

**American Indian and Alaska Native
Mental Health Research**

The Journal of the National Center

Volume 13, Number 2, 2006

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ISSN 1533-7731

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Acknowledgements

The authors of all articles wish to acknowledge the outstanding support of the Office of Indian Education Programs for this initiative and for the evaluation of the initiative. Kevin Skenandore and Stanley Holder provided exceptional leadership in the inception and first years of implementation. Dr. Angelita Felix and Norma Tibbitts provided structure and direction in maturation phases of the project. The authors also wish to acknowledge the boarding school staff for their dedication to Native American children.

INDIAN BOARDING SCHOOLS AND THE THERAPEUTIC RESIDENTIAL MODEL PROJECT

Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D. and Stanley R. Holder, M.S.

Henderson, Kunitz, Gabriel, McCright, and Levy reviewed research on Indian boarding schools in 1998, concluding that the literature comes to a wide range of conclusions as to the positive or negative impact of boarding schools. Operating since the 1800s, boarding schools, some funded by an array of religious groups and others by the Federal government under treaty obligations, have reflected an ongoing evolution in practices designed to serve the needs of Indian children and to shape their lives. The Federal system of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools currently encompasses over 185 day and boarding schools on and off reservations, responsibility for which has, over the past decades, increasingly come under control of tribes or tribal consortiums. Although boarding schools were originally designed to stamp out traditional culture and to mainstream Indian children, there is now an increasing emphasis on melding traditional culture into programs which maximize individual development and academic success. Each BIA school now provides a unique environment reflecting its historical development; the cultures of the tribes it serves; and the current configuration of staff, administration, and resources. Students attend BIA boarding schools for a number of reasons, including problems in the home environment, school failure, or their parents' belief that the boarding school environment provides a safer or better educational climate for their children.

Many students entering boarding schools are children or youth at risk. According to Erikson's (1950) psychosocial conceptualization of development, human beings progress through consecutive stages of social development (Trust, Autonomy, Initiative, Industry, Identity, Intimacy) which build on each other. Whether previous stages have primarily a positive or negative resolution will influence whether future stages have optimal outcomes. Many students who enter boarding schools have already learned that survival requires mistrust. Many have had to grow up too fast, take too much responsibility too early, and have acquired significant burdens of shame, doubt, and guilt related to situations over which they have had no control. Introduction to school has sometimes brought the experience of failure rather than success in the preadolescent stage, damping initiative and industry, and creating negative self-esteem. In order to survive emotionally, many students have erected emotional and behavioral barriers, cutting themselves off from connections with others. Early victimization may have created lasting effects on brain development and function as a result of stress response systems, which require cognitive therapy to reprogram and may require short- or long-term medication (Teicher, 2000; DeJong & Roy, 1990; McCullough, 2005). In their seminal work *Reclaiming Youth at Risk: Our Hope for the Future* (2002), Brendtro, Brokenleg, and VanBockern describe the effects of high-risk factors on the development of children and youth. Brendtro et al. conceptualize ecological hazards for at-risk youth into four dimensions which reflect negative resolution of Erikson's stages:

- (1) DESTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS, as experienced by the rejected or unclaimed child, hungry for love but unable to trust, expecting to be hurt again.
- (2) CLIMATES OF FUTILITY, as encountered by the insecure youngster, crippled by feelings of inadequacy and a fear of failure.
- (3) LEARNED IRRESPONSIBILITY,

as seen in the youth whose sense of powerlessness may be masked by indifference or defiant, rebellious behavior. (4) LOSS OF PURPOSE, as portrayed by a generation of self-centered youth, desperately searching for meaning in a world of confusing values. (p.8)

Staff at Indian boarding schools, who must deal with many students coming from such backgrounds, face a formidable challenge. The ecological hazards described by Brendtro et al. can be seen from a psychosocial analysis as interlocking barriers which require a unified and balanced approach to address and rectify. Four dimensions corresponding to the ecological hazards they defined can be placed in a developmental context:

1. Social Bonding. Relationships with other human beings are the foundation for human development. In ideal circumstances, children grow up surrounded by nurturing adults, and refine social skills through interactions with peers. Youniss's (1980) description of the complementary contributions of parents and peers, summarized in Table 1, emphasizes the foundational role these relationships have in personal, social, and moral or character development.

Table 1
Contributions of Adults and Peers to Social Development
(Youniss, 1980)

Vector	Contribution
Adults – Unilateral Relations	(1) Role modeling appropriate behavior (2) Balancing protection of the child from dangerous environments and the consequences of his or her behavior with expanding developmental experiences which encourage learning (3) Providing a structure which sensitively rewards appropriate behavior and discourages inappropriate behavior (4) Assisting the child to interpret and absorb social and moral norms (5) Providing consistent respect, acceptance and support
Peers – Mutual Reciprocity/Voluntary Association	(1) Principles of voluntary association (2) Reciprocity – both members of the relationship must contribute (3) Negotiation and compromise between peers (4) Empathy (5) Social support and affirmation (6) Cognitive co-construction, equal exchange of ideas (7) Cooperation

Brendtro et al. (2002) describe the impact on social relationships when the foundational social environment of family is inadequate:

When caretakers fail to meet a child's most basic needs, the child learns that they are unpredictable or unreliable. Some children reach beyond their families in search of substitute attachments with other adults or peers. Those more

seriously damaged become “relationship-resistant,” viewing even friendly, helpful adults with deep distrust. Expecting rejection, they employ protective behaviors learned in prior encounters with threatening persons. (p.9)

If these children are labeled as having negative traits, and it is not recognized that their actions reflect a “rejected or unclaimed child, hungry for love but unable to trust, expecting to be hurt again,” (p.8) the pattern is set for a continuing cycle of destructive relationships. In order to reclaim these children, the focus must be on restructuring the social environment around them, making it so supportive and healing that the children can develop the trust necessary to break out of the cycle.

2. Achievement: Autonomy, Initiative, Industry. Autonomy and initiative are solidly based on the early relationship with a caring adult. Without that social structure and support, the insecure youngster lacks the self-confidence and, often, the skills needed to succeed in the broader environment. A fearful child has not been encouraged to explore, understand, and experiment with his or her environment – an activity necessary for mastery and creativity (Piaget, 1973). In one of the earliest attempts to quantify the dynamics of relational psychology, Lewin (1935) used field theory to map out the function of parents in controlling parameters of the life space of a child, balancing allowance for the maximum degree of freedom to explore and exercise mastery with protection from harm and failure. In addition to providing a supportive social environment, it is often necessary for the boarding school to help children gain the skills and self-confidence necessary to succeed and experience mastery. Careful assessment of each child to identify and highlight abilities, as well as developing a plan for addressing areas in need of remediation, is essential to ensuring self-confidence and future achievement. An optimal school environment would need to focus on the child and maximizing individual outcomes, rather than on programs which provide generic services. When the child experiences accomplishment, this in turn reinforces social bonding as the individual perceives that he or she is worthy of being cared about.

3. Responsibility and Discipline. Both adult and peer relationships contribute to moral or pro-social development. While clear and consistent messages from adults lay down the pattern for pre-moral and conventional stages of moral development, development of appropriate peer relationships is critical to internalizing and developing independent moral reasoning (see Table 2 showing Kohlberg’s stages of moral development).

Table 2
Stages of Moral Development (Kohlberg, 1969)

I. Pre-Moral Level	Stage 1. Obedience to rules so as to avoid punishment. Stage 2. Obedience to rules so that rewards or favors may be obtained.
II. Morality of Conventional Role Conformity	Stage 3. Seeking and maintaining the approval of others. Adhering to a “good-boy” morality. Stage 4. Conforming to Norms so as to avoid censure or reprimands by authority figures.
III. Morality of Self-Accepted Moral Principles	Stage 5. Obedience to democratically accepted laws and contracts. Stage 6. Morality of individual conscience.

Crider, A.B., Kavanaugh, R.D., & Goethals, G.R. (1986). *Psychology* (2nd ed., p. 317). Glenview, IL: Scott Foresman.

Boarding schools walk a delicate line in fostering pro-social behavior through use of discipline. The structure of rules, administration of discipline, and maintenance of norms in the school must be adequate to protect students from harmful behavior, yet avoid punishment which will reinforce feelings of rejection, distrust, and worthlessness. The configuration of rules, discipline, and norms needs to be such that it can move students, who may come in operating at a pre-moral stage, into higher stages of moral development. In order to make such a move, individuals must have made progress on the previous two areas (i.e., social bonding has advanced to where approval from others is of primary importance; students understand and accept the structure of rules, and have the self-confidence and behavioral skills which allow them to operate within that structure). In every boarding school environment, there are proactive systems which attempt to meet these needs, encourage healthy social development, stimulate moral development, and encourage pro-social behavior. There are also reactive discipline systems in place to discourage behavior which does not conform to norms.

4. Meaning and Identity. This fourth dimension, most broadly conceptualized as spiritual or values, is dependent upon the other elements. This vector includes both the elements at the site which are related to transmission of cultural/spiritual values and the behavioral component which stems from internalization of those values. The behavioral component is broadly referred to by educators as "character education"; it has been traditionally referred to in terms such as "walking in beauty/harmony," "walking the red road," Midewewin Code, etc. As such it encompasses life skills and social and moral development of children. Meaning and identity rest on social bonding, self-efficacy, and social responsibility, and in turn give direction to them.

Brendtro et al. (2002) recommend creation of environments which take into account and utilize survival skills developed by at-risk youth, redirecting them to maximize emotional and pro-social development. Such environments have the following characteristics:

- (1) Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.
- (2) Meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.
- (3) Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behavior.
- (4) Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults. (p. 4)

Disrupted development of at-risk youth on multiple interlocking vectors is not the only challenge faced by boarding schools. While day schools generally have homogeneous populations, off-reservation boarding schools may have students from scores of different tribes, whose different social patterns may complicate peer relationships between students who may have limited social skills or mental health issues. Distance from home and community may further stress students with limited adaptation skills, and require a strong focus on the transition stage where youth acclimate to the residential environment. Aggregation of students with behavioral problems may generate negative peer influences (Poulin, Dishion, & Burraston, 2001). In addition, teachers often face the challenge of dealing with students whose performance is years behind their age or grade level. In the past several years, boarding schools have reported a flood of special education students as public schools, caught between declining resources and the demands of No Child Left Behind, jettison students who require expensive resources and bring down proficiency ratings. The following chapters utilize evaluation results from a five-year demonstration project funded by the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) of the BIA to study five schools involved in the project and to document outcomes of different environments.

History of the Therapeutic Residential Model Project

The BIA has historically been charged with the responsibility of providing educational opportunities to American Indian children as a result of treaty agreements made between the United States government and numerous tribes. For some time, it has been apparent that the resources and approaches of Bureau residential programs are not satisfactorily meeting the needs of the Indian children and youth of today. Due to historical, economic, and other factors particular to the American Indian situation, barriers to healthy development are exacerbated for many Indian children. Bureau boarding schools are often the last resort for American Indian children who have experienced psychological trauma, grief, abuse, neglect, or school failure. This need was addressed by Public Law 103-382 (Improving America's Schools Act of 1994) which authorized the creation of the Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) program. The legislation creating the TRM did not specify strategies to be implemented, requiring only "services necessary to achieve positive changes in attitudes, behavior and academic performance of Indian youth attending boarding schools." As further stated in the legislation,

The purpose of the therapeutic model demonstration schools is – "(A) to provide a program, based on an annual written plan, linking clinicians, counselors, and mental health professionals with academic program personnel in a culturally sensitive residential program tailored to the particular needs of Indian students; (B) to provide for a continued evaluation of the planning and implementation of the therapeutic model in the designated schools; and (C) to determine what steps the Bureau of Indian Affairs must take and what resources are required to transform existing off-reservation boarding schools to meet the needs of chemically dependent, emotionally disturbed, socially troubled or other at-risk Indian youth who attend such schools."

The OIEP was charged with implementing this legislation. At a planning meeting prior to funding, selected and potential sites agreed that their programs would focus on strengthening students in four areas: Mind (academic), Emotions (mental health), Body (physical health), and Spirit (social and cultural). Funded programs were asked to develop a three-level triage system in each of these areas: Level One, a basic level of services in a safe and secure environment provided to all students; Level Two, services provided to students such as academic tutoring and in-house counseling for identified problems; and Level Three, professional-level services, such as medical and psychiatric care for severe or incapacitating problems. These broad parameters were further delineated in a meeting of sites in 2004 where six correlates deemed necessary to a therapeutic model were selected:

1. Comprehensive Mental Health Substance Abuse Services
Increase the capability of residential schools to develop and maximize the spiritual, physical and mental health of all students as a pre-requisite for enhancing life-long learning.
2. Comprehensive Student Screening/Assessment
Provide each residential school student with an appropriate education; physical, mental health and psychosocial screening assessment for staff to develop an individual residential and education plan for every student.

3. Professional Development of Staff
Provide intensive, on-going staff training in mental health and therapeutic community principles and practices to all residential, academic and support staff by trained and accredited professionals for the purpose of increasing capacity of all staff to act as therapeutic agents.
4. Safe and Secure Environment
Provide a physically safe and nurturing Therapeutic Community environment, supported with sufficient and appropriate human/facility resources conducive to growth and learning, where every member of the staff is devoted to the total well-being of the students, where there is coordination of all staff and students and where there is an opportunity to grow and learn together.
5. Cultural Relevance
Integrate culture into all school areas to encourage and raise students' self-esteem, respect, and success by providing opportunities and experiences that allow students to explore their cultural identities/practices and to become aware of their connection and responsibility to Indian people.
6. Home, School, Community and Tribal Interaction
Integrate home, school, community and Tribe to foster understanding of the school's mission through open and active communication. This includes active involvement of the community and home in the school and of the school in home and community.

The OIEP implemented the Therapeutic Residential Model program in 2001, providing sites with funding ranging from approximately \$0.5 million to \$1.5 million, depending on number of students, demonstrated need, and elements proposed to bolster their programs. Demonstration sites had been selected on the basis of their proposals for implementing research-based strategies for addressing student needs. In school year (SY) 2001-2002, three sites were funded: a day school serving over 1000 students in grades 1-12, with dormitory facilities used Monday through Thursday by a small percentage of students living in remote areas of the reservation served; an off-reservation boarding school serving over 500 students in grades 4-12; and a peripheral dormitory housing approximately 200 students in grades 1-12, most of whom attended local public schools. At the beginning of SY 2002-2003, funding to only one of these three sites – the peripheral dormitory – was continued, while funding for the other two sites was shifted to two boarding schools, one serving 250 children in grades 1-8, and the other serving 200 children in grades 5-8. Funding of these three sites continued through the end of SY 2005-2006.

Research Methodology

The legislation mandated evaluation. An independent external evaluator was contracted to conduct a cross-site evaluation. Methodology used in the evaluation was patterned after a multifaceted approach used in assessments of prevention demonstration projects (DeJong, 1995). The cross-site evaluation included gathering of *quantitative* data using spring and fall collection of paper-and-pencil student surveys providing yearly baseline and outcome data; analysis of information contained in school and academy records such as academic performance measures, retention-related information, and student conduct violations; staff questionnaires

collected at the beginning and end of each school year; and records of services received by students. *Qualitative* data were gathered in the course of site visits through discussions or focus groups with staff and students, review of handbooks and other school information on policies and practices, and direct observations of the social environment and activities. Administrators and staff members were brought into the process of analysis by discussing the results of surveys and findings with them and soliciting their feedback to interpret the findings. Funding to sites also included support for internal evaluation to complement this process and to build internal capacity. Each site provided information to parents regarding the TRM program and allowed them the opportunity to withdraw their student from the evaluation process. Students were also informed prior to each survey that their participation was voluntary. Schools were allowed to select what incentives were given to participants to reward their participation. Incentives ranged from providing a variety of snacks from which students could make selections, to cash payments up to three dollars per student for each round of questionnaires. The incentive for staff surveys was entry into a raffle for a prize worth approximately \$100.

Instruments

Student surveys agreed upon by the initial cohort of sites included the short version of the BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory: Youth Version (BarOn EQI; Bar-On & Parker, 2000), the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS), the five-item version of the Jessor Alienation Scale (Jessor, Donovan, & Costa Frances, 1992), and a cultural pride inventory. In the first year, all student surveys were anonymous. The need for comprehensive screening and assessment of students became apparent during that period. At the request of an education line officer in the second year, all surveys other than the ADAS were collected with identifiers so that profiles of individual students could be provided to mental health professionals at each site for use in developing individual plans to address student needs. At a meeting in spring 2005, sites selected two additional screening instruments: the Children's Depression Inventory (CDI; Kovacs, 2003) and the Multidimensional Anxiety Scale for Children (MASC; March, 1997), which were administered to students at two of the sites in fall 2005. Grades 4-12 were included in surveys, with grades 4-6 using the simplified C form version of the ADAS. All sites served grades 5-8 and had adequate numbers of students in grades 7-8 for analysis, so while analysis of data within sites utilized the range of data collected, cross-site analysis focused on grades 7-8 for comparison purposes. The staff survey, also administered in fall and spring, was modified into its final form (see Appendix A) after input from second-cohort sites in 2002.

Environmental Assessments

Qualitative information and quantitative data from staff surveys and student surveys were used to characterize the physical environment and resources at each site; the staffing and social support system available to the students; transition, screening and assessment of incoming students; programming designed to foster development and achievement in a range of areas including academic, cultural, life skills, and mental and physical health; structure, including rules, operative norms, discipline, and safety issues; and the relationship of the school with outside entities, families, governing board, funding agencies, the local community, and home communities from which students originated. Changes in the resources, approach, and philosophy of each site were tracked over the span of funding.

Group and Individual Outcome Measures

Retention was considered to be the major outcome measure indicating site success. As boarding schools have a captive population, their attendance rate exceeds the 90% target in all schools. The goal for boarding schools is, therefore, an increase in retention rather than attendance. Retention is the clearest and most global indicator of success in TRM projects. Retention represents the convergence of a number of factors: ability of the system to meet the particular needs of each child, the capacity of the system to stabilize children emotionally and to socialize them into acceptable behavior patterns, comfort level of children with the environment provided, and parents' perception that staying in the system is in the best interests of their children. Major reasons why children leave the system include homesickness, belief that they are needed at home, failure to adjust to the demands of the system, perturbation of the system to the extent that it rejects them, and removal by parents who need them at home or are either unhappy with or unimpressed by what the system has to offer. There are many ways retention can be calculated, including:

- A head count at the beginning and end of the school year. This does not take into account whether or not the heads are the same at both time points. This calculation can be manipulated by schools which bring in replacement students throughout the year. It discriminates against a school which retains the majority of its initial cohort and declines to disrupt them by adding new students later in the year.
- A comparison of students present at beginning and ending count weeks, which has been traditionally used to determine funding. This does not take into account the large number of students who drop out in the first few weeks of school when they fail to make initial adjustments.
- Tracking outcomes for a cohort of all individuals enrolling in the school up through count week. This approach, the most stringent, is used in analyzing retention for TRM projects.

In addition to retention, a number of other indicators of developmental success were tracked. These included: school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

Description of Sites

The funding parameters and research design allowed sites unusual freedom of choice in strategies, creating a collaborative relationship which allowed sites to experiment and evolve, while providing them with evaluation feedback and recommendations to balance or strengthen their programs.

No Treatment Day School. This site received TRM funding in SY 2001-2002. The site is a day school with less than 20% of students using its dormitories during the school week. Located in the heart of the reservation it serves, the school enrolls over 1,000 students in grades 1-12. There was no substantial implementation of a TRM program; however, data gathered in the cross-site evaluation could be utilized as representing a naturally occurring control or minimal treatment site. This publication will designate this site as No Treatment Day School (NTDS).

Academic Enhancement Site. This site received TRM funding in SY 2001-2002. This off-reservation boarding school serves over 600 students in grades 4-12, 80% of whom reside in campus dormitories. TRM strategies proposed for the year of funding were not implemented, as the site chose to shift TRM funds to an intensive academic enhancement effort. This enhanced the research design by providing a naturally occurring placebo condition which highlighted issues related to current Federal educational policies. This site will be designated Academic Enhancement (AE) throughout this publication.

Level One Site. This site was funded from SY 2002-2003 through SY 2005-2006. This intertribal residential grant school enrolls over 250 students in grades 1-8. Over the past decade, under a school administration dedicated to a child-centered philosophy, the school implemented strategies designed to reach therapeutic goals. Using developmental strategies which centered on respect for children, this site had implemented a structured schedule, paid attention to the quality of the physical environment around children, emphasized a belief in each child's capacity for academic achievement, provided appropriate mental health care, and enforced an admissions policy that focused on younger students in need of a safe and supportive environment. This site used TRM funding to refine a basic, highly structured program which emphasized the responsibility of every adult on campus to provide a safe and supportive environment for children. As it concentrated on Level One of triage, this site will be designated L1 throughout this publication.

Level Two Site. This site was funded from SY 2001-2002 through SY 2005-2006. The site is operated by a single tribe as a peripheral dormitory caring for approximately 200 students from a variety of tribes in grades 1-12, who attend either local public schools or a small alternative school on campus. This site presented an outstanding proposal which identified gaps in services and presented a reasonable budget to address those gaps. This site took a proactive stance centering its strategy on Level Two interventions, focusing on use of an in-house counseling center to provide proactive mental health services to all students and a multifaceted, residentially-based academic enhancement program to boost academic success. This site is designated L2 throughout this publication.

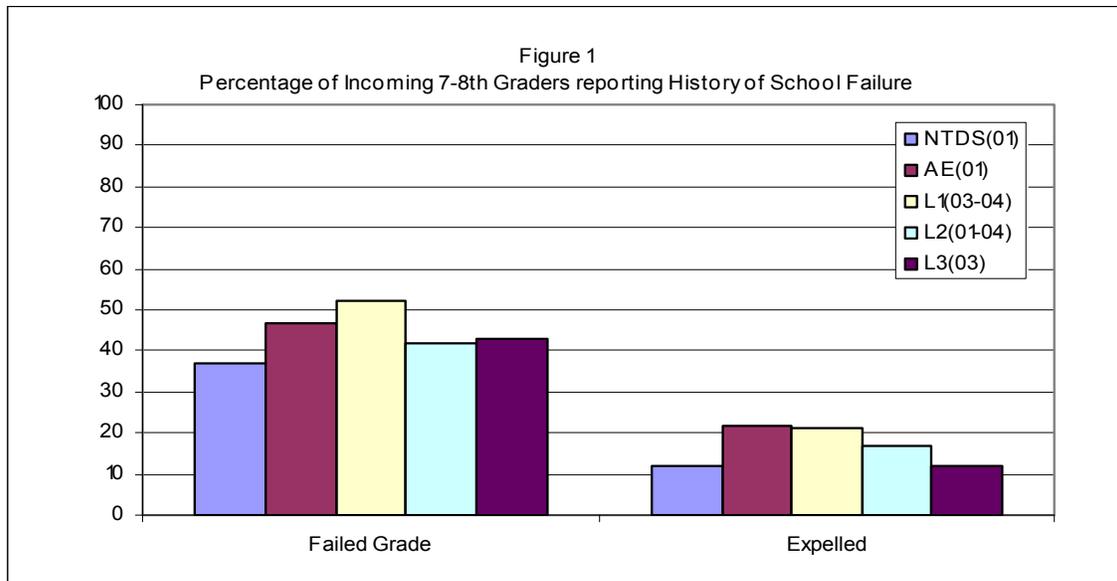
Level Three Site. This site was funded from SY 2002-2003 through SY 2005-2006. An intertribal residential grant school, this site enrolls approximately 200 students in grades 5-8 from more than 18 tribes. This site had been successful in the past at obtaining funding from a variety of sources, which resulted in an eclectic configuration of services, an abundance of professional staff, and a highly advantageous ratio of staff to students. Strongly focused on Level Three services which segregated students by behavioral, academic, and mental health criteria and placed approximately one-half of the population under professional mental health care, this site is designated L3 throughout this publication.

Characteristics of Incoming Students at TRM Sites

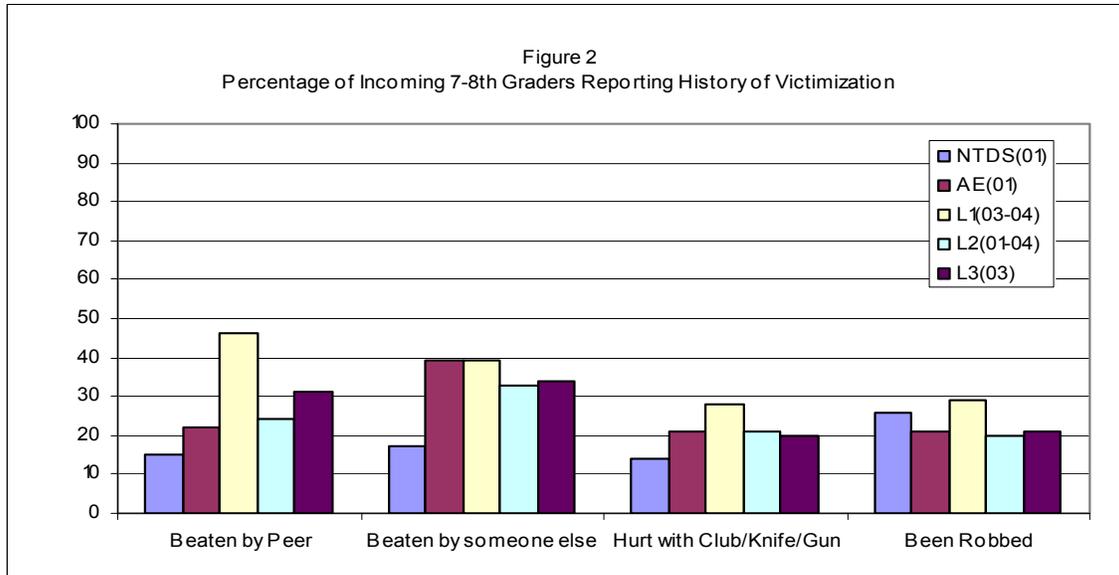
The Bureau's boarding schools enroll a large population of students, many of whom are considered high risk. Many of these students have been exposed to abuse and neglect, have abused drugs and/or alcohol, and have engaged in unsafe behaviors. The following data, based on student self-reports in fall 2003 on the Youth Risk Behavior Survey, Children's Depression Inventory (CDI) in fall 2005, and cross-sectional fall responses on the Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) over multiple years, indicate the

majority of students coming into these TRM programs have had experiences which place them at risk and are in need of therapeutic services to address academic and mental health needs. As different sites were involved for different lengths of time and included different grade levels, the information presented collapses multiple years of data for those sites which were involved for a number of years. For comparison purposes, data on grades 7-8, which all sites had in common, are presented in this overview. Each fall during the course of funding at their sites, seventh and eighth grade students filled out the ADAS questionnaire. Data were available from fall 2001 from NTDS and AE. L1 provided fall data in 2003 and 2004, L2 provided data fall data yearly from 2001-2004, and L3 provided fall data only in 2003.

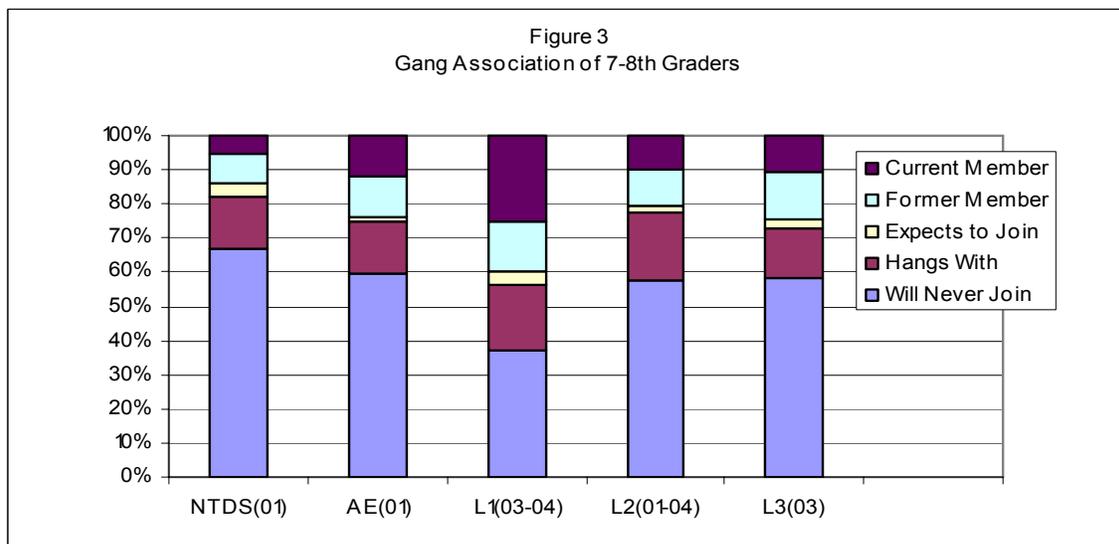
School failure. Failure in the academic area was self-reported by incoming students. As shown in Figure 1, the percentage of seventh and eighth grade students who reported having failed a grade ranged from 37% at NTDS to 52% at L1. Twelve percent of these incoming students at NTDS and L3 had a history of being expelled from school, compared with 17% at L2, 21% at L1 and 22% at AE.



Victimization. Students in boarding schools were more likely to have a history of victimization than students attending day schools (Figure 2). Students were asked on the ADAS whether they had ever been "beaten up by someone your age"; "beaten up by someone else"; "hurt with a club, knife or gun"; or "robbed." L1 had the highest percentage of seventh and eighth grade students (46%) reporting having been beaten up by an age peer, followed by L3 with 31%, L2 with 24%, AE with 22%, and NTDS with 15%. Percentages of students reporting having been "beaten up by someone else" were twice as high at boarding schools (39% at L1 and AE, 33% at L2, and 34% at L3) than at NTDS (17%). L1 had the largest percentage of students (28%) reporting having been hurt by a club, knife or gun, followed by AE and L2 at 21%, L3 at 20%, and NTDS at 14%. Having been robbed was reported by 29% of seventh and eighth graders at L1, 26% at NTDS, 21% at L3 and AE, and 20% at L2. Based on these statistics, L1 appeared to be taking in the highest percentage of battered students.

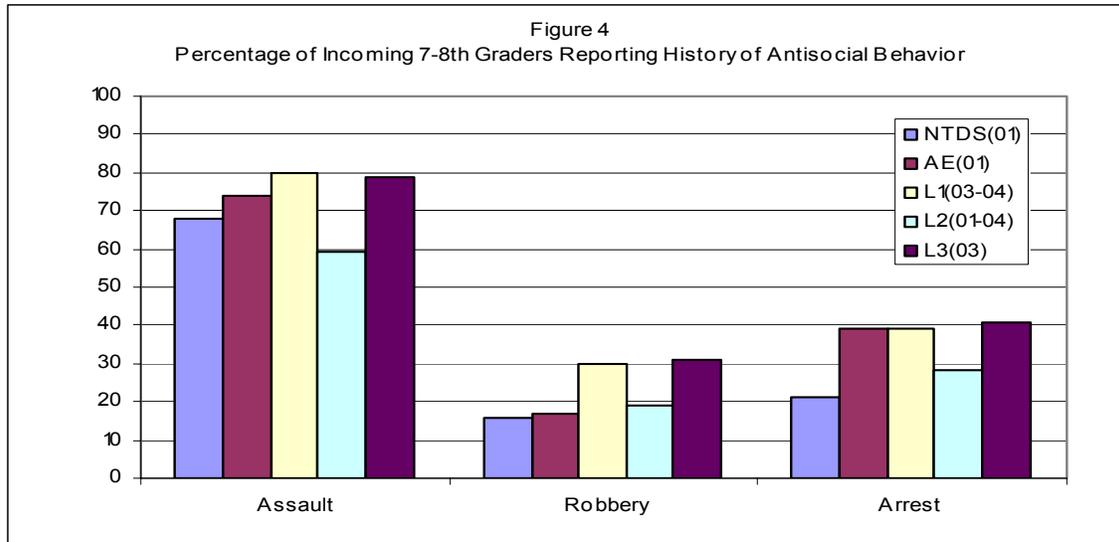


Gang membership. Students in grades 7-8 were asked about their involvement with gangs and asked to choose from a selection of answers. Figure 3 shows responses for each site, with statistics combined across years for sites gathering multiple data points.



The No Treatment Day School had the lowest number of reported gang members, with only 14% (10/72) claiming current or former membership in a gang. L1 had the largest percentage of incoming students who reported being current (15%) or former (25%) gang members, for a total of 40% (62/156). Staff reported that the home communities of some L1 students were overrun by gang activity, to the extent that some parents sent their children to boarding school for their safety.

Antisocial behavior. Students were asked on the ADAS whether they had ever “beaten up someone,” “robbed someone,” or “been arrested.” Figure 4 shows the percentage of seventh and eighth grader respondents at each site who replied “yes” to these items.



Over one-half of the respondents at each site admitted having assaulted (beaten up) someone, with the highest rates reported by L1 (80%) and L3 (79%). The AE site was somewhat lower at 74%, while NTDS (68%) and L2 (59%) reported the lowest percentages of students who admitted to assaulting someone. The highest percentages of respondents admitting to having “robbed someone” were at L1 (30%) and L3(31%); L2 reported 19%, and NTDS and AE reported 16% and 17% respectively. L3 (41%), L1 (39%) and AE (39%) had the highest number of students reporting they had been arrested; L2 had 28%, and NTDS was the lowest with 21%.

Suicidal Ideation. Data were available from the Youth Risk Behavior Survey from fall 2003 for L1 and L3. According to results from this survey, 32% of students in grades 7 and 8 at L1, and 30% at L3, admitted to having thought seriously about killing themselves. In fall of 2005, the Children’s Depression Inventory was administered at L1 and L2. Table 3 shows results on the suicide item which asks about feelings in the past two weeks.

Table 3
Distribution of Student Responses on CDI Suicide Item by Grade

Responses	L1 (n=149)		L2 (n=143)			
	5 th -6 th	7 th -8 th	5 th -6 th	7 th -8 th	9 th -10 th	11 th -12 th
I do not think about killing myself.	53.5%	66.7%	66.7%	50.0%	50.0%	62.5%
I think about killing myself but I would not do it.	40.8%	30.8%	27.3%	38.9%	38.2%	32.5%
I want to kill myself.	5.6%	2.6%	6.1%	11.1%	11.8%	5.0%

Case Studies and Discussion of TRM Sites

The articles following describe each of the sites which were funded during the TRM initiative. The methodology used for the cross-site evaluation has been described in this introductory article. The next five articles provide case studies of each site and vary in format and analysis of the data governed by environmental factors found at each site, the nature of problems identified and addressed by each system, and level of statistical power determined by sample sizes. Case studies of L1, L2, and L3, the sites funded for multiple years, include contributions from both the cross-site and internal site evaluations. The case study of AE is enhanced by data gathered in the course of a multiyear prevention demonstration project which had preceded TRM funding and had laid the groundwork for change at this site. The final article draws conclusions across sites, and discusses both best practices and barriers to success found in these sites.

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**Appendix A
Staff Survey**

[Name of Site] Survey – [Month and Year administered]

This survey is part of the school reform effort that funds TM initiatives at [Name of Site]. The purpose of this effort is to reduce any barriers which stand in the way of students becoming more healthy, happy and academically successful. You, as a member of the staff, are in the best position to assess what these barriers are. The purpose of the attached survey is to have you help to identify problems in the environment at [Name of Site] that may be creating barriers. All staff at [Name of Site] are being asked to give their opinions, so that we will get a broad perspective on the issues. Please fill out both front and back pages of the survey.

After you have filled out the survey, please seal it in the stamped envelope addressed to Dr. DeJong. Before sealing and mailing the envelope, take out your half of the raffle ticket and leave the other half in with your questionnaire. **Do not lose your half of the raffle ticket as the raffle ticket is for a \$100 WalMart gift card, the winning number for which will be drawn two weeks after Dr. DeJong’s site visit the second week in March.** Please mail your survey as soon as possible to make sure your ticket is included in the drawing. If you have any questions or wish to discuss the survey or any other issues, please feel free to call Dr. DeJong at (301) 552-0259 or talk to her during her visit here.

Your answers to this survey are confidential, and will be viewed only by the researcher, Dr. DeJong, so feel free to write any additional comments on the survey. Any analyses of the results that are produced will be pooled to protect respondents. In order to group your responses, it would help if we had the following information about your position and experience:

Your position (Circle one):	Teaching	Maintenance	Counseling
	Administration	Transportation	Student services
	Dorm staff	Cafeteria	Tutoring
Number of years in this position (circle one):	first year	second year	third or more
	Please list three (or more if you wish) of the strengths of [Name of Site]:		

There are many reasons why children fail to perform up to their potential. Here are some common problems that may be creating barriers to students fulfilling their potential. For each item, please circle the number that indicates your opinion of the current level of the problem at your institution and its effect on students. Ratings go from 0 = not a problem here, to 4 = a major problem. If you are not in a position to judge on that item, please check the "Don't know" column instead of choosing a number.

Possible Problems	Seriousness of the Problem	Don't know
1. Lack of access to computer resources.	0 1 2 3 4	
2. Lack of other teaching resources (books, videos, etc.)	0 1 2 3 4	
3. Not enough teaching staff at the school.	0 1 2 3 4	
4. Quality of teaching staff at the school.	0 1 2 3 4	
5. Staff burnout.	0 1 2 3 4	
6. Low staff expectations of the students.	0 1 2 3 4	
7. Shortage of therapeutic services for students with problems.	0 1 2 3 4	
8. Administration policies.	0 1 2 3 4	
9. Quality of facilities and physical resources.	0 1 2 3 4	
10. Quality of food service.	0 1 2 3 4	
11. School board policies.	0 1 2 3 4	
12. Transportation problems or limitations.	0 1 2 3 4	
13. Lack of after school and weekend activities.	0 1 2 3 4	
14. Low parental expectations of their children.	0 1 2 3 4	
15. Lack of support from the home.	0 1 2 3 4	
16. Crowded living conditions in the dorm.	0 1 2 3 4	
17. Quality of dorm staff.	0 1 2 3 4	
18. Not enough dorm staff.	0 1 2 3 4	
19. Drug and alcohol problems of students	0 1 2 3 4	
20. Drug and alcohol problems of staff.	0 1 2 3 4	
21. Family problems in the student's home.	0 1 2 3 4	
22. Emotional problems of students.	0 1 2 3 4	
23. Students come in academically unprepared.	0 1 2 3 4	
24. Low student expectations of themselves.	0 1 2 3 4	
25. Students need more discipline in the dorm.	0 1 2 3 4	
26. Students need more discipline in the schoolroom.	0 1 2 3 4	
27. Students need more consistency in the dorm.	0 1 2 3 4	
28. Students need more consistency in the schoolroom.	0 1 2 3 4	
29. Discipline is inconsistent, not all students are treated equally.	0 1 2 3 4	
30. Outside political pressures.	0 1 2 3 4	
31. Staff dissention.	0 1 2 3 4	
32. Management is inconsistent, not all staff are treated equally.	0 1 2 3 4	
33. Low staff morale.	0 1 2 3 4	
Other problems (please describe):	0 1 2 3 4	

Thank You!

THE THERAPEUTIC RESIDENTIAL MODEL AT THE L1 SITE

Philip S. Hall, Ph.D. and Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D.

Abstract: This site is an intertribal residential grant school annually enrolling over 250 students in grades 1-8 from tribes located in three states on the Northern Great Plains. From its inception in 1890, the boarding school's mission has been to provide services for young children in need of a safe and supportive living and learning environment. For over a decade, this site has used strategies centered on respecting children, structuring students' time, and providing the therapeutic benefits of a well-maintained campus. This site also has a long history of believing in each child's inherent value and potential. When Therapeutic Residential Model funding commenced at the midpoint of the 2002-2003 school year, L1 focused these new resources on strengthening and refining its program. The number of personnel positions increased from 98 to 135, with new positions principally going to dormitory staff and four Masters-level counselor positions. This increase in staff allowed L1 to proactively address the children's developmental needs. The site also adopted and implemented the Applied Humanism caregiving model. In accordance with Applied Humanism, an interview was utilized that allowed the site to identify and hire applicants possessing the attitudes and skills necessary to be good caregivers, existing staff were trained so that they understood the kind of caregiving that would be expected of them, supervision procedures and practices were implemented that supported and encouraged good caregivers and provided time-limited assistance to those who were not, and relevant agency policies and procedures were revised as needed to align with the Applied Humanism philosophy. In addition, the Morningside program was brought in to systematically address the students' academic lags in reading. The results of implementing the Therapeutic Residential Model were a reduction in behavioral incidents, a decrease in the amount of money spent on external mental health services, an increase in the retention rate, an increase in academic skills in selected areas, and higher scores on pre-post measures of adjustment, interpersonal relationships, and adaptability.

This off-reservation boarding school was originally begun in 1890 as a BIA Indian Industrial School. The boarding school was reconfigured three decades ago as a special needs school. It was taken over by the Indian Board of Education under the Indian Self Determination Act and renamed. The boarding school's target population then became students who were orphans, socially maladjusted, academically behind, or chronically absent from their community-based school. During the next two decades, the boarding school acquired the regional reputation of being a holding tank for seriously troubled youth. However, in 1994 a new administration set out to develop a therapeutic residential community based on a child-centered philosophy. Accordingly, the school implemented strategies designed to address four goals: " (1) develop the social, emotional, spiritual, intellectual, and physical health of all students; (2) promote opportunities and experiences that allow students to explore their cultural identities and practices; (3) provide an emotionally and physically safe alternative home environment that supports the personal growth and development of both students and staff; and (4) create a culture where every staff member is devoted to the whole being of the students and is supported with sufficient and appropriate training." By implementing this vision, the school reduced negative behaviors among the students. Incidents of physical assaults dropped from 697 reported in school year (SY) 1998-1999 to 8 in SY 2002-2003, the year in which Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) funding was awarded. Absent Without Leave (AWOL) incidents similarly declined, from 681 in SY 1993-1994 to 22 in SY 2002-2003. Self-choking, suicidal ideation, and suicidal gestures went from 115 in SY 1991-1992 to 31 in SY 2002-2003.

Student Characteristics

Life Stressors. The Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) was administered to the seventh and eighth grade students in fall 2003 and again in fall 2004. Table 1 shows that many incoming students arrived with known risk factors for behavior problems, social maladjustment, and academic difficulties. Moreover, Table 1 suggests that there was an upward trend in the numbers of students arriving with known risk factors.

Table 1
History of Incoming 7th and 8th Grade Students at Site L1

American Drug and Alcohol Survey Item	Fall 2003	Fall 2004
History of Antisocial Activity		
- Have been arrested	34.9%	42.9%
- Have robbed someone	24.7%	34.9%
- Have beaten up somebody	78.0%	81.0%
- Have hurt someone using a club/chain/knife/gun	20.5%	21.7%
School Failure		
- Have flunked a grade	50.6%	53.6%
- Have been expelled from school	21.0%	21.6%
Victimization		
- Have been beaten up by peer	29.8%	43.4%
- Have been beaten up by someone not of same age	33.7%	44.7%
- Been hurt with a club/knife/gun	26.5%	29.3%
- Been robbed	21.4%	37.3%

Many of the seventh and eighth grade students arriving in fall 2003 also reported gang association (see Table 2). Again, there was an upward trend in the number of seventh and eighth grade students arriving in fall 2004 who reported gang association.

Table 2
Gang Affiliation of 7th and 8th Grade Students at Site L1

ADAS Gang Response Options	Fall 2003	Fall 2004
I will never join a gang	47%	28%
Former gang member	13%	17%
Will join gang later	2%	5%
No, I only hang out with a gang	15%	23%
Current gang member	23%	27%

The Youth Risk Behavior Survey was also administered in fall 2003. According to the students' responses, 32% of the seventh and eighth grade students reported having seriously thought about killing themselves. In fall 2005, the Children's Depression Inventory was administered to students in grades 5-8. One item addressed suicidal ideation. As shown in Table 3, nearly one-half of fifth and sixth graders and one-third of seventh and eighth graders had thought about suicide in the previous two weeks.

Table 3
Distribution of Student Responses on CDI Suicide Item by Grade

Responses	5 th -6 th	7 th -8 th
I do not think about killing myself.	53.5%	66.7%
I think about killing myself but I would not do it.	40.8%	30.8%
I want to kill myself.	5.6%	2.6%

The Jessor Alienation Inventory was administered in fall 2003 and fall 2004. As can be seen in Table 4, alienation indices were high among these incoming students.

Table 4
Percentage of Incoming Students agreeing with Jessor Alienation Items

Responses to Individual Items from the Jessor Alienation Scale	5 th -6 th Graders		7 th -8 th Graders	
	Fall 03 N=70	Fall 04 N=76	Fall 03 N=83	Fall 04 N=74
Hardly anything I'm doing in my life means very much to me.	58.0%	56.6%	44.6%	39.2%
I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.	58.6%	46.1%	37.0%	38.8%
It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems	52.9%	42.7%	36.1%	33.3%
It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect.	61.4%	64.4%	63.8%	51.4%

The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory focuses on four domains necessary for successful functioning in the world: intrapersonal (having to do with inner knowledge and inner balance), interpersonal skills, ability to manage stress, and adaptability (reflecting confidence in ability to deal with situations that arise around oneself). Responses on the BarOn for students aged 10-15 at the beginning of the school year are shown in Table 5. The results indicated that interpersonal skills and adaptability were the areas of greatest need.

Table 5
Percentage of Incoming Students aged 10-15 Scoring Low to Markedly Low on the BarOn Subscales

	Intrapersonal	Interpersonal	Stress Management	Adaptability
Fall 2003	34%	59%	39%	52%
Fall 2004	33%	55%	29%	56%

Substance Abuse. As shown in Table 6, many incoming students anonymously reported on the ADAS that they had been introduced to substance use.

Table 6
Percentage of Incoming Students Having Used Mood-altering Substances and Tobacco

	4 th -6 th Graders		7 th -8 th Graders	
	Fall 03	Fall 04	Fall 03	Fall 04
Alcohol	29%	34%	73%	76%
Marijuana	31%	31%	73%	80%
Inhalants	20%	22%	31%	41%
Cigarettes	44%	45%	77%	89%

In summary, about one-half of the incoming students each year arrive as high-risk children who will require a broad array of services and resources to adequately meet their needs.

Site Resources

Facility

This site operates on a campus of 240 acres at the edge of a town. The grounds and the buildings are well maintained. Following the philosophy that the physical environment affects feelings of self-worth in students, the grounds are attractive and free of graffiti and trash.

There are two large dormitories on campus. One dorm houses students in grades 1-5 and the other houses students in grades 6-8. The one-story buildings are sturdy brick and concrete block structures. The dormitories are clean, with no accumulation of dirt or evidence of mold. Doors to student's rooms are open throughout the day. Entrances and exits do not have monitoring stations. Lighting in hallways is low, with a number of lights kept off because they generate too much heat. Each wing has a kitchen and a number of group rooms. The fallout shelters in the basements are set up as recreation centers. Dormitory walls are decorated with American Indian murals and certificates or notes from staff documenting the positive behavior of individual students. Counselors, nursing staff, wing managers, and the residential director have their offices in the dormitories.

In the dorms, up to five students are housed to a room. Each room is furnished with attractive sturdy furniture, a television set in the corner, and curtains on the windows. Stuffed animals are very much in evidence in the younger children's dorm. Children who arrive without a stuffed animal to call their own are provided one.

The adjacent cafeteria is small, seating a maximum of 160 students. Therefore, students eat in shifts. The building also contains offices, the woodworking shop, art room, and special education workrooms.

The school is located in a handsome, two-story building constructed in the 1930s. It has large classrooms. Additional classrooms and some special education services are provided in six prefab units and a small, one-story building adjacent to the main classroom building. Two geodesic domes contain the library, a conference room, the Native language lab, and the computer classroom. There is also a guest house and an administration building. Some staff housing is located on the south edge of the campus.

Recreational facilities are available across the campus. There are stables and a small pasture for several dozen horses at the southeast corner of the campus. The classroom building contains the original but functional gymnasium. A new a state-of-the-art gymnasium sits on the north edge of the campus. Soccer fields are to the west of this building. Two basketball hoops and four sets of swings and playground equipment lay between the two dormitories. The school also has a boat for fishing and excursions on an adjacent river. A ropes course is located on campus.

Financial and Staff Resources

Beginning in 2002, a tighter definition of the use of special education funds was applied Bureau-wide. As a result, a number of innovative elements that contributed to the quality of this boarding school were cut back. However, the effect of these deletions was blunted by the TRM monies which replaced funding for some of these activities. Other activities were continued when members of other departments volunteered their services to operate such key child-centered activities as woodworking, leather crafts, and equine therapy.

Prior to TRM funding, the ratio of students to employees was 2.5:1. TRM funding reduced the ratio to 2:1. All personnel at this site are considered to be part of the therapeutic team and are expected to contribute to the children's well being. Thus, maintenance, cafeteria and recreation staff contribute to the therapeutic culture by befriending students and forming bonded relationships. Any staff who shirk this expectation experience the disapproval of their peers.

Family and Community Involvement

The school enjoys a harmonious relationship with its school board. Board members were seen on campus during evaluation visits and in attendance at training meetings. Staff feedback was positive on the contribution of the school board to the school. In spring 2004, staff rated on a scale of 0 (*not a problem here*) to 4 (*a major problem*) factors in the environment often seen as creating barriers. Only 13% of the staff gave a rating of 3 or 4 to "School Board policies."

The school makes efforts to keep parents involved. Parents receive letters notifying them of upcoming meetings about their children; letters are followed up by phone calls. In addition, the parents receive information through newsletters, calendars of events, and other mailings. The social worker makes many phone calls and drives a considerable number of miles

to make home visits. The social worker also helps parents fill out their state's Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIPs) applications and negotiate with their social services systems.

Yet, staff surveys indicated that parents were seen as providing inadequate support for their children. Across the three spring measures, an average of 63% of staff rated "Low parental expectations of their children" as a serious (3) or major (4) problem, while 82% rated "Lack of support from the home" a serious or major problem. However, staff concerns need to be put into perspective. Limited parental support is the reason that many of the attending children need this site.

When the new administration arrived in 1994 it was noted that that many students were not returning after vacations, resulting in a large intra-academic year loss of students. In response, the boarding school began limiting home visits for the general school body to summer and Christmas. The exceptions to this policy are death or serious illness of an immediate family member and special family occasions when it is vitally important to the parents to have the entire family present. However, families are encouraged to visit their children at school on weekends and especially on holidays. These policy changes enhanced intra-academic year retention. The school also does aggressive follow-up of students leaving the school, to ensure that parents place them in another school. When children are found to not be attending school elsewhere, the administration has taken legal measures and other actions to force parents to live up to their responsibilities.

Child abuse prosecution is a complex issue that impacts the relationship between the school and parents. The school has a reputation for aggressively following up with legal and social services in home communities when students disclose abuse. One repercussion often is an abrupt decrease in the number of children sent from that community.

In the public relations arena, the administrator has worked hard to upgrade the profile of the boarding school and its students in the local community. Among other gestures, the new gymnasium and the extensive outdoor fields have been made available to community groups, and a mentoring program has been set up that pairs police trainees with students.

Program and Service Components

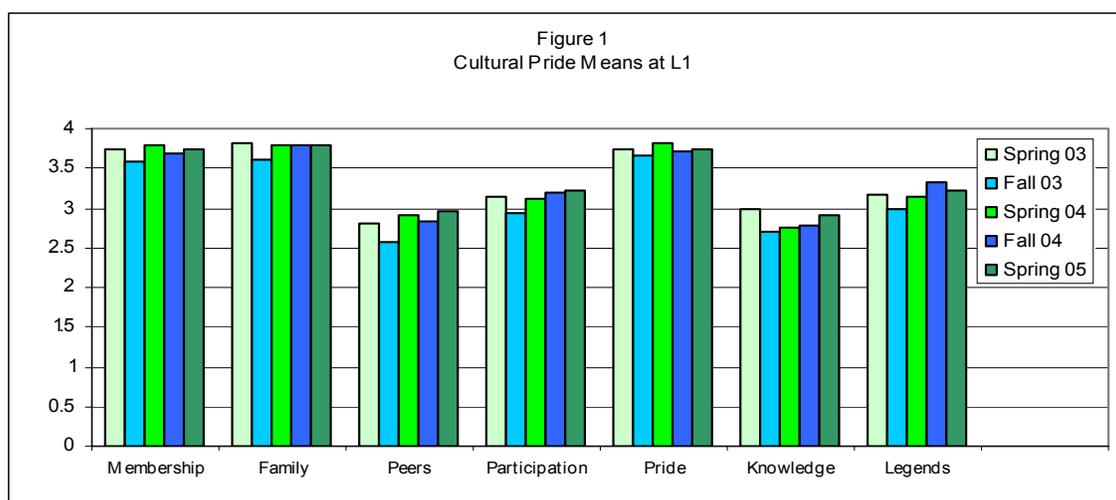
Cultural Programming

This site has an overt philosophy about cultural programming that goes beyond hiring a few traditional people with cultural knowledge. Their goals are to foster personal awareness in staff by helping them to examine their values, stereotypes, and worldview; to develop staff knowledge of cultural, social, and family dynamics within the larger matrices of social, historical, economic, and political contexts; and to integrate this perspective into skills, treatment, and assessment strategies.

With parental permission, students are given a range of options for carrying out religious traditions, including drum group, sweats, honoring ceremonies, and church services of choice. Cultural activities include traditional dance, music, spiritual ceremonies, history, art, crafts, seminars, folklore, and off-campus cultural celebrations. All students receive instruction to learn one of five Native languages; computerized programs developed by the school assist in this area. The instructor is a Native speaker who has her Masters Degree in linguistics. There is also an American Indian Culture class and two cultural libraries on campus. All students participate in life skills groups that utilize an American Indian-based curriculum. Students who are involved in traditional dance made their own regalia. The drum group is dynamic and inclusive, including both beginners and more proficient students in learning songs and tradition as well as

performing. Speakers and tribal leaders are brought in for group discussions of past and present issues. Traditional arts and crafts available to students include leatherworking, painting, drawing, beading, and sculpture.

Students were asked to indicate their feelings for and involvement in their culture on a 4-point scale (1 = *not at all*, 2 = *a little*, 3 = *somewhat*, 4 = *a lot*). As evidenced by the students' responses across time points (displayed in Figure 1), the students consistently feel a great deal of cultural pride. While high initial scores created a ceiling effect on most items, a paired *t*-test of the students' responses in fall 2004 and spring 2005 showed a significant shift upward only on the Knowledge item ($p = .028$).



Items:

- Membership: "I like being a member of my tribe."
- Family membership: "I like that my family is part of my tribe."
- Peer sharing: "I talk to my friends about things having to do with my tribe's culture (religion, customs, values, food, language, arts, pow wow and other celebrations)."
- Participation: "I participate in tribal and other Indian celebrations."
- Pride: "I am proud to be a member of my tribe."
- Knowledge: "I know about my tribe's culture and history."
- Legends: "I like telling and listening to tribal legends and stories about my ancestors."

Socialization/Life Skills

The elements that enhance children's social development and life skills typically involve both reactive (discipline) and proactive (prevention) policies. Of these two elements, the TRM funding led to the most changes in the reactive or disciplinary element.

Reactive Elements. Prior to TRM funding, this site used a combination of punishment-oriented discipline and regimented structure to control students' behavior. The punishment-oriented discipline model was partially a result of the necessity to control many children with a small number of staff, and it was partially a result of precedent - Indian boarding schools have historically used such a model. However, there are four downsides to a punishment-oriented discipline model: (1) It does not address the developmental needs of young children. (2) It

does not ameliorate the root causes of the students' behavior problems. (3) It does not create a culture that sets the expectation for age-appropriate behavior. (4) It imposes – rather than instills – discipline.

L1 received TRM funding midway through SY 2002-2003. Since this boarding school already embraced a therapeutic residential community model, the funds did not radically change the treatment model. Rather, the TRM monies allowed the therapeutic residential model to further evolve. One of the enhancements was the adoption and implementation of the Applied Humanism model of caregiving (Hall, 1992).

The Applied Humanism model of caregiving maintains that an agency can both manage behavior and foster children's social and emotional development by integrating six principles into components of its service delivery system. Moreover, these six principles constitute the sufficient and necessary set of qualities of a good caregiver.

The first three principles define the characteristics of caregiving that fosters children's social and emotional development. They are:

1. Ensuring Success (Dreikurs & Stoltz, 1964) – We value children for the socially appropriate behaviors they can demonstrate, and then we provide children the structure, the support, and the recognition they need to frequently display those behaviors.
2. Independent Decision-Making (Perske, 1972) – We recognize that children learn best if they are allowed to independently make decisions and then experience the natural consequence of those decisions, good or bad. Children should be barred only from making decisions that could hurt anyone, damage property, or disrupt others' learning and living environment.
3. Teaching for Behavior Change (Hall, 1989) – Good caregivers help children replace problem behaviors with appropriate behaviors. This is accomplished by having empathy for misbehaving children, identifying the underlying skill deficit, breaking the deficit into teachable components, and setting up positive learning experiences to teach those social skills.

The remaining three principles guide how caregivers should respond when children display inappropriate behavior. In this context, inappropriate behavior is doing things that could hurt someone, damage property, or disrupt others' living and learning environment. When children display inappropriate behaviors, staff must respond. However, they must respond in ways that simultaneously accomplish two goals: protecting people and their basic rights, and preserving children's dignity. To simultaneously accomplish these two objectives, staff must display the following three caregiving qualities:

4. Gentle Interventions (Hall, 2003) – Staff do only what is necessary to disrupt the inappropriate behavior. Thus, staff gently defuse and/or redirect the behavior in order to protect other people's rights, in a manner that preserves children's dignity.
5. Logical Consequences (Dreikurs & Grey, 1968) – Good caregivers help children understand that there is a relationship between how they behave and what then happens to them. Responsible behavior garners age-appropriate privileges. Inappropriate behaviors result in a loss of privileges to the extent necessary to protect people from being hurt, to prevent property from being damaged, and to protect other children's living and learning environments.

6. No Punishment (Hall & Braun, 1988) - In this model, punishment is defined as intentionally doing anything to make children feel guilty, humiliated, remorseful, or fearful in an attempt to change their behavior. Good caregivers understand that punishment temporarily imposes discipline, but it does nothing to instill discipline. Furthermore, punishment breaks the adult-child bond, making it difficult to create the foundation children need for their social and emotional development. Therefore, good caregivers do not punish children.

Prior to the start of SY 2003-2004, the board of directors at this boarding school unanimously voted to adopt the model, and issued a directive for the philosophy to be infused into the key components of the boarding school's delivery system – hiring, staff training, staff supervision, and pertinent policies.

Hiring. The Applied Humanism model believes that good caregivers are not made, they are found. In other words, an agency cannot rely on training to transform employees with poor relationship skills into good caregivers. As the research suggests, long-held attitudes are difficult if not impossible to change. Therefore, this site set out to hire only job applicants whose inherent value system about caregiving was consistent with principles of Applied Humanism. Accordingly, all of the administrators at this boarding school received a one-day training on the Applied Humanism Interview. They learned how to use the interview's 24 situational questions to determine an applicant's caregiving posture, thereby enabling the administrators to hire only staff who inherently had the attitudes and skills necessary to be good caregivers.

For the past three years, this boarding school has used the Applied Humanism Interview to hire all new employees. Although no hard data were obtained, after using the Applied Humanism Interview to hire staff, every member of the administrative team involved in hiring strongly believes that the interview questions enabled them to hire staff who "have the right stuff." Furthermore, the administrative team believes that using the Applied Humanism Interview was a critically important tool in the quest to create a boarding school culture where children are happy and where they blossom socially and emotionally.

Training. All staff received an overview of the six caregiving principles during a condensed, day-long training held in August 2003. As part of the training, all staff members were given specific assignments to carry out over the course of their first two weeks back at work. The assignments gave the employees practice at implementing each of the caregiving principles. The direct-care staff were also required to share the results of their assignments with their immediate supervisors, thereby giving them feedback on their ability to implement these caregiving principles.

As expected, not all staff embraced the Applied Humanism model of caregiving. The transition from applying rules to keep children under control to almost the opposite – using violations of rules as an opportunity to help children learn socially responsible behavior – was daunting for many staff. Initially, a good number of staff mistakenly believed that No Punishment meant no discipline. Believing that, some residential staff quit and others were apprehensive about the new philosophy of child care.

The training in the caregiving principles of Applied Humanism was repeated several times over the course of the first year to small groups of newly hired staff. The following year, in fall 2004, the training was provided to all newly hired staff. Concurrently, a training of trainers was conducted for the four Masters-level dorm counselors. Following this training, the four dorm

counselors – each of whom was assigned to one of the four wings – were given the Applied Humanism training videotape, the trainer’s manual, and copies of the participants’ manual. At that point, the counselors took over responsibility of training all direct-care resident staff on how to be nurturing caregivers.

Supervision. The job descriptions of the direct-care staff were modified to reflect the type of caregiving expected by Applied Humanism model. Concurrently, the therapeutic counselors’ job description was revised. They were asked to teach the residential staff these caregiving skills, to model this caregiving posture for the residential staff, and to help the wing manager evaluate the direct-care staff on their ability to be good caregivers.

Aligning Policies and Procedures. The final component of implementing Applied Humanism was to align all relevant policies and procedures so they were consistent with the six caregiving principles. In addition, it was necessary to write some new policies so that the benefits of a particular caregiving principle would impact the children. New/revised policies and procedures included:

Ensuring Success – Three policy changes were made to implement this principle:

1. As part of their training assignments, all staff were asked to select a specific problem child and complete 19 assignments that required them to apply all six caregiving principles in their interactions with the child. On the first of these 19 assignments the staff were asked to identify the socially appropriate behaviors that the child displayed. The next assignment asked the staff to provide the support and structure the child needed to display these behaviors, and the third assignment asked the staff to do specific things to value the child for displaying these socially appropriate behaviors. The valuing could include making a private comment, writing a letter to the child’s parents telling them of something positive the child had done and then showing the letter to the child before mailing it, or giving the child a written note of commendation. Most staff chose the last option. Soon, students were posting the positive notes they received on their dorm-room doors.
2. The honoring ceremony was also modified. Previously, students who made good grades, scored many points in a competitive sports game, or did some other exemplary action were recognized. The director of residential services concluded that this practice of acknowledging only students who displayed excellence was neither equitable nor consistent with the principle of Ensuring Success. He modified the honoring ceremony so that all students had an opportunity to be honored for some accomplishment.
3. The counselors at most residential programs for youth have a distinctive and unique role in comparison to the direct-care staff. The direct-care staff are the logicians. They are responsible for rousting the students out of bed in the morning, getting them off to school, escorting them over to the cafeteria in the evening, doing room inspections before bedtime, and making sure that all students are in their beds when the lights are turned off. The direct-care staff are also the enforcers. If a student breaks a rule, the direct-care staff are expected to catch him or her, and then do something about it – preferably something sufficiently horrendous that the student will never again display that behavior.

