2001

"Look what boot camp's done for me": teaching and learning in Lakeview Academy boot camp

Susan Annette Meade
Iowa State University

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"Look what boot camp's done for me":

Teaching and learning in Lakeview Academy Boot Camp

by

Susan Annette Meade

A dissertation submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Major: Education (Educational Administration)

Major Professors: Leslie R. Bloom and Deborah W. Kilgore

Iowa State University

Ames, Iowa

2001

UMI Number: 3016731

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"Look what boot camp's done for me": Teaching and learning in Lakeview Academy Boot Camp

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Juvenile crime and school violence continue to be the focus of widespread discussion in the United States. Each time a school shooting occurs, the public outcry is sounded and the message is "get tough on crime." Unfortunately, the criminal justice system is overwhelmed with the number of offenders and re-offenders. The overflow of criminals coupled with the frustration of recidivism has led to development of alternative correctional practices. One such alternative is the juvenile boot camp. This study examines the structure of a juvenile boot camp through the eyes of those who experienced it. The study follows two cohort groups of boys as they progress through a ninety day program. Data at the boot camp was collected using qualitative methodology. Thus, information for this study was collected through observations, focus group interviews, one-on-one interview sessions, and follow-up meetings.

By drawing on the work of Erving Goffman on "total institutions," an analysis of the boot camp as a total institution was constructed. The purpose of this analysis was to determine how youth who have offended respond to the power and control of the institution. In addition, an understanding of how the youth responded to the experiences at the camp and made meaning from those experiences, was developed. The intent was to interpret whether the learning that occurred at the camp was truly what had been intended.

While at the boot camp, it was found that most boys realized personal success, were able to develop at least one positive relationship with an adult, and were able to recognize and reform

inappropriate thought patterns and behaviors. This study at Lakeview Academy found that a great deal of learning occurred while the boys were at the camp. However, because the learning was forced and under controlled circumstances, for the most part, it was not transferred or generalized when the boys were released to their home environment. Ultimately, the effectiveness of the boot camp, as experienced by the respondents of this study, was determined by the will of the boy, the existence and effectiveness of aftercare programs, and the amount and type of support from the family. While a great deal of learning occurred, much of it was not the intended learning of the stated camp goals.

Graduate College
Iowa State University

This is to certify that the doctoral dissertation of

Susan Annette Meade

has met the dissertation requirements of Iowa State University

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For the Major Program

Signature was redacted for privacy.

For the Graduate College

Dedicated to my husband, Rob, and my daughter Mackenzie

who supported me and sacrificed much while I completed this degree.

And to my parents, Terry and Sharon Evans,

who modeled the importance of lifelong learning, and

continually encouraged me to reach for my dreams.

To laugh often and much;
To win the respect of intelligent people
and the affection of children;
To earn the appreciation of honest critics
and endure the betrayal of false friends;
To appreciate beauty;
To find the best in others;
To leave the world a bit better whether by a
healthy child, a garden patch,
or a redeemed social condition;
To know even one life has breathed easier
because you have lived.
This is to have succeeded.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank the co-chairs of my committee for their help and encouragement throughout the research and writing process. Leslie Bloom first introduced me to the beauty of qualitative study and I thank her for that. Her passion for finding the voice of others and her encouragement to partake in rigorous and meaningful research inspired me to explore and utilize this methodology. I know that without her support and constructive criticism, this project would not have become my passion. And to Deborah Kilgore, who helped me narrow my path and keep my eye on the prize. The numerous hours she spent coaching and mentoring have been greatly appreciated. She introduced me to the theories that provided the structural underpinnings of this dissertation. I am so thankful, how strange as it might have happened, that our paths crossed at Iowa State.

And to the other members of my committee, thank you for your thoughtful feedback and encouragement throughout the process. A special thanks to Bill Poston, who has encouraged and helped me to pursue my goals within academic and professional arenas. To Pat Carlson and Carla Peterson, whose membership on my committee is greatly appreciated. Your commitment to seeing me through this will never be forgotten.

I would also like to thank the boys who participated in this research project. The completion and success of my dissertation depended greatly on their willingness to participate. I applaud their ability to reflect upon their past mistakes and their permission to let me share the meaning that they have made from the boot camp experience. I hope and pray they find a way to avoid a life of crime and imprisonment.

Thanks also go to the faculty and staff at Lakeview Academy. A special thanks to the principal, Heather Farris-Vermeer, for being my "in." I will always cherish her friendship and

passion for thinking outside the box. Thanks also to the leaders and teachers whom I know I inconvenienced a time or two. They never complained or made me feel unwelcome. Their willingness to allow a chubby woman trail behind, far as it may have been at times, was appreciated.

Thanks also to Bonnie Trede, who edited and helped me correct the mistakes in my final copy. Lastly, I would like to thank my graduate school friend, Carla Schimelfenig. She encouraged me to see this project through. May she soon realize the excitement of completing her Ph.D.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

> Once upon a time, the Lone Ethnographer rode off into the sunset in search of "the native." After undergoing a series of trials, she encountered the object of her quest in a distant land. There, she underwent the rite of passage by enduring the ultimate ordeal of "fieldwork." After collecting "the data" the Lone Ethnographer returned home and wrote a "true" account of "the culture." (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 30)

Although my journey has not been as romantic and sensuous as Rosaldo describes, the study and experiences have been enlightening. I did not travel to distant continents in search of a strange phenomenon and the answers. Instead, I traveled in my sports utility vehicle about an hour from home to enter into a world I had never before encountered. This world was so foreign to me, yet so close to my professional reality. The bulk of my time as a school administrator is spent working with students in crisis, with those having difficulty and those in need. Yet I know so little about facilities and programs outside of the school setting that deal with deviant juveniles. It is one in which I as an educator needed to have a better understanding. It is one about which I hope to educate others. It is one that needs to be understood, studied, and interpreted.

My fieldwork was conducted at Lakeview Academy,[1] a privately run boot camp for juvenile boy offenders. The boys were not casual offenders in the criminal system; they were repeat offenders, drug users, alcohol abusers, and perpetrators of school violence. Their behavior and choices were well known in their schools, their towns, and their counties. With multiple offenses on their records, they had manipulated and mocked the juvenile justice system. For many,

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[1]All names have been changed to protect privacy.

Lakeview was their last best chance before prison. My intent, as the lone ethnographer, was to capture their voices, understand their lives, and make meaning of their behavior and choices.

Background

It happened one afternoon in the midst of the harsh Midwestern winter. As bus number one-hundred and four trudged through the newly fallen snow, unpredictable to anyone, a terrible violent attack occurred. One physically large adolescent boy lashed out against another student. The brutal act of violence seemed neither provoked nor anticipated. It took place on a moving vehicle while fifty other students witnessed the blows. One by one, as flesh hit flesh, wounds were delivered throughout the body of a defenseless, mentally challenged child.

The bus driver, unable to quickly guide the bus to a safe stopping point, observed as some of the children cheered and encouraged the aggressor. The ferocity of the blows became greater and greater as the screams became louder and louder. Ultimately, the victim was brutally beaten, bloodied, and bruised. As the driver steadied the bus into a parking lot and stopped the vicious attack, the aggressor smiled with satisfaction and looked in the bus' video camera with a look of triumph.

This violent attack was just one of many I had to deal with as an assistant principal in a relatively small urban middle school. The numerous incidents of violence as well as the number of students involved in the juvenile justice system spurred me to become interested in researching this subject area. This dissertation is a culmination of my study which I conducted at a privately run boot camp in the Midwest. Boot camps have increasingly been used as an option by several states to shock and rehabilitate youthful offenders (American Correctional Association, 1997). Originally, the military version of boot camp was adopted by the prison industry as a means of rehabilitating first time adult offenders. Due to the increased pressure from society to incarcerate

and rehabilitate our nation's offenders, the concept has trickled down into the juvenile arena. Juvenile boot camps got their start in the mid-1980s when officials in Georgia and Louisiana experimented with placing teenage boys in the military style settings (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991). Because of public pressure and the belief that kids who were immune to other forms of correction would respond, more and more states have opted to utilize a boot camp experience for young offenders. In South Dakota, boot camps for juveniles have been set up to treat children like military recruits. In some camps, kids are forced to rise before dawn, perform rigorous exercise, and march like soldiers. Phone calls and visits from parents are prohibited for the first month, and the slightest rules violations are met with swift punishment. As in many other states, the South Dakota boot camps are part of the political campaign to get tough on crime (Mother Jones, 2000).

Despite the knowledge that abuses have occurred at boot camps throughout the United States, many politicians and frustrated parents have bought into the camps' simple goal: to frighten kids and instill and teach a lifestyle in which success can be achieved without drug usage, crime, and self-hatred. In fact, in any given day an estimated four-thousand kids are enrolled in approximately fifty military-style camps nationwide (Mother Jones, 2000).

While studying the boys at Lakeview, I attempted to view the experience through the eyes of the participants, not the institution. I was particularly interested in finding out whether a boot camp was a viable option for reform. Whether the highly structured programming provided the boys with the knowledge to reenter society without re-offending and whether what was intended to be taught at Lakeview was truly learned.

By telling their stories, the boys were able to construct meaning out of their lives, both from the activities that occurred back home as well as within the boot camp. As a researcher, I was less interested in knowing every detail but rather more interested in facilitating the

opportunity for the boys to make meaning. In 1990, the Children's Defense Fund released statistics that shocked a nation. On an average day in the United States:

- 135,000 children bring a gun to school
- 10 children die from gunshots and 30 are wounded
- 211 children are arrested for drug abuse
- 1,295 teenagers give birth and 2,795 get pregnant
- 1,512 teens drop out of school
- 1,849 children are abused or neglected
- 3,288 children run away from home
- 2,989 children see their parents divorce. (as cited in Cantrell, 1992, p. 4)

We know that our nation's youth are suffering and thus lashing out but we have yet to find effective measures to reverse the statistics. Those who support the use of boot camps as an intermediary method of changing young adults' attitudes and behaviors cite the rationale for boot camps as follows:

1. A substantial number of youthful first time offenders now incarcerated will respond to short but intensive periods of confinement followed by a longer period of intensive community supervision.
2. These youthful offenders will benefit from a military type atmosphere that instills a sense of self-discipline and physical conditioning that was lacking in their lives.
3. These same youth need exposure to relevant education, vocational training, drug treatment, and general counseling services to develop more positive and law abiding values and to become better prepared to secure legitimate future employment.

4. The costs involved will be less than traditional criminal justice sanctions that imprison the offender for a substantially longer period of time. (Austin, Jones, & Bolyard, 1993, p. 2)

Peters et al. (1997), in a multi-site quantitative study of boot camps, found that a significant number of youth demonstrated positive outcomes stemming from their involvement in the boot camp experience. Youth showed impressive improvement in their academic skills, employability skills, and many were able to find and keep a job while in aftercare. However, a decrease in the rate of re-offending/recidivism was not significant. Boot camp participants were found to be no less likely to re-offend after release than other juvenile delinquents who had not experienced the boot camp.

Characteristics of Boot Camps

A considerable body of research concerning correctional boot camps has evolved from the inception of the first adult camp in 1983 through the development of current juvenile camps (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Report, 1997). Several studies have surveyed the characteristics of boot camps (see, e.g., Parent, 1989; Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991; Austin, Jones, & Bolyard, 1993; U.S. General Accounting Office, 1993; Cronin & Han, 1994). The very use of the term "boot camp" is controversial because it can be defined in so many different ways and is most often viewed from a militaristic model. The media tend to focus on the confrontational element of boot camps with the drill sergeant yelling in the face of the participant.

Mackenzie and Souryal (1991) characterize boot camps as having a military-style environment. Thomas Ricks (1997), in his ethnographic study of the Marine Corps, describes throughout his book the military experience as one that includes the following: activities controlled and directed by a vein popping, brow beating, loud voiced leader; the use of military

jargon/language; movement and dress which is uniform; the expectation that all behave according to strict standards; as well as activities that revolve around learning the military ways and routines. The boot camp I studied has many of the same characteristics, especially the first week of camp. But as the boys graduate off the orientation phase, the level of dehumanizing yelling and screaming is greatly diminished. In fact, the Lakeview principal often pointed out that she felt the label "boot camp" was not reflective of what goes on; she referred to the camp more as a "highly structured program" (2/15/00).

According to Mackenzie and Souryal (1991), participants in a boot camp regularly partake in physical training, are normally dressed in uniform, and conform to a variety of stringent rules and expectations. This was evident at Lakeview. The schedule usually included activities in which the boys participated in physical training two or three times per day. The boys would run one to two times per day as well as participate in an extensive array of calisthenics (see Appendix E). Once the boys graduated from the orientation phases of the program, the orange uniforms were turned in and two new types were issued. During the day and while on the floor, the boys wore white T-shirts and blue sweatpants. When going out in public or to school, the boys wore blue pants and a khaki button down shirt. As boys progressed through the program phases, chevrons were sewn on the shirts to delegate their status. Also, the boys at Lakeview were expected to adhere to strict rules and follow the group expectations.

In addition, another common thread that Mackenzie and Souryal (1991) highlight is that participants in the boot camp are often separated from regular prison inmates which are housed in collocated facilities. At Lakeview Academy there are four different programs. The boot camp studied is the most structured program; but the boys stay the shortest amount of time. Adjacent to Lakeview are long-term programs for boys who have been convicted of sexual crimes as well as those who are committed to a juvenile facility until the age of eighteen. According to the boot

camp coordinator, the boys in the other programs "have been considered by the juvenile justice system as repeat and significantly severe offenders" (3/16/00).

Most often, the boot camp is an alternative to longer confinement within a youth corrections facility (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991). Many of the boys at Lakeview have previously been placed in other short-term detention facilities. Some have already participated in other long-term programs; in fact, two of the boys had participated previously in boot camps at other facilities. Some of the boys persuaded the judge to assign this alternative as a means to avoid longer confinement in other juvenile facilities. At least three boys during my study were faced with pending adult charges if they did not successfully complete the boot camp.

Boot camps incorporate some form of hard labor (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991). The boys at Lakeview participated in community service projects each weekend. These ranged from painting shelter houses at local parks, to walking the ditches to clean up trash, to cleaning up brush for a local farmer. The community service activity usually began on a Saturday morning and lasted well into the afternoon hours.

Mackenzie and Souryal's study (1991) found that one aspect that varies greatly from one boot camp to another is the amount of time participants spend in therapeutic activities and the level of service provided for transition and aftercare programming. At Lakeview, each boy spends time daily in group problem solving activities and at least one hour with the one-on-one counselor per week. The boys who enter the camp with alcohol or drug addictions also attend an Alcoholics/Narcotics Anonymous meeting each week and meet daily with a substance abuse counselor. Unfortunately, there is little follow-through on the part of the boot camp regarding aftercare. Each aftercare program is left to the discretion of the boy's juvenile probation officer and the county in which he resides. The level of services vary greatly, mostly dependent upon where the boy lives. For instance, one boy who lives in a middle-sized town was placed on house

arrest when he returned home and later was referred to the Job Corps. Another boy, who lives in a rural area, was given no aftercare support.

A growing number of states are reassessing their rigorous boot camp programs for troubled youth. Some have temporarily closed facilities, while others have initiated full-blown investigations regarding policies, procedures, and employee behaviors. This reassessment comes after numerous investigations have found evidence of abuse and even death amongst boot camp participants. In December, 1999, Georgia officials overhauled their boot camp program after a U.S. Justice Department investigation found it was overcrowded and dangerous to the point of being unconstitutional (*South Bend Tribune,* 12/27/99). In South Dakota two former employees of a boot camp for girls were charged with manslaughter and abuse in the death of a fourteen-year-old who collapsed from heat stroke. The girl, who begged for help, was left in the sun for hours because the drill instructors thought she was faking. Politicians eager to emphasize their tough-on-crime stances have ignored persuasive evidence that most boot camps don't work (Mother Jones, 2000). In fact, a study by the Koch Crime Institute in Kansas (1999) reports that recidivism rates for boot camps across the country are between 64 and 75 percent, slightly higher than that for traditional correctional facilities. The study found that nearly three out of four juveniles who completed boot camps were back in detention within a year. "It might work if they're middle class kids free of deep psychological problems. But with kids who have been abused and neglected, educationally deprived, subjected to summary punishment—it's a disaster waiting to happen" (Mother Jones, 2000, p. 70).

Keeping this in mind, as I conducted my research I intended to find out what the boys accomplished at Lakeview. I was particularly interested in finding out whether an intensely structured ninety day program could teach new skills and ultimately reform criminal behavior. I wanted to also learn from the boys what could be done in the family, schools, and the community

to assist them in avoiding a life of crime. Last, I wanted to hear from the boys what they learned from the experience and how they were able to transfer this learning back home.

Overview of the Dissertation

I have presented my study in a six chapter format. Chapter 1 introduces the subject matter and the intent of the project. In Chapter 2, I discuss the methodology used. As an ethnographer, I was immersed in the setting for an extended period of time. I spent a good deal of this time facilitating the opportunity for the boys to narrate their stories. This methodology was chosen because it assisted me in gathering my data as well as provided an opportunity for the boys to understand and tell about their lives and experiences. Once they grasped some sort of meaning to their lives, my hope was that it would foster change. The augmentation of institutional ethnography and narrative helped me pull out the "so what does that mean and why." It also provided the marginalized boys a voice.

Chapter 3 explores the everyday living and life at Lakeview within the constructs of an institutional setting. This chapter highlights the constraints of institutional living as well as what these constraints do to the boys while at Lakeview. This chapter addresses the over-reliance of external controls facilitated by the boot camp structure. In Chapter 4 the teaching and learning within the boot camp is explored. There is no doubt the boys are learning and acquiring many skills while at Lakeview. Through an interpretive lens I sort out whether the learning is truly that which is intended from the Lakeview Academy experience. This chapter addresses the need for learning to occur within the social construct as well as build upon prior knowledge and current experience.

Listening to the voices and interpreting the personal life stories is covered in Chapter 5. As I found in the study, self-esteem and identity play key roles in how the boys define themselves

and their place at Lakeview as well as within society. Throughout their lives the boys have been marginalized and have not had the opportunity to have their voices heard. This chapter delves into what the boys have learned in their lives and how they have interpreted the events. This chapter also highlights specifically the life histories of Jorge and Bobby. Through these life histories and the boys' experiences since returning home, I articulate that the boot camp did not accomplish what was truly intended.

Last, Chapter 6 pulls together the entire study and discusses the implications as well as recommendations for further research. In this chapter I conduct a self-reflexive account of my research project and highlight the ups and downs of the research process as well as the significance it has played in my academic, professional, and personal life.

Significance of the Study

Unfortunately for youth who exhibit continuous behavioral, criminal, and/or violent episodes in society, there are few opportunities available in the criminal justice system that get to the heart of the problems and actually teach youthful offenders alternatives to criminal life. Because the system is severely understaffed and underfinanced, few good programs exist. When juveniles become adjudicated, they are often assigned a probation officer and some form of community service. For some juveniles, probation and community service are enough to reform criminal habits. For others, the seemingly lax consequences are brushed off and offer no significant form of deterrence from re-offending. Many juveniles who are placed at Lakeview have compiled charge after charge with little reprimand and very little follow-through by juvenile officials. What happens then, to some, is the dismissal of penalties and consequences and a continuance of criminal activity. They have learned that they can shrug off consequences, thus

making a mockery of the justice system. Very little can and is done until a pattern of several criminal incidences occurs.

Many parents, social workers, juvenile court officers, and school administrators are faced with the difficult question of how to best serve the needs of kids who resort to repetitive unlawful behavior. When juveniles get into trouble in the school setting, very little collaboration between juvenile court officers and social workers exists. There are few options school administrators have to explore with these students. Most often the option of choice is a short-term suspension or placement within an alternative school setting. If our goals are to rehabilitate and redirect patterns of behavior, there need to be a variety of programs available to assist youth in learning how to make better choices and to avoid a life of criminal activity. My study has uncovered that the boot camp as it is currently run, may not be a viable alternative. Much of the learning within a boot camp is not always that which is intended. Due to the constraints of the institution, there is little opportunity for the boys to practice, apply, and internalize the skills necessary to avoid temptation and deter future criminal behavior.

Perhaps the biggest goal of boot camps is to shock offenders into becoming more disciplined and internally motivated. However, what I observed at Lakeview was a program so tightly structured by adults from the moment the boys rose to the moment they retired that the boys were not able to construct new meaning that they could generalize to home. This imposed structure was not teaching the boys self-discipline and self-control but was teaching them unintended lessons, good and/or bad.

As addressed earlier, there is little literature that delves into the reflections and thoughts of delinquent, juvenile boys as they experience boot camps and as they re-enter society and forge a path. I found that in spite of what was happening at the boot camp, by giving the boys the opportunity to tell their stories, they were constructing meaning from those stories and, in the

case of at least one boy, using that experience to foster change. Therefore, the outcomes of this study have the potential to significantly impact how we work with juvenile offenders in offering the best possible programming to assist them in developing a lifestyle free from crime and violence.

What I think to be most important through my study is a rich understanding of how the stories are told and how they became meaningful to the boys. What those stories reveal gives me, the researcher, a better understanding of how the respondent knows and understands the world, makes meaning of life and its experiences, and develops an understanding of his position. Through my research, I have acknowledged that the boys most likely represented themselves in the best possible light. However, due to the relationships developed between myself and the boys, I assume that they did not willfully attempt to misrepresent themselves and thus distort the outcome or the perspectives of this study.

CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

> Doing something you know already—there is no new imaginative understanding in it. And your soul gets frightfully sterile and dry because you are so quick, snappy, and efficient about doing one thing after another that you have no time for your own ideas to come in and develop and gently shine. (Ueland, 1938, p. 29)

When I started this project, I simply wanted to find out what more could be done to curb youth violence. I wanted to examine what was happening with our youth and show what I discovered with other school administrators and juvenile workers. However, as my work continued, my perspective evolved. When I began this study, I was working on gathering statistical information about the prevalence of school violence. But by the time I finished, I discovered what I had set out to do but also uncovered a greater understanding of what the boys within a boot camp experienced as they were growing up as well as the transitions that occurred within the boot camp and upon their reentry home. I experienced with them the development of their self as well as their discovery that they could experience success. I believe I was able to partake in a much fuller and richer research experience because I chose to use qualitative research methods to conduct my study. Although a rough plan was designed prior to the onset of the study, the theory, data collection, and analytical methods "emerged over time" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 158).

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1998), "Doing qualitative research means unlearning the social construction of research—the analysis of charts, the descriptions of results—and opening oneself to the possibility of employing a different vocabulary and way of structuring the research process" (p. 4). Qualitative research employs methodology that produces descriptive data, inductive interpretation, and constructs meaning from experiences. Qualitative research also

occurs in a naturalistic setting with a concern for the process and less for the product. The beauty of qualitative research is that it "promises a more interpersonal and reciprocal relationship between researchers and those whose lives are the focus of the research" (Bloom, 1998, p. 1). My decision to use qualitative methodology was based on the desire to discover what the boys were experiencing, how they interpreted those experiences, and what they learned from those experiences in the boot camp. I was able to achieve these goals because I was engaged in the natural setting and became intimately involved in the data collection process. As the researcher I chose qualitative methodology because I was concerned with the context of the boot camp as well as with capturing the voices of the boys within this setting. I felt I could better understand the boys and the setting by becoming involved in the environment, culture, and day-to-day experiences of the boot camp. I knew personal stories and experiences couldn't be counted. I knew that the connections made by the boys of past experiences to new ones couldn't be statistically analyzed. Likewise, I knew that I wanted to experience, firsthand, the learning and transitions that were taking place at the camp and with the boys. Those, too, could not be converted to a chart or diagram.

Utilizing qualitative methodology, I collected data that were richly descriptive. I felt a meaningful study of boot camps could not be accomplished by manipulation of numbers but rather this understanding would be richer by observing and describing the intense emotions and transitions that occurred with the boys as they experienced the Lakeview Academy.

In addition, qualitative research has been described as one that is "concerned more with the process and less with the product or outcome" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 8). Did I already know from my analysis of quantitative studies that boot camp recidivism is a problem? You bet. Replication of past quantitative studies would not have afforded me the opportunity to get to know the boys on a personal level, to really understand who and what they were about. Without the

development of our relationship, I would not have reached the core of some underlying problems that have kept the boys from reentering society successfully. A quantitative study would not have afforded me the opportunity to listen to the stories of the boys as they struggle to reenter society and avoid a life of crime.

Last, qualitative research attempts to make meaning out of the life experiences of those researched (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). My quest was to find out how the boys made meaning out of their life of crime as well as the experience at the boot comp. I was intensely interested in how they felt about their schools, their failures, and their futures. This I accomplished by utilizing qualitative methodology.

Institutional Ethnography

Hammersly and Atkinson (1995) describe an ethnography as a field study of a particular group of people in their natural surroundings; the ethnographer aims for an empathetic rendering of the perspective of both individual actors and the group as a whole, focusing on the meanings which events and relationships have for members of the group in their everyday lives. The ways of the group are implicitly or explicitly viewed as alien to the researcher. By careful attention to the culture of the group, the ethnographer produces a translation which explicates their way of life to an audience which shares the ethnographer's assumptions or background. Unfortunately, according to Dorothy Smith (1987), much past research has been devoted to utilizing the objectified practices of formal organization rather than devoting attention to "active subjects who are knowers of their everyday world" (p. 151).

The institutional ethnography, as defined by Dorothy Smith (1990), is a specific approach which responds to the general challenge of taking up the problematic of the everyday world and opening it up to inquiry. Institutional ethnography becomes the "intimate intrigue of one who has

learned these lessons well, lived them, puzzled over their contradictions for years, and eventually found a language in which to articulate both problems and possibilities" (Devault, 1999, p. 47). It is one which emphasizes the idea of exploring organizations concretely by using the experience of some particular person or person as the entry point into forms of social organization which shape local settings but originate outside of them. The question of how things work is not confined to the conventional problem of describing an alien culture or subculture. Instead, "the concrete experience of individuals is treated as the key to discovering how the local organization of everyday worlds is connected with relations of ruling" (Smith, 1987, p 157). Institutional ethnography becomes a practice that produces knowledge for women [or people] that helps its producers understand the social world from their location. It is one which strips away the traditional framework of how society views things and removes the "objectivity built into the standard practice of social research" (Devault, 1999, p. 46).

Thus, the institutional ethnography describes the social organization of the everyday world from a standpoint outside of institutional discourses. These discourses or scenes are shaped by forms of social organization which cannot be fully grasped from within those scenes. The principal tasks of an institutional ethnography, then, include describing the coordination of activities in the everyday world, discovering how ideological accounts define those activities in relation to institutional imperatives, and examining the broader social relations in which local stages of activity are embedded. As with Lakeview, I spent a great deal of time in the field getting to know the boys and listening to what they had to say. I concentrated my efforts in looking closely and unobtrusively to what was occurring at the camp during the daily activities. In addition, I concentrated on developing my analysis based upon capturing a true sense of what was actually occurring with the boys in their marginalized states.

When one does an institutional ethnography, three tasks must be addressed within the research strategy.

> The first task centers on ideology and involves addressing the ideological practices which are used to make an institutions' processes accountable. The second task centers on work in a broad sense and involves studying the work activities through which people are involved in producing the world they experience in daily life. The third task centers on social relations and involves discovering the ways in which a localized work organization operates as part of a broader set of social relations which line multiple sites of human activity. (Smith, 1987, p. 166)

Many of the boys in the study have been labeled by factions in society as juvenile delinquents, behavior disordered, or gang bangers. While the term juvenile delinquent doesn't explicate the boys' experiences, it provides school staff and juvenile authorities with a way of seeing the boys as having problems and/or being bad. The labels explain the problem in terms of social and/or school experiences. The labels marginalize and define the social reactions that occur in the camp. The way the boys make meaning from their lives is a direct reflection upon how the institutional processes and interpretations have been woven in their experiences. For example, the label "gang banger" implies violence, deviance, drugs, and crime in larger society. But a boy experiences his gang membership as a source of friends, fun, belonging, identify, and self-esteem. Yet, he knows the cultural implications of belonging to a gang; thus "outlaw" becomes part of his identity. Several functional complexes such as education, juvenile law, and adolescent rebellion have defined social discourses in the sense of how they are organized, coordinated, and regulated. Thus the experience of the individual present is "left not merely as a case but rather as an entry point into the actual workings of those institutions which produce the generalized and abstract character of contemporary societies" (Smith, 1987, p. 157).

The use of institutional ethnographic methodology was particularly important in my study. It afforded me the opportunity to explore what was actually happening at the boot camp. It helped me to focus upon "institutional connections, relating across and among various sites of activities" (Devault, 1999, p. 48), as well as the opportunity to examine the connectedness of the various worlds of the boys and their ability to apply knowledge in each of those arenas.

Narrative Research

It has been said that good research is one that supports a strong process as well as an exceptional product (Wolcott, 1990). Many qualitative researchers have written that finding one's voice is a crucial process of research and writing. Narrative methodology is the means I have chosen to find the boys' voices.

> If we wish to understand the deepest and most universal of human experiences, if we wish to work to be faithful in the lived experiences of people, if we wish for a union between poetic and science, or if we wish to use our privileges and skills to empower the people we study, then we should value the narrative. Marginalizing narrative may serve the political interests of entrenched sociological elites, but it does not serve sociology or society. (Richardson, 1997, p. 35).

Narrative, as described by Richardson, is a method that gets to the root of individuals' life stories. It is the process in which people are able to make meaning out of life experiences. And it serves a purpose in society. It promotes social justice and improvement. Narrative is the primary way in which humans organize their experiences into temporarily meaningful episodes. Narrative meaning occurs when one understands that something is a part of a whole and that something is a cause of something else. Narrative inquiry gives the researcher and the respondent time to reflect upon the stories of their lives and make meaning of these. Intentions and goals of human choices,

beliefs, and accounts are displayed through the means of narratives. Likewise, narratives allow use to contemplate the effects of our actions and to alter the directions of our lives. I chose to utilize a narrative approach as it offered me the ability to combine the ethnography methodology of interviewing and observing with the in-depth interviews I conducted with the boys. Throughout the research process the boys shared stories of their experiences prior to boot camp as well as those that occurred in the boot camp setting. By verbalizing their thoughts and feelings they were able to make better meaning of those experiences. The opportunity to verbalize their stories as well as to have someone who expressed interest in those stories played a role in the experience the boys had at camp. The narrative methodology actually became an important aspect of the boot camp experience for Bobby, Jorge, Steve, and Dallas.

As humans we live storied lives. Who we are and what we have experienced can be originated through happenings and then re-experienced and interpreted through stories told. Bobby, Jorge, Steve, and Dallas all had richly detailed stories which they shared with me in a one-on-one setting as well as with the focus groups. According to Bochner (1997), stories, then, "constitute our medium of being" (p. 435). The stories help ground us in meaning of what has occurred and help reflect upon their significance. The storytelling helped Jorge, for one, realize the significance and importance a relationship with his mom was to him. Storytelling is both a method of knowing—a social practice—and a way of telling about our lives (Richardson, 1997). This knowing and telling can then be interpreted and made to reflect meaning in life and eventually foster change. Narratives provide a platform in which the actual world can be viewed more closely and meaning can be made. Miller (1996) contends that to find understanding and meaning in terms of one's present existential and emotional state can be a remarkable enhancing, growth producing experience. All of the boys who participated in this study highlighted the

positive effects the opportunity to present their lives had on them, both as they struggled to survive within the camp as well as they struggled to come to terms with other issues in their lives.

According to Munro (1998), "the current narrative or interpretive turn in social science challenges the traditional epistemological paradigms by problematizing the very nature of knowledge as objective and corresponding to any reality of the past" (p. 5). The stories that make up individual lives are very personal and have continual impact on persons as they journey throughout life. Thus, "fact and value, history and fiction, and knower and known have become blurred" (Munro, 1998, p. 5). Stories do not simply describe events but give them meaning by showing how they fit into practice and society. By telling stories, people present their actions as aiming at a common good. These stories often do not reflect the traditional common good that is known but uncover knowledge that was once concealed. One of the beauties of the narrative inquiry for the boys became the opportunity that it opened up great arenas that had never been approached or thought of by them. It forced them to address their poor relationships, drug/alcohol addictions, and past criminal behaviors.

The information discussed and gathered in narrative studies delves deep into the meaning of what has transpired and at times works as a catalyst to promote change. Narrative methodology affects our actions, perhaps changing the direction of our lives. For instance, "those who narrate their lives must be encouraged and given space to tell and retell their stories, attempting each time to articulate the complexities, confusions, and indeterminaces of lived reality, thus thwarting the inclination to end with 'happily ever after'" (Bloom, p. 67). Providing these opportunities through the process of narrative study allows people to face situations within their lives and perhaps change the predicted course. The often absent and unheard tales can be unearthed and utilized to promote meaning and change.

Throughout the study, and especially as the boys were preparing to go home, all four of my respondents commented how helpful and better they felt their experience at the boot camp was since they were given the opportunity to reflect about their life experiences and the experiences of the boot camp. During especially tough days, Jorge shared that he would actually pray for me to come so he could have some time to talk to me about his frustrations, our past discussions, and the issues he was struggling to grasp a hold of and amend. Our time together gave him the opportunity to reassess what was going on and figure out how to best deal with issues and temptations in the future. It provided him the opportunity to reflect, make meaning and hopefully change his ways.

The augmentation of institutional ethnography and narrative research was essential to the success of my research project. Narrative methodology allowed me to answer the question, "So what does that mean?" It gave me the opportunity to continually probe and ask meaningful questions. It helped me, as the researcher, as well as the boys discuss the "why." It assisted us in making connections between events to constitute meaning. And, thus, as the boys constructed meaning, they were better able to interpret their past and plan for their future. Essentially, the narrative gave the boys, who were previously silenced and marginalized, a voice.

Data Collection

The respondents of this investigation were juvenile boys who were court ordered to attend a nine week boot camp. Two cohorts, seventeen total boys, were chosen to participate in an informal manner. I initially interviewed each of the seventeen boys to gather a life history during the first week of camp. I also observed all seventeen during various aspects of the boot camp experience as well as participated in a one-on-one exit interview shortly before discharge. Of the

seventeen boys participating in my study, fifteen graduated on time, one was recycled for an additional thirty days, and one was admitted to a long-term rehabilitation program at the facility.

Out of the total cohort group, I chose four boys to participate more extensively. The extensive participation meant that along with the observations taking place, each of the four individuals participated in weekly one-on-one sessions, in small focus groups as well as follow-up phone interviews after release from Lakeview. The participants were chosen for inclusion based on a variety of factors: crimes they had committed, the perceived potential to be reflective and thoughtful about their life experiences previous to the boot camp, parental approval, and the perceived potential to make meaning from the boot camp experience.

The seventeen boys who were part of the boot camp experience ranged in age from fourteen to seventeen. In Table 1 (and throughout the dissertation), the names given are pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the participants. The facility, staff members and any other identifiable attributes of the camp are also pseudonyms (Appendix B). Of the seventeen boys, seven have either been kicked out of school or have willfully dropped out, five are in special education programs, and two are attending an alternative school. Only three out of the seventeen boys in this study reported interest in returning to school and participating in general education programming. The physical and mental dropout rate from school of the boys attending Lakeview boot camp is quite high.

