family members — and in the basic quality and richness of your own life — is to forgive.

Problems as Opportunities

One of the most empowering and exciting aspects of the Emotional Bank Account idea is that we can proactively choose to turn every family problem into an opportunity for a deposit.

Someone's "bad day" becomes an opportunity to be kind.

An offence becomes an opportunity to apologize or to forgive.

Someone's gossip becomes an opportunity to be loyal.

With the image of the Emotional Bank Account in your mind and heart, problems and circumstances are no longer obstacles that get in the way of the path; they are the path. Everyday interactions become opportunities to build relationships of love and trust. Challenges become like inoculations that activate and boost the "immune system" of the entire family.

And deep inside, we all know that making these deposits will make a big difference in the quality of our family relationships. It comes out of our conscience, out of our connection to the principles that ultimately govern life.

Acknowledgements to Family Circle

'Why are these children so ungrateful?'

Brian Gannon

"I have been working as a child care worker for a few months now. It seems that the children's home does a lot for the children — but why are these children so ungrateful?"

The word "grateful" is an interesting word. It comes from a whole group of words which reflect a warm, polite, pleasurable and mutual relationship between people (gratify). It contains ideas of acceptance, willingness, loving indulgence, agreeableness, dignity and charm (grace). It portrays joy and delight in the happiness or success of close ones (congratulate). And in rather more formal senses, it reflects ideas of reward, payment or recompense in return for work done or favours shown (gratuity) — or, amongst friends and colleagues, more often the idea of doing something as a favour, with no charge (gratis). It is always something reciprocal, and at the least it conveys respect, compliance and acknowledgement: the original meaning of "thank you" was "I do you honour".

This long lesson on words was to contrast the idea of "grateful" with the usual experience of troubled children. Most troubled kids get to feel graceless, disgraceful, like a persona non grata — an unacceptable person.

In short, to be *grateful*, a child would first need to feel part of a mutual or loving group, whose ways were clear and understood. This has not been the experience of children in care. It is hard for them to accept things given to them as expressions of love, acceptance and dignity — and yet they need these things.

Deprived children and things

When a loved one gives us something, we often distinguish between its real value and its sentimental value. We know that even the smallest gestures between people who love each other are full of additional meaning — and we are grateful for this. You will find that many troubled children divorce *things from meaning*. Things they can understand; meaning has always been elusive. When confronted by deprived children we quickly respond by

giving — we can see that their immediate needs are indeed for food, warmth, comfort. We are tempted to engage them by giving them things, and yes, at that initial stage we are seen by the children as a means for getting the things they need.

Moving beyond getting

Christopher Beedell warned that we should soon move from the early stage of “*providing*” deprived children with what they need, to the stage of personalised “*giving*” — so that, he said, the child feels the experience as caring. In other words, the transaction of giving and receiving should grow towards something which takes place within the relationship between two people.

And this takes us back to all those words with which we started this reply.

This building of a relationship is the crucial turning point in this forward move — as it is, of course, in all of our work with children. As long as we “provide” them with what they need (in an institutional, impersonal or group sense) we will be looked at for what the kids can get from us. A mark of the so-called institutionalised child is this mercenary and manipulative attitude towards carers. The task of changing this is ours.

So, in thinking about children’s lack of gratitude, we look first at each individual child — in terms of such things as belonging, attachment, affection, relationship, reciprocity and caring. This will raise for us a whole lot of other questions ...

Previously published in *CYC-Online*, April 2002 and originally in South Africa’s journal *The Child Care Worker*.

Quality Care in a Family Setting A Practical Guide for Foster Carers



Leon Fulcher & Thom Garfat

While training and practice standards are now used in many places to enhance, monitor and evaluate the quality of care given to children and young people in out-of-home care, Foster Carers are often expected to perform miracles without practical assistance. Building from a strengths-based approach, **Quality Care in a Family Setting: A Practical Guide for Foster Carers** seeks to redress that deficit, offering practical help for Foster Carers seeking to do extraordinary things with the kids for whom they care.

Written by Leon Fulcher and Thom Garfat, **Quality Care in a Family Setting**, offers theory, practice tips and everyday advice for helping young people in Foster Care develop the strengths and skills necessary to successfully navigate life’s challenges.

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A STORY OF US: Hidden Hearts, Broken Hearts and Healing Hearts

Carol Jones

Abstract: *Sustainable empathy is an essential attribute for all helping professionals. In the general run of events, most practitioners believe that they can assume an empathic stance toward their clients. But what happens when all that the person holds close and sacred is violated by an outsider? Can the immediate sense of injustice and the urge to punish be mediated by an even deeper sense of understanding and compassion? In this compelling article, the author describes her personal response to this universal dilemma.*

I remember the first time I saw the two little boys who had just moved in next door. It was their beady little eyes peering at me through the fence that caught my attention. Whenever I was outside mowing my lawn, I could feel these suspicious and curious eyes upon me. I had found myself occasionally drawn to stare back into those eyes, perhaps drawn by my own curiosity and suspicion. Reminiscing about my own childhood, I could see myself as a young child, peering through the hedge that divided my yard from the little old lady's yard next door. Escaping from my childhood home of abuse, I used to watch this lady for hours as she gardened in what I remembered as the most enchanted place in the world. I believe this lady must have sensed my fear of invasion because she was not quick to

approach me. After several days of being under my observation, she skillfully and slowly began to lure me into her yard with her home-baked cookies. It was not long before I was planting flowers and pulling weeds alongside her. I think she must have known that things were not right in my home because there was often a police car in our driveway. She never asked me about this, nor did I share this with her.