Counselors, on the other hand, don't issue commands and demands. They don't catch students being bad, and they don't punish children. Instead, counselors listen. And they listen mostly to children who are having behavior problems. A counselor's time is limited and expensive, making it a precious commodity. A counselor's time is so precious that it is booked from the beginning to the end of the shift with individual appointments of students who are having problems.

And that is the problem. Children are not fools. They quickly come to understand that the only adults who give them one-on-one, warm, supportive attention and unconditional acceptance are the counselors. But the children also realize that in order to command any of the counselor's precious time you must have a problem – the more deep seated, the more complex the problem, the more time you get with the counselor.

Reputedly, Goethe, the German writer and natural philosopher, said of scientists, "Tell me what they are looking for, and I will tell you what they will find." The same thing can be said about attention-starved children in residential programs. "Tell me what gets them one-on-one staff attention, and I will tell you how they will behave."

Prior to TRM funding, the counselors at this site spent most of their time being empathetic listeners to children who had deep-seated problems. Indeed, the counselors spent so much time behind their closed office doors in their one-on-one sessions with children that the director of residential services threatened to remove their office doors. But more to the point of the concern, there was no objective data to show that counselors were having a positive impact on the behavior of these targeted children. In fact, just the opposite was the case. Most of the children who were seen in counseling never seemed – as judged by behavior incident reports – to get better.

When TRM funding arrived, pertinent members of the administrative team took a fresh look at the counselors' role, and decided to make some fundamental changes. One change was that the counselors would no longer self-select the students who needed counseling. Instead, when there were concerns about a child, a team of involved staff would meet to share their information, discuss the problem, and propose a plausible solution. Due to their training in Applied Humanism and modeling by key administrators, the team began to look first at the caregiving that the child was receiving. They asked themselves such questions as "Are we adequately ensuring the child's success? Does anyone in this group have a strong supportive relationship with the child?" The principle of Teaching for Behavior Change was also considered, causing the team to ask, "What are the child's social skill deficits, and what can we do to remediate those deficits?" Similar questions were asked about the team's application of the principles of Gentle Interventions, Logical Consequences, and No Punishment. These were all changes in the team's caregiving posture toward the child, and they were changes that would impact the child daily. These types of modifications became the changes of choice. However, the team could also recommend one of three other interventions: counseling, in-depth evaluation, or temporary placement in an off-site mental health facility. Since these three recommendations had resource implications, they then needed to be approved by the on-staff school psychologist, the most highly trained mental health professional at the site.

This new policy markedly reduced the number of children being seen in expensive one-on-one counseling sessions. Moreover, the new policy had the effect of making everyone on the team responsible for helping children change their inappropriate behavior. Finally, and most importantly, the new policy in combination with other elements of Applied Humanism enabled the students to get attention and nurturing by displaying age-appropriate, socially positive behaviors, and it significantly lessened the students' incentive to gain attention by displaying pathological behaviors.

Independent Decision-Making

1. This principle was mainly implemented through the weekly staff training sessions conducted by the therapeutic counselors. Through this training, direct-care staff began to understand that it was okay if a child did not put his coat on when he ran over to lunch. If he got cold, he would learn to put a coat on next time. It was also okay if a student didn't eat everything on his plate. And it was even okay if a student did not complete his desk work. He or she would experience the natural consequence of earning a low grade.
2. The principle of Independent Decision-Making was the focus when L1 developed "Kids Pick." Kids Pick happened four evenings a week. During this time, residential staff offered an age-appropriate activity that interested them, often selecting a hobby or a special skill area. Students signed up for the activities they would like to attend with the stipulation that each student must sign up for one activity in each available time slot.

Kids Pick also embodied the principle of Ensuring Success. When doing Kids Pick activities, children were provided the support and structure they needed to display appropriate behavior. As one wing supervisor put it, "My staff can either spend their time sharing an interest and supervising an activity or they can spend it chasing after bored kids trying to make them behave. We like the former." Finally, putting fun enjoyable activities into the children's hands gave staff continuous opportunities to value the children and thereby strengthen their relationships with the children. Children who feel valued by an adult also tend to listen when the adult gives a directive, and they try to behave in ways that please the adult.

Teaching for Behavior Change

This caregiving principle was implemented when a child displayed inappropriate behavior resulting in placement in either in-school suspension or in the status room in the dorm. In order to earn his or her way out of these rooms, the student needed to develop a "can do" plan for showing appropriate behavior in lieu of inappropriate behavior. Working with staff support to develop a "can do" plan entailed applying the principle of Teaching for Behavior Change.

The principle of Teaching for Behavior Change was also invoked when teams met to develop intervention plans for students who were displaying behaviors not in their best interest.

Gentle Interventions

Not long before the commencement of the TRM project, students at this boarding school who displayed inappropriate behaviors were forcibly put in a padded time out room. In order to get resistive children into Time Out, staff did takedowns. Under the TRM project, this practice was discontinued. To ensure that the practice of forcibly putting children into Time Out was not reinstated, the residential director made the time out room into a quiet lounge with carpet, a new sofa, and a TV. This motivated direct-care staff to learn how to do Gentle Interventions.

The principle of Gentle Interventions was also reflected in the implementation of the red card room. Prior to receiving TRM funding, classroom teachers maintained control by using the Assertive Discipline Model (Canter & Canter, 1989). Since many of the students were at-risk

children who came from backgrounds where aggression was used instrumentally, the Assertive Discipline Model resulted in many children being punished daily or near daily for their behavior.

The red card room was implemented as a replacement for this punishment-oriented model for classroom discipline. Under the red card system, a student who was feeling upset and on the verge of losing control could hold up a red card, wait for the teacher to acknowledge it, and then leave the classroom. Upon leaving the classroom, the student went immediately to the red card room. A teacher could also ask a student to go to the red card room if his or her behavior was interfering with other students' learning.

In the red card room, the student received what might be called a short course in "life coaching." It amounted to giving the student a few minutes to calm down, assisting the student to analyze the sources of his or her behavior problem, and helping the student develop a simple strategy for going back to the classroom and being successful. The red card room served three objectives: (1) It was a mechanism for quickly removing a disruptive student from the classroom, but doing so in a manner that preserved the child's dignity. (2) It helped the student regain emotional control in a safe setting. (3) It returned the student to the classroom as soon as he or she was emotionally capable of rejoining the class.

Three pieces of data support the efficacy of the red card room: (1) The teachers reported on a survey that they found the red card room to be useful and wanted it continued. (2) A survey of the students who accessed the red card room indicated that they understood its purpose and found it helpful. (3) The numbers of the students seen in the red card room consistently decreased as the academic year progressed.

However, the success of the red card room was not due merely to it being a good idea. Its success was directly attributable to the exceptional caregiving skills of the room supervisor. He did not demean or berate students. Yet he did not minimize the inappropriateness of the behavior that necessitated the visit. He had an exceptional knack for reading students, knowing when they needed to be left alone for a while to cool down, and when they were ready to go back to the classroom.

Logical Consequences

Good caregivers help children understand that there is a relationship between how they behave and what then happens to them. Responsible behavior garners age-appropriate privileges. Inappropriate behaviors result in a loss of privileges to the extent necessary to protect people from being hurt, to prevent property from being damaged, and to protect other children's living/learning environment.

Two procedures were written so that the boarding school staffs' caregiving posture reflected the principle of Logical Consequences. One procedure directed how staff should respond when students displayed inappropriate behavior. The other procedure ensured that when students displayed age-appropriate, responsible behavior they were given age-appropriate privileges.

The first application of Logical Consequences resulted in modifying the status room in the dorm and the in-school suspension room in the school. Students who displayed inappropriate behaviors were sent to the status room or to in-school suspension so they could regain control of their emotions and remediate the episode-causing deficits in their social skills. To develop these key social skills, the students were asked to complete a Reflection Sheet. Following a Reality Therapy format (Glasser, 1989), the Reflection Sheet helped students take responsibility for their behavior and then, with staff guidance, develop a "can do" plan for changing that behavior.

Another change was that students were no longer sentenced to Time Out for a specified amount of time. Instead, the amount of time they spent in Status depended largely on their ability to regain control, receive targeted social-skill training, and complete a Reflection Sheet. In short, the students earned their way out of the status room in the dorm or the in-school suspension room in the school.

A survey of the students revealed that they were fully cognizant of the behaviors that would, in their words, "never fail to get you in Status." Also, a focus group held with the students determined that they did not get angry at staff for "putting them in Status." As one student said and the others acknowledged by head nods, "If we get into Status it is our fault. We need to learn to make better decisions, and in Status staff help us learn how to do that."

Another policy change that reflected the principle of Logical Consequences was called the gold card system. In this system, if children display responsible behaviors they earn age-appropriate privileges. Some of the privileges that students can earn include being able to stay up later in the evenings, going on off-campus walks with two other same-gender students, and being taken to the mall (with money in hand) for unsupervised shopping trips.

Of course it is not socially responsible to grant such privileges to children who do such things as steal, get into fights, and fail to be at designated places at specified times.

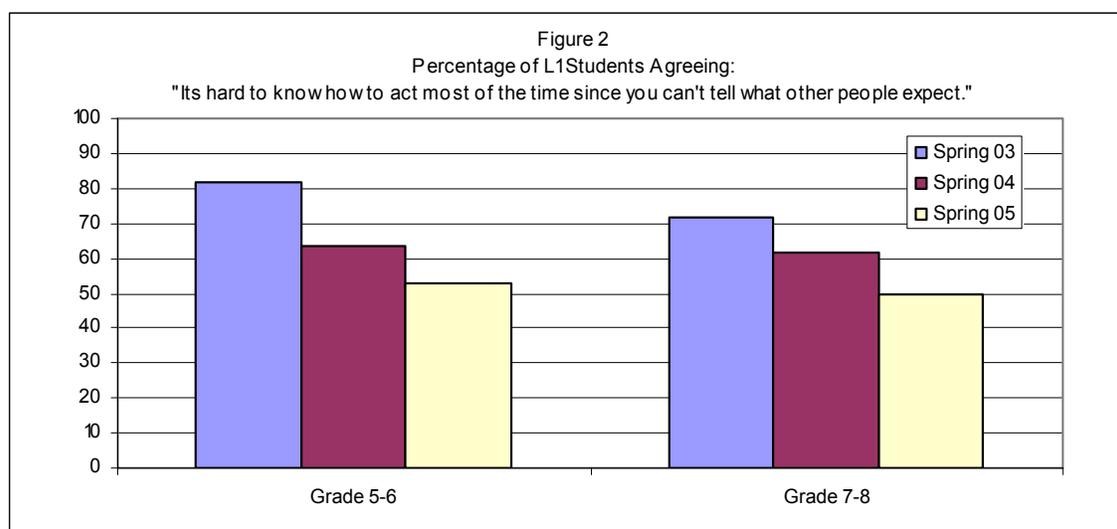
Students seem to inherently understand the logic of this association between privileges and responsible behavior, generating within them a desire to display age-appropriate behaviors.

Implementing the gold card system initially posed a problem: At the time, when the city police saw any of "our children" – a euphemism for an American Indian child – in the community, the officer's first thought was that the child was AWOL from the Indian boarding school. The officer therefore collared the child, put him or her in the squad car, and returned the child to the boarding school. The police officers' typical and predictable response caused the administrative team to realize that excessively close supervision was negatively shaping the children's self-concept and simultaneously depriving them of the opportunity to acquire age-appropriate socialization skills.

It was therefore necessary to meet with the police captain to explain the new policy so that police officers would not immediately suspect Indian children out in the community of being runaways from the boarding school. It was also necessary to literally issue students cards bearing their pictures so they could verify their status and their right to be out in the community without supervision.

The biggest payoff of the gold card system came months after it was implemented. Some of the older male students were regularly signing out on Saturday afternoons to go the city Y Center to play basketball with other same-age White children in the community.

Data supported the conclusion that the new system enabled students to more clearly understand behavioral expectations. This was indicated by the students' response to the Jessor Alienation item: "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect." As cross-sectional data shown in Figure 2 indicate, the number of students agreeing with this statement declined after the TRM was implemented.



Proactive elements. In addition to the Applied Humanism model of caregiving, other proactive elements were put in place. These included social skills training, service leadership, inclusive sports programs, student employment opportunities, and substance abuse-prevention programming.

Social Skills Training. This site had an eight-year history of doing "groups" four evenings a week. However, the TRM funding allowed the group size to be reduced by one-half, increasing student interaction. Seeing that the social skills training now had potential to give the students skills that would change their behavior, staff made the groups more focused, allowing them to evolve into targeted social skills training using multiple strategies focused on specific behaviors then happening in the dorm. For example, one week the social skills groups in the younger boys' dorm focused on aggression. Another week the focus was on stealing. Periodically, the group leaders obtained data that allowed them to assess any resultant behavior change. For example, one group leader took a pre-treatment assessment of the amount of stealing, conducted four sessions on aspects of stealing, and a week later did a post-treatment assessment of the amount of stealing. As can be seen in Table 7, stealing decreased markedly following the targeted social skills training.

Table 7
Number of Students Reporting Things Stolen
From Them in the Previous Week

	Reported Stealing	Reported no Stealing
Pre Training	63	4
Post Group	49	13

The material for the social skills training addressed such important issues as alcohol, drugs, gangs, prevention, communication skills, decision-making, cultural awareness, sexuality, and grief. The materials came from many sources; one heavily used resource was the Character Counts curriculum and materials.

Service. This boarding school has a number of activities designed to instill in the children a sense of service, leadership, and cooperation. Such activities include leadership class, young authors, chess, drum groups, gifted and talented, and destination imagination. Nurturing and empathetic skills are developed in the therapeutic equestrian program. A TRM-funded ropes course is also offered.

In addition, the students rotate in picking up trash in assigned areas of the campus. According to Hawkins and Weiss (1985), such chores are ideal service learning activities. They teach pride and instill ownership in the facility, and they give the children a sense that they are making a contribution to the group welfare.

Sports. Since many children arrive at the boarding school with histories of failure, they are in need of a sports program that counteracts their sense of helplessness and their expectation of failure. L1 has an inclusive sports program that encourages all students to participate in at least one of the sport options – football, basketball, soccer, or cross country. This inclusion promotes social development by maximizing bonding, cooperation, and leadership. This approach is compatible with the most recent thinking in the field of sports psychology with regard to sports for children and young adolescents that focus on teamwork, cooperation, and bonding rather than on winning.

However, after observation and information-gathering discussions the external evaluator concluded that the boarding school has not yet maximized the potential of sports as a therapeutic tool. Many students and a few staff members, coming from communities that place a high value on winning in athletic competition, are not used to this orientation. Another barrier slowing the conceptual shift is that the philosophy of including all students in a competitive game decreases the probability of winning. While some coaches have been able to positively redefine failure and success, other coaches struggle with their desire to win. Unfortunately, lines of authority in the sports area are blurred, causing some staff to be reluctant about stepping onto contested turf to challenge old ways of doing things. A significant asset at this site is the presence of a stellar physical education instructor and coach who is a former professional basketball player. In all ways he has modeled the benefits of using sports as a therapeutic tool.

Student Employment. Each child gets an allowance every week, which is earned by doing chores. Also, some older students are employed in work-study jobs in the cafeteria and elsewhere on campus.

Academic Program

The academic program offers the traditional core academic instruction. In addition, there is specialized instruction for students who qualify for gifted and talented services, or who have a communication disorder or a diagnosed learning disability. The academic department has a staff of approximately 40 certified teachers; 5 are special education teachers, 2 are speech therapists, and 3 are chapter teachers. They are supported by a principal, a school psychologist, an educational diagnostician, and two secretaries.

In SY 2002-2003, 62% of the students were eligible for and received therapy for expressive and/or receptive communication problems. In that same year, 36.4% of the students qualified for and received special education (SPED) services. The percentage of students qualifying for these services appears to be increasing about 2% per year. Some speculate that this trend, which has been observed elsewhere, may be the result of community-based schools on the reservations trying to meet No Child Left Behind standards by sending lower-functioning

students to boarding schools. As a group, the students' academic skills at this school are one full year below their academic placement. But even that statistic obscures the magnitude of the problem, because roughly 50% of the students had already been retained a grade by their community-based school.

Student Assessment. The language skill level of all students in grades 4-8 is determined at the beginning of the year by administration of the Language Assessment Scales. At three times during the academic year, the academic skill of all students is assessed by obtaining curriculum-based measurements for reading, arithmetic, spelling, and writing. In the spring, the students in grades 3-8 take the Dakota STEP to assess their academic skills.

Special Education. The SPED program assesses student needs and uses a variety of service delivery strategies to meet the needs of students who qualify for services. The program has a number of tracks determined by level of need. Special education students are included as much as possible in the general education classroom. However, the majority of them receive pull-out special services in the afternoons. It had been determined that few of these SPED students work best in a resource room environment. For these students, a self-contained classroom is also available.

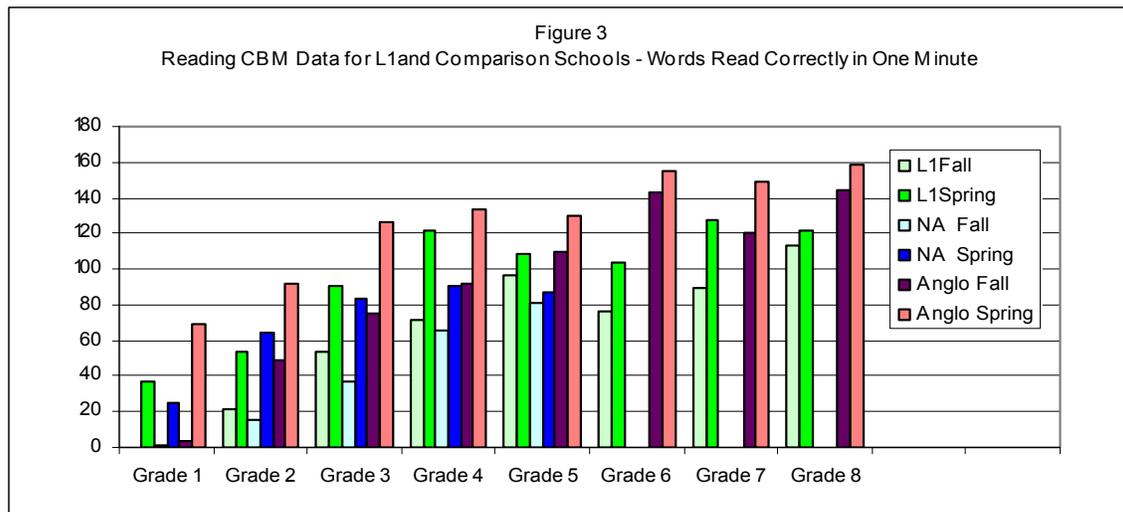
Tutoring Program. During the evening hours, students in need of remediation in reading attend a "diagnostic-prescriptive reading tutoring program" in the dormitory. Under the service delivery plan, each student is tested to diagnose areas of need, an individual remediation plan is developed, and progress reports are kept. Students behind on their academic assignments are not eligible for off-campus trips.

Student Proficiency. Table 8 shows student data at the beginning of the TRM funding as compared with Bureau-wide statistics. It was determined that 146 of 261 of the students at this site had expressive and/or receptive language communication problems and were provided speech and language services during SY 2003-2004. That same year 100 students qualified for SPED services. Thus, this school had more than double the percentage of SPED students found in the average BIA school. This differential could be expected to create a significant impact on overall proficiency levels, as the proficiency average for SPED students Bureau-wide is over 28% lower for language, over 27% lower for reading, and over 26% lower for math. Despite this significant handicap, the L1 student body outperformed the Bureau average on two of three measures. In addition, the academic proficiency of the SPED students at this site was more than 10% higher on all measures than the Bureau-wide average.

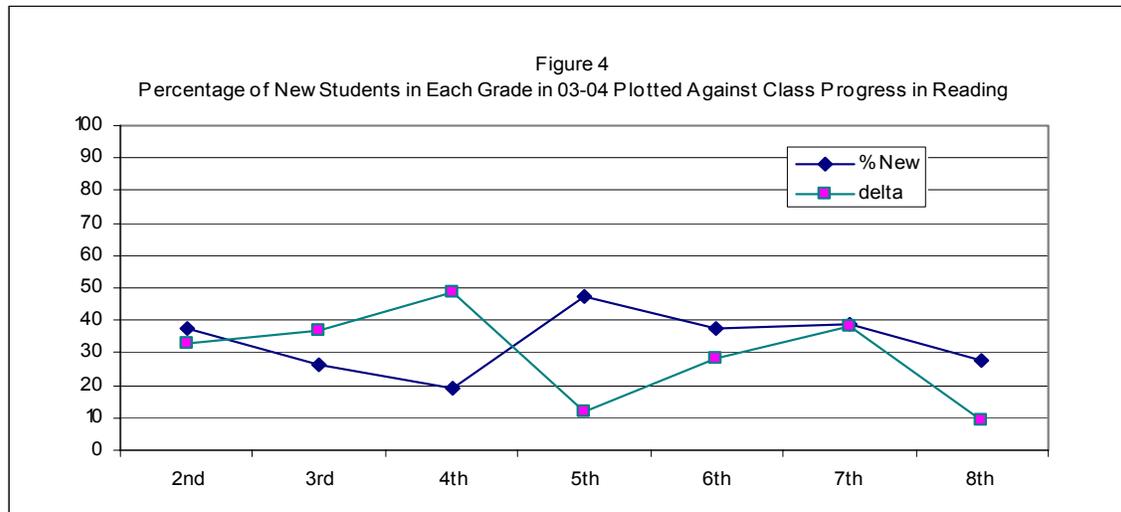
Table 8
Comparison of L1 with Bureau-Wide Statistics, 2002-2003

	% of All Students Proficient or Advanced		% of SPED Students Proficient or Advanced		Gap between SPED and "All Students"		% of SPED Students in Population	
	L1	BIA	L1	BIA	L1	BIA	L1	BIA
Language	56.76	50.48	36.23	22.27	20.53	28.21		
Reading	57.84	52.47	37.68	25.06	20.16	27.41	36.47	16.18
Math	51.89	54.01	39.13	27.44	12.76	26.57		

Academic Outcomes – Reading. After receiving funding, this site began using curriculum-based measurement (CBM) scores to measure students' progress. The CBM "probe" can be efficiently used to track progress of lagging students on a weekly basis, providing data-loops that allow teachers and students to measure gains in performance. CBM scores can also be used to compare metrics between sites. Figure 2 shows beginning- and end-of-academic-year comparisons of L1 students with students in an American Indian day school and with students in a day school attended by Anglo students.



As Figure 3 shows, incoming L1 students in grades 2-4 begin the year reading an average of 20-28 words per minute less than their Anglo day school counterparts. Each year, progress relative to these starting points (delta = spring - fall scores) is made that is comparable to that of students at other schools. When the percent of new students in a grade is plotted against reading gains (delta) Figure 4 shows a mirror relationship. Highest gains are in fourth grade, which has the lowest influx of new students (19.4%), while the high influx in fifth grade appears to be associated with lack of gain in that year. A correlation between percentage of new students in each grade for grades 2-7 with the delta of reading CBM scores found a significant negative correlation between the two (Pearson Correlation [2-tailed] $r = -.875$, $p = .022$).



As the comparison schools are community day schools, the turnover rate across grade groups is very likely stable. Therefore, the influence of the influx of new students at L1 probably is one source of the year-to-year low reading scores of the students.

Due to the many problems of entering students, academic staff face a significant challenge trying to bring these students up to proficiency levels. While this school has actively sought culturally appropriate techniques to assist students in maximizing their potential, staff and administrators expressed the need for additional help in this area. During the first year of funding a high degree of frustration was evident in the academic department as the administration attempted to focus a variety of teaching styles and attitudes on student achievement. The school began working with the Morningside program during its second year to increase the students' reading ability. The Morningside program sorts students into groups according to their reading proficiency and provides each group with exercises that are designed to enhance the students' reading. Implementation of this system helped to put the teachers on the same page, pedagogically speaking.

Mental Health Services

The philosophy at this boarding school is that students' mental health is affected by their surroundings. Therefore, L1 provides an atmosphere of respect, structure, and beauty. For the majority of students this is enough to allow them to thrive. The culture and the caregiving posture of the staff are sufficient for their proven natural resiliency to emerge, allowing them to put aside defensive postures, learn to trust, and to form relationships with caregivers and peers that promote healthy social and emotional development. However, some students need more. For these students, TRM funds were used to develop additional therapeutic resources in accordance with a triage structure. As a result, the number of students who exhausted the internal resources markedly dropped from the onset of TRM funding. During SY 2004-2005, only two students exhausted the internal resources and needed stays at inpatient mental health treatment facilities.

Triage to Meet Emotional Needs. This boarding school implemented a triage system for delivering mental health services. The majority of students have experienced emotional, physical, or sexual abuse; or have issues of grief, abandonment, or other stressors; and are eligible to receive Intense Residential Guidance. Accordingly, group sessions, as described in the section on Social Skills Training, are mandatory for all students four evenings a week. Based on intake evaluation, referrals, records, and behavior, students can also receive additional individual services. A case management system that uses some of the new TRM positions is now used to triage students. Table 9 shows the system as presented in the spring 2003 service delivery plan.

Table 9
Case Management System

Level of Need	Indicators	Responsibility
Low	- Behavioral problems	- Direct-care counselors
Moderate/ Severe	- Psychological or social issues - Gang involvement - Drug/alcohol problems	- Therapeutic Team Leaders
High	- Extreme trauma, sexual abuse - Self-mutilation/suicidal tendencies	- Psychologist - LPC
Medical/ psychiatric	- Inability to control behavior without medication	- Behavioral - Pediatrician/Psychiatrist - Referral for tertiary services

Not all students are screened using psychological tests, as that would be time-consuming and expensive; moreover, it would identify too many false positives. Instead, every student showing indicators of behavior or emotional problems is evaluated. Once the nature of the problem is understood, the most common intervention is to provide the student the structure and support he or she needs to be successful. Psychotropic medications are used as needed, but sparingly. In spring 2003, less than 15% of students were receiving medication for ADHD; less than 4% were receiving Zoloft, Celexa, or Paxil; and less than 2% were receiving sleep medication.

Increase in Staff. TRM funds were used to significantly increase therapeutic resources at this site. The numbers of mental health and residential staff were both increased, strategically strengthening all dimensions of the residential program. At the base level, 12 direct-care counselors (dormitory staff) were added, which improved the ratio of staff in day-to-day contact with the children. Four Masters-level therapeutic counselors were added, as were two intervention counselors, two social workers, and an internal evaluator/program consultant. TRM funds also supported external contracted mental health providers (behavioral pediatrician/psychiatrist, adolescent female therapist, sexual abuse therapist for females, sexual abuse therapist for males, chemical abuse therapist, and a psychologist). An equine therapy component was added in SY 2004-2005.

These new services complemented the existing services of a school psychologist, an intervention counselor, and the contracted services of a behavioral pediatrician.

By strengthening the boarding school's internal capacity to meet the children's mental health needs, the amount of money spent to purchase external mental health services markedly dropped each of the last three years of the TRM project, from \$134,590 in SY 2002-2003, to \$72,158 in SY 2003-2004, to \$7,820 in SY 2004-2005.

Physical Health Components

Nutrition. The food service facility conditions are cramped but adequate. Staff are friendly and appear to be following good food service practice. The students' diet is reviewed annually by the Child and Adult Nutrition Services. Also, the menus are analyzed via the Nutri-Kids computer system, ensuring that the nutritional needs of the students are met. The food service supervisor collaborated with supervisors at other TRM sites to decrease the use of fried foods and increase the awareness of healthy nutrition. A salad bar was added at the beginning of TRM funding and has been expanded over time. Medical personnel reported a drop in the number of students seen for constipation after the salad bar was added.

Students' physical fitness. During SY 2004-2005, the students' ability to do sit-ups, long jump, and shuttle run was used to determine whether there was improvement in their physical fitness. Using a multivariate analysis for repeated measures, it was found that the students significantly improved their fitness over the course of the academic year ($F = 34.34$, $df = 3/70$). Furthermore, they improved in each of the three areas: sit-ups, $F = 454.91$, $df = 1/72$; long jump, $F = 42.28$, $df = 1/72$; and shuttle run, $F = 24.50$, $df = 1/72$.

Unfortunately, there is no agreement among the leading physical educators on the essential aspects of physical fitness, and there also is no standardization on how each aspect or component should be measured. Therefore, it was possible to compare the physical fitness of the students at this site with nationally normed data on only one measure – the shuttle run. On this measure of physical fitness, the students at L1 met or exceeded the nationally normed data.

However, this boarding school has no organized system to ensure that all of the students become physically fit. For the last two years, the weights and heights of all students were obtained in order to identify students whose body mass index (BMI) exceeded 85% for their age and gender. This screening determined that the BMI distribution of the students at L1 is similar to the distribution of body mass indexes for students across the nation. Namely, using the cutoff score of BMI > 85%, about 15% of the students are overweight. Some attempts were made for each of the last two academic years to help these students lower their BMI. On the other side of the weight issue, staff reported that at the beginning of the academic year many children arrive thin and lethargic, apparently as a result of inadequate nourishment during the summer. Each fall, the strength of these students is rebuilt.

Health. Two nurses are stationed in the younger children's dormitory. These professionals are available to respond to emergency situations. They also do routine assessments and care for health related needs. The nurses handle health records, oversee the sickroom, make appointments, and communicate with the residential and school staff.

This boarding school requests that all new students arrive in the fall with results of a recent physical examination. However, 85 to 90% of the students arrive without these records, necessitating considerable expense and a great deal of work to obtain this information. In addition, all students are screened in the fall for dental, hearing, and vision problems. Over 60% of students fail the vision screening and require follow-up action. Nearly all of the students require dental procedures. In November, the students receive flu shots and any needed immunizations. Most of the students have medical coverage through private, tribal, or Medicaid sources. The school requires a complete application before a child is accepted. Part of this application requires medical coverage or application for such coverage. The social worker spends much of his time in the communities assisting parents to fill out this paperwork. After screenings are complete, children with health needs are prioritized for appointments.

Outcomes

Outcome data tracked a number of indicators. Retention and return rates were considered the major indicators of a successful program. In addition, data were examined to evaluate key indicators associated with developmental success: school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

Retention/Return Rate

Figure 5 shows retention of students before the TRM project and their retention when the project was well underway. Table 10 shows percentages by grade. Retention showed incremental improvements over the years, starting at 70.7% prior to TRM funding. Under TRM funding, retention rose to a peak of 82.5% in SY 2003-2004. As many students leave for reasons outside their control (such as a change in custody, parents needing their presence to receive public assistance, or family need for babysitters) this rate of retention is outstanding.

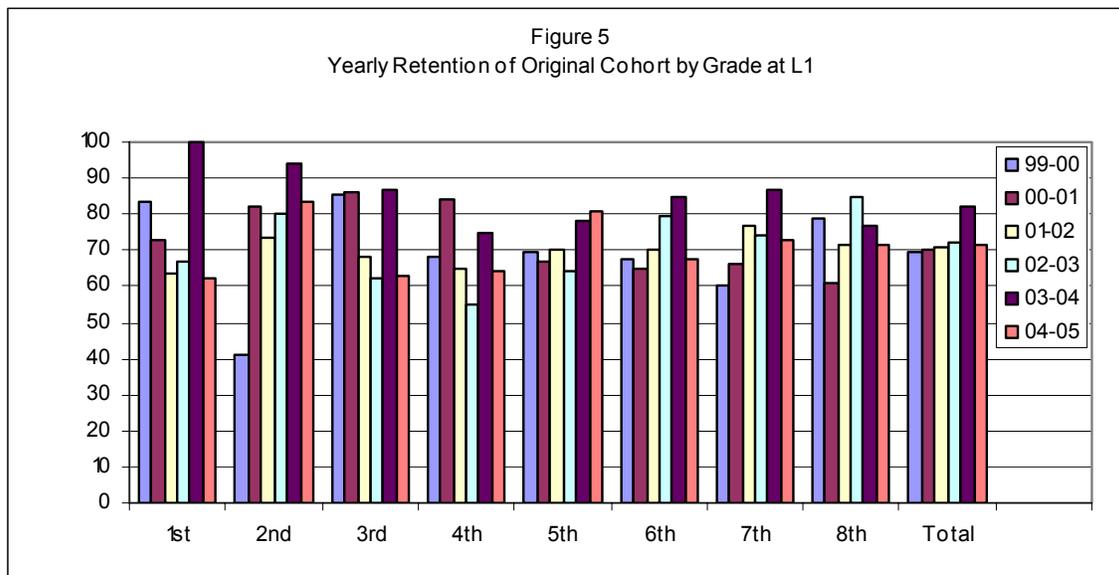
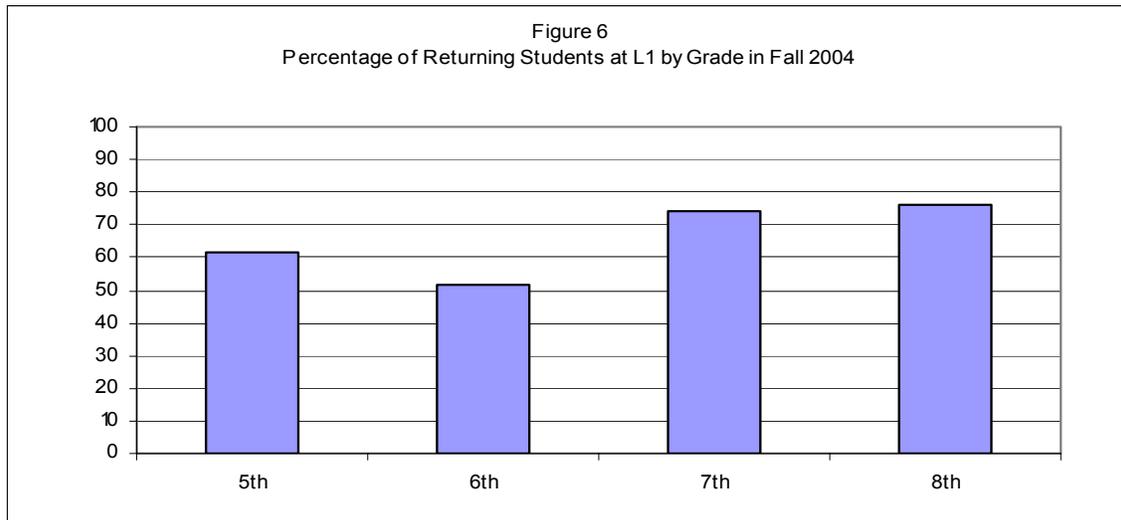


Table 10
Retention Percentages by Grade for All Students Enrolling during the First Month of School

Grade	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005
1 st	83.3	72.7	63.6	66.7	100.0	62.5
2 nd	41.2	82.4	73.3	80.0	93.8	83.3
3 rd	85.7	86.4	68.2	62.5	87.0	63.0
4 th	67.9	84.2	64.9	54.8	75.0	64.5
5 th	69.8	66.7	70.5	64.1	77.8	80.9
6 th	67.3	65.2	70.2	79.2	85.4	67.5
7 th	60.0	66.1	76.5	74.5	86.5	72.7
8 th	78.6	60.7	71.4	84.6	76.6	71.2
Total	69.3	70.2	70.7	72.5	82.5	71.8

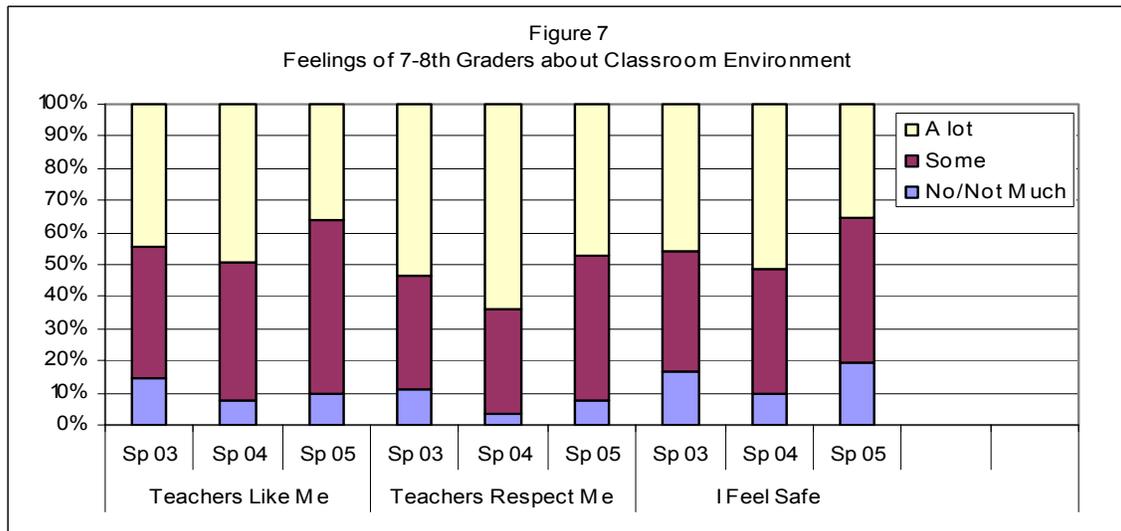
This site had a high return rate at the beginning of SY 2004-2005, as shown by the percentages of returning students at each grade level shown in Figure 6.



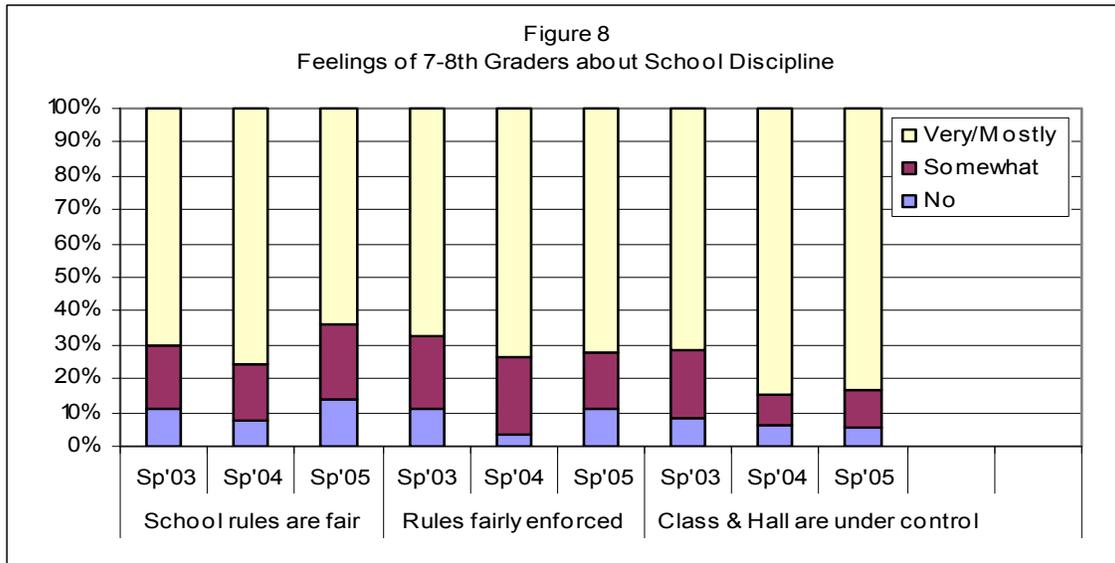
Key Indicators

School Bonding Indicators

A positive relationship existed between the teachers and students at this boarding school. The ADAS contained a number of items assessing student opinions of the school environment. As Figure 7 shows, students generally felt liked and respected by their teachers, and felt safe at school.

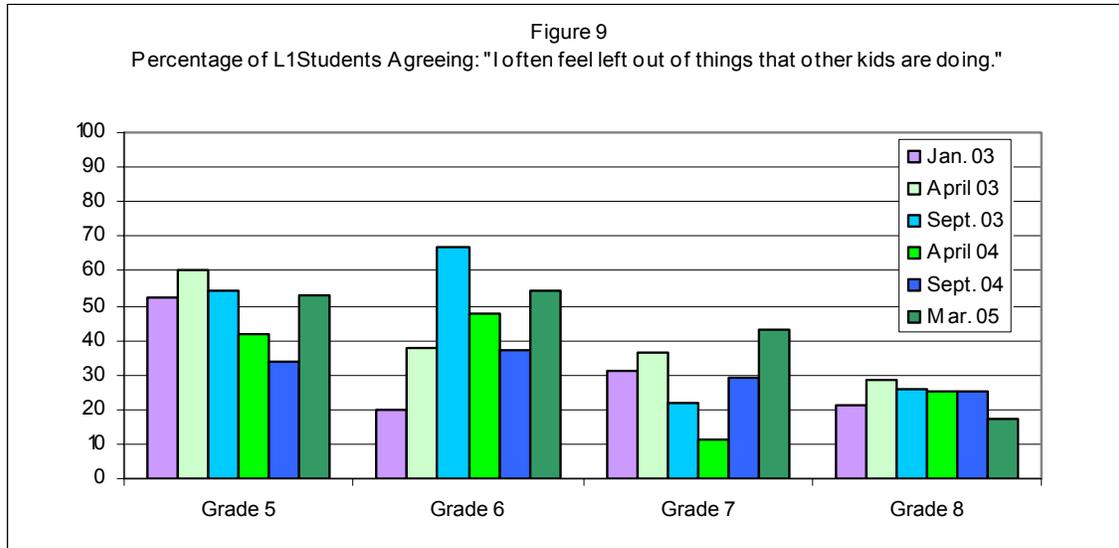


Most students also indicated that they thought “the school rules are fair,” “the school rules are fairly enforced,” and “the classrooms and hallways are kept under control” (Figure 8).

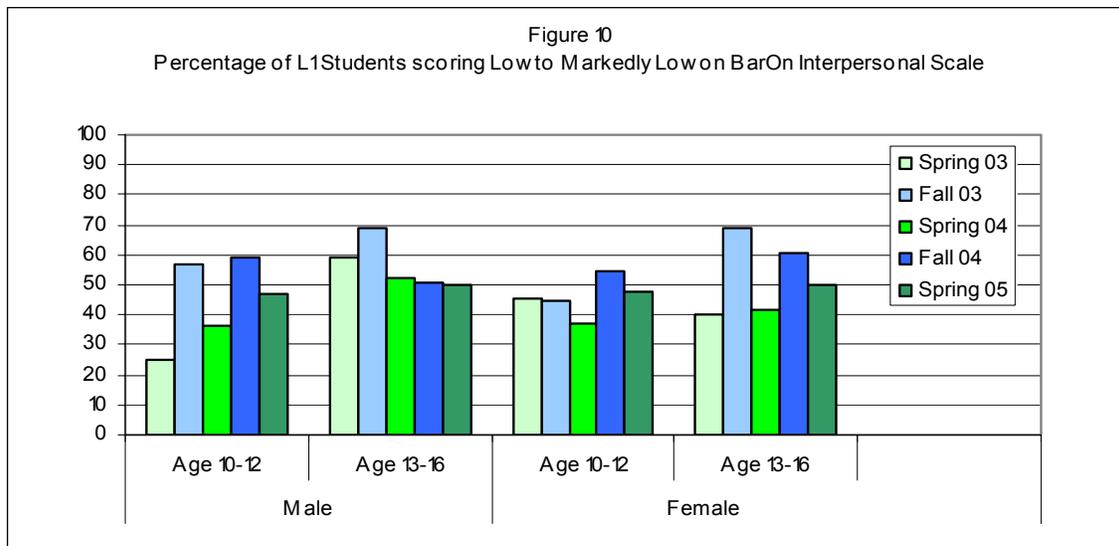


Peer and Social Bonding Indicators

Over the course of funding, this boarding school moved away from “troop movement” that put students into tightly structured group schedules, and moved towards promoting individual choice of after-school activities. L1 also added a gold card system that gave students in grades 6-8 an incentive for displaying responsible behaviors and granted privileges that led to the development of self-regulatory behavior. Prior to the TRM project, differential treatment of students was resisted. Rather, the operating mantra was an emphasis on strict equality of treatment of students and group responsibility. There are some indications in the data that, while the Kids Pick modification made in the second year of funding may have been beneficial, the differential reward system (the gold card) added in the third year may have had side effects as shown in the following figures. For example, in the second year there was a decrease between fall 2003 and spring 2004 in the percentage of students in grades 5-7 indicating they felt left out; in the third year the shift was in the opposite direction. As the change was implemented out of concern for transitioning eighth graders, it appears that this site may want to examine confining this system to only those students, or otherwise modify the system to address this possible side effect.



BarOn Interpersonal Scale. Figure 10 shows mean scores of all fifth through eighth grade students at each time point on the BarOn Interpersonal scale.



As percentages shown in the figure include all students present at each time point, pre-post analysis considered only scores of students present at both fall and spring time points during a school year (survivors). Table 11 shows three sets of comparisons: (1) pre-post test comparisons of means of fifth through eighth grade students present at both fall 2003 and spring 2004; (2) pre-post test comparisons of means for fifth through eighth grade students present at both fall 2004 and spring 2005; and (3) a comparison of fall 2003 intake scores of students in grades 4-8 who completed the school year (survivors) vs. those who left during the course of that year (non-survivors). Pre-post analysis of fifth through eighth grade students present in

both fall 2003 and spring 2004 found a significant increase in scores on this measure for both the overall group and for the older girls. Pre-post comparison of fall 2004 and spring 2005 scores found no significant change on this measure (fall mean=17.42, spring mean=17.84). Comparisons of means of incoming students who subsequently dropped out (non-survivors) were not significantly different than those of survivors in fall 2003.

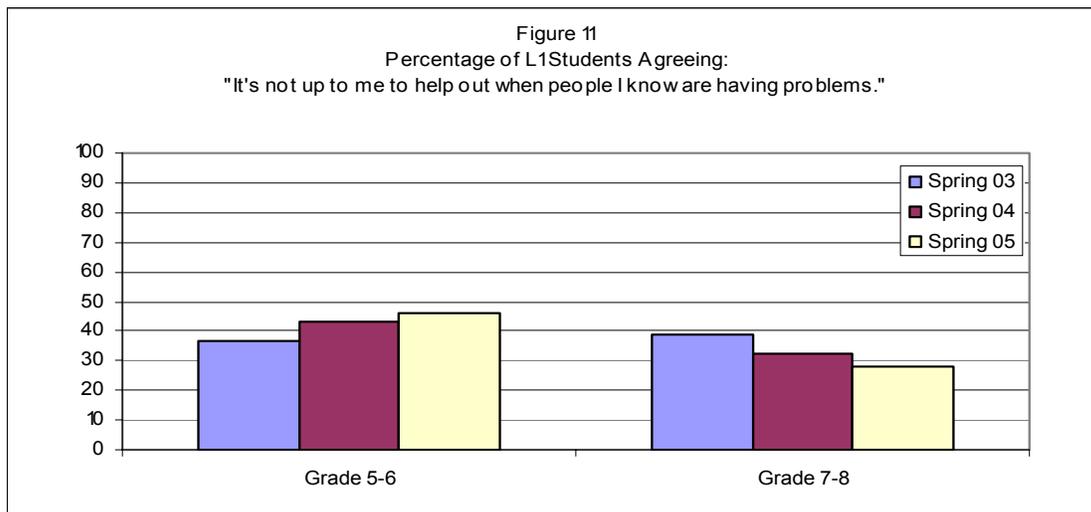
Table 11
Interpersonal Score T-test Comparisons of Means

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	16.09 (4.37)	17.51 (3.22)	2.02	34	.051
Boys aged 13-16	16.11 (4.08)	16.64 (2.66)	0.735	35	.467
Girls aged 10-12	18.12 (3.70)	18.20 (3.03)	0.102	24	.919
Girls aged 13-16	17.40 (3.09)	19.13 (2.95)	2.642	23	.015
Total	16.78 (3.96)	17.72 (3.07)	2.574	119	.011

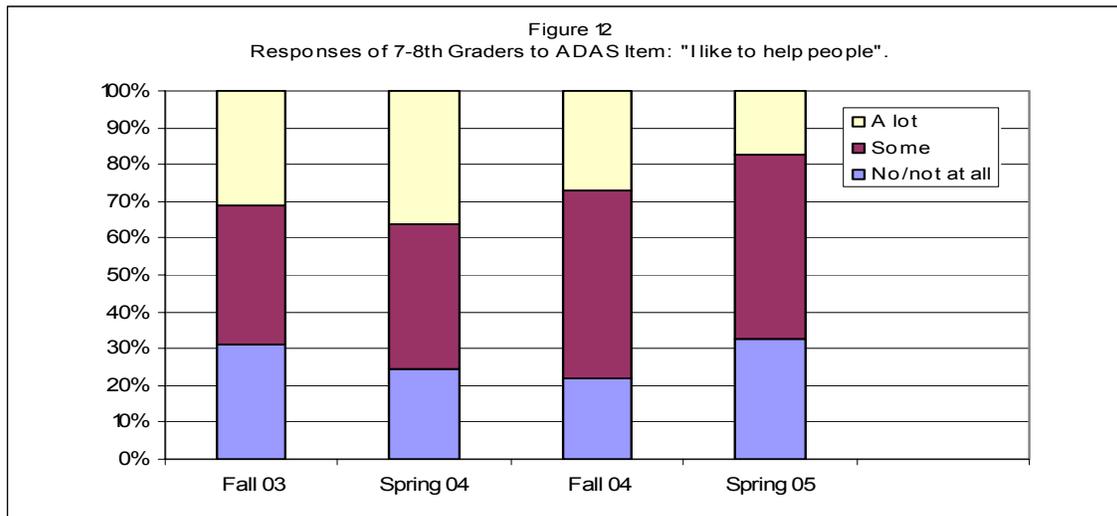
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	17.08 (3.39)	17.81 (3.41)	1.171	25	.253
Boys aged 13-16	17.16 (3.69)	16.89 (3.25)	0.395	27	.696
Girls aged 10-12	18.13 (3.02)	18.37 (3.05)	0.367	33	.716
Girls aged 13-16	17.83 (2.37)	18.57 (2.37)	1.627	22	.118
Total	17.42 (3.43)	17.84 (3.13)	1.241	112	.217

Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	16.64 (4.51)	16.53 (4.06)	.080	56	.936
Boys aged 13-16	16.11 (4.08)	17.00 (4.63)	.632	46	.531
Girls aged 10-12	17.97 (3.49)	18.17 (2.34)	.200	43	.842
Girls aged 13-16	17.40 (3.09)	17.20 (2.77)	.131	27	.897

Social Responsibility. As seen in Figure 11, a cross-sectional analysis showed a slight trend in the younger group toward a decrease in social responsibility across the time points and an increase in the older group as implementation progressed.



Responses of seventh and eighth graders on the ADAS Item "I like to help people" are shown in Figure 12. This figure indicates that charity was at its highest point in spring 2004, and it increased over the level at fall 2003 intake. The figure suggests that in the following year when the gold card system emphasized individual achievement and privilege, the trend went in the opposite direction.



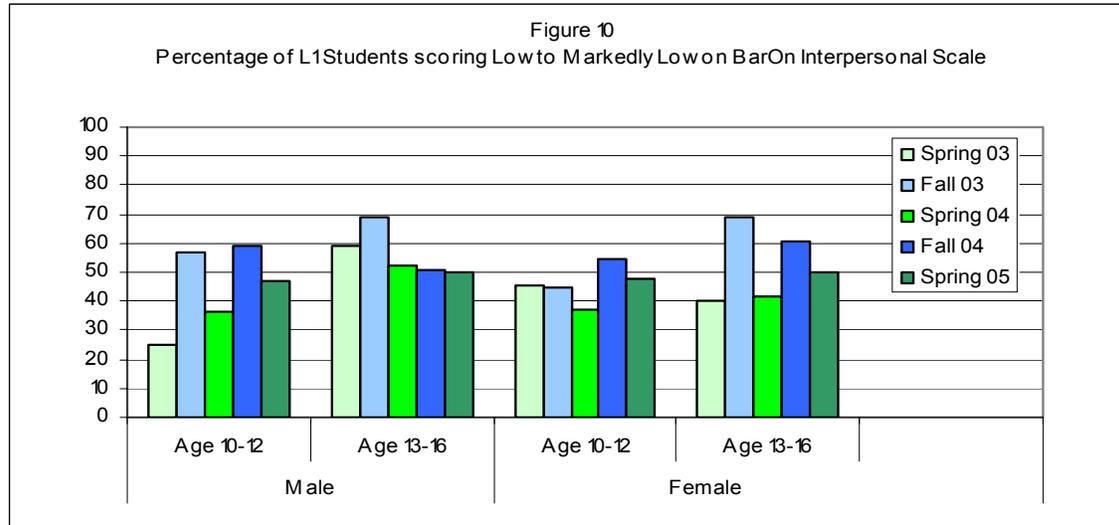
While close supervision protected students from overt victimization, observations and staff interviews verified that some students continued to bully others, and some students stole from their peers. Table 12 shows the number of students who reported that their friends bullied other students. Since some group sessions under TRM funding focused on getting students to recognize bullying behaviors, results may indicate an increased awareness of bullying rather than an actual increase in the behaviors.

Table 12
Bullying in 7th and 8th Grade L1 Students (ADAS-survey data)

Do your friends pick on or bully other kids?	A lot	Some
Spring 2003	14%	27%
Spring 2004	12%	33%
Spring 2005	9%	38%

Adaptability and Stress Management

Adaptability. Figure 13 shows mean scores of all fifth through eighth grade students at each time point on the BarOn Adaptability scale, based on items reflecting confidence in ones' ability to deal with problems.

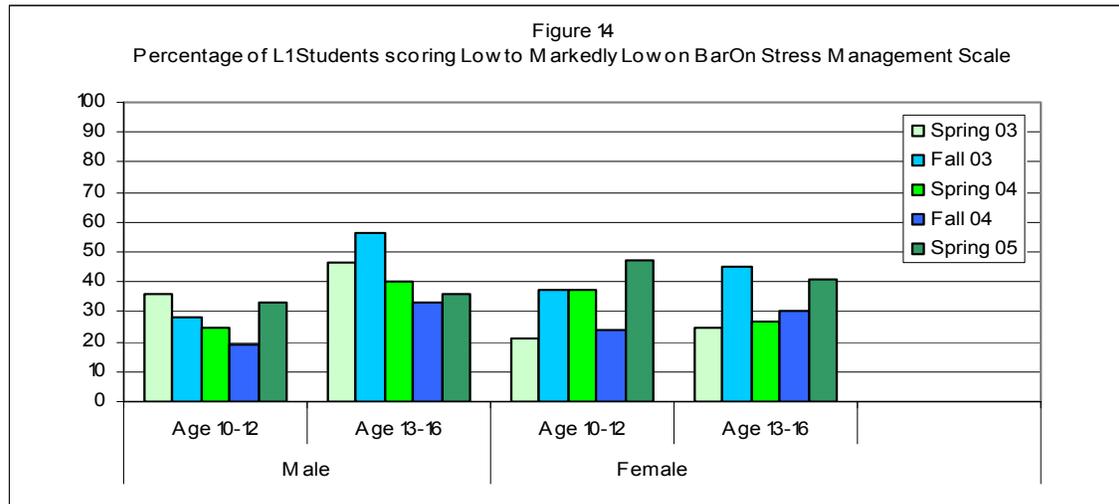


Pre-post analysis considered only scores of students present at both time points. Table 13 shows means of these students, as well as a comparison of survivor and non-survivor scores in fall 2003. Pre-post comparisons of fall 2004 and spring 2005 means for all surviving students showed a trend toward improvement in adaptability, increasing from a mean of 14.65 in the fall to a mean of 15.50 ($t = 2.49$), $p = .014$). As this indicator tended to go in a negative direction in the previous year, programs implemented in SY 2004-2005 may be responsible for this improvement.

Table 13
Mean BarOn Scores on Adaptability

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	15.51 (3.35)	14.86 (2.69)	1.028	34	.311
Boys aged 13-16	15.47 (4.00)	14.08 (4.10)	2.208	35	.034
Girls aged 10-12	14.48 (4.16)	14.48 (3.47)	.000	24	1.00
Girls aged 13-16	14.60 (4.01)	14.67 (5.56)	.061	23	.952
Total	15.10 (3.84)	14.51 (3.94)	1.677	119	.096
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	14.62 (3.34)	16.81 (3.09)	3.22	25	.004
Boys aged 13-16	15.50 (3.35)	15.63 (4.23)	.201	27	.842
Girls aged 10-12	14.53 (3.03)	14.68 (3.54)	.261	33	.796
Girls aged 13-16	14.61 (3.69)	15.39 (4.21)	1.003	22	.327
Total	14.65 (3.53)	15.50 (3.82)	2.493	112	.014
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	15.76 (3.40)	15.00 (4.02)	.708	56	.482
Boys aged 13-16	15.47 (4.00)	12.83 (3.24)	2.064	46	.045
Girls aged 10-12	14.90 (4.22)	15.73 (3.22)	.672	43	.505
Girls aged 13-16	14.60 (4.01)	14.00 (2.45)	.322	27	.750

Stress Management. Figure 14 shows mean scores of all fifth through eighth grade students at each time point on the BarOn Stress Management scale.

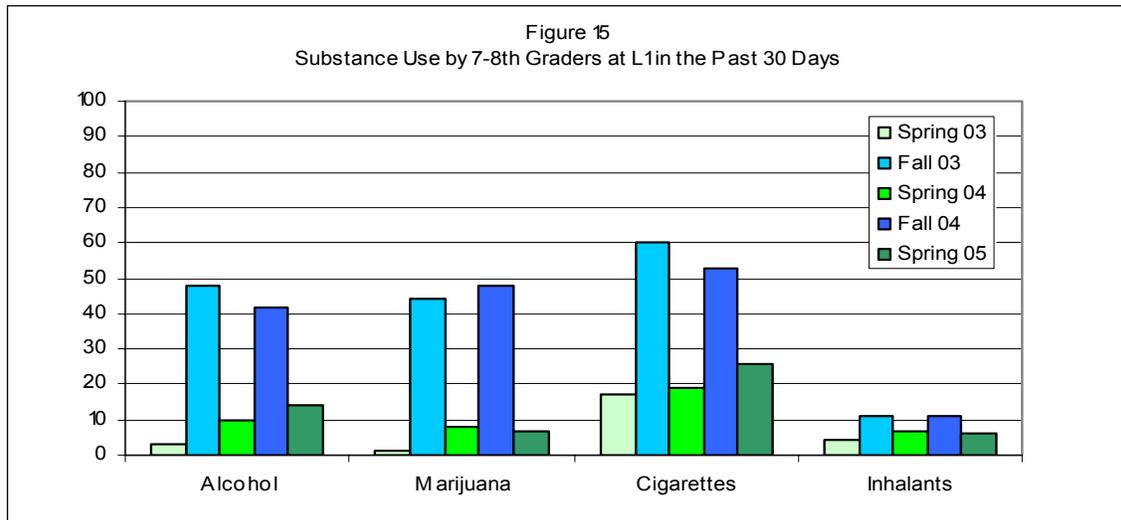


Pre-post analysis considered only scores of students present at both time points. Table 14 shows means of these students, as well as a comparison of survivor and non-survivor scores in fall 2003. Pre-post analysis found no significant overall change on this measure. However, analysis of subgroups indicated that while stress management scores for the older girls appeared to rise during SY 2003-2004, they dropped precipitously for the younger girls the following year (2004-2005), a year where there was significant overcrowding in the younger girls' dormitory.

Table 14
Mean BarOn Scores on Stress Management
Compared for Fall and Spring

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	t	df	p
Boys aged 10-12	16.31 (3.79)	16.31 (4.41)	0.000	34	1.00
Boys aged 13-16	14.25 (4.07)	14.67 (4.56)	0.533	35	.597
Girls aged 10-12	17.60 (3.91)	16.56 (4.40)	1.206	24	.240
Girls aged 13-16	15.02 (4.63)	16.81 (4.06)	2.250	23	.034
Total	15.70 (4.22)	15.97 (4.41)	0.668	119	.505
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	t	df	p
Boys aged 10-12	16.73(3.81)	16.15(4.15)	0.654	25	.519
Boys aged 13-16	16.11(3.33)	16.25(3.18)	0.200	27	.842
Girls aged 10-12	17.01(4.12)	14.24(3.92)	3.617	33	.001
Girls aged 13-16	16.00(4.44)	16.09(3.53)	0.153	22	.880
Total	16.33(4.12)	15.64(3.80)	1.618	112	.108
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	t	df	p
Boys aged 10-12	16.81(3.75)	15.67(3.68)	1.025	56	.310
Boys aged 13-16	14.25(4.07)	15.08(3.14)	.646	46	.522
Girls aged 10-12	17.13(4.35)	15.30(4.11)	1.356	43	.182
Girls aged 13-16	15.02(4.63)	13.40(6.02)	.679	27	.503

Substance Use. Figure 15 compares use rates of incoming students (fall) with those in residency at the school (spring), showing the school was largely successful at reducing use during the school year.