The boys who participated in the study have been adjudicated for a variety of criminal offenses ranging from one for burglary to some boys who had multiple adjudications ranging from drug possession to assault and theft, as shown in Table 2. This table represents an overview of the number of adjudications each boy has received as well as the types of offenses, the number of placements, and the time served away from their home from the time they were first formally charged and found guilty. Many of the boys have had additional minor problems with the law

Table 1. Race, age, educational level of the boot camp members

Name	Race	Age	Education level
Cohort 1			
Bobby	White	17	Completed 9th grade. Currently kicked out of school for truancy issues.
Jorge	Hispanic	15	Completed 8th grade. In special education for behavioral difficulties.
John	White	17	Completed 10th grade but dropped out of school.
Herman	White/Black Mexican/Indian	16	Completed 10th grade; however, had attendance and truancy issues.
Jonathan	White	14	Completed 8th grade. Attending alternative school.
Nick A.	White	15	Completed 9th grade. In special education for behavioral issues.
Lee	White	14	Completed 7th grade.
Matt	White	17	Completed 10th grade. Refuses to return to school, wants to get GED.
Elmo	Eastern European	17	Completed 10th grade. Has the desire to complete high school.
Cohort 2			
Steve	White	16	Completed 8th grade. No desire to return to school. Would like to either home school or get general education diploma (GED).
Dallas	White	16	Completed 9th grade. In special education for behavioral issues. Attending school in a neighboring rural district.
Tim	White	17	Completed 10th grade. Wants to finish high school.
Nick B.	White	16	Dropped out in 10th grade. Plans to get general education diploma (GED).
Jim	White	15	Currently a sophomore. Plans to attend alternative school.
Corey	White	17	Completed 10th grade. Had plans to join the Job Corps. Working on general education diploma (GED).
Dominique	Black	17	Completed 10th grade. In special education for behavioral issues.
Bubba	Black	17	Completed 10th grade. In special education for behavioral issues.

Table 2. Adjudications, offenses, placements, and time served

Name	Adjudications	Offenses	Past placements	Time served
Cohort 1				
Bobby	1	3rd Burglary 4th Criminal mischief Concealed weapon in a school zone	2	4 months
Jorge	6	Reckless use of fire 3 counts of theft 5th Theft of a weapon	2	12 months
John	1	3 Cases of disorderly conduct Possession of alcohol as minor Public intoxication Possession of paraphernalia Criminal mischief	3	6 months
Herman	4	Burglary Possession of marijuana Assault with deadly weapon Simple assault Possession of concealed fire arm	3	6 months
Jonathan	2	Possession with intent to deliver Possession of alcohol as a minor Vandalism Public intoxication Theft	2	3 months
Nick	Multiple.	Possession of marijuana Assaults Burglary Theft Breaking and entering	4	18 months
Lee	2	Harassment Carrying concealed weapon in public area	1	1 month

Table 2. Continued

Name	Adjudications	Offenses	Past placements	Time served
Matt	2	1st Burglary 3rd Burglary 2nd Criminal mischief Operating motor vehicle without owner's consent	4	2 months
Elmo	2	Assault and battery Burglary	3	1 month
Cohort 2				
Steve	1	Criminal mischief Interference with official acts Public intoxication	1	20 days
Dallas	2	Assault (on mother) Theft Breaking probation	1	3 days
Tim	2	Possession of alcohol as a minor Public intoxication Possession of marijuana	1	3 days
Nick	3	Possession of drug paraphernalia Forgery Theft Auto theft Trespassing Curfew violation Violating probation	3	3 months
Jim	1 1 pending	2 Counts criminal mischief Escape from custody Burglary - 2 counts	4	1 year
Corey	2	Assault Vandalism	1	7 days

Table 2. Continued

Name	Adjudications	Offenses	Past placements	Time served
Dominique	1	Burglary Ran from juvenile detention	10	Unknown
Bubba	2	2 Counts of Arson Assault	3	2 months

which did not lead to adjudication and thus were not reported. Those still attending a school reported a number of detentions and suspensions; those were also not reported. All information presented in Table 2 is self-reported.

Fifteen of the seventeen boys reported use and/or abuse of drugs and/or alcohol. The use of substances was a common factor amongst most of the boys. One boy had recently fathered a child prior to coming to the boot camp and at least one boy fathered a child after leaving the boot camp.

Gaining Access at Lakeview Academy

I may never have considered this research project had it not been for the "in" that I had at the boot camp. The principal of the camp was a fellow graduate student and friend of mine. This person helped me to at least get an interview with the chief administrator and "negotiate a low-profile entry" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 77). During the initial meeting, I discussed my overall research objectives, explained the intentions of the study, and developed a timeline. From that point, I was introduced to the "formal procedures of a bureaucratic system" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 77). Although I felt I had my foot in the door, I found that gaining access was not an easy endeavor. I discovered that my work had just begun. I had to judiciously work to convince the administrator as well as corporate officials about the significance of this study. I had to produce answers to numerous questions as well as wait several months for a final confirmation from the corporate officials. Thus, negotiating my presence and gaining access was not simple.

As a condition of the study, the four respondents I chose had to be approved by the chief administrator. In addition, I had to assure the corporate officials that throughout the study I would consult with the chief administrator as well as the school principal. I used the conditions set by the

corporate officials as a method of collecting "informal and formal information" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 75) from the administrators and, thus, further enriching the study (Appendix C).

Initial Meeting with Each Cohort Participant

The first day the boys were brought to the boot camp, I was on site to participate in the intake staffings. The staffings included various boot camp personnel processing information about the boys relating to their past criminal history and juvenile placements, health histories, and other related information. As Bogdan and Biklen (1998) suggest, I used "the first few days to observe the participants...the intent is for the researcher to remain somewhat detached, waiting to be looked over and, hopefully, accepted" (p. 82). As the boys proceeded through the laborious intake interviews and activities, I trailed along and recorded my observations.

I used this time to derive initial impressions regarding the boys who might make the best respondents. My initial impressions were determined by informal questioning, each boys' body language, as well as my perception of how each boy was able to articulate and reflect upon life experiences and the boot camp.

Some researchers have pointed out the close relationships women interviewers establish relatively easily with other women while such intimacy eludes male interviewers (Oakley, 1981; Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). As a female conducting research in a juvenile facility for boys, I was concerned about situating myself so that I could establish sound relationships and a good rapport with the boys. My actions during the initial meetings were of utmost importance. I strove to create a "nonhierarchical relationship" (Fine, 1994) with the boys that "diminished the politics of power in a relationship between the researcher and the informant" (p. 17). I did this by remaining relatively passive during the intake staffings but also by trying to remain friendly to the boys as they entered the camp.

Initial Life History Meeting with Each Cohort Participant

Within the first week of arriving at the boot camp, I met with each boy to conduct an initial life history. Each session lasted between thirty minutes to one hour. The initial life history interview was not tape recorded for a variety of reasons. Most important, I did not want the boys to feel stressed about their first encounter with me. Second, I had not yet developed a trusting relationship with the boys and was afraid that by having a tape recorder running, they might be less inclined to be truthful and open. And as Bogdan and Biklen point out, "with the recorder on, some people think that since their words are recorded on tape, the tapes could come back to haunt them, especially when they reveal something illegal" (p. 100). To compensate, I took extensive notes on a template I constructed (see Appendix A).

The purpose of this initial interview was to gather general information from the boys about their criminal and school histories as well as elicit their life histories as told from their perspective. There were a set of general questions asked of each boy, however, the bulk of the interview could be described as guided conversation (Rubin & Rubin, 1995). I let the boys talk about whatever was on their mind and carefully directed the conversation back on task, when it strayed. I asked several clarifying questions and encouraged boys to share as little or as much as they felt comfortable. The data gathered at this time gave me an indication of which boys would be willing and able to reflect upon their experiences in life as well as at the boot camp. At that time, I again presented the research study plan and invited boys to indicate to me whether or not they were interested in participating. I was quite surprised by the fact that many boys were anxious, almost begging, to be part of the study. Only one boy out of seventeen showed no interest in participating.

Choosing Key Informants

After the second week at camp, I was able to identify two boys from each cohort who seemed to be a good fit. They had shown higher levels of maturity than others as well as the ability to articulate their thoughts. Once I identified each boy who would serve as a key informant, I secured approval by the boot camp administrator, spoke with each boy individually about my plans, made phone calls to parents, and secured the written consent from both the boy and his parent(s) (Appendix D). We then proceeded to meet on a weekly basis either one-on-one or in a small focus group.

Weekly Observations

Beginning in late February, I planned, organized, and participated in several activities with the boys. Most weeks I spent ten to twenty hours at the camp. Half of the time was spent observing the group as a whole and/or participating in the routines of the day. The rest of the time was spent in one-on-one sessions or small focus groups with the boys. This schedule was maintained during each nine week cohort (eighteen weeks total). In addition to observing and participating in the group activities, I wrote and maintained extensive field notes to support my observations. My field notes became my "written account of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences, and thinks in the course of collection and reflection on the data in a qualitative study" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 108). Although I could not observe everything at once, I often pinpointed areas on which I would concentrate during a particular session. This kept me from becoming overwhelmed with information and also allowed me to delve deep within particular subjects and areas of interest.

During one-on-one and focus group sessions, the discussions were tape recorded and transcribed. Each session began with a theme and a set of questions that I posed. From this

general set of questions, the conversation emerged and flourished. I was pleased to find the boys eager and open to discussing a wide variety of topics relating to their life experiences and the experiences at the boot camp. The transcriptions were used to identify key ideas and generate questions that were clarified during later interactions.

My weekly observations became a cyclical process which allowed me to develop my ideas and ground my theories. As Michael Agar (1980) describes the process,

> You learn something (collect some data), then you try to make sense out of it (analysis), then you go back and see if the interpretation makes sense in the light of new experience (collect more data), then you refine your interpretation (more analysis) and so on. (p. 9)

Using this process, my research design continually emerged throughout the research project.

Research Planning

After each visit to Lakeview Boot Camp, I transcribed my tape recordings, identified key ideas and interactions, and generated questions for the next session. I coded and analyzed data on a frequent basis. From the coding and analysis, I was able to identify key concepts and themes that were emerging throughout the research data. Several times throughout my research project, what I predicted might happen, did not. The shifts that occurred forced me to "reflect, refract, change and grow" (Richardson, 1997, p. 136) with the project. It also prompted me to broaden my reading on research methodology as well as on topics the boys discussed so that I could better understand the points the boys were making.

Key Informant Interviews

Beginning mid-February and until the end of June, I met with each of my key informants on a weekly basis. "Qualitative interviews vary in the degree to which they are structured. Some interviews, although relatively open-ended, are focused around particular topics or may be guided by some general questions" (Bogdan & Bikien, 1998, p. 94). I conducted a series of interviews that took different formats. Sometimes I generated the open-ended questions and used those as a basis of our conversations. Other times I gave the boys the opportunity to talk about anything and everything that was on their minds. The purpose of the interviews was to get their opinions and understandings of what was happening during the boot camp as well as to get a good understanding of their life histories. The boys provided me with richly detailed information about the boot camp and how it was affecting them. They also reflected about their life histories and began to plan for their futures outside of the camp. The interviews were audio recorded and fully transcribed.

Field Notes

Throughout the research project I wrote extensive notes about my observations and experiences at the boot camp. The notes contain detailed descriptions of individuals, group interactions, as well as my thoughts about situations that were occurring at the boot camp. I often referred to my field notes during interviews to clarify questions I had or to prompt the boys to reflect on something that happened during an observation time. My field notes highlighted key phrases, important topics, and the sequence of events that occurred during each visit. They provided detailed and descriptive data for my study.

Exit Interviews

Prior to graduation, I conducted another informal interview of all seventeen boys at the boot camp. I followed up on any question I had relating to each particular boy as well as asked questions about their thoughts and reflections about their experiences at the camp. We also talked about their anticipation of reentering society and their plans and goals for staying out of trouble.

Follow-up Interviews with Key Informants

Two interviews over the phone were conducted with three out of the four key informants. One of the key informants was unable to be reached due to his placement in a secured juvenile facility. One interview was completed approximately two months after release from the boot camp and another follow-up was completed ten to twelve months (this varied with each boy) after returning home.

Document and Artifact Review

Throughout my time at the boot camp, I studied several documents to gain an understanding of the facility. These included: The Youth Services International (YSI) policy manual, official reports relating to each individual boy, the staff's daily log of incidents and activities, as well as written letters, drawings, and poetry contributed by the participants. The boot camp coordinator shared with me various research articles and documents that supported the need for intense and structured settings for youth offenders. Document review is an important process in qualitative studies because it "provides factual details...as well as serves as a source of rich description of how people who produced the materials think about their world" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 134).

I took notes and drew pictures of the boot camp, hallways, school, and surrounding campus to further my understanding and descriptive knowledge of the setting. The artifacts were used to further my understanding of the place as a whole. I also used these to pose questions of the boys, to understand the rich traditions and procedures of the camp and to gather a better understanding of the boot camp experience.

Statistical and Literature Review

I reviewed relevant United States Department of Justice reports as well as state and national statistics relating to youth crime, school violence, and juvenile corrections as they related to my study. An understanding of national trends helped me substantiate my theories. In addition, I reviewed countless research studies as well as mainstream press articles and video programs on boot camps, youth violence, school violence, and youth criminology to further my understanding of the subject area. I also continued to review and apply to my research practice literature relating to qualitative studies and methodology.

Qualitative Research Procedures

The activities described above gave structure to the qualitative research procedures I incorporated throughout the project. My qualitative study began with 1) identifying an issue to study; 2) making decisions about how to go about studying the issue; 3) developing and implementing a plan of action to get to the core of the issue; 4) observing how the issue is carried out within the setting; and 5) reflecting upon what was learned and describe ways in which the issue could be changed, altered, or made better. The research conducted was reflexive, emergent, and cyclical. Figure 1 illustrates the research process.

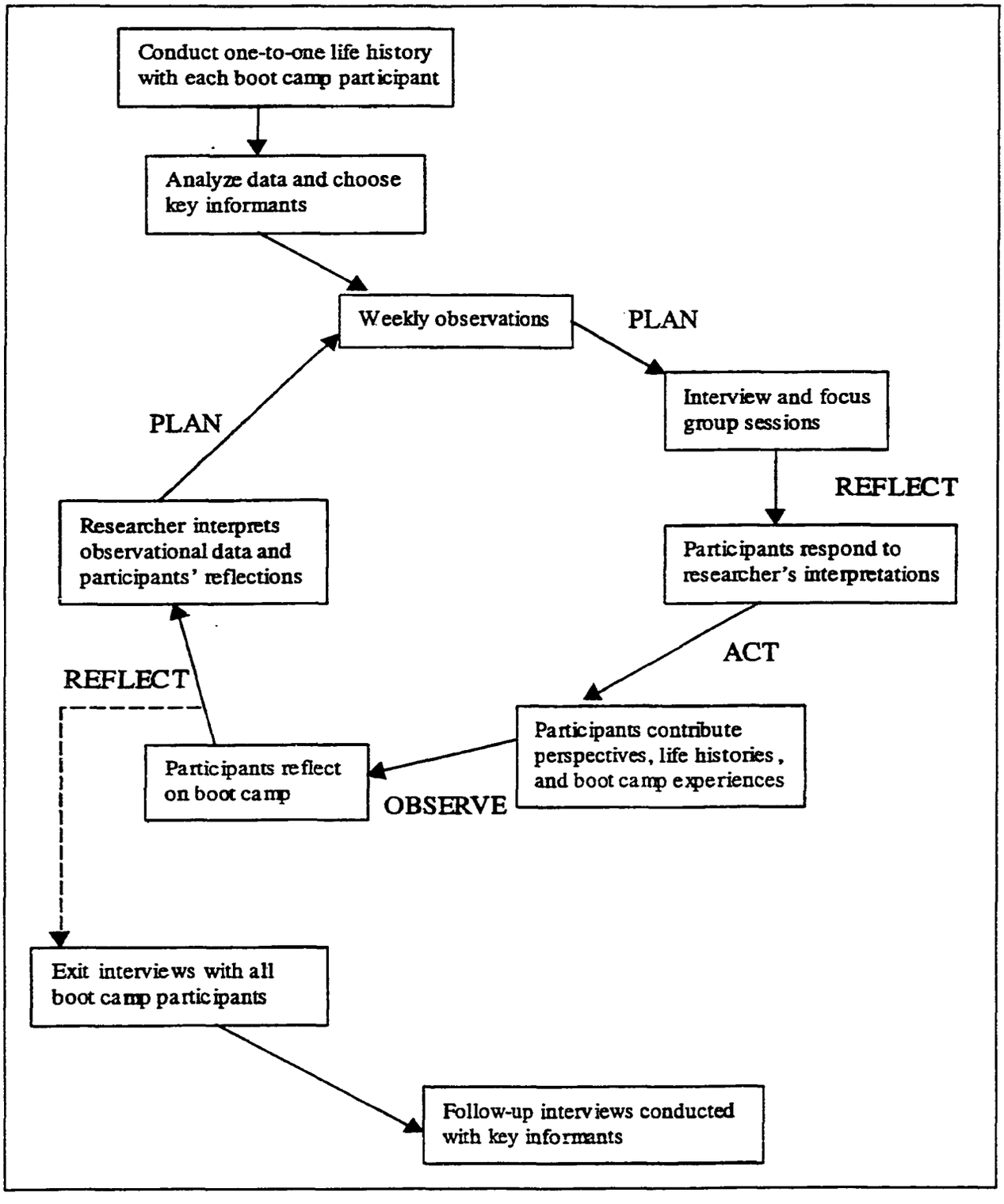


Figure 1. The research process

The data from the initial meeting with each boy and the boot camp staff during the intake staffing were first analyzed to get an understanding of the boys, the types of criminal offenses they had been charged with, as well as their family and school history. Upon the conclusion of this analysis, a set of questions was developed to further gain an understanding of the boys and their experiences. The one-on-one interview between each boy and the researcher was utilized as a means to further understand each boys' situation as well as to get an idea of their ability to reflect upon their life histories. Each boy was explained the research project, given an opportunity to ask questions as well as indicate whether he was interested in participating.

Once the participants were identified, the research cycle began. Each visit and the time between visits found me reflecting upon the observations and interviews as well as planning for the upcoming visit. My ongoing analysis of the boot camp experience was discussed with each participant for feedback and reflections. Initially, I had asked the boys to provide me with written reflections each week. This proved to be too cumbersome for the boys. Due to the intense structuring of the boot camp, there was little time for them to complete all required activities and submit written feedback. The verbal feedback in the groups as well as in the one-to-one setting proved to be sufficient. When emerging themes occurred, they were used as the basis for further discussion as well as a grounds for additional literature review.

At the end of the ninety days, each participant in the boot camp met for an exit interview. In addition, two follow-up interviews with the four respondents were completed within a year after release from the boot camp setting.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is the process of systematically searching and arranging the interview transcripts, field notes, and other materials that are accumulated to increase the researcher's own

understanding of them and to present what has been discovered to others (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 157). This by far was the most difficult part of the entire study. The mounds of transcriptions, the piles of literature, the notebooks of observations were overwhelming and defeating at times.

To better compile the data, I began a method of systematic organization that assisted me in weaving the data together to begin to form grounded theory. Throughout the study I planned data collection sessions reflecting upon what was previously unearthed. I generated follow-up questions and posed them to the respondents. I regularly reviewed my field notes and planned ways to follow up and pursue themes that were emerging in the data. I continually asked myself what I knew and what I still wanted to know and how I was going to get it.

In addition, I found that writing about my observations and the field notes helped me to identify what I was thinking about the study. The notes contained feelings I had about something that was observed or said during an interview. This writing helped me to make meaning of what was occurring. This offered me the opportunity to begin to form initial conclusions and develop the theory for the research project.

Although I had read extensively in the areas of youth violence and boot camps, some themes emerged that prompted me to read more widely. I extended my reading to include literature on male juvenile delinquency, boyhood, institutions, and learning theory. I found these additional readings to be especially important as I determined the focus of my interviews with the boys. It stretched me to find correlations, ask deep questions, and make connections to current literature. Of course, this added to the richness of my final project.

After my data collection was complete, I took some time away from the study. This hiatus gave me the opportunity to walk away from a cluttered mind (and office) and approach the data from a fresh perspective. When I returned I was able to read the data objectively. I read and

reread my materials several times. This task helped me to begin finding patterns within the data collected. The patterns served as the main topics within the research. Once the main topics were derived, I began assigning data from my field notes, transcripts, and documents to each topic and used this as a skeletal plan for my writing.

Opportunities and Limitations of this Research Study

Qualitative methodologists combine several methods in their research to cast a net as widely as possible in search for understanding of critical issues. This multi-method approach increases the likelihood that researchers will understand what they are studying, and that they will be able to persuade others of the validity of their findings. "Multiple methods enhance the understanding by adding layers of information and by using multiple types of data to validate or refine another" (Reinharz, 1992, p. 201).

Although I used multiple sources of data to validate and refine my theory and findings, I understand that this research and my collective findings were personal to the four respondents. What was observed and gathered may not be generalized to other boot camp participants at Lakeview or other facilities. What was unearthed was personal to Bobby, Jorge, Steve, and Dallas. How they made meaning of this experience, wove it with their past experiences and used it as they reentered society was personal to them, also.

I am not a trained psychologist, criminologist, or social science specialist. Although I have read widely in those areas, I do not claim to be an expert. When subjects became important during the research in which I had little knowledge, I widened my reading and became dedicated to learning more about subjects that were of interest to the boys and the theories I was developing.

In addition, at the onset of my study I was concerned about establishing membership in this facility and with the boys. Being a female, I was greatly outnumbered. Being an adult, I felt the boys might resent my authority and subsequently be uninterested in my study. This was not the case, the boys seemed fully engaged and thrilled with the opportunity to talk to someone in a nonthreatening and nonjudgmental manner.

What this dissertation does is present my best explanation of what occurred during the boot camp experience to two cohorts and more specifically four young men. My quest is to present this information in a manner so that the reader can understand what occurred in this setting and what might occur in others. Although I had the luxury of coming and going as I wished, I hoped to capture the essence of daily life within the boot camp setting. This dissertation is a reflection, through a thick lens, of what I saw, observed, and believe to be true for those who experienced the boot camp in their daily lives.

CHAPTER 3. LIVING AT LAKEVIEW ACADEMY, A TOTAL INSTITUTION

In this chapter I review literature relating to the structure of an institutional setting. Using this institutional framework, my goal is to develop an understanding of the structure of Lakeview as an organized institution. To achieve this, I first explore the history of institutions. I characterize the boot camp organization as a "total institution" (Goffman, 1961, p. 4). I particularly focus on how the constraints of the boot camp as total institution provide the framework of the daily activities within the camp, thus providing a context for the lived experiences of the boys incarcerated at Lakeview.

History of Institutions

Institutions were conceived in Europe around the seventeenth century as a method of housing the poverty stricken and ill within the community (Kevorkian, 2000). Around that time a new religious movement was aligned with a new institutional form which stressed enclosure, discipline, and work (Kevorkian, 2000). In addition to providing shelter and warmth, the main purpose was to educate the downtrodden about religion. Originally, city councils in Europe would authorize the funding and preside over the construction and operation of the homes. A key duty of councilors ensured the spiritual and physical welfare of all inhabitants, especially those who were unable to provide for themselves. In addition, it was their duty to punish those who threatened the common good (Freidrichs, 1997).

In Protestant and Catholic towns throughout Europe, the care and discipline of the poor was localized. Not until the eighteenth century were categories of emphasis established. These divisions of beggars included the deserving and the undeserving or able bodied. The deserving (widowed, orphaned, or disabled) were provided with assistance by the city or given official

begging letters, and the able-bodied were forbidden to beg and were punished if they did so (Lindemann, 1990). Those who were identified as deserving were allowed to live in the state-run facility or institution. Within the institution the council attempted to replicate the structure of the patriarchal family. A married couple called the house father and the house mother were in charge of operating the house (Kevorkian, 2000). The couple was invested with considerable power. The house father was to carry the keys of the house with him at all times; he kept the account books, supervised other house employees, and had authority over the discipline and punishment of those living in the institution. The house mother's duties included keeping an eye on the female employees and inmates, supervising the washing and mending of clothes, buying food, and supervising the cooking (Kevorkian, 2000).

The care and raising of orphans was the main objective of the city council. Interestingly enough, the council's success in actually placing the orphans was limited, a common problem in a world where legitimate birth and family networks were crucial to success. The stated aim of the council was to enable the orphans to go out into the world and live in the social mainstream. "When they were 'grown' boys they were to start in a trade and girls were to be placed in service with honest people so that if they wanted to do good and learn properly they could attain independence and await their future (marriage)" (Kevorkian, p. 24). During their stay, the children had steady supervision in the form of house teachers. The teachers slept in the children's rooms, rose with them, supervised their washing and dressing, supervised prayer hours, ate with them, and prepared for bed, in addition to teaching them.

Most of the other groups utilizing the institutions were those convicted of prostitution and begging. The major purpose of the house was to suppress prostitution and to force beggars to work. According to Roper (1989), the regulation of female sexuality, including the suppression of prostitution as well as ensuring all able bodied citizens were productive workers, was at the center

of the urban political agenda during the Reformation (1712–1830 A.D.). The incarceration of prostitutes and beggars was intended to reinforce another aspect of the ideal of the holy household; the able bodied beggars and prostitutes whom the council targeted were not acting in their proper roles as economically productive workers; rather, they drew money from productive citizens. By institutionalizing the prostitutes and beggars they were forced to work in economically productive ways.

Despite providing shelter, food, and work, the main ideological influence of institutions was religion. Although much of the institution was simply designed and supplied, much thought and expense was put into the chapel and other religious parts of the institution. In most cases the only major expenditures on luxury items were for the chapel. The core of the orphans' education was religion. Bibles, prayer books, and hymnals were used as the foundations for promoting and strengthening literacy and learning.

For many communities, institutions were an important part of the community mission. By the 1720s it was not uncommon that each geographic locality had an institution. The rise in availability was due to several factors including the wider prominence of the "poor, weak, and wicked" (Kevorkian, p. 21) as well as a method of promoting the ideals of society to the less fortunate, and of exercising control over the more marginal members of the society.

State-run institutions were introduced in America beginning in the early nineteenth century (Longstreth, 1992). By 1825, the Virginia State Assembly had built two state mental hospitals. The Western Lunatic Asylum, which opened in Staunton in 1828, was the first structure west of the Blue Ridge Mountains to be built with public funds. When it opened it was one of only five such institutions in the entire country. The mission of the early institutions in America, much like those of Europe, was to separate the mentally ill, criminals, downtrodden, and severely disabled from society.

To summarize, institutions have played many roles in society for hundreds of years. According to Offe (1996), "institutions have instilled and reproduced the values of the society in which it represents" (p. 199). Thus, institutions have become an important part of Western history as they have:

1. served the role of caring for community misfits,
2. responded to public outcry and insistence to remove misfits from moving about freely in society, and
3. worked to instill community norms in the misfits with the hope of "rehabilitating" them and making them fit for society.

The institution today continues to be the preferred method of caring for and perhaps socializing those who don't fit into society as well as removing those misfits from society as a whole. The analysis of the history of institutions is important as I develop a framework for the understanding of what role the institution plays in the boot camp as well institutional life within the boot camp experience.

What is an Institution in Modern Day?

The term institution has several vernacular definitions. According to Erving Goffman (1961), an institution may be defined as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life" (p. xiii).

According to Selznick (1957) institutions are "infused with value" (p. 37). Many organizations are institutions. Organizations have a certain legal status; they hire employees, issue policies, and so on. However, they become an institution because many people have invested in it

with an emotional set of values such as teaching, scholarship, and public service. In Selznick's words the key to an institution "is it becomes embedded in the local culture" (p. 37).

Another thought regarding institutions comes from Kling and Iacono's definition (1989). They define an institution as one that employs rigid, inflexible patterns of activity with some mechanism for transmitting practical knowledge. These vernacular definitions of the word "institution" might be contrasted in various ways. In summary, institutions separate a certain marked group from the wider world; are invested with a unique set of values; and through a circumscribed set of activities, attempt to introduce these values to inmates.

Despite their diversity, institutions share numerous attributes. Philip Agre (2000) states that every institution comes with an ontology. The ontology determines what the world within the institution is made of. This ontology, in formal terms, comes with a discourse that provides a vocabulary for talking about the world within the institution. Dryzek (1996) observes that:

> ...any politically interesting discourse contains: 1) An ontology, or set of entities whose existence is recognized. 2) An ascription of agency to some entities; these entities being individuals, groups, institutions or social classes can act; other entities can only be acted upon. 3) Some ascriptions of motive and concomitant denial of other motives. 4) Taken-for-granted relationships (especially hierarchies) across agents and other entities. (p. 109)

This ontology becomes part of the institution and the key to surviving within the institution. The members of the institution learn how to maneuver in the institution by interacting, observing and doing.

In addition, part of every institution's ontology is a set of roles to which people are assigned. The participants in most institutions take these roles seriously. Agre (2000) theorizes that the participants in an institution live their roles in at least five ways:

1) They learn characteristic patterns of thought and language that encode an ontology and view of the world (North, 1990); 2) they invest emotional values in the institutions and their role within it (Selznick, 1957); 3) they accept the roles as part of their personal identity; 4) through their participation in the institution they become embedded in a network of relationships, both with people in the same role and with people in complementary roles; and 5) their activities as occupants of the role expose them to certain kinds of information about the world, while shielding them from other information.

Last, roles come with rules, most of them taken for granted by the institutional participants to whom they apply (North, 1990). The rules may be either formal and/or informal, and patterns of activity can become institutional rules simply by happening often enough. North (1990) refers to these "working rules as the duties imposed on individuals by the collective action of all" (p. 27).

Agre (2000) identifies the purpose of an institution as one that fixes the confines of and imposes form upon the activities of human beings. Douglas North (1990) suggests that the purposes of an institution are to impose and teach the rules of the game and devise constraints that shape human interaction. These constraints then, are used to structure political, economic, and societal interactions. The constraints are both informal (sanctions, taboos, customs, codes of conduct) and formal rules (laws, rights and constitutions). In addition, Robert Goodin (1996) defines the purpose of an institution as a means of "organizing patterns of socially constructed norms and rules and socially prescribed behaviors expected of occupants of those roles, which are created and re-created over time" (p. 19). The role then, of the institution, is to shape individuals' behaviors. Although there are many ways to define an institution in modern day, each adds to the comprehensive definition of a place that:

1. is infused with value,
2. assigns specific roles and rules which confine and impose interaction,
3. utilizes its own ontology, and
4. ultimately shapes the individuals within the institution's behavior.

For the purpose of defining the boot camp I will refer to Goffman's (1961) definition of a "total institution" (p. 1). "The total institution breaks down the barriers ordinarily separating the three spheres of daily life: sleep, work and play" (p. 5). Goffman characterizes total institutions by the following:

1. All aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority,
2. Each phase of the member's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all of whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together,
3. All phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled, with one activity leading at a prearranged time into the next, the whole sequence of activities being imposed from above by a system of explicit forma ruling and a body of officials, and
4. the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational place purposely designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution. (p. 6)

The total institution is also a social establishment in which activity of a particular kind regularly goes on in rooms, buildings, or within the structure (Goffman, 1961). The institution's total character is symbolized by "the barrier to social intercourse with the outside and to departure that is often built right into the physical plant, such as locked doors, high walls, barbed wire, water, forests, or mores" (p. 4). Total institutions provide a special and different society for

members within the walls. Those who are members of the total institution are cut off from the regular world, for the most part. The institution becomes their home, their community, and the society in which they live.

Goffman specifically states there are four purposes for the total institution in society. Institutions are organized:

1. to care for persons felt to be both incapable and harmless (i.e., nursing homes);
2. to care for persons felt to be both incapable of looking after themselves and those who are considered a threat to the community (i.e., mental hospitals, TB sanitariums);
3. to protect the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers (i.e., jails, penitentiaries, POW camps);
4. to pursue some worklike task (i.e., army barracks, boarding schools); and
5. serve as retreats from the world while serving as training stations for the religious (i.e., monasteries, convents). (p. 4)

As I have described, there are several commonalities found in total institutions whether they are prisons, asylums, or boot camps. Past research has routinely concerned itself with "objectified constructs tied to practices of formal organizations rather than expressions in the actualities of everyday life" (Smith, 1987, p. 152). In essence, then, the social world has been represented by what society has expected and imposed upon inhabitants of the institutions. In my study the structural scaffolding becomes evident in the experiences of everyday life at Lakeview for the boys. By being aware of the constraints of a total institution, as a researcher I am better able to strip away the structural issues occurring in the boot camp and thus concentrate more on the boys' issues, their social problems, as well as the learning that is occurring at Lakeview.

Lakeview as a Total Institution

There are many reasons Lakeview Academy exists. In this section I discuss how they connect to a total institution. First, Lakeview Academy exists for the purpose of protecting the community against what are felt to be intentional dangers—delinquent adolescent boys. Many of the boys have committed multiple criminal acts within their communities and their schools. For the most part, the boys have not stopped committing crimes or responded to traditional methods of juvenile justice such as probation, juvenile trackers, and community service. In addition to sheltering the community from the juvenile offenders, another stated goal of the boot camp is to provide the juvenile offender with the opportunity to experience life within a "prison-like" setting (Youth Service Institute, 1997, p. 44). This objective is called "shock incarceration" (Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991, p. 2). The goal of shock incarceration is to expose the boys to life within an institution in the hopes of teaching them that avoiding a life of crime is a much better alternative than spending their lives in confinement. According to the boot camp mission, the camp's purpose is to "remove the boys from society and develop skills in which they can become positive, contributing, tax-paying citizens" (Youth Services International, p. 20). Part of this process is taking away of common privileges allowed in society and slowing requiring the boys to earn back those privileges. Within the boot camp, as the boy follows the norms of the program, progresses in the phase work, and displays evidence of reforming, privileges are earned.

Second, if one were to analyze how modern society works, you would discover that in daily life people sleep, play, and work with different individuals, under different authorities, and without an overall rational plan (Goffman, 1961, p. 6). Members in society move between and among these realms with relatively little thought or effort. According to Goffman (p. 6), a central feature of total institutions is that they break down the barriers ordinarily separating the three basic spheres of life: sleeping, playing, and working. Total institutions control and place order for

sleeping, playing, and working. Every aspect of the three realms is carefully planned and controlled in the institution.

The environment at Lakeview is controlled by the adults within the setting. Each activity a boy participates in is tied to a goal of the program. For instance, the boys participate in physical training three times per day. This activity is an attempt to teach the boys discipline as well as show them they have the ability to accomplish tasks they had previously thought they could not. Most boys prior to attending Lakeview would not or could not run around the block. By the end of the camp, the boys are easily running two miles at least twice per day. Another example is the daily problem solving group. These groups are an attempt to teach the boys that they can change their thinking and ultimately their behavior that has gotten them into trouble. During the first few weeks of the camp, the boys are hesitant to talk about their issues and problems. As the boys begin to feel comfortable with their surroundings and the environment, they begin to openly talk about a variety of issues.

Likewise, each day's routine is highly structured from the time the boys rise to the time the lights are out. Sleeping, playing, and working take place within the confines of the institution and within relatively close proximity to one another. As Goffman (1961) defines a total institution, it is set up so that all aspects of life are conducted in the same place and under the same single authority (p. 6). The boot camp campus in which the boys access various activities is no larger than a city block. Adjacent to the campus is a state run boarding school for persons with severe handicaps (see Figure 2). The main living area, school, and cafeteria are housed under the same roof. All contact with the outside world is controlled and only accessible when authorized by the adult leaders.