When I was with this lady, I felt like the most special and important person in the world. One day after sharing my dreams with her about becoming a model or airline stewardess when I grew up, she made me walk around her yard for hours with a book on my head in order to improve my posture. Today, I find myself wondering if it was really her intention to lift the weight off my often slumped and burdened shoul-

ders. My core self was alive and hungry for this validation, perhaps because it had once experienced it from my mother and father who had at one time accurately mirrored my existence, before their alcoholism progressed. I dreaded leaving her house, and I know this wonderful lady had somehow sensed this because she started saving the cookies for my departure times. From this woman I learned about boundaries. I learned quite quickly there was a “her” and there was a “me.” Some days when I would visit her yard, she would tell me politely that she was too busy to visit. On those busy days she always sent me home with a pocketful of cookies. One might think I was only there for the cookies, but I wasn’t. The cookies became important, though, because I never felt abandoned by her on those “busy” days; after all I still had a piece of her, I had her cookies. I was disappointed but never devastated on the days she was too busy, and I learned to cherish and value the days she did have time for me. There were times when my fear of invasion did turn to fear of abandonment because when my sisters and brother began to take an interest in what I was doing next door, I told them this lady was nothing more than a mean old fart. I believe I was just experiencing healthy narcissism.

One day, when I was looking back to those two pairs of beady eyes peering at me through the fence, I decided to shut off my lawnmower and say hello to them. I remembered they looked at one another and perhaps because of a fear of invasion, they took off, darting back to their house. Soon after, the two boys started to stake out our fence-line on a daily basis. Not

wanting to invade their space, I just kept my distance. Sensing their fear of invasion, I slowly lured them into my yard with not only cookies, but Koolaid, too. Soon I had two little yard hands following me around and helping with my daily farm chores. It was not long before I sensed they, too, were escaping an abusive home. I often heard their stepfather yelling at them, and they seemed to show up in my yard shortly after these times with tears streaming down their faces. I used to wipe these tears but not once did I ever invite them to tell me about them. It was my own fears and prescribed rules I had learned in childhood that stopped me from bringing my full self into the relationship with these two boys. The prescribed rules that I had learned were “what happened in the home stayed in the home” and “mind your own business.” I believe the lady next door to me may have also followed a prescribed rule because she never once asked me about the police cars in my yard. There were times that I almost shared these experiences with her, but I was afraid to ruin the wonderful moments I had with her. So I continued to hide the pain deep inside of me. In my yard, I also provided a safe place for these two small boys to experience their selves free of abuse and agendas, and like the lady next door, I had my boundaries in place. I made it clear to them there was a “me” and there was a “them.” I encouraged these boys to bring parts of themselves into our relationship. One day when we were discussing a topic, I noticed that whenever I gave my opinion, the conversation always ended. When I challenged the two boys to offer their

opinions, they gave me a bewildered look and told me they were not allowed to correct adults. I liked the fact that they were respectful to me, but it irritated me when they agreed with everything I said. Acting upon my irritated feelings, I told them their opinions were very important to me, and I believe this enhanced our relationship because we spent many wonderful hours debating a variety of topics. Looking back, I believe these two boys may have been field dependent because they were always looking for my approval. They soon learned that in my yard this would not be continually acknowledged. I acknowledged them for what they had on the inside, not for what they did on the outside, unlike their stepfather.

The abuse continued next door for years, and I seethed with anger every time these two boys would come over in tears. What I really wanted to do was go next door and “rip off” the guy’s head. One time I did report the abuse to authorities, but when nothing happened, I never bothered to follow up on it. Instead, I continued to provide a safe haven for the boys. During our times together, I know I only brought parts of my core self into the relationship. Other parts of my core self were hidden behind my own fears of addressing and acknowledging my own childhood abuse, which I covered up with my prescribed rules of “minding my own business” and “what happens in the home stays in the home.” I also did not want to ruin any of the moments they had in my yard by talking about abuse. These prescribed rules would be a costly one for my own children. Looking back at this time, I believe these two boys had also brought

only part of their core selves into our relationship, the parts I wanted to see. The other part of their core selves was hidden behind defensive and destructive behaviours. Unknown to me at the time, these two boys had been sexually abusing my own children for a period of over six years. Perhaps if I had not followed my own prescribed rules, due to my own fears of invasion, I may have brought my full self into the relationship with these boys, which may have enabled them to do the same. I may have reached their pain, their fears of abandonment, before their pain invaded others.

After learning of this abuse, the dance of invasion and abandonment began. I felt invaded, but not abandoned by these boys. I felt I had abandoned my own children, who had been invaded. I felt invaded by people who said things like “after all you did for them and look what they did to you.” I had not expected anything in return from the relationship I had with these boys, yet I was not expecting anything to be taken either. My decision to file criminal charges against them was not out of anger and revenge, it was out of love and concern. My family’s boundaries had been violated, and these boys, along with my children, needed to learn that this was not okay. I know that this decision enhanced the relationship I had with one of these boys.

All would not be lost, because the parts of our core selves that one of these boys and I had at one time shared, would lead us to the parts we had not shared together. Two weeks before the court hearing one of the boys was tragically killed in an accident. Despite the no-con-

tact order that had been put in place by the courts, the one boy contacted me immediately upon the news of his brother's death. Ignoring the prescribed rule of the no-contact order, I allowed this boy to share the pain of his brother's death with me and I also shared my pain with him. Not once did it ever enter my mind to drop the charges against this boy, and I later learned from him that he had never expected or wanted me to do this. Shortly after this phone call, this boy changed his plea to guilty and was sentenced to one year in closed custody and another two years in a closed correctional facility for sexual offenders. I thought about this boy many times during his years in custody, and I never stopped believing that I may have been able to prevent it. If only I had allowed myself to feel the pain from my own abusive childhood, I may have discovered how serious their pain really was. I did not allow myself to become over-burdened with these thoughts, because I somehow knew I had done the best I could at that given time. Despite everything that had happened, I knew these boys and I had shared something special. We had shared parts of our core selves that validated our existence with one another. After receiving a phone call from the boy's therapist at the correctional facility, I was about to discover how important this validation had been to this boy's rehabilitation. This therapist wanted to meet with me in order to gain an understanding of the relationship I had with this boy. The therapist told me the only time he had sensed "realness" in this boy was when they were discussing "our" relationship. The therapist went on to tell

me that during a therapeutic session, this boy had told him my husband and I were the only ones who had ever believed in him. I cried. The therapist said he had also been curious to find where this boy learned to have empathy for others, because after trying to work with this boy's family, he did not think he could have developed it within the family scenario. It was during my tears that the therapist said, "I think I just found my answer."