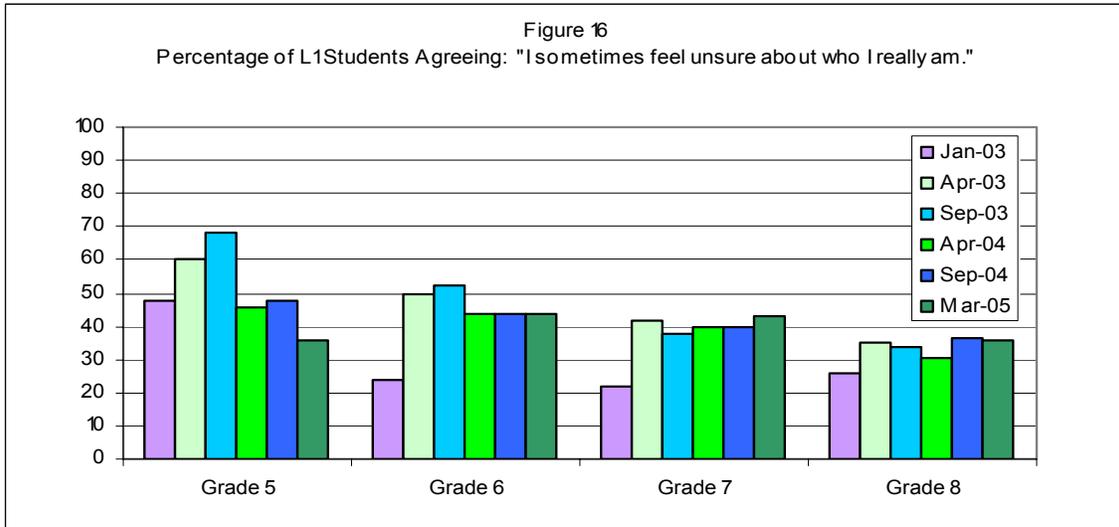
Behavioral Incidents. Table 15 presents statistics on Behavioral Incidents at this site over a 14-year period. Over this time period, there was a dramatic decrease in each category.

Table 15
Number of Behavioral Incidents

	1991-1992	1992-1993	1993-1994	1994-1995	1995-1996	1996-1997	1997-1998	1998-1999	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003	2003-2004	2004-2005
AWOL	459	656	681	165	37	11	15	54	41	30	28	25	28	22
Assault	246	324	445	227	79	22	5	2	2	3	9	8	12	2
Suicide attempt	31	16	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0

Meaning and Identity

Figure 16 shows responses of students on identity and meaning items of the Jessor Alienation Scale. The initial January survey showed identity problems to be most common among fourth and fifth graders, with only low levels indicated in the older groups. Uncertainty about identity increased across grades 5-8, prior to the return home in the spring (April 2003). In the opinion of many staff, this was fueled by the emotional preparations the students make prior to returning home. Levels continued to be high for incoming students in the younger groups in September 2003 and 2004.



Pre-post test comparisons of student scores in fall 2004 and spring 2005 showed no significant change.

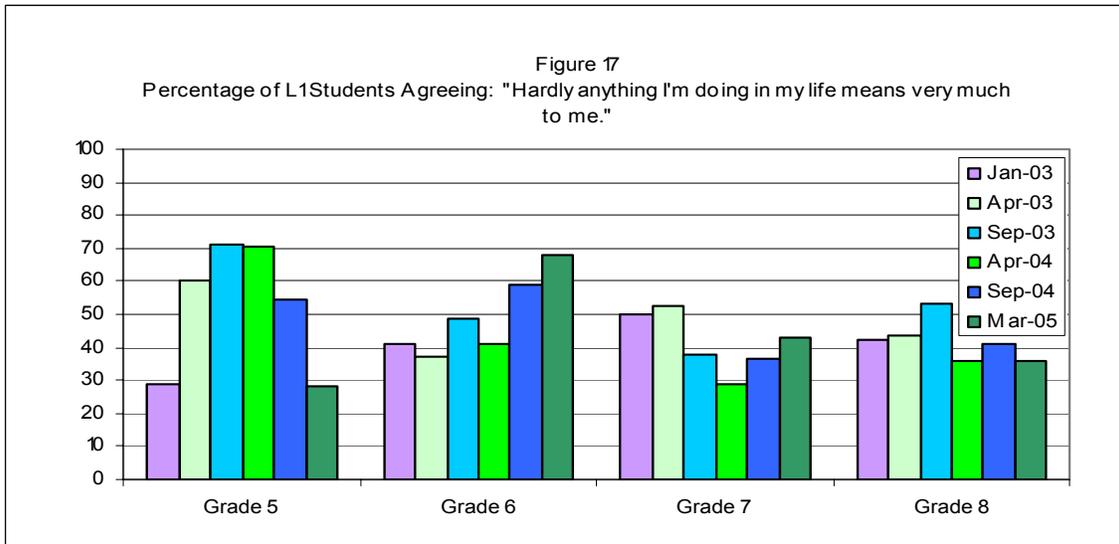
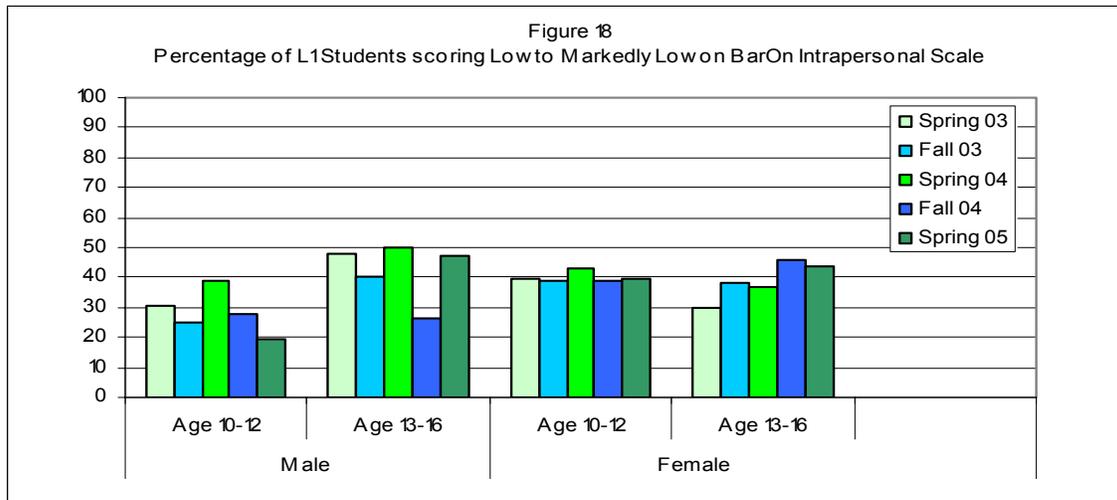


Figure 17 indicates that a significant number of students were still struggling for meaning. While grade 6 had been the most reactive on other items, it appears that from this age group onward, the meaning aspect has stabilized. Grade 5 results in April 2003 were examined to rule out gender differences, given the involvement of gender in the Jessor item regarding feeling "left out." Results on this measure appeared to be related more to age than gender. The percentages of boys and girls in the fifth and sixth grades were close to a 50% split for each grade level. Sixty-nine percent of fifth grade boys (N=13) and 50% of fifth grade girls (N=12) agreed with the "lack of meaning" statement, while 30% of sixth grade (N=20) boys and 45% of

sixth grade girls (N=20) agreed with it. Chi square tests for responses of each grade group found gender differences were not significant. Pre-post test comparisons of student scores in fall 2004 and spring 2005 showed no significant change.

Intrapersonal. Figure 18 shows mean scores of all fifth through eighth grade students at each time point on the BarOn Intrapersonal scale.



As percentages shown in the figure include all students present at each time point, pre-post analysis considered only scores of students present at both time points. Table 16 shows means of fifth through eighth grade students for SY 2003-2004 and for SY 2004-2005, as well as a comparison of survivor and non-survivor scores in fall 2003.

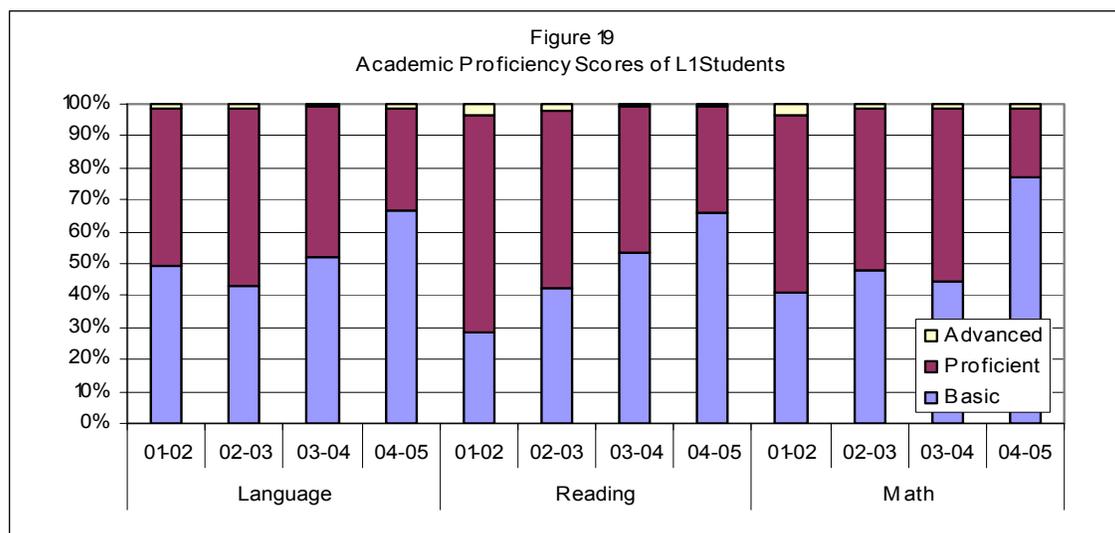
Table 16
Mean BarOn Scores on Intrapersonal Scale

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	13.74 (3.13)	12.80 (3.03)	1.8113	34	.079
Boys aged 13-16	12.85 (3.26)	12.36 (3.60)	0.778	35	.442
Girls aged 10-12	13.64 (3.26)	13.76 (4.11)	0.135	24	.894
Girls aged 13-16	13.19 (2.32)	13.58 (3.28)	0.515	23	.611
Total	13.34 (3.04)	13.03 (3.50)	0.933	119	.353
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	13.65 (3.24)	13.29 (3.22)	0.659	25	.516
Boys aged 13-16	14.39 (2.30)	13.21 (2.96)	1.723	27	.096
Girls aged 10-12	13.47 (3.59)	13.28 (2.98)	0.299	33	.767
Girls aged 13-16	13.61 (3.95)	12.96 (3.78)	1.066	22	.298
Total	13.60 (3.52)	13.15 (3.19)	1.369	112	.174
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	14.41 (3.26)	13.26 (2.55)	1.227	56	.225
Boys aged 13-16	12.85 (3.26)	13.67 (4.12)	.706	46	.484
Girls aged 10-12	13.17 (3.42)	12.60 (2.56)	.566	43	.575
Girls aged 13-16	13.19 (2.32)	11.20 (2.49)	1.726	27	.096

As percentages shown in the figure include all students present at each time point, pre-post analysis considered only scores of students present at both time points. Pre-post analysis of spring and fall scores for students present at both time points found no significant change on this measure.

Academic Achievement

The school faced a staggering number of challenges in this area. Fifty percent of the incoming students had failed a grade. Within these grade placements, students still averaged academic skills that were a year behind that grade level. This school had more than double the number of special education students as the average BIA school. Figure 19 shows the cumulative effect of this challenge as this school struggled against increasing challenges of bringing students up to their potential.



Academic Outcomes – Reading. Despite its enthusiastic adoption, Morningside’s assistance did not enhance the students’ reading ability. Evaluation at the end of SY 2004-2005 found that students who had experienced the Morningside program for one year did not improve their norm-referenced reading ability, and even students who experienced the Morningside program for two academic years did not improve their norm-referenced reading ability. On average, the students’ reading ability at L1 is one academic year below grade placement. A within-subject comparison of the students’ reading scores, as measured in normal curve equivalences (NCE), at the end of the 2004 academic year and at the end of SY 2004-2005 did not find a gain in their relative standing compared with other students across the country. Additional support for this conclusion was drawn from the CBM data. After the Morningside program was used with the students in grades 1-4 for two years, and with students in grades 5-8 for one year, the CBM trend lines were similar to those generated in spring 2003. The average NCE reading score of students at L1 at the end of SY 2004-2005 was 35.8, which is .67 of a standard deviation below the national average.

Academic outcomes – Math. At the end of SY 2004-2005, an assessment was made of the math ability of the 110 students in grades 4-8 for whom national normed achievement scores were also available for SY 2003-2004. As a group, the students increased their math NCE score only .84 units. This small change is well within the range of measurement error.

Academic outcomes – Language Arts. This same group of students significantly increased their language arts scores on these nationally normed achievement tests from spring 2004 to spring 2005 ($t = 2.08$, $df = 109$, $p = .025$). It is speculated that this significant improvement was due to two factors. First, 61% of the students received speech and language services during the course of the academic year. Second, upon leaving their reservation-based homes, the students found themselves immersed in a more diversified boarding school culture, and the exposure helped to increase their language arts scores.

Academic outcomes – Social Studies. When the scores of students in grades 4-6 were collapsed, there were 54 students in these grades who had taken a nationally normed achievement test both years. These students showed a gain in their understanding of social studies relative to the national average ($t = 3.02$, $df = 53$, $p = .025$). However, no such gain was obtained for the aggregated data of students in grades 7 and 8.

Discussion

Using TRM funds, this boarding school provided a highly structured environment that emphasizes the students' roles and responsibilities within that structure. Historically, the system of discipline at this site focused on punitive consequences for inappropriate behavior and also on fitting students into the social order. With the onset of TRM funding, a distinct caregiving posture was adopted across campus, wherein all staff adopted a supportive role and aimed at individual therapeutic goals. All staff coming in contact with the students were expected to be part of the therapeutic team, supported by paraprofessionals and counselors who were expected to operate "on the hoof." Residential staff were expected to operate in an authoritative parental role, requiring an increase in the exercise of their judgment on how to handle situations in a manner that balanced the need for social order with the unique needs of individual children.

The environment at this boarding school provided a great deal of personal safety for the students. Ongoing monitoring by staff exercising a high level of responsibility resulted in the occurrence of only two assaults in the course of the final year of funding. Students reported feeling liked and respected by their teachers.

This boarding school promoted emotional stability. A fairly low level of medication was used at L1; 15% of students were on ADHD medication, and less than 4% were on depression medication. Only two students were sent out for more than a week of inpatient treatment.

There was a high retention rate at this boarding school, indicating that the site has been successful at addressing many of the barriers to retention.

The boarding school had a confluence of factors that worked together to provide favorable outcomes. A well-maintained and attractive physical environment gives a message to the students that they are valued. A strong administration was present that was committed to a therapeutic vision and supported positive change. Staff had a high level of support for the administration and demonstrated an attitude of responsibility and caring commitment to the students. A cohort of students who had attended the school from early elementary grades through the upper grades formed a peer group nucleus that reinforced pro-social norms and behavior.

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LEVEL 2 THERAPEUTIC MODEL SITE

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Abstract: L2, one of the original sites first funded under the Therapeutic Residential Model Initiative in 2001-2002, is operated as a peripheral dormitory. This dormitory cares for 185 boys and girls in grades 1-12 who attend local public schools. L2 presented an outstanding proposal which identified gaps in services and presented a reasonable budget to address those gaps by adding additional mental health services and increasing the number of residential and recreation staff. With only minor modifications to this budget, the site efficiently and effectively implemented the strategies it had proposed and utilized evaluation feedback to fine-tune systems and maximize positive outcomes. The Therapeutic Residential Model funds enabled the site to move from a functional dormitory to a therapeutic residential situation where the needs of students are assessed and addressed. Outcome indicators in spring 2002, 2003, 2004, and 2005 showed impacts in a number of areas when compared with the baseline year of 2000-2001:

- *Retention of students steadily increased, going from 40.7% in 2000-2001 to 68.4% in 2004-2005.*
- *75 students graduated from high school during the four Therapeutic Residential Model years, compared with 41 in the preceding four years.*
- *Academic Proficiency and ACT scores improved significantly.*
- *Thirty-day cigarette use dropped from 62% in spring 2001 to 38% in spring 2005 among 7th and 8th graders, from 58% to 33% among 9th and 10th graders, and from 72% to 29% among 11th and 12th graders.*
- *Alienation indices showed an increase in feelings of inclusion and a decrease in lack of meaning.*

This site is an outstanding example of what can be done with a well-designed and responsibly implemented Therapeutic Model Program, and the measurable impacts which can result from such strategic use of resources.

Level 2 Therapeutic Model Site

Located in a rural area in the Midwest, the L2 site operates as a tribally controlled grant school under Public Law 100-297 (the Indian Education Act of 1988). Continuously operated for well over a century, the institution provided an academic program for the first 60 years of its existence, but for the last six decades has served as a peripheral dormitory. The site, operating on 500 acres of farmland, woods, and ponds, serves 175 boys and girls of American Indian heritage in grades 1-12 from approximately 30 different tribes. The majority of students attend the local public schools, and an alternative high school on campus served approximately 15% of the students at the beginning of the funding period. While the Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) project was underway, plans were being carried out to build a school on campus to serve all students in grades 1-12. The site received an average of approximately \$3,200 in TRM funding per student per year over the course of the grant.

L2 first received TRM funding in school year (SY) 2001-2002. The site efficiently implemented its proposal and creatively incorporated additional recommendations from an evaluation which utilized a comprehensive prevention research model (DeJong, 1995). The proposal emphasized provision of mental health services to all students, under the assumption that such services were needed by students manifesting problems and those with risk factors. In the first year, the site worked to significantly upgrade staff and services, adding a counseling center to provide appropriate levels of mental health services to all students. The site also hired seven additional home living assistants, and upgraded the quality of candidates for these positions by increasing their starting rate of pay from \$6.00 to \$7.50 per hour. A recreation aide and a security guard were also added. Tutors were hired to enhance academic performance, and cultural activities were encouraged.

In the second year of funding, implementation and restructuring continued. After assessing reasons for lack of retention in the first year, the site focused on restructuring students' experiences in the first weeks of their stay to assist their transition and to reduce the number of students lost due to homesickness. Mental health services were also at an optimum level this year, with highly qualified staff in a number of positions. A Rites of Passage ceremony was introduced to transition boys from the elementary to the middle and high school dorm. Evaluation in this second TRM year focused more closely on quality of staff and programs.

In the third year of TRM funding (2003-2004), the first and second grade classrooms were put into service as a first step in establishing a school for grades 1-12 on campus. The administration responded to recommendations for tighter monitoring of staff and requiring and enforcing standards. Several staff with less than optimal student interactions were replaced early in the year. A much-needed revamping of the recreation department took place at the end of the year. The loss of an outstanding male counselor early in the year had some impact on provision of mental health services. The size of life skills groups was decreased to more manageable levels, providing a more effective format for interactions and learning. An informal peer mentoring process emerged, with members of the senior class assuming responsibility for advising and befriending younger students.

In SY 2004-2005 the focus was on nutrition and health. An invigorated recreation staff teamed with the food service department to address widespread problems of obesity. In SY 2005-2006, classrooms accommodating grades 3-6 were put into operation.

Student Characteristics

Life Stressors. Table 1 shows responses of L2 students on the Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS), administered under anonymous conditions in fall 2001. It is clear that many incoming students had experienced school failure and been exposed to violence as either perpetrators or victims.

Table 1
History of Incoming Students, Fall 2001
– Anonymous ADAS Self Reports

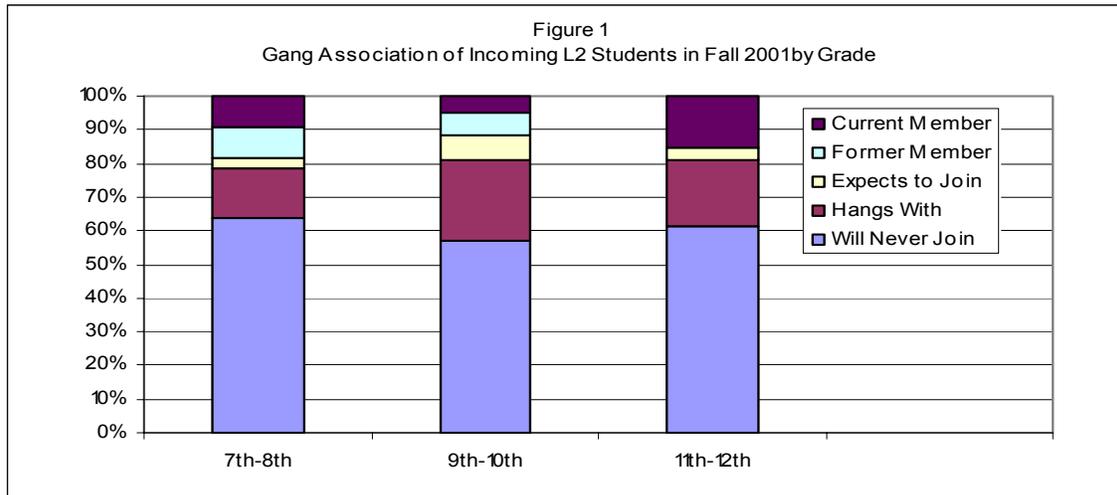
Item	7 th -8 th grade	9 th -10 th grade	11 th -12 th grade
History of Antisocial Activity			
- Have been arrested	25%	39%	19%
- Have robbed someone	19%	21%	23%
- Have beaten up somebody	64%	71%	52%
- Have hurt someone using club/chain/ knife /gun	19%	18%	22%
School Failure			
- Have flunked a grade	50%	41%	46%
- Have been expelled from school	14%	25%	36%
Victimization			
- Have been beaten up by peer	19%	25%	33%
- Have been beaten up by someone not of same age	18%	37%	44%
- Been hurt with a club/knife/gun	9%	12%	28%
- Been robbed	22%	19%	24%

Suicidal Ideation. In fall 2005, the Children's Depression Inventory was administered at L2. Table 2 shows results on an item which asks about suicidal feelings in the past two weeks.

Table 2
Distribution of Student Responses on CDI Suicide Item by Grade

Responses	5 th -6 th	7 th -8 th	9 th -10 th	11 th -12 th
I do not think about killing myself.	66.7%	50.0%	50.0%	62.5%
I think about killing myself but I would not do it.	27.3%	38.9%	38.2%	32.5%
I want to kill myself.	6.1%	11.1%	11.8%	5.0%

Students were also asked in fall surveys about their gang involvement. Figure 1 shows the percentage of students in fall 2001 choosing each option to describe their level of involvement.



Using the short form of the Jessor Alienation Scale (Jessor, Donovan, & Costa Frances, 1992), baseline measures of alienation were taken at two time points prior to funding, in spring 2001 at the end of SY 2000-2001, and in fall 2001 at the beginning of the first year of funding. While responses were similar at the two time points for the older age group, alienation was higher in the younger group at the end of SY 2000-2001 than at the beginning of the next year (Table 3).

Table 3
Percentage of students agreeing with Jessor Items
Prior to TRM Funding

Items from the Jessor Alienation Scale	Ages 9-12		Ages 13+	
	Spring 01	Fall 01	Spring 01	Fall 01
Hardly anything I'm doing in my life means very much to me.	69%	57%	43%	44%
I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.	92%	51%	40%	43%
It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems	62%	40%	27%	31%
It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect.	85%	50%	61%	57%

The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory focuses on a number of areas necessary for successful functioning in the world, including intrapersonal skills (inner knowledge and inner balance), interpersonal skills, ability to manage stress, and adaptability (reflecting confidence in ability to deal with situations that arise around oneself). Responses on the BarOn at the beginning of the first TRM school year (fall 2001) indicated many incoming students scored low enough on subscales that intervention was indicated. Thirty-eight percent of respondents in grades 4-12 needed help in the intrapersonal area, 66% needed help in developing interpersonal skills, 30% needed assistance with stress management skills, and 60% had low confidence in their ability to adapt to challenges.

Substance Abuse. In fall 2001, many incoming students reported having tried various substances (Table 4). By junior high, most incoming students had experimented with alcohol, marijuana, and cigarettes.

Table 4
Percentage of L2 Students Reporting
Past Substance Use, Fall 2001

	4 th -6 th	7 th -8 th	9 th -10 th	11 th -12 th
Alcohol	27%	62%	77%	91%
Marijuana	13%	60%	76%	78%
Cigarettes	33%	64%	83%	73%
Inhalants	15%	11%	21%	9%

Physical Problems. A problem with obesity was first quantified in SY 2003-2004 when the students' body mass index (BMI) was systematically measured. Over 80% of the students were identified as being overweight or obese. Blood tests at intake identified 11 students whose blood sugar was so elevated that they were transported to the local hospital for professional assessment and treatment.

Baseline Retention. The site had a serious problem with retention. When the cohort of all students entering by count week was analyzed for each of the two years preceding funding, only 39.8% in SY 1999-2000 and 40.7% in SY 2000-2001 made it to the end of the academic year. Many students left early in the year due to homesickness. Others had to be sent home for protection of fellow students, or to inpatient facilities because the site had inadequate resources to deal with their emotional problems. Many students were pulled out of school by parents who needed them for babysitting or emotional support. Others were lost when there were changes in the custodial situation or incarceration status of parents.

Site Resources

Facility

Facilities are generally in excellent condition. The girls' dorm, constructed within the past decade, is light and airy, housing three to four girls per room in two wings where rooms are clustered around a large living area with skylights. The boys are housed two to a room in a building with four wings. With the increase in retention from 40.7% prior to TRM to 72.7% at

the end of the third year of TRM funding, concern arose about overcrowding in the dormitories. Prior to SY 2004-2005, an additional eight rooms were added to the girls' dormitory to reduce overcrowding.

An attractive library containing a computer lab also provides a storm shelter adequate to accommodate all students in its basement. The cafeteria is well-equipped and clean, with internal walls decorated with the seals of several tribes served by the site. The on-campus gymnasium has a recently replaced floor and air circulation system. Over the three years of TRM funding, the weight room was expanded and improved. The gym has a large front area, designed to be used as a crafts and activity area, and as a student canteen. It has been converted to house the alternative program for 25 high school students. Three houses on campus have been converted to a counseling center, a campus museum, and a tutoring center. An extensive swine-raising operation on one corner of the campus affords a number of students the opportunity to raise hogs for show and sale.

Modular buildings house classrooms. In SY 2003-2004, first and second grade classes were first held on campus. By the beginning of SY 2005-2006, grades 3-6 also attended class on campus, and plans had been drafted for a new high school on campus.

Financial and Staff Resources

All TRM funds expended at this site went to upgrading its services and increasing salaries to the bare minimum necessary to attract and hold qualified staff. None of the funds were used for existing programs. The tribe operating the school has consistently been generous and flexible in its support of the institution, and provided funds to fill gaps not budgeted for in the original proposal, but identified during the program. Using TRM funding, a number of new positions were filled which addressed gaps in staffing and services to students. New hires included seven to nine home-living assistants, a recreation supervisor, a recreation aide, a security guard, a behavioral therapist, and a registered nurse. The additional staff brought number of personnel to 75. In order to attract new staff and retain existing staff, the pay rate was increased for all home-living assistants. TRM staff trainings at the beginning of each school year included topics addressing concerns identified in the previous year's evaluation.

Staff morale was high and while staff showed little reluctance to give opinions, there was little dissention. The administrator practiced an open-door policy with staff, and he had their confidence and support. His talent for nurturing and bringing out the best in staff added to the team effort. His inclusion of the staff in group problem-solving bolstered support for policies. Staff were aware of the TRM program and their enthusiasm was high throughout the course of funding.

A wave of illness, which closed other schools in the area, struck the campus during the course of both the first and second TRM years, but the site stayed open and continued functioning in part due to the TRM funding of additional dorm staff positions.

The teamwork at this site is exemplary. The high morale may partially have been due to a 12-month pay schedule. When needed, staff cheerfully work extra hours during the school year, knowing that they would be credited with this time during holidays and during the summer. Staff members can also work relaxed schedules during the summer when the school is open to various small programs and only a reduced staff is needed. A number of staff work at several different sets of duties and perform several different roles. The Intensive Residential Guidance clerk also does the newsletter, a nutritionist does fitness activities for girls, a social worker helps students produce a school yearbook, a cook does study hall tutoring, and the librarian coordinates tutorial services. The administrator was seen helping out everywhere, tutoring

students in the evenings, supervising the weight room, assisting with the birth of baby pigs, and flipping burgers for Saturday activities. The environment is structured much like an extended family. A licensed counselor functions as a mother figure, and also acts as gatekeeper and coordinator for mental health, life skills, and social services. The highly involved administrator functions as a father or authority figure, while other staff take on roles similar to those of concerned uncles and aunts. Staff members develop creative programs and act as an early warning system that funnels information to the counselors regarding behavioral changes and issues affecting individual students. Like all aunts and uncles, staff members have their own foibles as well as strengths, and a high tolerance for individuality exists. What dissent exists between staff members is generally related to differences in opinion on parenting styles used in management of students. The styles range from authoritarian to permissive, with some staff members inclined to indulge students to compensate for the excessive strictness they perceived in their fellow staff members. Students spoke freely about staff members who let them "get away with anything" and those that they perceived as too controlling.

The site showed unusual flexibility in its treatment of students. Like parents who ferry a bevy of offspring to after-school activities, staff members are seen constantly coming and going with individuals or groups of students, taking them to appointments, sporting events, shopping, family emergencies, and other activities. A call from a grandparent in Florida who wanted to see his grandchild over the weekend and promised a plane ticket resulted in a staff member driving the student two hours each way to and from the airport to deliver and pick him up. When students fail to return from a home visit, staff are dispatched to fetch them. While administrative and dormitory staff are often pressed into service, counseling staff most often serve as transporters, utilizing the time to interact with students.

This site has an unusually strong emphasis on post-graduation support for high school seniors. Students are assisted in choosing colleges or vocational schools compatible with their interests and are supported through out the process of application. The academic counselor arranges financial aid packages to enable students to attend the college or school of their choice, and students receive a monthly financial stipend from the site as long as they stay enrolled in a post-secondary education program. The numerous students who choose to attend the local campus of the state university come back regularly for visits. A number of high school students report that they have chosen to transfer to this boarding school because of its reputation for getting students into college.

Family and Community Involvement

In many ways, L2 is a model for how an institution can work with community resources. The tribe operating the institution has an excellent relationship with the site, providing funding and in-kind staff positions where needed, as well as medical care for all students regardless of their tribal affiliation. The relationship with other governmental agencies is enhanced by the on-site placement of two social workers provided by the State Department of Human Services. The two social workers participate as full members of the therapeutic team. The administration works cooperatively with the local university to place and support its high school graduates. While there is some discrimination against L2 students who attend the local high school, the L2 administration had a cooperative relationship with the public school system. Increasing cultural activities has provided an additional connection to the community. Interested students are now being taught the language of the Nation operating L2, and their American Indian dance group is frequently asked to perform at both community and statewide cultural celebrations. In the course of TRM funding, L2 has increased tribal contacts in the surrounding area to provide additional

cultural experiences and support to students, and has transported students to cultural events in the surrounding area.

The site also works well with families. L2 staff assist in the ongoing contact between children and families, making home visits as necessary. The two on-site social workers meet with parents and social service representatives, attend court hearings, do home studies, and make home visits. They are present for IEP meetings. They also assist students in writing letters home to parents and communicating with family and friends using e-mail from the computer lab in the library. A "Parent Compact," part of the application, designates respective areas of accountability among students, parent/guardians, and school. The site provides students with trips home for Thanksgiving, Christmas, spring break, and summer. Parents, many of whom live in state, are encouraged to take their children home for visits at least once a month. Rooms in the dorms are reserved for parents of students who wish to visit the site. Parents are asked to come in for disciplinary consultations, or are connected to the proceedings via conference calls. Parents are invited to Parent Day and the Christmas play.

TRM funds in the first two years were used to increase communication by distributing the school newsletter that, among other things, profiles students of the month. This newsletter is sent to all parents. When the newsletter was replaced in the third year by a yearbook, some key aspects of the newsletter were included with the superintendent's quarterly letter to parents.

A video project was completed to introduce parents who live at great distances to their children's lives at L2. Approximately one-half of the students have siblings or cousins with them at L2, and nearly all have a relative on staff or enrolled as a student. The boarding school's willingness to take back students who have left has allowed some families to treat the school as a revolving door. Certain families regularly enroll their children and remove them at the same time each year, often after Christmas festivities. Many parents consider the school to be a temporary haven for their children while they work out stressful situations in their lives. As such a haven, L2 is performing a valuable service for many children. Given the lack of control L2 has over outside factors such as parents' decisions to re-establish their families, the site has done well to significantly increase retention under TRM. This change indicates that the comfort level of both children and their families has increased with regard to their residence at L2. This increase can be seen as an improvement in retaining those students who, in the past, have not gotten the care and attention they need for their problems.

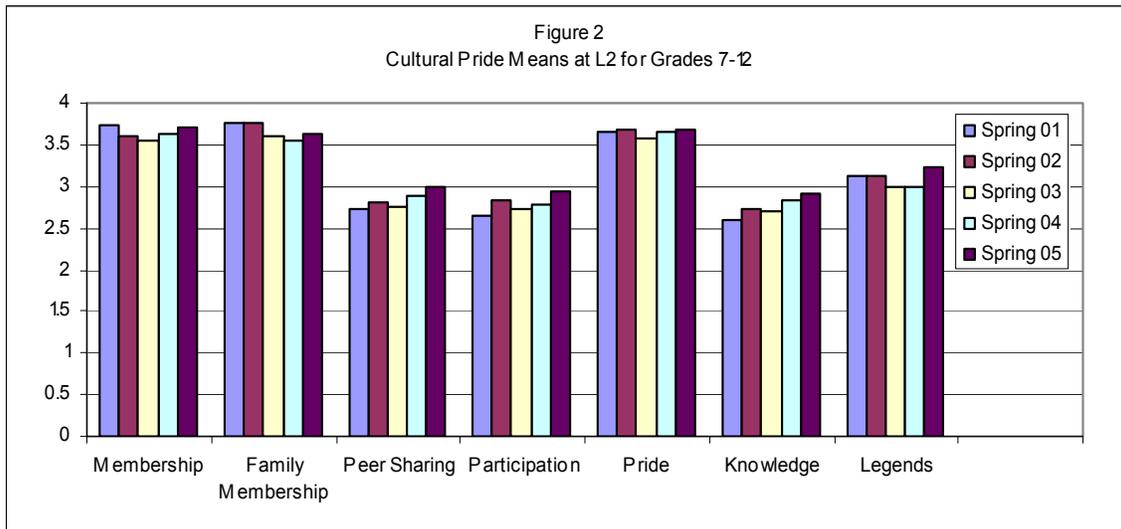
Program and Service Components

Cultural Programming

In the baseline evaluation report, gaps were noted in the program and service components. Students at L2 were required to attend Christian religious services, but traditional religious leaders did not have equal standing. Some traditional crafts were done in the alternative school, but these were not available to the other students. For years, the substance abuse counselor had brought a cultural dimension to his work, crafting carved prayer feathers and Indian flutes for students. However, compared with the wealth of cultural activity at other sites, lack of activities at this site made it seem like a non-Indian residential boarding school. This finding suggested that a lack of culturally relevant services could contribute to the lack of meaning and identity expressed by many L2 students. Although this element was not originally included in the proposal or budget, the administration and staff acted upon the recommendation that it be enhanced. Several elements were added. Cultural awareness and cultural activities were sponsored by several dorm staff. One staff person assisted the younger boys in tracking

down histories of their ancestors. Another sewed traditional dance regalia for students and recruited knowledgeable older students to teach traditional dance to fellow students. An Indian Club, sponsored by several staff members, came into being and began to perform at local cultural celebrations. The administration supported these activities with materials and transportation, and provided comp time to dorm staff who added these activities to their responsibilities. At the end of SY 2003-2004, when staff turnover imperiled Indian Club activities, high school girls with experience in the program stepped up and assisted new staff in organizing traditional dance performances. A staff member wired a wing of the younger boys' dormitory, allowing staff to play recorded American Indian flute music in the halls. A Rites of Passage ceremony with traditional elements was developed by a residential staff person to mark the yearly transition of the younger boys to the older boys' dorm. The TRM funding has also allowed students to make field trips that included American Indian and other cultural celebrations. The nation which operates the site provided backing for their traditional language to be taught in school classes.

Comparison of survey results suggests that these enhancements had some impact on both cultural pride and alienation. Figure 1 shows cultural pride means at each spring measurement for grades 7-12, based on a scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) through 4 (*a lot*). Originally low areas of peer sharing, participation, and knowledge have trended upward since the introduction of TRM.



Items:

Membership: "I like being a member of my tribe."
 Family membership: "I like that my family is part of my tribe."
 Peer sharing: "I talk to my friends about things having to do with my tribe's culture (religion, customs, values, food, language, arts, pow wow and other celebrations)."
 Participation: "I participate in tribal and other Indian celebrations."
 Pride: "I am proud to be a member of my tribe."
 Knowledge: "I know about my tribe's culture and history."
 Legends: "I like telling and listening to tribal legends and stories about my ancestors."

Socialization/Life Skills

The majority of the students at this site are at-risk youth. According to Brendtro, Brokenleg, and Van Bockern (2002), key components of an environment that seeks to “reclaim” such youth are:

- (1) Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.
- (2) Meeting one’s needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.
- (3) Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society’s need to control harmful behavior.
- (4) Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults. (p. 4)

In every boarding school, there are proactive systems that attempt to meet these needs, encourage healthy social development, stimulate moral development, and encourage pro-social behavior. There are also reactive discipline systems in place to discourage behavior that does not conform to norms. A number of both elements are in place at L2 to foster life skills related to moral and social development.

Proactive Components

Agricultural Program. An agricultural program teaches students how to raise, care for, and show livestock. The hog program addresses a number of students’ emotional, social, and life skills needs, and it may be a key element in the students’ success.

Work-Study. Students are allowed to perform work on campus in exchange for money to be spent on clothing. Students obeying school and residential rules receive rewards. In addition, a number of students are allowed to remain on campus during the summer for a building maintenance work program.

Rewards for pro-social behavior. In the first two years of TRM, the school recognized some students for pro-social behavior. Students competed for the Famous for a Month Award for good behavior, which was given each month to two recipients, one male and one female. This award was difficult to obtain. Many students came from homes where they were not consistently rewarded for pro-social behavior, and they had difficulty maintaining the consistency required to obtain this award. Recognizing this, in the third year of TRM the site implemented a Good Behavior Report which was similar to a school report card, with ratings of seven different characteristics in each of three areas: attitude, performance, and skills. The weakness of the Good Behavior Report was that it was too global of an assessment and too analytic of a system. It was recommended in fall 2003 that a “caught being good” strategy be implemented. In this system, staff report individual acts of kindness, consideration, generosity, or helpfulness that they observe. Children cited for being good receive a certificate and a small award at a weekly ceremony and are entered into a weekly raffle for a larger prize. This system produces a variable-interval schedule of reinforcement which would be expected to provide the most lasting effect and make staff more aware of good things children are doing, as well as reinforcing good behavior. By spring 2004, the system had recognized 25 students for positive actions.

Life Skills Curricula. During the first year of TRM funding, the site systematically applied for and received Intensive Residential Guidance funding for all of its students. This funding mandated systematic assessment of students and the development of a program to address student needs. A major component of the required services was life skills training. Beginning in the first year of funding, life skills subjects were discussed during group or individual sessions with professional counselors. The counseling staff obtained an American Indian Life Skills Curriculum (LaFromboise, 1996) and used some of its lessons in structured activities. A number of part-time counselors with specialties in grief, sexual abuse, and other such issues worked with indicated groups. Sessions varied in quality and level of preparation. Over time, the system evolved to decrease group size to increase participation and effectiveness. Also, sessions that did not appear to be helping students were eliminated. A retreat format was used in later years, in which groups of students in specific age groups would travel to a retreat venue. The staff of the counseling center took responsibility for this component. In SY 2004-2005, in preparation for loss of funding, dormitory staff were encouraged to begin taking over these sessions.

The Rangers, a boy-scout type of organization, was begun early in the first year of funding, providing skill development, social bonding, and self-esteem building activities. Rangers was particularly popular with elementary and middle school students. Girls have been involved in a more sporadic girl scouts program.

Reactive Components.

Discipline. The handbooks for staff and students of L2 delineate standards for behavior. There are consequences for violation of rules. Students who damage property are expected to put in work-study hours to pay for repairs. Students with minor violations receive appropriate discipline and a denial of privileges. High school students who have difficulty adjusting to the standard classroom are removed from the public school and placed in the alternative school at the facility, or expelled. However, staff tended to be arbitrary in their application of the rules. Students reported that several staff members let them "get away with anything" while others were overly strict or appeared to administer discipline in a whimsical manner. Responses on the staff survey in spring 2003 shown in Table 5 indicated that staff in general considered this area to be a problem.

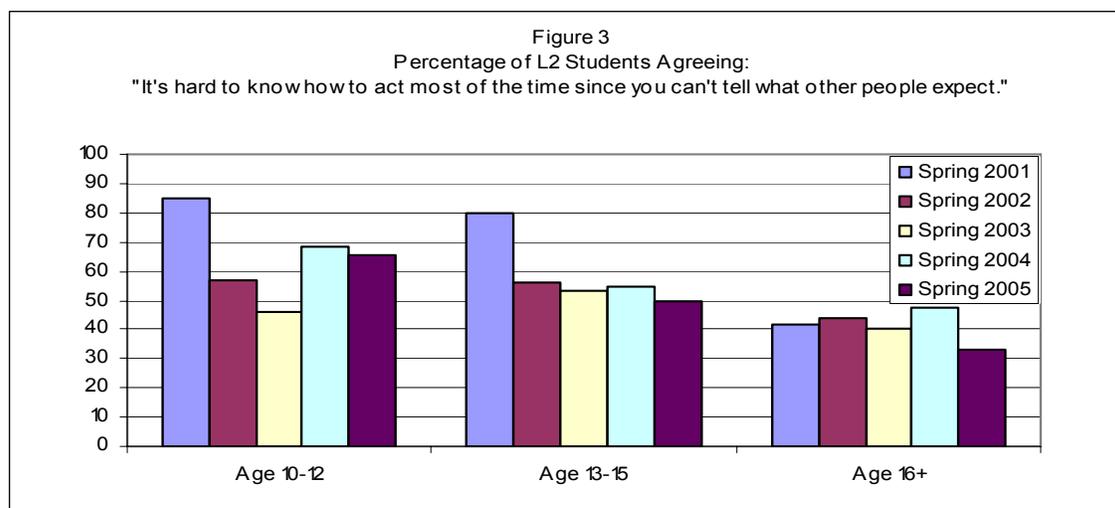
Table 5
Percentage of Staff Rating Item at 3 or 4 on a Scale of
0 (not a problem here) to 4 (a major problem)

	Spring 2003	Spring 2004
"Students need more discipline in the dorm."	54.4%	44.1%
"Students need more consistency in the dorm."	46.5%	43.1%
"Discipline is inconsistent, not all students are treated equally."	42.9%	31.1%

Dormitory staff were even more critical than other staff of this situation, with 74.1% giving serious-problem status to "Students need more discipline in the dorm"; 48.1% to "Students need more consistency in the dorm"; and 56% to "Discipline is inconsistent, not all students are treated equally." Based on these results, at the end of the second year of TRM funding a three-pronged approach was recommended to deal with the situation: (1) increased training of staff in parenting principles, child development, and behavior modification principles; (2) grassroots involvement of staff in establishing standards for discipline with which all could

concur; and (3) enforcement of these standards through rigorous oversight by supervisors, with ratings tied to performance objectives for each staff member and supervisor. In the third year of TRM, the administration addressed this situation with some success. Staff were involved in training and discussions of parenting skills. Administration also removed several staff members who shirked their duties or did not have primarily positive interactions with children. Based on survey responses, the percentage of staff rating the problem as serious or major (3 or 4) in spring 2003 compared with spring 2004 shows an improved situation (see Table 5).

Student responses to the Jessor Alienation item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect," were also examined to see if the social environment had become more consistent. Figure 3 shows the percentage of students agreeing with this statement at each spring time point.



A chi square comparison of the overall percentage of students agreeing at baseline in spring 2001 with those agreeing in spring 2005 showed a significant decrease, from 63.8% to 46.9% ($\chi^2 = 5.547, p < .02$).

Substance Use Prevention Programming. Unlike sites that have academic programs on an enclosed campus, this site sends students out to local schools where they have considerable access to illegal substances. An advanced prevention program is required for students who violate the alcohol and drug policy, and violators are required to take random drug tests for the remainder of the school year. The school has access to two drug dogs and used TRM funds to hire an additional security guard.

Cigarette use was recognized as a serious problem at this site. A problem noted in early evaluations was that smoking was prevalent among staff members. Students were well aware that staff smoked in bathrooms and outside back doors. Surrounded by role models who smoked, it was not surprising that so many students copied their behavior. After recommendations to address this problem, the administration researched smoking cessation programs and sponsored staff members who were willing to try to quit smoking. Initiated in SY 2003-2004, and subscribed to by several prominent smokers on campus in 2004-2005, the effort appeared have a positive effect on the high school students. Figure 4 shows ADAS data on self-reported use of cigarettes in the past 30 days.

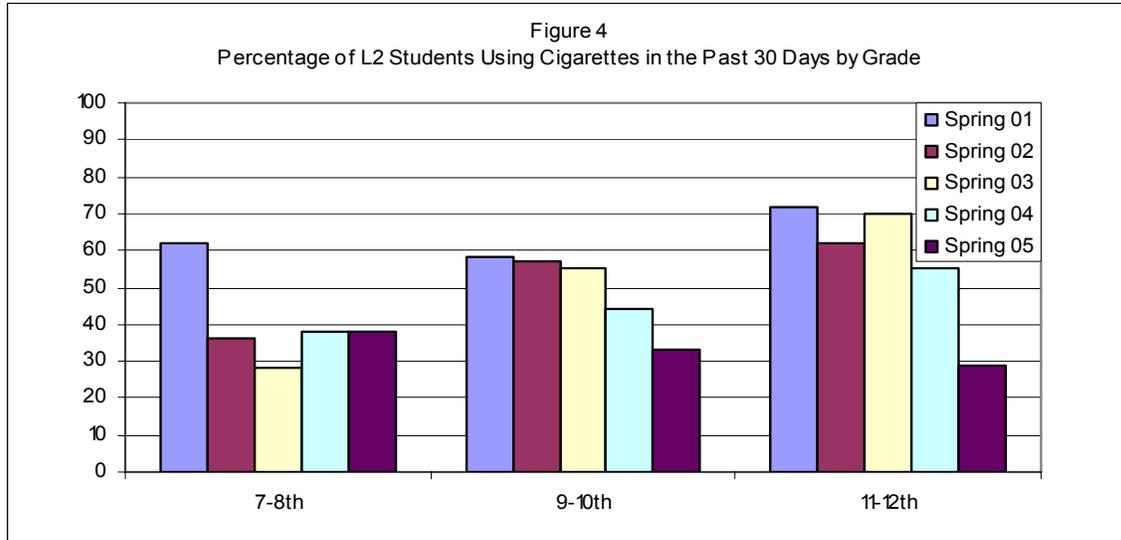


Figure 5 shows ADAS data on self-reported alcohol use among L2 students. Interdiction is difficult. Students have opportunities to obtain alcohol on a daily basis as they attend school in the local town, have frequent visitors on campus, and are encouraged to go home to be with their families when possible.

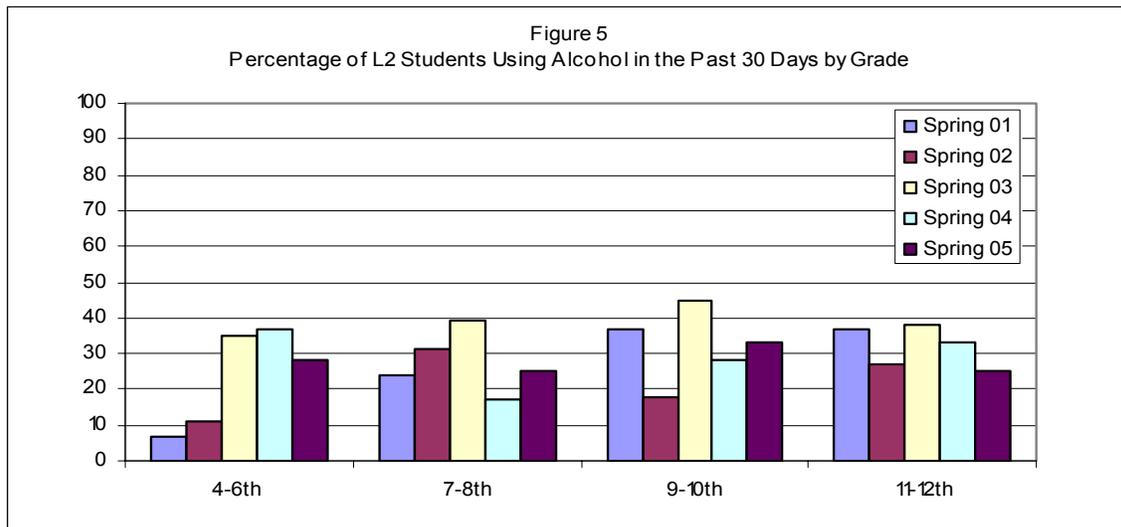
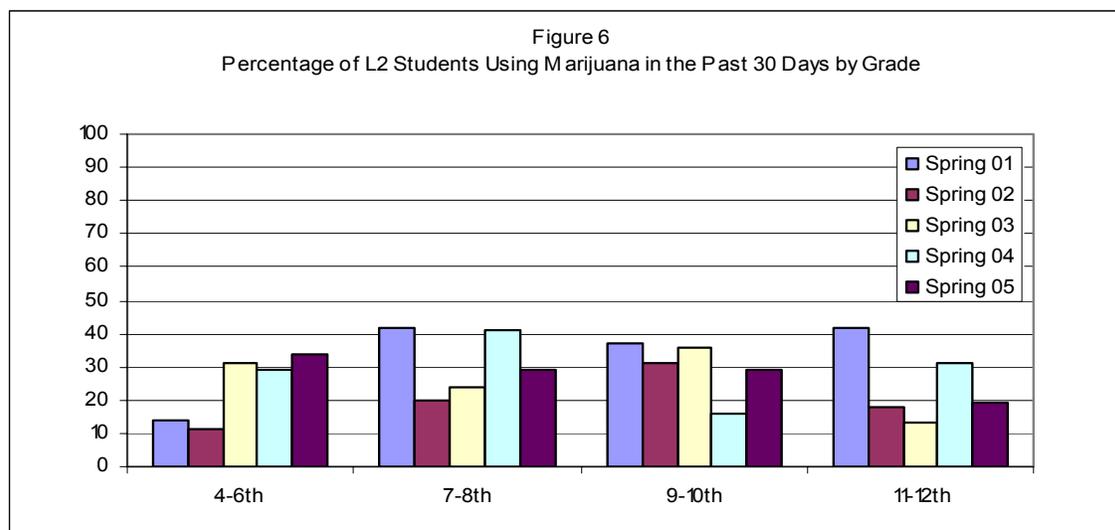


Figure 6 shows marijuana use in the past 30 days as reported anonymously on the ADAS. As drug use is reported to be common in the local schools, marijuana use, like alcohol use will continue to be a problem until L2 completes its school on campus. While the rate of use has declined since spring 2001, there is considerable fluctuation over the data points.



Academic Program

Students attend local schools in a town one mile from the campus. According to official school report card data, these schools do not have a high level of academic performance. The 70% performance benchmark for State Core Curriculum Tests is not being met in the fifth grade in math, U.S. government, geography, and the arts. In eighth grade, six of the seven benchmarks are not met. In high school, grades 10-12 also perform below the state average, with only 40% of students performing at satisfactory or above in English, 58% in U.S. history, and 38% in biology. This situation significantly limits the site's control over academic outcomes.

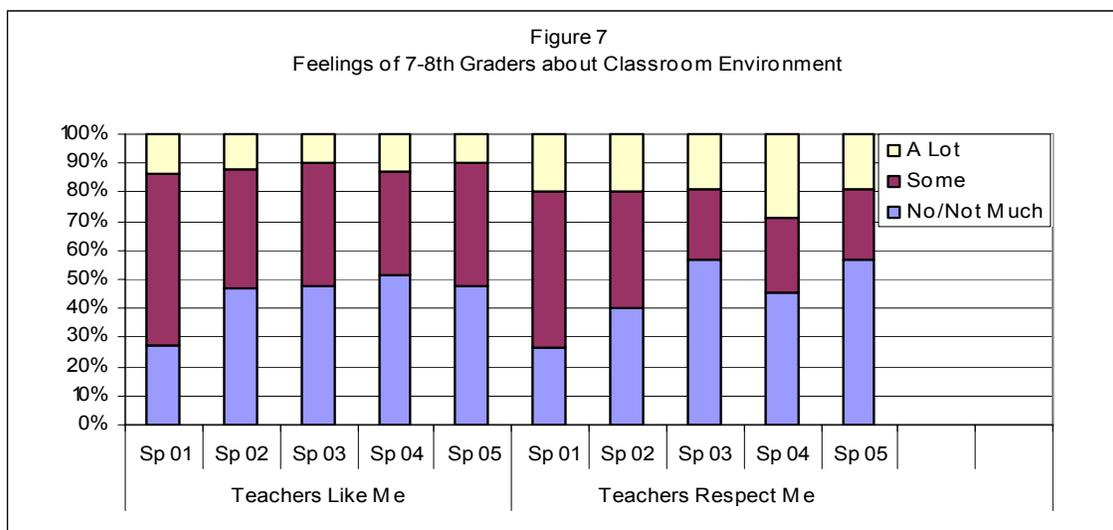
However, L2 provides strong academic encouragement and support for students. Study hall is provided for all students on a voluntary basis, and students receive rewards for good grades at the end of each nine-week quarter. Students' academic performance is closely monitored. The administration receives a list of D and F students each week from the public schools. The list is posted and these students are required to attend study hall. Failing students are also restricted from off-campus activities. Students remaining on the failing list for three weeks are restricted to their dorm. The alternative school on campus is available to students who have problems adjusting to the public schools. Additional tutors are brought in to assist students after school.

Library and Computer Resources. Fifty percent of staff surveyed at the end of SY 2002-2003 rated "lack of access to computer resources" to be a serious problem. Thirty-three percent rated it as such in spring 2004. The library is open 12 hours a week, from 6-8 p.m. Sunday through Friday. The log-in records show that the computer room in the library is being well utilized. However, concerns about propriety of male staff members being alone with girls in the library computer room are currently limiting its use to hours when the librarian or dormitory personnel are available. While computer rooms are available in dormitories, hours of operation are limited due to concerns over unsupervised Internet surfing.

Career Guidance. Seniors receive ACT preparation courses, as well as assistance in obtaining scholarships and visiting colleges. All graduates who attend post-secondary training receive a stipend. A military recruiter assists students interested in military careers. Eleventh and 12th grade students at L2 receive strong encouragement and support for attending college. The academic counselor is notable for his optimism and his enthusiasm in encouraging the students. The evaluator's first report noted a concern that some students were being inappropriately encouraged to attend college when they did not have the ability to succeed in that arena. This situation was addressed, and equal encouragement was given to students opting for vocational training. At L2, administration begins early to support post-secondary bound students by opening bank accounts for students in Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) custody. While some parents may spend the Social Security payments they receive for their children, payments made to L2 on behalf of DHHS children are safeguarded and banked for their personal use and for college expenses. Students also deposit prize money and the proceeds of hog sales into these accounts. Complete college financial aid packages are developed for L2 seniors. This encouragement helps to keep seniors in high school until graduation.

The Alternative School on campus provides services for up to 25 high school students. Packed into the area in the gymnasium intended for a student canteen, this program provides individualized programs and resources for students, allowing them to catch up to their same-age peers. The program has shown considerable success. According to teachers, these students perform well under this format. Many of them have progressed several grade levels in a year's time. Students are well-behaved in this setting and appear to be focused on academic achievement. Outside the classroom, alternative students appear to have bonded with each other in a pro-social manner and have occasionally taken the lead in pro-social activities on campus.

Construction of a School on Campus. It is clear that much of the academic situation is currently outside the control of L2. The interviewer found some consensus that the public school system does not have very rigorous academic standards, and that teachers there tended to use outmoded teaching methods and materials. Several students who had recently transferred to L2 said that the teachers were teaching them things that they had learned years before at their previous schools. Staff surveys at the end of SY 2002-2003 found discontent with what the public schools had to offer the students. Approximately 40% of staff respondents considered teacher scarcity and quality to be serious problems, 36% thought schoolroom discipline was inadequate, and 50% felt consistency was lacking in the schools. Some interviewees reported that they perceived discrimination at the schools against L2 students. A comparison of L2 students with students from other TRM schools found L2 respondents in spring 2004 to be less satisfied with their school experience. While the great majority of students attending other TRM schools liked their schools and felt their teachers liked them, at this site, seventh and eighth grade students generally did not feel liked and respected by their teachers (Figure 7).



The site is proceeding with the construction of a new school on campus, supported by the tribe. The first and second grade classrooms were completed and in operation by the beginning of SY 2003-2004; grades 3 and 4 were added in SY 2004-2005 and grades 5 and 6 were added in SY 2005-2006. Operational costs are being split between the school district and the tribe. When the on-site high school commences operation, the local junior high and high school system will lose approximately one-third of its current students.

Mental Health Services.

L2 had the most comprehensive counseling program of the three original sites. Review of student information with counselors made it clear that L2 is very much a therapeutic dormitory situation. Virtually all of the students are in some way walking wounded, dealing with issues stemming from problem home situations. The TRM program allowed the site to go from psychological assessment of only students having problems, to assessment of all students. Counselors report that the additional resources brought by TRM encouraged L2 to accept students whose emotional problems would have barred them from consideration in past years. Resources were also available to work with and retain students whose problems surfaced in the course of the year, rather than having to send them to outside treatment. Student services were concentrated at the new counseling center, and each child received two or more hours of professional group or individual counseling each week. Staff serving the mental health needs of students in SY 2002-2003 included two contracted full-time social workers, three full-time counselors, six part-time counselors (each 5-15 hours per week), and one psychiatrist offering 7.5 hours of service a week. A full-time licensed counselor acted as gatekeeper for mental health services. Psychotropic drugs were used only as a last resort. In the second year of funding when students with more severe emotional problems were increasingly accepted, approximately 10% came in on psychotropic medication. The site made attempts to discontinue these prescriptions and to use alternative methods of dealing with each child's problems. As a result, during the last two years of funding, only two students ended the year on medication. At the beginning of the TRM program, there were some indications that students were wary of counseling, viewing the counseling center and the TRM survey instruments as indications that

they were thought to be "crazy." However, in subsequent years the universal application of group and individual counseling and an emphasis on life skills training dissipated this perception. As time went on, the site increasingly emphasized counseling "on the hoof," using either informal chats with individual students or scheduled walks around campus with groups of students. The incidence of "cutting" declined. There was one suicide in spring 2005, but it was believed to be an accident resulting from experimentation following a suicide attempt of a family member. In SY 2003-2004 and SY 2004-2005, only two students needed inpatient care for problems which exceeded the internal capacity of the site.

Physical Health

Therapeutic Residential Model funding was used to add seven more dorm staff and to provide the services of a nurse, a recreation supervisor and recreational aide, expanding the range of health services and recreational activities the site had been able to offer to students. Funding allowed the site to provide health screenings to all students early in the year. The tribe provides backup to students' private insurance regardless of tribe, and the tribal hospital is frequently used by students. The facility has a gym and a fitness center, as well as outdoor athletic fields to support fitness activities. Students are involved in such activities as horseback riding, dance, camping, hiking, swimming, fishing, bowling, skating, and basketball.

A number of students at this site are visibly obese. The problem with obesity was first quantified in SY 2003-2004, when systematic weigh-ins and body mass index calculations identified 80% of students as overweight or obese, and concerns over elevated blood sugar sent 6% of students to the hospital for professional assessment and treatment. Several contributing factors were identified, including:

- Lack of physical exercise. The local school district requires physical education classes only for grades 1-6. Physical education funds for older students are dedicated to team sports. As many students are not involved in team sports, there is a clear gap in services which the school needed to bridge.
- A diet high in fats and protein was being provided in the cafeteria, and snack foods high in sugar, caffeine, and fats were available in vending machines.
- Genetics (the stocky build many children have inherited).

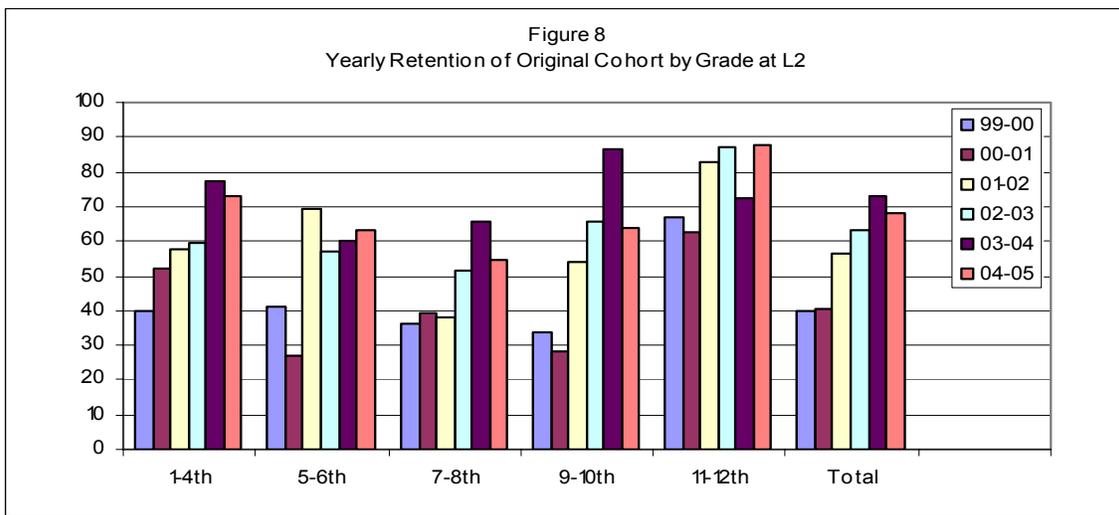
The site introduced a salad bar, worked with a nutritionist supplied by a grant from the tribe to educate students, collaborated with other TRM sites in working to provide a more healthful menu, and restricted caffeinated and high-carbohydrate options in vending machines. Project Fit America installed an outdoor exercise challenge course. The school identified obese students and developed individual exercise and dietary programs for them. These programs were also made available to the general student body. By the end of the final year of evaluation, one-third of student body was involved in these programs.