Third, each phase of the inmate's daily activity is carried on in the immediate company of a large batch of others, all whom are treated alike and required to do the same thing together

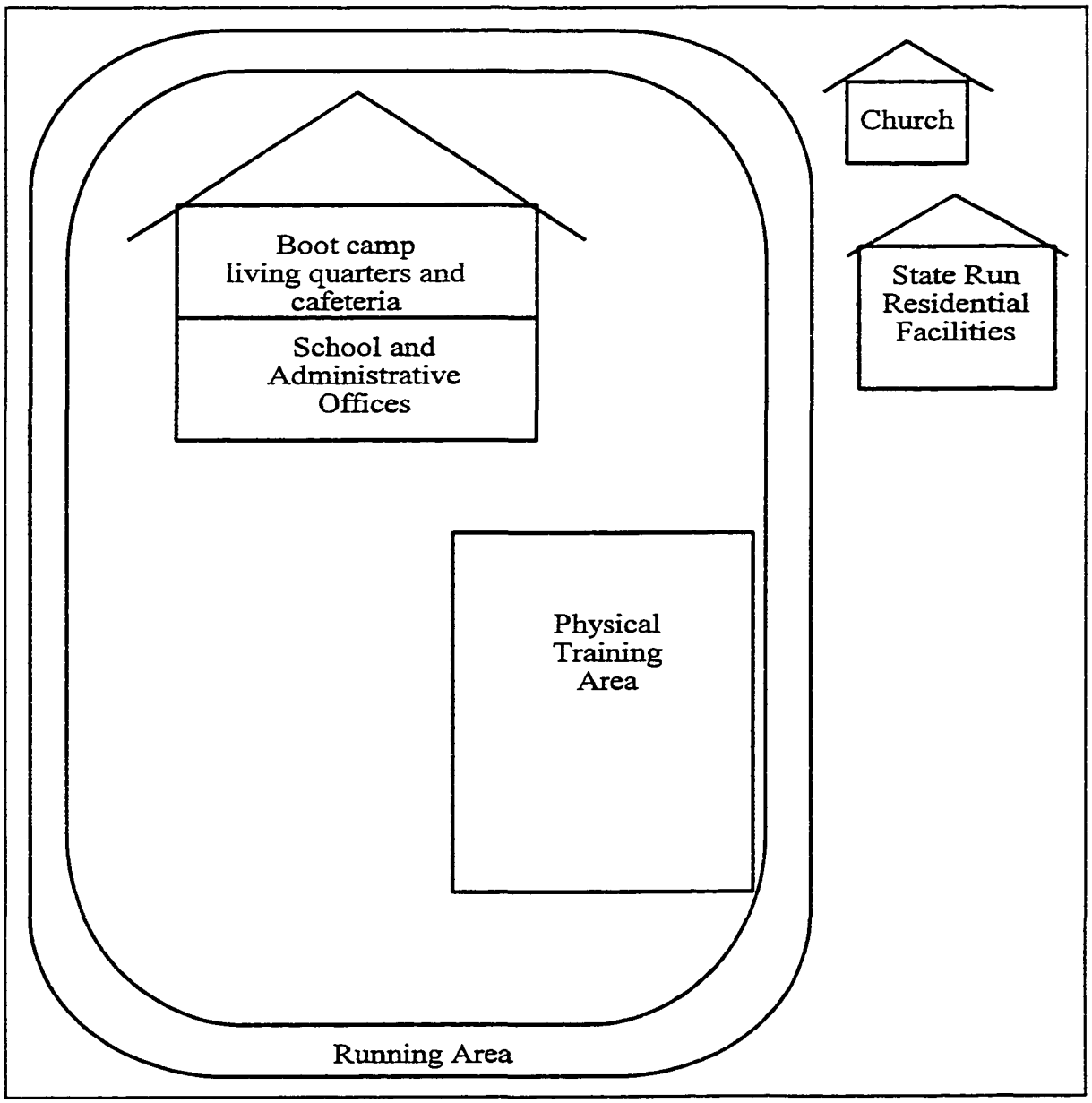


Figure 2. Boot camp campus

(Goffman, 1961, p. 6). Approximately sixty boys participate in the highly structured boot camp experience on any given day. The boys conduct all life activities within the company of these peers. The common thread that binds them is that they have all been sentenced to participate in the program by a county judge. Few would have chosen to participate voluntarily. Sleeping, eating, schooling, and physical training are conducted in public and with the entire group. The boys sleep in a large area that accommodates rows of bunks. They shower, shave, and use the head (bathrooms) in a large area that does not have stalls or areas for privacy. They live, breathe, and exist within the company of their peers (see Figure 3).

Each boy is taught to react, move, and reply upon the commands of the adult leader. All are expected to act according to the norms and expectations of the boot camp. There are no favorites and no excuses or allowances for those who choose to behave inappropriately. All boys are required to assimilate the military look; there are no deviations for personalization. Their hair is shaved, their posture and movement is uniform, and their clothing is a standard issue military wear.

Fourth, within the institution all phases of the day's activities are tightly scheduled (Goffman, 1961, p. 6). From the time the boys wake to the time they retire, activities are scheduled. The routine each day leaves little time for the boys to become unfocused. According to the boot camp objectives, this rigid scheduling is intended to make up for the time the boys wasted in the past and to prepare them for more disciplined and productive lives in the future (Youth Services International Handbook, 1997, p. 29).

Fifth, the various enforced activities are brought together into a single rational plan purportedly designed to fulfill the official aims of the institution (Goffman, 1961, p. 6). The boot camp program often professes that its day-to-day activities revolve around the "formula for success"(Youth Service International Handbook, 1997, p. 29). The underlying goals of a boot

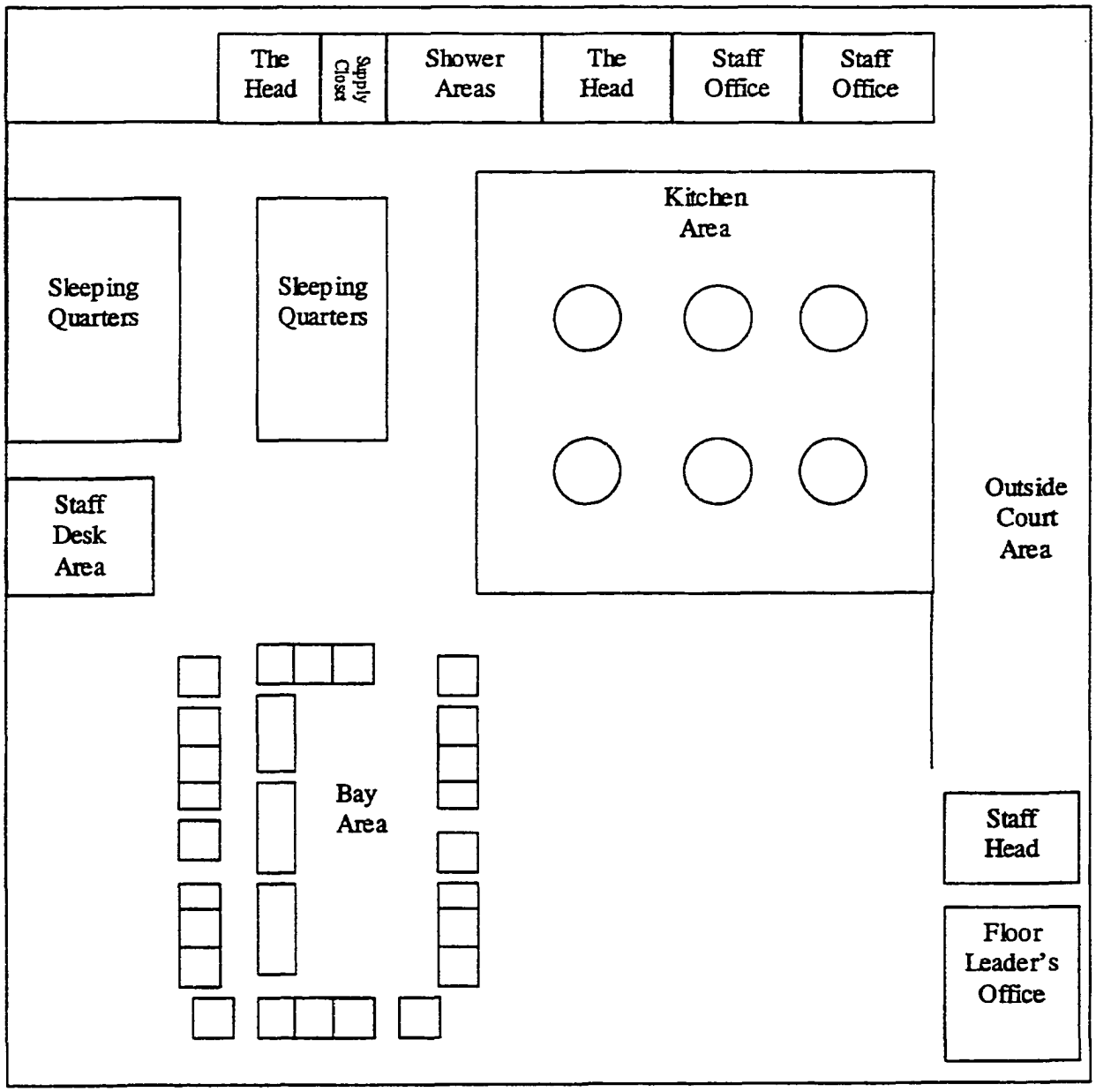


Figure 3. Boot camp interior layout

camp are to promote discipline, instill moral values, and to encourage participants to become productive, law abiding citizens (Bourque, 1996). The boot camp which was studied identifies as its goals and objectives the following:

1. To teach respect, discipline, and accountability
2. To immerse the boys in intensely scheduled activities
3. To develop a positive peer culture
4. To invoke a change in thinking and behavior
5. To place an emphasis on education
6. To expose the boys to world of work experiences
7. To develop life skills. (Youth Services International Handbook, 1997, p. 29)

The daily activities at the boot camp are linked to one or more of these objectives.

Another key facet of institutions is the ability of handling many human needs by the bureaucratic organization of whole blocks of people (Goffman, 1961).

> When people are supervised in whole blocks, the personnel's chief activity is not guidance or periodic inspection but rather surveillance—a seeing to it that everyone does what he has been clearly told is required of him, under conditions where one person's infraction is likely to stand out in relief against the visible, constantly examined compliance of others. (p. 6).

Surveillance is one of the duties of the leader at the boot camp, but as I observed, its importance fluctuated during different times of the boot camp experience. During the first two weeks, surveillance to ensure compliance was an ultimate concern. When a boy committed the slightest infraction, a group support was usually assigned. During a group support the boys circle around the negative peer and a group leader processes the situation and de-escalates the negative behavior. The boy is expected to identify the issue, come up with a plan, apologize to those he

has affected, and move on. This measure was used to initially teach the boys that they were controlled by others and that rules were strictly enforced. As the boys graduated from orientation to phase one of the camp, it became less necessary for the leaders to watch the boys and more important that guidance and relationships developed between the boys and the leaders. By the time the boys graduated to phase one, they knew and understood the rules and for the most part were obedient to avoid punishment. Most were striving to achieve leadership awards and were knowledgeable that even slight infractions could result in the loss of recognition.

Goffman describes that in total institutions there is a basic split between a large managed group, conveniently called inmates, and a small supervisory staff. Social distance, meaning the staff interact with the inmates only when necessary, is typically great and often formally prescribed (Goffman, 1961, p. 7). One would think that the relationship between the supervisory staff and the inmate is at best cordial but most often it is hostile, bitter, and distrustful. I found, however, the relationships built between the boys and the leaders, especially the assigned one-on-one counselor, to be of great importance. During the exit interviews most boys stated the best thing about camp was the relationship they developed with their one-on-one.

Likewise, the importance of relationships was also observed in a study of adult boot camps. William Sondervan (1998) conducted a qualitative study of an adult boot camp and also observed that "for all practical purposes, from the inmate perspective, the DI [drill instructor] *IS* the boot camp" (p. 78). Sondervan found that the staff were the most powerful role models who exerted the greatest influence on the process of behavioral change. The inmates often worked hard to please the staff and would actually vie for positive feedback and recognition (Sondervan, 1998). Likewise, the staff are also assessed and scrutinized by the inmates. The inmates quickly figure out the strengths and weaknesses of each staff member and form opinions about their character, dedication, credibility, and power within the camp.

Even though the hierarchy of power is established between the adults and the inmates at Lakeview, there is an opportunity for this relationship to be blurred. The boys were expected to develop a relationship with at least one adult who was assigned to them as their primary counselor. This person's role is to meet with the boy weekly in a private setting. The conversation revolves around past criminal behavior, setting goals for reform, and evaluating personal success and/or failure in the program. Some boys reported to me that conversations also included difficulties and hardships the adult experienced while growing up. Sondervan (1998) also found the importance of developing a relationship with at least one person in authority to be beneficial.

> The individual relationships really begin to flourish and develop during the weekly one-on-one evaluation and counseling sessions. During these sessions, the drill instructors take the time to know and understand each inmate.... They [the drill instructors] switch from a disciplinarian to a mentor, they allow the inmates to express themselves and provide suggestions for improvement. (p. 80)

The ability to close the social distance with at least one adult at the boot camp contradicts Goffman's theory of social distancing but serves a profound purpose for the boys. The establishment of a positive relationship with a positive adult is one of the highlights for the boys who attend Lakeview. Jorge explained the relationship he developed with his primary counselor, Mr. A.

> When I first met him I wanted to hit him. He was in everybody's face and being a prick...now, I have a huge level of respect for him...he pushes me harder than I think I can go, then I push myself even more...we talk about everything and he's a good listener. That guy rocks! (3/21/00)

Several months after his discharge from the camp, Jorge shared how important the relationship between Mr. A and himself was. He stated, "I really miss the guy, he was the one person who really helped me understand what I was doing and where I was heading" (3/10/01).

Although relationship building is important at the camp, there is still a split between staff and boys at the boot camp. In the boot camp, there are many expectations that divide the staff from the boys. One example is the expectation that boys must properly address any adults within the institution by a "Sir or Ma'am." Within the second week of my presence on the floor, my entrance and departure was ushered in by a loud "Ms. Meade on deck." When I would ask a question of any of the boys, they would respond with a "Yes, ma'am" or "No, ma'am." Many times, I explained that the protocol was not necessary in our situation. I essentially wanted to break down the researcher-respondent barrier. The forced respect at the boot camp essentially establishes the ultimate social standings of the staff as high and the boys as low.

Interestingly enough, there were divisions in the hierarchy amongst staff members that cut sharply across job lines. Staff members with the same job titles were treated and respected differently by the boys. For example, one particular male staff member demanded respect from the boys at all times. He led by constantly yelling and inflicting consequences on the boys for noncompliance. This method of doing his job evoked a negative feeling with the group. Each time this person was working, the climate of the floor was different. The boys talked out, there was less production, and often activities were questioned. One evening, during a visit, the floor seemed in total chaos. One group of boys was refusing to get their tennis shoes on for the evening run, another group was focusing on an incident that occurred much earlier in the day. The leader, seemingly overwhelmed, was running from group to group in an attempt to maintain control. As the weeks crept on, I observed an informal system developed by the boys in which they were able to gain control of this staff member and actually dictate how the activities would go. The routine

usually consisted of one boy refusing to do an activity and others joining in on the protest. At the same time another boy would raise a different issue which forced the leader to attempt to go between both groups and thus lose control. Almost regularly, a mutiny situation in which the staff member had little opportunity of winning the struggle, ensued. Jorge spoke about how the cohort was able to manipulate this staff person but not another.

> Oh, everyone challenges Mr. P because they can take advantage of him. The peers think he is more strict and think he is not fair so they take advantage of the situations. They know now that if they argue with Mr. P he will sit back a bit and let you get in an extra word. But with Mr. A, he is in your face just like BOOM—you quit it now or else you're going to get yourself in a situation you don't want to be in. (3/21/00)

Although establishing relationships is a key to getting much done within the boot camp, the staff still establishes some role hierarchy. One way of establishing the divide between the staff and the inmates in an institution is by controlling the passage of information, especially information about the staff's plans for inmates. Characteristically, the inmate is excluded from knowledge of the decisions regarding his fate (Goffman, 1961, p. 9). For many of the boys, the most they know about their fate is that they will be at the boot camp for at least ninety days. The threat of being recycled in the program is constantly hammered by the adults. Dallas shared, "Lots of guys know what's going to happen to them, they haven't told me yet. I think it's because I really didn't take this place seriously" (4/28/00). Some boys know that even after they complete the program they will be shuffled to another juvenile facility; others are threatened with the possibility of being tried, on pending charges, as an adult. Knowing that their fate rests in the hands of the camp staff helps to maintain "antagonistic stereotypes" (Ohlin, 1956, p. 20) and therefore social distance. For some the unknown is a motivator to do well; for many, a positive fate is difficult to imagine.

The Inmate World

"Total institutions create and sustain a particular kind of tension between the home world and the institutional world and use this persistent tension as strategic leverage in the management of [people]" (Goffman, 1961, p. 13). Many of the boys who enter the boot camp come from chaotic home lives, relaxed parental expectations, and dysfunctional settings. This, however, is the only life they have known. Their new life within the camp is in direct tension with the life they have left back home. As the boys grapple with structure and control in the institution, they remember the glamour of the life they have lost.

> Jorge often spoke about his life back home as exciting and basically without much structure. Me and my cousin were in a gang, we made our own gang at one time in (our town). It got pretty big. We really didn't have our own turfs but we did have a park that we called our park. In the middle of the night we would all go running around and just terrorize stuff and spray paint our gang sign. I pretty much ran around and did whatever I wanted. I would get up at 8:00 a.m., I would watch some TV, I would make some phone calls because I knew when everyone got up. As soon as 1:00 p.m. rolled around I would go outside and walk the streets, because I know my town and everyone knew me. I would just walk around. (3/4/00)

Jorge's "home world" (Goffman, 1961, p. 12) was his way of identifying who he was and how he presented himself in his home town and school. His affiliation with the gang provided him with the opportunity to identify who he was, cope with stresses and conflict within his life, and attribute his successes and failures to the affiliation (p. 13). Mike Knox (1995), a gang investigator, claims the attraction of gang membership is that it provides basis needs that the child feels he is not getting: security (protection), a sense of belonging (family), and success (social acceptance/independence). Jorge's assimilation into the camp stripped away much of his ability to

continue practicing the gang culture and also initially took away his feelings of security, belonging, and success.

Bobby also experienced tension between his accustomed home culture and that of the institution.

> I always had friends knocking on my window trying to get me out late at night or for drugs. They'd say, "I know someone who wants to buy this and you can make $900–$1000 off of it." I was doing crack, mainly weed though, and then my friend always made methamphetamines.... I would first let people try it for free. The crack was easy to get and that was addictive for people. Once they had done it they just craved more and like I got $25 or $50 profit per sale. It all equaled up.... I got caught in the excitement and the fun. (3/11/00)

Bobby's home world revolved around a drug culture of selling, using and hooking others.

Goffman (1961) states that individual change within an institution can occur. Usually this change is due to the removal of certain behavioral opportunities, the failure to keep pace with recent social changes in the outside world or due to "disculturation" (p. 13). "Disculturation" is an untraining which renders the inmate temporarily incapable of managing certain features of daily life outside, if and when he gets back to it (p. 13). At the boot camp, disculturation may occur in the form of taking away the ability of the boys to cope with the chaos in their everyday life. Steve, a member of the second cohort, shared a conversation that occurred between a recently graduated peer that returned to camp for a visit.

> He says its different when you get out of here. You're used to structure in here and when you go out, no one is telling you what to do. You have to be self-disciplined and know how to plan the time during your day. We really haven't practiced that. (3/13/00)

On another occasion, a boy from a previous cohort had called back and was reporting the activities that he had done since his graduation two weeks prior. All of the positive things that he had planned to take care of like enrolling in school, studying for and getting his driver's license, and finding a part-time job, he had not accomplished. What the boy had done was gotten his ear pierced. The leader took this example as a means of sharing with the boys that they needed to prioritize and apply the things that they were learning at the camp. No one would be there to hold the boys' hand, no one would be checking to ensure that each goal had been completed, who was responsible for each boy was himself.

The tension between the structure of the camp and the temptations of life outside of the institution is difficult for the boys to handle. The boys experienced tension when they entered the camp and left their "home world"—they longed for the ability to move around in society doing what they wanted, as they pleased. However, after becoming acculturated to the boot camp and realizing success within it, they experienced tension when they left the camp and reentered society. The structure and successful experiences within the camp were essentially taken for granted by the boys while they were members in the institution.

"The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world" (Goffman, 1961, p. 14). Outside of the institution the boys generally see themselves in many different roles: that of a person moving freely in society, a son, a sibling, a friend and in most cases a bad boy. "Upon entrance, [the inmate] is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements.... The inmate begins a series of abasements, degradations, humilities and profanations of self.... His self is systematically, if often unintentionally, mortified" (p. 14). For instance, Jorge exhibited signs of being depressed, degraded and immoralized after the first week in the camp. During a conversation, when asked about his feelings, he replied,

> Imagine being torn from everything and then you are supposed to learn the coping skills to get through why you are here.... I have been other places and have never been able to do it...this [the boot camp] is basically destroying a time in my life. (3/04/00)

The process of entrance into the institution typically brings other kinds of loss and mortifications as well. Upon entrance to the institution, staff employ a variety of different admission procedures. The admission procedures at Lakeview include: taking a life history, listing personal possessions for storage, haircutting, issuing institutional clothing, instructing as to the rules, and assigning the boys to a bunk. Goffman (1961) refers to the admission procedures as "trimming or programming" (p. 16). The information taken about the boys is neatly organized and coded into the administration of the establishment. The boys are categorized in various ways by the staff. This identification may be based on the crimes they have committed, the number of previous placements, or physical attributes. Goffman points out that this categorization is often in conflict with how the inmate previously self-identified (p. 16).

The staff use the admission procedures as an opportunity to assess the recruit's readiness for the boot camp. Those who can be appropriately deferential in the initial face-to-face encounters are more likely to be "compliant inmates" (Goffman, 1961, p. 17). Such was the case at the boot camp. Those who were compliant and respectful during intake were generally able to proceed throughout the ninety days with little difficulty. Those who posed challenges during the admissions procedures proved to be less willing to comply with the expectations of the camp. The unwillingness to comply often puts the staff in the position to demand obedience.

The "obedience test" (Goffman, 1961, p. 17) was employed with Herman. Herman came to the boot camp from a locked down juvenile facility. He had committed more crimes than he could remember ranging from petty theft to assault with a deadly weapon. Among Herman's notable

achievements was that he had escaped from two of his three past placements. Even before knowing this information, I was able to detect the potential level of intensity Herman was capable of, as he was ushered to the camp in full shackles by a uniformed officer. His arrival was far more eventful than any of the other boys'. From the minute he set foot in the main office he was noncompliant, abusive towards staff, and disorderly. When staff began to ask him the typical intake questions, his response was "I ain't talking to you" (2/12/00). As various staff attempted to complete the necessary intake procedures, it was becoming evident that the level of patience was thinning. Within minutes of snubbing the female nurse, a team leader was toe-to-toe with Herman. I observed the encounter, which lasted more than forty minutes. The result was Herman finally broke down and cried. "The welcome" (p. 18), as Goffman describes, is a form of initiation where staff and inmates go out of their way to give the recruit a clear notion of his plight within the institution. What was accomplished during this encounter was the demonstration to Herman that he is "merely an inmate and that he has a special low status" (Goffman, p. 18) even among the other boot camp initiates.

During admission procedures the boys are stripped of their possessions. They are given standard issue neon orange prison uniforms. It is clear that the uniforms have been used by other residents. They are ratty, well worn, and unsightly. The uniforms are clearly marked "Property of Lakeview Academy." Once the boys change into the uniforms, the transition from juvenile delinquent to boot camp participant becomes physically apparent. The oranges become the temporary attire for school, physical training, and sleeping until the boys have earned their way off the orientation phase. They clearly set apart the new arrivals from the veterans of the camp, as is the intention.

In addition to losing his street clothes, upon admission to a total institution, each boy is stripped of his usual appearance and of the equipment and services by which he maintains it, thus

suffering a "personal defacement" (Goffman, 1961, p. 20). This is the last time for ninety days the boys will see or use any items that identify them differently from their peers. Each boy's personal items are stuffed into a large garbage bag, inventoried, and kept in a secured area. The boys are allowed to keep a toothbrush, toothpaste, razor, and soap. All other grooming devices are packed away and stored. At admission, "the loss of equipment associated with one's self prevents the individual from presenting his usual image of himself to others" (p. 21).

Another mortification Goffman discusses is physical contamination (Goffman, 1961, p. 27). Physical contamination is "the besmearing and defiling of the body or of other objects closely identified with the self" (p. 25). Within days of their arrival at Lakeview the boys are greeted by the local barber. The boys line up and face the wall. One by one, the barber begins from the back of the head and shaves each of the boys. The process is quick but for many this is a painful experience. Bobby, who arrived at camp with blond highlights, winced as each track of the razor dropped clumps of hair to the floor. Bobby's reaction was much like that of the other boys. Many of the boys shaved were initially mortified from the loss of their hair and yet another loss of themselves. This was yet another phase in their initiation into Lakeview Academy.

In addition to being stripped of the opportunity to present himself in the usual manner, the inmate in an institution is required to punctuate social interaction with staff in ways in which the "symbolic implications are incompatible with his conception of self" (Goffman, 1961, p. 23). The boys in the boot camp are expected to verbally address adults in a manner that requires them to highlight their social status. They address the male adults with a "yes, sir/no, sir" and they must ask permission for freedoms that they took for granted before, such as talking, scratching their heads, and moving about without permission. "This obligation puts the individual in a submissive role but also opens his line of action to interceptions by the staff" (p. 41). Additionally, the inmate is further contaminated by forced interpersonal contact and a forced social relationship.

The boys are expected to process their past criminal behavior in group-like settings with the other peers. This is not a choice, it is an expectation to successfully complete and graduate from Lakeview. Sharing of intimate situations and problems can "cause the individual to feel violated by exposing the territories of his self" (p. 29).

Along with forced social interaction, the boys are shielded from social situations and relationships they had previously known. The barrier that total institutions place between the inmate and the wider world marks a further mortification. Membership in total institutions automatically disrupts role scheduling. "Role dispossession occurs since the inmate's separation from the wider world lasts around the clock and lasts for a period of time" (Goffman, 1961, p. 14). In many total institutions the privilege of having visitors or of visiting away from the establishment is completely withheld at first, ensuring a deep initial break with past roles and an appreciation of role dispossession. In the case of Lakeview, the boys are forbidden from having visitors other than immediate family members as well as those individuals directly involved in their juvenile cases, such as probation officers, lawyers, and school personnel. The family visits are scheduled on Sunday afternoon only, within close proximity of a staff member, and are allowed for only sixty minutes. The boys are always within sight and earshot of a staff person. The dispossession of membership in the family, and the inability to reestablish this position in public, even when the relationships are tarnished, is a mortification for many of the boys.

According to Goffman (1961), in discussing the processes of mortification, three general issues are raised:

1. "Total institutions disrupt or defile precisely those actions that in civil society have the role of attesting to the actor and those in his presence that he has some command over his world—that he is a person with self-determination, autonomy and freedom of action" (p. 43). The boot camp's objective is to set up the opportunity for the boys to

experience the loss of having control over the world. It provides each with the opportunity to experience what imprisonment and loss of freedom is like.

2. "Total institutions disregard the relation of the inmate's own desires and the ideal interests of the establishment" (p. 45). No longer are the personal thoughts and feelings of the boy important. He forgoes independent thinking while at the boot camp and proceeds as a member of a cohort through each activity and experience. The goals of the boot camp supersede any individual determinations.
3. "Total institutions direct the relation between the symbolic-interaction framework for considering the fate of the self and the conventional psycho-physiological one centered around the concept of stress" (p. 48). How each boy makes meaning from the boot camp experience may be determined upon how he interprets, makes meaning, and manipulates the mortifications of the institution. "For some, the institution is likely to invoke acute psychological stress; but for others, sick with the world or guilt-ridden in its mortification, the institution may bring psychological relief" (p. 48).

Group Systems within the Institution

While the process of mortification goes on, the inmate begins to receive formal and informal instruction in what is called the "privilege system" (Goffman, 1961, p. 48). The privilege system provides a framework of personal reorganization. The privilege system is made up of:

1. house rules,
2. clearly defined rewards and privileges in exchange for obedience in action and spirit, and
3. punishments. (pp. 48–50)

The privilege system serves as a method of organization within the institution. It provides the inmate the opportunity to earn items that normally would not be available within the institution. In the boot camp, those who have earned the trust of the adults earn the privilege of completing mundane tasks such as getting laundry, and are allowed to do so without strict adult supervision. One generally would not consider this a privilege, to move about without supervision, but within the boot camp it is considered a high honor. Jorge talked about his pleasure of earning privileges:

> Yesterday when we were doing community service. Mr. A stuck me with the guys who are doing the best in the program.... He put me there because he knew he could trust me and didn't need to watch me as much as the others.... I could have dinked around if I wanted but I didn't because I like doing extra things. (4/2/00)

"The privilege system is also a method of elaborating length of stay" (Goffman, 1961, p. 51). Boys at the boot camp must progress to a certain level on their phase work before they are considered eligible for graduation. If they have had difficulty following the expectations that are tied to the privilege system they are most likely facing the possibility of a lengthier stay.

The privilege system also provides the chief framework with which "reassembly of the self takes place" (Goffman, 1961, p. 56). During the first week of boot camp when the boys are formally referred to as "jellos." They are completely stripped of their individuality and ability to make simple decisions. The mortifications of losing oneself are devastating. Dallas shared his feelings during our initial interview:

> I am so embarrassed to be here. I am glad my friends can't see me now.... I can't believe I am dressed in prison oranges.... I'm not a hardened criminal, I've really messed up.... I've lost my hair, my earrings—shit I can't even talk without getting yelled at. (3/20/00)

However, as the boys become assimilated into the routines and expectations, they begin to enjoy more opportunity for independence and begin to realize their successes. Through the activities that are planned, such as physical training, the boys begin to experience a sense of accomplishment. Steve shared, "My self esteem was at rock bottom when I got here. Now that I have proven to myself that I can do things like run three miles or be a leader with peers, it has shot sky high" (4/2/00).

For some, this "reassembly" (Goffman, 1961, p. 56) does not occur. Goffman asserts that for some within the institution, a common injustice and a sense of bitterness against the outside world tends to develop, marking an important movement in the inmate's moral character (p. 57). This premise is built on the fact that the institution's mortifications and structure actually can cause the inmate to reject his punishment instead of himself. Herman rejected his punishment from the time he arrived at the camp. He took every opportunity to minimize the acts that he had committed and the choices he had made. Several times throughout the day, every day, he attempted to mask his behavior by highlighting everything that the other boys did wrong. He often defied staff, picked on vulnerable peers, and generally made life frustrating for everyone in the cohort. During problem solving groups he shared that he felt that he was far less deserving of this punishment than the other boys at the camp, he looked forward to being on the outside again and recommitting crimes, and since he was forced to be at the boot camp, his mission was to make life miserable for everyone. According to Goffman's theory, Herman was using his situation to actually make plans for further criminal acts to "get even." In contrast, the other boys were using the boot camp as a learning experience and verbalized that although the boot camp was not their first choice, it provided them with a reference and a deterrence for future criminal behavior. Dallas stated during one session, "If this is anything like what prison could be, I want nothing to do with it" (4/8/00).

Though there is usually little group loyalty in total institutions, the expectation that group loyalty should prevail forms part of the inmate culture and underlies the hostility accorded to those who break inmate solidarity (Goffman, 1961, p. 61). Although there are situations in which solidarity occurs in the boot camp, such as fraternization and clique formation, they are limited. The group identity at the boot camp is imposed and expected by the staff. Each cohort is given a particular name, reflected by military jargon, such as Gallantry or Mastiff. The group is then referenced by this name. The entire cohort is expected to live, grow, and perform as a group. Although there is little time allowed for clique formation, during my observations I did discover that those who were really working hard to accomplish their goals stuck together. Steve shared that after the fourth week of camp three boys within his cohort had risen to the top with leadership roles. This group woke up early each morning to plan the physical training, stretch, and get ready for the day. Steve stated, "I don't mind getting up a half hour early anymore. I like planning what the group will do and being able to talk about the activities with the leader" (4/30/00).

The two or three boys who continually caused problems on the floor, when given the opportunity, gravitated toward each other. During one observation, the floor was doing "heavy dorm"—cleaning. The boys were given the opportunity to choose who they wanted to work with; Herman and John immediately teamed up to clean one set of bathrooms. Although most of the boys took the task seriously, it was evident that Herman and John did not. Every two or three minutes they would jokingly appear from the area proclaiming they were finished. The group leader would go into the bathroom, inspect the area and call them back. Peers, not the adults, began to show signs of agitation and frustration with the boys' choice of behavior. Finally when John responded to a female leader's request by "Spank me, ma'am" (3/21/00), a peer responded by calling a group support for Herman and John. The boys huddled around Herman and John and

processed their inappropriate behaviors. Although the boys were less than eager to admit their wrongdoing, they did process the incident and returned to their work with a better attitude and work ethic.

Adapting to the Institution

According to Goffman (1961), several tactics are utilized by the participant regarding adaptation to the setting of a total institution. One is "situational withdrawal: The inmate withdraws apparent attention from everything except events immediately around his body and sees in a perspective not employed by others" (p. 61). Goffman describes this as a state in which the person may appear to be involved in the activities but is actually disinvolved. This "depersonalization" (p. 61) may be a way of coping with the new setting and the feelings of losing control of oneself. Although Jorge would deny using this adaptation, it was evident to me, that after the initial feeling of being "gung-ho" about the camp wore off, he disengaged himself from the experience. In the beginning he talked extensively about being a team leader and attempting to graduate with honors, as a "knight." Jorge had a past history of being super-optimistic, getting depressed about his failure to reach lofty goals or expectations, and then hitting rock bottom by either dropping out of a situation or keeping his distance. During the first two weeks of the boot camp, Jorge often spoke about his excitement and goal of getting the group leader honor. When he did not receive it, he shared with me that he intended to call his lawyer and ask to be taken out of the camp. Although Jorge finished the program, he never earned a group or physical training award. He completed the program but with little emotional attachment and with much less excitement than was displayed during the first weeks of the camp. Jorge shared,

> I can say I did a lot of bare minimum a lot of the time, but I've done what I've had to do...as far as not getting a group leader or physical training award... I had too much

> on my mind. Really what was the award gonna do for me on the outside anyway...nothing. (5/5/00)

A second tactic of adaptation in the institution is the "intransigent line" (Goffman, 1961, p. 62). This adaptation finds the inmate intentionally challenging the institution by flagrantly refusing to cooperate with staff. This adaptation tactic was utilized by at least one peer in each cohort I studied. Most of the challenging and manipulation was done indirectly either by off the cuff comments or by manipulation of peers. The boys manipulated some of the rules by calling staff supports (group problem solving) on other boys when it was not necessary, by questioning staff decisions, and at times, outright refusing to do activities. By manipulating peers the boy was able to either alter the direction and objective of the activity or focus the attention of the group onto himself. During a focus group meeting Jorge talked with two members of the lower cohort about this particular situation.