Just prior to this boy's release, I received another phone call from this same therapist who wanted to know if my family and I would be interested in a session with this boy, at the boy's request. In this session, our family was to receive an apology and a chance to tell this boy how his abuse had affected each one of us. At first, I felt immediate invasion, but after much thought, my family and I chose to attend. It was during this session that I believe our full core selves were fully present for the first time in our 10- year relationship. I do not think one thing was left unsaid that day. This boy took sole ownership for his behaviour and I let him own it. During his therapeutic sessions, he had acknowledged his own childhood abuse, which enabled him to understand his own behaviour. I acknowledged his abuse by apologizing for not acting on the abuse that I knew was occurring in his childhood home. He accepted, but made it clear to everyone in the room that it was not an excuse for what he did. The day I acknowledged his abuse was the day I began to acknowledge my own childhood abuse. Today, I often think about that wonderful lady who lived next door to me during my childhood. And I often wonder what may

have happened to my core self, if she had not been there to validate my existence ...

Postscript

The most ironic thing happened after I finished writing this article. My youngest daughter, age 16, was cleaning her bedroom and had come upon some poetry she had written during her years in therapy. After she shared this poetry with me, I asked her permission to reprint two of the poems she had written when she was 12 years old. I thought these poems reflected so much what I had expressed in my article.

“Pain”

Do you see the need?

I do

Do you see the pain?

I do

Do you hear the cry?

I do

Do you feel helpless?

I do

“Look”

I look into a little girl’s eyes

*And I see pig tails and make-up and little
baby kittens*

*But those are the things we like to see
Do we notice the loneliness the tears, the
rejection?*

We all like to see a cheerful smile

We always don’t see one

We sometimes don’t look

From: *Journal of Child and Youth Care*, Vol. 14 No.2, pp79-83



Using strength based interventions to explore outcomes that matter

An Allambi Youth Services Conference to be held in Australia in conjunction with Reclaiming Youth International. The Ignite Conference 2012 aims to provide a unique opportunity to learn from Australian and International professionals discussing the latest research on trauma and strength based approaches to caring for people. In addition to a variety of training opportunities and workshops, those attending will have the time to share and collaborate on best practice ideas with other professionals. Please keep September 17- 21, 2012 free for an exciting week of training, speakers, panels, and workshops in the relaxed atmosphere of the NSW Hunter Valley Cypress Lakes Resort

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Goffman's Containment

Laura Steckley

... the name Ananke [the Greek goddess of necessity] contains echoes of "constriction" and also "kinship." The same sort of double semantic meaning is rendered by the word "bonds." An alternative view finds a close relation between the word ananke and the phrase "taking in one's arms." This duality, or antagonism even, finds its reflection in the net of Necessity. Inevitably, inexorably it tightens around mankind, as the world atomizes and scurries aside. But the pressure of the net falls as it comes closer, as we discover the bonds linking us with others, and the thread becomes a thread of mutual understanding, sympathy and trust. This can happen unexpectedly, and then it is like a spark jumping between two electrodes, like the flash of a metaphor joining distant worlds together.

(Szczeklik, 2005, p. 4).

Last month, I wrote about the concept of looping from Erving Goffman's *Asylums* (<http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/june2012/index.html#/24/zoomed>). Goffman contributed

a lot more to the way we understand the world than just his work on *The Total Institution*, which, like most things, has its limitations as well as its strengths. He focused much of his work on the nature of social interaction (*The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* is his most famous work on the subject) and how we understand social situations or events through pre-existing frames that define the way we see things (*Frame Analysis*).

I've been grappling with Goffman for some time now, and part of this has to do with my habit of taking a micro, or close-up view in order to make sense of the world. So I tend to think in terms of my inner world and the inner worlds of those around me. I'm curious about people's experiences and the way they make sense of those experiences. I'm fascinated by interpersonal dynamics. The way that our personal histories influence our current realities is present in my consideration of just about everything.

The thing is, there's this whole wider context that influences all that happens in our micro, close-up worlds. It's important and it matters. To see this wider context, one has to step back and see things from a macro, big picture perspective. While I am also interested in these perspectives, I

have less confidence in actively using macro lenses for making sense of things. Goffman was a sociologist and took a more macro approach to understanding and explaining the world – hence my grappling. At the same time, he was interested in many of the close-up aspects of every day life; he just used bigger-picture lenses to make sense of them. I guess, then, it makes sense that I've chosen him for some of the work I'm doing at the moment.

I've chosen Goffman for another reason as well. In a less well-known essay (called *Insanity of Place*), Goffman offers a philosophy of containment. Now I've previously written several pieces in this online journal about containment

(<http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/cyconline-no-v2010-steckley.html>, <http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/cyconline-dec2010-steckley.html>, <http://www.cyc-net.org/cyc-online/march2011.pdf> (pp.59-62)), but these pieces were informed by Bion's original theory of containment. This can be seen as a more micro-level theory. Goffman is looking at containment from a bigger-picture perspective, yet his containment has a lot in common with Bion's. While I'm still trying to work it out, I think his containment has something to offer us in the way we understand our practice and the place of residential child care and CYC within a wider context. So I hope you'll forgive me for the denseness of the column this month, and for my lack of clear links to practice. This is a work in progress.

From a macro point of view, containment tends to be seen in a negative light. The word 'containment' is almost always used in the process of describing the con-

straining, oppressive, marginalising and silencing effect of social structures. This is likely why the word is used so disparagingly in our sector. Apart from colleagues working or writing from the perspective of therapeutic communities, when using the word 'containment' in relation to residential child care, I have consistently noticed colleagues and others use it to describe keeping a lid on things, warehousing kids, or constraining them. Goffman is one of the few macro theorists who makes containment the object of his focus, and who takes a more nuanced view.