Outcomes

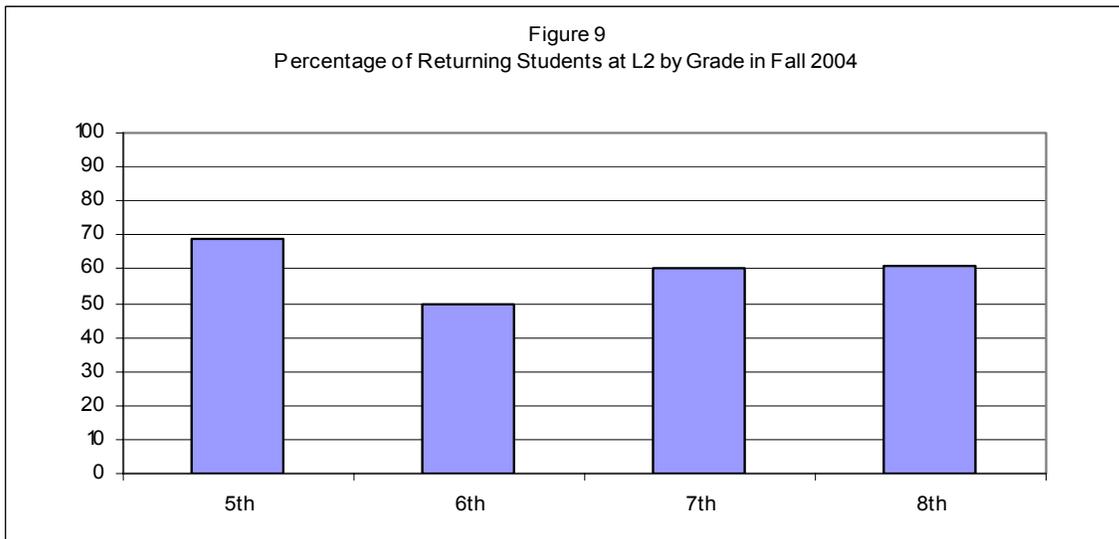
Outcome data tracked a number of indicators. Retention and return rates were considered the major indicators of a successful program. In addition, data were examined to evaluate key indicators associated with developmental success: school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

Major Indicators: Retention/Return Rate

A clear indicator of the apparent success of TRM changes to the program can be seen in the increased retention rate, as shown in Figure 8. Numbers were based on all children who entered the system by September 30th of each year. A student was considered to be retained if he or she either remained in the system throughout the year or graduated during that time. As Figure 8 shows, retention has steadily increased during the course of TRM funding. The overall retention rate climbed from pre-TRM years (39.8% in SY 1999-2000 and 40.7% in SY 2000-2001), peaking at 72.7% in SY 2003-2004 and maintaining at 68.4% in SY 2004-2005.



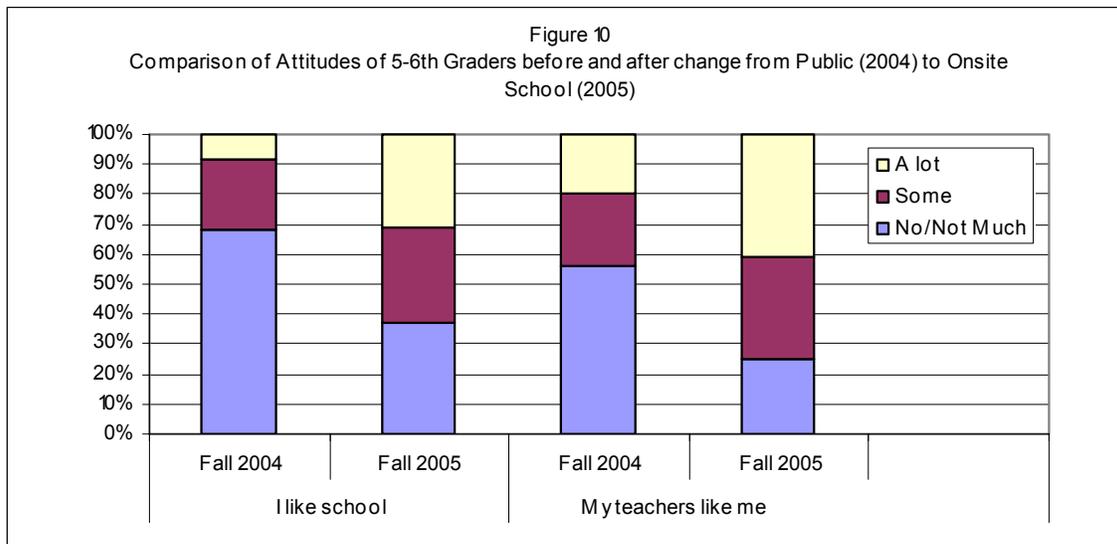
Return Rate. In fall 2004, the previous enrollment of students in grades 5-8 was examined. Over one-half of the students had been previously enrolled, providing a solid peer group of acclimated students to assist in the transition of incoming students.



Key Indicators

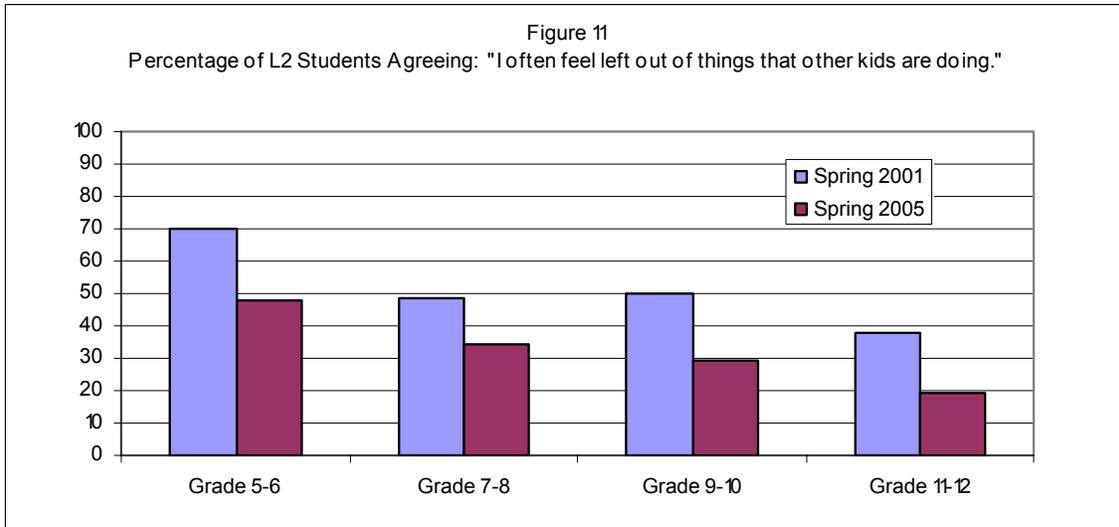
School Bonding Indicators

As previously noted in the discussion of Figure 7, many students did not feel liked and respected by their teachers in the public schools. In SY 2004-2005 the fifth and sixth grade students at L2 attended the local public grade school. In SY 2005-2006, the classroom on the campus had been completed, so fifth and sixth graders began classes on the L2 campus. Responses of fifth and sixth grade students were compared for fall 2004 (representing the public school condition) and fall 2005 (attending school on campus). As Figure 10 shows, attitudes toward school and feelings of being liked changed dramatically when students attended the on-site school. In fall 2004 (when attending public school), two-thirds of fifth and sixth graders said they did not like school; a year later (when classes were held on site), two-thirds said they liked it "some" or "a lot." In fall 2004, 44% of students thought their teachers liked them "some" or "a lot"; in fall 2005, 75% said teachers liked them "some" or "a lot."

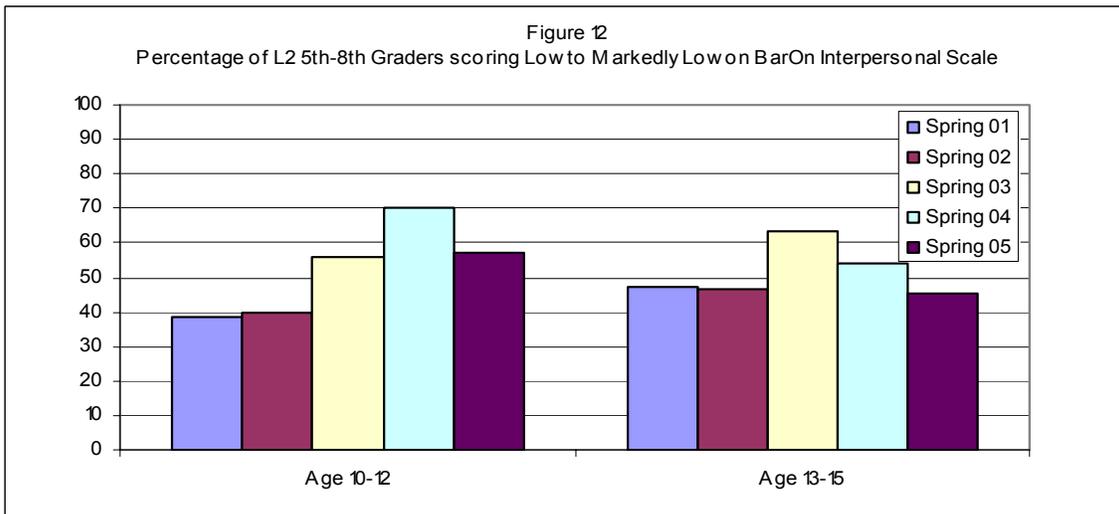


Peer and Social Bonding Indicators

Alienation. Figure 11 shows cross-sectional percentages of students agreeing with the Jessor item regarding feeling "left out." Feelings of being left out declined ($\chi^2 = 3.736, p < .06$) when spring 2001 and spring 2005 were compared.

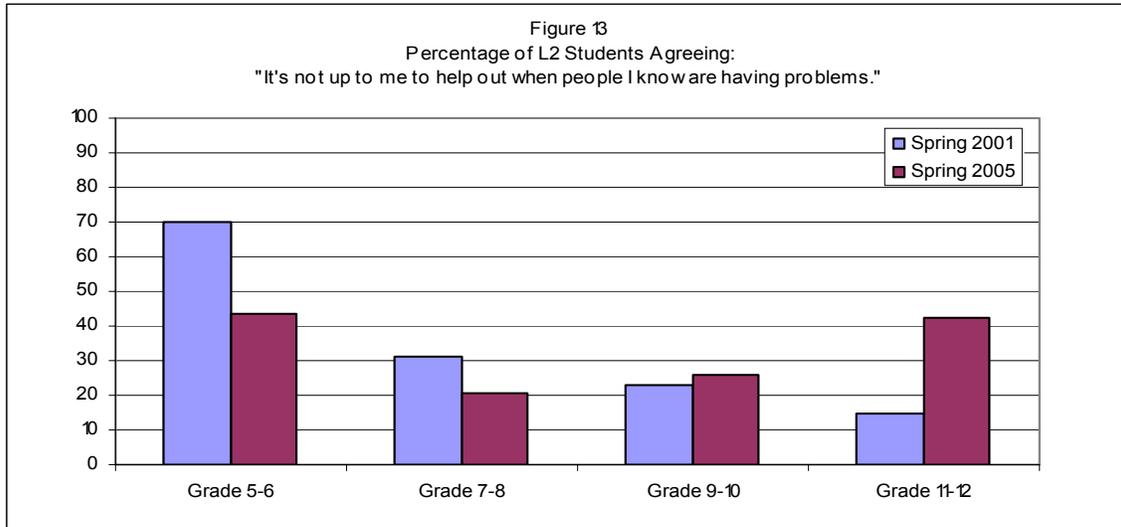


Interpersonal. As Figure 12 indicates, there was no decrease in the number of students scoring low on the BarOn Interpersonal scale. Outcomes here were very likely affected by a change in acceptance criteria after baselines had been taken. Because L2 now had the resources to deal with more difficult students, the site began to accept students who would have been rejected previously. Outcomes also were influenced by the increased retention rate, as the site became more successful in retaining marginal students.



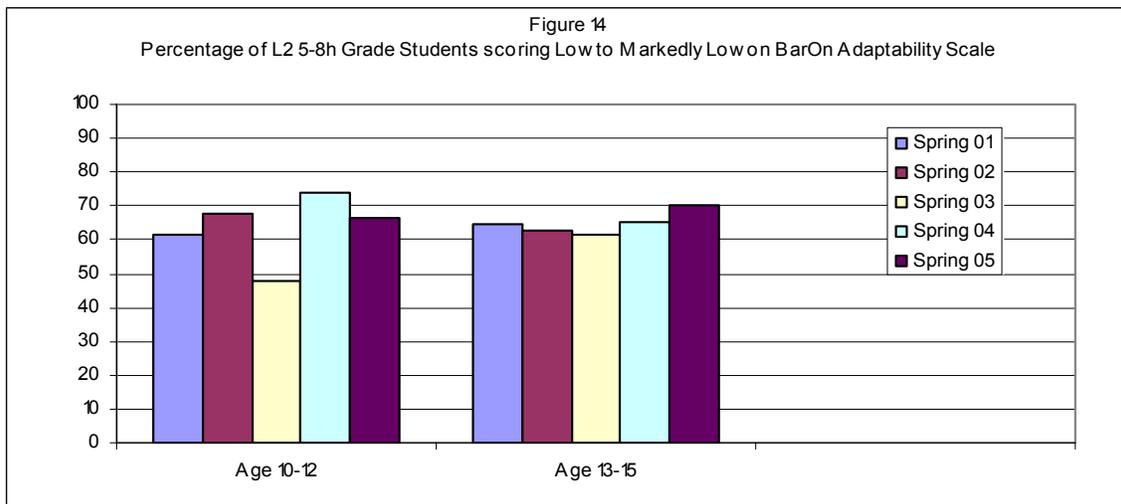
A comparison of pre- and posttest scores of students present both in fall 2004 and spring 2005 found a slight positive trend, but no statistically significant difference (fall 2004 mean = 16.79 vs. spring 2005 mean = 17.17, $p = .252$).

Social Responsibility. Comparison of spring 2001 and spring 2005 responses on the Jessor item "It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems" shows that fewer students in grades 5-8 agreed with this statement in 2005, but more older students agreed (Figure 13.). This response in the older group may be a function of therapeutic efforts to reduce the blame students feel for past situations over which they had no control.

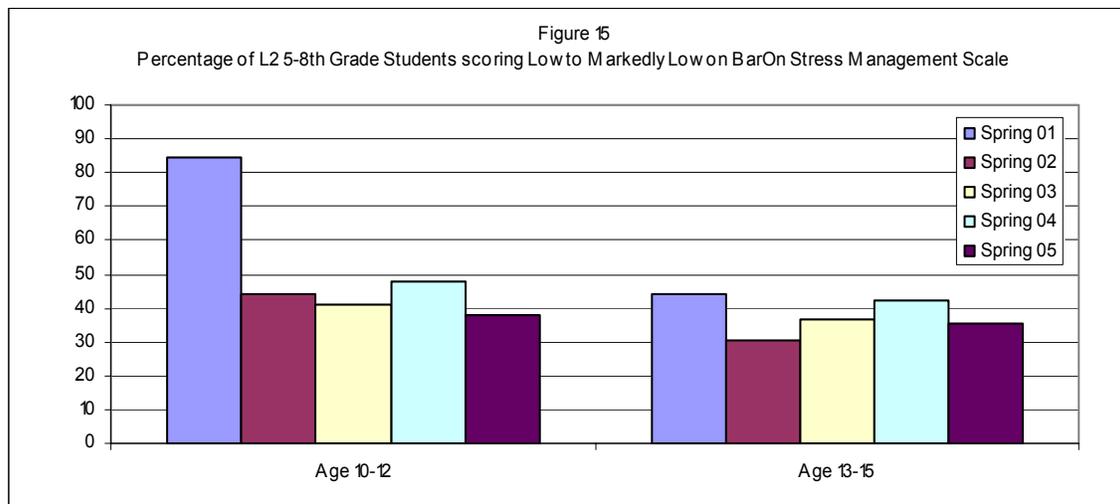


Adaptability and Stress Management

Adaptability. Figure 14 indicates that the percentage of students scoring low to markedly low on the BarOn Adaptability scale has not changed during the span of funding. Comparison of pre- and posttest scores of students present at both fall and spring time points during SY 2004-2005 found no statistically significant difference (fall 2004 mean = 14.24, spring 2005 mean=14.76, $p = .188$).



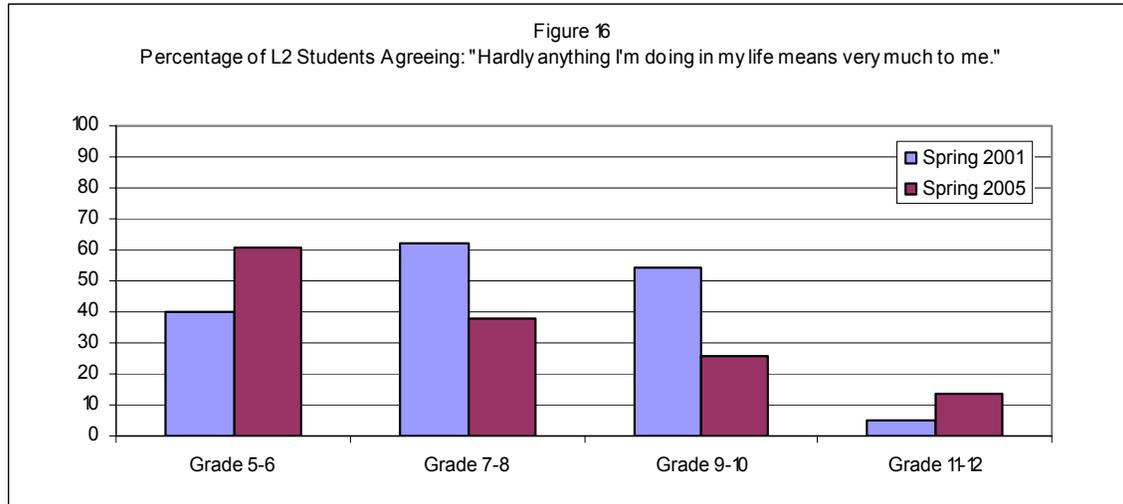
Stress Management. Figure 15 indicates that the percentage of students scoring low to markedly low on the BarOn Stress Management scale may have decreased for younger students during the span of funding. Comparison of pre- and posttest scores of all students present at both fall and spring time points during SY 2004-2005 found no overall significant difference (fall 2004 mean = 16.60, spring 2005 mean = 16.16, $p = .353$).



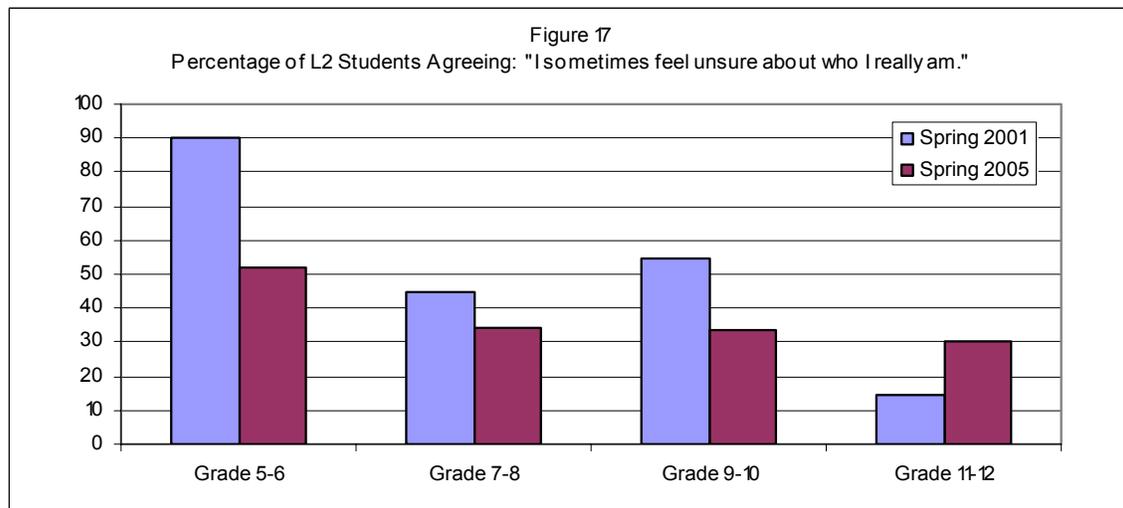
Behavioral Incidents. Behavioral incidents declined across the course of funding, going from 99 reported for fifth through eighth graders in SY 2000-2001 to 33 in SY 2004-2005. As the site had taken in an increasing number of students with behavioral and emotional problems, and retention had increased sharply, this improvement is especially impressive.

Meaning and Identity

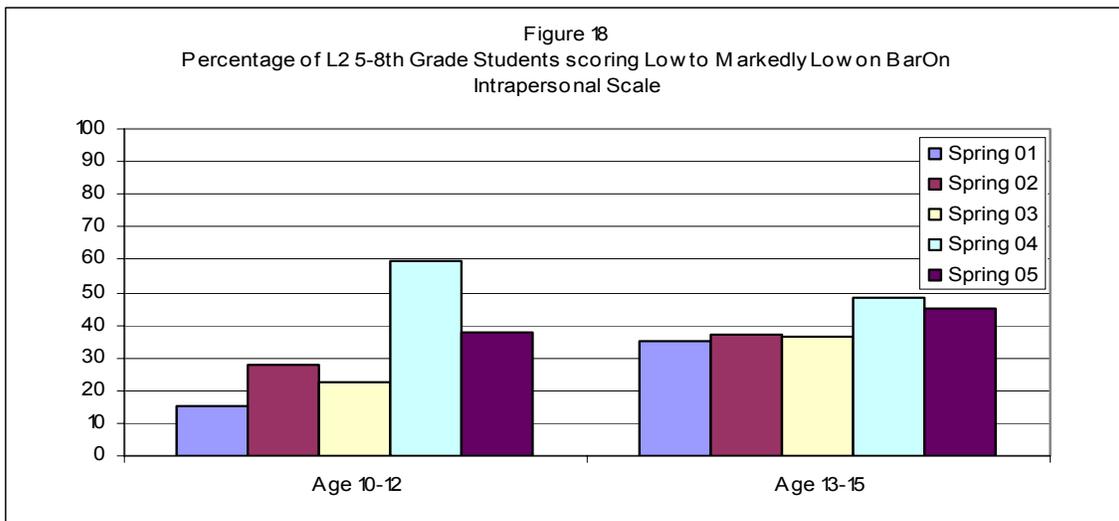
Meaning. Figure 16 shows the percentage of students agreeing with the statement "Hardly anything I'm doing in my life means very much to me." Comparison of percentages by grade shows apparent developmental interaction. An increase in the number of fifth and sixth grade survivors present in the spring (10 in 2001, 23 in 2005), may account for the upswing in this group. A pre- and posttest comparison of means for all students present in both fall 2004 and spring 2005 shows a highly significant shift ($p < .001$) toward disagreement with this negative statement. The mean (1=strongly agree, 2=agree, 3=disagree, 4=strongly disagree) shifted from 2.60 (SD = .968) in fall 2004 to a mean of 3.06 in spring 2005 (SD = .924).



Identity. Figure 17 shows the percentage of students agreeing with the statement "I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am." The data show interesting trends regarding responses to this item. The initial report on this site in 2001 postulated that the lack of cultural content at the school could be related to the high level of younger students agreeing with the statement, as many of them had recently come from homes and communities which had elements of traditional culture. The initial low level of agreement with this statement among the older students, it was suggested, may have reflected a capitulation to the school's emphasis on success in the mainstream white culture. The increase over time in the 11th and 12th grade group may be related to the increase in traditional cultural programming.

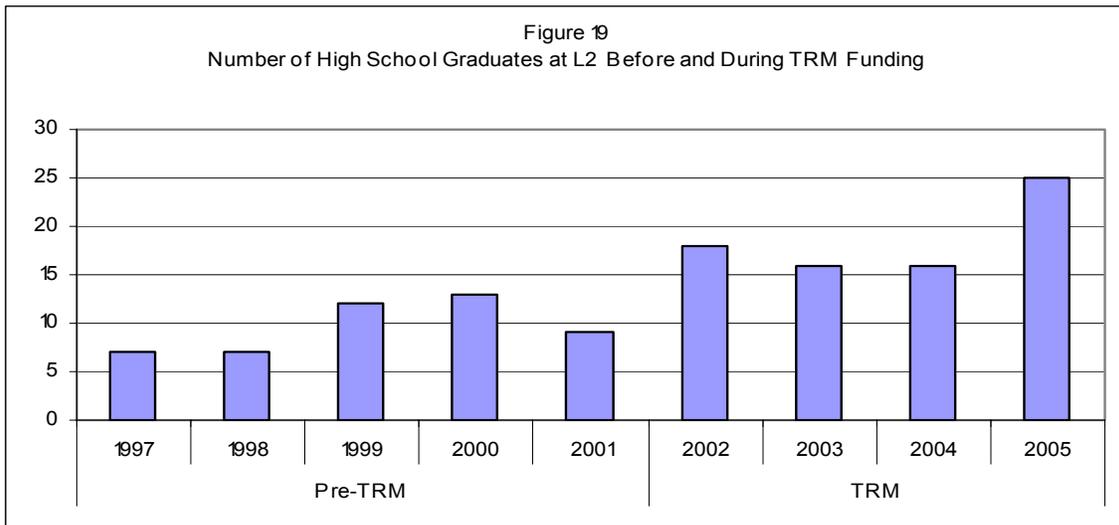


Intrapersonal. Figure 18 indicates that the percentage of students scoring low to markedly low on the BarOn Intrapersonal scale has not changed during the span of funding, and may have been impacted by the decision to admit an increasing number of students with problems. Comparison of pre- and posttest scores of students present at both fall and spring time points during SY 2004-2005 found no difference (fall 2004 mean = 13.39, spring 2005 mean = 13.42, $p = .947$).



Academic Achievement

The clearest indicator of academic improvement at this site can be seen in the increase in the number of high school graduates, shown in Figure 19.



State achievement test data were available from this site for grades 5 and 8 from 2003 through 2005. L2 fifth grade students (Table 6) made clear gains in math and reading, while trending upward in science.

Table 6
Achievement Tests: Percent of 5th Graders Satisfactory or Advanced

	2003	2004	2005
Math	18.2%	66.7%	54.5%
Reading	27.3%	50.0%	72.7%
Science	54.5%	66.7%	63.6%
U.S. Government/ Social Studies	9.1%	8.3%	0%

When eighth grade state achievement test scores were compared for 2003 and later years, L2 students had made clear progress in math, reading and the sciences.

Table 7
Achievement Tests: Percent of 8th Graders Satisfactory or Advanced

	2003	2004	2005
Writing	50.0%	50.0%	52.6%
Math	7.1%	66.7%	68.4%
Reading	21.4%	60.0%	42.1%
Science	21.4%	53.3%	57.9%
U.S. Government/ Social Studies	21.4%	60.0%	36.8%

ACT scores showed continued improvement for high school seniors. In 2000-2001, prior to TRM, the mean ACT score was 14.3. For SY 2000-2001 the mean was 16.7; for SY 2002-2003 and SY 2003-2004 it was 16.0; for SY 2004-2005 it was 16.16; and for SY 2005-2006 it was 16.64.

Conclusions

This site made a clear commitment to the TRM process. It responded with creativity and initiative to recommendations made by the TRM evaluation, and the staff continuously worked to strengthen the program in areas where significant gaps were identified. Staff showed initiative in addressing these gaps and were supported in doing so by the administration. Improvement in the environment is clearly demonstrated by the significant increases in retention and graduation that the site has been able to achieve. The site has many of the characteristics of an environment that can reclaim high-risk youth (Brendtro et al., 2002):

“(1) Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.” This site has a village method of operation. Staff act very much like uncles and aunts who know the names of every student. Counselors are informally alerted to students who appear unhappy or have brought up issues to staff, and counselors quickly and unobtrusively seek those children out to gauge for themselves what is bothering them. Nearly all students have a relative either on staff or in the student body, which further enhances the feeling of community. The increased staffing and restructuring of the environment have contributed to

the significant gains in retention and graduation. Indicators show an increased sense of feeling included, several cultural pride indicators have trended upwards, and indicators related to meaning have been impacted.

“(2) Meeting one’s needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.” The site is tailored to students. Staff act much like parents in ensuring students get to after-school activities and shopping, as well as family functions such as funerals. Staff have identified needs and carried out plans to modify the environment to address those needs. Efforts to compensate for the shortcomings of the school system have resulted in measurable improvement in the academic sphere. However, efforts to increase mastery have not yet shown measurable results on reducing the high level of need in the areas of adaptability and stress management.

“(3) Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society’s need to control harmful behavior.” Student boundaries are generally respected. Increasing retention has bolstered the pro-social norms for behavior which are understood and upheld by both staff and students. Staff rely on preemptive redirection and verbal de-escalation. Only in extreme circumstances are students physically restrained for their own safety. Students are allowed, within bounds, to make choices about their personal clothing and styles. They are given latitude in decoration of rooms and choice of music, and receive strong support in developing career options.

(4) “Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults.” Students are allowed to give back at this site. The swine-raising program gives many youth the responsibility of caring for a fragile young life. The Rites of Passage program involves boys in service learning projects. Students work on campus during the school year and assist in painting and yearly maintenance during the summers. While most caretaking and decision-making is still unilateral, the third year of TRM saw a broader movement of seniors doing informal counseling with younger students. While among the boys such interactions generally amounted to brief interchanges suggesting that younger students shape up or settle down, senior girls were described by younger students as having taken a “big sister” interest in them, and by staff as having helped to provide stability in the dorms. Over the course of time, students took increasing ownership of the cultural activities on campus.

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L3 THERAPEUTIC MODEL SITE

Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D., and Joel M. Hektner, Ph.D.

Abstract: L3 is an intertribal residential school enrolling approximately 200 students in grades 5-8 from tribes in the northern Midwest. As a result of successful grant-writing which espoused Circle of Courage and Asset-Building, the school built up an impressive configuration of programs funded by a variety of sources, including a cadre of mental health professionals, and began increasingly to rely on their assessments and services. First funded by the Therapeutic Residential Model program in the 2002-2003 school year, L3 used the funding that year primarily to increase professional-level services of a psychiatrist and psychologist, and to maintain or expand programs which would otherwise have been terminated as funding from short-term sources was running out. Evaluation of this project began in January 2003, when the site was assessed and determined to be strongly oriented toward provision of Level Three, or professional-level, psychiatric and medical mental health services. The initial evaluation report identified a low retention rate and raised concerns that the presence of more than 200 staff on campus had resulted in a diffusion of responsibility, lack of consistency, and duplication or redundancy of services; that elements of the environment appeared to be detrimental to social development and emotional stability; and that an unusually high proportion of students were receiving psychiatric diagnoses and medication. The site was asked to address these issues, and additional funding was provided to bolster lower levels of triage by adding paraprofessional case managers to advocate for students and coordinate provision of services for them. Retention remained low at this site throughout the course of funding, and there were a high number of assaults and psychiatric hospitalizations compared with other sites.

L3 is an intertribal residential school enrolling approximately 200 students in grades 5-8 from tribes in the northern Midwest. Established a century ago as a government-run rural agricultural and vocational training institute, L3 now operates as a grant school on a 52-acre site bounded by residential areas, a university, and a high school. In 1994 it was designated as a therapeutic model demonstration school under Public Law 103-382 (Improving America's Schools Act of 1994). Grant proposals and descriptions provided by the school indicate that the philosophy under which the school operates draws from the Circle of Courage (Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockeren, 2002) and the Search Institute's Asset-Building (Lerner & Benson, 2003). The Circle of Courage is conceptualized in *Reclaiming Youth at Risk: Our Hope for the Future*, in which Brendtro et al. describe the discouragement of youth at risk and the type of environment necessary to rebuild their courage. Characteristics of this environment are:

- (1) Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.
- (2) Meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.
- (3) Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behavior.
- (4) Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults. (p. 4).

This philosophy emphasizes a positive approach that values children and builds on their strengths, rather than blaming them for outcomes and or giving them labels such as deviant, disturbed, disordered, dysfunctional, or delinquent (p. 19). The Developmental Assets framework gives a similar description of the supportive environment:

The Developmental Asset framework is categorized into two groups of 20 assets. External assets are the positive experiences young people receive from the world around them. These 20 assets are about supporting and empowering young people, about setting boundaries and expectations, and about positive and constructive use of young people's time. External assets identify important roles that families, schools, congregations, neighborhoods, and youth organizations can play in promoting healthy development.

The twenty internal assets identify those characteristics and behaviors that reflect positive internal growth and development of young people. These assets are about positive values and identities, social competencies, and commitment to learning. The internal Developmental Assets will help these young people make thoughtful and positive choices and, in turn, be better prepared for situations in life that challenge their inner strength and confidence. (Search Institute, 2006)

As a result of successful grant-writing which espoused these philosophies, the school had been able to staff a number of programs which allowed it to achieve a comparatively low staff to student ratio of 1:1. Staff available included an impressive configuration of special education teachers and a cadre of mental health professionals upon whom other staff began increasingly to rely on for assessments and services. Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) funding for this site began in fall 2002. The original TRM budget request for this site asked for funding to continue some of these programs established under other funding and to increase professional mental health services. Thirty-six percent of the requested program budget was for an increase in services of a professional psychiatrist and psychologist, their office support personnel, and medications. Thirty-eight percent of the program budget was requested to continue staffing of a

locked therapeutic dormitory for short-term placement and treatment of students identified as having mental health or behavioral problems. An additional 22.5% of the budget was requested to continue funding of a unit of child protection officers originally funded by a Department of Justice grant, whose major duties involved control of misbehaving students, disciplinary action, and supervision of detention. The remaining program funds were allocated to an external contract for chemical dependency services. Responding to Office of Indian Education evaluation concerns about coordination of services and enabled by the provision of additional TRM funds in school year (SY) 2003-2004, the site added a group of paraprofessional case managers to work on an ongoing basis with the students and to coordinate and provide Intensive Residential Guidance services.

Description of Site

Student Characteristics

Selection Criteria. Student applications are reviewed by representatives of various departments at the site. Efforts are made to exclude students who have a history indicating that they may be a danger to themselves or other students, or have problems which are beyond the scope of school services. Individuals who are known to be suicidal, homicidal, sexual predators, or fire-starters are not accepted. Students are prioritized into levels as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Priority Ratings for Admission to L3 School

	Medical Coverage	Support from the Home	Academic	Crime/ Legal	Personal	Mental Health/ Substance Use
Priority 1	-Resident of state with full health coverage OR -CHIPS, medical assistance, or insurance eligible and active -Can use local providers for routine care	-Parent/ legal guardian involvement is positive. -Positive involvement of home partnership agency.	-Requires least restrictive academic environment	-No serious history	-Assets & interests -Capable of achievement & social growth -Only preventable or treatable health or medical conditions	-None identified
Priority 2	-Resident of state with current CHIP or has current medical assistance program -Emergency and pharmacy providers only	-Indifferent parent/ guardian -Indifferent home agency	-Referral to special ed -Needs special ed or remedial services -School failure -Truancy -Suspension	-Probation services -History of juvenile crime	-Only changeable or treatable health or medical conditions	

Table 1, continued

	Medical Coverage	Support from the Home	Academic	Crime/ Legal	Personal	Mental Health/ Substance Use
Priority 3	-No health coverage	-Negative or negligible	-History of expulsions -FAS or mental retardation	-Repeat offender -School threats, violence, homicide attempts	-Chronic health and medical problems	-Chronic MH or SA problems -Suicidal

The goal is to achieve a population of 68% or more of Priority 1 students who do not require significant additional services from the school. Efforts are made to exclude Priority 3 students, as the school has limited resources to deal with the problems these students bring in. In reality, since there is not a large waiting list, very few completed applications are rejected and a number of Priority 2 students are accepted. The review system, while thorough, does not manage to exclude Priority 3 candidates, as some parents and schools of origin are less than completely forthcoming on application materials.

Baseline Assessment of Student Functioning. Incoming students at this site were assessed in fall 2003. Due to postponements, surveys scheduled for fall 2004 were not carried out until November 2004, at which time less than three-quarters of the original students remained on campus. Therefore, only fall 2003 statistics were used to characterize incoming students at this site.

Life stressors. The Prevention Planning Survey Section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) was administered to the seventh and eighth grade students in fall 2003. Table 2 shows that many incoming students arrived with known risk factors for behavior problems, social maladjustment, and academic difficulties.

Table 2
History of Incoming 7th and 8th Grade Students at L3

American Drug and Alcohol Survey Item	Fall 2003
History of Antisocial Activity	
- Have been arrested	41.3%
- Have robbed someone	31.2%
- Have beaten up somebody	78.9%
- Have hurt someone using a club/chain/knife/gun	13.9%
School Failure	
- Have flunked a grade	43.2%
- Have been expelled from school	12.1%
Victimization	
- Have been beaten up by peer	30.6%
- Have been beaten up by someone not of same age	33.6%
- Been hurt with a club/knife/gun	20.4%
- Been robbed	21.3%

Gang association. Of the seventh and eighth grade students arriving in fall 2003, 25.2% reported on the ADAS being a member of a gang or hanging out with a gang. Another 13.6% reported being a former gang member.

Suicide. The Youth Risk Behavior Survey was also administered in fall 2003. According to the students' responses, 30% of the seventh and eighth graders reported having seriously thought about killing themselves.

Alienation. A Jessor Alienation Inventory was administered in fall 2003. Alienation indices were fairly high among these incoming students, with 37% to 61% endorsing items such as "Hardly anything I'm doing in life means very much to me" and "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect." (See Outcome section for more details.)

Emotional health. The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory focuses on a number of areas necessary for successful functioning in the world, including intrapersonal skills (having to do with inner knowledge and inner balance), interpersonal skills, ability to manage stress, and adaptability (reflecting confidence in ability to deal with situations that arise around oneself). Interpersonal skills and adaptability were the areas of greatest need, with 50% to 60% of the students scoring low to markedly low on these measures.

Substance abuse. As shown in Table 3, many incoming students anonymously reported on the ADAS that they had been introduced to substance use.

Table 3
Percentage of Incoming Students Reporting
Use of Mood-altering Substances and Tobacco, Fall 2003

Substance	5 th -6 th Graders	7 th Graders	8 th Graders
Alcohol	43%	69%	89%
Marijuana	48%	66%	90%
Inhalants	13%	16%	34%
Cigarettes	63%	66%	83%

Baseline retention. The site had a serious problem with retention. Table 4 shows outcomes of 227 students who had entered the system by count week in SY 2002-2003. An examination in April of the status of these students showed that the site had managed to keep less than one-half of them at L3 throughout the year. Of the 227, 110 had either graduated or had been continuously enrolled since entering the system at the beginning of the year. Ten students had cycled, meaning that they had been officially removed from the rolls and spent a number of months elsewhere before returning and re-enrolling before the end of the year. Six students were at home on suspension. Another 101 had formally exited the system and had not returned. The final column shows the percentage of students in each grade who had been successful in remaining in school throughout the year.

Table 4
Retention of Initial Cohort at L3, 2002-2003

Grade	Retained Active/Grad	Cycled	Suspend/ leave	Exit	Total Starting	% Retention
5th	14	1	0	15	30	46.67%
6th	28	2	0	17	47	59.57%
7th	27	3	2	44	76	35.50%
8th	41	4	4	25	74	55.41%
Total	110	10	6	101	227	48.5%

Site Resources

Facility

Facilities were in good to adequate condition, with the majority of classroom and residential buildings constructed in the 1960s. The school building was constructed of brick and concrete block; classrooms were wrapped around an attractive gymnasium, decorated with American Indian murals and tribal flags, and a central courtyard which allows light into the inner core of the building. The school building also contained a library brimming with cultural artifacts and books by and about American Indians; a computer lab which was tightly packed with cubicles containing Mac computers; and a music room. The cafeteria, naturally lit with a south-facing glass wall, was large, clean and well equipped, with a separate dining room which could be used for family-style dining and small meetings.

Students were housed in three single-story dormitory buildings. Approximately 70% of students were housed in the main boys' and girls' dormitories, while residential quarters in the third building were divided into a locked, 20-room therapeutic dormitory used for housing up to 10% of the student body with serious behavioral or mental health issues and a 20-room honor dormitory housing up to 20% of the student population. Because of an ongoing standoff between the facilities department, which had concerns about flammability of Velcro-hung drapes and wallpaper borders, and concerns of dormitory staff over the potential use of blinds and curtain rods as weapons, hallways were stark and students had festooned windows with towels, sheets or blankets for privacy. Despite a roster of 17 employees in the facilities department, the campus presented a somewhat shabby exterior, and on four out of the first five site visits the evaluator found problems with water, heat, or sewage. Over the course of the site visits, the evaluator noted that crumbling brick ornamentation in front of buildings received no repairs. Summer replacement of school windows by a contractor ran well past the start of school. Documentation received suggests that simple tasks such as putting in doors and changing locks appeared to be subcontracted out rather than being done by staff on payroll.

The most critical characteristic of this campus which affects its philosophy and design of services is its location. Significant arts, academic, and recreational resources are within walking distance of the campus. However, this location also has its drawbacks, as students can and regularly do walk across a street to leave campus. In fall each year, significant human resources are expended in retrieving AWOL students.

Financial Resources and Staff

With 175 to 200 personnel on salary or contract (numbers varied over the funding period and during the course of each year), this site has nearly double the number of adults per student than any of the other TRM sites. Therapeutic Residential Model funds were received at a point when many of the grants supporting programs were running out, and expenditures allowed under special education budgets were being increasingly curtailed. The first year of TRM funding brought in \$975,000; \$761,444 of this was necessary to bring the budget up to the previous year's funding and to maintain programs. The increase in the second year of TRM brought total TRM funding to \$1,048,186 (which increased the total budget by only \$83,622 over the previous year).

This site has considerable staff stability. Most employees have been at the school for a number of years; many have been supported by the school in upgrading their educational status and moving up in the ranks. Many are related by blood or marriage. An Employee Assistance Program is in place, and the school has made arrangements which allow all employees the use of a local fitness center. In spite of this, 64% of staff survey respondents in spring 2003 rated "Staff burnout" as serious or major (3 or 4) on the staff survey. This large staff requires a good deal of coordination. Staff meetings listed on a January 2003 schedule given to the evaluator showed 27 meetings in one week. By January 2003 of the first school year, 104 staff training sessions were listed as having been provided. A staff survey in spring 2003 provided staff with a list of possible problems/barriers they might face and asked them to rate them on a scale of 0 (*not a problem here*) to 4 (*a major problem*). Table 5 shows the percentage of the 123 respondents who rated items describing staffing and organizational issues at 3 or 4. Issues rated at this level by more than one-half of the respondents included "Staff burnout," "Not enough dorm staff," and "Management is inconsistent, not all staff are treated equally."

Table 5
Responses on L3 Staff Survey Items Regarding Organizational and Staffing
Issues in Spring 2003

Item	% of Staff (n=123) rating problem as serious (3,4)
3. Not enough teaching staff	12%
4. Quality of teaching staff	26%
5. Staff burnout	64%
8. Administration policies	29%
17. Quality of dorm Staff	41%
18. Not enough dorm staff	68%
20. Drug and alcohol problems of staff	24%
31. Staff Dissention	49%
32. Management is inconsistent, not all staff are treated equally	60%
33. Low staff morale	47%

Closer examination of the responses showed a difference in perception between academic and residential staff. Sixty-six percent of residential staff reported "Staff burnout" as a serious problem in spring 2003, compared with only 26% of academic staff in spring 2003. The source of this discrepancy may be related to distribution of staff coverage. While the site had a plethora of staff, the majority of them worked during school hours, leaving few staff to work with students during evenings and weekends. Staff and students reported that scheduled off-campus recreational activities were frequently canceled when residential staff failed to show up for shifts, resulting in too few staff to both cover the dormitory and chaperone the students. While the

students' academic day was constantly interrupted by counseling sessions and appointments, programming in the evening and weekends was sparse, and large blocks of time were unstructured. There was reluctance on the part of administration to structure this time; administrators claimed that the students would not tolerate such a change.

The organizational complexity of coordinating up to 200 staff was complicated by the plethora of programs. The initial site evaluation noted:

Existing services, now funded by TRM appear to have been formatted in response to past RFP's from a variety of public and private funding agencies, resulting in what appears to be a mishmash of philosophies. There does not seem to be an overarching TRM philosophy or structure of services. The most dominant of the philosophies at this site appears to be a Behavior Modification philosophy which attempts to mold behavior using drugs or a reinforcement system. Such a system is only effective if it is consistently applied, and there is some question whether it is being consistently applied. The site needs to assess the appropriateness of this philosophy and other competing philosophies in each program and determine how each serves or works against serving the needs of the child. (DeJong, 2003, pp. 29-30)

A further side effect of having abundant resources is that the system was able to support a number of non- or marginally productive staff members of whom little was required. This situation has generated a considerable amount of staff tension and resentment, which has negatively impacted team spirit and cooperation. Comments on staff surveys and noted in discussions with staff indicated an ongoing lack of understanding of the purpose of the TRM program, exacerbated by the administration's decision to bar staff from access to evaluation reports. Accustomed to a variety of independently funded, freestanding services programs, the staff continued to have difficulty in understanding the difference between the TRM philosophy of focusing on the child and standard service delivery programs. Programs continued to have turf issues and resisted changes that threatened the status quo.

Family and Community Involvement

L3 does a number of things to involve parents. A newsletter is sent to parents to keep them informed about school activities. Parents are provided with staff members' office telephone numbers, and are offered printed informational materials. Mailings to parents go out on a monthly basis. Parents are also invited to Parent Day and a pow wow.

Other than giving their consent as required by law for placement and medication of children, parents do not appear to have a high degree of involvement in program development or decision-making. In the second year of TRM, with the advent of case managers, contact with parents was increased as case managers began to regularly call parents to share information about their children.

A high number of staff members see outside political pressures as creating serious barriers limiting their ability to serve students. In spring 2003, 47% of staff designated "Outside political pressures" as a serious problem. Based on only brief observation of interaction between the school board and administration, a somewhat antagonistic relationship appears to exist. Members of the school board demonstrate frustration at the apparent lack of results, but also demonstrated an unwillingness to consider or support necessary system change. A defensive administration counters by highlighting successes and blaming student quality for lack of

progress. There appeared to be little open discussion of problems with the system and how they could be fixed. Staff reported that students related to board members are given special privileges and preferential housing, and that their inability to enforce rules with these students eroded discipline.

While there is some cooperation with educational and recreational facilities directly surrounding the campus, there appeared to be very few ties with the surrounding community. While the community offers a variety of activities, there is evidence that students experience discrimination when they use some public facilities. According to reports, there was an agreement with the local theatre that not more than 25 L3 students can attend any show; during one site visit a group of students had recently been verbally disparaged and turned away by the manager. Students also reported that the local skating facility requires that they allow later-arriving Anglos to step in front of them in line, and that L3 students are restricted to certain hours of use. In the second year of TRM, case managers began involving their students in service learning activities in the community.

Programs and Service Components

Cultural Programming

A number of traditional cultural elements are in place. The interior of the facility is decorated with cultural motifs, banners, and posters. There are a variety of artifacts and a large number of books by and about American Indians in the library. Guest speakers and yearly pow wows take place on campus.

During the first TRM year, a drum group (which had produced its own CD) opened each school day with smudging, traditional songs, and prayers. On Friday afternoon, a similar drum ceremony was used to send off students going home for the weekend, and to honor students. In the second year of TRM, the morning drum ceremony was cut back to Fridays and special occasions because the drum instructor had been hired as a full-time case manager.

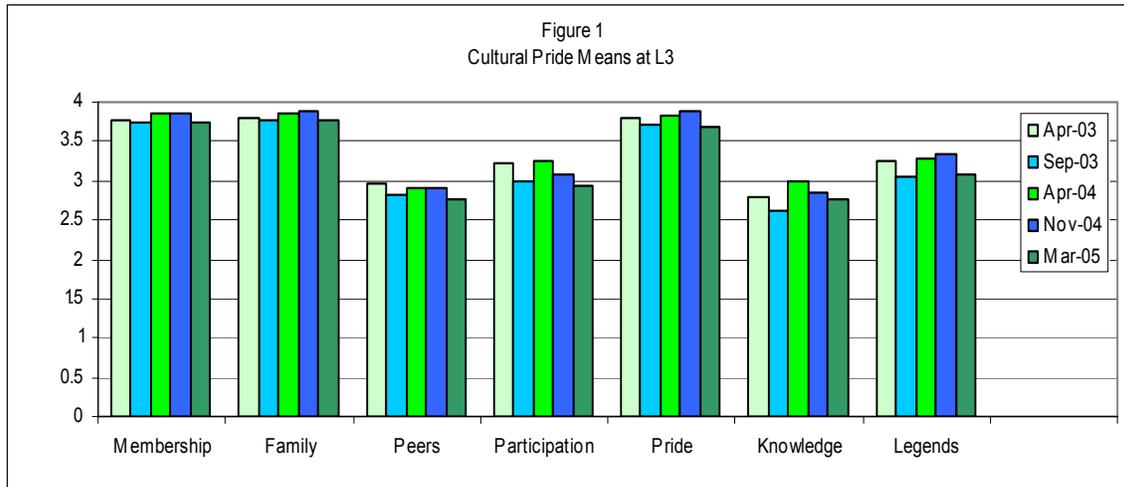
Traditional elements such as American Indian Singing, Feeding of the Spirits, Talking Circle, and Daughters of Tradition were used in the first year of TRM by two cultural advisors, who taught traditions in the classroom as well as after school. Male and female sweat lodges conducted by these advisors, were observed to be in use by small numbers of students on Tuesday and Thursday nights during year one. During the second year, after these cultural advisors had left the staff, sweats were less regular, conducted by other staff members and outside elders.

A working cultural center contains artifacts, crafts, and regalia. During the first year, these items were used by the two cultural advisors who worked with a small group of students with whom they had developed close relationships. During the second year, these materials were distributed to the dormitory staff and used by them in teaching crafts to all interested students.

Assessments of students using the Language Assessment Scale and Cultural Assessment to determine home language proficiency have been used. The site states it has found that less than 5% of L3 students understand their Native language. A bilingual supervisor and two bilingual advisors are listed under the organizational chart for the school; however, they do not work with traditional languages. While the environment appears to be culturally rich, there is some question regarding accessibility of traditional language services for the students at this site. Approximately 20 students were informally polled about whether they had received any type of language services in their tribal language. While a number of them demonstrated some knowledge of their tribal language, and some had received instruction in the schools on their

home reservation, all stated that they had received no services of any kind or encouragement to use or learn their traditional language at L3.

As can be seen in Figure 1, cultural pride (as measured on a 4-point scale from 1 (*Not at all*) to 4 (*A lot*)) tends to be fairly high at this site. The great majority of students say they like that they and their family are members of their tribe, and they are proud to be part of their tribe. A slightly lower number say they participate in cultural activities or like to hear stories and legends about their ancestors. Interacting with their peers regarding their traditional heritage and level of knowledge are also somewhat lower.



Items:	
Membership:	"I like being a member of my tribe."
Family membership:	"I like that my family is part of my tribe."
Peer sharing:	"I talk to my friends about things having to do with my tribe's culture (religion, customs, values, food, language, arts, pow wow and other celebrations)."
Participation:	"I participate in tribal and other Indian celebrations."
Pride:	"I am proud to be a member of my tribe."
Knowledge:	"I know about my tribe's culture and history."
Legends:	"I like telling and listening to tribal legends and stories about my ancestors."

Social and Life Skills

In every boarding school environment, there are proactive systems which attempt to meet the needs espoused by the Circle of Courage (Brendtro et al., 2002), encourage healthy social development, stimulate moral development, and encourage pro-social behavior. There are also reactive discipline systems in place to discourage behavior which does not conform to norms. At L3 there are a number of both elements which contribute to a complex system.

Proactive Elements Addressing Social and Life Skills

Life skills class. According to program information provided by the school, a Life Skills program is taught by certified teachers. Under the Federal programs coordinator, organizational charts show a life skills position and an additional life skills technician.

Canteen. The social center of the campus is the canteen. When it is open the canteen is a busy center of activity with pool tables, foosball, TV, and video game stations. A large library of popular video games is provided, many of which portray a high level of violence; one particularly disturbing game created a scenario where the player stalked the halls of a school shooting at anything that moved. The evaluator noted at each site visit that canteen hours were not posted and hours open were erratic. Students waited outside the doors every afternoon, not knowing what time the canteen would open.

Mentoring. L3 has a large mentor program; approximately one-third of L3 staff have been trained and approved to mentor students.

My Independent Living Experience. During the first TRM year, the My Independent Living Experience (MILE) program, an extended school day program staffed by eight technicians, provided services for up to 12 special education students with developmental problems including Fetal Alcohol Syndrome/Fetal Alcohol Effects. According to the handbook, this program taught life skills and worthwhile leisure skills, and addressed emotional/behavioral/ academic concerns. Students did arts and crafts, baking, cooking, and behavior modification; and practiced what they learned on field trips to restaurants, museums, movies, shopping, and other community activities. At the end of the first year of operation, the site was told that the MILE program could not be funded under special education in its current form. A reduced form of the program, with one staff person, was shifted in the second year to the therapeutic dormitory.

Dress code. School uniforms – T-shirts and polo shirts with the school's emblem and khaki or black pants – were introduced at the beginning of the TRM program. The uniforms served several purposes. The differential between the have and have-nots was reduced by requiring all students to dress in school-provided clothing. Care was also taken in the selection of uniform shirts to ensure that none were in gang-related colors such as red or blue. Reports from several sources during the first TRM year indicated that incidents involving students beating up other students for wearing opposing gang colors seemed to have been reduced by implementing this strategy. During the second and third years of TRM funding, the administration appeared to have backed off from this stringent policy. Some students were allowed to wear their own clothing on occasion and to bring in and wear less conservative pants. The colors red and blue reappeared and showed up on clusters of students, who could be seen chasing or otherwise harassing other students during after-school hours. Many girls wore heavy makeup.

Housing environment. Within the residential setting, students are divided into regular dormitories, an honor dorm, and a locked dormitory in which students deemed to have behavioral problems or mental health issues are placed. Depending largely upon their behavior, students are moved between these three dormitories.

Main dormitories. The majority of the student body resides in two main dormitories, one for males, the other for females. Fifth and sixth graders were clustered in a wing of each dorm, where staff report that they are frequently picked on and exposed to inappropriate behavior of older students. Over one-half of the fifth and sixth graders entering in fall 2003 dropped out during the course of that school year. In spring 2004, 52% of fifth and sixth grade boys and 82% of the fifth and sixth grade girls still attending the school reported they had been pushed around during the year.

Honor dorm placement. Twenty percent of the student body was segregated into a 20-bedroom honor dorm. This policy was justified in several ways, such as: providing an incentive for students to behave, providing an enriched environment for students with potential or, as expressed by some staff and administrators, keeping them away from other students because "they are the ones who have a chance to make it". The cross-site evaluation raised a number of concerns about this element: (a) With the effective removal of positive peer leaders from the general population, and their segregation in the honor dorm, the main student body is left under the influence of negative peer leaders. (b) Movement of students between dormitories contributes to destabilization of students and works against development of positive peer relationships necessary to social development. (c) Focusing of scarce resources upon the honor dormitory and a prevalent attitude among staff that only honor dorm students are salvageable is detrimental to those "left behind." (d) By being extracted from the milieu of students in need of their leadership, strong students are deprived of the opportunity to exercise the Circle of Courage tenet: "Be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults." (e) A class system is created, which communicates to students and staff that non-honor dorm students are second-class citizens. An external evaluator contracted by the site made a similar assessment and recommended reintegration of honor students into the regular dormitories. At the end of SY 2002-2003, a plan was discussed with the site to address these concerns by replacing the honor dorm situation with incentive "honor rooms" within the regular dormitories. While main dormitories went ahead with creation of honor rooms, which were well received by students, the plan to eliminate the honor dorm was stymied in SY 2003-2004 by opposition from the administration, school board, and honor dorm staff. However, the return to the regular dormitories was encouraged by another development in SY 2004-2005. In response to concerns for the protection of fifth graders and need for age-appropriate programming for them, in SY 2004-2005, fifth graders were moved into a section of the honor dormitory. At first, they were briefly placed in rooms shared with older honor dormitory students in rooms; then, after predictable protests from older students, they were grouped in an adjacent set of rooms. The recommended separate programming was, however, not developed. The continuing inclusion of fifth graders in dormitory activities and recreational excursions prompted a flight of honor dormitory students back to the regular dormitory.

Intensive Residential Guidance Counselors/Case Managers. All students at the school are included in the Intensive Residential Guidance (IRG) program. According to the handbook, this program is intended to "assist students to adjust to the school program, meet other people and become involved in carefully selected activities to learn to cope with daily living." During the first TRM year, the students were divided among the caseloads of four IRG counselors, who provided five hours of either individual or group counseling to each student per week. Evaluation at the end of the first year of TRM noted:

IRG files were examined and found to be lacking in documentation of services. IRG caseloads (up to 50) are too large for students to receive the individual attention they need. Services delivered by IRG counselors vary according to personal orientation of the counselor" (DeJong, 2003, p. 15).

In the second year of funding, additional funds were added to replace the function of these counselors with 10 case managers who would have smaller caseloads. These new case managers further divided the students in their caseloads into small groups which regularly met several times a week to discuss issues and take part in recreational activities together.

Recreation. There was change over the course of funding with respect to recreation. During the first year of TRM, the recreation department (one supervisor and three recreational aides) organized after-school activities for each dormitory. At the end of that first TRM year, 55% of staff survey respondents indicated that "Lack of after school activities and weekend activities" was a serious problem (3 or 4). During each site visit, the evaluator noted off-campus recreational activities had been cancelled because staff absences resulted in coverage that was inadequate to both oversee the dorm and chaperone outside activities. The primary recreational activity, one easy for staff to monitor, was campus-wide dances which took place in the canteen every weekend. During this activity, students were locked out of their rooms to force them to "socialize." It was also observed that in addition to the weekend dances, dorm personnel set up dances within dormitories on other nights. The evaluation recommended that other activities may be more age appropriate. It was also recommended that consideration should be given to introverted students who may relish the opportunity to read or meditate alone in their rooms. At the beginning of the second year of TRM, the recreation supervisor was no longer on the organizational chart, leaving three recreational aides, one for each dormitory. In the second semester of the second TRM year, there was a further change: Rather than designating one staff person in each dormitory as the recreational aide, all staff were asked to provide some recreational or craft activities. During the second year of TRM, case managers also provided a significant number of recreational activities in their group sessions. At the end of the second year of TRM funding, the percentage of staff seeing "Lack of after school and weekend activities" as a major problem had decreased from 56% (spring 2003) to 45% (spring 2004) overall and from 69% to 50% among dormitory staff.

Reactive Elements – Discipline

There were high rates of assaults and harassment reported at this site: 719 violent physical assaults, 57 sexual assaults, and 402 incidents of harassment were reported for SY 2004-2005. Citations for violence appeared to have increased, as the school reported 417 incidents of violence in SY 2003-2004 and 571 in SY 2002-2003. The lack of staff during non-school hours curtailed the activities that can be offered, and as a result students had a great deal of unstructured free time with little monitoring. When infractions were identified, there was a set of procedures in place to deal with them. A group of child protection officers carried out the role of enforcer. A Social Skills Center did remedial work on social skills with offenders in TRM year one. Throughout the TRM program, a therapeutic dorm (TD) program dealt with students with behavioral problems in a locked ward.

Discipline for behavioral infractions. The student handbook spells out a large number of unacceptable behaviors. Staff members write up students on behavioral infractions which can be dealt with according to the student handbook in a number of ways (Box 1).

Box 1
Discipline at L3 for Behavioral Infractions

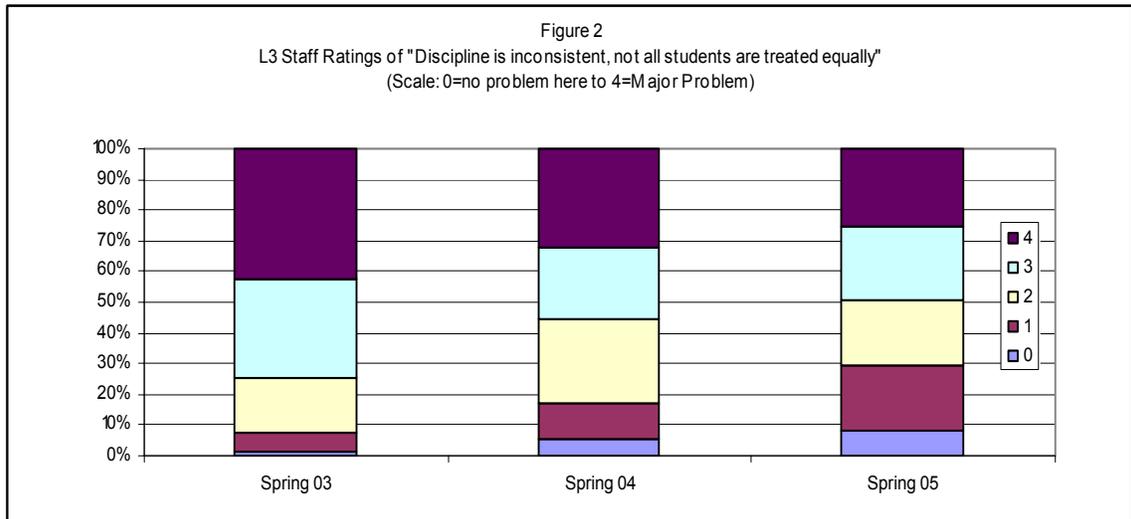
For *minor infractions*, restrictions are imposed by the dorm manager. These include:

- Talking with or counseling the student
- Propose to the dorm supervisors and Residence Director a change in environment (room, dorm) to remove the cause of the problem
- Recommend for counseling
- Recommend appropriate action
- Referral to the Principal, Residence Director and/or Superintendent

For *major infractions*, the student may be immediately suspended or dismissed under due process. In addition to the restrictions imposed for minor infractions, for major infractions the school adds :

- If this is the third major infraction it “may” bring about a Child Protection Team staffing involving teachers, dorm supervisors, the residence director, counselors, department heads, and the principal, to make recommendations to the superintendent.
- A formal hearing or teen court

Staff and student responses indicate there is considerable variation in how discipline is applied. Figure 2 shows staff rating of the problem of consistency in discipline over the three spring surveys. The majority of the staff respondents continue to consider inconsistency in administering discipline to be a problem.