> The little things that you guys do wrong, some peers in Mastiff will let them slide and some peers will latch onto you like a pit pull and won't let you get away with them. Don't manipulate your peers. When you manipulate your peers you think you can get out of doing something like running or physical training. That's wrong—you have to do it sometime. When you start manipulating peers, you lose their trust. Herman does this all the time with our cohort and it gets real old. He refuses to do so much and we end up sitting in redirects for hours...it's a waste of time...everyone knows what he's up to. (4/8/00)

Although the boys would report that the manipulation was fun at first, it got old very fast. It caused the group to lose many privileges and ultimately caused them to not accomplish everything they had set out to do.

Adaptation can also be accomplished by some through what is called "colonization" (Goffman, 1961, p. 62). Colonization occurs when "the sampling of the outside world provided by the establishment is taken by the inmate as the whole, and a stable, relatively content existence is built up out of the maximum satisfactions procurable within the institution" (p. 62). For many of the boys who lived in a house of chaos and dysfunction, Lakeview provided them with the security of structure, safety, and protection and to those who received honors some form of positive recognition. Even though the boys were not allowed to think or act for themselves, there were few choices to be made, and there was little contact with the outside world, for some, the boot camp was a heck of a lot easier than returning to their home life. Nick shared his concerns about returning home.

> I am worried about going home. You know I have a temper especially when I am hallucinating from drugs. Last time I almost killed my mom...there will be some people after me, possibly trying to kill me for things that I did to them. (5/3/00)

In fact, as the end of the ninety days began to creep up a few boys actually sabotaged their successful completion of the program. In one instance a boy so severely violated the rules of the camp that he was recycled for an additional thirty days. This boy reported to me that he did not feel the least bit upset about staying. Most boys in the exit interviews shared some form of reservation regarding the transition back home.

The fourth tactic in adapting to the institution is "conversion" (Goffman, 1961, p. 63). In this adaptation, the inmate appears to take over the official or staff view of himself and tries to act out the role of the perfect inmate. The boy takes a "disciplined, moralist, monochromatic line, presenting himself as someone whose institutional enthusiasm is always at the disposal of the staff" (Goffman, 1961, p. 63). Steve utilized this form of adaptation to the institution and talked about it as a way of making "the best" out of the situation. Although he was deeply distraught

about being at the boot camp, he poured all of his efforts into making it a livable and productive experience. Within the first two days, Steve had memorized all of the necessary information to move off the jello phase. This was well before any other peer on the cohort had mastered the information. He explained that his primary counselor had shared with him the first day that she thought he had potential to become a knight. That one conversation motivated him to strive for that goal during his entire tenure at the camp.

> There are some who are really motivated to do what they are supposed to do and get out of here (like me) and then there are a couple who kind of hold the group back. It's really frustrating. I am giving my 110 percent.... I try my best to get everybody motivated. I am scared that if I make a mistake I am not going home...that's why I try harder each day. (4/2/00)

Steve would often share with me his displeasure about being at the boot camp. His method of ensuring that he would return home in ninety days was to do everything right, focus on the program, and take a leadership role.

In most institutions, many inmates take the approach of what some of them call "playing it cool" (Goffman, 1961, p. 64). This involves a somewhat "opportunistic combination of secondary adjustments, conversion, colonizations, and loyalty to the inmate group, so the inmate will have a maximum chance, in the particular circumstance, of eventually getting out physically and psychologically undamaged" (pp. 64–65). This was the posture of most of the boys within camp. They had ninety days to put up with the situation, prove that they could handle the boot camp, and then return home to their lives they had left. Although ninety days seemed like an eternity for many of the boys, they focused on the arrival of the end as a motivator for making it through the boot camp experience.

Conclusion

The boot camp is an institutional program consisting of regimented discipline, military drill, physical exercise, behavior management, and counseling. The intentions of the camp are to expose juveniles to the constraints of institutional living and shock the participants into living a life without crime. Total institutions and likewise boot camps are:

1. places developed to serve a large number of like situated individuals. The boot camp serves adjudicated youth with severe and aggravated crime records.
2. establishments that cut the individuals off from the wider society. The boot campers are given limited opportunities to participate in society and even less opportunity to meet and communicate with their family.
3. programs that infuse rigid and inflexible patterns of activity with some mechanism for transmitting practical knowledge. The boot camp program is highly structured in which little time is given for leisure activities. This highly structured program is designed to be the means of delivering new patterns of thought and behaviors for the boys.
4. places in which specific ontology is delivered in which the participants are able to use to talk and get around within the institution. The boot camp utilizes military jargon which is taught to the boys and applied as the method in which they are able to be a part and move throughout the camp.
5. programs which institute a privilege system. In the boot camp the boys who followed the expectations as well as were enthusiastic and performed well were given opportunities for independence, leadership, and additional opportunities which were not afforded to the other participants.
6. arenas for utilizing and establishing roles and rules. The boot camp has a distinct set of rules in which the boys are expected to adhere. The roles of the adults, however, are

more blurred. In most instances, according to Goffman's (1961) theory, the role of the adults is of surveillance. In the boot camp, a strong emphasis was placed on the ability of each boy to establish at least one positive relationship with an adult at the camp. This relationship was, from the boy's perspective, the most important and best aspect of the camp.

7. places in which losses and mortifications occurred. In the boot camp, initially the boys experienced many losses: the loss of physical items that they used to identify themselves, the loss of emotional attachments—family and friends, for some the loss of physiological addiction to drugs and alcohol as well as the loss of social standing in their home world. However, for most, as the weeks progress and they experience success in activities they had failed in prior to the camp, the feeling of loss and mortification diminish.
8. regimes of total control. In the boot camp there is a breaking down and a building up of individuals through the structured control. Although the boys share feelings of low self-esteem, initially, as the weeks creep by the structure of the program allows them to experience success they could not have achieved outside of the camp.

For the most part, the movement into the institution is a difficult one for the boys. The significant changes in lifestyle are initially viewed by the boys as critical mortifications and losses. However, as the boys become assimilated to the structure and routine of Lakeview, many if not most, begin to thrive. The structure as well as the development of a positive adult relationship equip the boys with the necessary tools while at the camp to be successful. What is important to understand, then, is what is learned by the boys through the institutional experience. In Chapter 4, I will explore two significant theories of learning. These theories will be used to

understand what is learned at the boot camp. They will also be used as the scaffolding to uncover whether the learning that occurs amongst the boys is truly the intended learning.

CHAPTER 4. TEACHING AND LEARNING AT LAKEVIEW

> Teachers may be so busy concentrating on what students fail to learn from ritualistic classroom activities that they ignore what students are learning from their educational experience as a whole...the question should never be "Are the students learning?" but always "What are the students learning?"...The answer is found not by testing students but by looking at what they are doing and how they are doing it. (Smith, 1998, pp. 92–95)

As I established in Chapter 3, the boot camp is a total institution. It functions under certain social, practical, and incidental conditions and restraints. Structurally it provides certain conditions under which the boys learn. Ultimately the goal of Lakeview is to teach the boys how to avoid a life of crime and function appropriately within society. In this chapter, I compare two theories of learning: the official theory and the classical view (Smith, 1998). The theories are used as a scaffolding to analyze how the intended learning goals of the boot camp are aligned or misaligned to what is "truly" learned within the setting. I use the understandings of the two theories as a way of understanding if and how the boot camp met the intended goals: to instill discipline and respect, to invoke a change in thinking and behavior, and to ultimately reduce the chance of future criminal behavior.

The process of learning and how it is acquired has been studied by numerous researchers for a great number of years. A variety of different theories have evolved that characterize the learning environment, the learner, and the process. I have chosen to draw upon the works of researchers who view learning as a social endeavor and one that is constructed to prior and new learning. As a teacher and a student myself, I have always had the mindset that learning is hard work. I have felt that an accomplished student is one who has developed serious motivation and

extreme concentration. While I was conducting this study, I observed that even the boys who were less than engaged in the program were learning something. Some were not motivated, others only concentrated on being released in ninety days, and some worked hard during the boot camp experience. Interestingly enough, when asked, the boys all reported that they felt they were learning, and quite a bit. Even those with less than stellar motivation felt learning was taking place. Although this self-reported learning could not always be categorized as an intended learning goal of the camp, it was something. My emphasis within the study shifted to understanding this phenomenon. My belief became, as Frank Smith (1998) so eloquently states, "Why focus so much on what students fail to learn, rather focus on what they are learning in its place, which may have much more significance in the students' lives" (p. 1). When researching learning theories I also decided to draw upon the works of Vygotsky to better understand what can be learned through collaboration and in a group setting. Most of the learning situations at the boot camp are in group settings. I am particularly interested in Vygotsky's belief that "anything that children can do with help today, they will be able to do by themselves tomorrow" (Smith, 1998, p. 84). Vygotsky's theory is important in assessing the success of the boot camp as well as the ability of the boys to generalize their learnings upon release back home.

To gather an understanding of the boys' past history, thoughts and experience regarding learning, we talked about those subjects during a focus session. Many of the boys remember a fun and exciting elementary experience. The teachers were nice, the learning was hands on, and the environment was conducive to supporting different learning styles and abilities. Interestingly enough, two of the four respondents reported a strong dislike for school once they entered the upper grades of elementary. According to the boys, school became difficult, demanding, and just too much work. All four respondents agreed that the middle and high school years were awful

and if not for the social aspects of school, they would not have gone. Middle school and junior high ushered in the beginning of their troubles in school and ultimately with the law.

It is at the secondary level in education that students learn the key to success in school is "hard work, serious motivation and focused concentration" (Smith, 1998, vii). Smith believes that this type of understanding about learning causes damage and injustice.

> Students are damaged by the view that learning requires work—not only that failure to learn can be attributed to laziness—but by the intrusive mass of unnecessary external controls in which teaching and learning have become embedded in testing, grading and contrived competitiveness. (Smith, 1998, p. vii)

With that in mind, this next section will explore the characteristics of two different views on learning.

The Official Theory of Learning

What Smith calls the "official theory of learning" has become a preferred and unquestioned theory in academic and educational circles. According to Smith (1998), "The official theory that learning is simply a question of effort is so endemic that it is widely regarded as unchallengeable, natural, and time-honored, a matter of getting back to the basics" (p. 4). Since the official theory regards learning as hard work, obvious, and intentional, people attempt to learn in inefficient ways, such as memorization. This inefficient mode of learning almost always guarantees rapid forgetting.

Smith (1998) summarizes the characteristics of the two views of learning in his book, *The Book of Learning and Forgetting*. Table 3 delineates the differences between the two theories.

Table 3. Two views of learning[a]

	Classic view	Official theory
Learning is:	Continual	Occasional
	Effortless	Hard work
	Inconspicuous	Obvious
	Boundless	Limited
	Unpremeditated	Intentional
	Independent of rewards and punishment	Dependent on rewards and punishment
	Based on self-image	Based on effort
	Vicarious	Individualistic
	Never forgotten	Easily forgotten
	Inhibited by testing	Assured by testing
	A social activity	An intellectual activity
	Growth	Memorization

[a]Source: Smith, 1998, p. 5.

The official learning theory (Smith, 1998, p. 4) has become an "unquestioned part of our being because it permeates the broad educational culture in which we have grown up." The official theory says that learning is:

1. *obvious, hard work, and intentional.* This compels people to try to learn in the most inefficient way possible. When learners approach learning as work, the method becomes one in which memorization and cramming is utilized. The intention of learning is then to do it as quickly as possible and to acquire as much as possible. This technique almost always guarantees rapid forgetting.
2. *based on effort.* Learners are taught that they will not learn unless they put in a great deal of effort into the learning process. When learning does not occur, the learner believes that it is their fault.

3. *based on memorization*. Learners spend a great deal of time on repetitive exercises and drills that teach only that learning is frustrating and difficult. When learners memorize they do not have the opportunity to connect the new learning with prior knowledge. This lack of connection promotes forgetting.
4. *dependent on rewards and punishments*. Learning is tested; those that work hard, get the good grades. Those that don't work hard enough are left behind.
5. *individualistic*. Learners are segregated and are not encouraged to help each other acquire new objectives. When learning is individualized you do not have the opportunity to learn from others.

Most of the Lakeview objectives and planned activities are reflective of the official learning theory. From the minute the boys enter the floor, they are taught that learning at the camp will be obvious, intentional, and hard work. The first learning task is to memorize a tremendous quantity of information. This information serves as the foundation for everything that occurs at the camp. The boys are told that in order to move from the jello/orientation phase of the program to Phase I, they must memorize this large quantity of information and pass the orientation test. Although the learning is individualistic, no one moves past this stage alone. The entire group must pass with 80 percent correct responses. To pass the test the boys must be able to name each staff person and their positions, memorize the phases of the program, list the twenty norms of the camp, identify the seven levels of intervention, describe the chain of command, and list the twenty leadership traits. The level of anxiety is quickly raised as the boys are expected to concentrate on this task, and this task only, for the next 24 to 48 hours. This type of learning expectation and environment is incredibly difficult for many of the boys who have previously failed in the school setting and may not have the skills to quickly acquire knowledge. This type of learning encourages eventual forgetting. The boys are expected to memorize information in which they have no previous

knowledge or understanding. Thus, this lack of previous experience does not provide them with the ability to connect their learning.

It is quickly established that in order to survive in the boot camp the boys must pour all of their efforts into memorizing this mass quantity of information about the camp. This effort is more than most have put forth in any past learning endeavor. It is difficult for many and excruciating for most. Many rely on rote memorization as a means of acquiring and regurgitating the information. Because early learning at the camp is based on the official theory of learning model, the boys quickly acquire the knowledge but since it is not connected to prior knowledge it most likely is not committed to long-term memory.

The official theory of learning regards learning as work and forgetting as inevitable. Learning is primarily concerned with memorization. The boys were expected to memorize a large number of facts for the orientation test. When I asked each boy to recite the twenty norms shortly before graduation, none could do it with 100 percent accuracy. The norms were the one thing they had to memorize that they did not use on a daily basis. Imagine how much better learning would be if it is approached as extending and connecting to that, that the boys already knew or is connected to some context in which they have had experience.

Likewise, as the boys are working to acquire the knowledge individually they are concerned with the possibility that they will not acquire enough to pass the test and will hold the others in the cohort back. The stress that is placed on the boy greatly increases their level of anxiety. Couple the stress within this learning environment with the stress of entering an institution and you have a boy who is extremely fragile and for some, extremely volatile.

Better Views of Learning

Unfortunately, the initial learning that takes place at the camp supports the premise that learning and forgetting will likely occur. According to the classical view of learning, learning should be continual and effortless, and occur without our awareness. Smith (1998) grounds his theory in the premise that "you learn from the company that you keep" (p. 9). Other researchers have also argued that optimal learning environments are those that are social and tied to prior knowledge. Lave (1988) argues that learning as it normally occurs is a function of the activity, context, and culture in which it occurs. Learning thus is situated. Situated learning is usually unintentional and requires social interaction and collaboration. Vygotsky (1978) believes that learning is based on students' active participation in problem solving and critical thinking regarding a learning activity which they find relevant and engaging. The student then is constructing his/her own knowledge by testing ideas and approaches based on prior knowledge and experience, applying them to a new situation. Thus, the learner is integrating new knowledge gained into constructs of understanding.

Within the boot camp experience the boys are learning all the time, sometimes what is intended and sometimes what is not. For example, the boys are surrounded by positive adult models living alongside them in a functional environment. Throughout day-to-day activities and within structured group encounters, the boys observe and listen to the adult role models. They learn how these adults react during conflict, how they deal with frustration, how they problem solve, as well as how they communicate with others. In addition, the boys are learning from their peers. They learn how some react during frustration, what happens when peers are not compliant, and they learn who is committed and who is not by the actions that are taken. Some of this learning could be directly tied to the Lakeview objectives; a great deal of it is not.

The classical view of learning bases at the core of the learning process the social aspect of learning. People associate with others in which they identify themselves. As we identify with other members of the "club" (Smith, 1998, p. 11) in which we belong, we establish and build our own identity. Our membership in the club is a means of reaffirming our identity. As we identify with other members of the club to which we belong, we learn to be like those other members. This identification creates the possibility for learning to occur. Bandura's (1986) social cognitive theory underscores the prominent role of social modeling in human motivation, thought, and action. By watching others model behaviors and interact, people generate new behavior beyond what they have experienced. This learning in a social context is based upon the individual's ability to symbolize experiences as well as give structure, meaning, and continuity to their lives.

Although being part of the social context is imposed at Lakeview, the boys do form a bond in which social learning takes place. Ultimately each boy is sentenced to the boot camp due to multiple issues with the law, most have had bad experiences at school, and many do not have positive relationships with the adults in their life. These common threads do highlight the membership within the club as well as provide a basic premise and theme for much of the learning done within the camp. In addition, behavior is modeled by the adult leaders which is intended to promote learning.

The classic view of learning states that "learning is fundamentally social" (Smith, 1998, p. 10). It needs an environment that supports the social interactions and relationships. When learning occurs in clubs or in a social situation it is vicarious. In order for it to occur, though, the person must feel a part of the social setting. They must feel comfortable in the setting and with the other individuals. "For learning to take place effortlessly you must be a member of the club" (Smith, 1998, p. 10). And if you don't have club membership it doesn't matter how hard and how often you try to learn, you'll just be more frustrated. In fact the harder you try to learn, without

success, the more convinced you'll become that you don't belong to the club and never will belong.

In some ways, Herman, a boy with multiple problems at the boot camp, may have felt this way. He never truly identified with any of the boys within the camp. During his intake interview, when asked his ethnic background, he said "Black, Mexican, Irish, Indian...twelve in all." This was my first clue that he did not either wish to be associated with any nationality or feel like he belonged to any ethnic group. Later during his stay at the camp he also had many discrepant attributes that did not connect him with the other boys. He had not lived at home for more than four years, he had committed crimes much more severe than the other boys, and he had a level of criminal sophistication much different from the others. Since he separated himself from becoming a distinct member of any group and he often acted in ways to further divide himself from the others, he may have sabotaged the ability to identify himself as a member of any "club" (Smith, 1998, p. 10). Thus he undermined his ability to experience much learning at the camp.

The relationships the boys developed with their one-on-one counselor were critical to the learning process at the camp. The importance of this relationship was also observed by William Sondervan (1998) in his study of adult boot camps. He found that during one-on-one sessions the inmates concentrated on how they were doing, how they were going to improve, and what they needed to accomplish and learn to increase their performance and learning. Most importantly the inmates concentrated on the relationship with the one-on-one. "If the relationship was good, they reported a higher level of learning compared to those who reported the relationship was not positive" (p. 80). Kilgore's study (1999) on group dynamics in a women's prison found that "the emotional connection is key to human liberation if only because it provides additional strategies for relating to others in a variety of situations" (p. 173). Unfortunately, when boys like Herman

do not see themselves as members of the club, the connection to others and the unintentional learning cannot always occur.

A special and important relationship was developed amongst many of the peers on the floor. Following a cohort graduation, the group went back to the camp and talked about what they observed. One peer, who did not graduate on time, made the comment about the ceremony:

> I see today as positive. I may not have gone home with the others in my cohort but my peers are home with their families. I'll miss them.... I've gotten the closest I've ever been to people while I've been here, even friends that I have known for years. I think the greatest thing that has helped me at the camp is the relationships I have learned to build and the support I have gotten from everyone to make those. (6/18/00)

The social connections established by the boys at Lakeview were catalysts for learning.

Many of the greatest benefits of learning are unintentional. Apps (1978) calls this learning incidental learning. It is that which is not planned and often overlooked. "Incidental learning usually occurs when we are involved in planned learning. We learn things in addition to what has been planned" (p. 3). Marsick and Watkins (1986) define incidental learning as "a spontaneous action or transaction, the intention of which is task accomplishment, but which serendipitously increases particular knowledge, skill, or understanding. Incidental learning then includes such things as learning from mistakes, learning by doing, learning through networking, learning from a series of interpersonal experiments" (p. 187). Fodor (1983) further expands the definition by stating that it is learning that "includes skills, attitudes, and information which the participants did not acquire from the course, but nevertheless did learn" (p. 10). We don't have to do anything ourselves in order to learn except put ourselves in the company of people with whom we identify. Other people do things and we learn. Smith (1998) states that "we learn at the moment we do things—always provided that we see ourselves as members of the club" (p. 11).

Much of the learning that occurred at Lakeview was unintentional. Although one of the stated goals of the boot camp was that the boys were to learn self-discipline, unfortunately the boys learned how to become reliant upon others. This reliance was especially true as the boys counted on the adults to structure their day, point out when they were out of line, and basically motivate them to carry out the assigned tasks. Even though the boys were learning that they could accomplish certain things they never thought possible, they were doing these at the time because they were part of "the club" (Smith, 1998, p. 11). The club membership, unfortunately, is not transferable once the boys are released from Lakeview.

Another characteristic of learning, according to the classic view, is that "it is permanent" (Smith, 1998, p. 12). Most often we don't call it learning, although it is; we call it memory. We often do not start forgetting the things we learn from the company we keep throughout our lives. This type of learning is called "lifelong learning" (Smith, 1998, p. 10). We feel it is "natural" to become the kind of person we are from the company we keep without necessarily regarding the process as learning. Imagine the learning that has occurred with the boys prior to entering the boot camp. Some have grown up without much positive parental interaction, many have witnessed the abuse of drugs and alcohol on a daily basis, and most have made friends with peers who consistently get in trouble with the law. During a problem solving group, Matt talked about his experience going home from a different residential setting.

> It was really difficult for me to go back home. When I had my home visit, there was alcohol all over the house. This was the one thing I had really tried to work on...staying sober. It made me mad that my brother didn't respect me or my sobriety. I was pissed at my family, they were giving me mixed messages...at one point they were telling me they were glad I was trying to change but then they would be drinking and smell of alcohol. I learned long ago that if I wanted to be accepted by

> my family and if I was going to survive the crap that was going on in my house, I just needed to do what everyone else was doing [drink]. (5/16/00)

Considering that, one wonders if it is possible for the boys to break that foundation of lifelong learning which has occurred for so many years.

The classical view also refers to "learning as growth" (Smith, 1998, p. 12). We learn "new things" from the company we keep by making the new things part of what we already know. "They are extensions and elaborations of the experiences and beliefs that make us what we are" (Smith, 1998, p. 13). The ability to make connections with prior learning is important and necessary.

> The fact that there is much we aren't explicitly taught doesn't mean that we haven't been learning. We learn without knowing that we are learning. We learn without knowing what we are learning. In fact, there are many things we know that we don't know we have learned, though they dominate much of our behavior and our interactions with other people. (Smith, 1998, p. 15)

Jorge spoke about the self-talk he had initiated since being at the camp.

> I've always had lots of problems and I have either punched someone when I am mad or just blown them [the problems] off. Since I have been at the camp, when I get angry or frustrated I self-talk. It gets me through without doing something that will get me in trouble.... I'm not sure where I picked it up here, it's just something I started doing and it's really helping. (5/04/00)

As the classic theory of learning supports that learning is growth and is done in the context of social settings, Vygotsky (1978) supports the fact that learning occurs best within a social context. The culture and social context give people the tools with which they develop their ability to know and learn. Through interaction children are introduced to cultural components like

language. The learning then becomes firmly situated in the social context. In Vygotsky's model of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) (as cited in Smith, 1998) (see Figure 4), the inner circle represents everything we know and can do for ourselves. This includes all of our knowledge, abilities, and competencies developed through the experiences we have had throughout life. Beyond this is the circle of things that we don't yet know or can't yet do by ourselves—but which we could understand and do if someone helped us. This is the zone of proximal development. This is the region where we are helpless by ourselves but competent if we have assistance. Beyond the zone of proximal development is the region where we will understand nothing and accomplish nothing no matter how much help we get. It contains everything that is totally beyond our present powers. As new experiences occur and learnings are derived, the boundaries between the regions shift. Our own self-image is constantly in the zone of proximal development. This includes our beliefs about what we will and will not be capable of doing in the future.

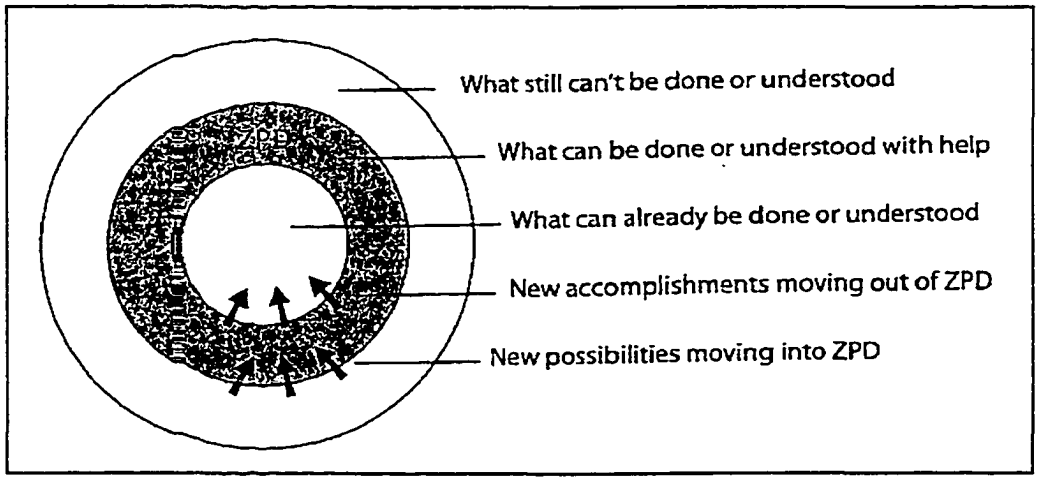


Figure 4. Zone of Proximal Development model (as cited in Smith, 1998)

Bobby and Jorge had few thoughts about their abilities and competencies. Initially as the boys came into the boot camp, their ability to list many competencies and accomplishments was difficult. Bobby did, however, express pleasure in his ability to peddle drugs in his hometown and make lots of money. Unfortunately, due to his profession he did describe some remorse for getting his best friend hooked on drugs. When further pressed to list abilities, he blamed his lack of accomplishment on his depression.

> I was basically born with depression...it's the really bad type.... It was hard for me to even get out of bed... that's why I had a hard time at school.... My depression also caused a lot of problems with my relationship with my dad.... He would get real mad when I would cry all the time. (3/11/00)

Jorge described his competencies as they related to how he felt he was viewed by others.

> I am good at some things, I wouldn't say they are what people would call positive things.... I'm a good BD kid [behavior disordered student in a self-contained special education program].... I can disrupt the class in five seconds or less.... I'm good at stealing, I've gotten away with lots of shoplifting.... I guess I am a master at shaming my family—a royal bad boy. (3/21/00)

When asked to share one positive competency he had, Jorge responded, "I guess I am a spiritual person, I do believe in God" (3/21/00).

Pulling from the boys a list of competencies, abilities, and knowledge was difficult to do. Likewise, getting them to articulate what they thought they might be able to accomplish at the boot camp with the help and guidance from the leaders was difficult. Both Jorge and Bobby did share they felt they would improve their knowledge and competency in the following areas: physical conditioning, problem solving, and relationship building. Jorge also added he hoped that he would learn more about how to control his impulsivity especially as it related to stealing.

In the beginning, it was difficult for the boys to imagine learning new competencies, for that was not their primary focus—survival was. But as the weeks progressed, they began to comprehend their accomplishments. For example, as each boy began to achieve activities in physical training such as running a half mile more than the week prior, they realized progress was being made. In addition, as each boy began to develop a relationship with his one-on-one counselor, the realization that the boy had that capacity was signified. It was more difficult for the boys to identify learning that was taking place that was more abstract. For instance, Jorge's hope to become less impulsive was hard for him to measure. The boot camp environment was not one in which he could readily practice that skill. What happened then within the structure of Lakeview was that the boys became stuck in the Zone of Proximal Development (Vygotsky, 1978). They could complete tasks with external motivation and help, but they did not truly understand or connect these abilities so that future independence could be achieved. Because of the structure of Lakeview, they were not given the opportunity to practice the very skills they needed to acquire to be successful back home.

A supportive environment must be provided in order for learning to occur. One necessity of a supportive environment is the ability of the learner to be confident in his/her ability to succeed. When the boys arrived, few had experienced success nor felt good about their abilities. Through individual successes in physical training, in the classroom or through leadership endeavors, the boys gradually were able to gain the necessary confidence. If learners are not confident about their learning ability, it is much more difficult to learn. "This lack of confidence raises anxiety, induces inappropriate approaches to learning, and makes confusing what we might otherwise understand" (Smith, 1998, p. 35). In order to be confident, the learner must have had some experience succeeding with the learning process. Once this confidence is achieved, movement into the zone of proximal development can be achieved.

Another environmental necessity to the learning environment is structure (Smith, 1998, p. 78). All learners need structure, primarily in their own minds. Although the boot camp was certainly structured, it was externally structured. When the boys woke up, how they made their beds, what type of food they ate, when they went to the bathroom, to name a few, were predetermined and structured for the boys by others. There were few times in which the boys actually played a role in determining what occurred. You can't learn something unless it makes sense to you. The environment needs to be flexible and the learners need to feel as if the situations they are encountering are helpful and nonthreatening. This obviously was not the case at the camp. "Learning and growth, in the classical view, occur when people feel like members of the club, by finding new kinds of experiences, and by removing the pressure of having to learn" (Smith, 1998, p. 78).

Those who believe that learning occurs only when a struggle to achieve it occurs are misguided. The way the camp was set up, especially in the beginning, one would think the developers had this in mind. Believing that only high motivation and sheer determination will solve learning problems is missing the boat. "Perhaps the most important determiner that leads to effective learning is when we voluntarily participate in an interesting activity" (Smith, 1998, p. 84). The boys obviously are not voluntarily participating in the boot camp experience. Perhaps because of this lack of volunteerism, the likelihood of enduring learning occurring is in jeopardy.

If one were to look at the boot camp structure and the situations the boys were put in during the first week of entry, it would be difficult to support that much permanent learning was occurring. The boys were stripped of their self-confidence and self-concepts, expected to memorize a large amount of information, and were placed in a social setting in which they knew no one. Although the boys were able to recite the information asked of them after several hours of study, one would be hard pressed to call that regurgitation actual learning. What the boys were

actually learning during that 48 hour beginning was that they were at the mercy of others, that they had better shut up and put up if they were going to survive, and finally that this could be the longest ninety days in the course of their lives. As Smith (1998) suggests, the problem in school is not that many students aren't learning, but *what* they are learning. "They may not learn what their teachers teach them, but their teachers many not be teaching what they think they are teaching" (p. 10). This, too, is true at the boot camp.

Testing the "Official Theories"

If one were to visit any boot camp across the nation, one would receive a similar response when questioning the officials about the goals and objectives of boot camps. The boot camp goals are universally understood and used as a basis for designing boot camp programming. However, upon observation there seems to be a great deal of variance on how those goals and objectives are carried out and applied. In this next section I examine those commonly held, official theories of what is taught in the boot camp and compare them to what, according to the boys and my observations, is the "theory in use" (Argyris, 1995). According to Kilgore (1999), the theory in use concept "arises out of findings that across diverse cultures and organizations what people say they believe and the theories by which they act are frequently different" (p. 17).

Boot camp's official theories

1. The boot camp structure teaches self-discipline, motivation, and hard work.

Theory in use: The daily living schedule at a boot camp is intense. There is no idle time. The days have structure and order and they are long. They are quite different from what most boys are used to experiencing. There are no televisions, radios, stereos, or video games. There is no time allotted for "hanging" with friends. Every day and every minute is accounted for and

structured by the adults at the boot camp. The boys have no input as to how they will spend their waking hours. The premise behind the full schedule is to teach the boys that leading a highly structured and intense life is the key to success (see Table 4).

Smith (1998) suggests, "All learners need structure—but that is structure in their own minds, not in the world around them" (p. 78). There is no doubt that the boot camp is highly structured. But it is structured by others, not in the minds of the boys. This external structure, then, does not teach the boys self-discipline, motivation, and hard work. Perhaps the most important skill needed by boys at Lakeview is self-discipline. Self-discipline to me means that when the boy is given the opportunity to choose, he makes a conscious choice to act a certain way. Upon return home, most boys will be faced with the temptation of reverting back to past behaviors. For some it is abuse of substances, for others it is running with the wrong crowd of friends. Self-discipline means the boy is able to avoid the temptation and resist succumbing to past negative behaviors. At Lakeview the boys have not been given opportunities to practice this skill. There are no drugs or alcohol at Lakeview so the boys are not given the opportunity to choose not to abuse substances. Lakeview also does not give the boys the time or the opportunity in which they can practice avoiding committing unlawful acts.

For many of the boys the "rigid structure and systematic instruction equates into a deprivation of meaningful experiences" (Smith, 1998, p. 78). Most of the routines of the day have not been explained to the boys and the majority of them have not made the effort or connection as to the what, why, and how of each activity. The imposed structure does not make sense to the boys. And as Smith points out, "You can't learn something unless it makes sense to you, however much it might make sense to other people" (p. 78). What is needed then for learning self-discipline, motivation, and hard work is to be put into nonthreatening situations where the learner can make sense out of what is going on (p. 78). Growth and learning then can be cultivated by

Table 4. A "typical" weekday at the boot camp

Time		Activity
AM	6:00	Wake up
		Head call
		Dress for PT
	6:20	PT—
		Warm-ups
		Calisthenics
		Run
	7:00	Shower and hygiene
	7:45	Breakfast
	8:15	School (English, Math, Health/Social Science)
	11:45	PT
PM	12:15	Lunch
	1:00	Groups, individual work
		Assigned chores
	4:00	PT—Night routine
		Several sets of the following:
		jumping jacks
		bendovers
		calf stretches
		straddle stretches
		frog stretches
		sitting hamstring stretches
		cat stretches
		quad stretches
		butterfly jump-ups
		sit-ups
		2" leg holds
		mountain climbers
		2" head holds
		3 count squat thrusts
		jumping jacks
	5:00	Shower and hygiene
	6:00	Dinner
	6:45	Cohort groups (group problem solving and/or Alcoholics Anonymous)
	8:00	Study for phase work
	8:50	Snack
	9:00	Head call/Meds
	9:30	Lights out

"becoming members of 'the club,' by finding new kinds of experiences, and by having the pressure of having to learn taken off them" (p. 78).

Lakeview does not provide the boys with the necessary tools to avoid criminal behavior when they return home. Imagine fifteen boys, all who have been labeled juvenile delinquents by the courts, society, and most probably the school. They are in a setting in which they are expected to perform physically, academically, and socially. Many of them have experienced failure after failure in each of those areas. On top of that, they know no one—they are not members of any club. They are being yelled at—the environment is stressful and there is immense pressure to perform. And lastly, they do not understand the reasoning or meaning for much of what is expected at the camp. Although learning might take place in order to survive and avoid punishment, it most likely is not the type of learning that will provide them the tools to survive back in society.

2. The boot camp teaches respect: self respect, respect for others, and respect for property.

Theory in use: When the boys enter the boot camp, they are stripped of their identities. Everything they were able to identity about themselves is taken away. For some, their hair was an identity. For others the multiple piercings identified who they were. For others, their clothing identified the type of person they were as well as the gang in which they were a member. Upon entering the camp, the boys were made to look like every other boy; their hair style was the same, their clothing was the same—standard issue physical training gear and uniform. In addition, they were made to act like every other boy—it was expected that each boy would follow the required norms, move through the camp utilizing standard military maneuvers as well as ask permission to speak, cough, and move.