So what, exactly, does Goffman have to say about containment?

Generally speaking, Goffman's containment refers to the constant effort to maintain social order. Its opposite, havoc, is the disruption of social order. We come to understand containment by looking at its opposite. The social disruption caused by a person in a manic or actively paranoid state is, for Goffman, particularly revealing in the way that it produces havoc and in so doing, tell us about containment.

Conceptualisations of residential child care explicitly go far beyond social control, and in fact tend to shy away from language that explicitly focuses on control. Yet the processes of unravelling that lead to a young person no longer being able to live in his family of origin, and the chaos that can often thrum below the surface in a residential unit – sometimes breaking through in ways frightening to young people and staff alike – keep the issue of control always close at hand. And, much as we might want to resist it, there are clear expectations related to social control

placed on residential child care.

Goffman's philosophy of containment, then, is a frame for understanding social regulation and social control. It is enacted in three ways: *personal control* in which the individual refrains from transgressions or, having transgressed, admits and repairs them; *informal social control*, in the form of subtle warnings or disapproval from fellow individuals that is amplified and sustained until the offense is corrected; and *formal social control*, where formal sanctions are carried out by specialised individuals designated for that purpose. The three are interrelated and each affects the other; this takes on a particular relevance when considering the havoc wrought by the symptoms of an individual with mental ill health, as Goffman points out:

...the efficacy of informal and formal social control depends to a degree on personal control, for control that is initiated outside the offender will not be very effective unless it can in some degree awaken corrective action from within (364).

Like a person in a manic or actively paranoid state, a young person who has experienced significant disruption to his development (especially his development of self regulation and/or empathy) may not have the capacity to take corrective action himself. Indeed the processes of regulation that take place in the family are part of the development of (micro-level) self regulation for all children.

Also, some of the kids we work with have significant, justified rage and there is something to be said for having little moti-

vation for self-correcting action when everything round about oneself feels (and often is) wrong.

Additionally, Goffman is arguing that social control is far less mechanistic than what is described above. He offers further processes and examples that paint a more flexible and complex picture. They involve negotiation and boundary shifts, and rituals of repair. When viewed through this frame, containment is a much more nuanced process not simply reserved for those who exhibit deviant behaviour:

Without self-control, without containment of our emotions, psychological states, and actions, "society" would no longer function. A society without containment is a society...of havoc, one that has become unpredictable or unmanageable from the point of view of one or possibly even all participants. Containment is the necessary effort to restore predictability ...

(Hancock & Garner, 2011, p. 321)

There are many places in society where havoc occurs, and Goffman focuses most of his discussion on the family. Family is also frequently a key component of containment. He stresses it is not the unpleasantness caused by havoc that is of such importance, but the threat to the meaningful existence of the family members. "The selves that had been the reciprocals of his are undermined" (p.374). In other words, the individual with 'mental symptoms' no longer enacts

self-assumptions that are congruent with family members' definition of him and the family members cannot adjust their definitions so that congruence can be achieved. For example, in a situation where an individual comes to believe he is Jesus Christ, the family members cannot also come to believe this as well. Hence, their sense of meaning is threatened, resulting in 'deep bewilderment' and a loss of certainty about themselves. Because the individual cannot engage in the kind of processes that enable the family to contain him, and because he cannot simply be redefined, havoc results causing complete disruption to the family and the minds of its members. "The family is turned inside out" (p.383). One can see similar crises of meaning experienced by families whose children become looked after in residential child care.

Bion and subsequent related theorists offer a clear frame for understanding havoc and containment at the individual, micro-level, and there are strong parallels with Goffman's macro-level frame. Both describe containment as an ongoing, complex, relational and nuanced process. In each frame, containment enables understanding. For Bion, understanding of one's experiences and emotions are enabled, and for Goffman, it is understanding of "the incoherence, irrationality, unreason, incomprehensibility and unbearableness of social life". Without containment, the world and our experiences within it become unbearable.

For Goffman, containment is necessary to prevent the dissolution of social order, but he also concedes the dark side of containment:

So-called mental symptoms, on the other hand, are made up of the very substance of social obligation. Mental symptoms directly express the whole array of divisive social alignments ... These divisive alignments do not – in the first instance – constitute malfunctioning of the individual, but rather disturbance and trouble in a relationship or an organisation. We can all largely agree that everything should be done to patch up bodies and keep them alive, but certainly not that social organisations of all kinds should be preserved. Further, as already suggested, there is a multitude of reasons why someone who is not mentally ill at all, but who finds he can neither leave an organization nor basically alter it, might introduce exactly the same trouble as is caused by patients. All the terms I have used to describe the offensive behaviour of the patient – and the term "patient" itself – are expressions of the viewpoint of parties with special interests.

(Goffman, 1969, p. 386)

Whereas Bion's containment is fundamentally necessary for the cognitive, emotional and social development of the individual, Goffman's containment is necessary for purposes of prevention – prevention of havoc. The potential stigma and oppression individuals may experience when being contained is the cost of this necessary process. A key contribution of Goffman's work, however, has been to challenge many of the assumptions we make about what is right or real, assump-

tions that tend to stigmatise or oppress others. Due, in part, to Goffman's work, our notions of what is deviant have significantly changed.

Just like we need containing processes and spaces at a micro-level so that we can develop, manage our feelings and experience, make sense of our world, we need containment at a societal level as well. But we need a macro-level containment that promotes these same activities (development, managing, making sense) rather than one which constrains, oppresses, marginalises and silences. Yet we can see ways in which previous forms of macro-level containment have eroded (for example, the way in which town centres have effectively been taken over at certain times of the week by a celebration of severe drunkenness, often with associated violence). At the same time, the way that the less powerful continue to be stigmatised, marginalised and constrained seems to be getting worse (for example, the recently proposed shift in the UK from money to vouchers for people in receipt of welfare benefits).