Student responses also indicate that they may not be getting consistent messages about how they should behave. Responses of students present at both fall 2004 and spring 2005 time points were examined on the Jessor item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect." Paired *t*-tests of mean responses for this group found a significant shift toward agreement with this statement ($t = 2.52, p = .014$). Of this cohort, 54% agreed with the statement in fall 2004; in spring 2005, 67.6% agreed.

Enforcement of rules. Child protection officers (CPOs) play a key role in the discipline system. Partially funded by the Title IV Safe and Drug Free Schools (three officers) and by the TRM program (six officers), CPOs monitor the campus and inside buildings using a system of

surveillance cameras. The CPOs are trained to use de-escalation techniques to deal with problem situations, handle investigation of all allegations of child abuse, and refer such allegations to proper authorities. The CPOs reported struggling to get local officials to legally pursue infractions of their students, and in the first year of TRM reported that they were in the process of rewriting their incident report classifications to conform to police codes in order to facilitate legal actions against students by police. It was observed that while some students appear to be on friendly terms with individual CPOs and cluster around them as they walk the campus, other students perceive them as having "commando attitudes" and report that they have left unnecessary bruises on children when they "take them down." The frequency with which physical restraint is used is unknown, as the site refused evaluation requests for statistics. Need for physical intervention appeared to be generated by a pervasive delegation of responsibility to the CPOs, with the result that in the interval between the time CPOs were summoned and the time they arrived, situations were likely to have escalated to the point where physical restraint became necessary. An observation by the evaluator shown in Box 2 illustrates the dynamics of this system.

Box 2
Observation of Mud Fight

On a Sunday afternoon, over 50 students were observed to be engaging in unstructured activities in the green area at the center of the campus. Other than one adult, a canteen employee, who was attempting to engage some of these students in a ball game, no adults were seen to be interacting with the youth. A member of the dorm staff reported that the students were frustrated because one of the dorm staff had not come in to work, and as a result, planned swimming and other activities that weekend had been cancelled due to lack of coverage. The canteen employee notified dormitory staff and the CPO center of an upcoming water fight developing among the students; however, neither group made any attempt to stop or regulate the upcoming event. The ensuing, unsupervised water fight quickly progressed through a mud fight stage to pelting mud at the school windows. CPOs then appeared to break up the activity and in the absence of adult witnesses, appeared to rely heavily on reports of honor dorm participants in determining responsibility and penalties.

The considerable amount of free time after school and on weekends with few structured activities appeared to contribute to behavioral infractions. In fall 2003, the evaluator made a number of observations (described in Box 3).

Box 3
Observations on Dynamics of Discipline Fall 2003

Observation One. Approximately one-quarter of the student body was in detention status for infractions such as going AWOL or assault. Discussions with girls in detention made it clear that evading the CPOs was a game they greatly enjoyed, and that detention was not a significant deterrent. The discipline problem is exacerbated by the lack of meaningful deterrents or consequences for violations. Most students in the after-school retention for females appeared to be enjoying themselves and making friends with other miscreants. This may account for the disproportionate number of females with behavioral infractions, as the male after-school detention showed a sterner environment, with a dimly lit room, and a more somber atmosphere. The students' ability to get out of this detention situation to attend clubs and other activities also undermines the effect of detention.

Observation Two. The local community has been negatively impacted. In the beginning of the year, a group of students stole the automobile of a local school administrator and drove it back to their home reservation. Other AWOL students misappropriated golf carts for a game of bumper cars, doing a reported \$10,000 in damage to the vehicles.

Observation Three. During an evening observation, the evaluator noted a large number of male students milling around in front of the dormitory engaging in rough horseplay. Staff presence was minimal. One dormitory staff person had locked herself in an office, responding only after repeated knocks on the door. Two male staff were active; one was observed in the entrance to the boys' dorm pulling off a large teenage boy who had a frightened girl pinned to the ground. The following night, there was a mass breakout from the girls' dormitory; five girls were arrested for assault after the local police force was brought in to assist CPOs in quelling the disturbance. The following day, classrooms were put into lockdown status.

Safe and Secure Diversion rooms. Safe and secure diversion (SSD) rooms are available in the therapeutic dormitory. These rooms, two of which are padded and two of which have walls reinforced with thick plywood (windows are Plexiglas) are used for students considered to need a safe environment either for their own protection or the protection of others. Child protection officers had the responsibility of overseeing these rooms. In fall 2003, with temperatures in the low 50s and heat out in the building, the evaluator found two students unmonitored in locked, unheated SSD rooms. The boys had been stripped of their sweatshirts, belts, and shoes and placed there by CPOs. One student, who had been logged in, had been incarcerated for two hours; as the other had not been logged in, the length of his incarceration was unknown. After 45 minutes without the appearance of someone to check on the boys, the evaluator summoned security. The number of log entries indicated frequent use of rooms for incarceration. Shortly after the report describing this incident was filed, the death of a student in a similar circumstance at another boarding school resulted in a directive to L3 by outside officials to terminate use of these rooms for solitary confinement.

Social Skills Center. During the first year of TRM, a Social Skills Center (SSC) operated on campus with several levels of programming. The day program was an intensive two-week program which dealt with communication and social skills. The day program utilized a boot camp format which combined an aggressive program of social skills curriculum with exercise promoting interpersonal cooperation. Three of the four SSC staff worked with students in this program during school hours on life skills. An evening program involved students who attended classes during the regular school hours. The SSC program received high ratings from teachers because it removed chronically disruptive students from their classrooms, and instilled appropriate skills in these students prior to their return to the classroom. Shortfalls of the program were: (a) failing to promptly move some students through and out of the program and back to the academic mainstream, so that students remained for months in SSC; and (b) focusing only on students

whose behavior in the academic setting caused problems. The key lead individual, who was clearly responsible for the orientation of the SSC program, resigned his position and was no longer with the program by spring 2003. After notification that long-term removal from the classroom was not in line with educational regulations, SSC was replaced in the second year by a Therapeutic Social Skills Center program in the transitional dorm which allowed students to continue attending regular classes during the week and moved programming to the residential setting during non-school hours.

Therapeutic Dorm. The therapeutic dorm/behavioral center temporarily houses students who are having or creating problems in other residences. This locked dormitory provided a 24/7 environment with sleeping rooms, instructional areas, and other facilities for youth residential treatment. This component underwent a number of changes in configuration, operation, name, and staffing during the course of funding. For purposes of clarity, this unit is consistently referred to in this analysis as TD, and can be described in three phases (next).

TD Phase 1. The first year of TRM funding was used to bolster this preexisting unit by providing 11 staff positions including: 1 mental health service provider, 1 service supervisor, 6 child advocates, and 3 night attendants. In the first year of funding, this unit provided two sections: an intensive therapeutic area with safe and secure diversion rooms, and a less restrictive environment designed to transition students back into the general population. The evaluation report raised concerns about this situation:

Visits to this facility over the course of three site visits in the first TRM year generally found little evidence that this dormitory was therapeutic. Residents were generally found in a darkened room watching a TV set in the company of a staff person. It was not clear who was taking responsibility for this dormitory; responsibility appears to be diffused between the TD dorm supervisor (who lacks training and experience for this type of facility), the TRM Center Supervisor, a psychiatric nurse, and the part time clinical psychologist. (DeJong, 2003, p. 23)

TD Phase 2. After concerns were expressed about safety issues related to housing emotionally fragile victims with victimizers, the units were reconfigured to separate the two groups served: Fragile students with mental health issues went to the Quest Center, and those with behavioral issues went to the Therapeutic Social Skills Center (TSSC). Because of building configuration, the Quest area also included the locked safe and secure diversion rooms used by CPOs. Visits to the Quest Center found students in their rooms watching television, or playing video games in the staff office. Evaluation observations of the TSSC made in year two (Box 4) again found little in the way of programming.

Box 4
TSSC Observations

Observations of the TSSC evening program found staff had difficulty locating a copy of the schedule. When the schedule was located, a review of daily activities with staff showed the schedule (of recent vintage), was not being adhered to. Drills have been eliminated and students spend a great deal of time in "recreational therapy" (watching TV and playing board games and cards with each other). Doing homework is not on the schedule. Students were observed enjoying a movie, "Biker Boys," which contained inappropriate language, demonstrated gang morality, and portrayed high-risk activities in a positive light. One-half of the residents were on suspension and not attending class due to drug-related activity; they reported having done no academic work during their stay in TSSC. Students were allowed to sleep in till 11 a.m. on weekends.

Four staff (ratio of 1 staff to 2.5 students) were observed on duty in the TD during a weekday afternoon and evening (two additional staff were on duty at the mental health unit with five residents). Other than teaching a student how to address a letter and putting a brief prevention video on the television set, the staff did not appear to be engaging in directed therapeutic interactions with students. Staff members were observed playing a board game with each other, doing dishes, fetching a drink of water for a student, and other activities which suggested a "warm-fuzzy" relationship with students. Because of the highly favorable staff-student ratio, students in TSSC appear to receive more outside activities than do students in the regular dorm.

A group of three TSSC students interviewed volunteered the information that TSSC was the "best" dorm and they never wanted to leave. A student, who had been in the TSSC since early in the school year, declared her intention to stay in the TSSC and to act up if she was returned to the main dormitory. The TSSC does not appear to understand that it is to be a short-term, intensive program focused on returning students to the mainstream. As a result of such students taking up "permanent" residence in TSSC, there are no openings for students who are in real need of intensive work on socialization, and the component does not serve the function of removing these "negative influences" from the mainstream.

TD Phase 3. In the third year of TRM funding, a structured program was put in place. An experienced teacher ran a classroom in the dormitory for students that teachers had requested be removed from their classrooms for behavioral problems. During the evening some structured programming took place for students who attended regular classes but had been remanded into the dormitory. To eliminate problems between the two genders, alternating groups of males and females were rotated into the behavioral side of the TD dormitory.

Mental Health Services

An L3 student could receive a range of mental health services from a variety of sources. Initial assessment in the first year of funding listed the following staff: One school psychologist did Intensive Residential Guidance assessments, and a second school psychologist did special educational assessments (aided by interns from the local university) and worked with students in the school. A clinical/forensic psychologist did psychological evaluations and consults. A psychiatrist, contracted for up to 20 hours a week, carried a heavy load, aided by a psychiatric nurse. An academic counselor reported providing personal counseling to students as did a chemical dependency counselor, several chemical dependency consultants, and 7-10 CPOs. Two special education social workers were assisted by social worker technicians and supplemented by a Title I social worker. In addition, the therapeutic dormitory had 15 therapeutic staff. There were several changes in year two of funding. Several months into the second TRM year the site was notified that funding for its social workers was not approved. Social workers on staff were transferred into "transition worker" positions which were approved, but which carried the limitation that students under the age of 14 could not be served. Also in the second year of

funding, the contract with external chemical dependency services was discontinued and chemical dependency services were provided in-house by two staff members transferred from a discontinued program. The site reported that after this change, for the first time in 10 years, no students had to be referred out to a chemical dependency residential treatment center. In SY 2004-2005 it was noted that professional, counseling, and mental health services at this site continued to be extensive; services included a psychiatrist, one contract and one school psychologist, a clinical/forensic psychologist, three social workers, nine case managers, a lead case manager, a transition specialist, a therapeutic coordinator, a data collection specialist, residential counselor, academic guidance counselor, medication monitor, and three chemical dependency staff. In addition, the therapeutic dormitory still had 15 therapeutic staff.

Use of psychotropic drugs. Mental health services at this site were heavily oriented toward a medical model. A review at the end of each year of TRM funding (Table 6) found a high percentage of students had been placed on psychotropic medications. Staff routinely refer students to the psychiatrist, who provides a diagnosis and places them on medication. A review of a medical tracking history for SY 2003-2004 showed that in the course of that year, 107 students were referred to the psychiatrist. All were given a diagnosis, and all but 7 received prescriptions for medication. Records for 5 of the 7 non-medicated students were located and found to document refusal of the parent or student to receive recommended medication. As standard procedure, the psychiatrist showed students a model of a brain, and explained to them which part of their brain was not working properly and how medication would correct the problem. Concerns about use of drugs with this population were raised by the evaluator in the first evaluation report and a request was made for review of this policy. These concerns were underscored during the second year of TRM when the Food and Drug Administration issued strong warnings against the use of many of these drugs with children (FDA, 2004), based on research showing negative side effects such as suicidal thinking and behavior; and again after the Red Lake School massacre by a student whose Prozac medication had recently been doubled drew attention to the fact that side effects of these medications had not been studied in American Indian populations.

There is controversy around the use of antidepressants in children. Some neuroscientists have strongly criticized the FDA's warning, pointing out that no suicides among pediatric participants in studies of antidepressants have occurred and that more harm may come from allowing depression to continue untreated (e.g., Bostwick, 2006; Klein, 2006; Nishawala, Boorady, & Koplewicz, 2006; Rey & Martin, 2006). Others emphasize the consistent finding of up to two times more frequent suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children treated with antidepressants vs. a placebo (e.g. Hammad, Laughren, & Racoosin, 2006; Mosholder & Willy, 2006). All agree, however, that children placed on antidepressants must be monitored very closely for adverse behavior changes (e.g. Bostwick, 2006; Goodman, Murphy, & Lazowitz, 2006; Rey & Martin, 2006; Wohlfarth, et al., 2006; Abrams, Flood, and Phelps, 2006) and that psychotropic medication should be used only in conjunction with psychosocial interventions developed and implemented in collaboration with school personnel. At a site such as this where responsibility is diffused among caretaking adults who do not have parents' familiarity with the children's normal behavior patterns, it is unlikely that the necessary degree of careful monitoring of the children's behavior takes place. Also of concern was the summer situation, where school personnel must make a decision either to leave habituated children on the drugs and risk improper administration in the home, or to subject children to the effects of removal from the regimen. Despite these concerns the number of students on psychotropic drugs remained constant with minor shifts in brands of drugs prescribed (see Table 6).

Table 6
Psychotropic Medications Prescribed,
Spring 2003 and 2004

Type/Purpose of Medication	Drug	# of Students with Prescriptions	
		Spring 2003	Spring 2004
ADHD	Adderall	12	14
	Buspirone	1	0
	Clonidine	1	0
	Concerta	17	8
	Dexadrine	1	0
	Metadate CD	0	1
	Ritalin	1	0
	Strattera	0	11
Seizures	Neurontin	0	3
	Topamax	4	3
	Trileptal	1	0
	Valproic Acid	2	1
Antidepressants	Celexa	1	0
	Clonidine	1	0
	Effexor	2	4
	Lexapro	0	2
	Paxil	0	2
	Prozac	1	3
	Remeron	12	12
	Trazodone	5	4
	Wellbutrin	3	5
Zoloft	28	16	
Mania	Depakote	1	1
	Eskalith	2	0
Anti-psychotic	Abilify	0	1
	Geodon	0	1
	Risperdal	16	10
	Seroquel	3	5

In its literature and grant proposals, the site espouses the Circle of Courage framework. In conceptualizing Circle of Courage, the authors of *Reclaiming Youth at Risk: Our Hope for the Future* sharply criticize the labeling of students as ADHD, suggesting: "The recent proliferation of children labeled as having 'attention deficit disorders' may better be conceptualized as an 'interest deficit disorder' in the curriculum" (Brendtro et al., 2002, p. 97). This framework also argues that labeling students as disturbed or disordered, and diagnosing, drugging, or hospitalizing them, are in reality defense mechanisms enabling adults to "target blame and then combating or disengaging" from the children (p. 19); instead, Circle of Courage advocates entering into a healing relationship with children which looks at the world from the children's perspective, clarifies distortions, and creates a plan of action with the children to develop alternative behavioral solutions. It appears that L3 conforms more to the former than the latter description. In a boarding school situation, incoming students enter a new environment, which, in this case is a somewhat chaotic and unstructured one. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual* criteria for making psychiatric diagnoses ask the clinician to exercise care in transcultural application of diagnoses, and also require the clinician take into account a number of Axis IV

factors, such as life stressors in the past 12 months and past situations which may have resulted in maladaptive reactions (Axis II) to perceived threats which may have had survival value in the past. The cautionary intent of this review does not appear to have been realized at L3. Box 5 provides results of an analysis of case studies provided by the site to look at the process of diagnosis and medication of an incoming cohort of fifth graders.

Box 5
Diagnosis and Medication of a Fifth grade cohort at L3

Twenty-five fifth graders were in the entry cohort admitted to L3. One student had attended the preceding year. Students had been carefully screened prior to admission, using L3 admission criteria. None were receiving psychotropic medication upon admission, although one student was believed to have been on something to "help me chill down" at some time in the past and a second student was believed to have been treated for ADHD. The returning student, repeating the fifth grade, came in with a diagnosis previously made by L3; however, the parent had refused L3 psychiatric services and medication.

Within five weeks of arrival at the school, records document clearly that 17 of the students had received a psychiatric diagnosis from either the psychologist or psychiatrist. An 18th student was later diagnosed, resulting in a total of 18 out of 25 students (72%) known to have been given psychiatric diagnoses by L3. All 14 students referred to the psychiatrist were prescribed medication; parental refusal is documented for 3 of these students, and the remaining 11 appear to have been placed on medication.

There is some circumstantial evidence that problems with retention in this group may have been related to the medication policy:

- Four parents refused medication and psychiatric services altogether. Three of the students involved were taken out of school during the first semester; the fourth successfully completed the school year.
- Of the 11 fifth grade students who remained and completed the school year, only 4 were from the medication group. One of these 4 was hospitalized for suicidal statements and gestures 10 days after Zoloft dosage was increased and paired with Depakote. Two others were taken off high dosages of Zoloft and Depakote, presumably for negative side effects.
- The majority of the 7 medicated students who left did so soon after increases in medication: One was moved up to 50 mg of Zoloft, and a week later was removed from school after assaulting students and staff; a second student and his sibling were removed by parents 10 days after his Zoloft was increased to 100 mg; a third student left one week after Zoloft was increased to 100 mg; a fourth student was removed by his guardian 12 days after moving up to 150 mg of Effexor; a fifth student was removed by the parent four weeks after dosage of Wellbutrin was increased to 300 mg.; a sixth student was removed by the guardian 3 weeks after Strattera was increased to 40 mg.; and the seventh was hospitalized with suicidal and homicidal behavior after being moved to 100 mg. of Zoloft the preceding month.

From this analysis it appears that the majority of this cohort of new students were seen by mental health professionals very early in the school year, and were quickly labeled with diagnoses and medicated. There appeared to be a number of adverse reactions to medication in the general school population. Of students enrolling in L3 during SY 2003-2004, 8.5% were committed to inpatient treatment facilities during the course of the year. In 18 cases, students were hospitalized for suicidal or aggressive behavior while on medications carrying FDA black box warnings for use with pediatric populations.

On-site assessments. According to statistics provided by L3, 50% of their population ($n = 100$) was selected for psychological and psychiatric evaluation in 2002. Of these, 89 students met criteria for "disruptive behavioral disorders" including ADHD, Oppositional Defiant Disorder, and Conduct Disorder. Fifty-one of these students were evaluated as having mood disorders, and 48% anxiety disorders. It is not clear what screening was used to triage students for this advanced evaluation, as diagnoses appeared to come from multiple sources. Box 6 contains an assessment of a data set presented to the evaluator for quality analysis.

Box 6
Quality Analysis of Internal Data Set

One data set composed of pre and post test scores on the MOSS (Manifestation of Symptomatology Scale) was received by the evaluator for analysis in the first year of funding. Review of the validity scores on this instrument raised questions about the quality of the testing process. Of 310 administrations of this instrument, 127 had scores outside the acceptable range on one or more of the following validity measures: Random Sampling ($RAN \geq 2$), Inconsistency of response ($INC \geq 3$), and manipulation for impression management ($FG \geq 70$). An additional 85 questionnaires showed either defensiveness ($FG = 60-69$) or deliberate dissembling ($FB \geq 70$). Of 109 students upon whom both a pre and post test were administered, only 65 had both pre and post tests considered valid by the site. Of these 65 individuals, 22 had either a pre or post test which was of questionable validity by test standards on the RAN, INC or FG, and an additional 27 had indicators of defensiveness or deliberate dissembling (FB). It was noted that when a student was assessed twice within three weeks by different interviewers, the mean difference between the sets of scores on 18 scales was 12, with a range of 3 to 33 points difference between ratings. The conclusion was that: "These data indicate that the validity of the MOSS instrument for this population, method of administration, and/or interviewers need to be evaluated, and perhaps replaced. Given the questions that these data raise, validity of other testing procedures at this site also need to be evaluated."

At another TRM site (AE), a cadre of paraprofessional counseling technicians had been used to coordinate services and to provide guidance, emotional support, and advocacy for students in a school with triple the population of this site. This strategy was adopted at L3 to deal with concerns about lack of coordination of services and advocacy for the students. Additional resources added in year two of TRM funding were 10 paraprofessional case managers, who administered five hours of Intensive Residential Guidance programming to students per week and provided additional services, such as acting as a central reference point for collection of information regarding services each student was receiving, liaising with parents, monitoring the emotional status of students, and providing them with a listening ear. Interactions with this group of case managers in the initial year of their existence (SY 2003-2004) and observations of their interactions with students showed a high level of empathy and positive interactions with students and strong group cohesion, in spite of the influence of the licensed counselor acting as coordinator, who routinely referred to students as "perps" or "pervs." This cohesion appeared to have weakened somewhat during the second year, when attrition had led to the replacement of several members of the original group. The work of this group was somewhat hampered by lack of training and curriculum, leaving them to improvise; and by lack of status which would have allowed them to be effective gatekeepers or advocates for students.

Quest Center. See the section above titled "TD Phase 2."

Physical Health

Nutrition. The school is nearing the end of a grant from the Diabetes Prevention Project funded by the Otto Bremer Foundation. Through this grant, L3 staff received education regarding diabetes, and cafeteria staff received training and developed a menu incorporating new recipes. A computer program was installed which resulted in automatic purchase orders, inventory control, budget management, and recipe analysis. Cafeteria staff used the Nutri-Kids computer system, which provides kid-friendly recipes and an analysis of their nutritional composition, as well as analysis of additional recipes entered into its customizable database. A salad bar was introduced in the first year of TRM. Vending machines dispensing milk products have been placed

in the cafeteria. Based on recommendations from the nutritionist, the evening meal was moved an hour later, as students had been eating at 4:30 pm and getting hungry before they retired for the night. There is evidence of some improvement in food service. One-third of staff responding to the staff survey in 2003 saw the quality of cafeteria food as a serious problem; the highest dissatisfaction (50%) was among dorm staff who were present for less palatable meals at breakfast, supper, and on weekends. This situation had improved somewhat by spring 2004, when general dissatisfaction had dropped to 20%, although 40% of residential staff still rated it a serious problem. Teacher ratings of "Quality of food service" as a serious problem (3 or 4) dropped from 28% in 2003 to 8% in 2004.

When interviewed on cost implications of changing to the Nutri-kids computer system and the introduction of the salad bar, the cafeteria supervisor estimated there was no additional cost to serving better food. Under the old system a great deal of food was wasted when students received uniform servings and threw away what they did not want. By reducing the number of standard daily entrée items and giving students a variety of items to choose from at the salad bar, students were more likely to take only those things that they were going to eat. A variety of inexpensive pickled and marinated items were available for the salad bar, which could be opened and put out as needed to further reduce waste. The cost of fresh produce was offset by savings in canned and frozen goods.

The Family Nutrition Program of the local state university provided a number of classes to L3 students between October 2002 and September 2003 in life skills class, health class, and in the TD sessions.

Reportedly due to fear that students will use metal utensils as weapons, plastic rather than metal utensils are given to students in the cafeteria.

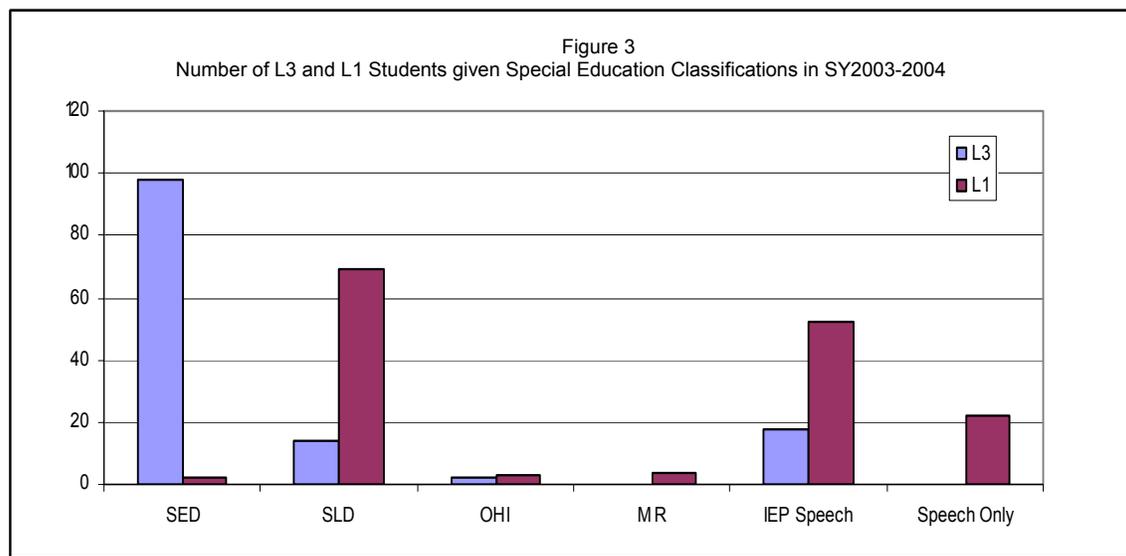
Sports and Exercise. In addition to standard PE activities in the course of the school day and team sports which include football, basketball, volleyball, cross country, and wrestling, there are a number of programs providing recreational and physical activities. An Extended Learning Opportunities program provided basketball, weight lifting, exercise, dance, swimming, biking, volleyball, soccer, and croquet in the first TRM year. The recreation department reports providing roller-skating, ice-skating, swimming, skiing, sledding, hiking, bicycle riding, dance, basketball, bowling, softball, and volleyball. The Social Skills Center does physical training and ropes activities with its students. A number of children are doing Tae Kwon Do through the gifted and talented program. A significant barrier to attendance at outside activities during the past two years has been the transportation system. In spring 2003 and spring 2004, 48% and 50% of staff respectively rated "Transportation problems or limitations" as a major problem. Upon notification by the BIA that the school vans were no longer acceptable for transportation purposes, the school obtained several Dodge Caravans. However, the facilities manager did not allow these vehicles to be used for transporting students based on his understanding of BIA regulations requiring the use of school buses for transportation. While regulations clearly allow a range of vehicles to be used for non-school related activities, there appears to be lack of clarity about how to judge whether activities are school-related or not. The effect of this controversy has been that students have been unable to engage in some activities off campus when buses are appropriated, in lieu of vans, to bring a handful of students to an athletic activity where they represent the school.

Medical care. All children receive dental and medical screenings. Through an arrangement with the local vocational college, interns clean and check teeth of six students a week. Staff report that about 60% of the students are found to have some problems which need

to be addressed, and an additional 20% have very serious dental problems. Only one local dentist will take a limited number of students. There are three nurses on campus – a psychiatric nurse, a school nurse, and a residential nurse – who band together to see that all children get their immunizations before they graduate from eighth grade. In addition to the full FTE required to oversee administration of psychotropic medications, a second staff FTE was occupied in obtaining coverage to meet students' medical needs. Some home agencies will treat students only in their home locations, so hours of transportation, staff time, and student class time are wasted as children are bussed to their home agencies for ongoing treatment. The Indian Health Service clinic is a one-hour drive away and difficult to access in winter weather. Children's Health Insurance Programs have been difficult to deal with, as they will not fill prescriptions out of state. Therapeutic Residential Model funds were tapped in the first year of funding for \$75,000 in medical care which did not seem to be covered under this system. A major pharmaceutical company has been supplying free doses of its medications to the school.

Academic Program

The majority of students attend school in classrooms with both a teacher and an inclusion technician. According to the organizational charts provided in 2004, there were 12 teachers in the regular program, 11 special education teachers, a music teacher, and an art tutor. In addition to regular classrooms, 3 teachers operated resource rooms, and 2 teachers ran self-contained classroom programs. The site had a high number of students receiving special education services (SPED). The profile of SPED students, however, was unusual at this site when compared with a comparable population at L1 shown in Figure 3. Ninety-eight of the 128 students receiving a SPED designation at the L3 site in SY 2003-2004 were qualified for funding based on diagnoses of serious emotional disturbance compared with a negligible number at the L1 site, which exercises great caution in psychiatric labeling of its students. It appears that if the serious emotional disturbance diagnosis were excluded, only 12% of the students at this site may have been classified as SPED.



Gifted and talented. High-functioning students receive an enriched program which is served by a coordinator and a number of consultants and coaches, including a speech coach, piano teacher, Tae Kwon Do instructor, academic and chess coach, art tutor, poetry advisor, photography advisor, and several music teachers. An impressive undertaking done in the area of photography is the yearly taking of "glamour" pictures of all students and creation of biographies which are published and mounted on walls of the school and cafeteria. A number of L3 students are competing on the national level in chess tournaments. The gifted and talented program was run by the acting principal in year two and three, assisted by two library technicians and a program assistant. This program conformed with the positive approach of Developmental Assets in that it had a strong belief in the potential talent of all children and an emphasis on finding an area in which each student can find success. As these activities were limited to school hours, however, gifted and talented students were regularly pulled out of other classes to engage in activities designed to nurture those talents.

Extended Learning Opportunities. Extended Learning Opportunity (ELO), a program serving special education students during SY 2002-2003, was cut back from 10 staff to 1 paraprofessional in SY 2003-2004. According to the SY 2002-2003 student handbook this program, operating from 6:30 – 8 p.m., provided study hall, organized sports, fitness/wellness, group games, etiquette, culture art, cooking, and leather crafts. Observations of this program during its existence in 2002-2003 found little directed activity in the ELO room.

Resource rooms. There were three resource rooms for special education students who could not operate in some of the class periods. Students were brought in for one or more class periods to be assisted by a special education teacher and a resource room technician.

Speech/language. Special education students have the services of a speech therapist and a speech technician while the mainstream program provides a bilingual supervisor and two bilingual advisors.

Science. A number of students are involved in projects for the science fair. The science teacher had shown initiative by writing a successful proposal which included the school in the NASA Explorer program for three years.

Math. The gifted and talented program continues to supply the STAR Math computer program which is used by both gifted and talented students and other students. The program coordinator indicated that use of gifted and talented resources by other students proved helpful in identifying the potential of students who had not been identified at the beginning of the year.

Career development. Some students are taking courses at a local Vo-Tech school. Eighth graders go on a field trip to a high school that many will eventually attend. In addition, students are taken on a spring tour of the departments of a state technical college, which is adjacent to the campus.

Saturday school. During the course of funding, the state in which the school is located implemented a policy of not letting students be promoted if they missed more than two weeks of classes in a semester. Because many of the L3 students are on suspension or leave for periods of time that exceed this limit, in year two of funding a Saturday school was created, attended by students who needed to make up classroom hours to qualify for promotion. Teachers complained

that this did not address the problem in areas such as math where significant building blocks had been missed during the absence of the student, and noted that Saturday school students were often seen in the gymnasium and watching videos during their makeup time.

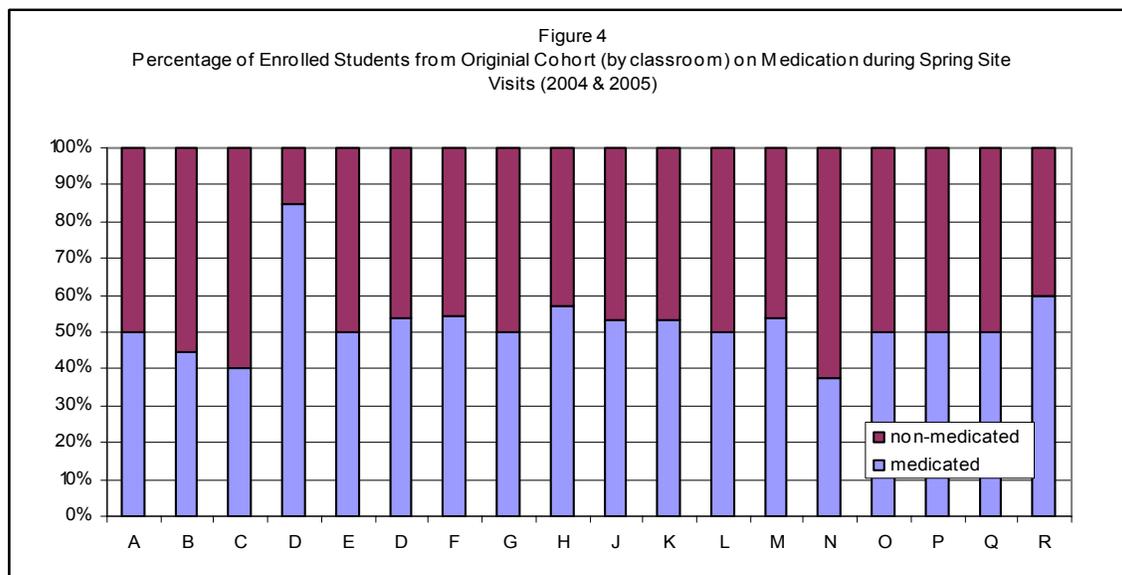
Responsible Thinking Classroom. Two staff, a Responsible Thinking Classroom (RTC) teacher and a technical assistant, oversaw a classroom into which students were to be placed when they were disruptive in their regular class and required individual attention to refocus. According to the handbook, "the student and RTC staff work on making choices and accepting responsibility for his/her actions." Observations indicated that this program element is operating much like an in-school detention/study hall room. Concerns were expressed to the evaluator by staff that some teachers appeared to be routinely sending certain students to this room to avoid dealing with their behaviors in the classroom. The evaluator identified several students who were observed to be in the RTC on a regular basis. Interviews with these students indicated that they had given up on being accepted by their teachers, and saw themselves as exerting mastery by getting the teacher to send them to the RTC.

Therapeutic classroom. In the first year of TRM funding, students in the Social Skills Center (SSC) program were removed from class for the duration of their involvement, performing class assignments in the social skills classroom. In the second year of TRM, the majority of students in SSC received their social skills training outside classroom hours. This allowed them to continue to attend classes during the day with their peers. A small group of students continued to be routed to a therapeutic classroom located in the TD, in which an experienced teacher showed success in helping them devise strategies to cope in the regular classroom. There has been difficulty in transferring these strategies to the classroom. In one case the therapeutic teacher and student found a solution that worked for him – the student was allowed to step to the back of the room and do pushups when he found himself too "hyper" to work. Upon his return to the regular classroom, he was not allowed to use this technique for expending energy, however, and the strategy was condemned by a staff mental health professional who termed it "child abuse."

Teacher Assistance Team meetings. Students were referred to programs after being discussed in weekly Teacher Assistance Team meetings. These meetings included several dozen adults, some of whom did not appear to have a need to know the students' confidential information. The evaluator observed several such meetings, which included teachers other than those involved with the child, inclusion aides, special education staff, Intensive Residential Guidance staff, program representatives, and administrators. Referrals for services from a menu of 37 options appeared to be somewhat haphazardly generated. The first year evaluation report raised concerns about the lack of confidentiality and the depersonalized decision-making that appeared to be taking place. Dormitory staff expressed frustration at not being included in these meetings, which were held after school for the convenience of teachers, and thus occurred at a time when residential staff were too occupied with children to attend. In the second year of TRM funding this situation was addressed in several ways. Teacher Assistance Team meetings were smaller, excluding extraneous people, and case managers were able to provide residential liaison and some advocacy for children.

Classroom management. A behaviorist model is operative across the classrooms. Behavior of each student is scored at the end of each class period. Each teacher establishes a reward system and has an allowance for candy and other rewards to provide to students. There is some evidence that teachers need more training in class management skills. Some teachers

disproportionately refer students to the psychiatrist for medication or routinely have them removed to either the RTC or therapeutic classroom. Because many students stay in residence for too short a period of time to be referred to the mental health system, the status of students remaining in March from the original cohort was examined to investigate staff reports that some teachers relied heavily on psychiatric referrals. In Figure 4, each column represents students in a specific classroom/homeroom assigned to a teacher for the year. All classrooms (grades 5 and 6) and homerooms (grades 7 and 8) are included in this figure. The light gray area of each column shows the percentage of students from the original cohort for whom medication had been prescribed during the year.



The fourth column (D) shows a classroom in which 84.6% of the students from the original cohort were medicated. This was more than double that of some other classrooms at this grade level. That there is this type of variation between medication of students in two different classrooms indicates that the teacher may be a major causal link in determining whether students are being sent to the psychiatrist to be medicated.

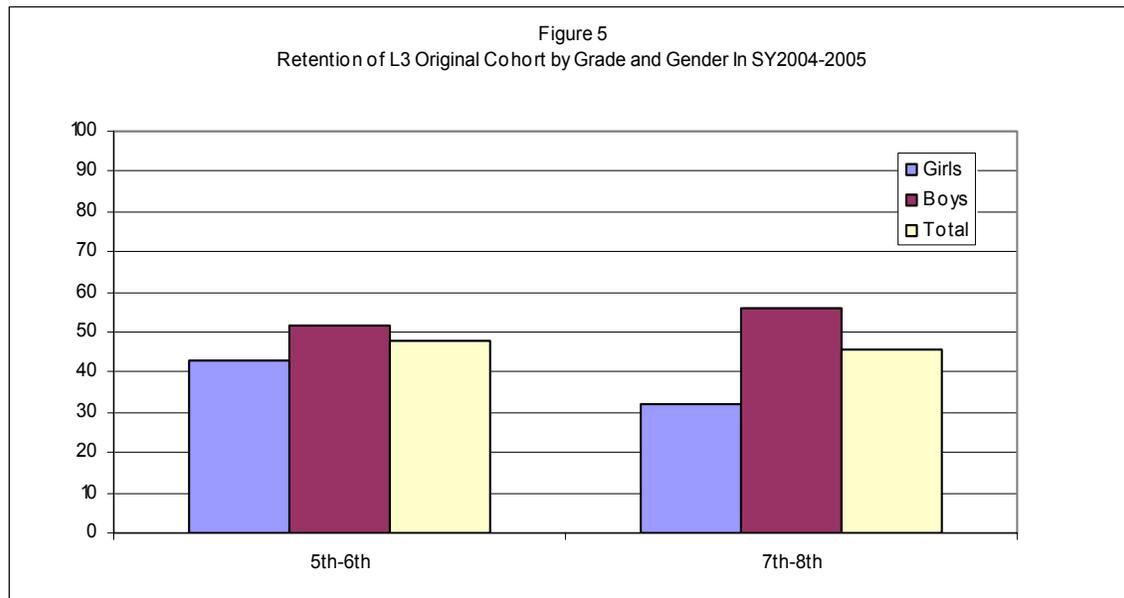
Outcomes

Outcome data tracked a number of indicators. Retention and return rates were considered the major indicators of a successful program. In addition, data were examined to evaluate key indicators associated with developmental success: school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

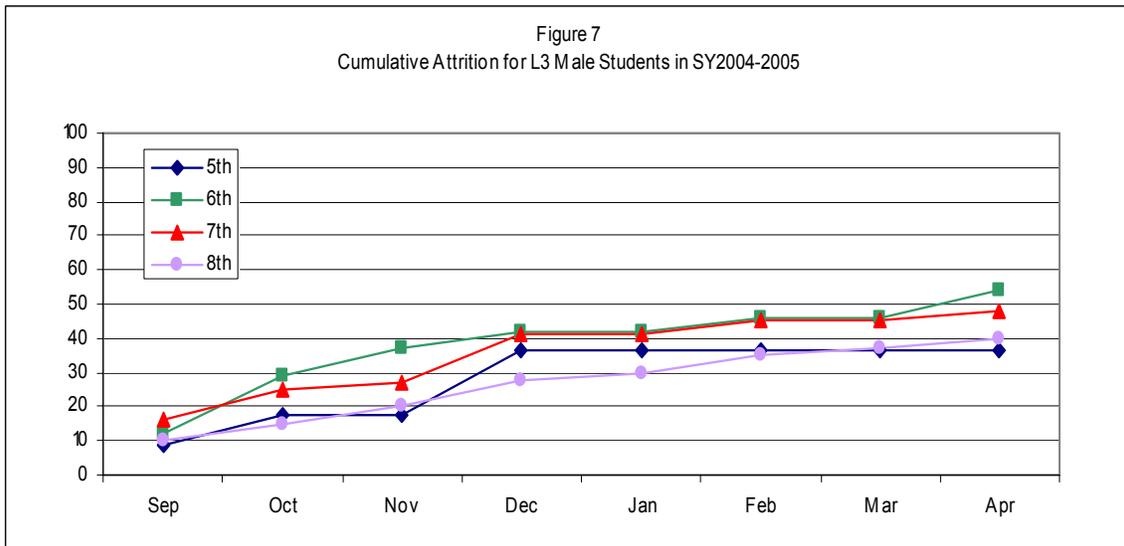
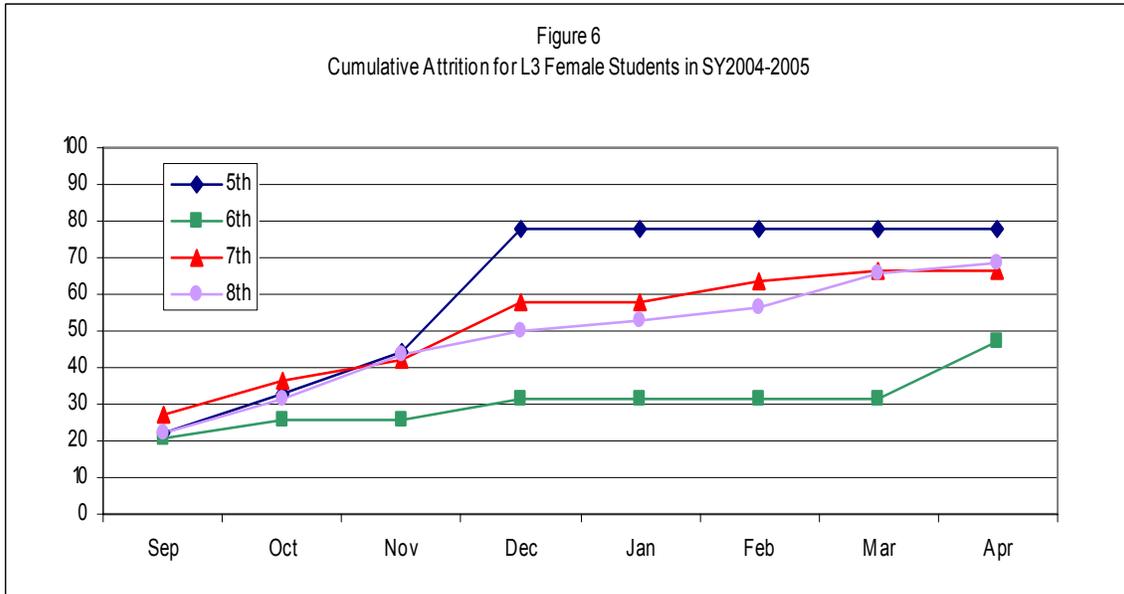
Major Indicators: Retention/Return Rate

Retention. In the past this site has calculated retention based on a head count at the beginning and end of the school year. This did not take into account whether or not the heads were the same at both time points. Traditionally this has been the method of calculating retention in boarding schools for purposes of allocating funds, and has led to the practice in sites

such as this one of bringing in replacement students mid-year from a waiting list. In a typical year, SY 2004-2005, 38 new students and 10 students who had transferred out of the school earlier that year, were enrolled after September, the majority of them arriving in 2005. The influx of these students, who have often failed to adapt to a previous school, is generally disruptive to continuing students. The method of tracking retention used in this study was to examine outcomes for all individuals enrolling in the school up through the first count week. As a number of students labeled as being promoted left a number of weeks or in some cases, months prior to the end of school, all students who remained at the school through May 1 were considered to have been retained. Using this criteria, overall retention of this initial cohort was calculated to be 48.5% in SY 2002-2003, 49.8% in SY 2003-2004, and 46.2% in SY 2004-2005. There was no significant improvement in retention during the course of the study. Figure 5 shows retention by gender and grade. Analyses found the retention rate significantly higher for males than for females ($\chi^2 = 7.71, p < .01$).



Given this difference in the retention rate between the genders in the older age group, interpretation of findings from comparisons of fall and spring data must be treated with caution. To further explore these gender and grade differences, Figures 6 and 7 look at attrition over the months of SY 2004-2005, dividing students by gender and grade.

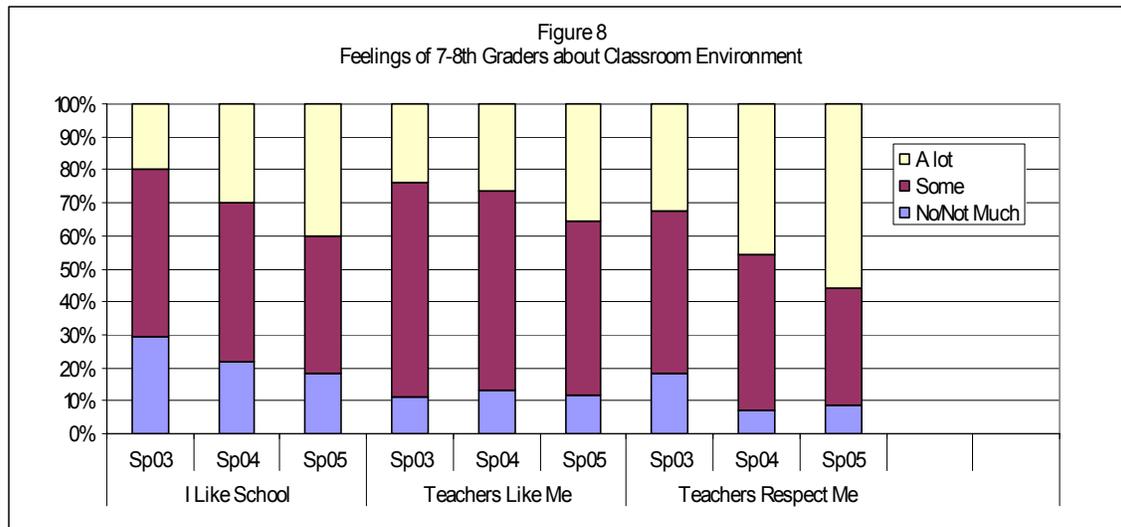


The gender differential may be related to the high rate of incidents of assault and harassment (previously noted) occurring at this site.

The percentage of students at each grade level who are returning from the previous year was analyzed in fall 2004. All fifth graders were new, as that grade was the entry level for the school. The percentage of returning students in sixth grade was 30.2%; in seventh grade, 32%; and in eighth grade, 52.8%.

School Bonding

Outcomes on school bonding looked at items from the American Drug and Alcohol Survey in which students were asked about their feelings regarding school and their teachers (Figure 8). After the addition of case managers who acted as advocates for the students with their teachers, there appeared to be an increase in the percentage of students who reported that they liked school and that they felt liked and respected by their teachers. The loss of one-half the original student body during the course of the year and the replacement of a number of them by students brought in during the second semester does impact this statistic; however, the analysis is cross sectional and there is no indication that this pattern of loss and replacement differed at the three time points.



Peer and Social Bonding

Many of the students at L3 come from extended families and from communities with many traditional social and spiritual ties. In interviews, students said they missed their families and communities. Some students complained that they missed attending their traditional religious services, such as Native American Church, which they said they were not able to attend at L3. The Jessor alienation items on the student survey were used to look at several aspects of student’s sense of belonging and alienation, while BarOn Interpersonal Scale scores were used as indicators for social skills. Gang involvement and illegal substance use were also examined.

Inclusion in peer group. Students were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the Jessor item “I often feel left out of things that other kids are doing.” A cross-sectional comparison of spring 2003 with 2004 found a significant reduction, from 38% in spring 2003 to 24% in spring 2004 in students agreeing with this statement ($\chi^2 = 5.10, p = .024$). It was hypothesized that the result indicated some support for the hypothesis that the improvement on this measure was related to the addition of case managers. However, spring 2005 showed a rebound to 39%. While this figure speaks to the overall social climate, the analysis also looked at

responses of students present in both fall 2004 and spring 2005. A comparison of pre- and posttest scores for students present in fall 2004 and spring 2005 found no significant change on this measure between fall and spring means.

Social responsibility. Students were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the Jessor item "It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems." There was little variation on the percentage of students who agreed with this statement. In spring 2003, 30% agreed; in spring 2004, 32% agreed; in spring 2005, 33% agreed. A comparison of pre- and posttest scores for students present in fall 2004 and spring 2005 found no significant change on this measure between fall and spring means.

Consistency/predictability of the social environment. A major concern of staff (Figure 2) was the lack of consistency with which students were treated in both the dormitory and the classroom. While there appeared to be some perception of improvement (an effect possibly due to administration pressure on staff taking the survey in outcome years), over two-thirds of staff indicated that inconsistency to some degree was a continuing problem. Student responses on the Jessor item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect" indicated that over one-half of the students at each spring time point experience a reality in which others are unpredictable. In spring 2004, compared with spring 2003, there appeared to be a reduction on this measure; 61% of students agreed with this statement in spring 2003, but only 42% agreed in spring 2004 ($\chi^2 = 8.72, p = .003$). Introduction of the case managers to advocate for students and help them to interpret the relationship of their behavior to their environment was hypothesized to have contributed to this improvement. In spring 2005, however, the percentage of agreement was back up to 64%. As identifiable data had been collected in SY 2004-2005 on this item, fall 2004 and spring 2005 responses were compared for students present at both time points. A paired *t*-test showed mean level of agreement with this alienation item actually increased significantly during the course of the year ($p = .014$) for surviving students, indicating that the environment may have worsened alienation on this vector.

Interpersonal scale. The percentage of students whose low scores on the BarOn Interpersonal scale indicated they were in need of assistance in this area showed little change over time. At the baseline in spring 2003, 47% of students scored in this range. In spring 2004, 56% and in spring 2005, 51% of scores were in this range. No consistent pattern is evident, indicating little if any change on this measure.

Table 7 shows results of group comparisons on scores on the BarOn Interpersonal scale. In the only group where there was a significant difference in comparison of fall and spring means of survivors (Boys aged 13-16, in SY 2003-2004), the change was in a negative direction. Increasing influence of gang leaders and the absence of positive peer leaders in this group may account for this decline over time. Comparison of survivors and non-survivors in this subgroup of boys aged 13-16 indicated that non-survivors had lower initial fall scores than survivors.

Table 7
Interpersonal Score T-test Comparisons of Means

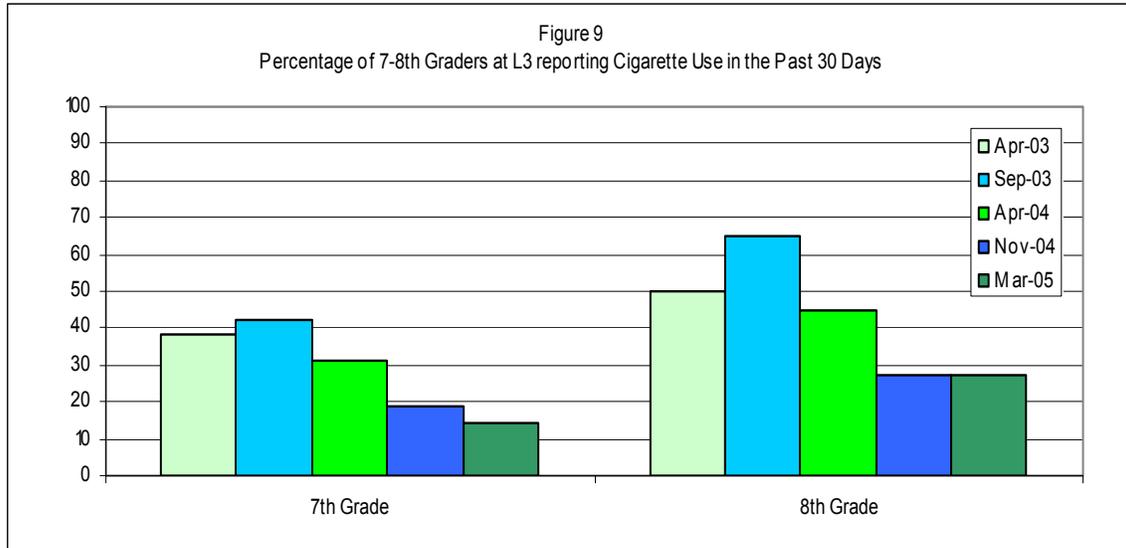
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	t	df	p
Boys aged 10-12	16.42 (2.91)	17.89 (2.58)	1.561	18	.136
Boys aged 13-16	17.17 (3.07)	16.02 (2.98)	2.20	40	.034
Girls aged 10-12	19.80 (2.39)	19.80 (2.30)	.000	9	1.000
Girls aged 13-16	18.04 (2.52)	18.76 (3.28)	1.214	24	.237
Overall Means	17.53 (2/96)	17.52 (3.21)	.030	94	.976
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	t	df	p
Overall Means	17.03 (3.36)	17.38 (3.32)	.800	75	.427
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	t	df	p
Boys aged 10-12	17.28 (3.01)	16.92 (3.83)	.373	49	.711
Boys aged 13-16	16.54 (3.04)	14.58 (2.99)	2.18	45	.034
Girls aged 10-12	19.47 (2.35)	17.94 (3.84)	1.427	33	.169
Girls aged 13-16	17.67 (2.54)	17.90 (3.34)	.250	45	.804

Gang membership. Table 8 shows responses at each survey time point to questions about gang involvement. There was a significant increase during SY 2003-2004 in percentage of students who claimed to either be gang members or to hang around with them (25.4% in fall to 43.0% in the spring; $\chi^2 = 6.41$, $p = .011$). While fall 2002 numbers were not available for comparison purposes, it appears that spring 2003 percentages are similar to spring 2004 numbers, with 42.9% of students in spring 2003 claiming either to be gang members or to hang around with them. As fall 2004 data were not collected until November 2004, after one-quarter of the students had left, it represents a mid-year data point. There are several possible explanations for this trend. It may be due to successful recruitment efforts by negative peer leaders who are unopposed by positive peer leaders who are segregated in the honor dorm. An alternate explanation would be a possible higher dropout rate among students who are not members of gangs, or a higher percentage of gang members among replacement students brought in mid year.

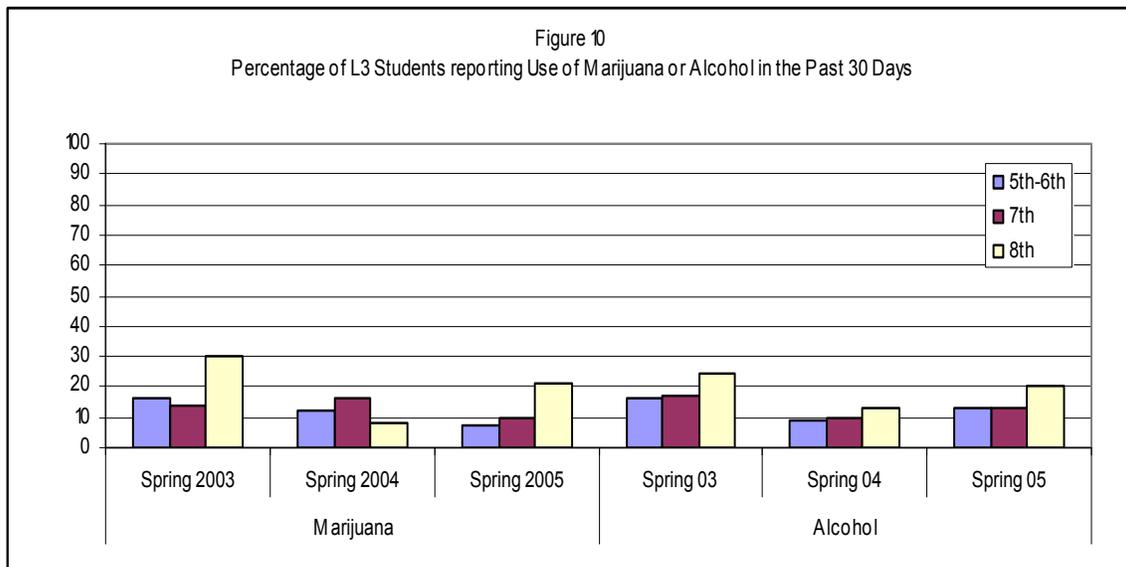
Table 8
Gang Involvement of 7th and 8th Grade Students

	Current gang member	Hang out with a gang	Expect to join	Former Member	No, will never join a gang
April 2003	14.3%	28.6%	3.2%	9.5%	44.4%
Sept. 2003	11.2%	14.2%	2.8%	14.2%	57.5%
April 2004	17.7%	25.3%	2.5%	8.9%	45.6%
Nov. 2004	11.4%	24.0%	1.3%	13.9%	49.5%
March 2005	13.6%	27.3%	9.1%	11.4%	38.6%

Drug and alcohol use. Baseline data were collected using the Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey. Figures 9 and 10 show results for spring surveys. While cigarette use appears to be decreasing, that rate may be influenced by the fact that data collection for spring 2005 took place in March rather than in April as had been done in previous years.



Marijuana and alcohol use tend to be relatively low at this site, although spring 2005 saw a spike in eighth grade use of marijuana (Figure 10).



Adaptability and Stress Management

Adaptability. Items on this scale indicate the confidence of the individual that he or she can handle challenges. The cross-sectional percentage of students scoring low to markedly low on this measure trended slightly downward ($\chi^2 = 3.51, p < .07$) between the baseline of spring 2003 (60%) and spring 2004 (48%), remaining at that level in spring 2005 (48%).

T-tests showed no significant gains or losses on this measure (Table 9) for individual students. Analyses of fall scores for survivors and non-survivors indicated the two groups were similar on this measure.

Table 9
Adaptability Score: *T*-test Comparisons of Means

Survivor Paired <i>T</i> -tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	15.84 (3.85)	17.26 (3.59)	1.687	18	.109
Boys aged 13-16	15.20 (3.23)	15.46 (2.93)	.480	40	.634
Girls aged 10-12	17.20 (2.25)	16.80 (4.13)	.418	9	.686
Girls aged 13-16	15.08 (3.21)	15.40 (3.58)	.447	24	.659
Overall Means	15.51 (3.29)	15.95 (3.41)	1.221	94	.225
Survivor Paired <i>T</i> -tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Overall Means	15.29 (3.71)	15.60 (4.27)	.748	75	.457
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor <i>T</i> -tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	16.38 (3.39)	16.95 (3.31)	.589	49	.559
Boys aged 13-16	14.29 (3.15)	13.68 (3.11)	.646	45	.522
Girls aged 10-12	16.29 (3.12)	14.56 (3.47)	1.556	33	.129
Girls aged 13-16	15.11 (3.05)	14.12 (3.93)	.912	45	.367

Stress management. The percentage of students whose scores on the BarOn Stress Management scale indicated they were in need of assistance in this area showed little change over time. At the baseline in spring 2003, 41% of students scored in this range. In spring 2004, 35% and in spring 2005, 34% of scores were in this range.

Paired *t*-tests showed no significant gains or losses on this measure (Table 10) when fall and spring scores were compared for students present in both fall and spring. Comparison of fall scores for students who did and did not survive till the end of the school year found no significant differences on this measure.

Table 10
Stress Management Score: T-test Comparisons of Means

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	15.58 (3.75)	16.32 (3.76)	.767	18	.453
Boys aged 13-16	14.51 (4.82)	14.76 (4.91)	.325	40	.747
Girls aged 10-12	16.30 (3.77)	16.10 (4.63)	.117	9	.909
Girls aged 13-16	15.48 (3.24)	15.72 (4.27)	.331	24	.743
Overall Means	15.17 (4.12)	15.46 (4.48)	.652	94	.516
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Overall Means	16.18 (3.56)	15.55 (3.94)	1.522	75	.132
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	15.22 (4.55)	15.21 (4.63)	.006	49	.995
Boys aged 13-16	14.43 (4.49)	15.89 (3.97)	1.15	45	.256
Girls aged 10-12	15.35 (3.87)	14.56 (4.25)	.579	33	.566
Girls aged 13-16	16.06 (2.88)	15.14 (3.87)	.867	45	.391

Identity and Meaning

Identity. The Jessor Alienation item "I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am" was used as an indicator of identity. In spring 2003, 35% of students agreed with this item; in spring 2004, 37% agreed; in spring 2005, 42% agreed. There was no significant difference found when fall 2004 and spring 2005 means were compared for students present at both time points.

Meaning. The Jessor Alienation item "Hardly anything I am doing in my life means very much to me" was used as an indicator of meaning. Some improvement appeared to have taken place in the area of meaning when spring 2003 and 2004 responses were compared. In spring 2003, 45.8% of students agreed that their life lacked meaning; in spring 2004, only 30.6% agreed with this sentiment ($\chi^2 = 5.96, p = .015$). However, the percentage was back up to 40% in 2005, indicating the apparent change may be a function of retention and replacement variance. Pre-post comparison of fall 2004 and spring 2005 means for students present at both time points found no change on this measure.