For many, it is difficult to feel self-respect when everything in which you use to identify yourself is gone. Steve shared that his self-concept was in the basement during the first few weeks at the camp. Many boys reported that they felt worthless at first but once they learned they were able to accomplish what was expected, such as the three mile run, they felt better about themselves. As the boys began to become acclimated to the environment and began experiencing some success, their self-concept and self-respect began to rise.

Although the boys were forced to participate in the same "club" (Smith, 1998, p. 11) as their peers due to their court appointed entry at the camp, they were not members of the club due to choice. There was little evidence of genuine respect for others. Although small groups formed when allowed, when push came to shove the boys took opportunities to single out others. For instance, Lee grew up on a farm in a very rural part of the state. Some of his mannerisms were unsophisticated, he had a different vocabulary, and he lacked the knowledge many of the boys had about street culture. Lee's differences often became targets of other boys' jokes. The subject of bullying others came up in a group problem solving session and was talked about extensively. I observed a marked decrease in public bullying after the session, but it continued in more subtle ways when the leaders were not around. Although the boys were expected to identify how they had victimized others outside of the camp, even when they were made aware of the continuing practice within the camp, their behavior did not significantly change. Respecting others was done as a necessity for survival, but I did not observe evidence that it was learned at the camp.

Another official theory of the camp is teaching the boys respect for property. At the camp there was little opportunity to practice this skill. For meaningful learning to occur, students need to be actively participating in problem solving activities and critical thinking. Learning must be relevant and engaging. From my observation, very little was discussed regarding respect for property, however, most boys had committed at least one crime relating to destruction or thievery

of others' property. The boys needed the opportunity to "construct" new knowledge by integrating knowledge gained with preexisting constructs. Although there were norms and expectations for the use of the boot camp facilities, each boy had the same standard issue items. There were no items to covet and nothing of value to steal. The tools and opportunity to deface the boot camp property were not available. Essentially the opportunity to learn respect for self, others, and property was under artificial terms and with artificial expectations.

3. The boot camp "shocks" boys into avoiding future criminal behavior and reduces the level of recidivism.

Theory in use: Although the boot camp does give the boys an opportunity to experience what life is like in a secured facility, it does not seem to meet the goal of shocking the boys. Most boys did report that they were working hard to get out of the boot camp in the ninety days. For some the boot camp was the safest and most ordered environment they had experienced. None reported that they wanted to recycle or stay in the program—although some consciously or unconsciously sabotage their chances of graduation perhaps as a fear of returning home. Boot camp was a better experience for the boys than their home life. When asked if the boys ever considered what life would be like in a prison, all adamantly said that they would not and could not think about being in prison. Interestingly, none had any idea of what they would need to do differently in order to avoid prison. They had the attitude that it could not happen to them.

During group problem solving and processing sessions the boys were expected to talk about their past criminal behavior and the effects that their crimes had on the victims. Although the boot camp staff did not intend to teach about criminal behavior, some boys reported that they gained ideas or had thoughts about future criminal activities by listening to other peer activities. During one focus group session, I sensed that Jorge was getting very involved and interested in Bobby's

description of his drug business. He began asking questions and at one point indicated an interest in getting hooked up after camp.

In addition, some peers gained higher social status in the group due to the type of crimes they committed. The more sophisticated and potentially dangerous the crime, the more elevated the status of the individual. Herman had committed several crimes involving weapons. He had also been in what he calls a "police chase." When talking about the crimes he committed, he explained them in such detail and with great description that the boys became enamored and impressed with what he had claimed to have committed. Although this was not an intention of the problem solving group, it was evident that learning was occurring with and amongst the boys. Unfortunately it was not the intended learning.

4. The peer culture is controlled in a positive manner which involves positive ideas and behaviors.

Theory in use: Prior to attending the boot camp, none of the boys reported being involved in a positive peer group or being subjected to positive peer environments. Tim shared that he started drinking when he was in 8th grade. "My friends and I would drink on the weekends, we would go out to football games or go driving around.... I've been picked up for possession three times, my friends have gotten picked up many times, too" (3/20/00). Bubba also shared the influence his peers had on him.

> I got involved with drugs with the guys in my neighborhood.... We would just kick back and look for something to do and that was about all we had.... I tried to get out of the gang but they kept coming back to get me, they would offer marijuana or have something fun planned.... When I stayed away from them I was okay but as soon as I hung around them I would go back being crazy. (3/20/00)

The boot camp certainly removes the ability to access controlled substances and gang members. The leaders also encourage and most often only allow positive conversations to occur. In fact, as the program nears to an end, much discussion is waged regarding how the boys are going to return to their home environment and develop relationships with those who are positive influences and make good choices. The problem becomes, as Bobby and Steve shared in interviews after their release, the ability and opportunity to find and sustain positive relationships. Bobby explained,

> When I went back home my old friends kept calling and wanting to get together.... At first I just avoided them but they kept calling and stopping by my house. I had a reputation in [my town].... What good kid is going to want to hang around someone who just got out of boot camp and was known as a drug dealer? (3/28/01)

Steve illustrated his frustration.

> I was basically away from home for three months...people move on...my probation officer keeps telling me I shouldn't hang around 'Bob' since he is so much older than me...but he's about the only person I have contact with.... I basically sit around the house to avoid getting into anymore trouble." (3/24/01)

There is no doubt the boot camp provides an opportunity for the boys to become part of a positive peer environment, and this environment is probably one of the keys to each boys' success at the camp. Unfortunately, there is no support for obtaining and sustaining positive peer relationships once the boys return home. Crafting that same type of environment, once out of the boot camp, has proven difficult and frustrating for Steve and Bobby.

5. The boot camp rewards positive model behavior which in turn motivates the boys.

Theory in use: In the beginning, most boys are inspired to earn either the physical training award or the group leader award. Some even talk about graduating with the honor of becoming a knight. Out of the 700 previous participants, only eight have graduated with this distinction. Those who have earned the knight reward have shown superior leadership, extreme dedication, and an insurmountable level of devotion to changing their life around. Knights are given extra duties and responsibilities that allow them to deviate slightly from the expectations that other peers must follow. Talk of becoming a knight becomes the topic of much conversation by the leaders during the first weeks of the camp.

As the weeks progress, those who do not get physical training or group leader award became adversarial toward the idea. One boy told me that only those who "suck-up" to the adults get the awards and it is not worth it to do it 24-7. They learn that it is far too much work to get the award and in most cases not worth the effort. The boys used the excuse that the award is not a big deal, but graduating was all that they cared about. Some boys actually become negative about the rewards and motivations as a method of covering their frustration that they have not earned the distinction. Jorge even gave up on the idea of even trying. "I'm frustrated, yea, I think I should have gotten the award...I bust my butt and nobody notices...I don't think I'm even going to try for it anymore" (3/31/00). Jorge felt it was out of his reach and unattainable. In his eyes, the cord was beyond his abilities and reach.

For the most part, though, the boys have learned that positive behavior is rewarded. Negative behavior is often more work than it is worth. Since the environment is set up to be positive, the boys are more prone to take a positive stance on issues. When given the opportunity to process problems in the context of the issue, the boys learn how to initiate change in behavior,

change in thinking, and change in themselves. Unfortunately this is not always real life. Once out in society, the difficulty becomes how to sustain positive behavior in a negative environment.

6. Confronting deviant behavior in and by the group forces compliance and learning.

Theory in use: The belief that confronting deviant behavior in a group setting causes compliance and uniformity was challenged on many occasions. When a boy exhibits negative behavior, all activities at the camp cease and a peer/group support is called. Sometimes this forced intervention works and sometimes it does not.

During one evening, the boys spent over an hour working through Herman's negative behavior. A "group" or "peer" support was called on him due to constant talking back to staff and his refusal to complete an assigned task. Herman blamed his behavior on the feeling that he was being brainwashed at the camp. He also did not believe that the activities he was being forced to participate in were teaching him anything about managing himself when he returned to society. Jorge shared how important it was for him, personally, to learn from the boot camp experience.

> Even if you don't feel like doing something or being positive about an activity, just do it...you've got to take this boot camp experience and make the most out of it.... I don't like being here, none of us do. But you've got to make the best out of it so you can go back and make something of your life. If we all keep doing what we were doing we are going to miss out in life. (2/26/00)

Herman's main goal was to get the group off task. He often called group supports on boys when it was not necessary or important. Herman learned that if he called a group support, this would change the focus of the activities. This maneuver allowed him to avoid work he did not want to do, he could put the pressure on other boys within the group, and he could avoid facing the issues that he personally needed to address. Herman often talked back to staff, said things

under his breath, and often attempted to pull others off task. Due to the high level of nonconforming behavior, the staff often chose to ignore much Herman's behavior—only confronting it when it became way out of hand. In addition, some staff had higher levels of tolerance for Herman's behavior. This inconsistency caused the boys to question authority more often, caused some situations in which the boys actually revolted, and sent mixed messages to those who were willing to work hard.

Conclusion

One would be hard pressed to question whether the boys were learning in the boot camp setting. Despite the constraints of the institutional setting, the boys did learn. The important question is, however, were the boys learning what was intended? As Smith (1998) refers to the classic view of learning, he states,

> A key to optimal learning is one that establishes an environment in which people feel comfortable. Learning is an inevitable part of our normal lives and it only takes place in any useful way when we are in a normal frame of mind. The main thing we learn, especially when we struggle to learn, when we are uncomfortable or when the whip is cracked, is that learning is a struggle. (p. 13)

The structure of the intended learning at the boot camp certainly followed the beliefs supported by the official theory of learning. Meeting the goals of the camp meant that to learn, the boys had to exert much energy and focus into learning the basic orientation materials. The learning tied to the goals certainly was intentional as activities were carefully planned and regulated by the leaders of the camp. Learning was also based on rewards and punishments. It was assumed that the boys who were following the routines, structure, and expectations were learning the most. Herman certainly, in the eyes of the leaders, was not learning at all. Bobby, a

model boot camper and recipient of several physical training and leadership awards, was viewed as learning a great deal. And finally, Jorge, who received no awards but gave the leaders few problems, was viewed as just doing enough to get by.

Although unintended, there was learning that incidentally occurred at Lakeview Academy. Learning in the context of a social setting was evident. There were examples of incidental and practical learning experiences each day. Unfortunately, the learning that occurred in that manner was not what was intended to be taught. The boys certainly acquired many skills, attitudes, and information not due to the Lakeview Academy goals but in spite of them.

In Chapter 5, I will articulate learning that has occurred by the boys at the boot camp in their home and school environments as well as the boot camp. In addition, I will present two case studies in which significantly different paths have been taken by the boys since their return home from the boot camp experience. I will explore what the boys reported they learned and took home with them from Lakeview and how, through the lens of the boys experience, Lakeview made a difference in their lives.

CHAPTER 5. LISTENING TO THEIR VOICES

Mama mama look at me, look what boot camp's done for me

It took away my Mickey D's...now it's only in my dreams

Mama mama look at me, look what boot camp's done for me

Took away my Cadillac, now I'm marching here in back

Mama mama look at me, look what boot camp's done for me

Took away my thinking errors, now they shaved off all my hair

Mama mama look at me, look what boot camp's done for me

Took away my tennis shoes, now I'm wearing combat boots

Mama mama look at me, look what boot camp's done for me.

Written by Corey (June, 2000)

In 1989, *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the Twenty-first Century*, the groundbreaking report from the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, warned that

> by age 15, substantial numbers of American youth are at risk of reaching adulthood unable to meet adequately the requirements of the workplace, the commitments of relationships in families and with friends, and the responsibilities of participation in a democratic society. These youth are among the estimated seven million young people—one in four adolescents—who are extremely vulnerable to high risk behaviors and school failure. (p. 21)

So in other words, half of all America's adolescents are at some risk for serious problems such as substance abuse, delinquent behavior, dangerous lifestyles, and dropping out of school. All of the boys at Lakeview have become members of this staggering statistic. Many have been subjected to

a variety of different programs that have been designed to manage, fix, and improve them. Society has "tinkered with the educational system, manipulated the drug message, built more detention centers and attempted to be tough" (Hersch, 1998, p. 13). But the attempts have not managed, fixed, and improved a great majority of the kids in need. What they have done is masked the larger reality and fact that we haven't taken the time to listen to these struggles, removed their marginalization, and actually heard their stories.

In the previous chapters I have discussed the importance of finding programs and facilities that connect with our youth and assist them in developing positive attitudes and behaviors. As I have laid the foundation of this study, I have discussed the constraints of institutional life within the boot camp and uncovered how those constraints affected the learning of boys within the boot camp setting. This chapter explores the experiences the boys shared with me that have occurred throughout their life as well as at the boot camp. These experiences have contributed to the learning that the boys have experienced both throughout their lives as well as at the boot camp. I have included these in the study to shed light on how the boys have made meaning out of these experiences as well as to better understand how programs can be developed to further improve the likelihood that a difference can be made in the lives of troubled boys. In this chapter I discuss common themes that emerged through the data collection process. These themes include the learning that occurred through 1) poor relationships, 2) negative school experiences, 3) tough guy attitudes, 4) confirmation from the outside, 5) juvenile injustice, and 6) the boot camp. In addition, I describe, in detail, the case study of two participants from the boot camp. First, I share Jorge's story and present his relatively successful transition back home. I describe the experience Jorge had at the camp and conceptualize why, although he was not extremely successful at boot camp, he was able to realize success back home. As a counterpoint, I discuss Bobby, who while at the boot camp was quite successful; however, after a year outside of the boot camp, has had

repeated problems with his family relationships, has been in trouble with the law, and returned to dealing and using drugs.

"Generally speaking, teenagers tend to be more out of touch with reality than adults, simply because they are teenagers" (Schaefer, 1987, p. 50). For many adolescents, the teenage years are ones of great confusion and uncertainty. Boys and girls are exploring who they are as well as trying to figure out where they fit in socially, in school, and with their family. According to Schaefer (1987), this task is more difficult for adolescents now than in the past as our society has virtually done away with the rites of passage from childhood to adulthood. "Only a century ago children worked side-by-side with their parents and other adults who served as role models, learning life skills and job skills from them" (Schaefer, 1987, p. 51). The ability to spend time with adults learning about expected social roles and adult-like skills also afforded children the opportunity to develop relationships with those adults. In modern society, the probability of working side by side with other adults, especially your parents, is just not a reality. In fact, adolescence has become a much less defined period in a child's life. It is one in which the child may be expected to behave as an adult in some situations but be treated like a child in others. This role confusion adds to the confusion and uncertainty many adolescents encounter (Schaefer, 1987).

According to Erik Erickson (1968) there are four distinct tasks adolescents should complete prior to entering adulthood. These tasks assist in helping the adolescent establish his identity and are fostered through positive relationships. These tasks include:

Determining One's Vocation: "Accomplishing this task gives meaning to one's life" (p. 52). Underlying this task is the development of self-esteem and the need to be somebody. The goal of this task is to achieve independence. When the need to belong is not met, teens might experience the negative feelings of being rejected, isolated, alienated, ugly, lonely, hurt, and unlovable.

Establishing One's Values: "Accomplishing this task gives direction to one's life" (p. 53). Underlying this task is the self-esteem need to go beyond one's self but to also clarify one's values. The goal of this task is to develop integrity. When the need to be somebody is not met, teens might experience the negative feelings of being inferior, incompetent, a failure, confused, anxious, frustrated, stupid, and disgusted with oneself.

Exploring One's Sexuality: "Accomplishing this task gives a sense of community to one's life" (p. 53). Underlying this task is the self-esteem need to belong. The underlying goal is to experience intimacy. When the need to belong is not met, teens might experience the negative feelings of being insecure, fragile, embarrassed, vulnerable, awkward, scared, worthless, inadequate, and ashamed.

Establishing One's Authority: "Accomplishing this task gives uniqueness to one's life" (p. 54). Underlying this task is the self-esteem need to be oneself. The goal of this task to develop one's individuality. When the need is not met, teens might experience the negative feelings of being depressed, hopeless, helpless, remorseful, despairing, guilty, and lost.

The growing pains of adolescence make it hard to meet those needs for many of the boys who have experienced difficulty. It's hard to make meaning of one's life when there is dysfunction at home. When there is dysfunction, time and energy is spent on merely surviving. It is difficult to make meaning of one's life when home means being locked up in a juvenile facility. The constraints of institutional living do not offer the boy the opportunity to explore fully the tasks identified by Erickson. In addition, when the boy is constantly in trouble with the law, there are conflicts with what he views as "right and wrong." It's difficult to establish a sense of community when you are branded by your school and community as a "bad boy." It is nearly impossible to develop a sense of who and what you are when you have not connected with an adult who has established a solid set of values. Likewise, it is difficult for some boys to develop

their individuality when they are struggling so hard to fit in. These all play into the development and readiness to enter adulthood.

Of the boys I studied at Lakeview, each was struggling to figure out where they fit within their family, their school, and their community. Bobby struggled with the relationship he had developed with his family. His father rejected him and his depressive episodes while his mother continued to ignore his late night activities and drug dealing. Bobby's continual struggle with low self-esteem and depression caused him to avoid many typical adolescent activities such as hanging with the guys and participating in extracurricular school activities. Instead, he spent his time dealing drugs and purchasing material items to appease the negative feelings he had about himself.

Dallas also struggled with adolescence and did not have the opportunity to work through tasks that established his identity. When his school expelled him for multiple deviant behaviors and sent him to a neighboring district, he experienced feelings of being rejected and isolated. Being displaced from his school and his friends caused him to feel hopeless and helpless and thus, according to him, gave him the ticket to behave in ways that he felt little remorse. In essence, he felt little connection to his new school and thus the necessity to feel responsible for his actions were diminished.

Today, the United States has more boys and young men incarcerated in juvenile halls, jails, conservation camps, boot camps, psychiatric hospitals, recovery hospitals, youth corrections, and adult prisons than any other nation (Kipnis, 1999, p. ix). Many of these boys and young men have struggled and are continuing to struggle with issues relating to self-esteem and identity. When the boys in this study were asked, all felt that much of their crime was due to the fact that they felt unattached to any person, anything, or any activity. In 1999 males in the United States accounted for:

- the majority of children abused, neglected and murdered
- the bulk of children in foster care and juvenile institutions
- 70–75 percent of student suspensions, expulsion, grade failures, special education referrals, school violence causalities
- 75–80 percent of the homeless, drug addicts, alcoholics, and suicides
- 80 percent of homicide victims
- 90 percent of persons with AIDS
- 93 percent of workers killed or seriously injured on the job
- 95 percent of prisoners and parolees
- 99 percent of raped and executed prisoners. (Kipnis, 1999, p. ix)

The Boys Learn about Relationships

Alan Kipnis, in *Angry Young Men*, believes that whatever is damaging the lives of boys, and as the boys in this study reported, it is the lack of relationships and connectedness that ultimately puts us all at risk. The behavior of young men can disrupt the entire fabric of our social ecology or help weave it whole (Kipnis, 1999, p. xi). According to Kipnis (1999), Pollack (1998a), and Miedzian (1991), one of the chief predictors of crime in a community today is the lack of positive relationships between our youth and adults. These poor relationships have been correlated with higher rates of youth suicide, teen pregnancy, mental illness, substance abuse, poverty, and school failure, dropout, suspension, and expulsion (Kipnis, 1999; Pollack, 1998a; Miedzian, 1991).

All of the respondents in my study described at least one parental relationship that was strained. Interestingly, all four boys reported a poor relationship with their father. Michael Gurian (1996), who has written several books regarding adolescent boys' development, describes the

importance of a positive male, in particular a father, in the lives of young men. There are several key principles to fostering a positive father/son relationship. He writes a healthy father must "make a conscious decision to be a father; begin fathering during his wife's pregnancy; be self-aware; be comfortable with his body, his gender, his sexuality and the world around him; learn to communicate with the boy he is raising; not only let the son find other mentors but must consciously help him do so; and let go of the son yet still remain a model" (p. 114).

As was shared by the boys in this study, when healthy relationships between father and son do not develop, some boys become isolated emotionally and often physically from their father. Dallas reported a distant physical and emotional relationship with his father.

> My dad doesn't live with us, he just visits...I guess I am kind of the dad in our family...when he [dad] visits it usually ends up in some kind of a fight either between me and him or him and my mom. (4/2/00)

Dallas often expressed regret about the failed relationship he had with his father. The lack of positive communication between them hindered his ability to share many of the things he needed to discuss with his dad. Dallas reported he had witnessed several occasions when his father "pushed around his mother" (4/2/00). As he grew older this also became the method of dealing with conflict that Dallas utilized. He became physical with his father on occasion and ultimately used physical force against his mother. Dallas' father was unable to provide a positive role model for his son or foster the relationship Dallas had longed for and needed. When Dallas realized his father was not there for him or his siblings, he intended to take on the father role. Unfortunately, he emulated what had been modeled for him in the past—to deal with conflict violently.

Gavin de Becker (1998), a leading expert on predicting violent behavior, writes in his book *Protecting the Gift* that nonviolence is most effectively taught by fathers.

> Unfortunately fathers are undervalued in America virtually to the point of being an oppressed minority.... Without fathers or other men in the patriarchal role, too many boys learn from the media or from each other what scholars call 'protest masculinity' characterized by toughness and the use of force. (p. 39)

Dallas may have learned about violence from the media, but his father was also a source for learning that violence was acceptable. What Dallas needed, and what according to de Becker (1998) all boys need, is someone to teach them about the power of nonviolence. Unfortunately, Dallas' interpretation and eventual use of physical force was what landed him at the boot camp.

Dallas also reflected upon the violent relationship he had with his siblings and his mom. "Me and my brother, my middle brother, and I don't really get along. We get into fights and stuff like that...we are really competitive, I think we vie for my mom's attention" (4/2/00). Dallas' need to get the attention of his mother, whether negative or positive, as well as the pressure to serve as the dad of the family is supportive of Pollack's interpretation of the roots of juvenile violence.

> Violence is the most visible and disturbing end result of the process that begins when a boy is pushed into the adult world too early and without sufficient love and support. He becomes seriously disconnected, retreats behind the mask and expresses the only "acceptable" male emotion—anger. When a boy's anger grows too great, it may erupt as violence: violence against himself, violence against others, or violence against society. (Pollack, 1998a, p. 338)

Dallas' relationship with his family, then, evolved into one of constant confrontation and frustration.

> When I think about it I really took advantage of my whole family because they would trust me. I would get in my mom's purse and take money for gas or other things. She

> would have rules but I could always talk her out of the consequences. Like if I got grounded I always knew she wouldn't keep me as long as she originally said. (4/8/00)

Dallas interpreted many mixed messages from his family. He was supposed to act like the father figure for his mom and his siblings but yet was expected to abide by the rules of the house, even though they were not firm or followed through. Dallas, ultimately, was not given the opportunity to have a normal adolescent relationship with his father, his mother or his siblings. He was forced into taking on adult-like roles but had not completed the tasks necessary during adolescence to establish his identity. The struggle between how it was supposed to be and how it was in reality was difficult for Dallas.

Jorge also talked about the strained and difficult relationship he had with his mother. "I took advantage of my mom's trust a lot...I would steal and lie to her because I knew she would get pissed at me if she knew the truth" (3/4/00). Jorge described his relationship with his mom as "pathetic" (3/4/00). He felt as if she was too busy with her life to spend time with him talking about his life. He explains

> My main issue was just the fact that I couldn't talk about stuff to my mom.... That hurt me so much...I would act out thinking oh, I gotta do something dumb to get her attention so she would talk to me...I was just justifying reasons to actually get into trouble. (3/4/00)

He shared the breaking point of frustration in attempting to develop a relationship,

> I remember one time my mom told me she wasn't my real mother and stuff. It caused me to crawl up and want to hug her and she said no...eventually I was like whatever. That was probably the point now that I think about it where I said fuck it, I'm not going to be your son. That's probably the point where I really broke and just said forget it. (5/05/00)

According to William Pollack (1998a), a group of Danish doctors conducted a study to determine a link between early disconnection from the mother and adult behavior. They found that "individuals who suffered both birth complications and early childhood rejection were most likely to become violent offenders in adulthood" (p. 47). Jorge was rejected, in a sense, twice in his life before the age of two. First, he emigrated to the United States to live with his aunt due to his mother's chronic illness. Second, Jorge's mother died before he was able to see her again. Although Jorge grew up calling his aunt "mom," he shared he never felt he developed the type of bond a mother and child should have. Even when he thought the relationship might be getting better, he would screw up and his mom wouldn't talk to him for days. The disconnection and lack of unconditional love caused Jorge to eventually give up on building a relationship with his adoptive mother.

Leichman (2001) also reports the importance of early relationships. "Mother-infant bonding during the first year of life is crucial for healthy emotional growth" (p. 2). Jorge's loss of his biological mom as well as the perception that he was rejected early in life by his new mother made him feel the loss of being prematurely pushed out into the world. Jorge often reflected upon his desire to establish a strong relationship with his mom but said he did not know how to get it started. His inability or knowledge of how to nurture a positive relationship kept him from doing just that. Pollack (1998a) states, "When the boy is thrust out into the world he is placed in what we've seen is a painful, shame inducing straitjacket. Throughout boyhood, the strings are pulled tighter and tighter until either the straitjacket snaps or the boy does" (p. 131). As Jorge attempted to develop a relationship with his mother and those attempts were ultimately rejected, he became discouraged, eventually withdrew emotionally, and began committing criminal acts.

Some boys talked about the feeling of abandonment they had gotten from their parents. For some, they felt abandoned by parents who had moved on to other families and lives. For others,

even though they resided in the same house, they did not gather that their parents felt it was important to spend time together or develop any type of relationship. According to Kipnis (1999), this feeling of abandonment fosters little self-worth in the boys. The boys learn that they are not valued or important to their parents. Bobby shared his insight, "I don't really think my parents care or anything.... I mean, I have been thinking about that for the last six months.... They had to know that I was dealing drugs and was using but they never once said anything to me" (3/21/00). By not confronting the illegal behaviors he was engaged in, Bobby felt his parents could not have cared about him, his life, and his eventual punishment. In essence, Bobby interpreted his parents' actions as those of abandonment. This feeling of abandonment added to Bobby's low self-esteem, depression, and attempts at suicide. Bobby's criminal behaviors correlate with recent research (Lamarine, 1995) that finds low self-esteem and depression are often coupled with unsafe sex, criminal activity, and drug abuse.

Many of the boys were also receivers and deliverers of physical and verbal aggression. Jorge spoke of a time in which his mother became physically violent.

> My mom beat me up pretty bad...I stole like a bunch of her money...I was just a little kid and I was just like buying Legos, and Legos are expensive. I didn't know anything about money or anything. Eventually she just whooped out on me. She felt bad after she did it. She beat me up. I mean my arms were all puffy. She broke two broomsticks over my back and bent up a metal one on me. (5/5/00)

Albert Bandura (1973) believes there are three main sources of aggression in the social environment: modeling and reinforcement provided by the family, the subculture in which the boy grows up, and the mass media. Jorge's experience with aggression, through his mother's hand, reinforced to him that physical violence was an acceptable method of dealing with problems and perhaps was a component of relationships. Although Jorge never reported any incidents in

which he physically assaulted others, his mother's reinforcement and modeling may have opened the door for future violent incidents.

Dallas' frequent observations of his father beating his mother eventually led him to attack her. The confrontation escalated from slapping each other, to where he eventually "lost it" and "got on top of her and started choking her" (4/2/00). Dallas showed little remorse for the physical attack on his mother and when questioned did not agree that it was a significant deal. His observation of numerous other attacks by his father had numbed the effects of violence. Dallas' misdirected rage is, according to Pollack (1998a), "a response to emotional repression, undeveloped relationships and a reaction to society's message that anger is an acceptable male emotion" (p. 31).

In summary, the boys came to the boot camp with very little faith in their ability or need to establish relationships with adults. Their past experiences taught them that positive relationships weren't possible with the adults in their lives. Instead of continuing to try to establish those relationships that were broken, the boys looked to the family for acceptance or learned to devalue the necessity of building any relationship at all. Once at the camp, officially the routine promoted the development of positive relationships between the boys, and at the very least, their primary counselor. The boys learned through these relationships that they were capable of establishing and maintaining them and that they did contribute to their overall feeling of self-worth.

Jorge explained,

> I am most proud of a step I made here. It's a weird thing but before coming I never really opened up to male figures...since I've been here I bonded with my primary and I've told him everything. His support and listening have helped me tackle my issues...every day I look forward to talking to him. (5/12/00)

Incidentally, the relationships developed between the boys and their primary have been the foundation in which much discussion and learning occurred. During sessions the primary and boy talked about a variety of different issues. The topics were not prescribed and the issues were not predetermined. What the relationships did was allow the boys to problem solve and think critically about their prior knowledge and experiences as well as integrate new ways of thinking and hopefully reacting to issues that arose at Lakeview.

Although the relationships provided a strong foundation for the boys as they were faced with minimal choices at Lakeview, upon graduation the relationship was relinquished. In essence, one of the most important supports that is necessary for self-worth then was taken away. Even though poor relationships are not the only factor that seem to have affected the boys I studied at Lakeview, relationships certainly are an important component of establishing self-worth. Pollack (1998b) has found in his studies regarding adolescent boys that along with poor relationships, the primary indicators of bad behavior in boys are directly the results of experience with neglect, physical violence, and emotional or sexual abuse in the home. Bad behaviors don't only occur in the home for the boys studied, they also are evident in other settings such as the school.

The Boys Learn Failure at School

In the classroom there are traditional stereotypes for boys and girls to endure. Lawrence Cohen (1997) describes the gendered behaviors that linger on in the classroom. "Boys roughhouse; girls playhouse," writes Cohen (p. 30). In school, boys are admired by their peers for their physical prowess: who can run fastest, who can kick the ball the farthest, and who can ring the bell first at the top of the climbing rope. Some are admired for their intellectual vigor and prowess at verbal sparring. Whether we realize it or not, "boys are constantly being rewarded—by

their peers, even by their teachers and parents—for behavior that fits the traditional male stereotype" (Pollack, 1998a, p. 349).

In a recent "Condition of Education Report" issued by the US Department of Education (1997), at all ages, "females continue to outscore males in reading proficiency and have outscored males in writing for thirteen years." The report characterizes reading and writing as fundamental skills. Reading and writing are used for probing and understanding ideas and information. A deficiency in reading and writing skills is likely to undermine academic success, self-esteem, and interest in school. Likewise, when you ask teachers to identify the components necessary for students to excel in school, many share that successful students are those who are able to conform to the structure and standards in the classroom. So those students who possess the ability to sit quietly during instruction, hand in neat and orderly paperwork, attend to the tasks at hand, and possess appropriate verbal and social skills are most successful. These attributes have long been established as ones demonstrated by good learners.

So the official theory of learning (Smith, 1998) is deeply ingrained in the methodologies as well as the organization of the school environment. The official theory of learning is what drives much of teaching and learning in today's schools. Students are taught that learning takes great effort and hard work. And if the student does not learn the material, they are at fault because they did not try hard enough or study long enough. As of late, there is great pressure on teachers to have students produce on state and nationwide standardized tests. Teachers, parents, and lawmakers believe that the most important measure of learning is not what the students can demonstrate in a variety of settings but how well they can score on these tests. Learning, then, becomes a trial when it should be a pleasure (p. 4).

According to Kipnis (1999), there are a number of reasons boys fail in school and eventually drop out. The two biggest are boredom and distraction. Boredom because some boys

become bored due to their lack of the basic skills to succeed in the classroom. They become distracted as a reaction to avoid doing difficult tasks. To appease boredom, the boys interrupt the teacher, act out, and goof around with other kids. All of the boys shared some feelings of boredom and frustration in their school settings. Jorge said,

> I took advantage of situations at school a lot. Not people, situations though. Then I would blame other things to take the focus off of making me have to do some of the stupid things the teachers wanted us to do. (3/11/00)

Many of the school activities were not interesting to Jorge, so in order to avoid doing the work he would often act up in class and distract the other students. Jorge reported that he manipulated situations in order to avoid the work. This manipulation often became a game for him.

Dallas, who was in a behavior disordered classroom also, consistently committed acts at school that fulfilled the role he thought he was to play. In many instances his peers fed into his behavior and through their confirmation, rewarded Dallas' acts. He told about the incidents that happened just the week before he left for Lakeview.

> I was messing around and pulled the pin off a fire extinguisher. The day before I got in trouble for swearing at the teacher, not doing my work and making stupid comments to other people.... I don't know why I did this stuff, I guess it just made school a little bit more exciting." (4/2/00)

Interestingly enough, two-thirds of all juvenile psychiatric hospital inpatients today are committed for conduct disorder or oppositional-defiant disorder (ODD) (Greene, 1998, p. 12). Juveniles diagnosed with this disorder severely defy rules and expectations, are argumentative and sometimes violent with those who stand in their way. Once in treatment, however, some clinicians note that many of these ODD boys act "normal." That is, the symptoms of their mental disease disappear once their environment is changed. What this suggests is that boys need a safe, caring

environment, and an education that is suited to their learning needs and abilities. Unfortunately many schools deal with defiant and disruptive behavior by sending kids to detention or suspending them. When kids are suspended from school it leaves few alternatives for learning. The suspension to most kids is viewed as a vacation, and discipline is not approached as a teaching situation. In fact, many schools have implemented policies that instruct administrators to have zero-tolerance for many behaviors. "Zero-tolerance regulations have had a severe and negative impact on boys at school" (Kipnis, 1999, p. 49). Dallas, Bobby, and Jorge had all been suspended from school for a variety of reasons throughout their school careers. Bobby had eventually been expelled due to truancy issues. All reported that suspensions were "no big deal" (3/11/00). They reported that the suspension did not curb further disciplinary problems and the day off of school was a great vacation. In essence the boys learned they were rewarded by their negative behavior. When caught they were "granted" the opportunity to stay away without implications. In a main press article reviewing zero tolerance policies the author states, "We shouldn't be throwing our kids out of school. We should be locking them in school" (Inta, A1).

In addition to being bored, distracted, and not possessing the appropriate skills, many boys struggling in school have not made a connection with someone in that school. When I asked each boy whether there was a single adult at school that he felt he could go to confide in or talk to, no boy shared that he had developed that type of a relationship. Jorge, who is in a self-contained classroom for behavior disordered students, explains the relationship he has with his teacher.

> The teachers in the BD [behavior disorders] program are basically paid to keep you in there [the room] and keep your behavior under control. They don't care as much about what we learn, they are coaches and stuff. You really don't learn anything. They just give you packet work. My teacher liked me basically because I was a wrestler. I don't think he would care much about me otherwise. (3/4/00)

Jorge constructed his relationship with his teacher as one that was artificial. The teacher was paid to keep the kids out of the school's mainstream, to keep their behaviors under control, and to dole out packet work. Even though Jorge spent the entire day with his teacher, he did not feel he had developed a relationship in which he could rely on this teacher for guidance and support. By having so few positive relationships in both the family and at home, the boys again learn that they are not valued and essentially are marginalized.