A key component is missing from Goffman's containment, one which makes

possible a less brutal, macro-level containment. Its absence is likely due to long-standing assumptions that frame individuals as independent, autonomous and self-contained. Interestingly, this is the assumption most often attacked by Goffman. That missing component is care, and it will be the focus of my next column.

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From his book *Exceptional Children*, published more than 50 years ago and describing his work with troubled boys at Shotton Hall (in the UK) **F.G. Lennhoff** introduces us to an unusual positive dimension which formed but one aspect of his well-known treatment program.

In the course of these chapters, we have frequently mentioned the animals and the farm, which play an important part in the treatment of our children. When I was a child I needed animals around me because their acceptance of me was unconditional and without challenge. This is one important aspect of a normal child's attitude to owning a pet animal. A second one is that while the pet does not demand, he does *depend* upon his owner — for affection and for food. The child then feels he is important, that he has something to give.

When maladjusted children own animals, they feel proud of being an owner, pleased at having something to love and something to master. If they are not too cruel, their animals have an infinite capacity for forgiveness and acceptance. But emotionally-disturbed children, in spite of these feelings, have great difficulty in look-

ing after their animals regularly and consistently. Every time they fail to do so, there is a battle within them to overcome their sense of guilt, and every time they succeed in this, there is a sense of satisfaction and consequently a step forward in their progress towards stability.

We have many animals at Shotton Hall and when the children come for interview, this is a great help. There is, especially to town children, romance and excitement in seeing pigs and cows and hens at close quarters. There is also the feeling, looking at the glossy backs of our cows and the plump sides of our pigs: 'If it is so good for the animals here, it can't be too bad for me!'

Having an animal to cuddle and pet is of great importance to children who cannot open their hearts to adults or even to other children. While the animal imposes no condition on the attitude of its owner, it does make demands for care and atten-

tion: this often establishes for the first time a reality situation not connected in the child's mind with adults.

We always have a great number of cats, several dogs, rabbits, etc, and it is interesting to see how children with different problems react differently to them. Boys who suffer from severe deprivation of love, unable to make positive contact with others, usually keep their pets only a short time, then barter them for something. With the progress of their rehabilitation, the period during which they can keep their pets increases. Other children are over-possessive, and show their tensions and need for aggression to their animals instead of to adults or other boys. Happenings like this give a chance for many discussions with the child, and form an essential part of the therapeutic effort.

Animals are often coddled and over-petted, smothered with attention when their owners are in emotional need of them and rather neglected when the need for reassurance and acceptance is not so great, but ill-treatment is rare and seldom really serious. Cruelty and severe neglect threaten the security of the other boys and they take a serious and, for once, intolerant view of it.

One seriously disturbed boy killed some of our hens and the rest of the group was so upset and incensed by this action that the boy had to be defended by the staff, for he had been so bitterly hurt by previous cruelty and so damaged emotionally that this savage action was the only way he could express his sickness with the world.

A most welcome visitor is our veterinary surgeon, who is loved and admired

by the boys and is himself a big boy at heart! When he performs his professional duties, the boys stay around, listening to his explanations and asking endless questions. They help where possible. Boys who never heard at home about the facts of life are fascinated when our piglets are born. They almost whisper and walk on tiptoe, thrilled at experiencing so nearly the miracle of new life.

I always wanted, when I was a child, to be a farmer and this was, I suppose, the first step towards the widening out of our zoo of pets and domestic animals into serious farming. I felt that boys who had so little sense of community-duty and working discipline responded better when they were away from the crowd. When engaged in something 'different' and worthwhile, they might feel big, strong, happy and more content. A farm seemed an ideal solution. When children are restless, it is best to relieve the restlessness in a legalized way. When a child is so tense that he only wants to run away, going to the farm may be a good answer; we notice that since we have had a farm, there is less absconding.

This is a constructive way out of tension and to be *really* a way out, it must mean a journey, not merely a move to another part of the usual background. This is why the sixty-acre farm we acquired is eight miles away from the school.

Boys who are old enough can leave the noisy group and its problems and journey to the farm. There they join our farm bailiff who knows little of maladjustment, but is interested mainly in animals, crops and machinery, and who has a genuine liking for youngsters. They can enjoy the

changed atmosphere and learn something at first-hand about the demands of an ordinary way of life, and the responsibilities of a job of work.

The benefits of being on the farm are great if the boys are not made to stay too long on one job. Their tasks there must be necessary, so that they do not feel patronized, within their capability, so that they do not get discouraged, and not too heavy, so that they cannot feel they are being exploited.

The farm we bought had previously been allowed to run down; work was needed on buildings, fencing, and so on. The children were in at the beginning of negotiations: they heard the bargaining and visited the lawyers while transfer documents and deeds were drawn up and signed. They participated in the planning for future development and joined enthusiastically in plans for making good what was wrong. They are now kept informed about markets, prices and the rotation of crops. They sometimes order and bargain for fodder, call in expert help for the working equipment and are familiar with the prices and fuel consumption of tractors and the cost of seed. The boys are informed of the costs of running the farm and our endeavour to make it pay its way. All these things help a boy to mature.

Helping at the farm is voluntary in every sense of the word — only volunteers go to the farm and they are not paid for their efforts. We have often consulted them about this and they are unanimous in their opinion that to be drafted or paid would, as they put it, 'spoil it all'. There is always a rush of volunteers for the farm and we have to watch that nobody goes

merely to avoid an effort of which he is already capable elsewhere. We have taken care that the farm is sufficiently staffed for its size so that the children's visits are not directed by the need of the farm but for the benefit of the boys concerned.

Paul, one of the boys who is much concerned with the farm, summed up the part it plays in our life by saying that he could work off his moods quicker at the farm than anywhere else and felt that it had taught him 'a lot about life'.