Intrapersonal scale. Items making up this scale all focus on how easy it is for the individual to talk about his or her feelings. Some improvement appeared to have taken place in the intrapersonal area when spring 2003 and 2004 responses were compared. In spring 2003, 39% of students scored in the low to markedly low range; in spring 2004, only 23% were in this range ($\chi^2 = 8.00, p < .01$). However, the percentage was back up to 39% in spring 2005.

Results of paired sample *t*-tests are shown in Table 11. "Survivor Paired T-tests" match fall and spring scores for individuals present in both fall and spring. While all groups appeared to have a trend toward improvement, overall means showed a significant improvement between fall and spring in 2003-2004. As there was no other change between the two years that would affect this index, it was hypothesized that the addition of case managers may have contributed to this

change. The effect, however, disappeared in SY 2004-2005 comparison. Survivor vs. non-survivor tests on SY 2003-2004 data showed no significant effect of this variable at entry in predicting retention.

Table 11
Intrapersonal Score: T-test Comparisons of Means

Survivor Paired T-tests, 2003-04	Mean (SD), Fall 2003	Mean (SD), Spring 2004	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	13.29 (2.87)	14.84 (2.19)	2.049	18	.055
Boys aged 13-16	12.68 (3.23)	13.40 (3.24)	1.505	40	.140
Girls aged 10-12	14.10 (4.15)	14.30 (2.71)	.198	9	.847
Girls aged 13-16	12.64 (3.90)	14.36 (4.36)	1.733	24	.096
Overall Means	12.94 (3.43)	14.04 (3.36)	2.890	94	.005
Survivor Paired T-tests, 2004-05	Mean (SD), Fall 2004	Mean (SD), Spring 2005	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Overall Means	13.03 (3.44)	13.04 (3.29)	.031	75	.975
Fall 2003 Survivor vs. Non-survivor T-tests	Survivor Mean (SD)	Non-Survivor Mean (SD)	<i>t</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>p</i>
Boys aged 10-12	13.61 (2.71)	14.47 (2.72)	1.099	49	.277
Boys aged 13-16	12.04 (3.36)	12.89 (2.77)	.921	45	.362
Girls aged 10-12	13.24 (3.93)	13.44 (4.25)	.151	33	.881
Girls aged 13-16	12.89 (4.11)	12.67 (4.32)	.170	45	.866

Academic Outcomes

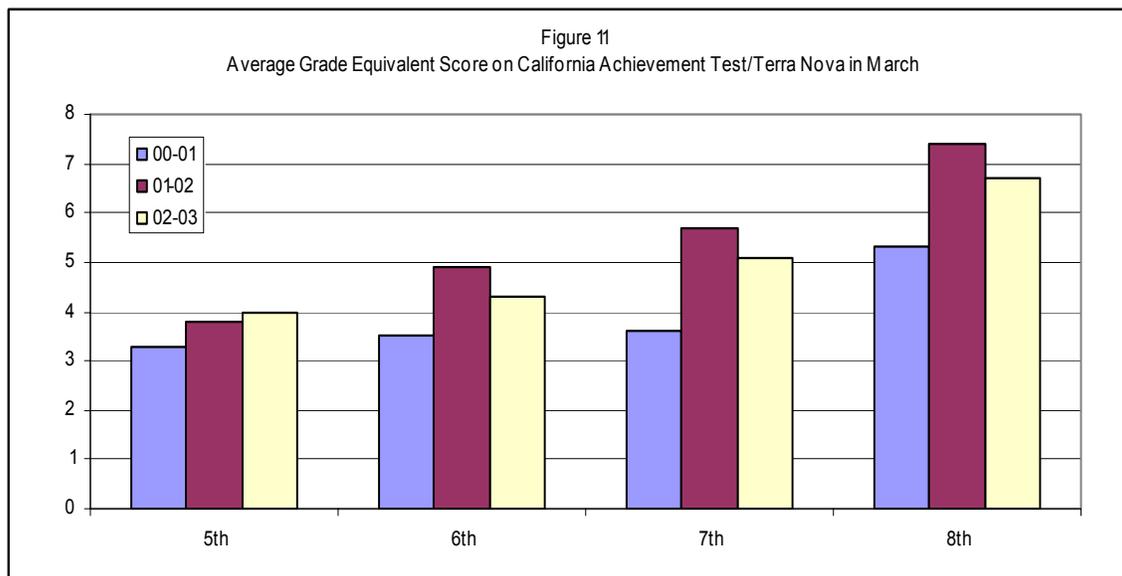
It is difficult to assess academic outcomes at this site, due to the low rate of retention and the practice of replacing students mid-year. In the third year of funding this situation was complicated further, when the state set new requirements for proficiency testing. Testing was scheduled for November and was to be applied only to returning students, criteria which severely limited the size of the subject pool.

In the school year prior to TRM funding (2000-2001), only 4.84% of L3 students were proficient or advanced in language arts, and only 4.84% were proficient or advanced in mathematics. In SY 2001-2002, these percentages took a quantum leap upward to 64.36% proficient or advanced in language and 59.41% proficient or advanced in mathematics (see Table 12). Much of this improvement appeared to be a result of practice tests and teacher coaching. The following year, SY 2002-2003, in which similar preparation was not carried out, test results lost ground in all areas. In SY 2003-2004 practice tests and teacher coaching were reinstated and statistics received from the site again show improvement. It should be noted that statistics in SY 2003-2004 are based on 86 students, a number of whom entered the school late in the school year.

Table 12
L3 Academic Proficiency in All Students in 2001-2004

Area	Partially Proficient			Proficient			Advanced		
	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04
Language Arts	35.6%	43.2%	36.0%	61.4%	52.8%	61.7%	3.0%	4.0%	2.3%
Reading	23.8%	35.2%	34.9%	70.3%	63.2%	62.8%	5.9%	1.6%	2.3%
Math	40.6%	49.6%	41.9%	56.4%	47.2%	55.8%	3.0%	3.2%	2.3%

March scores on the California Achievement Test/Terra Nova done in March of 2001 through 2003 showed an average lag of about one grade level across grades (Figure 11). All students present in March are tested on this instrument. At this point in time, approximately one-half of the original cohort of students had left the school and one-half of those lost had been replaced by students on the waiting list, many of whom arrived in January. While these data are helpful in identifying the level of problems teachers have to face, it is difficult to judge the academic impact of school programs.



In order to assess actual progress of students which could be attributed to the program, scores of students who had been present for testing in consecutive years were assessed. Table 13 shows change between years on absolute Grade Equivalent total scores for reading/language/math. Percentages indicate that 35.7% lost ground (deteriorated or improved by less than one grade level) between 2001 and 2002 and 55.6% lost ground between 2002 and 2003. These results should be treated with caution, however, in light of the number of students who decreased sharply in absolute grade equivalency. Such results indicate possible problems in test administration or data recordation, or may reflect the effect of practice tests and teacher coaching that are known to have taken place in SY 2001-2002 but not in SY 2002-2003. An

alternate hypothesis, interference of emotional and biochemical factors, should be examined given the large percentage of students at this site who are under heavy psychotropic medication.

Table 13
Change in CAT/TN Grade Equivalent Scores for Students Tested in Consecutive Years

	Comparison 2001-02	Comparison 2002-03
No change or decrease	14.3%	36.1%
Increase less than 1 grade level	21.4%	19.4%
Increase 1 to 2 grade levels	28.6%	22.2%
Increase more than grade levels	35.7%	22.2%
N of students	28	36

Pre- and posttest means from classrooms using STAR Math were provided for analysis. Table 14 shows results standardized as grade equivalents and provides the associated grade placement means as time in the program varied. Students are performing well below their grade level in all classes and progress varies by classroom.

Table 14
STAR Math Results

Classroom (N)	Pre-test Grade Placement Mean	Post-test Grade Placement Mean	Pre-test Grade Equivalent Mean	Post-Test Grade Equivalent Mean
9	5.14	5.66	3.4	3.8
12	6.98	7.52	4.3	5.1
7	7.07	7.57	3.8	4.5
12	7.10	7.62	4.3	5.8
13	7.11	7.66	4.2	5.2
7	8.07	8.58	2.0	3.6
2	8.07	8.23	3.1	3.8
13	8.01	8.56	5.3	5.0
14	8.09	8.59	5.1	5.6
15	8.15	8.66	5.7	6.5

Discussion

L3 had a number of strengths. The site had been successful in obtaining funding from a large number of granting agencies, as well as in retaining staff and utilizing continuing education opportunities for their benefit. Many administrative staff had come up through the ranks, and many staff members had gone through the mentorship training program. There was a large pool of qualified mental health professionals among staff and contractors. The site has a strong gifted and talented program, has made advances in nutrition, and does not suffer from a lack of services. With a ratio of at least one adult to each student (due to losses of students, at the time of the first site visit in January 2003 there were 201 staff/contractors to 148 students), students were surrounded by a wealth of services. All children had been assessed and received an Intensive Residential Guidance designation, providing the site with additional funding. The school had been successful in obtaining a number of grants from various sources which allowed it to

develop a plethora of programs serving the needs of these children in many ways. Despite all of these individual assets, the site did not make progress in addressing its retention problems.

The Circle of Courage model is invoked by this site in obtaining funding. Many aspects of the environment, however, did not conform to this philosophy. The first element described by Brendtro et. al (2002, p. 4) was "Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy." Several factors at this site contributed to creation of an environment which was more a depersonalized bureaucracy than a supportive community:

- The number of staff. Gladwell (2000) describes Dunbar's sociological dynamic called the "Rule of 150" as applied to number of people in organizations: Up to this size, he explains,

orders can be implemented and unruly behavior controlled on the basis of personal loyalties and direct man-to-man contacts. With larger groups, this becomes impossible...At a bigger size you have to impose complicated hierarchies and rules and regulations and formal measures to try to command loyalty and cohesion. (p. 180).

This dynamic was clearly seen at this site, exacerbated by an unassertive administration.

- The presence of "professionals" on staff or on contract led to a diffusion of responsibility among staff most in contact with students. Darley and Latane (1968) found that the presence of others to whom responsibility can be delegated leads to less, rather than greater, involvement from individuals observing a situation which should be addressed. This dynamic was operative at this site. Rather than dealing with children person to person, residential staff often delegated responsibility for dealing with students' problems to mental health professionals or the cadre of child protection officers who were regularly called in to physically restrain and incarcerate unruly students. In the academic setting, some teachers also avoided dealing with students, shifting those causing problems to the Responsible Thinking Classroom, Social Skills Center, mental health services, or some other program. Accustomed to rejection in home environments, students got the message here that they were considered dangerous and unstable. While the case managers became a mitigating element, their lack of status compared with "professionals" limited their advocacy role.
- The number of programs. Programs whose funding was picked up by TRM were formatted in response to past RFPs from a variety of public and private funding agencies, resulting in a mishmash of philosophies. There was duplication of services; multiple programs with multiple philosophies offered services which addressed the same needs. The philosophy of the TRM program asked sites to focus on the needs of each child and on changing the environment around that child to strengthen him or her in body, mind, emotions, and spirit. While this site offered a wealth of services, the configuration of services continued to be program-focused rather than individually tailored for each child. In an early evaluation report the site was asked to deal with this problem:

TRM model schools which will be recommended for replication must, in addition to effectiveness, also be viable in terms of cost effectiveness. The program at this site should be streamlined to eliminate costly duplication or overlap of services. There does not seem to have been an evaluation of the efficacy of these services which would allow assessment of which services should be continued. Given the overlap of services, it will take a very structured data-gathering effort to begin to evaluate relative impact of these programs. It is imperative that a system be put in place to evaluate effectiveness of each of the competing programs and to eliminate or merge those which are not cost effective. (DeJong, 2003, p. 30)

Both internal evaluators at the site experienced resistance on the part of programs to allow assessment of impact of services. As these programs tended to be self-perpetuating autonomous units, the site did not develop an overarching TRM philosophy or structure of services that was able to focus on what was best for the children.

- **Philosophies.** The most dominant of the philosophies at this site was a behavior modification philosophy which attempted to mold behavior using drugs and a reinforcement system. A reinforcement system is only effective and supportive if it is consistently applied, and data from both staff and students indicated that discipline was not consistently applied and that expectations were not clear. The Circle of Courage model warns against labeling children as deviant, disturbed, disordered, dysfunctional, or delinquent, and cautions that adults are inclined to blame children to justify failure to deal with them. The extensive use of psychiatric diagnostic labels at this site and the use of physically coercive methods to control children did not give them the message intended by Circle of Courage. Many youth from high-risk environments have fragile self-images as a result of poor role models; exposure to substance abuse; or years of verbal, physical or sexual abuse. Being told that they could not trust their brains and that they needed drugs in order to function also did not support positive self-image. It could be argued that medication should be considered a last resort for children at this developmental stage and with personal or family histories of drug or alcohol abuse.

A second criterion for the healing environment promoted by Circle of Courage is "Meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults." At the end of a school year, students' agreement with the item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect," had increased rather than decreased. The majority of staff agreed that "discipline is inconsistent; not all students are treated equally." A major problem identified by the BarOn was the students' lack of self-confidence in their ability to deal with situations (adaptability). The children in this system were there largely as a result of instability in their home situations, and often had a history which reinforced feelings of helplessness and lack of mastery. Several components of the current system may reinforce rather than address the problems:

- **Observations,** student alienation data, and staff survey results suggest there existed at this site an inconsistent behavioral modification environment where students were confronted with different sets of criteria for rewards and punishments which varied

across the staff members to whom they relate. A consistently applied program of rewards which is fairly administered, is based upon children's performance, and takes into account their background and stage of development would promote feelings of mastery in students. This, however, is not the case here. In this environment, children were faced with many adults who had created their own reward structures and had the power to change their living arrangements, and to incarcerate, physically restrain, or medicate them. Dealing with a large number of adults who are acting based on their own agendas or according to their own idiosyncratic standards fostered learned helplessness rather than a sense of mastery.

- Because of the philosophy of the site and the outnumbering of students by staff, the primary adult-child relationships were unstable and unilateral. At-risk students at this site come from environments where they have experienced unstable family situations and feelings of helplessness in dealing with situations beyond their control. In these environments they often learn that they are of little worth. To be reclaimed, they needed to learn to trust and value themselves. The lack of a stable relationship with a caring adult made this development particularly difficult.
- While psychotropic drugs can be of enormous benefit to mentally ill individuals when properly applied, the use of drugs with those who are often children of substance abusers may communicate that they cannot control or trust themselves, and that drugs are the answer to all of their problems. Rather than building internal mastery, children can come to rely on medication as a crutch. When diagnoses are determined before the child has a chance to adjust to life in the dorm, it can contribute to disempowerment rather than foster mastery.
- The site did not foster the development of mutual peer relationships, skills key to future success in career, social, and personal relationships. Incoming children, whose social skills were in many cases not highly developed and whose radars for threat were easily activated, were placed in a system in which they spent a great deal of unstructured time with peers from different communities in an environment in which lack of monitoring resulted in a rate of approximately three assaults per day. With the frequent movement of students from one housing situation to another and the constant loss of students transferring out of the system, students were given little opportunity to develop mutual relationships - friendships with other students - which involved equal power, respect, and compromise. Many students thus failed to develop a strong network of social support, and this came at a developmental time (pre- and early adolescence) when close friendships are particularly important to social-emotional development (Sullivan, 1953).
- Systems at L3 were designed for the convenience of adults. The insistence of many staff upon working convenient regular business hours created the paradoxical situation where nearly all services and structure existed during the hours when students were supposed to be focused on academics, whereas the lack of staff coverage during evening and weekend hours created the dangerous condition of bored, poorly supervised students with unstructured time on their hands.

A third Circle of Courage environmental criterion was "Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behavior." Development of such interpersonal skills is critical for future success in the workplace and in adult relationships.

While youth have little control of positive outcomes at this site, they have a great deal of control over negative outcomes. The evaluation report at the end of the first TRM year expressed concerns over the instability created by the disciplinary system and its negative effect on the development of life skills:

There is some indication that the system is strongly oriented toward dealing with negative behaviors. Staff surveys indicate that some staff are quicker to hand out demerits and report infractions than to display concern and care for the children. Staff report that so many students are on restriction for infractions that a large number cannot participate in after-school and weekend activities. Enforcement also adds a degree of instability to the life of the children, as their living situation can be changed abruptly as a result of their infractions. Admission to the honor dorm is based not on grades, but upon not having behavioral infractions which are in the hands of adults to determine. Students are moved abruptly between honor dorm, regular dorm and behavioral center dorms, which may have a disruptive affect on their already fragile sense of security and retard their development of peer relationships (DeJong, 2003, p. 19).

While discipline was clearly present, there was also a reluctance of staff to set standards in other areas, as well as an attitude of permissiveness. Lacking structure, students on this campus acted older than their age, wearing heavy makeup and watching movies, listening to music, and playing video games emphasizing inappropriate sexual or antisocial behavior, which would not be allowed at other sites. Such behavior was permitted or condoned by staff who may have contributed to the problem by scheduling weekly dances.

Finally, a fourth Circle of Courage criterion was "Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults." Segregation of the positive peer leaders from peers who need their leadership deprived them of the empowering opportunity to help and lead others. While they were segregated to "protect them" they were also given the message that they did not have the strength to operate in the general milieu. Children's success in moving through social development stages is critically dependent in early adolescence upon working out stable relationships with pro-social peers. Such relationships, based on mutual reciprocity and co-construction, prepare adolescents to act as adults in future relationships. The L3 system appeared to be ignoring this very important need in its programming, treating students as individual isolated entities in unilateral relationships with adults. Several elements may need to be rethought. First of all, children are not given the time to develop relationships with roommates if they are being moved up or down in the pecking order of honor dorm, regular dorm, and behavioral center. Secondly, the anomie resulting from such disruption can damage children's emotional stability and sabotage their social development. A third implication is the effect of segregating the best students from the overall population, which leaves other students under the influence of negative peer leaders. Evidence on the effects of congregating high-risk early adolescents suggests that once started, risk-taking peer networks may be a causal factor in the worsening of risk-taking behavior (Dishion, Poulin, & Burraston, 2001).

While this site cannot be characterized as a test of the Circle of Courage Model - and in many ways demonstrates its opposite - it does allow exploration of a naturally occurring system which emphasizes a Level 3 (professional/medical) intervention while providing little in the way of lower levels of triage.

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ACADEMIC ENHANCEMENT SITE

Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D., and Stanley R. Holder, M.S.

Abstract: This off-reservation boarding school serves over 600 students in grades 4-12; approximately 85% of the students reside in campus dormitories. After having documented significant improvement on a number of outcomes during a previous High Risk Youth Prevention demonstration grant, the site submitted a Therapeutic Residential Model proposal, requesting funding to continue successful elements developed under the demonstration grant and to expand mental health services. The site received Therapeutic Residential Model funding for school year 2001-2002. Once funds were received, the site chose to shift Therapeutic Residential Model funds to an intensive academic enhancement effort. While not in compliance with the Therapeutic Residential Model initiative and therefore not funded in subsequent years, this site created the opportunity to enhance the research design by providing a naturally occurring placebo condition at a site with extensive cross-sectional data baselines that addressed issues related to current federal educational policies.

Academic Enhancement Site

Located less than a mile from a community of approximately 7,000 residents and surrounded by wooded areas, this off-reservation boarding school serves approximately 600 students in grades 4-12. Approximately 85% of students were housed in campus dormitories. Prior to Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) funding, this school had documented significant improvement over the course of a Center for Substance Abuse Prevention (CSAP/SAMHSA/PHS/DHHS)¹ demonstration grant that began in 1995 and ended in 1999. A precursor to the TRM approach, this demonstration grant brought the concept of a comprehensive, data-driven prevention approach to campus. The school's mode of operation shifted during that half-decade from a focus on crisis management to a proactive approach. Spearheaded by a project director oriented toward a therapeutic approach and supported by reform-minded administrators, the site experimented with a variety of interventions.

This site pioneered the use of paraprofessional counseling technicians as parenting surrogates who provided one-on-one attention, care, and advocacy for students. Several specialized residential settings for short-term placement were piloted. These included a transition dormitory for students whose lack of social skills resulted in behavioral problems, an opportunities dormitory for students in need of academic assistance, and a therapeutic dormitory for students with significant mental health needs. During the period that these CSAP prevention programs were in place, there was a 50% drop in tobacco use, a decrease from 87% to 50% among 7th and 8th graders in marijuana use, an increase in academic proficiency in math from 44% in 1997 to 83% in 2000, and an increase in language proficiency from 41% in 1997 to 86% in 2000.

Recognizing that serious problems remained, this site presented a comprehensive TRM proposal that was accepted and funded for the school year (SY) 2001-2002. This proposal sought to continue and enhance elements developed under CSAP funding, while significantly enhancing the mental health resources and other comprehensive services for students. In the gap between the proposal submission and receipt of funding, however, the No Child Left Behind initiative came into being. When TRM funds were received, the school administration chose to shift the majority of that funding to academic enhancement activities. Evaluation efforts documented this effort and the outcomes associated with it, thus providing a naturally occurring alternate treatment group for comparison purposes. After the first year of funding, the Office of Indian Education Programs decided to eliminate the site from the TRM program because its proposed therapeutic approach had not been implemented. However, data from this site were valuable for comparison purposes. Among other advantages, this site had 5 years of data documenting its evolution as a precursor to the TRM. When the data were analyzed for the year of TRM funding, the site showed little change in the outcome indicators. Results from this site underscore the importance of administration commitment, the necessity for oversight, and the need for a multidimensional TRM approach.

Student Characteristics

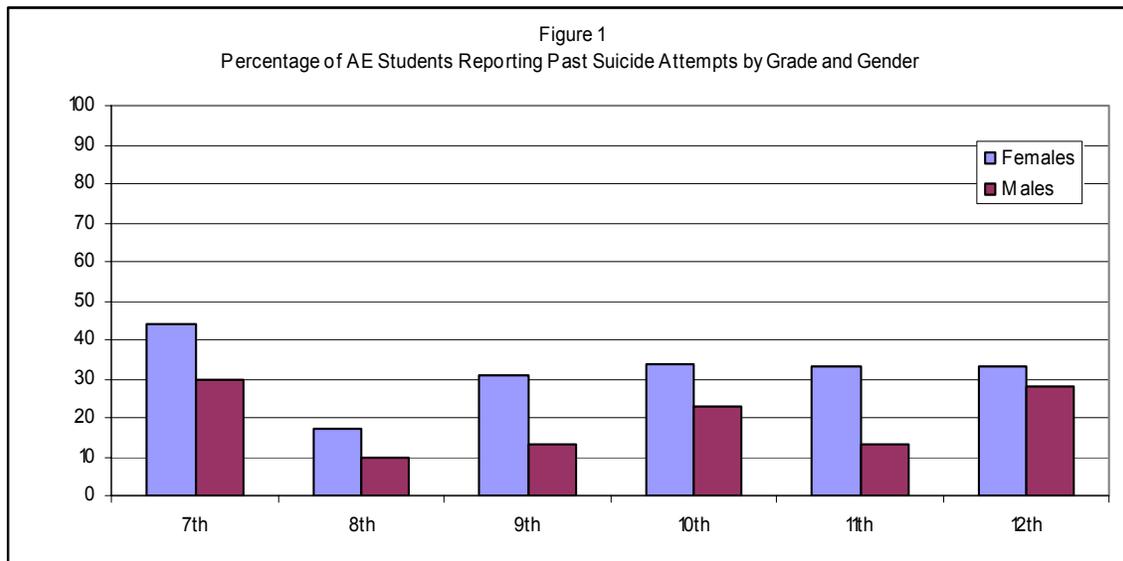
Life Stressors. Table 1 shows responses of Academic Enhancement site (AE) students on the Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS), administered anonymously in fall 2001. It is clear that many incoming students had experienced school failure and been exposed to violence as either perpetrators or victims.

Table 1
History of Incoming Students in Fall 2001 –
Anonymous ADAS Self Reports

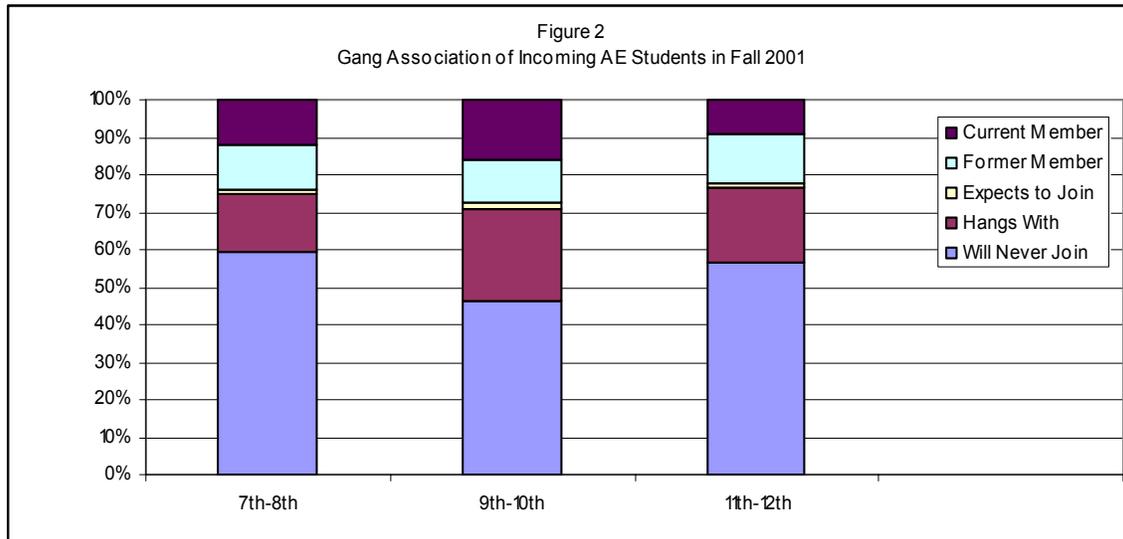
Item	7 th -8 th Grade (N=105)*	9 th -10 th Grade (N=202)*	11 th -12 th Grade (N=154)*
History of Antisocial Activity			
- Have been arrested	25%	50%	41%
- Have robbed someone	17%	22%	25%
- Have beaten up somebody	74%	74%	64%
-Have hurt someone using club/chain/ knife/gun	16%	25%	19%
School Failure			
- Have flunked a grade	47%	60%	51%
- Have been expelled from school	22%	28%	31%
Victimization			
- Have been beaten up by peer	22%	28%	19%
- Have been beaten up by someone not of same age	39%	40%	38%
- Been hurt with a club/knife/gun	21%	27%	26%
- Been robbed	15%	15%	13%

*Not all students responded to all items. Percentages are based on number of students responding yes or no.

Suicidal Tendencies. In 1999, the Johnson Student View was administered anonymously to grades 7-12 using a paper-and-pencil format. As can be seen in Figure 1, at each grade level girls were more likely than boys to report having attempted suicide. Overall, 29% of students reported having attempted suicide.



Gang Involvement. Students were asked in fall 2001 surveys about their gang involvement. Figure 2 shows the percentage of students choosing each option to describe their level of involvement.



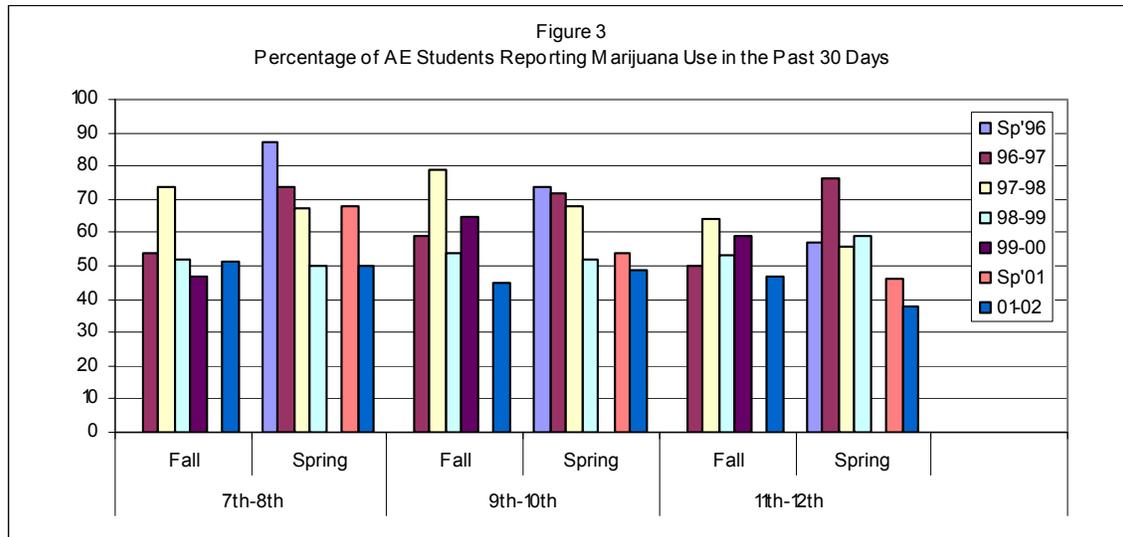
Alienation. Using the short form of the Jessor Alienation Scale (Jessor, Donovan, & Costa Frances, 1992), baseline measures of alienation were taken in fall 2001 at the beginning of the year of funding (Table 2).

Table 2
Percentage of Students Agreeing with Jessor Items in Fall 2001

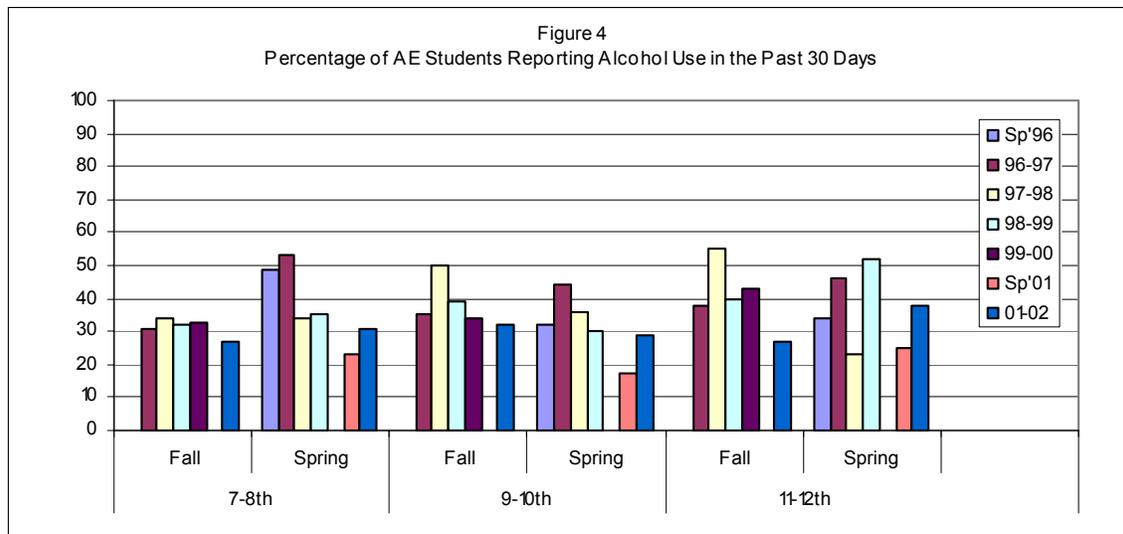
Jessor Item	7 th -8 th Grade	9 th -10 th Grade	11 th -12 th Grade
Hardly anything I'm doing in my life means very much to me.	41%	33%	26%
I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.	31%	28%	27%
It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems.	40%	23%	27%
It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect.	60%	51%	48%

Substance Abuse. Data collected on substance use by the CSAP project showed that a long and gritty war with substance use had taken place on campus in the years preceding TRM funding. Figures 3-5 show drug use in the previous 30 days at AE for spring and fall data points. Marijuana was the drug of choice at this site. Baseline data collected in spring 1996 showed that 87% of the 7th and 8th graders reported using marijuana in the past 30 days. In the year following implementation (SY 1996-1997), fall and spring data showed an *increase during the course of the school year* in the number of students using marijuana. However, the tide turned in SY 1997-1998 when marijuana use decreased between fall and spring. By spring 1999, at the

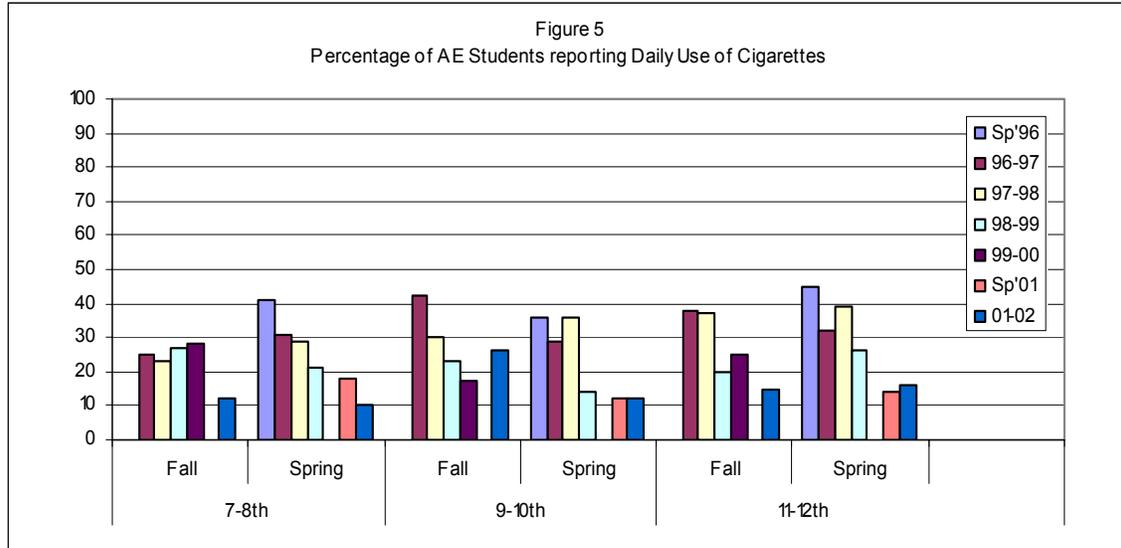
end of the CSAP data collection, cross-sectional data showed that the percentage of 7th and 8th graders using marijuana in the past thirty days had fallen to 50%; for 9th and 10th graders it had fallen from 74% to 52%, and for 11th and 12th graders it had fallen from 76% to 59%.



The pattern of alcohol use shown in Figure 4 is similar to that of marijuana use. The number of users increased between fall and spring for SY 1996-1997, indicating that students were being inducted into both marijuana and alcohol use during the year. However, the numbers for all age groups decreased during subsequent school years.



Plagued by an employee union that insisted on the right of staff members to smoke inside school buildings, the CSAP prevention program struggled to reduce cigarette use by students (Figure 5). In SY 1997-1998, a new reform-minded superintendent forced staff to leave the campus boundaries in order to smoke., Figure 5 shows a decrease in tobacco among the students after enforcement of this policy.



BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory. The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory focuses on a number of areas necessary for successful functioning in the world, including intrapersonal skills (having to do with inner knowledge and inner balance), interpersonal skills, ability to manage stress, and adaptability (reflecting confidence in ability to deal with situations that arise around oneself). Table 3 shows the percentage of incoming students aged 10-19 scoring in the range of low to markedly low on BarOn scales in fall 2001. While generally within the normal curve on the Intrapersonal and Stress Management scales, the percentage of students scoring low on the Interpersonal and Adaptability scales indicated that many students lack interpersonal skills and confidence in their ability to handle challenges.

Table 3
Percentage of AE Students Scoring Low to Markedly Low on BarOn Scales

SCALE	Males (n=207)	Females (n=164)
Intrapersonal	28.2%	31.7%
Interpersonal	68.1%	47.0%
Stress Management	14.5%	28.7%
Adaptability	66.7%	52.4%

Site Resources

Facilities and Resource Management

The condition of the facilities ranges from adequate to poor. The majority of buildings on the campus are over sixty years old, well past the date when they should have been replaced. A number of old and beautiful trees shade a campus which is relatively free of trash. There are sidewalks and asphalt roads, but they are in poor condition. Negotiating the campus after a rainstorm is difficult, as mudslides from the "lawn" cover sidewalks with thick, treacherous mud. Potholes on the road circling campus are serious enough to create hazards for walking or driving.

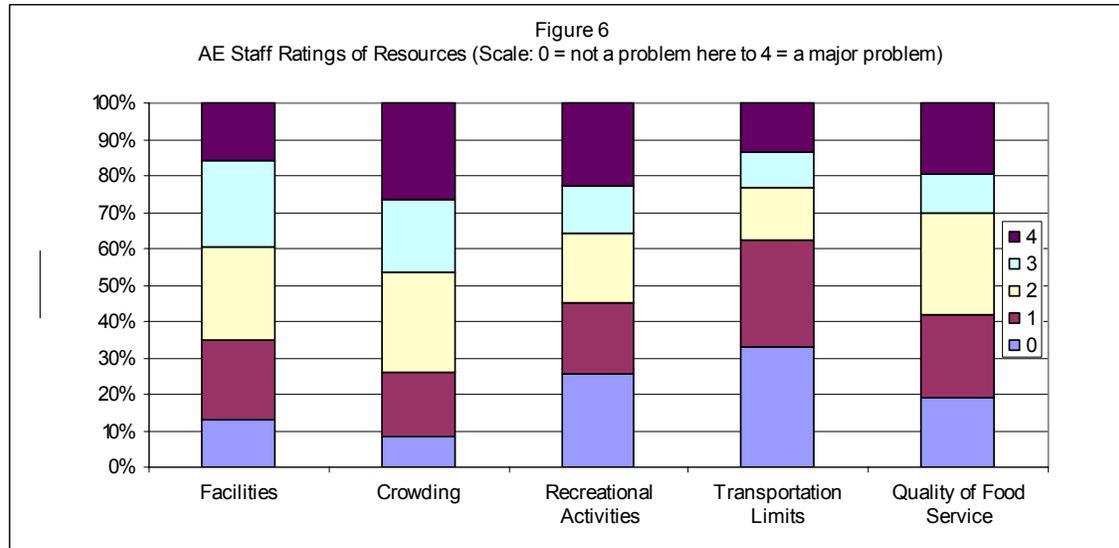
The school buildings are in generally good condition. There are two main buildings, a high school and an elementary building, supplemented by a cluster of modular units. The library has a variety of fiction to encourage reading. Bathrooms have inadequate ventilation and need repairs. Students and staff report that there is frequently only cold water. Doors have been removed from stalls in bathrooms to deter substance use.

The conditions of the dormitories vary. In the two-year interval between TRM proposal submission and receipt of funding, enrollment increased 18%. Student intake assessments done by the counseling technicians allowed the school to obtain Intensive Residential Guidance (IRG) funds for over 99% of students; therefore, school revenue per student and money for services to these students further expanded the available budget. Between SY 1999-2000 and SY 2001-2002 (the year of TRM funding), the number of staff increased from 140 to 219.

The increase in students resulted in overcrowding in the dormitories. Old, cottage-style buildings housed the younger male students and the majority of female students. There were two "newer" dormitories; one housed athletes, and the other housed high school boys. There was a disparity in accommodations. Residents of the new dormitories had three students per room, while the young women and children in the older dormitories were stacked in bunk beds, with up to 18 beds in a large room and 4 to a small room. The bathrooms in the old dormitories had cracked tile, mold, and mildew due to lack of ventilation fans. Shower facilities were so limited that young women's wake-up calls for shower rotation started at 4 a.m. Lack of ventilation was exacerbated on the ground floor, where windows were locked in an attempt to control behavioral problems. The appearance of the dormitories was shabby, with windows that had pieces of cloth or blankets hung over them. Some attempt had been made on furnishings. Attractive new beds were seen in all the dorms, covered by fuzzy blankets with striking American Indian designs.

At the time of funding, recreational amenities were limited. There was an aging, dusty gym that was being designated an historical monument; a small fitness center; and a number of outside fields and athletic courts. One new steel building housed the football program. Construction had begun on a large, modern gymnasium, the size of which dwarfed the other buildings on campus.

The staff survey in spring 2002 solicited opinions on campus conditions and resources, asking staff members to use a 5-point scale ranging from 0 (*not a problem here*) to 4 (*a major problem*). Figure 6 shows the staff members' ratings of resources.



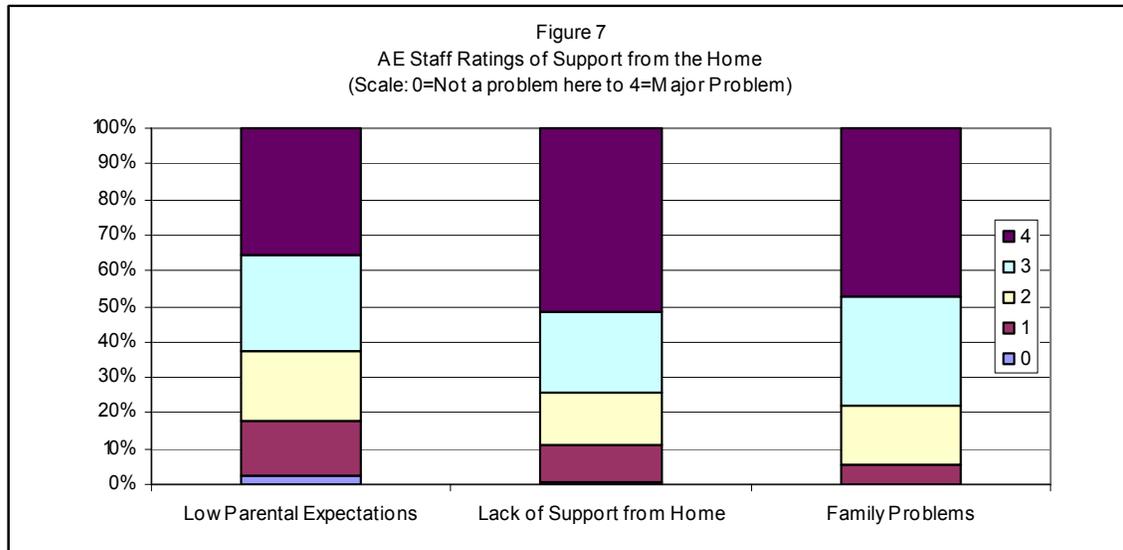
"Crowded living conditions in the dorm" generated the most concern among the staff, with 75% identifying it as a moderate to serious issue.

Staff morale was relatively high, with only about one-fifth of the staff rating either "Staff dissention" or "Low staff morale" as a major problem. Many staff had a positive "can do" attitude and were willing to push forward if they received leadership. Early in the school year, the Student Services Department director, a mental health professional who had spearheaded the reform effort begun under CSAP funding, left the program. After a period without leadership, the position was filled by the recreation director who had no background in mental health. Unfortunately, the leaderless period coincided with the year of TRM funding, and the staff had little oversight and lacked clear direction.

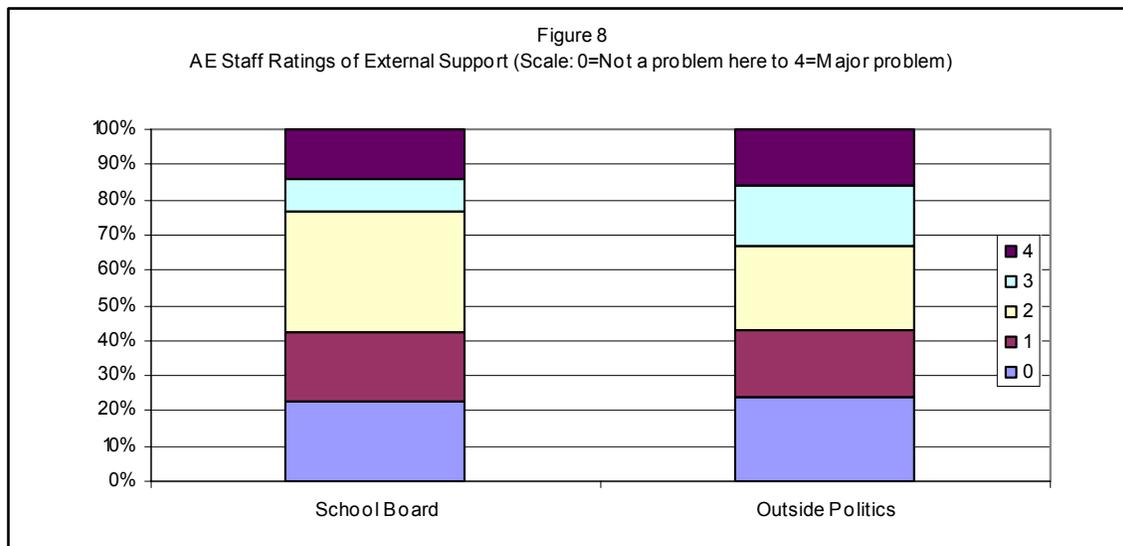
The TRM program brought in \$1.5 million during the year of funding. Because the site combined program funding rather than separately budgeting and tracking TRM funds, the evaluation compared resources and staffing patterns in the year of funding with those in the preceding years to ascertain changes.

Family and Community Involvement

Because almost 85% board at the school, many students miss the support of their families and communities. Figure 7 shows the results of a staff survey about issues impacting students. Most of the staff felt that family issues were the principal source of student problems. Unfortunately, given the distance most students are from their families, addressing family issues is difficult. Only in the last month of TRM funding did one of the family counseling sessions described in the proposal take place.



Staff opinions were evenly spread out on the influence of outside politics. Only one-quarter of staff had serious to major concerns regarding "School board policies" (Figure 8).

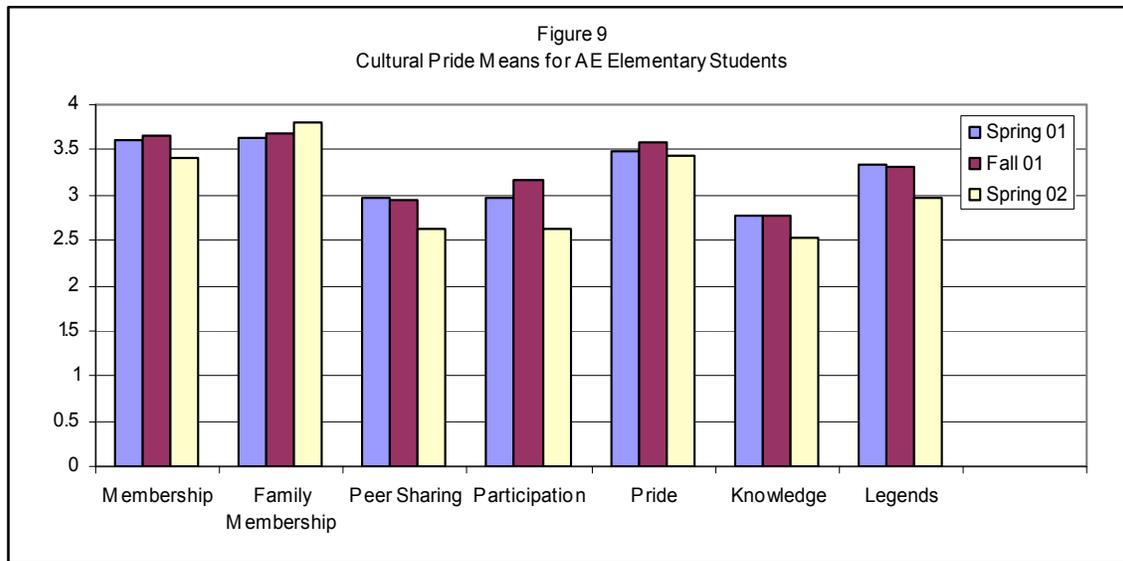


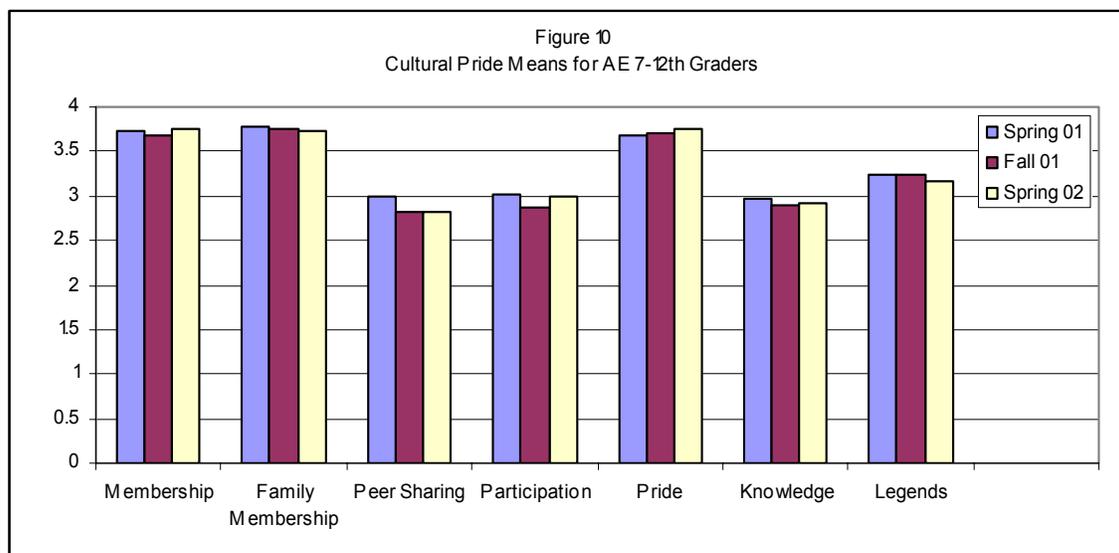
Program and Service Components

Cultural Programming

This site places a strong emphasis upon culture. The school recognizes and has pride in its history and culture. There is a long-standing American Indian Heritage Club. Hand games, pow wows, traditional dance and drum groups, traditional crafts, and an American Indian Color Guard are some of the cultural activities taking place on the campus. Many of the cultural activities, which had previously been sporadic and sometimes funded out of the pockets of dedicated staff members, were built up by CSAP funding during the previous demonstration project. The TRM funding was to provide additional staff and support additional cultural activities.

Students had a relatively high degree of cultural pride, as measured on a cultural pride scale. Figures 9 and 10 show cultural pride levels at three time points: spring 2001 (the baseline prior to TRM funding), fall 2001 (for incoming students), and spring 2002 (the end of TRM funding).





The highest levels of pride were on Membership (“I like being a member of my tribe,” “I like that my family is part of my tribe,” and “I am proud to be a member of my tribe”). The lowest levels of cultural pride were on Peer Sharing (“I talk to my friends about things having to do with my tribe’s culture [religion, customs, values, food, language, arts, pow wow and other celebrations]”) and participation (“I participate in tribal and other Indian celebrations”). Knowledge (“I know about my tribe’s culture and history” and “I like telling and listening to tribal legends and stories about my ancestors”) was between these two clusters.

Socialization/Life Skills Components.

Elements involved in enhancement of social development and life skills in any school environment are made up of proactive (preventive) elements and reactive (disciplinary) policies.

Proactive Components.

Counseling Technicians. During the previous prevention funding, the site recognized that students were not receiving basic emotional support from dormitory staff, and provided a number of prevention staff who worked closely with students. Realizing that students needed role models such as these who took on the roles of parents, social workers, and advocates, the school created a cadre of paraprofessional Counseling Technicians (CTs) to fill these roles as CSAP funding tapered off. The CTs provided assessment of all incoming students, yielding information that was used to generate a description of individual needs and strategies for meeting these needs. Their role had evolved over the years, and included coordinating services, accessing services, acting as a liaison between parents and teachers, and providing life skills training. At the beginning of the year of TRM funding, CTs were based in a group office, supervised by an experienced lead CT, and had developed a high level of cohesion. Less experienced members of the group extensively consulted with their more experienced colleagues when they encountered problems with students. However, reorganization in January 2001 (the year of TRM funding) had

a major effect on the group, as members lost their office, were reassigned to dormitory duties, and had their caseloads shuffled.

The TRM proposal requested funding to bolster cultural and alternative activities, and to fund an art therapist, a music therapist, 17 additional home living assistants, a cultural tech, and an additional CT. Funds to support the professional development of staff were also requested. Under TRM funding, the number of dormitory and recreational staff increased from 40 to 66, improving the student-staff ratio from 12:1 to 9:1. A substance abuse specialist was added to provide prevention services. However, the music therapist, cultural tech, and counseling tech were not added, and the tenure of the art therapist was brief. As the number of students had increased since the year the proposal was submitted, CTs' caseloads were increased instead of lightened.

Reactive Components

The number of security personnel was increased from two to four under TRM funding.

Discipline. In surveys in 2001 and in 2002, staff indicated their concern about a perceived lack of student discipline and inconsistent treatment of students. In October 2001, 37% of staff rated student discipline as a major problem; in April 2002, 40% rated it as major. In 2001, 39% of staff saw a need for consistency. By April 2002, 45% of the staff rated inconsistency as major problem.

The school had a well-established system of discipline. Staff had a behavioral incident form that listed two categories of offenses. Category A offenses, the more serious ones, included weapons, fighting, possession of substances or paraphernalia, gang involvement, endangerment of self or others, contract violation, felony, AWOL, and sexual misconduct. The school had a no-tolerance policy for these Category A offenses. Students cited for Category A offenses went before a guidance committee. If found guilty, they were given the choice of being suspended, withdrawing, or going to the transition dorm. This dorm provided a strictly regimented environment that in past school years included removal from the classroom and working with a special group of Student Services Department teachers. During TRM funding, however, the transition students were mainstreamed back into the classroom.

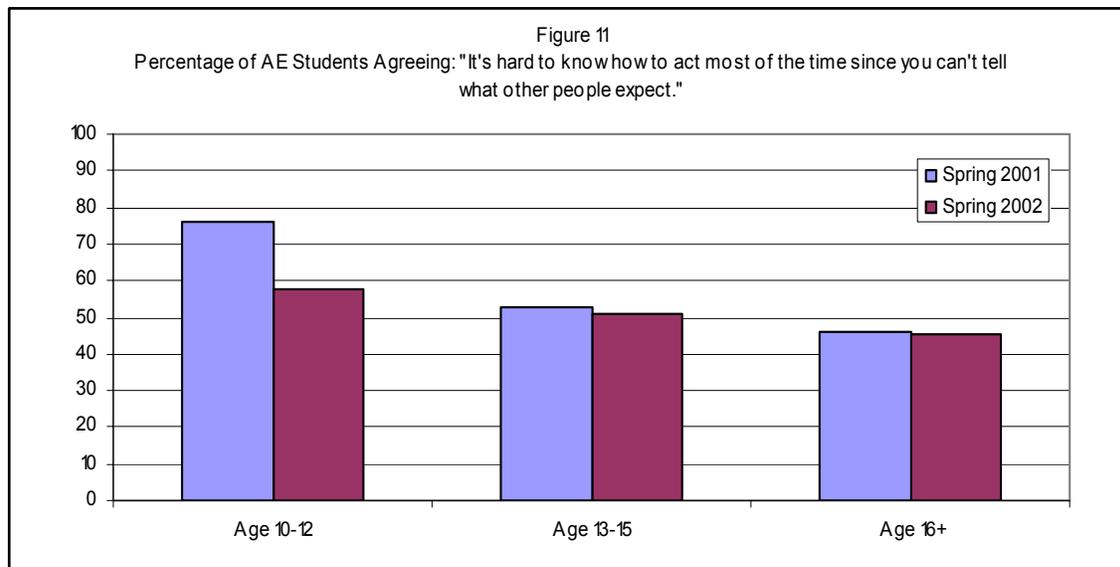
A tracking system for behavioral incidents had been put in place under CSAP funding. The elementary school counselor entered behavioral incidents that came before the committee, and disciplinary actions based on the committee's decisions, into the school computer system. The loss of the director of student services, a strict disciplinarian, appeared to affect this system. The evaluator received a number of reports indicating that staff were being discouraged from making reports on students, and that some reports that staff tried to file were being shelved in an effort to circumvent the system. Almost one-half of the students appeared to believe that there was discrimination in enforcement of rules. When asked whether it was either "very true" or "mostly true" that school rules were fairly enforced, only 52% of 7th and 8th graders, 58% of 9th and 10th graders, and 55% of 11th and 12th graders agreed. As many informants suggested that athletes were one of the groups being favored, data from the spring 2002 ADAS survey were examined, dividing respondents into those who indicated that they were engaged in school athletics and those who did not. As Table 4 shows, on items having to do with discipline, self-identified athletes were consistently less likely to believe they would get in "a lot" of trouble for violating rules.

Table 4
Enforcement of Standards (ADAS Items)

	Non-Athletes	Athletes
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for cutting school.	45%	28%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for bullying another student.	51%	34%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for hitting another student.	52%	47%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for smoking.	77%	60%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for drinking alcohol.	73%	61%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for using other drugs.	73%	63%

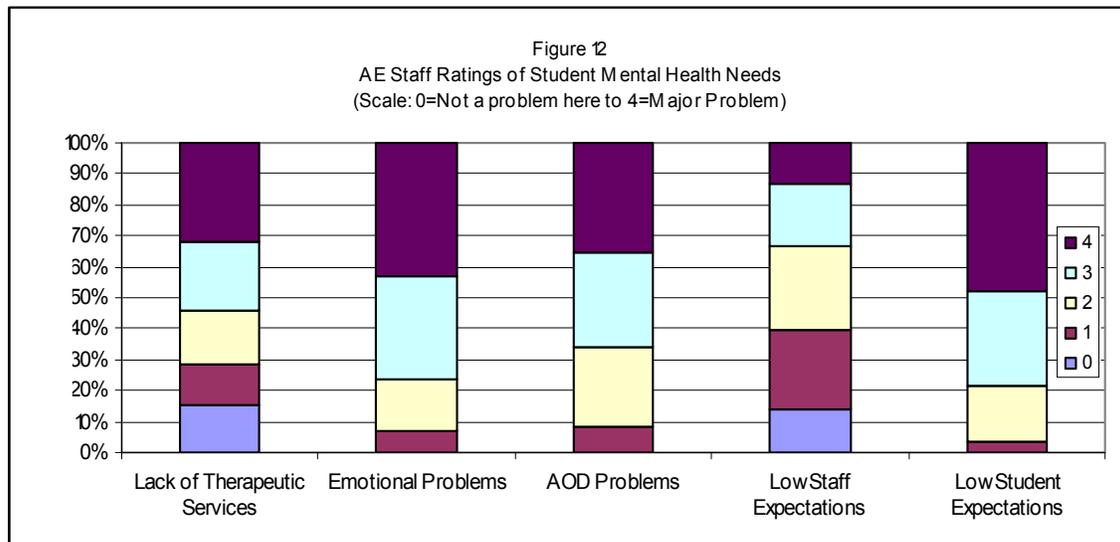
Staff surveys rated "Drug and alcohol problems of students" on the scale of 0 (*not a problem here*) to 4 (*a major problem*) in spring 2001 and spring 2002. In spring 2001, 29.5% rated this item as a major problem; in spring 2002, 35.1% rated it as a major problem.

Student agreement with the Jessor item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect" is shown in Figure 11. While the small number of students in the youngest age group (20 in spring 2001; 27 in spring 2002) precludes statistical conclusions, there appears to be a decrease in agreement with this item, indicating that they may have found the environment more predictable than had their predecessors.



Mental Health Services

Figure 12 shows that staff recognized the mental health needs of the students. All staff respondents indicated that students had some degree of emotional problems. All staff agreed that students' low expectations of themselves, and their alcohol or drug use, were significant problems.



In the TRM proposal, mental health was described as an area with a high level of need, requiring a significant number of trained personnel. The proposal described a system of triage that would use counseling technicians (CTs) at the base level of triage to assess all students for mental health needs. Higher levels of triage would use additional professional staff to deal with students identified by the base assessment as needing more help. In addition to these professionals, AE proposed to further develop the therapeutic dorm pilot project to provide an appropriate setting for students with serious mental health needs requiring the highest, or level three triage.

As described by the proposal generated in SY 1999-2000, AE's original resources in the mental health area included an elementary school counselor, a high school counselor, a half-time licensed professional counselor, and a director of student services with a Masters degree in counseling. Some very minimal additional assistance was provided by contracts with outside sources. The proposal specified two additional CTs would be hired to lighten caseloads on base triage, an expansion from 2.5 FTE to 10 FTE in professional level positions (i.e. masters level and licensed counselors) to serve students whose mental health needs were beyond the expertise of the CTs, and an expansion of the capacity of in-house and consultant services for the most serious needs.

However, as the proposal was implemented, it was found that TRM funds had not been used to increase mental health resources. The number of CTs stayed constant at 13 even though the number of students increased, driving the student-CT ratio from 37:1 to 44:1. The second level of triage had two school counselors and one Masters-level counselor on staff during the year of funding. The school continued to rely on outside counseling contracts, rather than providing the 1.5 FTE psychologist and psychiatrist as requested in the proposal. There was

significant concern among staff that the half-day per month of psychiatric services provided by contracts was inadequate to deal with the problems of many students. This shortcoming is particularly significant because 29% of students reported having made a suicide attempt in the past. While CTs in the dorms continued to provide some paraprofessional services, they spent much of the critical first two months of school either driving buses or filling out paperwork required to qualify students for IRG funding.

Therapeutic Dormitory. One of the proposed additions was a therapeutic dorm to provide an appropriate setting for students with serious mental health needs, who would qualify for inpatient mental health services. This innovation was unique among the three sites in the first cohort, all of whom concluded that many of their students had such serious mental health problems that it was necessary to send some of them elsewhere. A very promising model for the proposed therapeutic dormitory was developed by a counselor at this site. However, the administration initially decided not to implement this component. Midway through the school year, the administration reversed its decision and proceeded with implementation. At the time of the April site visit, the dormitory had been operating for several months and had served a total of 20 students. Concerns were expressed that: as additional professional staff had not been hired personnel assigned to the therapeutic dormitory were volunteers with no special qualifications or training, adequate protocols were not in place to guide personnel in their unfamiliar new roles, the dormitory was not supervised by a person holding a Ph.D. or an M.D., and the number of mental health professionals on staff overall at the site had decreased since the beginning of the year. As the energies of the remaining mental health personnel were being focused on operations at the therapeutic dorm, the resources to deal with the needs of other students were further compromised.