The fact that Hispanic students are perpetually at risk for underachievement and failure in American schools is well documented (Laosa & Henderson, 1991; Orum, 1986; Valencia, 1991). "There is a widely held belief amongst educators that children of Hispanic descent experience early and repeated failure in school, which results in poor academic self-concept, negative attitudes toward school subjects, and alienation from school" (Henderson & Landesman, 1992, p. 3). Although Jorge reports he was "never the smartest kid in class" (3/4/00), he was told he had a high IQ. Jorge believes much of his difficulties stemmed from his lack of motivation to complete school work, especially "the mounds of worksheets" (3/4/00). Interestingly enough, Mexican-American children have consistently been found to exhibit learning styles that are more field dependent than their Anglo-American peers (Garcia, 1983). Thus, the social constructionist theory of learning takes on particular relevance to Jorge's intellectual abilities and his level of performance in the school setting. Jorge's statement of not liking work producing pedagogical strategies, as well as research to back that Mexican-American students prefer hands-on activities, may also have played into his school failures.

Likewise, Jorge reported he failed to do the work because he did not believe it was important or had meaning; then as he continued to fail, he felt defeated. As his self-concept about his abilities continued to plummet, he began to act out to mask those feelings. Jorge began experiencing difficulty in school especially in the sixth grade. At one point he was accused of

setting a girl's hair on fire. Although Jorge maintains his innocence, he identifies that incident as the beginning of his career in special education. He ultimately attributes his alienation from peers in the mainstream and his hope for ever feeling good about school to this one event.

Dallas also was in special education and in a self-contained setting. "I was in a BD [behavior disorders] classroom in another district. Halfway through my ninth grade year I had to go to this other district.... I always felt like the school was against me" (4/2/00). Two things stand out in this narrative. First, Dallas felt rejected by his home school district and was upset that he had to be sent to a neighboring school. Second, when Dallas arrived at the new school, he never felt accepted by this new district. Dallas did not feel as if he was accepted by the other students in this neighboring district and he felt like a reject and an outcast. The marginal position in which he was cast put Dallas in a losing situation—one in which he had little to gain to perform academically and had all intentions to behave inappropriately.

> Steve, who attended classes in regular education, shared a similar sentiment.
>
> I have never liked school. I can't take rude sarcasm, it's just something that I despise.... Lots of teachers just didn't like me. They would say something to me but almost always it would be rude. I ended up spending a lot of time in the office. (4/2/00)

Steve interpreted the teacher's reaction to his behavior as not liking him. Since he did not feel connected to the teachers or the school setting, he would react negatively to any situation in which others confronted him. Steve's lack of appropriate skills to succeed in school started a vicious cycle in which he would be disruptive, get kicked out of class and spend a great deal of time out of the learning environment. His absence would put him behind in his class, which would frustrate him and the teacher and again cause him to behave in ways that were not accepted. Steve shared, "I like some of the teachers and everything but I really don't like the school thing...I

mean I like to learn but...I think the worst thing about learning is it's so hard" (4/30/00). Steve reported that although he enjoyed learning new things, he did not enjoy the act of learning. As discussed in Chapter 4, much of the assessment of learning that took place in Steve's school was based on the official theory of learning (Smith, 1998). Steve was expected to perform according to standards set forth by the district. He was tested on his ability to read, memorize, and regurgitate what had occurred in the classrooms. This type of structure made learning for Steve frustrating and difficult.

There is a casual link between academic failure in boys and their involvement in the disruptive, violent, and criminal activities that channel them out of the educational institutions and into the criminal justice system (Tobin, 1991; Kipnis, 1999; Walker & Sylwester, 1991). Failure in reading tops the list of self-esteem-busting events in boys' lives. A 1997 survey by the Dyslexia Foundation found that about 70 percent of boys in juvenile institutions suffer from learning disabilities. Even more disturbing, 80 to 90 percent of all convicted felons are high school dropouts (Esposito, 1995). Bobby's reflection upon his ability to read substantiates that claim. "I have a hard time reading. I don't understand what I have read very well, either" (3/11/00). Bobby's difficulties in reading and comprehending caused him to get frustrated with assignments in school. He avoided any activities that consisted of a great deal of reading and chose to skip assignments and pay the consequence of earning a zero rather than get frustrated. Jorge's lack of work completion and motivation stemmed from the one methodology his behavior disordered teacher employed in the classroom—packet work. As Garcia's (1983) research supports, Mexican American children benefit greatly from learning environments which are "engaging, hands-on, experimental, manipulative and real-world" (p. 121).

All in all, the boys' lack of skills, whether they are the skills necessary to survive in the learning environment or the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, puts them at a

disadvantage. Because of their previous experience and lack of success in the school environment and an expectation of failure in the future, the boys possess a pretty significant lack of motivation. And last, the school's thought that teaching and learning occurs primarily through the pedagogy of the official theory of learning puts the boys at a disadvantage. No wonder many of our at-risk youth are slipping through the cracks at school.

According to William Pollack (1998b), our schools are failing boys in at least four major ways:

- Teachers simply do not appear to be doing a good job noticing the problems many boys have in certain academic subjects, namely reading and writing.
- Schools and teachers tend to be poorly versed in boys' specific emotional and social needs, and so they handle these needs inappropriately or inadequately.
- Many schools do not provide warm or friendly environments for boys. When boys misbehave, rather than probing the misconduct to discover their emotional needs, educators tend to interpret the behavior solely as a discipline problem.
- Schools generally do not have curricula and teaching methods designed to meet boys' specific needs and interests. Most schools have done little to make education stimulating for boys, and most elementary and middle schools have a dearth of male teachers sending an early message to boys that education is primarily a female pursuit. (p. 2)

In summary, as the boys progress through school and the necessity to perform to achieve becomes important, they learn that school is boring and hard work. Even though most tolerate it for the social aspects it provides, it is not a preferred or pleasant activity. As Jorge, Steve, and Dallas explained, much of the school work has little meaning or relevance. They in turn learn that to tolerate the monotony, they act out or become defiant. This then leads to disciplinary measures

that provide them with a temporary "vacation" away from school. Then because the root of the problem is never addressed, a vicious cycle is perpetrated.

At the boot camp the boys did participate in a half-day school experience. The boys expressed their extreme frustration with the school at the boot camp also. Bobby explained,

> At this point I pretty much like everything except the school...it's the same thing as back home—boring and frustrating. The teachers don't care whether we understand or not, they sit at their desk and stare at us...I was hoping it would have been different. (3/11/00)

My observations found the classrooms to be either lecture oriented or independent study. Officially the Lakeview school underscored the tediousness of learning—it was not hands on or engaging by any means. Unofficially the school was viewed and portrayed by the adult leaders as a time filler and a necessity but not a priority. The boys picked up on this and displayed less than favorable enthusiasm for the school activities.

Boys at risk for failure, like the boys at Lakeview, need the dedication, direction, and support of caring adults in the school setting who can point them toward setting goals and realizing success. Inadequate schooling for at-risk boys can be a pathway to prison. Adjusting to the needs of all students will take a major investment in teacher training, a change in philosophy about how we learn, and the creation of curriculum to address all students' needs. Education, however, is cheaper by far than incarceration. "When, through suspension, expulsion, school failure, or dropping out, boys fall through the safety net of the schools, they often wind up in situations that lead to criminal activity" (Kipnis, 1999, p. 67).

The Boys Learn About Toughness and the Boy Code

Regardless of their circumstances, the toughening of boys begins early in life. This is oftentimes done without parents and adults realizing it. When talking about growing up, the boys shared that they generally received fewer demonstrative acts of affection from their mothers than their sisters did. They reported being touched and talked to less. They also felt they were generally pushed towards independence, even to the point of isolation, early on in life. The boys shared that it was communicated to them often that they were expected to deny pain, never back down from a fight, or show fear in the face of danger. If the boys deviated from this tough guy stance they often became the subject of abuse from other boys who aggressively teased and taunted them. Thus, the boys felt the need to continually test boundaries and rank their status for power, strength, and fighting abilities.

On the other hand, we also tell boys to be sensitive and expressive while also behaving in ways that articulate their masculinity and tough guy stance. When the boys spoke about being themselves, they described a double life. It was expected that they act as one particular type of person in public. They were to play the cool guy and the one "who plays fast and lives by the Boy Code rules" (Pollack, 1998, p. 332). In private life the boys could be a much different kind of guy, one who is more gentle and caring.

In addition to not developing relationships with their families, many boys report there is an unwritten code in society. This unwritten code must be followed as a means of survival. "The Boy Code," according to Pollack (1998a), is "a stoic, uncommunicative, invulnerable stance that does not allow the boys to be the warm, empathic human beings they are" (p. 341). Boys must be tough, they can't cry, they must be daring and willing to endure almost anything to confirm their masculinity. When boys defy the boy codes they encounter trouble. "Boys who act like girls may be labeled sissies or babies. Boys who can't fight—or who won't fight—may be relegated to the

bottom of their peers' friendship hierarchy" (Pollack, 1998a, p. 350). The name of the game becomes being tough and toughing it out.

Steve encountered a situation in which he was pushed into adhering to the "Boy Code" (Pollack, 1998a, p. 350).

> I had this guy who always said stuff to me for like two years...I just couldn't take it anymore...You know, you tell somebody 'sticks and stones'...He and his buddies were constantly doing things that bugged me...I just lost it one day...I couldn't take it anymore and I just smashed my fist through his window." (4/2/00)

Steve got tired of the constant bullying and being called "a girl" so eventually lashed out, violently, to protect his masculinity. According to Steve, after two years of trying to deal with the bullying situation in a nonviolent manner he eventually was forced to adhere to the boy code and resolve his difficulties with this particular person violently.

Jorge shared, "Even though I'm a big mama's boy, I have to hold myself.... I can usually hold myself and put up an attitude when I'm with my friends" (5/5/00). Jorge interpreted the boy code as one that placed a great deal of pressure on him to keep his emotions bottled up inside, to be strong and to stay in control. He felt it was a sign of weakness to show any form of sensitive emotion in public. There is a dissonance between the lived experience and the boy code for Jorge. He learned not to trust himself and his true feelings. As an example, during our first session Jorge had extreme difficulty maintaining his composure and eventually broke down in tears when he called his mom to ask her permission to be part of this study. After regaining his composure, he repeatedly dismissed this episode. Later he repeatedly referred to the incident and the shame he felt when he lost emotional control with a virtual stranger.

When faced with the messages that society is delivering to the boys, many challenge authority as part of the coping process. Jorge reflected upon his early difficulties, "I started

stealing when I was really young. I started getting cocky and really mouthy. There was this pedestal that mom thought I should be at and I wasn't. She babied me too much" (3/21/00). Essentially Jorge was testing how far he could push his mother and ultimately how far she would push him away.

Dallas also talked about his method of testing the waters and being tough. "I guess I got sick of going to school in about sixth grade. I'd try to get suspended and stuff like that...when the principal got in my face, I got in his, too" (4/12/00). Dallas' method of saving face was to remain tough even to adult authority figures. His willingness to stand up to the principal perhaps even elevated his status amongst his friends. Bobby stated, "I did things just to be different. I figured I had to be badder than everybody else. That's when I got into the body piercing" (3/21/00). The body piercing, hair bleaching, and the expensive clothing helped Bobby establish his macho guy status. Each of the boys employed different strategies; however, each met the ultimate goal, which was to identify themselves to others that they were tough.

At the boot camp most of the activities, especially the physical ones, are designed to promote physical strength and masculinity. Many physical training activities included some type of competition that pitted the boys against each other. Those who were bigger and stronger often faced two smaller opponents and were encouraged to "overpower" the slimmer and weaker boys. In addition, throughout the first weeks of camp when the boys deviated from the expected activities or fell out of line, the leader was right in the boy's face yelling and "straightening the boy out." The boys were expected to look straight ahead and brush off any form of emotion from their face.

So although the Lakeview staff emphasizes the necessity of relationships, they also expect the boys to be strong and tough. These goals seem to be in direct conflict with each other.

Although there were few times I witnessed a boy crying on the floor, Bobby shared that "nightly someone was quietly crying in the bunks" (3/27/00).

Given the right opportunities, most of these boys may be capable of learning and changing their lives in a positive direction. However, we may never know their potential given the lack of opportunities and support necessary to make this happen. Unfortunately, once the boys are known as bad boys, it is very difficult for most to move beyond the bad-boy image. Jorge explains his situation,

> The other students who were in the BD [behavior disorders] class weren't what you would call the best students at school. Everybody in the school knew not to go in our classroom because we were the worst of the worst. I started thinking that of myself, so I did things just to live up to my reputation. (3/4/00)

Since Jorge thought he was viewed as a bad boy and since he felt others believed that once a bad boy always a bad boy, he felt the only way of dealing with this was to live up to his reputation. However, Jorge did share that he was frustrated with the feeling that being in a behavior disorders room was a perpetual placement.

> I haven't been in a regular class since sixth grade due to the things that I did...geez that was four years ago, if I was given a fair chance, I know I could show them I could do it...there's no hope of that, though. (3/4/00)

Unfortunately, since Jorge had lost hope that anyone believed in him, he, too, lost hope in himself.

As society's narrow views of what it means to be male places limits on boys, these beliefs deprive some of them of appropriate, self-esteem building, and healthy experiences. These were also deprived at Lakeview. When Bobby, Jorge, Dallas, and Steve were taught that real men don't express emotions or real men need to act macho, we deprived them of essential processes

for healthy development. Holocaust survivor and psychiatrist Victor Frankl (1959) theorized that it's not so much what happens to us that determines our sanity but whether we can make meaning out of it or not. When meaning is absent, insanity, violence, and criminality rush into the vacuum like thunder chasing lightning. Consequently, when the boys experienced negative feelings towards others they were taught that it is necessary to be the tough guy. Then when they become aggressive or exert their toughness, many people dismiss it as boys will be boys. Thus, as I learned from the boys in this study, what we can speculate is that these boys' behaviors exemplify what we are teaching about what it means to be a man.

The Boys Learn to Seek Confirmation from Outlaws

According to the U.S. Conference of Mayors (as cited in Waxman & Trupin,1997), children under the age of eighteen account for 25 percent of the urban homeless. Every night there are about 150,000 homeless youth nationwide. One out of four report a history of abuse and neglect at the homes they left. More than half report that their parents told them to leave or just did not care what they did. Eighteen months after discharge from placement, one in four kids report having been beaten, seriously hurt, or incarcerated; a third have not completed high school; and half are unemployed. Incarceration frequently severs boys' few threads of continuity with jobs, housing, social support systems, and family (Kipnis, 1999, p. 78).

This lack of confirmation and assistance from the family has affected three out of the four key informants in my study. Dallas, after only a few short months home and much commotion, has been incarcerated in a juvenile facility and will perhaps stay there until he turns eighteen years of age. Steve, who returned home to live with his mom and stepfather, was told to move out three months after leaving Lakeview. He has been drifting amongst relatives and friends. Bobby had a brief stay in a juvenile facility, then went on to join the Job Corps. Recently he has

moved in with his fiancee and is expecting a child. Lastly, Jorge moved back and lived with his sister for a brief time but has returned to his family home to live with his mother.

For some boys and young men who have been dismissed by their families, the choice often becomes one in which they bond with outlaws or gangs. Every time a boy is excluded from the family or the mainstream for whatever reason, the potential for the creation of a new drug user or gang member is heightened. Outlaws and gangs provide acceptance, community, and economic opportunity. This life becomes more gratifying than the family that lacks support and basic function. While most young men get connected to some sort of "tribe" (Hersch, 1998, p. 22)—a church group, the Boy Scouts, an athletic team, and so forth, those who do not connect to a positive group risk the chance of getting hooked up with a gang.

Getting connected helps form the boys' identities. Prior to his brushes with the law, Bobby had established a positive connectedness in his hometown. "I was in football, Tae Kwon Do, wrestling, and kickboxing. I quit because I wasn't getting the play time and I wasn't enjoying the activities" (3/23/00). Although Bobby enjoyed the activities he was a part of, he felt rejected by the coaches when he did not start or see the play time he thought he deserved. Bobby decided to drop out of the positive activities and instead got connected with the local drug pusher. Dealing drugs made drugs accessible to him. He used them to mask his depression and adolescent difficulties. Dealing also gave Bobby the ability to make money quickly and develop friendships by buying things for other people. The connectedness Bobby felt to the drug culture fulfilled a missing link in his life, or so he thought.

Likewise, Jorge and his cousin looked beyond their family and other positive youth organizations to fill a missing void. Jorge claims he and his cousin started a gang in his hometown. For the boys, this gang served as a method for members of their ethnic group to bond together. In many ways gangs are extended families, a kinship system, in which members regard

one another as siblings. Most adolescent boys search for some form of masculine identity and male community wherever they can find it. Jorge expressed what his gang membership did for him.

> A lot of Hispanics were getting tired of getting beat up by the blacks so we started this little gang.... We didn't have turfs or anything but we did have a park that was just our park. We were called the Little Locos—the little crazies. It was a group of us when I was in fifth grade that got this together because we thought gangs were cool.... We spray painted a lot but we would also just go around town in big groups. (4/2/00)

Gangs historically have played a role in Mexican-American families, beginning in the 1940s as a small number of neighborhood-based youth groups participated in periodic outbursts of destructive behavior. Since the 1940s gangs have evolved into very deadly and violent street entities. Today, approximately 4 to 10 percent of Mexican-American youth belong to gangs (Vigil, 1997). According to Vigil (1988), many Mexican-American youth feel a sense of displacement, isolation, and alienation. These feelings of marginality best describe the complex nature of why street gangs have developed.

Growing up in a mid-sized Midwestern community, Jorge was part of a small but growing Mexican-American population. Jorge shared that he felt many of the white people in town looked down upon his people and their culture. He could not mask who he was as his skin told the story of where he was from. Gangs create their own subcultures because they do not fit into ours (Kipnis, 1999, p. 152). The marginalization of the Mexican-American population in Jorge's hometown may have been one reason why the gang was so influential in his life. For one, most of the Mexican-American population was segregated into one part of the city. Although Jorge would report that his family lived on a nice street, many of his friends came from rundown

neighborhoods. Many of Jorge's friends also came from first generation American families or were illegals. Being forced into a new and different culture propelled many kids to detach from family influences and attempt to employ the American way of doing things. In addition, many lived in constant fear of being deported. On top of being socially and culturally marginalized, many families resorted to entry-level and low-paying jobs which in turn perpetuated poverty conditions and economic marginalization. The gang, then, provided Jorge and his friends the opportunity to respond to their culture's marginalization as well as develop their male identity and fulfill the need to belong to some sort of community.

The boys definitely made meaning out of their lives by hooking up with the gang and drug cultures. They learned that because they were not able to define themselves through positive memberships they needed to go beyond the family. At the boot camp there were several shifts between and amongst the boys as far as allegiance and friendships were concerned. One of the goals of the camp is to surround the boys in a positive peer environment, although that is a lofty task, as one's admittance to Lakeview is due to deviant behavior. Lakeview was certainly lacking in positive peer role models. The constraints and structure of the institution did control much of what the boys were able to freely do; it did not, however, control some of the topics of conversation. As discussed earlier, some boys' status at the camp rose due to the severity or "coolness" of their criminal history. This certainly was not an intended learning at Lakeview. The boot camp then became a reflection of a larger social order that actually taught and reinforced criminal behavior.

The Boys Learn that Juvenile Justice is a Joke

As the boys get into trouble with the law they begin to experience the juvenile justice system. In the state in which this study was conducted, that system is extremely overburdened and

underfinanced and unfortunately many kids know that. Even if adolescents are placed in juvenile hall, it is viewed as a holding spot and the placement is usually for a brief period of time. Jorge explained his interpretation of what juvenile hall did for him:

> Imagine being torn away from everything and then they try to give you the coping skills to get through while you are there and supposedly they taught you the skills to deal with the time that you go back. They just destroy that time in your life. I didn't learn how to put it back together and start right when I went home...I fell apart. (3/4/00)

Being locked in juvenile hall did not deter Jorge from ever re-offending, in fact, he continued to re-offend after each incarceration. What he found lacking in his experiences was the opportunity to learn how to avoid criminal activities after returning home.

In each of the punitive measures assigned to the four boys in this study, each boy could identify a way to manipulate the system. Most had been assigned to probation officers, some to trackers, many were placed on house arrest, and others had spent time in other residential settings. Jorge shared that having a probation officer was

> no big deal.... My probation officer told me that I just tell him what he wants to hear.... Sometimes I do and say whatever, just to get done with our meeting.... He hasn't really kept me from doing what I want to do, he's more of nuisance than a diversion.... I know the worst that they can do is lock me up until I'm eighteen. (2/21/00)

To the boys, even the threat of a couple of years away from their family and friends is not a significant enough diversion to avoid crime. To Jorge, punitive measures were not interventions that taught; they were threats that were not followed through.

Steve also mocked the juvenile justice system. He failed to complete the community service he was assigned.

> I just didn't do my community service cause I thought it was stupid and they wouldn't let me do certain things.... I had to travel two hours to do something and didn't get credit for the travel time. I thought I could find better places to do it than them. I just gave up. Oh well, no big deal. You know, I knew they were going to hold me accountable.... But a part of me thought maybe I could slip by. (4/2/00)

Underpinning the fact that he blew off his community service, Steve felt he was invincible and wouldn't get caught or be held to his punishment. Many kids Steve knew have been able to beat the juvenile justice system by falling through the cracks and Steve knew that. In Steve's case, however, his lack of follow through was what landed him at Lakeview.

Dallas talked about his experience with the system.

> I have never really felt like getting into trouble was a big deal. I felt like it was a joke...there was really nothing anybody did about lots of the things I did. I mean, I have a probation officer with detention.... A few times I have had to have an ankle bracelet.... I was on house arrest one time but I snuck out. I got a tracker and stuff like that but I have always found ways to sneak around or get away with things...being on probation and all the other stuff is really no biggie. (3-20-00)

In an attempt to make things a big deal to Dallas, his mother went to the extreme of having him participate in a week-long boot camp that was taped and used as a focus of a Maury Povich program. Dallas said,

> I visited another boot camp in Texas.... It's all fenced in there.... It's got like barbed wire and electric fences and stuff like that...the week that I was there it was much

> harder than here...I mean ten times worse; the drill sergeants were in your face yelling all the time. (4/2/00)

This experience did not even deter him from staying out of trouble. "I got in trouble about a month after I got back from Texas.... I guess I didn't think about the boot camp thing when I was stealing" (4/20/00).

Some of the students had been previously ordered to participate in residential treatment centers. The residential treatment centers seem to be a step in the right direction for many of the boys. These centers are designed for rehabilitation as well as restoration of a sense of self-worth. In many residential centers the participants are given the chance to learn new ways of thinking about themselves and given situations in which they must confront their past behaviors. Many of the key principles of rehabilitation include: supervision, comprehensive treatment plans, and individualized counseling both in one-on-one and group settings. Jorge relayed, "I have learned more in ninety days [at the boot camp] than I learned in nine months at the [Sagebrush] Residential Home" (5/2/00).

What has been missing in almost all forms of punishment that the boys had experienced prior to the boot camp was a learning environment in which they could develop the skills necessary to live a life without crime. Then going a step further, juvenile justice programs must also provide boys with the opportunity to practice the newly learned skills with guidance and supervision in the home environment. In order for the current juvenile justice system to work, the boys must either take their punishment seriously, which none of them I studied have, or they must be given the opportunity to apply their new learning, with guidance, once they reintegrate into society.

The boys learned a great deal about the juvenile justice system through their own personal experiences as well as through the experiences of their friends. In the beginning of their criminal

careers they discovered that when they got caught it was easy to manipulate the system as a juvenile. Officially the juvenile system was built on the premise of giving kids second chances, and in the case of many of the boys, third, fourth, and fifth chances. But as the number and/or intensity of offenses climbed, the punishment was increased. From the boys' perspective, the punishments weren't designed to help them learn new patterns of behavior, they were designed to remove them from society. The boys were not given opportunities to learn new skills and apply them to their previous learning. And if they were, they were not given the opportunity to practice those skills in a setting other than one with a controlled environment. The boys perceived that society had given up on them and they essentially became "throw-away kids."

At Lakeview the Boys Learned that Learning Doesn't Have to be Hard

Although most of the boys would describe the physical training activities as hard work, much of the learning that occurred in the camp was not the type of learning that they were accustomed to in school. Although during the first week of the camp they were expected to memorize a large volume of information, none of the boys would have referred to that activity as a key experience of the camp. According to Smith (1998), the official theory of learning has to do with the presentation of materials to be learned outside of context. Thus, memorizing a list of words does not make one a great expert in boot camp trivia, nor does it effectively increase vocabulary related to that situation. As the weeks unfolded, it was obvious that the boys began to realize that learning for them became more significant and meaningful because they were learning within the context of each boot camp activity. Much of the learning the boys identified was informal and incidental. They were learning about team work during physical training drills, they learned about relationships when they were expected to process past experiences in problem solving groups, and most importantly, they were learning about themselves and their negative

thinking patterns. Through the daily activities they learned that they could actually accomplish something with success. This was a major turning point for many of the boys, who previous to the boot camp had not realized success in many aspects of their lives.

As set forth in Chapter 4, the most important learning in the lives of the boys occurred through the social context of Lakeview Academy.

The learning was continual. Throughout the camp experience, the boys spoke about what they were learning each week. In the beginning they identified facts that appeared on the initial test as their learning. Then as the weeks progressed, the boys identified learning that occurred due to topics discussed in problem solving groups and spontaneous activities at Lakeview. As the boys experienced success, improved their self-concept, and realized that they had the ability to grow and learn, the learning flourished. More important than learning facts, they were learning about themselves, their behaviors, and their thinking patterns. They were learning that there was hope and there were people who were supportive of their desire to reform. Matt shared, "This is the best thing that happened to me. Before I got here I didn't have no rules or expectations. We were working and learning all the time. They make all the ninety days count" (5/5/00). The learning began by first coming to grips with the idea that the boot camp was home for ninety days; then through identifying the thinking errors that got the boy into trouble; next by understanding the importance of feeling empathy for the victims of the crime; and finally by taking this new knowledge and planning how to connect and apply it to everyday life (Field notes, 5/10/00).

The learning was effortless. In the beginning it was difficult for many of the boys to adjust to the rigors of the boot camp. Once they learned the routine and figured out the rules of the game, learning became easy and satisfying. "The ninety days have gone by really fast. Once you get started in the routine, it is really easy. It gives you a lot of discipline...all of a sudden during

the program it kind of hit me that this wasn't all that bad and I kinda liked it" (Matt, 5/5/00). Because the boys were immersed in the social context at Lakeview, they were "situated" in their learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 53). "Learning involves the whole person, it implies becoming a full participant, a member, a kind of person. Activities, tasks, functions, and understanding do not exist in isolation; they are a part of a broader system of relations in which they have meaning" (p. 53). As the boys become more engaged in the activities at Lakeview, their knowledge and level of learning become embedded in everyday tasks. Thus, it eventually becomes effortless.

The learning was inconspicuous. The boys were always learning. Whether it was in the problem solving group, during an Olympics challenge or other daily activities, they were learning during the moment. When issues arose, activities stopped and they were dealt with. Much of the learning was related to real-Lakeview situations. The boys learned how to positively communicate as well as how to work out issues and problems on the spot. "When I had problems I learned about different coping skills and ways to avoid issues. My plans were to come to this place and just do what I had to do to get out in ninety days...but I learned along the way" (Jim, 5/5/00). The significant learning identified by the boys stepped away from the traditional mindset of seeing learners as consumers of information but rather as creators and constructors of their learning. The important learning at the camp was not tied to the boot camp goals or read about in the Youth Services International Handbook, rather it was cultivated during dialogue, incidental incidents, and through the aspect of living and working together at Lakeview Academy.

The learning became independent of rewards and punishment. After the first week of camp most of the group leaders backed off. By then many of the boys became accustomed to the activities and did what they were told. Although the boys had their eye on the goal of graduating in ninety days and knew that they would be recycled if they did not perform, many became

intrinsically motivated to do well. This motivation became evident after the boys experienced some success within the program. "I really liked this place because it was a lot more hands on than any other places I have been to. My self-confidence really grew through the PT—I really looked forward to that every day" (Nick, 5/5/00). Instead of surviving through ninety days at the camp, through trial and error the boys built upon their success to stimulate and provoke acceptance of their fate.

The learning was based on self-image. During the first few days of camp when the boys were expected to memorize a great deal of material, their anxiety was high and their self-esteem quite low. Most boys began smiling and showing some glimpse of confidence in themselves once they were able to pass the orientation test. Then, one by one as each boy began to experience some form of success, their self-image began to build. Elmo described his transition: "This program has built up my self-esteem, I feel better about myself than I ever have" (Elmo, 5/5/00). John also articulated this sentiment. "I was able to do things here that I thought I could never do. They're not going to give up on you here...this place is all about second chances" (John, 5/5/00). Those boys who felt reasonably confident about themselves and their place at the camp realized greater success. Herman, who rarely allowed himself to be part of "the club," struggled with realizing success. He never established a sense of belonging and disguised that by continually causing problems and issues for the floor. In the past he had learned that he was a bad boy. While at Lakeview he was never persuaded that that could be changed. He never allowed himself to engage in confidence building activities that bolstered his self-image. Thus, he was one of the boys who did not graduate in ninety days.

The learning was a social activity. During my research, the boys reported that they looked forward to getting together for our focus group sessions. The sessions gave them the opportunity to know and learn about each other in a different setting and in a different manner. The boys

shared their life experiences with one another with little hesitation. The boys were situated with like individuals with a common situation. The learning flourished for the boys because their relationships were fostered. Being a part of the research project was also a context of learning for the boys, and I would like to believe, contributed to their success while at Lakeview.

The learning was growth. Learning takes time and it occurs based on people's interest and their past experiences (Smith, 1998). For some, learning started the minute they walked through the doors; for others the growth was more gradual. Herman initially had no interest in being at the boot camp or complying to any of the boot camp activities. Eventually, though, as he witnessed the success of other boys, he began to show more interest and eventually began showing growth in his behavior and ability to talk about his issues.

> When I first got here I thought the boot camp wouldn't change my mind and my thinking. I rebelled against everything we were supposed to do. I think it really has changed my thinking. I've understood my thinking errors and I know that I need to make right choices in life to be successful. I am happy about my change in behavior and respect towards others. This place is a good place because of the staff. They gave me time to unwind and gradually adjust to the expectations. They [the staff] really care about you, this place is not just a holding cell, it's a place where you can grow and practice using the tools you've learned to succeed in life. (Herman, 5/5/00)

Officially, Lakeview does not contribute much to the learning that occurred for the boys. Most of the learning that was significant occurred incidentally and in spite of the goals of Lakeview Academy. Initially the learning and acquisition of knowledge was slow, but as the boys adjusted to the institution and became experts in the process as well as comfortable with the setting, the learning within the context of everyday activities grew. Learning that was presented within the

authentic context of the camp was much more meaningful for the boys. The boys, however, did not always view this as learning but rather just part of the everyday activities.

Thinking About Going Home

As the ninety days began to come to a close, many of the boys approached the day of graduation with differing perspectives. Some began to reflect about what changes they would need to make upon their arrival home. Others could not think beyond the point of returning home, breaking away from the highly structured environment, and doing as they pleased. Still others approached their impending graduation with great fear and anxiety.

Steve explains his thoughts. "When I get out of here I just want to settle down and be like a normal person. I am going to finish up my probation and not get in any more trouble...it is not worth it" (6/02/00). Although Steve was looking forward to his arrival back home, he had not developed a plan to complete his probation and settle down. So although he verbalized that he had learned that getting into trouble wasn't worth it, he could not articulate how he was going to accomplish that in the future. His lack of planning and setting specific goals became detrimental to him upon his reintegration to society. As part of the Lakeview dismissal process, each boy participates in a staffing out meeting. An evaluation of the boy's success as well as a plan of reentry is devised. This, however, is completed with little input from the boy. Because he did not feel a part of the process, Steve did not perceive the plan as a viable tool and thus dismissed its importance.

Jorge also recognized the need for ongoing support and spoke about being anxious and scared about the impeding change. "Thinking about going home scares me...I want a really good after-care program. I know I do not want to be in this boot camp again...I don't want to be locked up anymore...I want to go home so bad and stay out of trouble" (5/5/00). Although at times the

structure was restrictive and a cause of frustration for Jorge, the boot camp did provide him the type of environment he needed—one that was safe, secure, and structured. And he knew this. He knew that going home was going to be tough and hard work. He also knew that it was going to be extremely difficult to avoid future criminal behavior without avoiding his best friends and his cousin as well as the gang culture. Jorge wanted deeply to change but knew he could not do it alone. Although he shared that he had learned a great deal at the camp, he was quite skeptical of his ability to apply this knowledge in an environment that was not as structured and was not always safe and secure. Jorge knew he should act excited and cool about going home—perhaps that was part of the boy code. But he was truly struggling. The anxiety and pressure of planning how he could refrain from criminal behavior, honor his friends and cousin, and earn the trust and confidence of his mother were extremely difficult for him to manage.

Bobby also feared returning home. A week prior to graduation he received a threatening letter from an acquaintance in his home town. Although Bobby would not elaborate on the situation, he did share, "I'm not too worried about the letter but am glad my family is taking a long vacation when I get back" (5/5/00). The threat of immediately having to deal with his past life and behaviors made Bobby less than excited about graduation. Although he had spent a great deal of time talking about how he would avoid criminal activity, the thought that he would actually have to follow through with some difficult issues in the immediate future was unsettling.

One particular boot camp participant tried very hard to sabotage his chance of graduating. During the first seventy-five days of the camp, Nick was a model participant. He followed orders immediately, he participated in group problem solving, and he even served as a mentor to the newly arrived cohorts. About two weeks prior to graduation, as if someone switched places with him, he began to display behaviors that were out of character. He refused to do simple activities, he got mouthy with the group leader, and on one occasion physically lashed out at another boy.

Nick had spent most of his years since the age of fourteen in some sort of juvenile facility and he knew what he was facing when he returned home—a life of drugs and a family of dysfunction. Nick attempted to display every form of attention getting behavior in hopes of avoiding his return home. He was pleased with his ability to realize success at Lakeview, something he had never had in other placements and certainly not at home. He relished the safe environment, something that was pretty foreign to him. And he had developed healthy and positive relationships with others, something he had struggled with on several occasions. But most of all, Nick feared the reality of going home and failing again.

It is difficult for the boys to get excited about leaving a place in which they have realized some form of success and return to a place in which they have experienced failure. Jorge, during a focus group session, talked about the terrible circumstances some of the boys were facing upon graduation from the boot camp.

> Everyone has their own awful situation they don't want to go back to.... Bobby has his drug dealings...Dallas has the bad relationship with his mom and not knowing where to live...Nick has the drugs, the relationship with his mother, the gang and racist issues." (4/23/00)

It is certainly hard for the boys to sort out the excitement of being free as well as the fear of re-offending.

Prior to each cohort's graduation, I completed an exit interview with all boys at the camp. The boys were asked to rank the components of the camp as well as respond to ten open-ended questions. Table 5 contains the results from the ratings. The great majority of the boys felt positive about the experience and shared that Lakeview provided them with a great sense of accomplishment, an improved sense of self-esteem, and the belief that they could refrain from future criminal activity if they employed the skills learned at the camp. Jorge's thoughts were,

Table 5. Exit interview ratings[a]

		Very good	Fair	Poor	Not applicable
Daily schedule	Cohort 1	4	5		
	Cohort 2	2	6		
School and classes	Cohort 1	2	7		
	Cohort 2	4	3	1	
Physical training	Cohort 1	8	1		
	Cohort 2	6	1	1	
Rules and regulations	Cohort 1	7	2		
	Cohort 2	2	6		
Staff support	Cohort 1	8	1		
	Cohort 2	6	2		
Food	Cohort 1		4	5	
	Cohort 2		8		
Community service	Cohort 1	6	3		
	Cohort 2	2	1		
Substance abuse training	Cohort 1	3	1		5
	Cohort 2	2	1	1	4
Primary counselor	Cohort 1	8	1		
	Cohort 2	6	2		
Problem solving group	Cohort 1	3	6		
	Cohort 2	2	5	1	
Counseling group	Cohort 1	4	4	1	
	Cohort 2	5	3		
Health services	Cohort 1	2	5		2
	Cohort 2	1	5	2	

[a]The number under each rating indicates the number of boys.