We know that for a warped personality to become part of an ordinary working team has a therapeutic value all its own. Any observer can see which boys have been to the farm by the way they enter the house with slow, self-confident steps, identifying themselves with the working man whom they met on the land.

Paul added the final note to the whole project by saying: 'I reckon there isn't a job in the world you couldn't tackle properly once you learned to be a good farm-worker. Whatever the weather, whatever you feel like, the ploughing has to be done, the animals fed and milked and the crops planted. And that's the same in everything.' If Paul, an emotionally-sick child, can see this lesson in farm life, what more is there to add?



Letting the 'Me' focus fade

Jack Phelan

As CYC practitioners mature and develop, a key indicator of increasing skill can be tracked by insightful supervisors. I am calling it a gradual reduction in describing events based on how they affected me. CYC workers will become more personally safe and confident as they grow in experience, regardless of the formal training they have received. Most new CYC practitioners need to spend about 12 months working in the life space before reaching the point of believing that they can truly handle the demands of the job.

For example, a new worker will experience resistance to directions or advice by a youth or family and will be flooded with thinking that "I screwed up" or "why are they doing that to me?" Program disruptions will cause anxiety and upset, followed by the wish that my day could have fewer personal challenges.

When a youth refuses to go to bed on time, the newer worker will think oh great, my night is ruined, or when a family challenges a support worker's assump-



tions, he will feel personally attacked. Gradually, as the worker matures, he will experience a youth refusing to go to bed and wonder what is bothering the youth, rather than focussing on his own anxiety. The family

support worker starts to see the family as trying to manage their own lives rather than attacking him.

Relational attempts for the new worker include wanting to be liked, even admired as a desirable role model more than being curious about the other person's experience of life. Some people evaluate their success in doing relational work by how many people like them better than other workers or how many times they are contacted after discharge from the program.

Unfortunately, some CYC workers say things like "I don't have to take this, or you can't talk to me like that" based on what they are personally comfortable with, not whether it is what the other person needs to say or do. The focus of our efforts should gradually shift from

how I experience my own reactions to what is happening for you. This starts to occur when the maturing worker acquires a sense of personal safety and competence.

So what actually happens in the developmental process of a CYC practitioner? Newer workers feel overwhelmed for the first 3-6 months by the demands of the life space, and are full of anxiety and fear about physical and emotional safety. Even the experience of travelling to work each day is fraught with unsettling physical discomfort and thoughts. Then gradually, at about 6 months, these fears shift into a more comfortable belief that I can handle this job.

There is no way to alleviate the personal focus of a new worker. A good supervisor will help him develop strategies to manage anxiety and become safer. However, this focus on “me” is not very useful for the people we are trying to

help, so more experienced workers must shift into a focus on the needs of the other person as their own safety and competence beliefs increase.

Supervisors can evaluate the lessening of the “me” focus through conversations, log book entries, treatment plans and contributions at staff meetings. I believe that some workers naturally make this shift, but others need to be directed and reinforced to grow professionally.



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My Adoption Story –

She was White, I was Black

LeFonche Rawls

“I always thought that all white people were evil, and all they wanted to do was rape us, make fun of us, and turn us into slaves. But I was wrong.”

I was about 11 years old when I reached my third foster home. It was in the Bronx on Allerton Avenue. I liked it a lot. It was on a clean and quiet block. The only problem was that my foster mother Alicia was Italian (yes, she was white) and I was black.

I had all this hate and hostility toward white people because of my mother. She didn't like white people. She was a Muslim. She taught me that all white people were evil. So my first impressions of Alicia were “White Devil,” “Black Rapist,” and “Black Slavemaster for over 430 years.”

The day that I went to Alicia Campbell's home, I was hungry and tired. After hours and hours of waiting at the agency, she finally showed up. There she was — a tall, thin, white woman with blackish-grayish hair.

An Exciting Welcome

After getting to know each other for a little while, I then turned to my former foster family (who had been abusing me both mentally and physically) and said goodbye. (But in my mind, I was really saying “good riddance.”)

Alicia's first reaction to me was: “She's beautiful.” She said I was her “pretty little brown baby.” Alicia and I went downstairs to her car and drove off.

We pulled up to a two-family house. I thought it was beautiful. I thought to myself, “I always wanted to live in a house.” I took a look inside and saw a beautiful upstairs and downstairs. I also saw a little brown mixed poodle and Lhasa apso.

The excitement wasn't over yet. Charging downstairs was a big, black and-mahogany colored rottweiler, who ran straight toward me.

I started to scream, but Alicia told me not to scream because Spirit (that was the dog's name) would attack. “Spirit just wants to get to know you,” she said. “That's all.”

That night we stayed up talking and eating Chinese food and ice cream, and when I went to bed I had my own room to sleep in. The next morning, Alicia took

me to the video store where she worked. There we watched videos, waited on customers, and had lunch. All she did was buy me presents all day. And she told me not to worry about anything, so I didn't.

At the end of the day we closed down the video store and went home. We saw some neighbors outside, and she introduced me to them. They were all Italian. The whole block was Italian.

Building a Family

The neighbors were friendly people. They invited me into their house but I said no. Maybe next time. I felt it was too soon.

About a month after living with Alicia Campbell, I got used to her and the neighborhood. I always thought that all white people were evil, and all they wanted to do was rape us, make fun of us, and turn us into slaves. But I was wrong.

Instead, Alicia was the nicest, sweetest, most caring and nonjudgmental white person I ever met. In fact, she was the first white person I had any real contact with. I started to love her.

I met her sister Carol, her niece Cielo, her nephew John, and her brother-in-law Sal a week after I got there. I thought they were all very nice. That night her sister Carol made fettuccine Alfredo for dinner. That was the first time I'd ever eaten anything like that, but it was delicious. Alicia taught me about my black history. She taught me about Frederick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. She even taught me about Jackie Robinson, which surprised me, because I didn't think she was interested in black sports.