Academic Program

When the TRM proposal was submitted, academics appeared to be adequately addressed. According to the SY 1999-2000 school report card, the school had produced a drastic improvement in students' academic proficiency. Eighty-three percent of the students were proficient or above in math and 86% were proficient or above in language in SY 1999-2000. Therefore, the TRM proposal requested only four additional teachers to expand services in the special needs dorms (transition, opportunities, and therapeutic). This resulted in a teacher-student ratio of 1:15.3, much lower than the 1:20 ratio that existed at the comparison day school. In addition, a local university agreed to supply unpaid education majors to tutor and to assist in classrooms. A structure was in place to identify and triage students in need of academic help. Students scoring below a C in any course were required to report to the teacher of that course from 3:30 – 4:30 p.m. According to the proposal, the opportunities dorm provided an intensive learning environment for students failing one or more subjects. Therapeutic Residential Model funding augmented this existing system by providing the services of Alpha Plus (discussed in more detail later in this section) for staff development.

However, test data from 2001 and 2002 painted a less optimistic academic picture. Figure 13 shows that many AE students were performing well below their grade level in spring 2001. Furthermore, the gap in academic achievement widened from two years for 4th graders to five years for 12th graders.

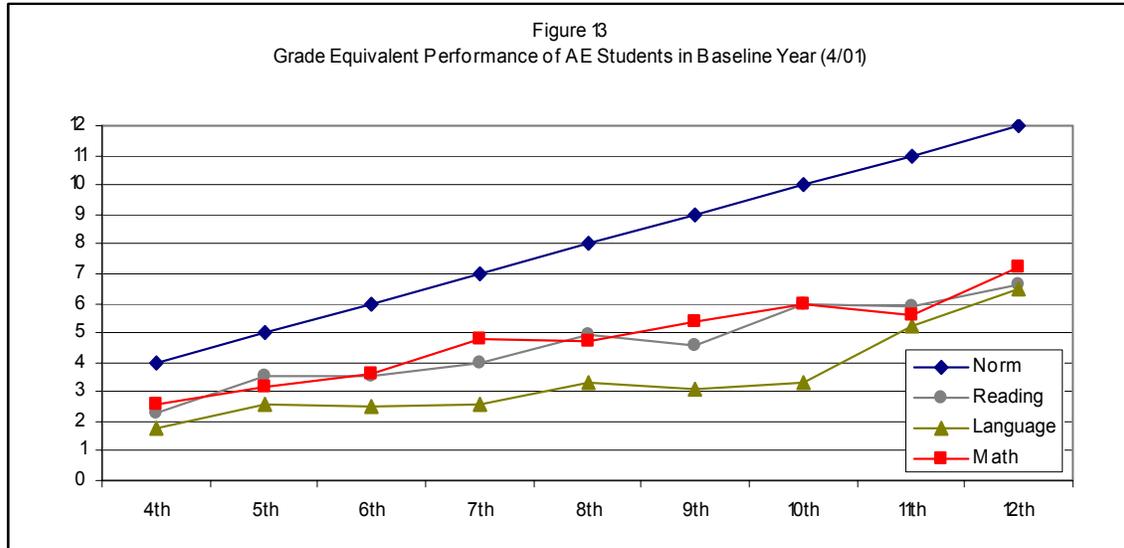
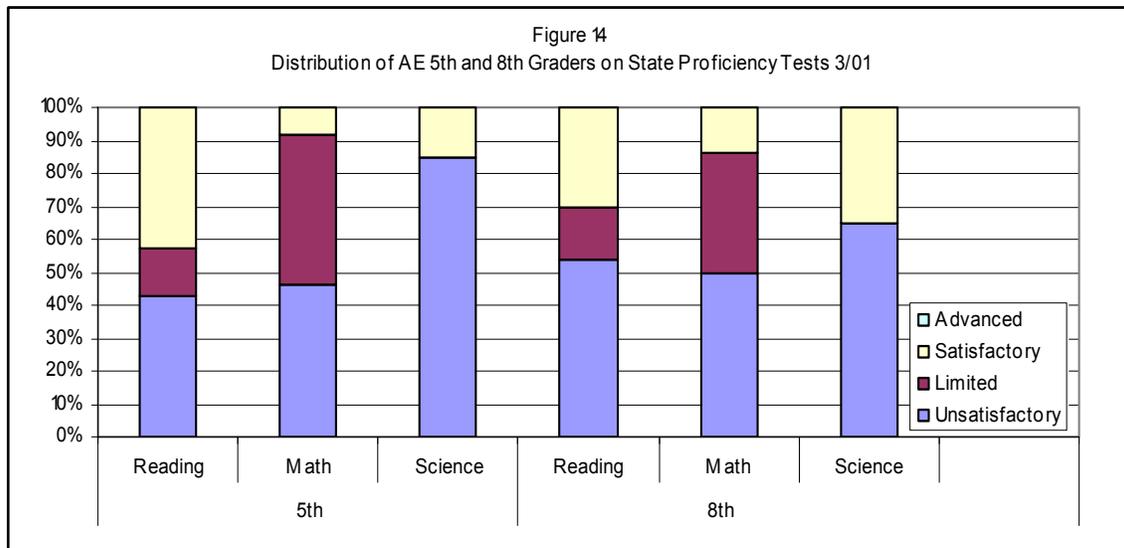
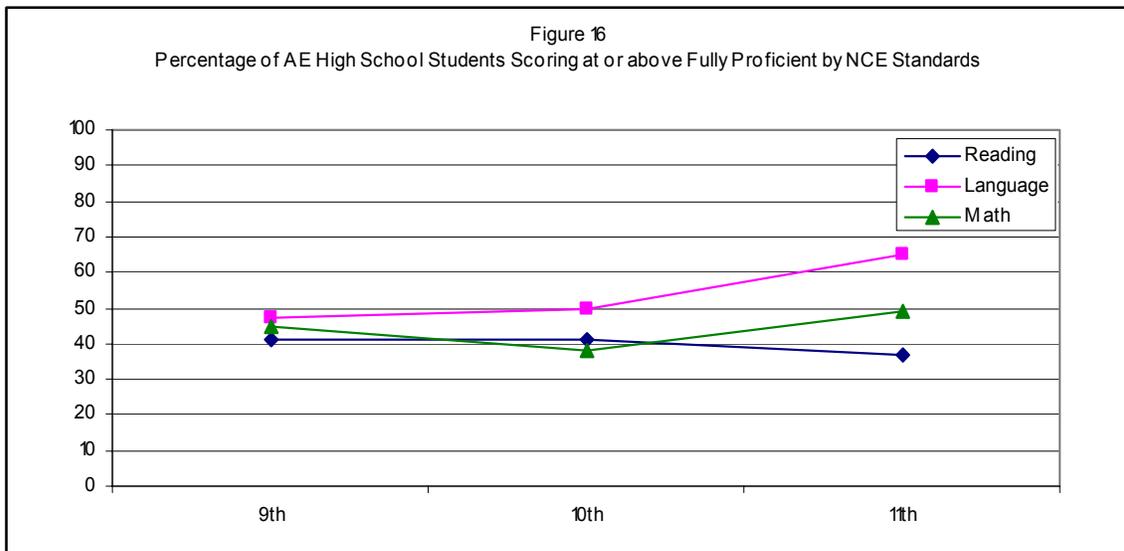
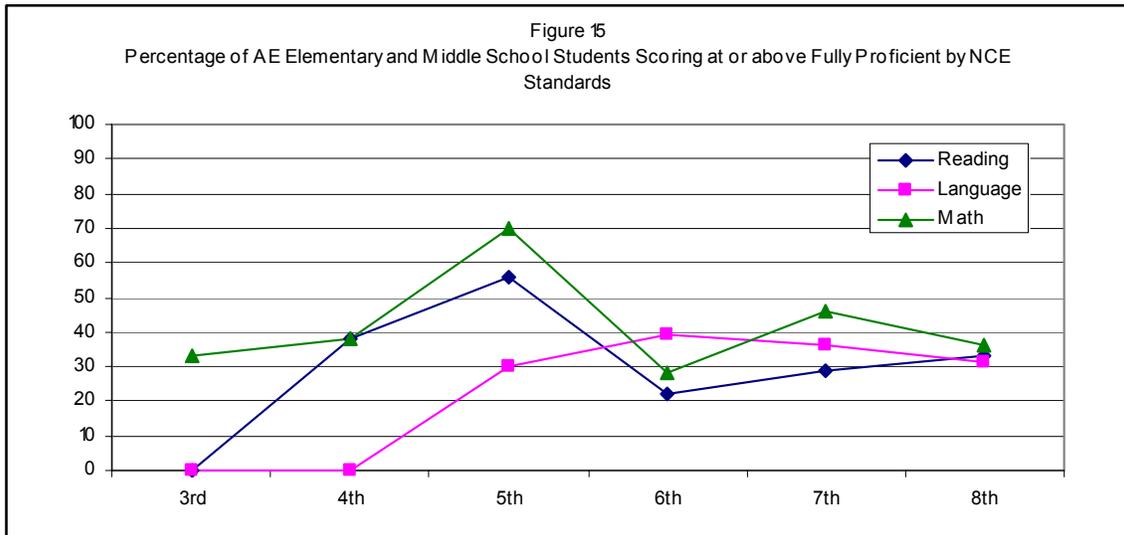


Figure 14 shows results for fifth and eighth graders on the spring 2001 state proficiency tests.



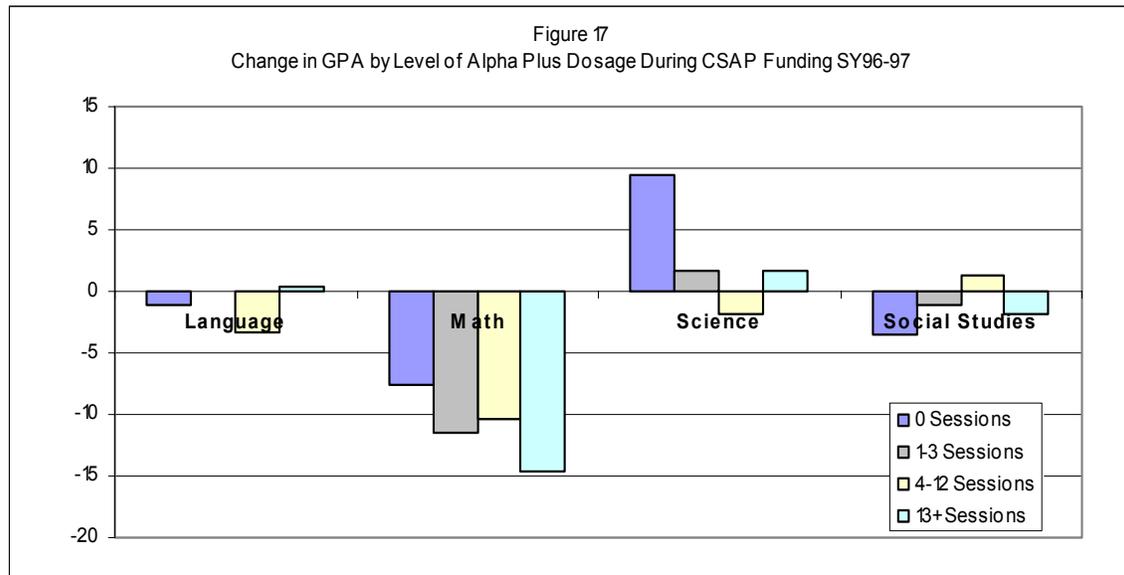
Figures 15 and 16 show Iowa Test of Basic Skills data collected in October 2001 on incoming students. The data show that, at the beginning of the academic year, a significant number of students needed remedial academic help.



During the year of TRM funding there were a number of changes to the academic program.

The majority of TRM funding used for academics at this site went to an Alpha Plus program and the addition of a large cadre of academic classroom aides, called ACAs. The Alpha Plus Learning System follows the principles promoted by Lee Jenkins (2003, 2004). Under this system, teachers were required to customize their curriculum, focusing on state objectives for each grade level. Under the previous CSAP funding, earlier versions of Alpha Plus study skills

modules had been tested for effectiveness. Figure 17 shows the relationship between individual dosage of Alpha Plus and change in GPA from CSAP reports. In all areas except social studies, GPA appeared to decrease, rather than increase, as a function of increasing dosage.



A number of reasons were postulated to explain these unexpected findings. The amount of time taken up by Alpha Plus may have cut into the time available for students to do their homework. The encouragement given to students who may otherwise have dropped out of school, may have led to their staying in school and further decreasing the overall GPA. Observers noted that a number of staff administering the curriculum were poorly trained, and implementation may have been an issue. As a result of these findings, the school decided to scale back Alpha Plus to only those students who needed academic help. At the beginning of TRM funding in fall 2001, however, the school turned again to an upgraded Alpha Plus program to make a concerted effort to reform its academic system and increase scores on proficiency tests. At the beginning of the year, under the leadership of an Alpha Plus coordinator, teachers laid out objectives to match state proficiency testing standards. Alpha Plus trainers worked extensively with teachers throughout the year to orient them to state test criteria and to improve students' study skills. The focus shifted to "teaching to the test," with teachers required to develop classroom plans to cover one or more test-related objectives per day.

In order to allow teachers to focus more intensively on subjects, the school changed to a block schedule. This change gave teachers fewer – but longer – class periods. According to ACAs and a focus group with students, some of the teachers did not adjust to this change. They continued to do lectures and homework assignments at the previous length, leaving students to their own devices for the remainder of the time in the block. Teachers expressed frustration that they were trying to teach criterion-level information when their students were too far below grade level to understand the material. The pace left little time to remediate students' academic deficits. Adding to the stress, midway through the year, the Iowa Test of Basic Skills replaced the state test as the proficiency standard, and teachers were required to reorganize their schedule of objectives to meet the new criteria. In addition, the Morningside program – designed to address gaps in basic skills – was introduced late in the school year, but teachers had little enthusiasm or

energy left by that time. Teachers reported a highly stressful year, which was rendered tolerable only by the presence of the ACAs who acted as classroom aides, assisted with classroom order, and eliminated the need for the school to hire substitute teachers.

The addition of 85 students between SY 1999-2000 and SY 2001-2002 was matched by an increase of only 3 certified teachers. The bulk of TRM funding went to hiring 30 additional educational aides, bringing the number to 34. The majority of the new aides were classified and paid as CTs and referred to as ACAs. Among this group, some individuals were in graduate programs, some were social workers, and a few were teachers and nurses. These individuals had more education than the typical classroom aide and were being paid considerably more than other classroom aides. Discussions with students and the ACAs indicated that most of the ACAs were not being optimally used:

- A focus group of high school students identified only one CT who they had observed doing anything other than running the occasional errand.
- Some ACAs reported that their supervising teacher did not know what to do with them and had them doing little other than photocopying and grading papers.
- Some ACAs with psychology backgrounds had been told it was not their job when they attempted to counsel students asking for help.
- While several ACAs said they were working hard and were needed in their assigned classroom, most of the ACAs expressed the opinion that their abilities were not being used.
- Several ACAs reported that the teachers to whom they were assigned took advantage of their presence to take time off, using them as substitute teachers. One ACA had acted as a substitute teacher for 30 hours during the past four weeks.

The opportunities dorm that had been providing remedial academic help in previous years was eliminated in favor of intensive study sessions. Students failing any subject were required to attend study sessions from 4:30 – 8:30 p.m., Monday through Thursday. Site visits to these sessions, however, revealed that less than one-quarter of the students who were required to attend were actually present. The school also initiated a policy of not awarding failing grades in an attempt to build self-esteem. Students were allowed to redo assignments in study hall to bring inadequate homework up to a C level. Teachers expressed some concern that students were being given the unrealistic message that they would have unlimited chances to redo work and, therefore, that they did the minimum.

Career Guidance. Lack of career guidance had been an ongoing problem at AE. A computer program to provide information about post-secondary options to students was ordered but was not implemented during the year of funding.

Tutors. The evaluator found no evidence that the tutors provided through the state university programs were being used.

Physical Health Components

The physical needs of the students were being met. Food service in the cafeteria provided adequate nutrition at three meals a day, seven days a week. A school nurse was hired with TRM funding.

The school had athletic fields and a gym. The proposal had identified significant gaps in recreational activities and requested an additional four recreation staff, but only one was hired. Students complained that there was a significant lack of weekend activities. Many found the intensive Monday through Thursday study schedule to be a bore, with very few activities scheduled on weeknights. Twenty percent of the staff reported that "lack of after school and weekend activities" was a major problem. Many students were observed to be aimlessly wandering the campus when they were not studying.

Outcome Data

Outcome data tracked a number of indicators. Retention rate was considered the major indicator of a successful program. In addition, quantitative data were used to evaluate such key indicators of developmental success as school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

Retention Rate. Figures 18 and 19 compare retention in SY 2000-2001 and SY 2001-2002. Both analyses are based on the population that enrolled on or before September 30 of the school year. As some 12th grade students graduated midyear, the retention analysis looked only at grades 4-11.

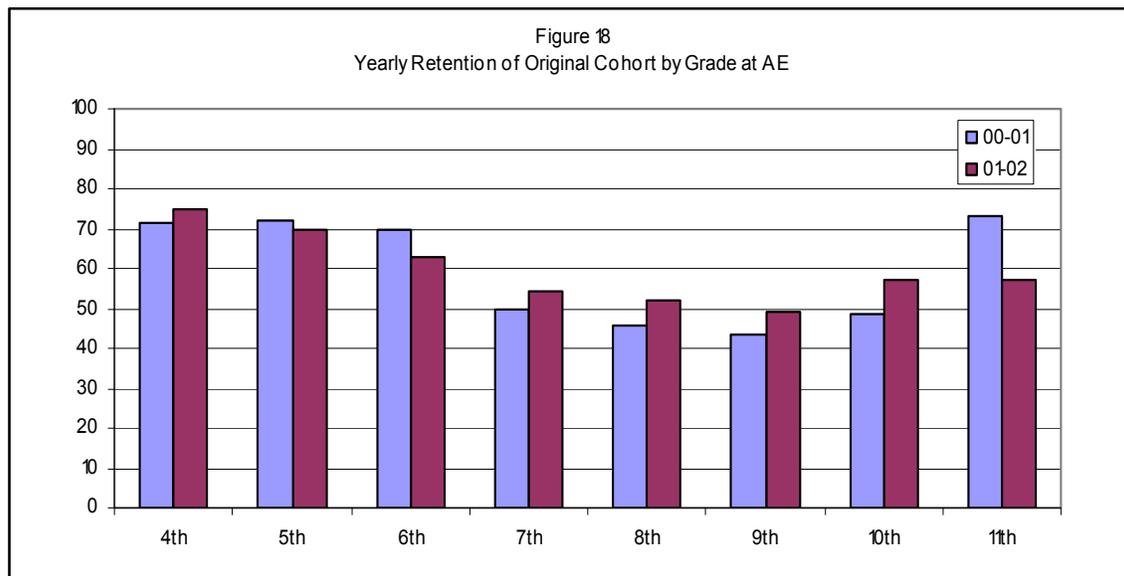
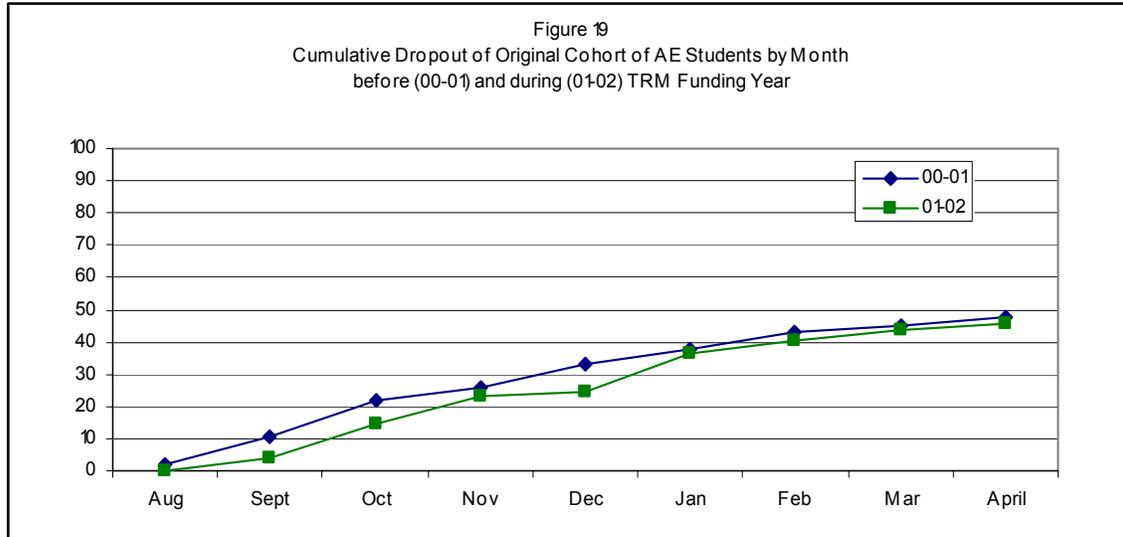
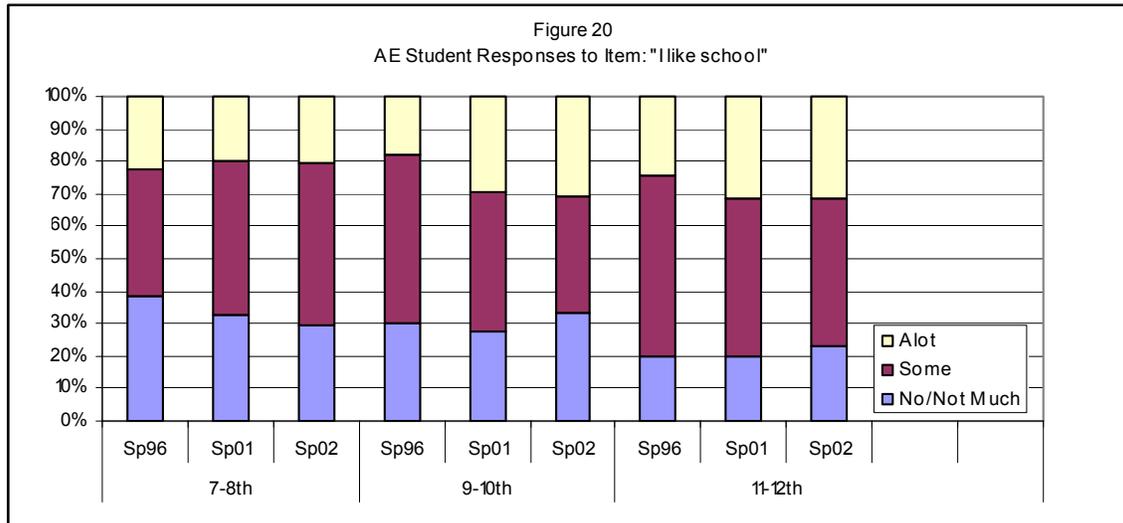


Figure 19 diagrams the cumulative percentage of dropouts from this cohort by month. No difference can be seen in the retention rates before and after TRM was implemented. The sharpest increase in the dropout rate occurred during in January 2002, coinciding with a reorganization of four dormitories, the shifting of caseloads, and the diminution of the residential CTs' roles. There was no significant difference in retention between the baseline year of SY 2000-2001 and SY 2001-2002.



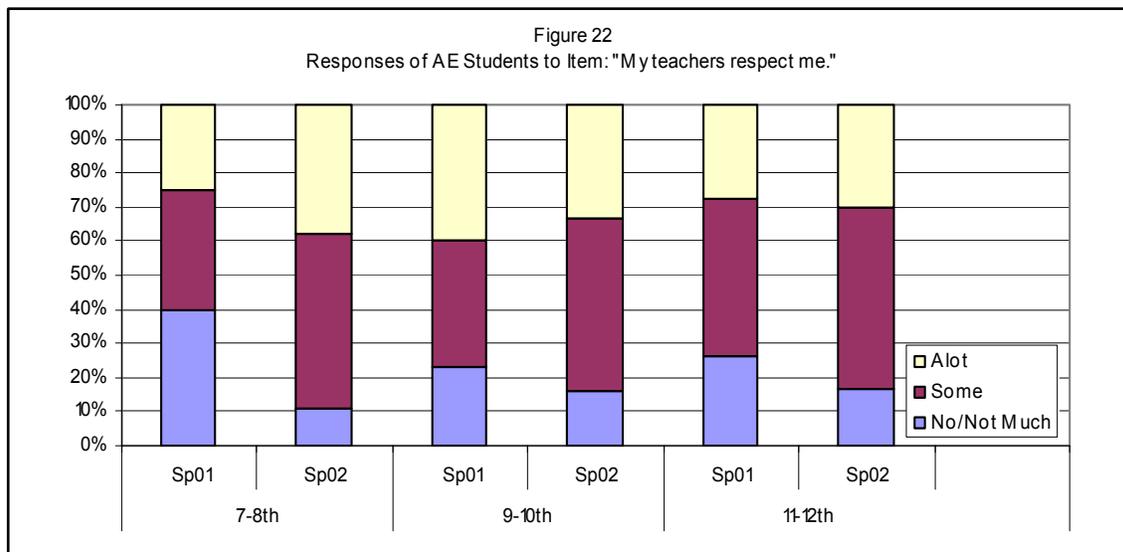
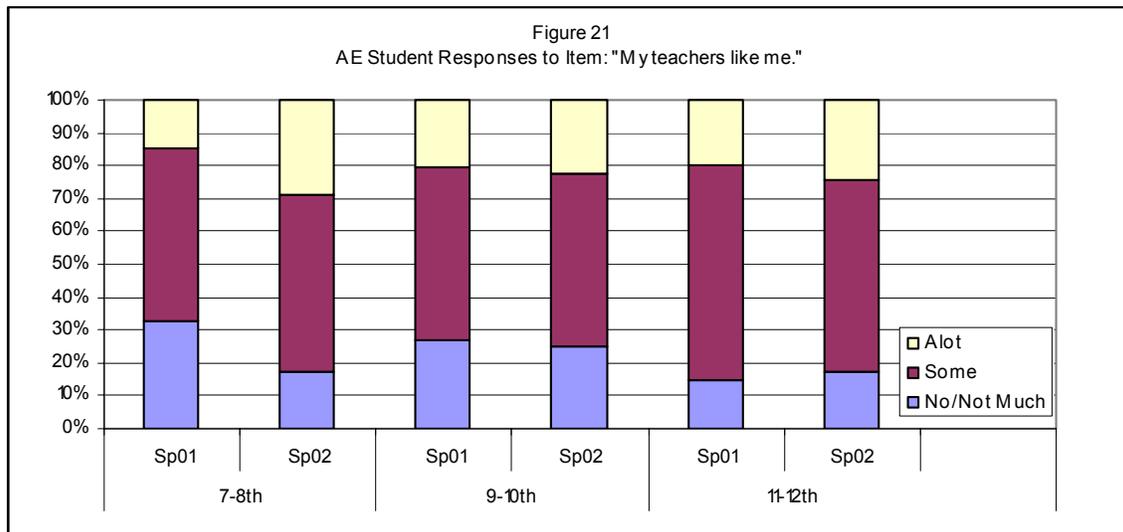
School Bonding

Students' Attitude toward School. The students' attitude toward school was tapped prior to any intervention (1996), after the CSAP funding (2001), and at the end of the TRM Project (2002) by asking them to respond to the item "I like school." Figure 20 shows the distribution of their responses.



The majority of students reported liking school "some" or "a lot" at all data collection points.

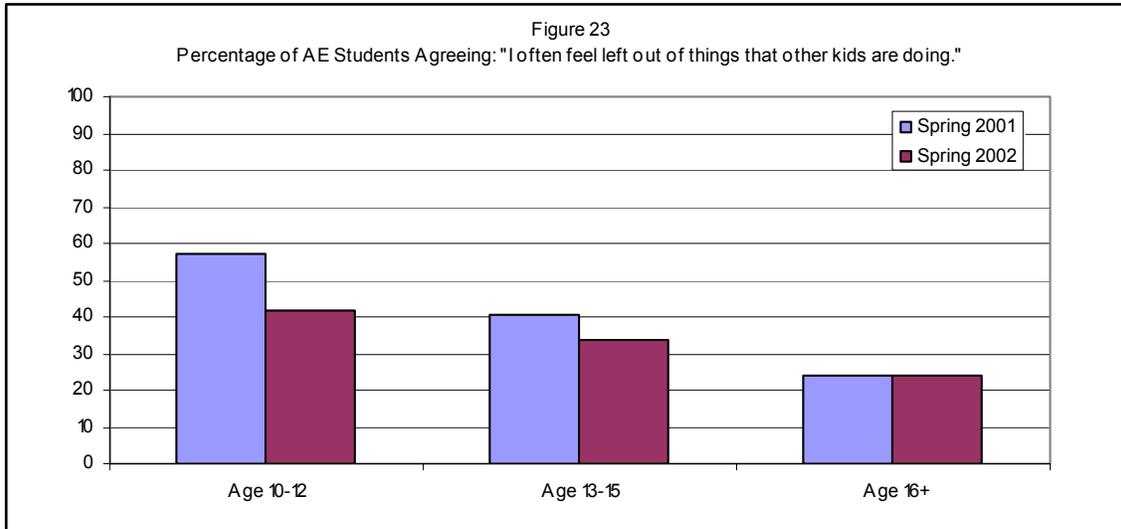
Figures 21 and 22 show student responses in spring 2001 prior to TRM funding, and spring 2002 at the end of the year of TRM funding, on two ADAS items: "My teachers like me" and "My teachers respect me."



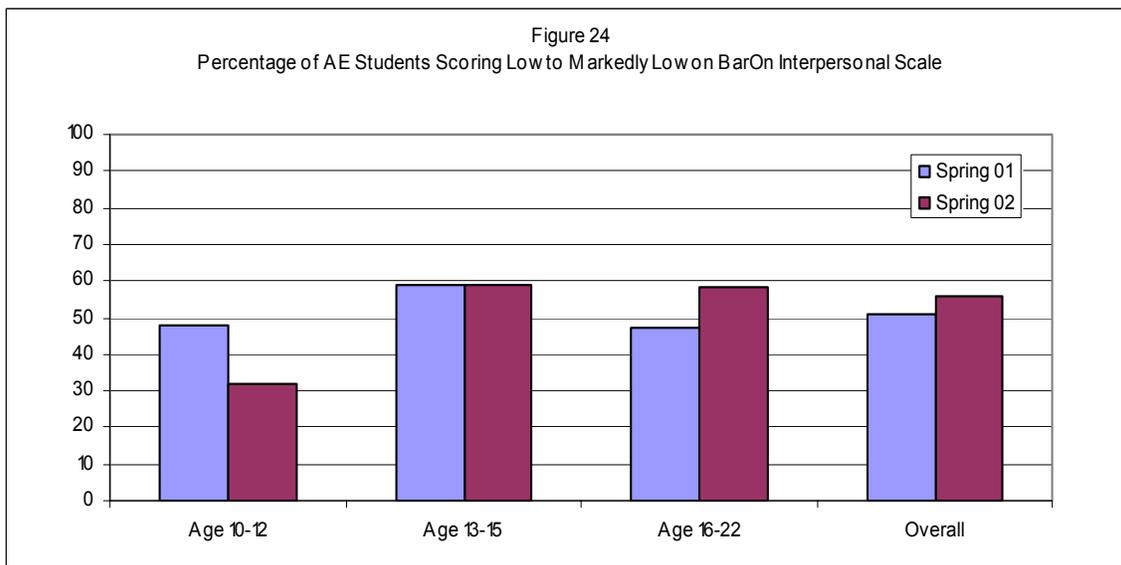
Responses show the majority of students felt they were liked and respected by their teachers "some" or "a lot." There was a shift in the seventh-eighth grade group toward feeling more respected and liked by their teachers between spring 2001 and 2002. As the teaching personnel had not changed between these two time points, the improvement may be due to the presence of the additional classroom aides who both assisted and related to the students, as well as providing assistance to harried teachers.

Peer and Social Bonding

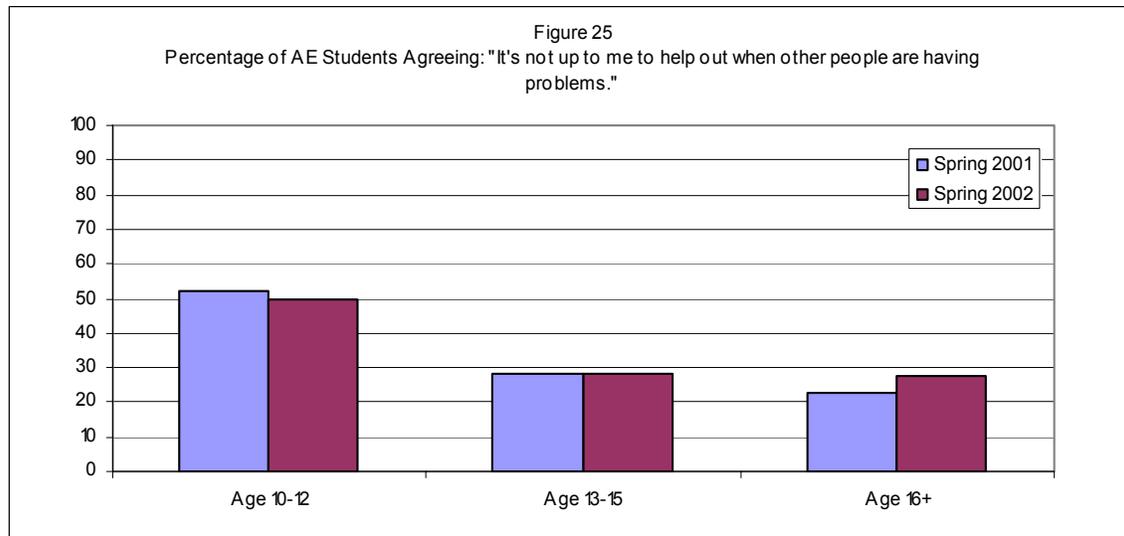
Alienation. Figure 23 shows cross-sectional percentages of students responding affirmatively to a Jessor item regarding feeling "left out." Feelings of being left out trended toward a slight decline for the youngest age group from spring 2001 to spring 2002.



Interpersonal. Figure 24 shows the percentages of students scoring low to markedly low on the BarOn Interpersonal scale. There was no decrease in the percentage of students needing help in this area. While the youngest and oldest students had similar percentages for males and females, analysis of spring 2002 scores found that the middle age group had a gender gap, with males at 78% and females at 38%.



Social Responsibility. Figure 25 shows that there was no change in percentage of students agreeing with the statement "It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems."



Behavioral Indicators. The TRM program began during a period when the site had a stable behavioral situation. At the beginning of CSAP funding five years previously, students reported fights occurring on a daily basis, while school attendance was not enforced and incidents were carelessly tracked. Implementation of the CSAP tracking system to monitor and appropriately discipline students, and use of CSAP-funded staff to monitor halls and provide prevention activities, had helped to turn this situation around. By the end of CSAP funding in 1999 the number of violent incidents was low, given the population level of 500-600 students, and it changed little across the following interval year and TRM year. Sixty violent incidents were reported in SY 1999-2000, 62 in SY 2000-2001, and 52 in SY 2001-2002. Alcohol use, previously shown in Figure 4, increased from spring 2001 to spring 2002, going from 23% to 31% in 7th and 8th graders in cross-sectional analysis, from 17% to 29% in 9th and 10th graders, and from 25% to 38% among 11th and 12th graders.

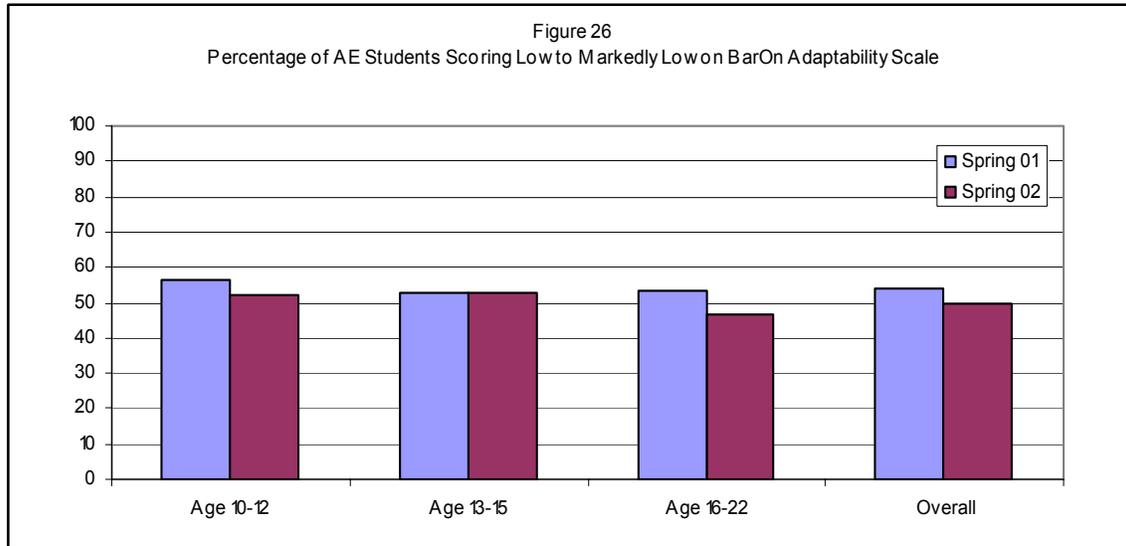
Prior to the baseline measure in spring 2001, the campus had lost its drug dog and experienced a steep upsurge in marijuana use among the younger students. After the dog was replaced and security was doubled, marijuana use decreased from 68% to 50% among 7th and 8th graders, from 54% to 49% among 9th and 10th graders, and from 46% to 38% among 11th and 12th graders (see Figure 3).

The enhanced surveillance may also account for a decrease in cigarette use in the middle age group of students during SY 2001-2002 (previously shown in Figure 5).

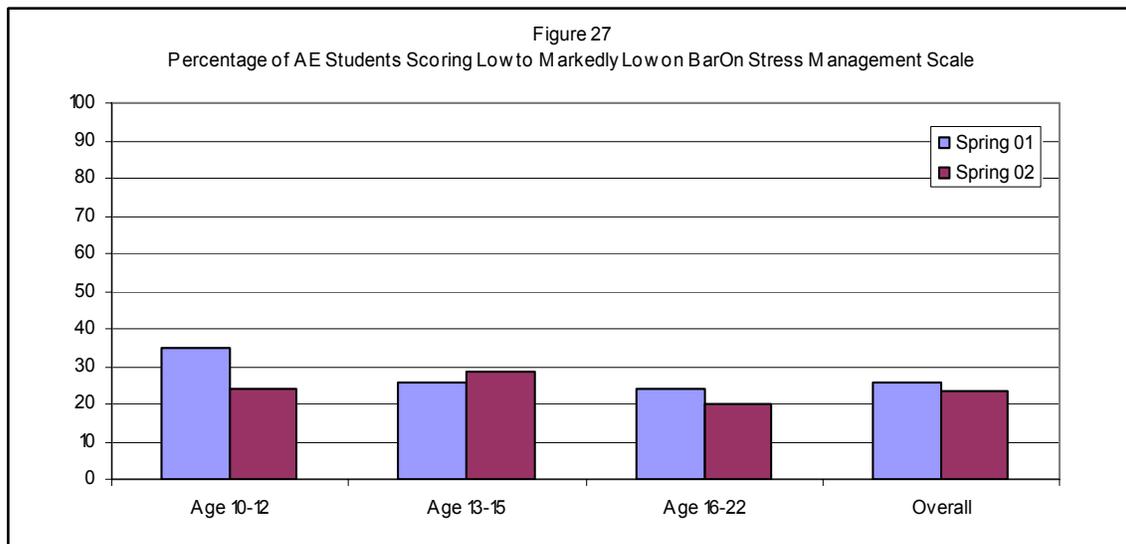
Adaptability and Stress Management.

Figure 26 shows the percent of students whose responses on the BarOn in spring 2001 and spring 2002 revealed a lack of confidence in their ability to deal with situations. While the percentage of students scoring low was similar for males and females in the middle age group,

there were gender differences for both the youngest (males 31%, females 75%) and oldest (males 60%, females 35%) students, indicating an age x gender interaction. Older females gained in their confidence in their ability to meet challenges, while older males' confidence decreased.



Similar percentages of male and female students scored low on stress management. Overall, there was no change on this measure from spring 2001 to spring 2002 (Figure 27). The percentage of students at this site who scored low on stress management is similar to that of their same-age peers in the general population.



Meaning and Identity

Figures 28 and 29 show the percentage of students agreeing with the Jessor items “Hardly anything I’m doing in my life means very much to me” and “I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.” There was no change on either measure during the period of the TRM project.

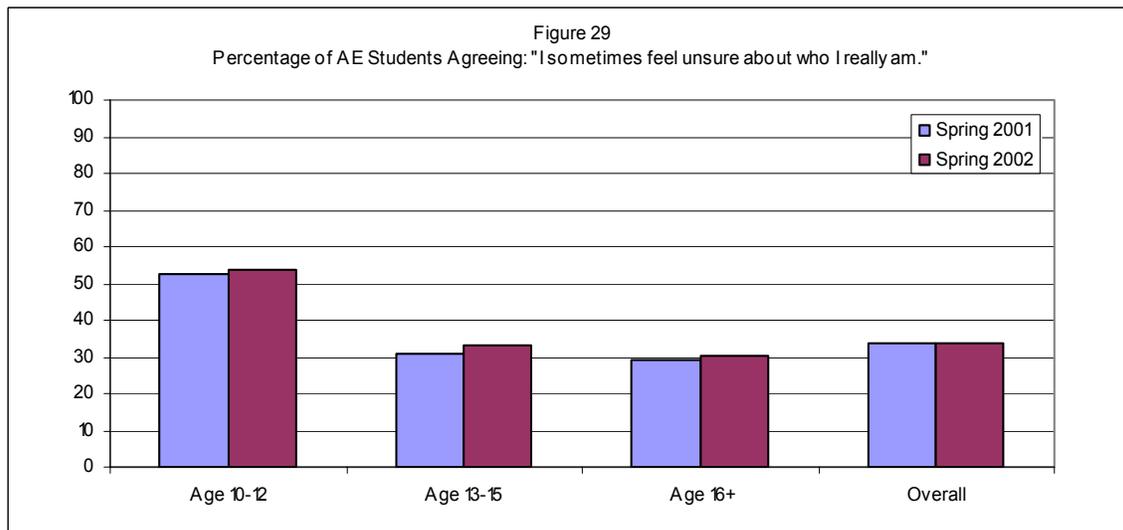
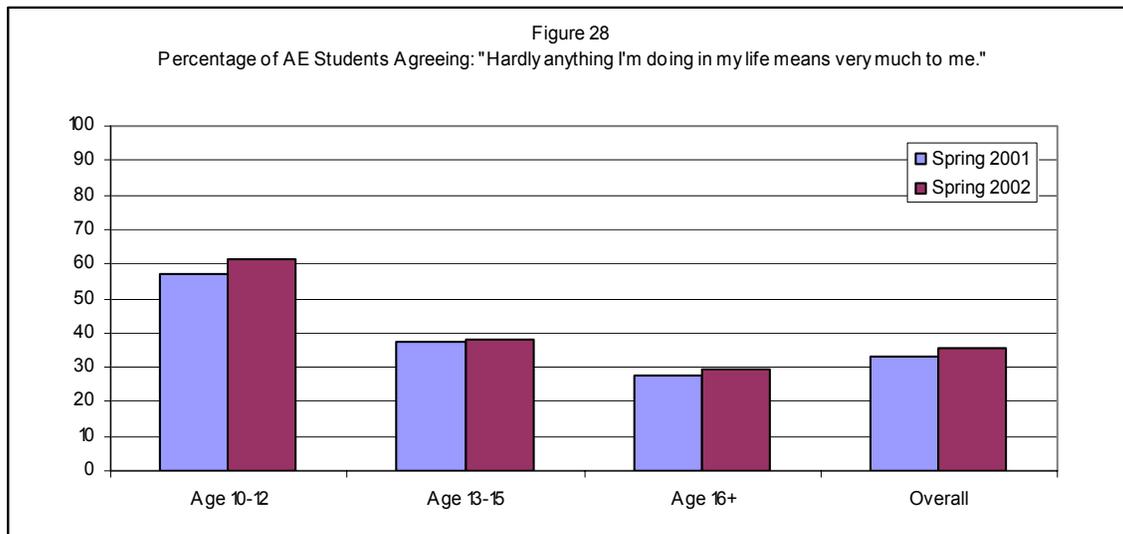
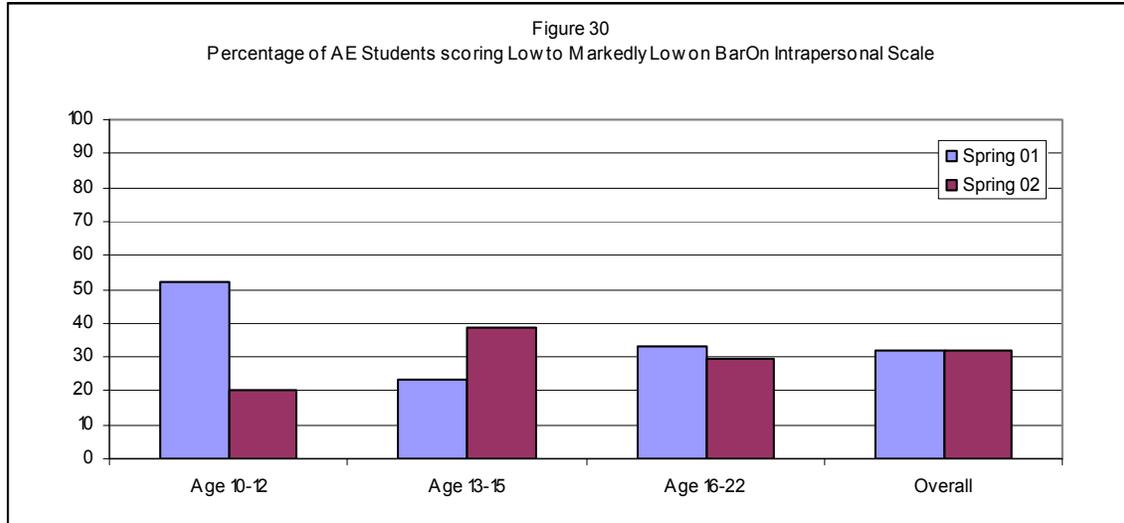
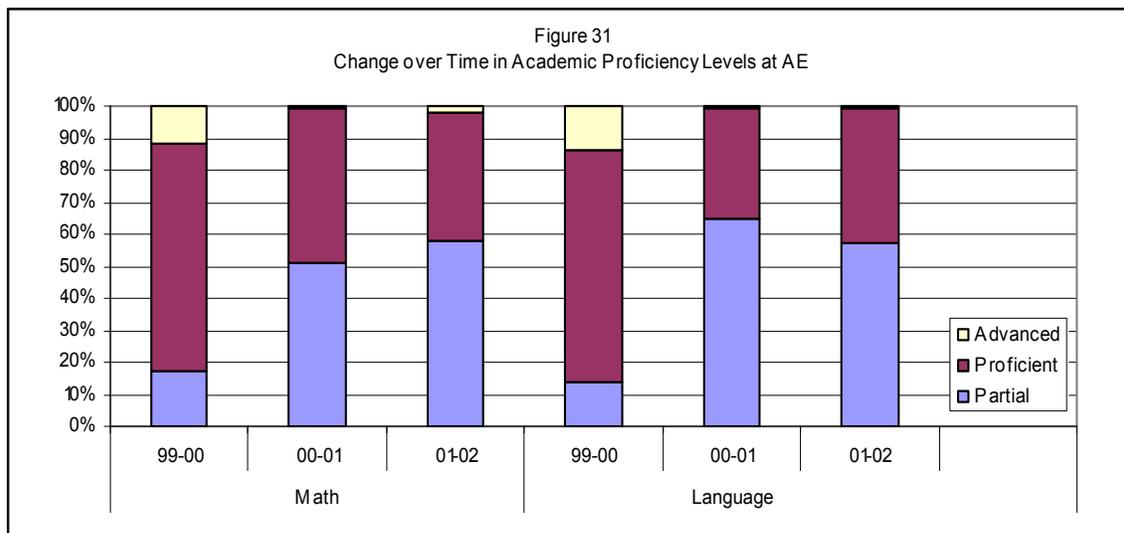


Figure 30 shows the percentage of students in spring 2001 and spring 2002 scoring low to markedly low on the BarOn Intrapersonal scale. As fall baselines were not available for both years and as all data were anonymous on these surveys, it was not possible to ascertain why there were shifts in spring outcomes.



Academic Achievement

Figure 31 shows proficiency levels after the last year of CSAP funding (SY 1999-2000), the interval year of SY 2000-2001, and the year of TRM funding (SY 2001-2002). The number of students scoring in the partially proficient range increased significantly in the interval year compared with the last year of CSAP funding, although there may have been some questions about inclusiveness of the testing in those years. When SY 2000-2001 and SY 2001-2002 were compared, there was a slight shift upward in language but a matching shift downward in math. Overall, the data support the teachers' perceptions that teaching on-grade objectives left them no time to remediate students' deficits in math.



Discussion

This site had a number of advantages. The prior existence of an innovative prevention program on campus had motivated both staff and students. The proposal submitted by this site contained a number of innovative elements that had been piloted and had shown promise. However, under TRM funding most of these elements were not developed and in some cases were cut back or eliminated.

Therapeutic Residential Model funding with resultant program changes did not increase mental health services. Because of changes to the administrative team and the loss of the key architect of the TRM proposal, program changes were at odds with the needs presented in the proposal and with the strategies proposed to deal with those needs. Instead, administrative decisions made during the year of TRM funding reflected that belief that an emphasis on athletics and academics was the best remedy for dealing with mental and behavioral problems. Significant TRM funds went into the classroom and also into a "boot camp" approach to the remediation of academic deficits. From the perspective of a research design, this situation was fortuitous. The site functionally qualified as a placebo condition. Because of its inclusion in the baseline and outcome data-gathering system, and the sizable infusion of supplemental TRM funds, it was possible to use this site to examine post-hoc hypotheses. Namely, if sites are given supplemental funds to be used at their discretion, that are equal to those per capita given to sites implementing approved programs, is there a concomitant improvement in outcomes? The findings showed:

- No significant increase in retention
- No increase in cultural pride
- No decrease in alienation related to identity or meaning
- Mixed results in substance use. Substitution of interdiction for prevention and counseling appeared to reduce marijuana and cigarette use, but alcohol use increased.
- No change in percentage of students in need of help with intrapersonal skills, stress management, or adaptability.
- No overall improvement in academic proficiency.

Findings at this site indicate that increasing revenue to sites without increasing mental health resources results in no change in the critical outcome measures of student success. These findings underscore the belief that no positive changes can occur in residential boarding schools unless the mental health needs of the students are addressed.

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Footnote

- ¹ CSAP = Center for Substance Abuse Prevention
SAMHSA = Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration
PHS = Public Health Service
DHHS = Department of Health and Human Services

NO TREATMENT DAY SCHOOL

Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D. and Stanley R. Holder, M.S.

Abstract: At the No Treatment Day School, less than 15% of students used the dormitory during the school week. Located in the heart of a reservation and serving local students, the K-12 school enrolled over 1,000 students. The site received Therapeutic Residential Model funding for the 2001-2002 school year. Initial evaluation of this site found an array of daunting problems throughout the school structure and functioning. There were some successes, including implementation of the Morningside reading program in the elementary school and some response from the community to the comprehensive evaluation report which provided an overview of the situation to policy-makers and community members. However, instability in the system and a mid-year change in leadership complicated the process of implementation. By the end of the first year, it was clear that the feasibility of the original proposal was questionable and that an overhaul of the school's system and culture was necessary before a Therapeutic Residential Model could be implemented or significant change could come about. Therapeutic Residential Model funding was terminated at the end of the school year. As there was no substantial implementation of a Therapeutic Residential Model program, data gathered were utilized as representing a naturally occurring control or minimal treatment site.

No Treatment Day School

The school is located on the outskirts of the community and serves a far-flung rural area. At the beginning of the year of funding, 1,163 students were enrolled in grades K -12. One hundred forty-two students were housed in two dormitories from Sunday through Thursday night. The remaining students were day students. An on-staff grant writer had created and submitted the Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) grant proposal. Inspired by the grant writer's observations of the program at L1, the original model proposed by this site was focused on residential students. The site proposed to expand dormitory services from five to seven nights per week and to create an intensive therapeutic environment that would serve the needs of the students in the dormitory. The site requested funds for repairs and remodeling of the dormitories, and additional funding for two counselors, one social worker, one elementary teacher/tutor liaison, one secondary teacher/tutor liaison, one traditional culture student facilitator, two counselor technicians, eight home living assistants, and four substitute staff. The site was also designated for future construction of a 200-bed therapeutic dormitory that was intended to evolve out of the TRM program.

In the Proposal submitted to OIEP, all departments in the school made pledges to support this effort. The administration pledged to "actively seek to form an alliance with parents, guardians and community members to promote student learning and self-worth," to "emphasize staff development and planning," and to "involve school department heads in more active control," including holding them responsible for certifying the time and attendance of personnel under their supervision." The transportation department pledged its services for activities. The academic department promised to improve networking with the dormitories. School-wide, the site committed to establishing monthly staff development for the dorm, high school, and elementary staff, as well as a tutoring/mentoring program. The food service department agreed to provide a seven-day food preparation schedule. The facilities/maintenance department made a commitment to promptly respond to work orders. Residential and home living staff agreed to participate in the process of change. The recreation department offered "scores of outdoor activities such as: Whitewater rafting in Oregon, skiing in the Black Hills, and fishing, camping, hiking in the Badlands," and to involve the community in meeting the spiritual and cultural needs of the students.

The legislation mandated funding of TRM programs at three types of sites: a boarding school, a peripheral dormitory, and a day school with a residential component. The proposal at this site was funded to fulfill requirements of the third category. While the proposal was modeled after elements of the L1 program, when it came time to implement, the school administration decided that a seven-day dormitory program was not feasible. The focus shifted to providing activities for the five-night residential program and addressing the systemic barriers to success in the overall school system. In response, the funding agency requested the school to submit a revised project proposal, but such a proposal was never developed.

There was initial backing for the TRM proposal from the administrator of the school system, who attended pre-funding planning meetings and strongly supported the initiative. A TRM team was hired early in the school year (SY) 2001-2002 to spearhead implementation of the initiative. The initial site evaluation identified a number of systemic problems that needed to be addressed, and the TRM team had strong support of the administrator in developing strategies to address these problems. The initiative stalled when controversies led to the replacement of the administrator. The administrator brought in as a replacement did not support the TRM project. During the year, TRM team members gradually left the program, citing frustration with the lack of support for their efforts. At the end of year, approximately one-third of the allocated TRM

funds had been expended to support cultural and other evening activities in the dormitories, the introduction of the Morningside academic program in the elementary school, and attempts to establish a computerized student tracking system. But little else had been done to implement a TRM strategy. Nonetheless, data from anonymous school surveys were gathered in spring 2001, fall 2001, and spring 2002. These survey data were used to characterize the dynamics and components of this system as an example of issues faced by the reservation day schools that many boarding school students come from. For purposes of analysis, the site was designated as a No Treatment Day School (NTDS) site. Funding for the site was terminated after SY 2001-2002.

Student Characteristics

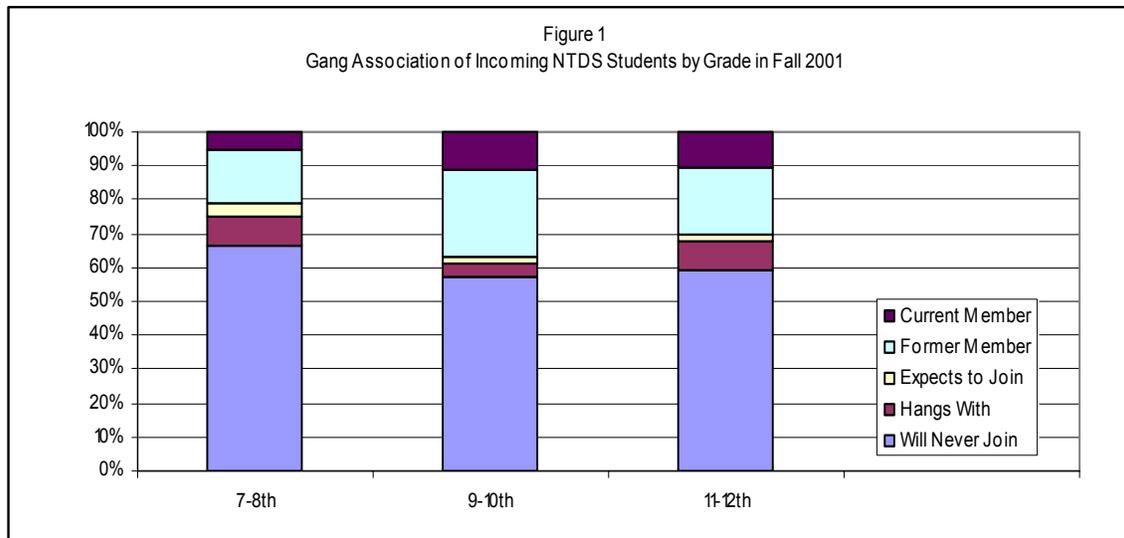
Data on incoming student characteristics are based on surveys conducted in fall 2001, at the beginning of TRM funding. A problem with attendance at this site resulted in a response rate far below that of the other sites in the study. The fall response rates at this site were 65% for grades 4-6, 51% for grades 7 and 8, 52% for grades 9 and 10, and 74% for grades 11 and 12. The enrollment and the percentages of students in attendance at the time of the survey reflect entry and attrition patterns at this site. Elementary school students were from the local area, but students graduating from more distant elementary schools entered at the middle school and high school levels. By grades 11 and 12, one-half of the population entering grade 9 had dropped out of school, but the remaining students had better daily attendance. Therefore, when interpreting the survey data, readers must recognize that they come only from the students remaining in school as opposed to the potential student population.

Life Stressors. Table 1 shows responses of NTDS students on the Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS), administered anonymously in fall 2001. It is clear that a number of incoming students had experienced school failure and been exposed to violence as either perpetrators or victims.

Table 1
History of Incoming Students, Fall 2001
– Anonymous ADAS Self Reports

Item	7 th -8 th grade	9 th -10 th grade	11 th -12 th grade
History of Antisocial Activity			
- Have been arrested	21%	40%	50%
- Have robbed someone	16%	13%	17%
- Have beaten up somebody	68%	66%	58%
- Have hurt someone using club/ chain/knife/gun	17%	14%	17%
School Failure			
- Have flunked a grade	37%	46%	54%
- Have been expelled from school	12%	17%	17%
Victimization			
- Have been beaten up by peer	15%	15%	19%
- Have been beaten up by someone not of same age	17%	18%	29%
- Been hurt with a club/knife/gun	14%	17%	16%
- Been robbed	26%	18%	20%

Gang Involvement. Students were asked in fall surveys about their gang involvement. Figure 1 shows the percentage of students in fall 2001 choosing each option to describe their level of involvement. Over one-half of the students in each grade group were determined to never join a gang.



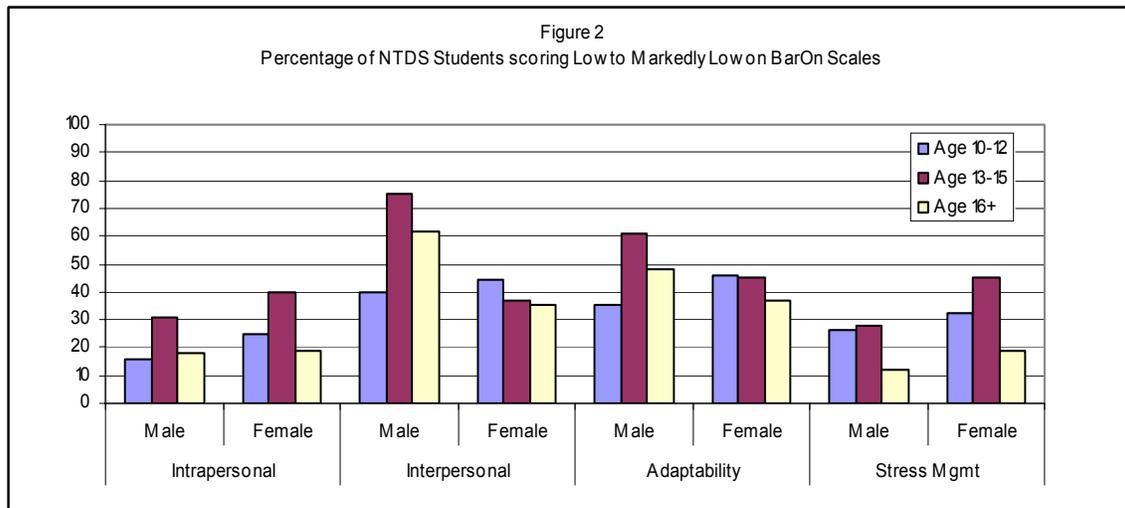
Alienation. Baseline measures of alienation, using the short form of the Jessor Alienation Scale (Jessor, Donovan, & Costa Frances, 1992), were taken at two time points prior to funding, the first in the spring of 2001 at the end of a school year, and the second in fall 2001 at the beginning of the first year of funding. For the older age group, those members of the preceding cohort still present at the end of SY 2000-2001 generally appeared to have higher alienation levels than the age group at the beginning of the next year (Table 2).

Table 2
Percentage of students agreeing with Jessor Items
Prior to TRM Funding

Items from the Jessor Alienation Scale	Ages 9-12		Ages 13+	
	Spring 01	Fall 01	Spring 01	Fall 01
Hardly anything I'm doing in my life means very much to me.	59%	49%	40%	35%
I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.	39%	42%	42%	33%
It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems	50%	44%	38%	34%
It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect.	67%	60%	59%	47%

The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory focuses on a number of areas necessary for successful functioning in the world, including intrapersonal skills (having to do with inner

knowledge and inner balance), interpersonal skills, ability to manage stress, and adaptability (reflecting confidence in ability to deal with situations that arise around oneself). Responses on the BarOn at the beginning of the first TRM school year (fall 2001), shown in Figure 2, indicated many incoming students scored low enough on the subscales that intervention was needed. Areas of greatest need were interpersonal skills and adaptability. The middle age group, the one most likely to experience attrition, had the highest number of students in need.