> When you actually think about it, you think how much you have tried here and if you look at how much you have accomplished, it amazes you. It makes you believe that this place is really doing something. It is actually helping me and sometimes you don't even know it.... To me it really doesn't take effort like I thought it would, it just happens. (4/8/00)

Jorge realized just shortly before his departure that he had learned while at the camp, and although it was hard work, physically at times, much of his learning occurred vicariously. He was concerned, like some of the others, about his ability to transfer this learning and success back home.

Case Studies

After being released from the boot camp, all four of the respondents returned home. Steve "basically drifted amongst family members" (3/18/01). Dallas lived at home for a few months, then was sent away to another juvenile facility. Bobby and Jorge took yet different paths after their release from the camp. In this section, I present case studies of Bobby and Jorge to further demonstrate the transitions and learnings that occurred for each participant while at the boot camp and during the first year home.

During the boot camp Bobby outshined many of his peers. He was compliant, he took on leadership roles, and he was respected by both his peers and the staff. Consequently he earned the group leadership and physical training award almost every week at Lakeview. At the boot camp he was considered a great success. On the other hand, although Jorge was motivated the first few weeks, when he did not receive an award his attitude changed. Although he wouldn't have been characterized as a troublemaker, he did have his good days and his bad days. Jorge was disciplined on at least two different occasions for lying and refusing to comply. Jorge admits that

he did just enough to get through the experience and enough to be sent home in ninety days. So Jorge's success while at the camp was considered marginal.

Even though success while in the boot camp is important, the underlying goal is success when reintegrating into society. In this aspect, a very different story unfolds. One year after graduation, Bobby has been sent to juvenile detention after a fight with his father. He has again used and dealt drugs. In addition, as an attempt to get straightened back around, Bobby became involved in the Job Corps but was released early due to disciplinary and health issues. During the past year he was also involved with a girl and has fathered a child. So although he showed great promise at the boot camp, he has not been able to exhibit those behaviors out in society. Bobby's story reflects what happens more often to youth as they leave the boot camp and reintegrate back home. Without the structure and the imposed direction, many boys return back to a life they left. Bobby's story is similar to the stories of many juveniles who experience boot camps.

On the other hand, although Jorge would not have been characterized as a boy who completed the boot camp with extreme success, he has managed to apply what he learned at Lakeview. With the help of his family he has been able to realize success in his home environment. Jorge has not re-offended nor gotten into any disciplinary trouble at school. He has utilized the learnings from the camp to successfully realize personal goals as well as many of the goals set forward by the boot camp. Jorge's success is deviant from the norm of boot camp participants.

In this section, I discuss the life histories of both Jorge and Bobby as well as describe in detail what has happened in the year following their release from the boot camp. I then tell why I believe Jorge has realized success and why Bobby has not.

Jorge

Jorge is a fifteen-year-old Mexican-American teenager of slight build. He arrived at camp very early the first day and sat in the waiting room slumped over his chair with his head down. He spent a good two hours alone in the chair waiting for the process to begin. Jorge rarely made a move in that chair, perhaps reflecting upon his destiny and the next ninety days of his life. Physically, all of Jorge's dark black hair had been previously shaved in a military type haircut. Although his face was scared with a bad case of teenage acne, I would characterize Jorge as a nice looking young man. In light of his slight build it was evident he would be a tough competitor in a fight, most probably a scrappy one. The first day of the camp he appeared vulnerable and defeated. His body language communicated a boy who was struggling with himself and the mess he had gotten himself into. When he did make eye contact, which was very rarely, his deep set eyes looked sad and worried.

Jorge and I had the first opportunity to talk with each other during the intake process. Although compliant, he was very reserved. He spoke only when he was spoken to and answered questions with few details and with little explanation. He did not initiate conversation and very rarely raised his head when involved in a conversation. My initial impression was that he would not be a good respondent for the study. Preliminarily, I felt he might have had too many issues to deal with, as well as I thought it would be a struggle to communicate with him. I could not have been more wrong.

In his initial life history interview, Jorge was chatty and extremely talkative. In a one-on-one setting he shared he felt more comfortable with people. He took the time to communicate his extreme interest in being involved in this research project. During the life history interview Jorge revealed that he has had at least six adjudications ranging from several petty thefts, possession of a stolen firearm, and reckless usage of fire. Jorge has spent time in several juvenile detention

facilities since the age of twelve. He reported to me that he steals small items like watches and bikes basically because he doesn't have a job to buy the items he wants and does not have the ability to wait to acquire those items. In his words, he impulsively takes what he wants. While he was in middle school he accidentally started a girl's hair on fire and was charged with reckless use of fire. His most recent incident, and perhaps the most critical, was the possession of a firearm. He and his cousin were involved in a gang turf dispute. They were fearful for the safety of his cousin's life. Instead of alerting the authorities and utilizing the proper channels, they stole three guns from a friend of Jorge's family. That evening, Jorge and his cousin carried the guns through the streets of his town in case they were needed for protection. During the course of that evening, somehow one loaded gun was lost. Once the authorities were notified of the stolen firearms, Jorge and his cousin were sent to a juvenile facility. Three months later he was transferred to Lakeview Academy.

Jorge's beginning years were not easy ones. He was born and lived in Mexico City with his biological mother until he was eight months old. He was brought to the United States to live with his aunt when his mother contracted tuberculosis and became seriously ill. When Jorge left Mexico, that was the last time he saw or had contact with his mother. Shortly after his arrival in the United States, his mother died. Jorge has never known or had contact with his biological father. He keeps a picture of his mother in his bedroom at home "to keep her memory alive" (3/4/00). Although Jorge's siblings have shared stories with him about their life in Mexico, Jorge believes he remembers some about this life he left. He described in detail the decrepit living conditions, the poverty, and the memory of his mother lying in her death bed.

Jorge is the youngest of five children. He has two older brothers and two older sisters. A brother and two sisters came to the United States with him. Jorge's eldest brother is "somewhere in a Mexican jail" (3/4/00). His aunt is the only real mother Jorge has known and refers to her as

mom. Jorge's siblings have grown up relatively unscathed by the trauma of losing a parent. The oldest sister is a college graduate who is working on the east coast as a nanny. His brother enrolled in the Marines after high school and is now attending college as well as has a supervisory job with a shipping company. Another sister is enrolled in a nearby community college as well as is working full-time. Other than his brother who stayed in Mexico, all of Jorge's family has stayed out of legal trouble. Jorge reports that his legal problems are an embarrassment to his family and to him.

Jorge first began having problems in school when he was in sixth grade. It all started when the teacher blamed him for starting a girl's hair on fire. Jorge claims it was a mistake and that they were just fooling around.

> I was in regular classes [in sixth grade] but I kept getting into trouble. I was frustrated because I wasn't learning what I thought I needed to know. They started pulling me out of classes because I wasn't doing what I was supposed to do. Then I started cutting classes and failing. A lot of the kids would trash talk me and I got into a lot of confrontations. The teachers didn't think I was safe at the end of the day so they started making me wait in the school for the bus. I didn't think that was right so I got into a confrontation with the principals. Eventually they had me leaving school 15 minutes early, then 30 minutes early then when I went to high school I got out at 1:40. What makes me mad is that they put me in a BD [behavior disorders] room that really did not challenge me...it made me disappointed and frustrated that people were not letting me have the opportunities to stretch myself. (3/4/00)

Throughout his life and during the boot camp Jorge struggled with his super optimistic behavior. Jorge sets his sights very high—in school, at home and at the camp. Instead of patiently waiting for things to happen or persevering in the eye of defeat, he gives up and sabotages his

opportunities. This happened in the sixth grade. He thought he should be learning something different than what he was learning; he became frustrated with that and then began to exhibit behaviors significant enough to be staffed into special education. The placement in special education became the beginning of a miserable school experience, according to Jorge.

Jorge's perception was that the school did not want him there. He felt the teachers and the principal would do basically anything to keep him away from the general population of students.

> My own principal put me on a list of people that they don't want out in the regular education classes and with the regular education kids.... I heard him physically say I don't want Arnie Mathes, Jorge Arvizu, and Erin Robles out in the commons with the other kids. (3/4/00)

Jorge's perception, whether it was reality or not, made him angry. He shared that he was determined to turn his behavior around. "The hell with him...one day I'm going to prove to them that I can do it" (3/2/00).

Jorge's determination to right a wrong was one reason he shared why he asked to be placed at Lakeview Academy. When he appeared before the judge, Jorge reports there were other options that were considered: a day treatment program, house arrest with ankle bracelet, or a residential program. He believes he finally realized he needed to change his ways just prior to arriving at the camp.

> My turning point came when I was looking out the window of the shelter and I thought damn I have nothing right now. My mom won't talk to me. She hasn't talked to me for a month. I tried to call her and she told me that she didn't want to talk to me until I got my shit together. And that really hurt. That's when I decided that I better figure out what I was going to do. That's when it clicked in my head that I had better change. My mom is not there to hold my hand anymore.... My mom, in the

> middle of all the problems, told me that she was worried for our family and it made me think that she cared. (3/4/00)

Jorge claims he persuaded the judge to chose Lakeview due to the success it had on an acquaintance from his hometown. He also reports that his probation officer was "mad as hell" (3/4/00) that he asked to go to the boot camp. Compared to the other boys, Jorge did enter the boot camp with the mindset that the boot camp was going to make a difference for him.

In the beginning weeks at Lakeview, Jorge was excited about the program and had set his sights on getting a physical training or a group leader award. "I am really looking forward to this program and the things that we will learn.... I am going to work hard to get a PT [physical training] or group leader award.... I am hoping that in ninety days I will come out of this place a different person" (3/4/00). After I started to get to know Jorge, my impressions were that he was much more mature than the other boys at the camp. Once he felt comfortable in the boot camp setting, he could articulate what he wanted, he set goals and worked hard at reaching those goals. During the first weeks when I observed him in physical training exercises, he put his heart and soul into the activities; during activities on the camp floor and at school, he took a leadership role. Jorge shared that he really wanted to excel at the boot camp and his actions articulated that.

Unfortunately, Jorge was not one of the boys initially chosen for a physical training or group leader award. What might have been perceived as a minor setback to many, became a major setback for Jorge. The lack of getting either award set the course for the rest of the camp. The super optimistic behavior cycle that Jorge so frequently resorted to again kicked in at the camp. He lost much of the enthusiasm he had during the first weeks, he became frustrated with other peers, and he basically put forth the bare minimum in many of his activities. Jorge spoke about the unrealistic expectations he set for himself and others. "I know I set too high of standards for myself, but I know I can do things and I push myself, I also get down when I don't finish

things the way I had planned" (3/29/00). In the past, when those expectations were not realized Jorge would get frustrated, angry, and shut down. He fell into this cycle at Lakeview, also.

Fortunately, Jorge did complete the boot camp program and was released at the end of ninety days. He never received a physical training or group leader award and towards the end of the program he stated that he was okay with that. "I came here to complete the program, learn about myself, and find ways to stay out of trouble...that's basically what I am leaving with" (5/5/00). Whether Jorge made that comment to save face or he truly was okay with not reaching his initial goals, I will never know. What is most important, though, is how he transitioned to life in society.

During a follow-up interview, Jorge described his reentry into society as a pretty easy one. He admitted that the support he received from his family, and especially his mother, was the main reason for his success. He also credited the fact that people—school officials and his probation officer—gave him the second chances he needed. As he vowed at the boot camp, he was going to prove to everyone that he could be successful and in essence avoid a life of crime. Upon graduation he again set lofty goals and worked towards achieving them. I was very concerned about the goals that Jorge had set and shared that concern with him. He was bound and determined that he was going to do everything he could to avoid giving up in the eye of defeat.

So what did Jorge learn at Lakeview that he was able to generalize at home? Perhaps the biggest lesson Jorge learned at the boot camp was the power of relationships. Prior to being at the camp Jorge did not spend the time to develop a relationship with his mother. The relationship he described was one of mutual respect but not one built upon trust and open communication. "She basically went her way and I went mine.... Even though I respected her and loved her very much, I did a lot of things to hurt her" (4/2/00). Since returning home, Jorge and his mother have worked judiciously on their relationship. For one, his mother transferred to another job so she

could be home with Jorge in the evenings. "My mom is not working as much...she works days now...we set time away everyday to talk about things...that has really helped" (3/17/01). The time to talk and be together has fostered the ability for Jorge and his mother to develop a relationship they had never had before. This relationship is an important part of Jorge's life. His mother's love and respect help to define much of his self-concept and worth.

This dedication to developing a sound relationship has made a significant difference in Jorge's life.

> My mom and I spend a lot more time together...this time has allowed us to get to know each other...we don't argue as much anymore and I feel like we have a trusting relationship...when things are not going like I had planned my mom and I talk about them and she helps we work through them...we rely a lot on each other. (3/17/01)

The solid relationship has helped Jorge learn that he has an adult that he can go to when the going gets tough.

Jorge credits the relationship he developed with Mr. A at the boot camp as the catalyst for helping him understand he could establish a positive and productive relationship with an adult.

> Mr. A was a really great guy, he talked to me like a regular person in our one-on-one sessions...he didn't judge me or my actions...he helped me think through some of the problems that I was having and helped me think of a different way to approach them when I got home.... He taught me I could trust other people and needed to rely on others' help to improve my life. (3/17/01)

When questioned, Jorge did explain that Mr. A had instilled in him the necessity to establish and maintain a tight relationship with his family. This reconnection to his mother and his family has allowed Jorge to deal with some of the issues of adolescents and tasks necessary to become an adult.

Learning the importance of never giving up and trusting others to help was an important skill Jorge learned while at the camp. As discussed earlier, Jorge had grave difficulty accepting disappointment and defeat. Many of Jorge's difficulties resulted in the extravagant goals he set for himself and then the reactions he made when the goals were not accomplished. Jorge shared that he was working very hard to control his super-optimism. "Something that I have to struggle with daily is getting rid of the thought that if I am not at the top, I'm at the bottom" (3/18/01).

After graduation from the boot camp, Jorge returned to his home school and completed the last three weeks of the year. His behavior in the special education behavior disorders room was stellar, and a plan was developed with school officials and his special education teacher in which he could start to integrate back into general education classrooms during the next year. In fact, during the first semester of school he had not received any office referrals or detentions for behavioral issues. His vastly improved attitude provided the opportunity for him to be staffed out of special education class for behavior disordered students. It also granted him the chance to be completely integrated into the general education program in his town's high school.

Jorge also shared that he felt the boot camp taught him the skills necessary to use self-power. He stated that he used the self-power strategies to refuse opportunities, activities, and friendships that would get him in further trouble with the law. One coping skill Jorge used upon his return home was that he no longer hung around many of the friends he had in the past. Prior to coming to the boot camp, Jorge had spent a great deal of time hanging out with his cousin. This cousin had gotten into a variety of trouble with the law, also. Jorge shared,

> At first it was really hard not to hang out with my old friends, they always had something fun going on but most of the time it was illegal.... I had to use my self-power to refuse those activities because I knew ultimately they would get me right back into trouble and back into lock-up. (3/17/01)

Jorge attributes the boot camp experience to providing him the tools to learn to avoid inappropriate behavior. "I always think about whether this choice is something I am willing to lose my family and my freedom for.... I haven't come upon a situation that I have said yes to" (3/17/01).

Perhaps the biggest learning that occurred for Jorge at the camp was that he developed a sense of self-confidence. Previously, Jorge set high goals, most often did not realize them, and then perceived himself as being a loser.

> I learned a lot about my abilities at the boot camp.... I proved to myself and others that I could do such a strict program...although I didn't reach some of my goals, I did finish. I set some goals when I went home like to get out of the behavior disorders class by my junior year...see I learned not to think that I could do it overnight and guess what, I did it in a semester. (3/17/01)

Jorge also shared that his super-optimism was perhaps his biggest enemy.

> I've realized that if I don't get things the first time, I need to go right back into it with more effort.... I also try to let things roll off my back, I don't get so pumped up about not reaching things I think I deserve.... I know I have to work harder than most people and I'm okay with that. (3/17/01)

Jorge's acceptance of the fact that he may need to work hard, or his perception of needing to work hard, puts into perspective his past thoughts of being a loser. Knowing that he must work harder and keeping that in mind has allowed him to not blame himself but set goals that are not driven towards self-destruction and pity.

Jorge's success after boot camp comes as a pleasant surprise to me as well as many of the boot camp employees. While at camp he admitted that he did just enough to get by. Although he was quite reflective during our interviews and focus groups, he often did not walk his talk nor

apply his beliefs. In fact during a follow-up interview he regrets that he did not work harder to achieve a physical training or group leader award. From the follow-up interviews I believe Jorge's success outside of the boot camp is directly related to the support and relationship he has developed with his family and in particular his mother. This relationship has allowed Jorge to have an adult in which he feels comfortable to share his frustrations as well as his joys. He often stated during interviews that his family was the most important thing to him, but he also stated that there were relationship issues. This newly developed relationship has been a definite determiner of his success.

In addition, the imposed structure he has set on his life since reentry into society has alleviated much of the down time he had prior to entering the camp. "I try to keep my day as active as possible and fill it with things I enjoy" (3/17/01). He sets aside time for homework, physical activity, and spending time with his family. Jorge reports after completing those, there is relatively little time left to get into trouble or just hang out. His ability to self-impose structure in his life and fill the unstructured times with appropriate activities have and will continue to be important as he lives day-to-day in avoidance of crime.

Last, the fact that Jorge has experienced success in the school setting is a huge factor in his success after boot camp. Since sixth grade, Jorge has spent his school days in a self-contained classroom with other children with severe mental health and behavioral issues. This environment was one in which there was little opportunity for positive role models or positive peer interactions. Since reintegrating into the general school population, Jorge reports that he has stripped away the stigma of being a bad boy and has actually proven to teachers and peers that he is an intelligent, positive person. Jorge's success in school has prompted him to think about his future plans. He shared that he hopes to become a social worker to help other kids. "I think a job working with kids who have troubles will be very self-fulfilling.... I know I could offer an

understanding that others might not have because I have been there and done that" (3/17/01). I, too, believe in Jorge, and hope and pray he can realize the life he deserves, one that is fulfilling and devoid of crime.

Bobby

Bobby is a seventeen-year-old who looks and acts like the All-American Boy. He is tall, tan (even in the winter), and quite muscular. His million dollar smile and sparkling blue eyes accentuate his perfect look. From first impressions, it is evident that Bobby spends a great deal of time perfecting his immaculate image. He arrived at the camp with a sporty haircut which was bleached in streaks to emulate the latest teen fashion. And as described below, he only chooses clothing that is designer and expensive. He is certainly what many young girls would call a hunk. Bobby's personality is also attractive and charming. As I learned later, Bobby has learned to use his personality, looks, and charm to manipulate and achieve his goals.

Bobby's entrance at the camp was a bit different from the other boys. He arrived at Lakeview three days after the others. He was transferred from a juvenile detention home by his Juvenile Court Officer. His intake was much less formal than the usual routine. He was not subjected to the long, tedious orientation and procedures. Rather, he was quickly paraded through the necessary intake procedures and immediately infused with the cohort.

His first encounter with the boys was when he was told to sit in the kitchen area and label and inventory all of his personal items. Bobby brought with him two duffel bags full of clothing—far more than any of the other boys. He had been transferred directly from a residential facility in which he was allowed to wear street clothes. As he pulled items from his bags, the other boys carefully watched and began forming impressions of the newest member to the cohort. Each clothing item had some sort of designer imprint or company logo: Tommy Hilfiger, Fubu,

and Nike. In addition to his extensive and expensive clothing, Bobby had several compact discs, two bottles of after-shave, and several pairs of shoes. As Bobby was plucking each item from his pack, marking it with his name and adding it to his inventory list, the other boys were exchanging looks of awe and disbelief. Later, he was described by another boy as a "rich, little pretty-boy" (4/11/00).

Bobby is the youngest in a family of seven. His father works in a factory and his mother owns a local diner in his hometown. One older half-brother graduated and left the small town to begin a construction business in another state. Another older half-brother has some sort of a business in Bobby's hometown, Bobby is not quite sure what it is. Bobby's only sister, who has Down Syndrome, is nineteen years old and is a senior in high school. Bobby describes the relationship he has with his family as average. Because of the age difference between himself and his half-brothers, he has not developed a strong relationship with them. Bobby does report that he loves his sister dearly and enjoys spending time with her.

During Bobby's elementary school years, he and his sister, Carol, had been educated in and out of the public school setting. His mother home schooled both children during Bobby's fourth through sixth grade years due to some issues with the school's ability and willingness to provide an appropriate program for his sister. He and his sister then reentered the public school setting when Bobby started junior high. Bobby shared that it was difficult to make the transition back into the public school. Conforming to rules has always been difficult for Bobby. Reentering an institution in which it was expected and mandated to follow rules and schedules became the biggest problem for Bobby.

Bobby has suffered from a clinically diagnosed case of depression. He sees a psychologist on a regular basis and has been prescribed medications. Bobby reports that he infrequently takes the medications and has completely taken himself off them for much of the last year. Bobby's

bouts of depression coupled with his low self-esteem have significantly impacted his life. Bobby remembers even at an early age crying at the littlest of things. He recalls the frustration his father would have with him regarding his "down in the dumps" behavior and his frequent attacks of crying. Bobby's father made it very clear to him that he was bothered by Bobby's inability to control his emotions. The depression and lack of self-concept is a major attribute to the four attempts Bobby has made to end his life. According to Bobby, his last suicide attempt could have proved fatal except on the fluke that his mother came home and found him passed out. He was quickly rushed to the hospital and revived. After this last attempt he was placed temporarily in a hospital for mentally ill teenagers and a new combination of drugs was prescribed. Bobby eventually took himself off those drugs, too.

In Bobby's mind the medications he was prescribed made things worse. Insomnia was one of the major side effects of his medication. After doing much reading on adolescent depression (Whitley, 1996; Fritz, 1995; Lamarine, 1995), I found evidence to support that sleep disorders are a physical ailment of depression. Bobby's sleep difficulties were a combination of effects from the depression as well as the medication. Bobby's sleep habits became ones in which he would be up all night and then fall asleep around one o'clock in the afternoon. Waking up prior to six o'clock in the evening was difficult. Bobby shared that since he could not sleep at night he often chose to go out. He would often return home early in the morning and "crash." Because of the unusual hours he kept, Bobby had trouble getting to school on time. He had gotten into trouble for being chronically truant. Eventually, the principal put him on a contract to attend school on a regular basis. Bobby's inability to follow through with the terms of the contract eventually got him expelled from school.

Much of the pain felt by Bobby emotionally was masked by alcohol and drugs. Self-medication and drug abuse are popular methods for adolescents in dealing with their depression

(Lamarine, 1995). Bobby shared that he did use crack and cocaine on occasion; however, his drugs of choice were alcohol and marijuana. Because of his carousing at night and the friends that he kept, he became heavily involved in drug dealing to the high school students in his town. The drug dealing provided him the opportunity to make extra money. He enjoyed buying clothes, compact discs, and other items with the quick cash he could earn. Making between nine hundred and fifteen hundred dollars in a weekend was quite common. Other than marijuana, Bobby most often refrained from using the drugs he was peddling because it tapped into the profit he was able to make. Even though Bobby was dealing on a nightly basis, his parents chose not to acknowledge his illegal activities.

> My mom told me last weekend that she knew that I was involved in heavy stuff but she never asked.... I've dealt drugs, I've stolen cars, I stole rims and stereos. I've carried around a gun, I've been around gang-bangers and I was in a shootout.... I guess quite a bit for someone my age. (4/23/00)

According to Allen et al. (1994), adolescent depression and drug use is seen in higher frequency in families where the children have difficulty establishing positive relationships, good communication, and positive self-identities. In addition to the depression and self-esteem, Bobby was definitely struggling with his relationship with his father as well as his actual frustration that his parents did not care enough to question him about his unusual activities.

When asked about daily activities and friends, Bobby talks more about his life revolving around the peddling of drugs. He states he has not really established male friends that he hangs out with on a regular basis. He has many acquaintances due to his line of work but no one he can really trust. He describes his closest friends as a group of girls. Bobby expresses his preference to establishing relationships with girls because "they are easier to express my feelings to" (4/6/00). Bobby is unique and does not subscribe to many of the "Boy Code" (Pollack, 1998) attributes.

Bobby definitely masked much of himself to the outer world. His image was one in which people would perceive he was put together and had everything going for him. But on the inside he was struggling with many issues. These struggles caused him to disconnect with all adults and many male friends in his life. The relationships with girls filled a void that he needed—to be heard and communicate deeply with others.

Originally, I had predicted that Bobby's reintegration into society would be a positive one. Upon gradation of the boot camp, he and another peer had expressed the desire "to join the Army on the buddy system" (4/25/00). Both boys had met with the recruiter and had signed the initial paperwork. Unfortunately, Bobby did not follow through with this plan. Elmo, the buddy that Bobby was going to join with, changed his mind, too. Bobby reports that he then tried to get into the Marines but due to his criminal background he was rejected. At that point he decided that if he could not be in the Marines, he did not want to go into the armed forces.

The rejection of the Marines as well as a lack of any long-term plan began the beginning of Bobby's descent. Bobby plunged into a period of depression. He started to use and peddle drugs again and became involved in other illegal activities. Within a month of his return back home, his father confronted him about his activities and according to Bobby a huge argument ensued. "My dad ended up calling the police and my probation officer so I ended up getting locked up for a couple of days" (3/28/01). At that point his probation officer told him that he needed to either join the Job Corps or he would be placed in some sort of a residential facility until he turned eighteen.

Bobby shared that he reluctantly chose the Job Corp as it was the "lesser of two evils" (3/28/01). At the Corps, Bobby was enrolled in the brick masonry program. Bobby said the Corps was not as bad as he had expected and once he got used to it, it was fine. He quickly rose to high social status amongst the other participants and was voted dorm president. He reports that

he used his status to deal drugs to the other participants. Although he was never officially caught selling, there was an incident in which he came very close.

> During a cigarette break I sold a joint to a guy behind one of the buildings. Usually I didn't bring the stuff with me during the day. Well the guy decided he wanted to smoke the joint right away. Just as he was finishing, one of the counselors comes around the corner and smells the weed. He started questioning us about the smell but we just denied everything.... They brought in the drug dogs and searched our rooms. I had my stash someplace else.... I know if they would have found anything, I would have been put in prison for at least eight years. (3/28/01)

Bobby reported that the incident did not keep him from selling, but a girl did. Bobby met a girlfriend while at the Job Corps. "Lindsay has been a great influence in my life; she doesn't like it when I drink and she is keeping me from selling and using drugs" (3/28/01). While at the Job Corps Lindsay became pregnant with Bobby's child. Shortly after that, Bobby was sent home early due to the suspicion that he was dealing as well as his descent into a "bad depression" (3/28/01). Bobby shared that his depression flared up and he needed to go on various medications to regulate his mood. Upon Lindsay's graduation, she and Bobby moved to her hometown, rented an apartment, and most recently became engaged. Bobby shared that he has not used drugs for several months and is beginning a new job at a factory making doors.

So what did Bobby learn at the boot camp? For one, Bobby learned how to manipulate the system. And upon questioning, he admits that is true. He followed the rules and the norms with remarkable ability but did not learn what was intended by Lakeview Academy. He did learn many unintended learnings, though. As I stated earlier, Bobby had learned well before his entry into Lakeview that he could use his good looks and social status to manipulate others. This was reinforced at Lakeview. Although he went through the motions and completed the tasks at camp,

he did so without using his prior knowledge and experience and applying them to the situation—the boot camp. As he went through the motions at Lakeview, he practiced and reinforced his deviant behaviors in the social context of the camp. As the camp progressed and Bobby was reinforced by earning the leadership awards, he was constructing in his own mind that manipulating others was appropriate and acceptable. He was given the opportunity to practice this learning which was effortless and incidental.

Unfortunately, his boot camp experience did not serve him well as he reentered society. For in as little as thirty days after returning home, he was again in trouble with the law. He was dealing drugs, he was having relationship difficulties with his father, and he was using drugs to deal with his depression. During both follow-up interviews, Bobby claims that he learned discipline. I believe he learned how to live with and manipulate imposed discipline, to some extent. He did, however, not learn the skills necessary to be a self-disciplined individual. At the boot camp, he was able to conform to the imposed structure and discipline. His conforming and manipulative behavior earned him the privilege of being chosen by the adults to give a graduation speech. He also graduated with honors, which according to Lakeview standards he had accomplished the majority of the goals set forth by the camp, while at the camp. I would argue that he learned none of them because when back in his home environment he faltered. Although I have not visited a Job Corps facility, I would imagine there is some sort of structure and order to the day and evening activities. Even in that type of setting Bobby was unable to hold it together and eventually was dismissed before finishing the program. Bobby shared that he was relying upon his girlfriend to help him avoid drugs and alcohol. His reliance on external controls to avoid criminal behaviors is detrimental to his chances of reforming. From the boot camp experience, Bobby certainly did not learn the skills necessary to avoid future criminal behavior and refrain from illegal activity.

As I have described throughout this dissertation, active participation by learners is important within the constructs of a social environment. Learners must be engrossed in problem solving and critical thinking with relevant and engaging material to optimize learning. Unfortunately, the official theories of learning at Lakeview were not presented to participants in this manner. Bobby's experience after leaving Lakeview illustrates that premise. While at the camp he played by the rules, earned the awards, and did what was necessary to complete the program. Bobby demonstrated the ability to do what was necessary to complete the program and actually excel. The boot camp then did not accomplish what it set out to do for the juvenile offenders.

Lakeview did not teach Bobby how to be self-disciplined, motivated, and hard working. It taught him how to comply to the external control exerted by others. Lakeview also did not teach Bobby about respect. To respect people and property Bobby must first learn respect himself. This is something that he has struggled with for many years. Although he was pleased with his accomplishments at Lakeview, he was only temporarily able to feel good about himself. Once he suffered depressive episodes back home, his self-worth was again depleted. Lakeview did not shock Bobby into avoiding future criminal behavior. Although he has stayed out of prison to this point, it has been due to pure luck. When Bobby chose to deal drugs at the Job Corps, he shared that he knew from the beginning that if caught he would be facing an adult charge. This did not deter him. Bobby was also dealing drugs back in his hometown. He knew if caught he would most likely be charged as an adult. This too did not deter Bobby from breaking the law. Bobby's attitude that he can beat the system may lead him into future trouble.

The Lakeview environment was one which artificially imposed at best a controlled, positive environment. That controlled environment actually hindered the boys' chances of generalizing their knowledge back in society. To further ensure that the boys are able to transfer learning, the

boot camp must set up learning situations in which learning takes place in meaningful contexts, preferably in the context in which the knowledge is to be applied. And then at the very least when the boys venture out on their own, there should be supports so that tasks can be practiced and mastered with help from others.

In comparison to Jorge, Bobby did not have the same type of supports available to him to assist in his success after the camp. The dynamics of Bobby's family could have been one attribute to his difficulties. Through observation and Bobby's interpretations, his mother is very protective of him. She enables many of Bobby's behaviors and uses his diagnosis of depression as an excuse for many of his difficulties. "My mom will actually cover up for me at times. She has lied for me to keep me out of trouble" (3/11/00). Likewise, Bobby's relationship with his father is not good. Bobby claims that they have decided "the best thing to do is to avoid each other" (3/28/01). Although Bobby was looking forward to rekindling this relationship shortly before his release from camp, it has not happened. Again, establishing a positive relationship with at least one adult is so crucial to the development of self-concept and reform. Until we can provide the needed supports, we will continue to replicate stories like Bobby's and further enforce the high rates of recidivism amongst boot camp participants.

I have theorized extensively why Jorge's integration into society has been supremely successful compared to Bobby's. I draw upon the learning theories discussed in Chapter 4 to delineate the boys' experiences. As discussed in that chapter, there are several attributes that, when in place, promote enduring learning. For one, the person must have a certain level of confidence and feel good about his/her self-image. Optimal learning essentially takes place when the person is in the right frame of mind. Although both boys were court ordered to attend the boot camp, Jorge suggested the boot camp placement to the judge. Prior to the boot camp he was in a residential facility. During his time at the facility he began to realize that he had reached a

pinnacle point in his life. If he was to turn things around, the boot camp was going to be his last best chance. Jorge knew he was running out of chances with his family, his school, and with the law. If he was to change his life around, this was his last best change of doing so. Jorge entered the boot camp with a mindset of changing his life; Bobby did not. Bobby was at the boot camp because he had to be there. Although he was not angry about his placement, he may have left if given the chance. Even when Jorge struggled with not winning the weekly awards, he continued to keep his ultimate goal of going back home and reforming in sight.

Optimal learning also must include a learner that has a certain confidence about his abilities as well as a positive self-image. Jorge's self-image hit peaks and valleys throughout the camp but he had the ability to talk about issues that were frustrating to him. He often sought out others to help him sort through the feelings he was having. He was not afraid to show his emotions, so ultimately he was able to grow as he realized success at the camp. Although at first blush one would assume Bobby had a high level of self-confidence, he put forth an incredible amount of energy towards fronting that persona. Bobby suffered from very low self-esteem which plunged him into episodes of deep depression. Bobby spent more time worrying about his image than attacking the issues that led to this poor self-esteem. Learning occurs when people are in a normal frame of mind, not when they are concentrating on trivial matters and certainly not when they are depressed.

Learning also occurs when the person feels a part of the learning club or fits in socially. Both Bobby and Jorge were accepted by their peers at Lakeview. Each established relationships with other boys that I would categorize as friendships. Even though you are part of "the club," it does not ensure that you will learn what is right or intended.

When learning occurs, it must be understandable to the person and tied to past experiences. The ability to tie to past experiences allows the person to experience the connectedness of the old

to the new. Viewing learning not as memorization but rather as growth is also important. During one-on-one interviews, Jorge reflected openly and deeply about his past situations and dreamt about what he had hoped for the future. Many of my conversations with Bobby were short and superficial. We talked mostly about events and less about feelings. We often talked about others, not about him. Bobby did not effectively form a connectedness to his past and present experiences. Certainly Jorge's ability to reflect can be tied to his transformation.

The ability to not focus on the act of learning but rather focus on the task to be accomplished is important when fostering enduring learning. Jorge had established several goals prior to graduating. He wanted to go back home, get out of the behavior disorders room, and finish high school. Ultimately he wanted to avoid any more problems with the law. Jorge went to great pains to ensure that his mother and other support people knew what he was setting out to accomplish. The memory of the days and nights at Sagebrush and Lakeview continually reminded him of what it could be like if he were jailed or imprisoned.

So, what is interpreted as learning at first glance may not always be so. My argument is that although Bobby's experience while at the camp was meaningful and enduring and reinforced by the boot camp staff, it was ultimately not the kind of learning that would reduce his chances of recidivism. If we are striving as a society to produce more stories such as Jorge's, perhaps we need to examine how we structure juvenile delinquent facilities, how we provide aftercare to the participants, and how we teach the parents and families to support our youth who are struggling to find their way.