She taught me never to give up on myself. She taught me that no matter what

anyone says about me, whether they're white or black, to just ignore them, "because people fear what they don't know." She also told me that it's not just white people who will put me down, it's black people, too.

I learned a lot from Alicia. She was very open-minded about race, because she had been married to a black man. But they got a divorce.

After about two years Alicia wanted to adopt me. I was now 13 and ready to be adopted.

Mother Says No

Alicia said to me, "I love you and I want you to be my daughter." I then turned to her and said, "I love you, too. And I want you to adopt me." So we told my social worker and she said, "That's great! Except for one thing, we have to get your mother's approval first." I was kind of leery about my mother approving, but I went through with it.

My social worker finally got in contact with my mother. My mother said no. I knew she would. She said I should be with my family instead of with strangers.

I told her, "For two years nobody in my family wanted me, or they didn't have time, or they didn't have any space, but now that somebody 'Nice and White' wants to claim me, you have an objection to it. It's not like you're doing anything for me."

We as foster children don't really have any rights. If our biological parents aren't doing right by us, then we should have the right to say who we want to be with.

Badly Hurt

My mother still stuck with her decision. I knew my mother didn't want me to be adopted because Alicia was white. That hurt me a lot. After everything was over with, I ended up getting ripped apart from someone who really loved and cared for me, and who I loved and cared for too.

Instead, I went to my cousin's apartment in midtown Manhattan. I didn't like it because my cousin wasn't Alicia. As soon as I got there, I started to cry. I cried like I never cried before in my life. It was a very hard and agonizing thing to deal with. As I laid on the floor kicking and screaming, watching Alicia drive off, I felt tremendous pain and sorrow.

This took a big toll on me. I lost my self-esteem, I lost my energy, and I felt like I was losing my mind. I felt like everyone in the world was against me. I felt like my whole world was coming to an end.

I often think about Alicia. I think about how my life could've been. I would've had a family who would've loved and cared for me. I would've had a mother who would've been there for me no matter what circumstance I might have had to face. It's very unfair how so many young

children and young adults have to have their decisions made for them. We as foster children don't really have any rights. If our biological parents aren't doing right by us, then we should have the right to say who we want to be with.

I feel it doesn't matter what color your guardian is, as long as they're doing right by you. That's all that matters. Some people feel that blacks should be with blacks and whites should be with whites. That's not true. Your own kind can mistreat you.

LeFonche Rawls was a resident of the New York City foster care system when she wrote this article.

My Adoption Story: She Was White, I Was Black. in *Reaching Today's Youth*, Vol. 3 No.2 Winter 1999

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That's the Ticket

A friend of mine told me a story the other day that chilled me to the bone, in a “there but for the grace of God go I” sort of way.

She was driving along the road when she looked into her rear-view mirror and saw a police car with lights blazing merrily. She pulled over to the left, to let the police cruiser pass.

Except it didn't pass. It pulled in behind her. She was being pulled over.

She was dumbstruck. She knew she hadn't been speeding. (In fact, and I have ridden as a passenger in the car when this woman drives, it would have been more likely she was being pulled over for obstructing traffic. Or parking on a highway.)

She waited there by the side of the road while the officer sat in his car, checking his computer. All the while, cars sped past, every one slowing to glance over at her, every passing face a mask of smug superiority.

By now her face was a deep crimson. She knew that some of the people going by could be friends or neighbours, and she was mortified. Finally, the officer got out and approached her window.

“Uh, ma'am, were you aware your vehicle registration is expired?”

Now her mortification began to shift.

She was still red in the face, but now she was angry. But not at the police officer. She was angry at her husband. That morning, her husband had left to go out of province, and had switched vehicles with her. He had left her with a car with an expired registration.

I felt for the poor guy. I'm the one who does the vehicle registrations in our house, and sometimes, if you're distracted enough or absent minded enough, you forget. It's human. But it's the kind of thing where you hope, if it gets discovered, that it's you who gets pulled over and not, say, your spouse. Because what is “human” to me is “thoughtless and inconsiderate” to my wife. Among many, many, many other things.

But whatever. It happens. And most times, the officer will let you off with a stern warning, which is what my friend expected. And might have gotten, too. But that was when the officer pointed out that my friend's husband had been pulled over and ticketed for the same offense. The day before.

Oh, dear Lord.

When I told this story to my wife, her jaw dropped. “He got ticketed for it ... and left her with that car? she asked, incredulous. “Without telling her? And he

is still alive? Because I will tell you, if you did that to me, there would be a fresh lump of dirt in the crawl space, and if I got caught, all I would need would be a jury of other married women and I would walk out a free woman!”

I had to agree with her, although I didn't mention the occasions I had been pulled over for that same offense and left the renewal for a day or two when it was more convenient. So I could agree that what my friend's husband did was a Very Bad Thing, without losing every shred of sympathy I had for him. And after all, he was going to pay for his crime, in so many

ways it made me shudder.

And that's where the story might have rested, until a few days ago when I gently and empathetically ribbed him about his big goof.

He smiled wryly.

“Yeah, that's not the whole story,” he said. “See, the thing is, she actually got let off with a warning for the expired registration. But she did get a ticket. Turns out her driver's license had expired two years ago ...”

Ah, see? That's an important little detail right there. My friend had sort of skipped past the part where she got warned for the registration (which turned her husband's Marital Felony into a Misdemeanor at best) and got her actual ticket for something she should have taken care of long before.

My wife would have none of this new line of reasoning. “She wouldn't have gotten caught unless the registration was expired. Guilty.”

“She wouldn't have gotten a ticket if her license was up to date. So, okay, maybe he's not entirely innocent. But ... perhaps not quite so hideously guilty as before.”

I suspect a jury on this might split down gender lines. But what we can all agree on is that there are two sides to every story. And we can all learn from others' mistakes.

Which is just what I was thinking the other day as I got the stickers to renew my vehicle registration.

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Post Card from Leon Fulcher



Postcard from Wien, Austria

Guten Tag Mein Freunden! It was only a brief visit to the Therapeutische Gemeinschaften Kinderheim in Vienna, but a memorable one! My visit, organised by Chairperson of FICE Austria Hermann Radler, was to discuss how the CYC-Net Learning Zone might be translated into German for use by social pedagogues in Austria and Germany.



Vienna Skyline – Site of the 2016 CYC World Congress

I was welcomed to stay overnight as a guest at the Children's Home. It had been more than 30 years since I last visited Vienna, and what a transformation has taken place in this city that was situated all those years back in what used to be called 'the Russian Zone' of post-WW II Europe. Set in a suburb of the city, this Kinderheim offered therapeutic care for 6 young boys.



Therapeutische Gemeinschaften Kinderheim in Vienna

It was interesting to see how the boys had selected different clip art to identify themselves in a duty roster hanging in the kitchen. It also gave details about bathing routines and kitchen chores. As I arrived after most of the residents had gone to bed, they only had brief encounters with the international visitor about whom they had been told, prior to their going out the door to school. (Opposite)

After everyone had gone off to school, I was offered a brief tour of the Kinderheim and was impressed with the ways in which 'private spaces' offered comfortable sleeping facilities as well as homework 'study places' along with spaces for each boy to keep their personal items in a safe and secure manner. Each room in the Kinderheim had been care-



Timetables and Youthful Introductions

fully considered as to how it might welcome children and help them feel settled and also 'embraced' with care.



Welcoming Bedrooms with Study Places

On the evening I arrived, a small gathering of Carers and supporters had been organised at which – in addition to lots of conversation – there was a 'group activity' where each person used prepared ingredients to make personalised pizzas! This engendered much laughter and chat as we selected portions of pizza dough to create the base of our pizzas, then toppings and cheese before putting it on a metal tray to insert into the wood-fired oven right there in the kitchen. It made me think, hmm, what a great idea – from start to finish!



Pizza-Making Group Activity amongst Carers and Friends

During a short bit of site-seeing in the city, I couldn't resist the image of youthful graffiti on the side of a building wall erected in the 17th Century! It was interesting to note how the graffiti came nowhere close to touching the date on which that building was erected. It was as though this was a very suitable wall for tagging but the artists were respectful of this earlier 'tagging' by stonemasons nearly 400 years earlier! That was not long after Cabot sailed into the St Lawrence seaway. Hmm, isn't history an amazing thing!?!



Images of Youth on a Building Dating from 1646!

Danke schon Herr Radler und Comrades for sharing something of your world with me! I hope we can all join together via cyberspace at The Learning Zone!

Ilon



"Just give me the broad strokes!"



"I'm glad I don't like spinach because if I liked it I'd eat it and I hate the stuff!"

EndNotes



Smile

When the smile is spontaneous,
relaxed, natural, welcoming,
not contrived, anxious, purposeful,
then we know we've turned a corner,
things will be better.

—

“Organized education operates on the assumption that children learn only when and only what and only because we teach them. That is not true. It is very close to one hundred percent false.”

— John Holt

—

“Meeting a child's dependency needs is the key to helping that child achieve independence. And children outgrow these needs according to their own unique timetable.”

— Elizabeth Baldwin

—

Boredom will always remain the greatest enemy of school disciplines. If we remember that children are bored, not only when they don't happen to be interested in the subject or when the teacher doesn't make it interesting, but also when certain working conditions are out of focus with their basic needs, then we can realize what a great contributor to discipline problems boredom really is. Research has shown that boredom is closely related to frustration and that the effect of too much frustration is invariably irritability, withdrawal, rebellious opposition or aggressive rejection of the whole show.

— Fritz Redl

—

In growing up, a child should know some joy in each day and look forward to some joyous event for the morrow.

— Nicholas Hobbs

—



You're fluent in twenty-four computer programming languages, yet you can't even talk about the weather with me!

“A child does not have to be motivated to learn; in fact, learning cannot be stopped. A child will focus on the world around him and long to understand it. He will want to know why things are the way they are. He won’t have to be told to be curious; he will just be curious. He has no desire to be ignorant; rather he wants to know everything.”

— Valerie Fitzenreiter

“The child is a foreigner who doesn't know the language, isn't familiar with the street plan, is ignorant of the laws and customs of the land. At times he likes to go exploring on his own; when things get rough, he asks for directions and help. What he needs is a guide who will politely answer his questions.” -

— Janusz Korczak



Little Bobby learns his first life lesson:
Never let your props overshadow you.

Ahhh!!! Beautiful Balloons.
The kid-not so much.



“I’ll have the misspelled ‘Ceasar’ salad and the improperly hyphenated veal osso-buco.”

“Teach children what to think and you limit them to your ideas. Teach children how to think and their ideas are unlimited.”

— Sandra Parks

If you do not tell the truth about yourself you cannot tell it about other people.

— Virginia Woolf

“It may be hard for an egg to turn into a bird: it would be a jolly sight harder for it to learn to fly while remaining an egg. We are like eggs at present. And you cannot go on indefinitely being just an ordinary, decent egg. We must be hatched or go bad.”

— C. S. Lewis



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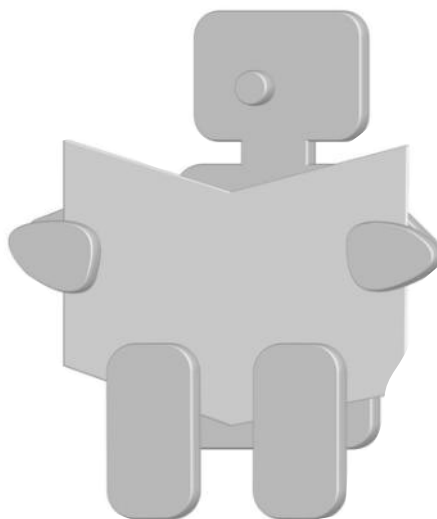
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