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary of Findings

The primary purpose of this dissertation was to examine the structure of the boot camp institution as it was seen through the eyes of juvenile boys who experienced it. As the study unfolded, I was able to collect data and interpret how the boys responded to the power and control of the institution. The boot camp was a total institution that controlled every activity and action of the boys. The various activities revolved around the stated goals of the boot camp to teach discipline, respect and accountability, to develop a positive peer culture, to change thinking and behavior, as well as to develop life skills. The history of the use of institutions as a means of crime control has included many different strategies. These range from the invention of juvenile courts and boot camps as well as the huge expansion of the prison industry. In America the population of adults and juveniles in criminal justice institutions has tripled since the 1980s (Tonry & Hamilton, 1995). Much of this increase is due to the public outcry to get tough on crime as well as taxpayer demands for simultaneous protection from crime and criminals.

My goal was to understand, from the boys' perspective, whether the boot camp was a viable option and an option which increased the chances that the boys would walk away from their criminal behaviors as well as decrease their chance of re-offending in the future. I found that the imposed structure of the institution did not give the boys the opportunity to practice and learn self-discipline and self-control. At the camp, most of the day's activities are directed toward conforming to imposed rules and expectations. This imposed structure and the ability to conform at the camp may be important during the boot camp experience but it does little to ensure that the boys will avoid future criminal behavior.

Unfortunately the boys have not been told why activities are done and thus the opportunity for connectivity is diminished. Although boot camps state that the highly structured activities are designed to assist participants in reforming, avoiding negative thought patterns, and ultimately changing their ways when they return to society, only one out of the four boys participating in the study can substantiate that claim. Interestingly enough, after the initial shock of the camp and the activities wears off, the boys do respond well to the structure and control of the institution. In fact, many of them flourish. The institution, in essence, does the thinking for the boys, as long as they follow along and do what they are told, they can and do survive. This study shed light on the fact that the imposed structure was appropriate at camp but since structure was not provided at home, the majority of the boys faltered.

An additional goal of this study was to understand how each boy made meaning from his life experiences as well as the experiences in the camp. I was particularly interested in understanding how the boys were learning from their constructed meanings and, once they were released whether they were able to apply those to their life in society. During the study, I did find that the boot camp made a difference in the attitudinal and behavioral perspectives of most boys while at Lakeview. Surprisingly, in as little as ninety days the boys were able to experience change and success in a highly structure institutional setting. For many of the boys the boot camp was the first time they had had the opportunity to experience and enjoy success in their lives. That success, for the most part, was not maintained when the boys returned to their home environment. The lack of support, the pressures of everyday living, as well as the feelings of frustration once the boys slipped, sparked a spiral back into a life of crime for three out of the four key respondents in this study. Unfortunately, Vygotsky's (1978) thought that anything that children can do with help today, they will be able to do by themselves tomorrow did not hold for Steve, Dallas, and Bobby. I believe, for one, their lack of success was due to the fact that they were

expected to reintegrate into society before they were truly ready. They had not reached a point in which they were able to do what is needed to participate lawfully in society. In addition, they were not afforded opportunities to practice, with support, their newly learned skills within the context of a normal environment. Thus, although Lakeview did teach the boys a great deal, it did not teach the boys what was intended to be learned.

"All learners need structure, but that is structure in their own minds, not in the world around them" (Smith, 1998, p. 78). As was found with Bobby, although he was considered supremely successful within the constraints of the boot camp setting, once he returned to society, within a matter of weeks he resorted back to his past criminal behaviors. Bobby's experience illustrated that he learned how to respond to imposed structure at the boot camp but he had not developed that structure in his own mind. Unfortunately, enduring learning for him was limited. The learning from Lakeview was easily forgotten and was not generalizable to his home environment. In essence, Bobby's success was dependent upon the control of others. Bobby, then, did not learn what was articulated in Lakeview's goals. Beyond the control and constraints of the boot camp, Bobby did not truly learn self-respect, self-discipline, and accountability; nor did he learn to invoke a change in his thinking and behavior that allowed him to avoid problems with the law.

For learning to occur, one must have a supportive environment and must be confident about his abilities (Smith, 1998). During the camp Jorge did not receive any awards, he did not excel in school, and he was not viewed by the other boys as a leader. However, when Jorge returned home, he had a high level of support afforded to him by his family. In addition, while at the camp Jorge learned about the power of relationships. Although this is not one of the articulated goals of boot camps, it has been what Jorge has based most of his success outside of the camp upon. Jorge's renewed and strong relationship with his mother propelled him to realize success at school

and avoid negative behaviors, as well as avoid any criminal activity. Relationship building, as well as support from others, emerged from the data as important and necessary components of success for Jorge.

Last, an additional goal was to determine if shocking boys at boot camp deterred future criminal behavior. One of the stated goals of boot camps is the ability of shocking participants into avoiding future criminal activities by plunging them into the highly intensive activities at the camp. With the boys in this study, I found that many of them only thought in the moment. If they did not have the self-motivation to stay away from criminal activity or illegal substances, thinking about their boot camp experience and even having knowledge that they could land in prison did not deter them from committing a criminal act. The boys quickly forgot about the intensity of activities at Lakeview and interestingly enough, many thought positively about the experience. In fact all four boys reported that if given the opportunity, they would leave their current home situation and return to the boot camp without hesitation. The boot camp provided the boys everything they needed: warm meals, structure, friendships, clean clothes, support, exercise, and an environment free from substance abuse. Essentially, for the boys who had experienced neglect at home, frustration at school, and rejection from their community, Lakeview became a safe haven.

Methodological Reflections

The theoretical perspective of this study rests on the premise that learning which is permanent and initiates behavioral change must be based on the following characteristics. It must be "continual, effortless, inconspicuous, boundless, unpremeditated, independent of rewards and punishment, based on self-image, vicarious, never forgotten, inhibited by testing, a social activity and growth" (Smith, 1998, p. 5). While the boys were at the camp, they were learning all the

time about themselves, their crimes, and the impact their behaviors had on others. This learning was important to the success of the boys while at the boot camp. Unfortunately, the learning necessary to avoid crime was not sustained for most boys when they left. For learning to be permanent, it must be continual. Without the support outside the camp, the learning that occurred became forgotten. I would not have discovered this had I not become immersed in the environment, the study, and with the participants. The methodology employed gave me the unique opportunity to view, discover, and interpret the boys' experiences while at camp and upon their return home.

Through qualitative methodology I was able to discover and construct evidence that supported my theories as well as those of other researchers. Qualitative methodology allowed me to "put myself in the same critical plane as the research respondents" (Bloom, 1998, p. 53) and not only support and defend this theory but also capture the voices of the boys. I believe, at least in the case of Jorge, being part of this narrative process offered him an additional opportunity to develop a relationship with yet another adult at the camp as well as "offered a powerful opportunity for praxis to the extent that it enabled [him] to change by encouraging self-reflection and a deeper understanding of [his] particular situation" (Lather,1991, p. 56). Sharing his narrative with me was a powerful determiner in Jorge's journey to reform. It allowed him to process, reflect, and most significantly change the path of his life.

As I set out to conduct my research, I drew heavily upon the works of Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990, 1998) and her concept of institutional ethnography. I focused on her belief that "traditional sociology favors the constructed realities of privileged experts over the lived realities of its subjects" (Smith, 1997, p. 396). This guided me in focusing upon learning through and by the boys about the actualities of their everyday lives. I attempted, as difficult as it sometimes became, to view their experiences through their eyes and to not base my analysis upon the

framework of society's dominant institutions. The boys' perspectives were gained and in turn became the framework of this study.

I believe I accomplished viewing the world through the boys' eyes by being self-reflexive throughout the research project. Reflexivity in qualitative research "calls for ethnographers to substantiate their interpretations and findings with a reflexive account of themselves and the processes of their research" (Altheide & Johnson, 1997, p. 489). For instance, as a female researcher in a predominantly male dominated facility, I was overwhelmed, skeptical, and concerned at first. I was concerned about how the boys would view me (as an adult female) and whether the information they shared with me would be reflective of the truth as they saw it or whether they would feed me information in regard to how they wanted to see it or how they thought I might want to see it. My skepticism was removed by about the fourth visit. Jorge, during the course of a focus group, shared with the boys how he trusted me and my intentions and how he looked forward to our meetings. At that point I knew I had managed to pull off my entry into the boys' world. I believe this trust was earned by showing the boys that I was not at Lakeview to pass judgment but rather to learn from them. Jorge later told me the way I listened to him helped him validate that his experiences were important and worthy of being told. The mutual trust between the boys and myself allowed me to ask deeper questions, challenge thoughts, and peel back the layers of thought to really get to their issues.

Unfortunately, I did not achieve this level of trust nor had much of a relationship with the adult male staff. But I continued to remind myself that they were not the reason I was studying Lakeview. I sensed my presence was tolerated but not always welcome. I found out quickly which staff was more willing to answer questions, invite my participation, and validate my presence. I basically compromised some of my intended activities on days in which a particular staff member

was working. I felt it was better to refrain from intensive work on those days than face the issue and risk of further damaging my working relationship with the adult staff.

Just as the boys shared that the research project affected them as a person and as a Lakeview Academy member, the research project affected me in many ways. As a researcher I learned within the context of Lakeview about boyhood, boot camps, methodology and research procedures, as well as about relationships and empathy. I found myself constantly questioning my practices but always in pursuit of questioning whether I had asked the right questions, understood fully what had been said, and what the boys meant, as well as whether I had accurately interpreted what the boys revealed to me. This research also inspired me to become interested in encouraging other researchers to partake in research practices that promote social justice and give the marginalized a voice. As a principal I viewed my disciplinary cases in a different manner. Previous to my research project, I took information from individuals and made disciplinary decisions like clockwork. As I dove into this dissertation, I found myself spending more time attempting to understand the causes of what had occurred in disciplinary issues at school. I viewed some of my more frequent disciplinary referrals in a different light, attempting to help them understand that I was willing to just listen and not pass judgment. I truly worked harder at connecting with some of the more "hard core" kids. This project has provided me the opportunity to grow a great deal as a professional. And as a parent I found myself spending time listening to the trials, tribulations, and joys my daughter was experiencing in life. This experience underscored my dedication to always maintain and sustain a healthy relationship with her as well as helped me appreciate the joy and blessing she truly is.

Practical Implications

My findings echo those of many others who have examined boot camps (Odo, 1997; Bouroque, 1996; Cronin & Han, 1994; Mackenzie, 1993; Mackenzie & Souryal, 1991; Sondervan, 1998). That is, participants are successful during the program but much of that success is not maintained outside of the confines of the structure and regimentation of the camp. So, in essence, what is learned in the boot camp is not what has been intended and is certainly, in most cases, not generalized.

So what do we do in terms of a solution? Messner and Rosenfeld (1994) have suggested that the answer to our crime and violence problems can be found in the strengthening of our institutions such as the family, school, and policy. Many of the families of the boys I studied live in a perpetual cycle of crisis and dysfunction. It is unfair to expect boys to return to a home life in which families are unable to provide the necessary support to assist and encourage the boys to avoid crime. When the opportunity is not afforded to develop and maintain positive relationships with adults and peers, the chances of the boys' success diminishes. In addition, when the boys are subjected to modeled behaviors that could likely land them in trouble with the law, it again is unlikely that a long-term behavioral change will occur. For as Smith (1998) states, "You learn from the company you keep" (p. 9). So, in addition to support for the juvenile offender, intensive and continuing support for the family is also needed to encourage enduring learning and change. This could come in the form of:

- more extensive aftercare programs,
- the development of half-way houses or partial programs in which boys would participate in activities in society but return in the evenings for a structured environment,
- more money and funding to support programs that keep kids busy and off the street,

- an expansion of tracking programs in which the tracker becomes more of a mentor to the boy and his family instead of an enforcer, and
- services, training, and assistance to families who are in need of learning and to provide structure, guidance, and a positive environment.

In addition, the development of more personal relationships between the school and the family should be fostered. This could come in the form of routine home visits, frequent positive communication, as well as opportunities to show families how school has changed from their experience.

Schools

Schools also need to take an active role in supporting the development of violence-free environments as well as fostering and encouraging a connection between the boys and other positive adults within the school setting. Although not easy, this can be established in a number of ways including:

- encouraging the development of mentorships and relationships in which the boys feel safe to go to someone within the school for guidance and support. This could come in the form of advisor-advisee programs, smaller class sizes, the encouragement and modeling by administration regarding the importance of developing relationships with students.
- developing an awareness and aversion to using the "Boy Code" (Pollack, 1998a, p. 338),
- modeling appropriate behavior during times of disagreement and anger,
- discouraging and reacting to bullying activities as well as teaching alternatives to frustration,
- validating the importance of expressing emotions and being themselves,

- finding alternatives to suspension and expulsion by treating disciplinary issues as learning opportunities, not punishment sessions, and
- finding ways to teach boys the importance of dealing with frustration and anger in nonviolent ways.

Teacher and administrative education programs need to further develop programs that better arm all educators with strategies to work with diverse student needs and abilities. Teachers need to take an active role in making personal connections with the more difficult students in their class and in the schools. In addition, the role of the special education teacher should be one in which they are not a receiver only of students in dire need but also a consultant, problem solver, and strategist for all children struggling in the school setting. Support must also be ongoing and constant within the school. Time needs to be allocated so that inservice workshops and programs can be facilitated between school personnel and outside agencies as well as psychologists, liaison officers, and counselors working with juvenile offenders. Close attention should be made to ensure that educators structure their learning environments so basic needs are met for all students. This could include curriculum and pedagogical changes that deal with different learning styles as well as issues students are faced with on a daily basis such as poverty, drugs, and neglect. An overhaul of the curriculum ensuring that it is more clear and that it teaches kids in a constructionist, real world manner would be helpful. In addition, providing teachers the knowledge and support to identify children with the potential for at-risk behaviors and providing appropriate interventions early on in the child's life is crucial.

Policy

According to Odo (1997), part of this reorganization and support should also entail the reassessment of the cultural values found in American society, especially the exaggerated

emphasis placed on monetary success. "In a capitalistic society, fueled by competitiveness and the importance of material success, conflict increases. The cause of much crime, then, is determined by social forces outside the control of individuals" (p. 176). When poverty and inequality become a way of life for many teens, a set of values that are in conflict with the larger society become apparent. When crimes are committed that feed into these cultural values, confinement or imprisonment are the likely form of punishment to occur. Finding ways to reassess and reorganize capitalistic values as well as finding solutions to curb poverty, inequality, and marginalization may also be alternative methods of dealing with the real issues that are sparking an increase in crime.

Boot camps

If boot camps are to continue to be an option for juvenile offenders, I believe a decrease in the recidivism rate could occur if the following is changed. During the course of the camp, the level of imposed structure should fade away as the boys progress. This would allow the boys more opportunity to develop self-discipline and self-motivation. Perhaps this would be done best by extending the time the boys participate in the boot camp experience. Although many boot camps give lip service to their aftercare programs, many don't exist or are not effective. This should be the most important and extensive component of the boot camp program. The goal should be to foster self-discipline and self-motivation that is lifelong and enduring. Those who enter boot camp should leave armed with a wide variety of skills and abilities that will afford them the opportunity to be positive and contributing members of society.

Recommendations for Further Research

Further application of the theoretical framework regarding learning, forgetting, and generalizing in a variety of different juvenile offender programs is essential to delineating what methods give us our best chance in reducing juvenile crime and promoting a reduction in recidivism. Unless we are able to provide programming that truly teaches juveniles how to avoid violence and criminal activities as well as provide the necessary supports for reintegration into society, our youth are most likely going to continue to re-offend and eventually could become adult prisoners.

A longitudinal study that continues to track the four boys who were subjects of this study may shed light on whether the learning in the boot camp endures the tests of time and temptation. Only one participant demonstrated the ability to refrain from crime after leaving Lakeview for a period of one year. It remains to be seen whether Jorge will be able to continue forging his path or whether he will eventually revert back to criminal activities. One important question to be answered is, does the strength of the relationship and support from his mother provide Jorge with the necessary tools to avoid future criminal behavior?

Conclusion

In this dissertation I attempted to critically examine the experiences of juvenile boys while they participated in a ninety day boot camp. I was determined to discover whether this experience was an appropriate method and means for teaching teens to avoid future juvenile crime. My findings indicate that the key to the experience for the boys was the relationships they developed while at the camp with both the adults as well as the other participants. These relationships were the catalyst for many of the boys to realize success while at the camp. They also became the catalyst for at least one boy to further develop and sustain a relationship with his mother once he

was released. This relationship seems to be the biggest determining factor for Jorge's success outside of the camp. Each of the other boys who participated extensively in the study were not able to mend and develop relationships with the key individuals within their lives. A common thread that binds the three who were unable to engage support or redevelop relationships with key adults, was their continued problems abiding by the law.

It is important that we continue to support the boys who participate in juvenile boot camps as they reintegrate into society. It is a shock for many to go from total control to little or no control in a matter of a day. Better aftercare for boys following release from the boot camp is essential. This aftercare should be carefully planned, on an individual basis, depending upon an assessment of what the boy truly learned at the camp, the amount of support he will be receiving at home, as well as the obstacles he may be facing such as past physical, emotional, and/or substance abuse.

Other alternatives should also be developed to ease boys back into society to further enhance the chances of their success. Some alternatives may include the development of partial programs in which the boys participate in less structured activities during the day and return to home at night. The key to these alternatives is affording the boys the opportunity to practice their newly learned skills in a life-like environment while still providing support during times of crisis or frustration. In addition, effective programs are those that connect new knowledge to preexisting intellectual constructs by giving the boys opportunities to actively participate in problem solving situations that are lifelike, relevant, and engaging. The promise and hope, then, of curbing juvenile violence and criminal activity lies in the development of extensive supports and programming for both the boys and their families.

During the course of this research project, two former students of mine died. One committed suicide and another died while getting tangled in a cord during a debacled robbery

attempt. Both had troubled lives similar to the boys at Lakeview. Both had reached out for help but had not developed a relationship or connection with an adult that was significant enough to make a difference. Their deaths bothered me immensely and prompted me to encourage staff to foster better relationships with the students within our school. My research and experiences in the past two years have prompted me to view kids, crime, and violence through a different lens. Instead of allowing myself and others to throw up our hands in frustration, I have challenged others and myself to take the time and listen to what our kids are really saying. The boys taught me that I, as an educator and a school administrator, carry a heavy burden, for I may be someone's last best chance for change. This research project has given me and the officials at Lakeview Academy an opportunity to view the boot camp experience through the lens of the boys experiencing it. This study has shed light on issues that were not apparent nor addressed by the Lakeview staff. The program director as well as the administrators at Lakeview have used the results and findings to generate discussions regarding changes in programming. This, to me, is perhaps the most important and exciting outcome of this study. My work has proven to be the catalyst that will foster change at Lakeview. For now it may be in only one corner of the world, but my hope is that it will spark change in the entire boot camp arena.

> It's the action, not the fruit of the action that's important.... It may not be in your power, may not be in your time, that there'll be any fruit. But that doesn't mean you stop doing the right thing. You may never know what results come from your action. But if you do nothing, there will be no result. (Mohandas Gandhi, as cited in Michie, 1999, p. 145)

APPENDIX A. INTAKE/INITIAL MEETING FORM

Intake/Initial Meeting Form

Cohort #_____

Name _____

Race _____

Age _____

Education Level _____

Type of Community of Residence _____

Type of Offenses _____

Number of Adjudications _____

Past Interventions _____

Referred to Lakeside by _____

Lives with _____

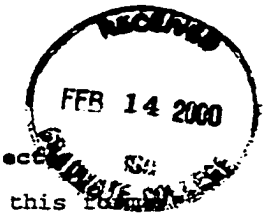
Number of Siblings _____

Birth Order _____

Other Information _____

_____

APPENDIX B. HUMAN SUBJECTS FORM



Information for Review of Research Involving Human Subjects
Iowa State University
(Please type and use the attached instructions for completing this form.)

1. Title of Project: Institutional Ethnography – Woodward Academy Boot Camp

2. I agree to provide the proper surveillance of this project to insure that the rights and welfare of the human subjects are protected. I will report any adverse reactions to the committee. Additions to or changes in research procedures after the project has been approved will be submitted to the committee for review. I agree to request renewal of approval for any project continuing more than one year.

Susan A. Meade	Feb. 8, 2000	Susan Meade
Typed name of principal investigator	Date	Signature of principal investigator
Educational Administration	8100 Brookview Drive Urbandale, IA 50322	
Department	Campus address	
(515) 254-2929/(515) 266-3109		
Phone number to report results		

3. Signatures of other investigators:

	Date	Relationship to principal investigator
Dr. Bill Poston	2/08/00	Committee Co-chair

4. Principal investigator(s) (check all that apply)
☐ Faculty ☐ Staff X☐ Graduate student ☐ Undergraduate student

5. Project (check all that apply)
X Research X Thesis or dissertation ☐ Class project ☐ Independent Study (490, 590, Honors project)

6. Number of subjects (complete all that apply)
adults, non-students: 2-3 # minors under 14: _____ # minors 14 - 17: Up to 5
ISU students: _____ other (explain): _____

7. Brief description of proposed research involving human subjects: (See instructions, item 7. Use an additional page if needed.)

This research will delve into the experience juvenile delinquents have as they complete the court ordered boot camp experience at Woodward Academy. Woodward Academy provides students with an intensive 90-day highly structured educational/treatment program experience. It is a residential program that mixes intensive pro-social behavioral training with physical/confidence training, academic education, and vocational education within a positive peer environment. This structured program model combines a strong foundation of discipline, responsibility, and self esteem through vigorous training and by confronting youth offenders' negative behaviors and providing them with healthy alternatives. The study will also explore the effects of the program on subjects as they return to their home and school environments. Problems and questions explored will include: Why are male youth choosing to commit acts of delinquency? What effects do the school and community have upon the youth's situation? What aspects of the boot camp and/or the institutional setting make a difference in the youth's life? What processes do the youth go through as they leave the norms of society and enter into the constraints of institutional living? Can the teachings of a nine-week boot camp be generalized and make a difference once the offender is returned to his home and school?
The method of data collection will be qualitatively oriented—observations and direct interviews with the subjects and staff members of the boot camp.
The method of selection will be as follows: Each nine weeks a new cohort of youth enroll in the boot camp. They join the other youth who have been in the camp for either 3 or 6 weeks. The researcher will enter the camp with a new cohort on the first day and follow that group through graduation. The first couple of meetings will be observational then the researcher will give two youth the opportunity to enter into the project in which more in-depth interviews and

observations will be made. The researcher will spend a significant amount of time with the individuals from the cohort and draw upon their experiences to structure the institutional ethnography The respondents' agreement to enter into the project will be voluntary. The identified youth will sign a consent form. If parents have guardianship, their signature will be required, as well. Complete anonymity will be ensured. This process will be replicated again, in 90 days as a new cohort begins. The experiences of the four youth will be compared and analyzed. Respondents will not be paid or given any material items for their participation in the study.
Data gathering questions have not been derived. A list of questions asked will be forwarded to you at the time of development.

(Please do not send research, thesis, or dissertation proposals.)

8. Informed Consent: X Signed informed consent will be obtained. (Attach a copy of your form.)
☐ Modified informed consent will be obtained. (See instructions, item 8.)
☐ Not applicable to this project.

9. Confidentiality of Data: Describe below the methods you will use to ensure the confidentiality of data obtained. (See instructions, item 9.)

The respondents will have the opportunity to choose a pseudonym that will be used throughout the research project. If a transcriptionist is hired, that person will be made aware of confidentiality issues. All raw data will be obtained in a safe place. Coded data will maintain each subject's pseudonym.

10. What risks or discomfort will be part of the study? Will subjects in the research be placed at risk or incur discomfort? Describe any risks to the subjects and precautions that will be taken to minimize them. (The concept of risk goes beyond physical risk and includes risks to subjects' dignity and self-respect as well as psychological or emotional risk. See instructions, item 10.)

Subjects will be asked to reflect upon their experiences both from home/school and the boot camp. No foreseeable risks to the subjects' psychological state by the content of this project are detected.

11. **CHECK ALL** of the following that apply to your research:

☐ A. Medical clearance necessary before subjects can participate
☐ B. Administration of substances (foods, drugs, etc.) to subjects
☐ C. Physical exercise or conditioning for subjects
☐ D. Samples (blood, tissue, etc.) from subjects
☐ E. Administration of infectious agents or recombinant DNA
☐ F. Deception of subjects
☒ G. Subjects under 14 years of age and/or X Subjects 14 - 17 years of age
X H. Subjects in institutions (nursing homes, prisons, etc.)
X I. Research must be approved by another institution or agency (Attach letters of approval)

If you checked any of the items in 11, please complete the following in the space below (include any attachments):

Items A–E Describe the procedures and note the proposed safety precautions.

Items D–E The principal investigator should send a copy of this form to Environmental Health and Safety, 118 Agronomy Lab for review.

Item F Describe how subjects will be deceived; justify the deception; indicate the debriefing procedure, including the timing and information to be presented to subjects.

Item G For subjects under the age of 14, indicate how informed consent will be obtained from parents or legally authorized representatives as well as from subjects.

Students will sign consent forms on the premises. Parental and/or authorized representative signatures will be acquired by contacting the individual subject's designated probation officer, juvenile justice worker, or social worker.

Items H–I Specify the agency or institution that must approve the project. If subjects in any outside agency or institution are involved, approval must be obtained prior to beginning the research, and the letter of approval should be filed.

A verbal commitment by the institution has been given. A letter of approval is attached.

Last name of Principal Investigator Meade

Checklist for Attachments and Time Schedule

The following are attached (please check):

12. X Letter or written statement to subjects indicating clearly:
    a) the purpose of the research
    b) the use of any identifier codes (names, #'s), how they will be used, and when they will be removed (see item 17)
    c) an estimate of time needed for participation in the research
    d) if applicable, the location of the research activity
    e) how you will ensure confidentiality
    f) in a longitudinal study, when and how you will contact subjects later
    g) that participation is voluntary; nonparticipation will not affect evaluations of the subject

13. X Signed consent form (if applicable)

14. X Letter of approval for research from cooperating organizations or institutions (if applicable)

15. ☐ Data-gathering instruments

16. Anticipated dates for contact with subjects:

First contact	**Last contact**
02/21/00	11/30/00
Month/Day/Year	Month/Day/Year

17. If applicable: anticipated date that identifiers will be removed from completed survey instruments and/or audio or visual tapes will be erased:

6/30/01
Month/Day/Year

18. Signature of Departmental Executive Officer	Date	Department or Administrative Unit
[signature]	2/14/00	Educational Administration

19. *Decision of the University Human Subjects Review Committee:*
☒ Project approved ☐ Project not approved ☐ No action required

Name of Human Subjects in Research Committee Chair	Date	Signature of Committee Chair
Patricia M. Keith	2-29-00	[signature]

APPENDIX C. FACILITY AGREEMENT TO PARTICIPATE

Agreement to Participate in the Academy Boot Camp Research Project

By signing this agreement you understand that:

1. The research conducted will be used to fulfill the requirements to complete a dissertation at Iowa State University. The purposes of this study are to examine the structure of a boot camp, understand how juveniles make meaning of the boot camp experience, and follow the re-entry of juvenile offenders to life outside the institution.

2. Students, administrators, teachers and other interested parties will be interviewed and observed. This may include sessions in small groups or in a 1:1 setting. Your participation is strictly voluntary. The interviewee has the right to withdraw from the study at any point. No undue inducement, force, fraud, deceit, duress, or other forms of constraint or coercion will be utilized by the researcher.

3. You agree to be a part of this study without any monetary compensation.

4. During the research process the participant has the right to inquire about research procedures.

5. All information gathered from interviewing and observations will be kept confidential and will be used for research purposes only, except as may be required by law or emergency circumstances. Your name will not be written on any research material. A pseudonym will be assigned. Except as may be required by law, no information will be released to anyone.

6. You will be meeting with the researcher at least one time per week during the nine week boot camp experience. This meeting will be pre-arranged with the boot camp administrators. It may be a 1:1 meeting or may include participation in a small group setting. After graduation from the program, the researcher will follow-up with the interviewee at the home school. Up to three visits may occur. Each visit will last approximately two hours.

By participating in this project, you will be assisting in finding out how the boot camp is working for you and other juvenile offenders. The information that you provide will be helpful in guiding the future development of programs for youth.

I have read (or have had read to me) and understand this AGREEMENT, and I freely agree to be part of this study. I have been given a copy of this AGREEMENT.

_____ _____

Respondent Signature Date

_____ _____

Parent/Guardian Signature Date

_____ _____

Signature of person administering form Date

I, Judy Seals, ~~acting as chief~~ Facility administrator at Academy, give Susan Meade permission to conduct an institutional ethnography in our boot camp facility.

I understand this study will:

1. Be used to complete a dissertation under the requirements of Iowa State University.
2. Include large and small group observations and/or interviews with selected respondents.
3. Be conducted with juveniles between the ages of 15 and 17.
4. Not utilize the name of the facility,
5. Allow respondents to withdraw at any time from the study.
6. Occur on and off the premises of Academy—follow-up meetings with the respondents and the researcher will occur after their graduation from the program.

Respondents, as well as administrators, will be given a copy of the study before the final draft is written. If changes need to be made they may be negotiated with the researcher. The respondents and institution will receive a final copy of the study soon after its completion and acceptance.

I agree to allow Susan Meade to conduct her study at Academy between the dates of February 20, 2000 and November 30, 2000.

Judy M. Seals 1-27-00

Judy Seals Date

APPENDIX D. RESEARCH CONSENT FORMS

Research Consent Form-Youth and Guardian

I give my consent to be part of the Institutional Ethnographic Research Study at "Lakeview Academy". This project will be conducted by Susie Meade as part of the requirements to obtain a doctor of philosophy at Iowa State University. This project will involve approximately 6 male juveniles attending Lakeview Academy as well as the teachers and administrators of the institution. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary; I can withdraw my consent at any time without penalty and have the results of my participation, to the extent that it can be identified as mine, returned to me, removed from the records, or destroyed. I also understand that participating or not participating in this study will not affect my status or treatment at Lakeview Academy.

The following points have been explained to me:

1. The purpose of this research is to understand how adjudicated youth respond within and to the boot camp institution. The research will unearth how you, the youth offender, makes meaning of your life and the experiences at Lakeview. In addition, the research will discover whether this new meaning engages you to make different choices after released back into your home, school, and community environments.

2. I agree to be interviewed on at least 6 occasions while at Lakeview Academy as well as at least once after I return to my home school. Each interview will last approximately 1-2 hours and will be tape recorded. I will be asked to tell my life story and to reflect upon my experiences at Lakeview Academy. How I structure my stories and what information I choose to share will be up to me. I can skip any question I do not want to answer and still participate in the study. I also understand that the researcher may have access to my criminal and educational records. I also understand that due to the fact that I am a minor, my legal guardian must also consent to my participation in this study.

3. I will also be asked to be a part of a small focus group made up of other Lakeview Academy participants. The group will meet once every two weeks. Members will be asked to reflect together on their experiences, as well as learn about issues the group identifies as important.

4. A risk involved with this research is some possible emotional discomfort if I choose to talk about any life experiences that were painful to me. However, what I choose to share in the interview or with the group will be up to me.

5. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and will not be related in any individually identifiable form without my prior consent, unless required by law as described below. Information that I share with the researcher will remain confidential (that is, it will not be linked to me by name or shared with anyone in a way that would identify me) except any information about child or elder abuse, or a threat of violence to myself or others. I understand that information in these areas will be reported to the authorities. I also understand that the

researcher will maintain confidentially that keeps the researcher from telling anyone that I participated or what I shared with the researcher, with the exceptions explained above.

6. The tape recordings of my interviews, as well as the researcher's notes from the focus group meetings will be kept in the researcher's possession. These will be available only to the researcher and her transcriptionist. The transcriptionist will uphold confidentiality. The tapes themselves will be destroyed by 6/30/2001. In addition, I understand that it is possible that the research being done will result in professional presentations and publications. I will, however, in no way be personally identified in the way in which the results will be shared. For purposes of reporting the results of this study, a pseudonym will be used to protect my identity and the identity of the institution.

7. The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, either now or during the course of this project. If desired, I can receive a report of the findings of this study.

I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had my questions answered to my satisfaction and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____

Legal Guardian's Signature Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

Research Consent Form
Teacher/Administrator

I give my consent to be part of the Institutional Ethnographic Research Study at "Lakeview Academy". This project will be conducted by Susie Meade as part of the requirements to obtain a doctor of philosophy at Iowa State University. This project will involve approximately 6 male juveniles attending Lakeview Academy as well as the teachers and administrators of the institution. I understand that my participation is entirely voluntary; I can withdraw my consent at any time without penalty and have the results of my participation, to the extent that it can be identified as mine, returned to me, removed from the records, or destroyed. I also understand that participating or not participating in this study will not affect my status or employment at Lakeview Academy.

The following points have been explained to me:

1. The purpose of this research is to understand how adjudicated youth respond within and to the boot camp institution. The research will unearth how the youth offender makes meaning of their life and their experiences at Lakeview. In addition, the research will discover whether this new meaning engages the youth to make different choices after released back into your home, school, and community environments. My invovlement will be to assist the researcher in understanding the role of the institution (and my role within that institution) in shaping the experiences of the youth.

2. I agree to be interviewed on at least 2 occasions at Lakeview Academy. Each interview will last approximately 30 minutes to 1 hour and will be tape recorded. I will be asked to tell about my role within Lakeview Academy and to reflect upon my experiences. How I structure my stories and what information I choose to share will be up to me. I can skip any question I do not want to answer and still participate in the study.

3. A risk involved with this research is some possible emotional discomfort if I choose to talk about any experiences that were painful to me. However, what I choose to share in the interview will be up to me.

4. I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and will not be related in any individually identifiable form without my prior consent, unless required by law as described below. Information that I share with the researcher will remain confidential (that is, it will not be linked to me by name or shared with anyone in a way that would identify me) except any information about child or elder abuse, or a threat of violence to myself or others. I understand that information in these areas will be reported to the authorities. I also understand that the researcher will maintain confidentially that keeps the researcher from telling anyone that I participated or what I shared with the researcher, with the exceptions explained above.

6. The tape recordings of my interviews, as well as the researcher's notes will be kept in the researcher's possession. These will be available only to the researcher and her transcriptionist. The transcriptionist will uphold confidentiality. The tapes themselves will be destroyed by 6/30/2001. In addition, I understand that it is possible that the research being done will result in professional presentations and publications. I will, however, in no way be personally identified in the way in which the results will be shared. For purposes of reporting the results of this study, a pseudonym will be used to protect my identity and the identity of the institution.

7. The researcher will answer any further questions about the research, either now or during the course of this project. If desired, I can receive a report of the findings of this study.

I have read and understand the explanation provided to me. I have had my questions answered to my satisfaction and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this consent form.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature . Date

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature Date

APPENDIX E. A TYPICAL PHYSICAL TRAINING

A Typical Physical Training

Stretching exercises	(15 min.)
Calisthenics	(15 min.)
Jumping jacks	
Squats	
Mountain climbing	
Run	(20–30 min.)
Cool down exercises	
Group activity	(20 min.)
Tire pull	
Board drag	
Relay races	
Stretching exercises	(15 min.)
March back to dorm	(10 min.)

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