Substance Abuse. In fall 2001, many incoming students reported having tried various substances (see Table 3). There was a steep increase in substance use reported between elementary school and middle school. Inhalant use peaked in the middle school cohort.

Table 3
Percentage of L2 Students Reporting Past Substance Use, Fall 2001

	4 th -6 th	7 th -8 th	9 th -10 th	11 th -12 th
Alcohol	9%	56%	73%	90%
Marijuana	18%	65%	78%	86%
Cigarettes	20%	65%	74%	87%
Inhalants	7%	19%	12%	7%

Site Resources

Facility

Facilities ranged from good to poor condition. The girls' dorm, constructed in the 1930s, was a pleasant homelike situation with plenty of space for the 78 girls who lived there during the week. High ceilings, wide hallways, and adequate air circulation and windows contributed to a feeling of spaciousness. Rooms were not crowded; younger children slept in large rooms with up to seven roommates and high school girls occupied smaller rooms with a single roommate. Bathrooms were ventilated and cleaned daily. There was no evidence of mold or grime. However, the dorm showed its age with peeling paint and linoleum, disintegrating plaster, no

sprinkler system, some cracked or boarded-up windows, and inadequate lighting in the lounge area. During one site visit, no hot water was available one evening; a drinking fountain was out of order; bathroom hardware, such as toilet tissue holders and latches, needed repair; and the heating system produced temperature extremes in different rooms. The boys' dorm was in better condition. It had been recently painted and had received some repairs. All buildings on campus had a large number of flies as a result of missing or torn screens.

The grounds were littered with trash, a result, perhaps, of the lack of trash receptacles on campus. Concrete sidewalks and asphalt areas were disintegrating, and lawn areas were generally bare or consisted of weeds. Landscaping was non-existent. Parking lot lights were not on at night, and the campus itself was poorly lit. There were few trees. Growths of uncontrolled brush and weeds undermined both brick walls and concrete pathways.

The school buildings were clean and in good condition. They were attractively painted in traditional colors. The elementary and middle school students were served in a two-story structure that did not have an elevator for handicapped students and presented some hazards, such as open, unscreened windows, to active children. The high school was an attractive building in very good condition. However, it was reported that a shortage of funds in the construction phase resulted in an HVAC system that did not properly control the temperature, leaving students sweltering in classrooms designed without windows. The high school gym was in good condition, as was the library, which also served a computer room.

Some of these maintenance problems were addressed during the first year of TRM funding, and minor renovations were made to increase security in the dormitories. Trash containers appeared on campus, screens were replaced on cafeteria windows, and lights in the parking lot were put back into service. School drinking fountains had been fixed, neglected maintenance on out-of-order air-handlers in the high school had been rectified to address climate control problems, fencing was placed around some of the school grounds, and significant other maintenance was performed.

Staff

Results of staff surveys indicated that staff morale was poor. "Low staff morale" was cited as a major problem (rating of 4, *a major problem*, on a scale of 0 to 4) by 52% of respondents in October 2001 and 50% in May 2002. "Staff dissention" was considered a major problem by 40% of respondents in October and 30% in May. There was little support for administration policies. Fifty-three percent of the respondents characterized "Administration policies" as a major problem in October and 41% still had that same perception in May, under the second administrator. Comments on the questionnaires indicated a high level of staff frustration. Reasons given for this situation included the following:

- Lack of Discipline: Staff wanting to enforce no-tolerance policies felt frustrated when the administration did not back them up.
- Patronage in Staffing: Staff felt that a patronage system rather than a meritocracy governed staff hiring and accountability. Most referred to friendships and family status and ties. Lack of qualified candidates willing to live in this remote community made hiring for certain positions difficult.
- Disruption of Status Quo: The accountability and technology required by school reform and TRM had disrupted the status quo. The transition to use of technology had not been easy, and had created frustration. The site shifted over from a hard copy system to an e-mail

system before all departments were connected to e-mail, resulting in some departments not receiving adequate notification of pertinent meetings and activities. The new student tracking system depended on a remote server that was plagued by firewall and software problems.

- **Teamwork:** Staff were not working together as a team. The size of the school required coordination of efforts to accomplish goals. Staff wanting to achieve goals found themselves frustrated by what they considered incompetence and lack of cooperation in other staff crucial to the process.
- **Communication:** Staff felt they were not consulted about changes and solutions, decisions were top down, and decisions about students or staff were often made behind closed doors.
- **Lack of respect:** Staff and administrators exhibited frustration in dealing with each other, frequently acting with a lack of respect and in an adversarial manner.
- **Lack of planning:** Staff were frustrated with frequent interruptions in the scheduled school day. For example, the high school class schedules were frequently reversed. The PA system could be heard announcing last-minute updates to the schedule, abruptly changing the order in which students went to their classes. Staff were unsettled by this "chaos" and concerned about its impact on the students.
- **Accountability:** Staff projected a "can't do" rather than a "can do" attitude. Many staff were not doing their jobs and then blaming others for not allowing them or interfering with their ability to do their jobs.

Family and Community Support

The school is deeply embedded in the community. While this provides a significant cultural, spiritual, and emotional resource, staff were concerned that community pressure placed on the school often created problems, rather than helping them to achieve their goals. Factions in the community created an unstable political situation that impacted the school. Table 4 shows that many staff believed that conditions outside the school created a major problem for them.

Table 4
Staff Survey Items related to Community Environment, October 2001

Item	% of staff rating this 4 (a major problem)
School Board policies	46.5%
Low parental expectations of their children	45.1%
Lack of support from the home	47.7%
Family problems in the student's home	37.8%
Outside political pressures	48.0%

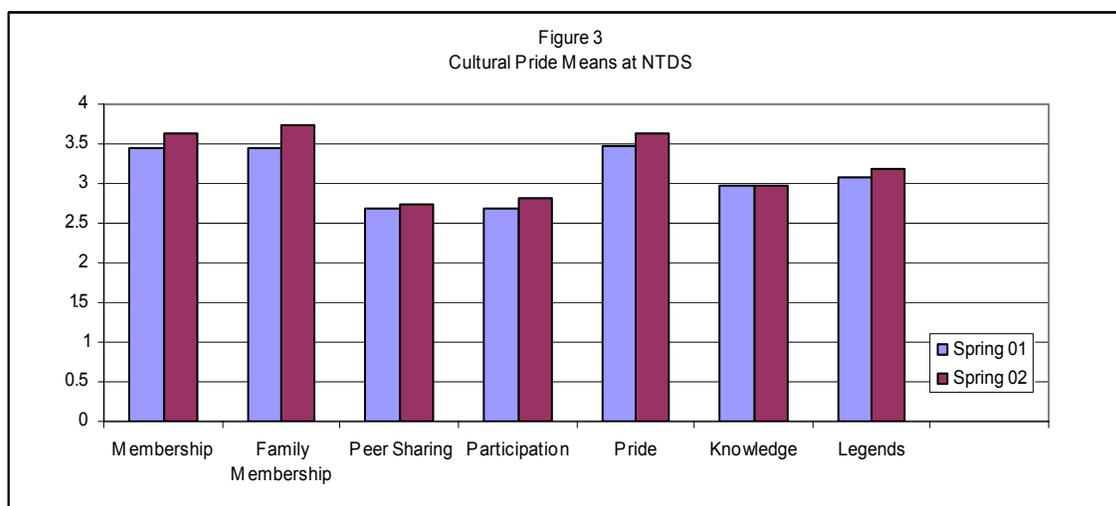
Many staff believed that parents failed to support school efforts to improve attendance, and viewed parents and the community as obstructing their efforts to reduce substance use and enforce discipline. Staff and administration reported threats to their persons and property, and indicated that political pressure was exerted on them to favor students with political or family connections. Similar pressure was reported to influence how staff were hired and held accountable. The administration bore the brunt of community pressure, caught between staff and community members.

Program and Service Components

Cultural Programming

The school is fortunate to have cultural traditional leaders on its staff. The school recognizes and has pride in its history and culture. Traditional and cultural activities are also present in the surrounding community. Students had a relatively high degree of cultural pride as measured on the cultural pride scale shown in Figure 3. According to the proposal, this area was to be augmented. Additional services were to include "firsthand involvement in a traditional drum group, traditional singing and dancing, honoring and naming ceremonies, appropriate rites of passage ceremonies, and purification and healing ceremonies." However, resources in this area were not increased. At the beginning of the project, one of the cultural traditional leaders already on the school staff was transferred to the TRM payroll and assigned to do evening classes for dormitory students, reducing to three the number of cultural traditional leaders left to serve the remainder of the students. The cultural leader detailed to TRM was frequently required to take over schoolroom duties of absent cultural leaders, often on very short notice.

Comparison of spring 2001 and spring 2002 surveys showed, cultural pride among the students had increased. However, this day school is so embedded in the community it is not possible to distinguish between the impact of school programs and the impact of community activities and perceptions.



Items:

Membership:	"I like being a member of my tribe."
Family membership:	"I like that my family is part of my tribe."
Peer sharing:	"I talk to my friends about things having to do with my tribe's culture (religion, customs, values, food, language, arts, pow wow and other celebrations)."
Participation:	"I participate in tribal and other Indian celebrations."
Pride:	"I am proud to be a member of my tribe."
Knowledge:	"I know about my tribe's culture and history."
Legends:	"I like telling and listening to tribal legends and stories about my ancestors."

Socialization/Life Skills

Every school environment has a number of reactive disciplinary policies, as well as proactive or preventive elements that encourage pro-social behavior and maintain order.

Standards of Conduct. This school had a handbook that outlined standards of conduct. From observations and the frustration expressed by many staff, it was clear that standards were not being consistently enforced for either staff or students. Results of the staff survey in May 2002 showed that 68.7% of the staff characterized "Discipline is inconsistent, not all students are treated equally" as a major problem, with a mean rating of 3.44 on a scale of 0 to 4. Students' May 2002 answers to survey questions regarding enforcement of different violations (see Table 5) profile areas of high and low enforcement.

Table 5
Enforcement of Standards

	Grades 7-8	Grades 9-10	Grades 11-12
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for being disruptive in class.	27%	15%	16%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for bullying another student.	30%	24%	30%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for hitting another student.	56%	51%	52%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for smoking.	65%	46%	44%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for drinking alcohol.	75%	63%	63%
Percentage of students believing students get in "a lot" of trouble for using other drugs.	76%	63%	69%
Percentage of students believing it is "very or mostly true" that school rules are fairly enforced.	58%	39%	48%
Percentage of student believing it is "very true" or "mostly true" that classroom and hallways are kept under control.	68%	45%	51%
Percentage of students saying it is "very true" or "mostly true" that "kids being disruptive keep me from learning."	60%	44%	62%
Percentage of students saying it is "very true" or "mostly true" that "kids threatening other kids make it hard to learn."	62%	39%	53%

Again, there is a caveat: The respondents were the "good" students who were in school on the day of the survey.

In May 2002, 58.7% of staff reported that lack of discipline for students was a major problem, and 63.9% reported that lack of consistency for students was a major problem. Staff reported feeling helpless and hopeless. They reported that parents threatened lawsuits, physical assaults, and damage to their property when they tried to enforce standards of conduct. Much of the staff criticism of the administration focused on administrators whom they viewed as bowing to pressure from politically well-placed parents, and interfering with discipline. According to reports, the school board did not support the no-tolerance policy expressed in the handbook. Observations by the evaluator supported the staff observations. Students were seen defacing school property and smoking cigarettes without interference from staff witnessing their actions.

Counseling. According to the proposal, six counselors were on staff to provide substance abuse services and other guidance counseling to students. In reality, many of their hours were spent on classroom teaching assignments.

Substance Use. The evaluator saw no evidence of an alcohol and substance abuse prevention program. At the end of the year of funding, it was noted that a substance abuse counselor position that was occupied the preceding year had been vacant since November of the TRM school year. Such a program was clearly needed. Statistics showed a continuing epidemic of substance use at NTDS. In spring 2002, 44.7% of staff characterized "Drug and alcohol problems of students" as a major problem. Students anonymously filled out the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS) questionnaire at three time points. When it is taken into account that nearly one-half of the students were not surveyed because of truancy, and those absent are more likely to use substances, the data in Figures 4-6 indicate the situation is serious.

Alcohol use among elementary students is low, but it takes off in the seventh and eighth grade group, where over of 30% of students attending at the end of the year reported consuming alcohol in the past 30 days. The students' use of alcohol increases 10% by grades 9 and 10 and then leaps to over 60% among juniors and seniors. Again, these are the "good" students who were in the school the day of the survey.

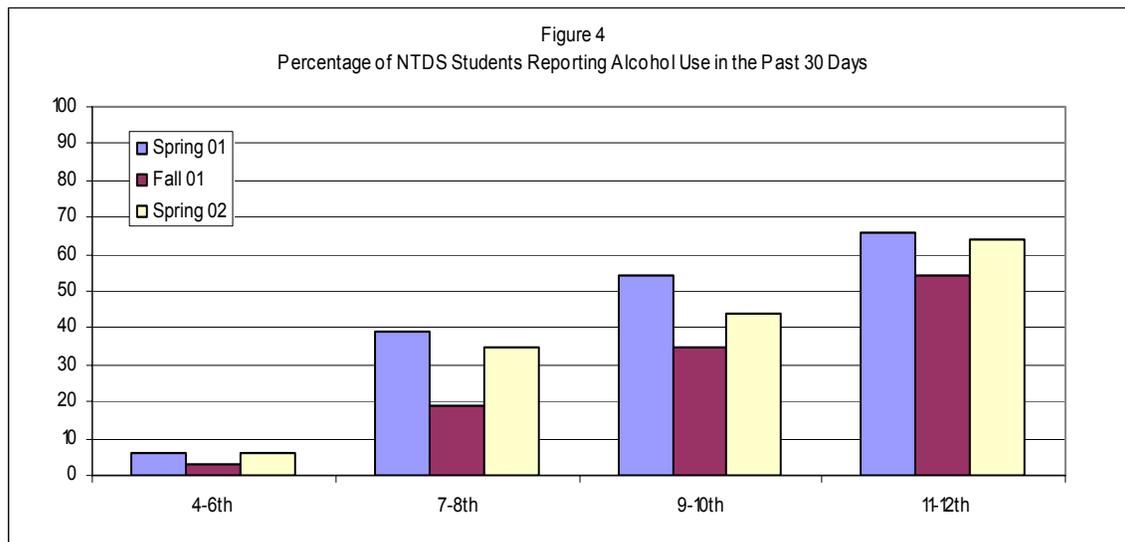
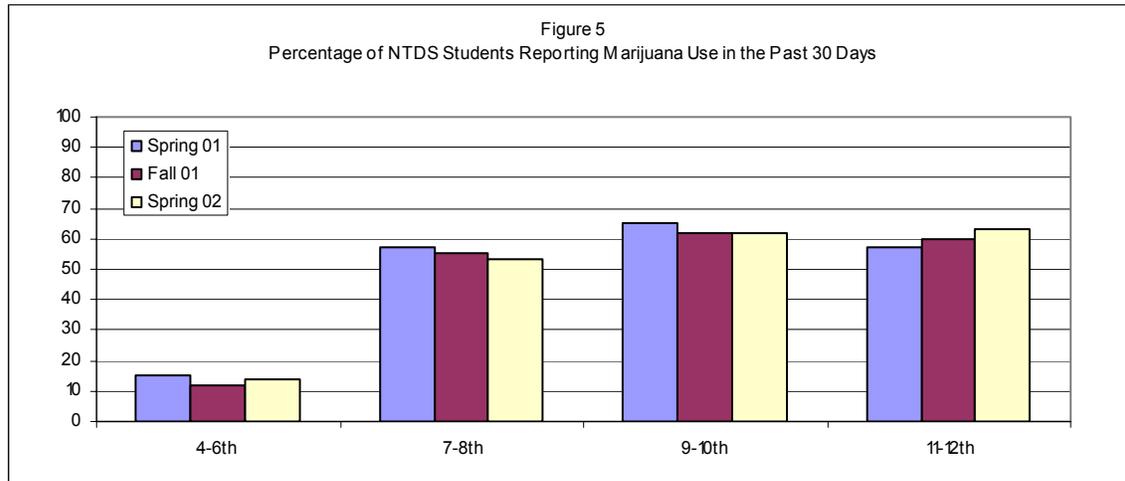
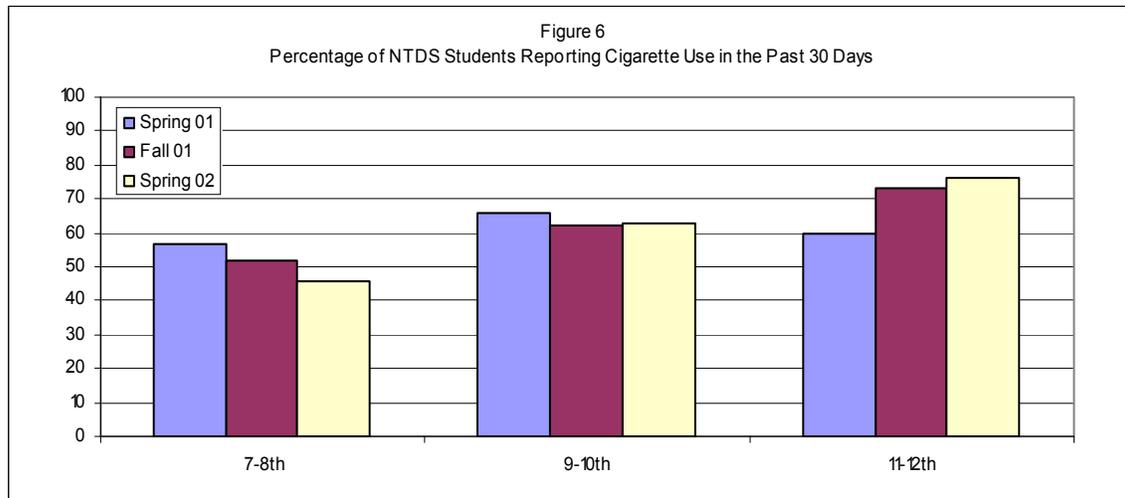


Figure 5 shows that marijuana use is minimal in elementary students, but jumps to over 50% upon entrance into middle school.



Approximately 60% of students attending middle and high school have smoked cigarettes in the past 30 days (Figure 6).



Role modeling may contribute to this problem: Many of the staff also struggled with substance use. In the spring 2002 survey, 31.8% of staff ranked "Drug and alcohol problems of staff" as a major problem. The observer noted that staff openly smoked cigarettes on campus in front of students. Students modeled this behavior, smoking cigarettes in the presence of staff on campus. A number of staff felt that they received little help from law enforcement; some alleged that members of the local police force sold drugs to students. Unlike the other TRM sites, security and resource officers were not allowed to do drug tests on students who were under reasonable suspicion of using substances.

Parental Liaisons. TRM parent liaisons were hired as proposed. However, they did little work with parents and did not perform home visits. The liaisons were relegated to largely clerical duties in the high school administrative and TRM offices, attempting to gather attendance and grade information from uncooperative teachers and placing phone calls to notify parents of their children's absence from school. TRM staff found themselves being used to replace office staff unwilling, unavailable, or unable to carry out their functions.

Residential Program. The dormitory provided a haven for a number of students. Open Sunday night through Thursday night, the dormitory provided housing for students who were either dropped off on Sunday evening, or came in on school buses on Monday mornings. Students returned home on Friday after school. Residential staff acted in the role of concerned relatives, and provided a caring and generally laid-back atmosphere for students under their care. The majority of the elementary students in the dormitories came from homes in the immediate vicinity that lacked the resources to cope with them, or from local families in difficult circumstances. At the high school level, many residential students come from outlying district communities, too distant to make daily return home feasible. During the winter when transportation was difficult, use of the dormitory peaked. Randomly selected bed check data of the two dorms found 79 students in February, 62 in March, 52 in April, and 39 in May. On the evaluator's spring visit, 47 girls were still on dormitory rolls; however, only 25 were counted at an all-dorm activity. Similarly, of the 25 boys listed as being in the boys' dorm, only 15 were found at the activity. Many older boys appeared to be using the dormitory as a handy optional hotel complete with meals. It was reported that the dorm population had been significantly reduced when a number of parents were notified that TANF and other benefits they were receiving for their children were being cut because their children stayed in the dormitory.

Many staff indicated that "Lack of after-school and weekend activities" was a serious problem for the students. In October 2001, 50.5% of staff responding to the staff survey characterized this lack of activities as a major problem. The proposal was to address this situation. Activities proposed for residential students included "hiking, camping, cooking, learning to play chess, soccer games, rope climbing, running a mile on the track, horseback riding, learning to sing Traditional [] songs, and working hard to learn difficult material in academic areas... All activities will be specifically designed to provide students with positive experiences guided by supportive and caring staff who provide positive reinforcement."

Because the dormitory did not expand to add weekend services, few of the activities proposed actually occurred. In addition to proposing increased staffing to provide coverage, the proposal had included an increase in dormitory resources by providing two counselors, one social worker, and additional TRM counseling techs (CTs) to provide a life skills component to students residing in the dorm. The counselors were to "participate with students in activities and provide active guidance and counseling services." The social worker was to determine special needs, network with appropriate services to meet those needs, and work with families in this process. As TRM was implemented, however, no additional counselors were provided to the dormitories. Two positions – home living specialist and Intensive Residential Guidance counselor – which existed at the time of the proposal, and which were fundamental to providing a therapeutic environment in the dormitories, were actually deleted. The social worker who had been hired by TRM at the beginning of the project resigned his post prior to the end of the year, citing a lack of training, resources, and cooperation.

Staff hired under the TRM program had little direct involvement with the dormitories. The administration used the TRM monies to fund other activities and services. The working hours of seven TRM staff were shifted during the course of the year to match school hours rather than

dormitory hours. At mid-year, TRM staff were withdrawn from the girls' dorm and placed in an office above the boys dormitory that was separate from both the school and the dorm. While a small number of elementary level boys attended study hall and cultural sessions, very few of the residential girls had regular contact with TRM staff. This left dormitory home living staff, whose numbers had not been expanded, to provide most of the life skills activities and to arrange for recreational activities. Dorm staff indicated there was little assistance from the recreation department in providing activities. On the positive side of the ledger, exercise equipment for the dormitory was installed, and memberships in the local Boys and Girls Club were provided by TRM money. One of the four school nights spent in the dorm was used for outside trips. Going to the movies was popular, but the evaluator noticed that elementary school students taken to movies returned after 10 p.m. – a late hour for a school night. Due to limited amenities in the local community, many activities involved lengthy and expensive transportation.

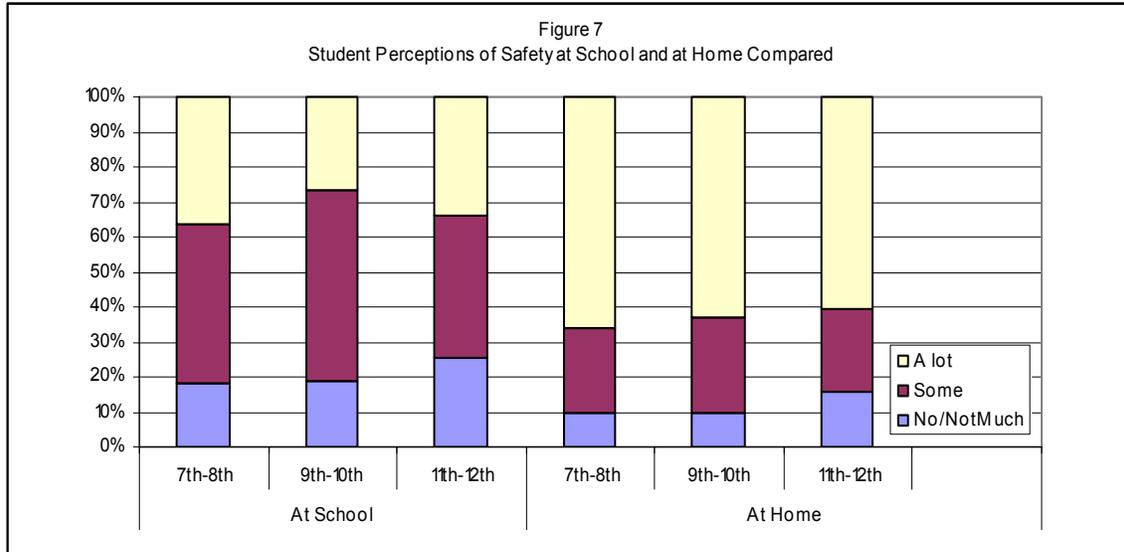
Community Service. This component was to emphasize connections to the elderly, handicapped, and children with medical needs to foster interaction among school, home, community, and the tribe. However, the only community service activity executed was picking up litter.

Home-style Living. This element was to provide practice in homemaking skills such as shopping for food, preparing home-style meals, and setting the table. However, while the dormitories were homelike, and dormitory staff did an excellent job of providing a homelike atmosphere, these sessions did not take place frequently. With the provision of TRM funding, dormitories were more likely to send out for pizza when food service was not available than to use their kitchens for preparing meals.

Interpersonal Relations. Like students at other sites, NTDS students scored disproportionately low on interpersonal relations – a skill needed to succeed in life. This issue was exacerbated in the high school setting where students from many different communities on the reservation were brought together. According to reports from staff:

- Bus drivers expressed concern about safety of students on their routes. According to the drivers, their lengthy routes had them picking up as many as 60 students from multiple communities. Traditional rivalries between some of these communities resulted in fights between students from different factions. As bus drivers were generally unaccompanied, they were unable to both drive and provide monitoring.
- Difficulties with constructive communication and intercommunity rivalries seemed to manifest themselves in frequent acts of violence. Staff reported as many as five fights per day on campus. Staff reports were at odds with official school report card data, which listed only 41 incidents of violence in SY 1999-2000, 25 incidents in SY 2000-2001, and 62 in SY 2001-2002. This discrepancy suggests that a high threshold for designation of an incident as violence may exist at this site.

Figure 7 shows the responses of students when asked whether they felt safe “at school” and asked how safe they felt “where I live.” The majority of students appeared to feel safer at home than at school.



Academic Programming

This site had a number of programs to improve the students' academic achievement. Students were tested using the Stanford Achievement Test #9. Prior to the advent of TRM, the STAR Math and STAR Reading programs provided students with assessment and feedback on areas needing improvement. The Dakota Academic Comprehensive System was also in place. The TRM program added the Morningside reading program that custom-designed a process to address students' reading weaknesses and trained teachers and tutors to administer it. A study hall was required for students with grades of C and below, and was provided for other students on a voluntary basis. An ROTC program was active on campus. Seniors were offered ACT preparation courses. A youth opportunities program provided training and partial employment to students.

This site's academic area was in particular need of improvement. Table 6 compared mean scores of the top 36 college-bound students from NTDS with state and national norms on the ACT for 1999-2000.

Table 6
Comparison of Average ACT Scores
for 1999-2000 for NTDS

	English	Math	Reading	Science	Composite
National	20.5	20.7	21.4	21.0	21.0
State	20.7	21.2	21.8	21.8	21.5
NTDS	13.3	15.2	15.4	15.1	14.8

Morningside Program. The most significant success of the TRM program was the Morningside reading program. Elementary teachers enthusiastically adopted the program, and expressed appreciation for the training received from the program instructors. Teachers reported that children's reading improved, which boosted teacher morale and teamwork. Parents reported

that their children had become enthusiastic readers. According to the Morningside assessments, reading readiness deficits were apparent at the kindergarten level, and there were fewer competent students at each successive grade level. Morningside found that not one student in grades 4-8 could read fluently at even one grade level below their actual grade placement. They reported that teachers had depressed expectations of students, tending to perceive that students of only average skill were very advanced.

Residential Programs. The original TRM program proposed an intensive dormitory-based tutoring program using two certified teachers. Evaluation found the focus on studies in the dormitory had been only sporadic. A retired teacher ran the TRM study hall in the boys' dorm, which was open to all residential and non-residential students after school. The number of students averaged about 10 (approximately 1% of the student body) on the afternoons this study hall took place. Only two or three of the elementary girls sporadically attended this study hall. Examination of girls' dorm records of the two preceding months indicated that in-dormitory study hall sessions occurred only infrequently (1 hour a week or less) for older girls.

The dorms lacked adequate computers for student use; computers observed were old and were being used only for dorm management and video games.

Tutoring and Study Halls. TRM staff struggled to coordinate a program providing after-school tutoring and study halls to the general school population. Prior to the TRM program, the staff for grades K-8 kept those students in need of additional help in their rooms after school. The high school, however, was unable to develop a functional system for ensuring that students with low or failing grades actually participated in the mandatory study hall. The TRM program initially proposed to move all students in need of help into the cafeteria, where there was space to do a study hall. There were significant difficulties with getting students into this new location and attending to them. Reportedly, bus drivers also resisted transporting a second, late busload of students. According to reports from K-8 teachers, this disrupted a system that had been working for their students.

An incentive awards program for students with all As and Bs and no absences was put in place by TRM. The success of this awards program was hampered by the difficulty of getting accurate and timely information about grades and attendance. It was viewed as a reward for successful students rather than an encouragement for failing students. The program's lack of success in encouraging achievement can be seen in the fact that fewer, rather than more, students qualified to receive these awards over time. Among elementary students, the number of awardees dropped during the year from 38 to 16. In the high school, the number declined during the year from 33 to 7 students. Only about one-half of the parents and students showed up for award ceremonies.

Career Guidance. Over 60 students were involved in a gifted and talented program and a youth opportunities program. However, as can be seen in Table 6, even the best and the brightest students at NTDS were at a significant academic disadvantage when they entered college. Given the significant deficits in interpersonal skills and lack of confidence in their ability to deal with new situations, a high rate of failure in post-secondary education can be predicted. The computerized tracking system proposed for the TRM program was designed to quantify the extent to which adequate career guidance was taking place; however, it was not implemented.

Mental Health Services

Staff were concerned about students' emotional needs. In May 2002, 39.8% of staff rated "Emotional problems of students" as a major problem. "Family problems in the student's home" were seen by 45.2% of staff as a major barrier. "Shortage of therapeutic services for students with problems" was rated by 48.7% of staff as being a major problem. Forty-eight percent of the staff considered "Low student expectations of themselves" to be a major problem.

At the time of its TRM proposal, the site had six counselors providing either substance abuse or guidance counseling, and the school proposed to use TRM funding to hire an additional six counseling techs and two social workers. Counselors handled referrals from other staff and referred students in need of more extensive help to the very limited Indian Health Services resources located in the community. However, it was determined that in practice, little attention was paid to the students' mental health issues. Counselors on the school payroll, who were certified and could be available for counseling students, were required to carry class teaching loads of 20 hours or more hours a week.

Individual screening and assessment had been in place for dormitory students since 1996, using services provided by the University of Colorado. An additional source of services was put in place for residential students only toward the end of the year of funding, through a very limited TRM contract with a consortium of traditional healers. All but one staff member at this organization lacked certification, which was a barrier to getting this contract in place.

Staff Affirmation of Students. Most of the staff appeared to have a laissez-faire attitude toward student problems. Some administrators and teachers expressed the opinion that students who didn't want to attend school should not be forced to do so, as their presence interfered with the school's ability to serve students who wanted to attend. Rather than aggressively addressing them, staff appeared to have confidence that students will grow out of problems. Dorm and school staff were generally seen treating students as if they were younger siblings or nephews and nieces. Although some teachers were frustrated and treated recalcitrant students rudely, the majority of staff appeared to have a friendly, jovial relationship with the students. The positive side to this equation is that students were receiving a great deal of affirmation from the staff. The negative side is a reluctance to enforce discipline or to interfere in family affairs for fear of parents who were vocal in support of their children's rights. However, the bottom-line analysis is that many students do not have the structure, the consistency, and the assistance they need, as can be seen from the BarOn data. Many students scored particularly low in self-confidence regarding their ability to adapt to new situations and challenges, and in interpersonal skills. Some staff who made mental health referrals were concerned that "nothing happened." A number of staff expressed the option that the community associated a stigma with seeking assistance for mental health issues. Other staff expressed hesitation to intervene in family situations due to fear of personal ramifications.

Physical Health Components

Physical needs of the students were being met. Food service in the cafeteria provided adequate nutrition at three meals a day on Monday through Thursday, and breakfast and lunch on Fridays. The school had athletic fields and both an elementary school and a high school gym. Very few of the students observed appeared to be overweight. While there were two gyms on campus and a weight room, many of the machines in the weight room needed repair. Students

appeared active, and many participated in sports. There was some evidence, however, that access to facilities for non-athletes was limited. Several staff commented on the lack of sports activities for non-athletes. In the evening, the observer noted that outdoor lighting was too poor for use of outdoor courts. Residential staff reported coordination problems with the recreational staff; the evaluator noted that arrangements made by dorm staff one night to use the gym fell through when no one appeared to open the doors. However, the athletes, some with enough talent for college athletic scholarships, may have been negatively impacted by the school's emphasis on sports. The school athletic schedule frequently took them out of class. Due to the remote location of the site, student athletes went on road trips which could take four to five days, causing them to miss a significant amount of class time. Staff also reported incidents where academic ineligibility had been circumvented by doctoring of transcripts.

Outcome Data

Outcome data tracked a number of indicators. Retention rate was considered the major indicator of a successful program for residential situations, and attendance the major indicator for day schools. In addition, data were examined to evaluate such key indicators of developmental success as school bonding, peer and social bonding, adaptability and stress management, meaning and identity, and academic achievement.

Attendance

Attendance was a major problem at this site. While official school report card attendance figures appeared fairly positive (average daily attendance for SY 1999-2000 was 80%; for SY 2000-2001, 83%; and for SY 2001-2002, K-8 was 87% and 9-12 was 66%), TRM found the system for attendance records in disarray. On many days, staff claimed, over 50% of the high school student body was absent. The seriousness of this problem could only be estimated due to lack of data. By the end of the year of funding, an electronic tracking system was in place to track attendance, and data received from teachers had been entered. However, a data check at the spring site visit found that of the 25 high school teachers, only 11 had reported class attendance for the previous day, and many reportedly had not been turning in reports for most of the year. As the absenteeism record only included classes reported, the calculations of attendance which assumed the student was present unless reported absent appeared to be seriously underreporting the extent of the problem. Table 7 presents data on high school attendance based on absences recorded in the system for the first months of school. It should be noted that, because many absences appear to have been unreported, the true number of absences may be more than double that reported.

Table 7
System Reported Absences for NTDS High School for 8/21/01 to 10/26/01

	Number of students (percentage) who had missed 18-36 classes	Number of students (percentage) who had missed more than 36 classes
Freshmen (n=202)	56 (28%)	89 (44%)
Sophomores (n=130)	24 (16%)	57 (44%)
Juniors (n=83)	30 (36%)	32 (37%)
Seniors (n=65)	22 (34%)	20 (31%)

As another indicator of significant attendance problems, only about one-half of the students were in school when the survey data shown in Table 8 were collected. Nearly one-half of the currently enrolled students were not present on the days that student surveys were administered, despite the advertised incentive of getting a popular T-shirt for filling out the survey.

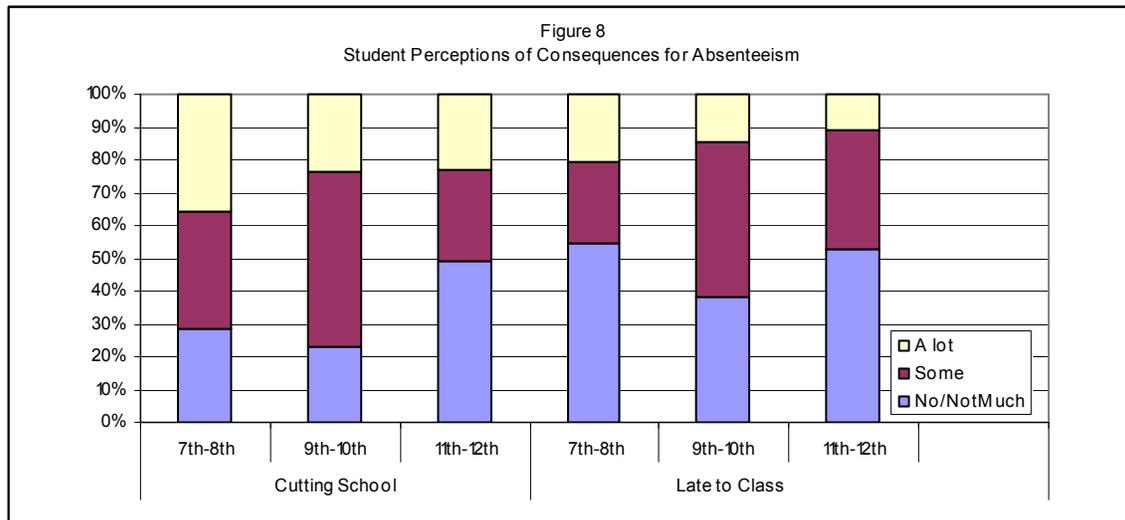
Table 8
Attendance at Survey Time Points

	Grades 4-6	Grades 7-8	Grades 9-10	Grades 11-12
Percentage of enrolled students present for spring 2001 survey	76%	74%	41%	54%
Percentage of enrolled students present for fall 2001 survey	65%	51%	52%	74%
Percentage of enrolled students present for spring 2002 survey	63%	46%	48%	68%

A procedure was in place for handling absenteeism. According to this procedure, parents of any students not present were to be called that same morning. After an absence of three days, a formal notice was to be mailed to parents. If the child remained absent from school, a home visit was to be made. This procedure was followed in the elementary school, and attendance there was concomitantly high. There was, however, evidence that the high school was not giving parents adequate notification. The truant officer spent his day in a classroom babysitting students who were found outside their classrooms during class periods. Many truants were not apprehended, and were seen loitering on campus and in the nearby town center during school hours. Box 1 shows multiple breakdowns occurring in the mechanism for dealing with truancy, and the reasons staff gave for the breakdown.

Box 1 Accountability Problems	
Procedures designed to result in good attendance.	“Can’t do” reasons for not following procedures:
Lack of attendance is to be reported to the administration office the morning of absence.	The Firewall was messing up the computer system, we can't enter or retrieve data. Teachers were not turning in the information.
Call is to be made to parents when student is identified as absent	The computer system was not working properly. Administration staff was not here or too busy to call parents.
Written report is to be sent to parents after three days.	High school office staff were not sending out notices in a timely fashion. Administrative Staff were absent from work for extended periods of time and nobody else picked up the ball.
If there is no response to written or oral communications, a home visit is to be done.	Home visits were not done, because the school vehicles were not available.
A tribal resolution requires enforcement of requirement that parents send children to school.	Can't be enforced, for fear of trouble with the parents. We can't enforce it, the administration won't back us up. Nobody was assigned to do it.

Figure 8 shows student responses to “How much trouble would a student at your school get into for” either “cutting school” or “being late to class.” It should be emphasized that the respondents are the “good” students who were in school that day.

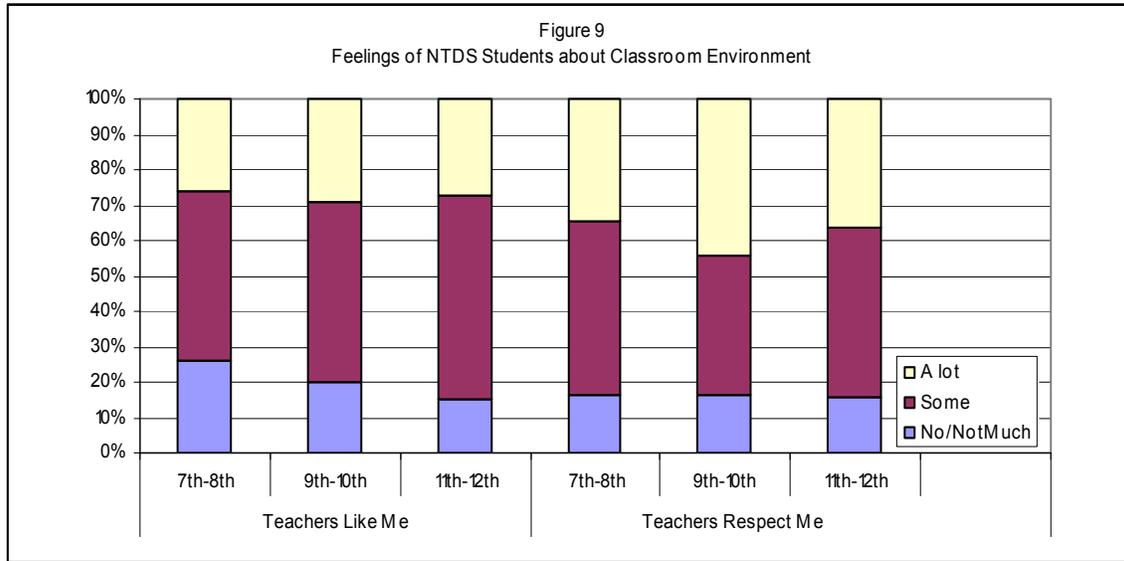


Absenteeism among staff was an additional issue. According to reports from fellow staff and students, some teachers and other staff members were frequently absent from their posts. They reported that staff absenteeism was so prevalent that there were not enough substitute teachers. As a result, multiple classes of students were herded into the library or gym to sit out their class time. An unannounced tour of high school classrooms by the evaluator during a spring site visit showed that of 25 teachers scheduled to be in their classrooms during that period, 5 (20%) were absent for the day and 6 were reportedly on site but not present in the vicinity of the classroom. Thirteen teachers who were actually in or in the vicinity of their classrooms had a relaxed format; 6 were showing videos and 7 appeared to be chatting casually with some students while other students interacted with each other or hung out in the hall. In only one classroom did the evaluator find a teacher at the blackboard and students sitting in rows of desks paying attention.

The community responded to early site visit reports regarding absenteeism problems at the school. Community pressure resulted in action by the local police force, which mounted a dragnet operation to pick up truants. According to reports, the high school was unable to handle the large number of students delivered by the police force. An administrative decision to deliver the students to a juvenile detention center was unpopular with the community.

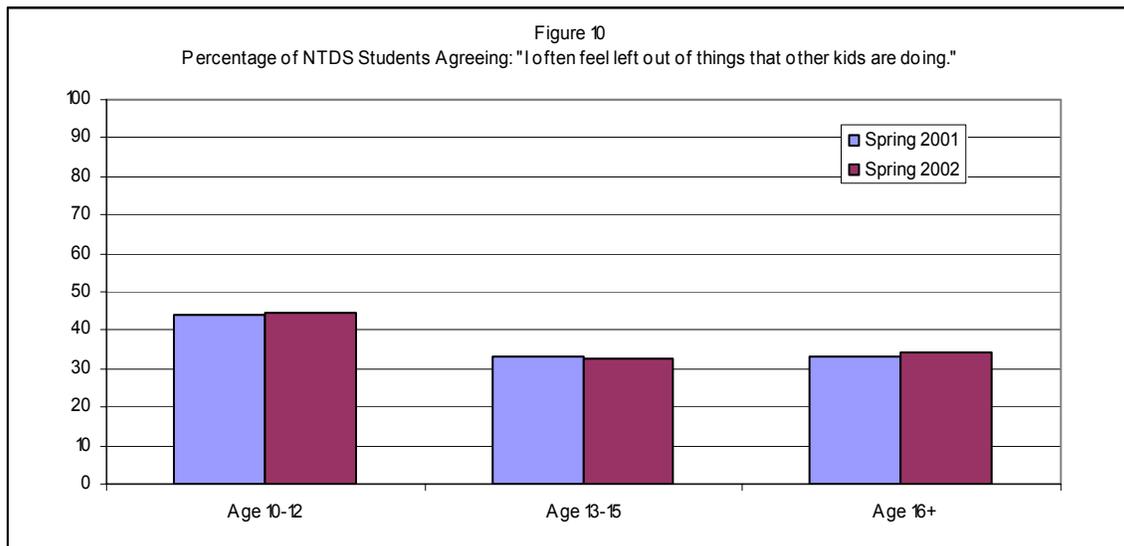
School Bonding

Figure 9, based on May 2002 data, indicates most students felt at least some liking and respect from their teachers.

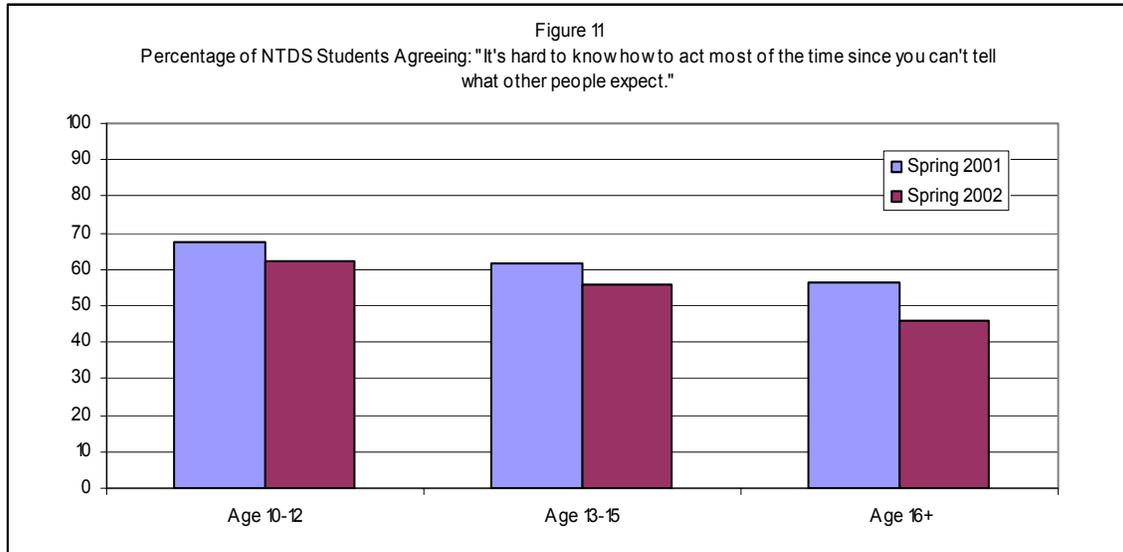


Peer and Social Bonding Indicators

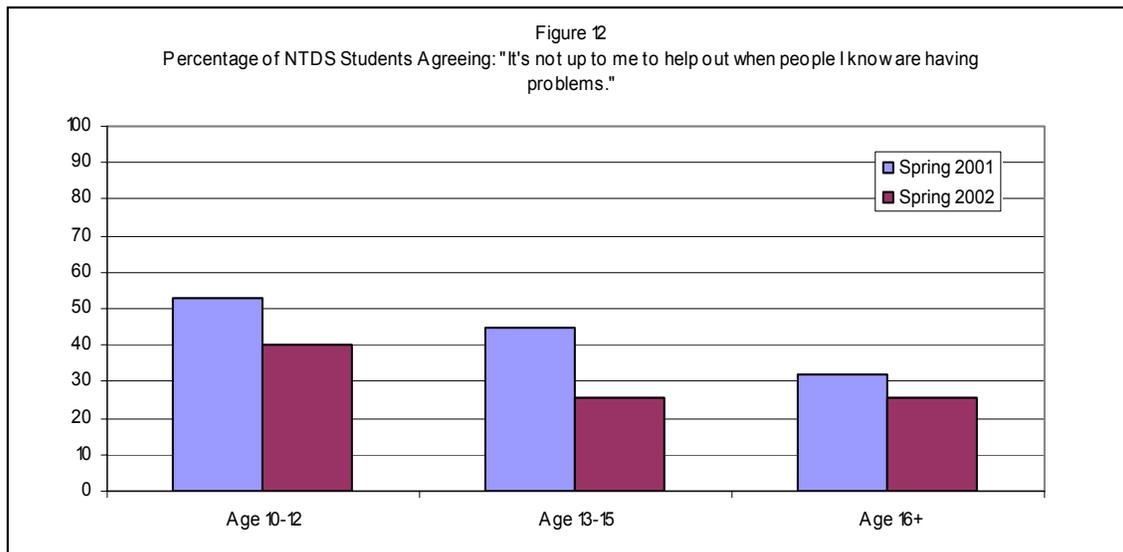
Alienation. Figure 10 shows that there was no change between spring 2001 and spring 2002 in the percentage of students agreeing with the Jessor Alienation item indicating they felt "left out."



There appeared to be a slight shift downward in the percentage of students in all age groups agreeing with the Jessor item "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect." Responses on this measure (Figure 11) by day school students reflect their experiences in school, home, and community. The high continuing level of agreement indicated inconsistency from significant others in the lives of these students.

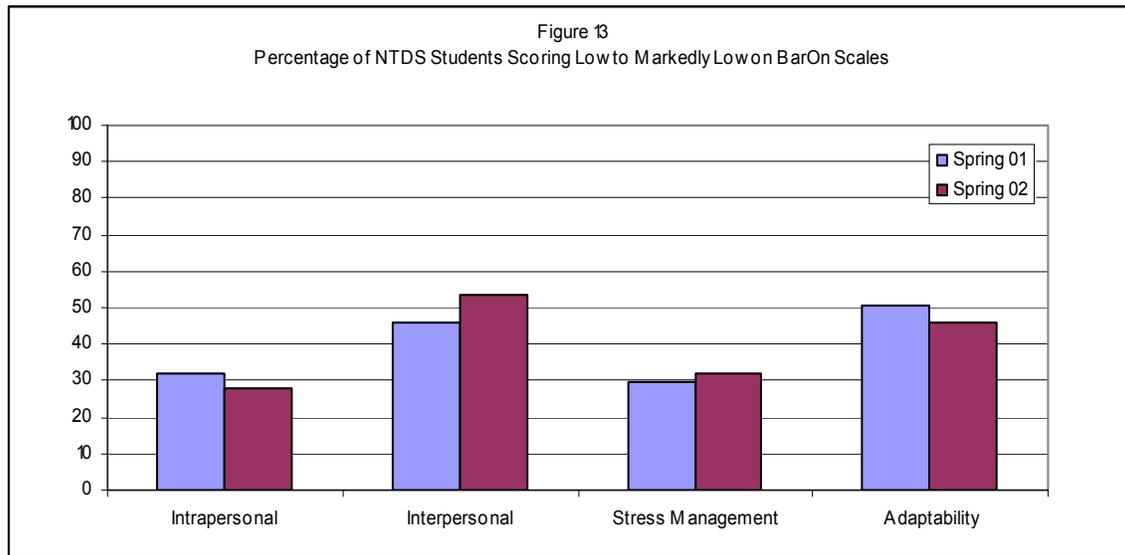


A high percentage of students agreed with the statement that "It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems." On the positive side, Figure 12 shows that at the end of the year of TRM funding, more students appeared to accept social responsibility than in the preceding year.



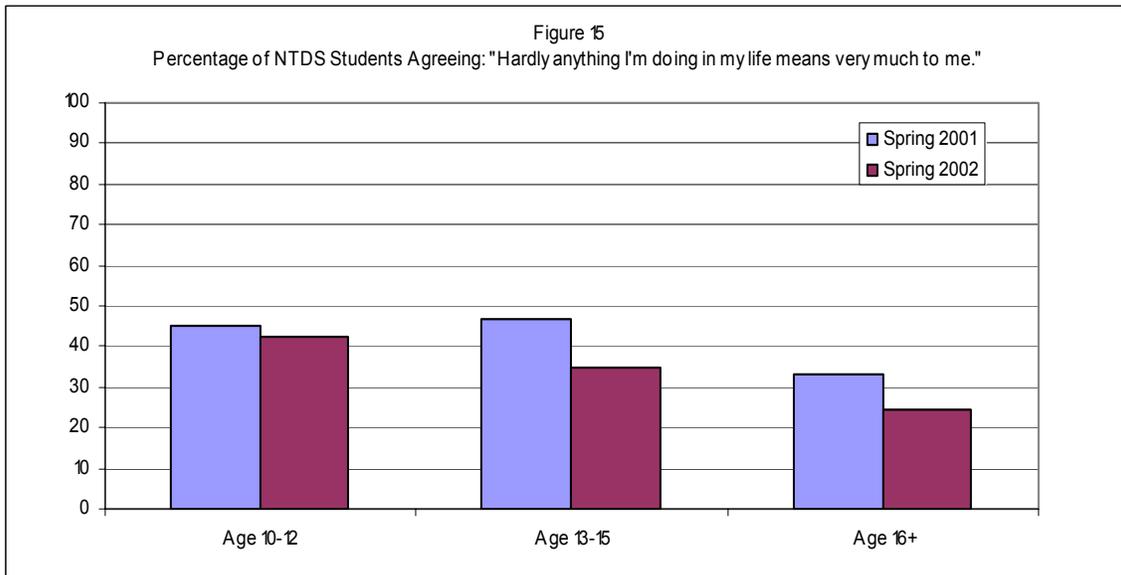
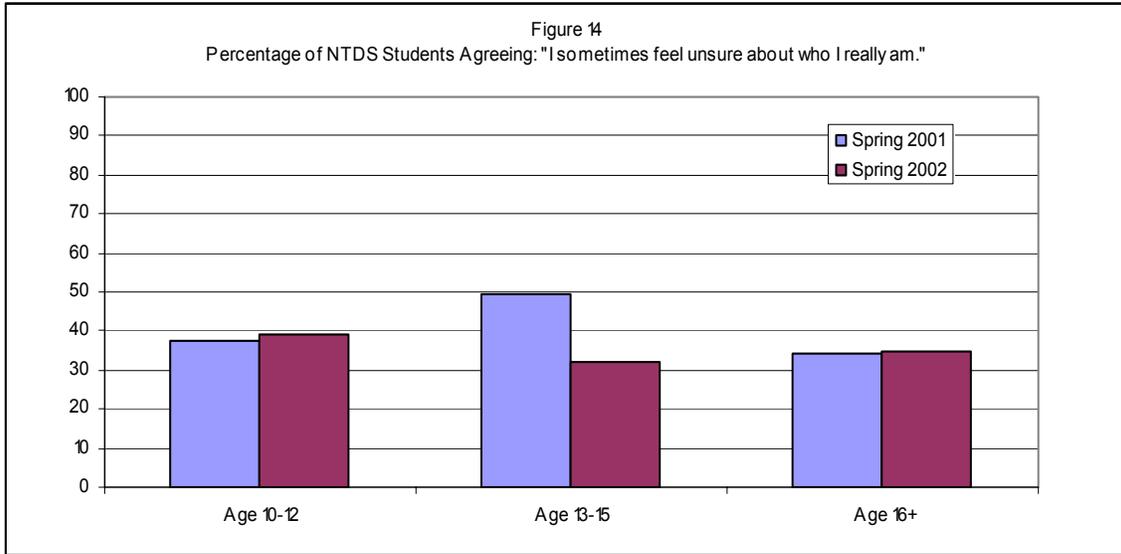
Adaptability and Stress Management

Statistics on the BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory (Figure 13) show that there continued to be a sizable number of students at NTDS who needed assistance in their emotional lives. The greatest needs continued to be in interpersonal skills and in adaptability (confidence in one's ability to meet challenges). The percentage of students scoring low on stress management appeared close to instrument norms of 25%. Again, it should be emphasized that these results reflect the status of only those students surveyed – those who are managing to attend school.



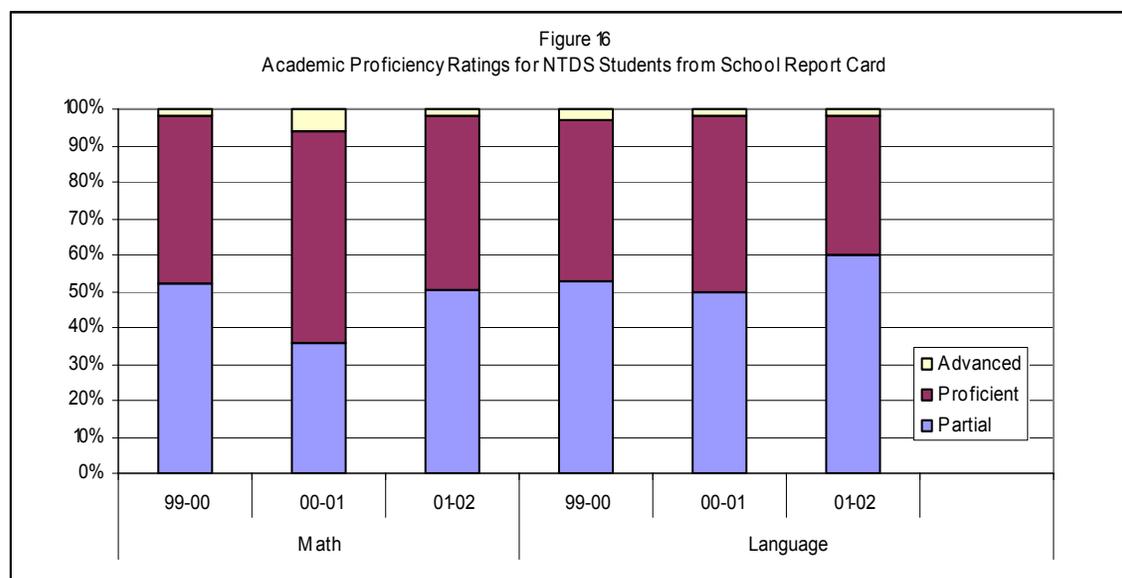
Identity and Meaning

The middle school group appeared to demonstrate a trend (χ^2 is not significant) toward a decrease in uncertainty regarding identity (Figure 14). The Jessor item having to do with meaning also showed a possible trend toward a decrease in alienation (Figure 15). Without further, more intensive study, it would be difficult to make causal attributions for such a decrease. Unlike the closed environments of the other sites which boarded students for seven days a week, there were far too many variables in this day school site to be easily monitored and measured.



Academic Achievement

Figure 16 shows academic proficiency levels based on the school report card information during the year of funding, as well as the two years preceding funding. The school has had an ongoing struggle to increase student proficiency levels.



Discussion

There was potential at this site. There were adequate resources and a number of strong, talented, high-energy staff who were committed to the students. The major barrier was that this strength was not being harnessed into a team effort. The staff were divided, angry, and frustrated at the system both inside the school and outside in the community. Rather than problem-solving and teamwork, there was a stalemate that revealed itself in chaos. Placed in a difficult position by political factions and frustrated parents in the community, administrators became targets of staff dissatisfaction – the first administrator was targeted because changes were top down and upset the status quo, and the second administrator came under fire because staff saw there were no changes to improve the status quo.

This site needed to address the lack of teamwork and accountability. It was strongly recommended that a team approach, rather than a top down approach, be utilized in addressing problems, and that the campus computer network be utilized as a channel to improve communication up and down the system.

The proposal funded at this site had not been adequately vetted by the staff and other stakeholders. The original proposal for this site was designed to replicate a situation in a very different environment – a highly structured residential setting that required students and parents to commit to extended periods of time without visits home. The site being replicated had the advantages of a unified staff, the long-term stability of a strong committed administrator, and the strong support of its school board. None of those conditions existed at NTDS. The feasibility of implementing this plan in this site was questionable, as it presumed the shift from a five-day-per-week to a seven-day-per-week residential program, a strategy that administration officials at

NTDS reported had been tried and abandoned in the recent past. Under the assumption that this demonstration project would be successful, plans had been made to build a 200-bed therapeutic dorm at this site for seven-day residential students. Questions raised by the evaluation were:

1. Can such a dorm be properly administered given the current lack of leadership and poor teamwork?
2. The current dorms are under-utilized. Students using the dormitories due to transportation issues may increasingly be accommodated by the many local schools that have sprung up closer to their homes. Is the NTDS dormitory situation an anachronism?
3. If a seven-day residential dormitory with a truly therapeutic orientation were implemented, would such a designation be accepted by the community? Many of the older students appear to be using the dormitory as a handy optional hotel complete with meals. Can the structure and designation of a therapeutic dorm fit their requirements? For local students with problem family situations, the current dormitories function as unofficial group homes. Would there be a stigma if this designation becomes formalized?
4. Given the permeability of the campus and its significant problems, is this the most appropriate location for students in need of a therapeutic environment?

The TRM proposal was developed with little real input from staff, and thus it contained elements at odds with the school's daily realities. Without staff input at the inception, the project generated little support.

This site spent approximately one-third of its allocated budget. With the exception of the Morningside program, the TRM money went to largely unsuccessful efforts to mobilize school staff to carry out the basic functions of a school. For research purposes, this site can be considered a no treatment site. Because of its inclusion in the baseline and outcome data-gathering system, it was able to gather valuable qualitative and quantitative data for comparison with other sites, and to represent an example of problems faced by some reservation day schools.

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Reference

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BEST PRACTICES: A CROSS-SITE EVALUATION

Judith A. DeJong, Ph.D. and Philip S. Hall, Ph.D.

For well over a century, there have been boarding schools for American Indian children. During the last decades, the long history of these boarding schools has increasingly come under the review of historians and social scientists. The reviews making the biggest splash focused on those boarding schools having misguided policies or run by incompetent administrators. But often overlooked in these post-hoc assessments of boarding schools is the complexity of the issues they have faced and continue to face. There are no perfect boarding schools that have gotten everything "right," just as there are no other perfect social organizations. The situation each boarding school faces is complex; each has achieved some sort of functional equilibrium of key factors which form a unique constellation: staff, administration, resources, programs, current state and federal policy, community of location, communities of origin, families, and tribes. The unique configuration that makes up each boarding school's environment attempts to meet the needs of as many students as possible, and tries to maximize positive outcomes. Recognizing that there is room for improvement, the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) provided several years of funding to a group of schools in order to enhance their services to children. Respecting the diversity of the schools, the OIEP invited boarding schools to submit proposals that enhanced their extant strengths and linked "clinicians, counselors, and mental health professionals with academic program personnel in a culturally sensitive residential program tailored to the particular needs of Indian students" in order "to achieve positive changes in attitudes, behavior and academic performance of Indian youth attending boarding schools." (Improving America's Schools Act of 1994). The selected boarding schools were provided Therapeutic Residential Model (TRM) funding to carry out their proposals. To determine each site's accomplishments as well as the efficacy of this approach, the OIEP concurrently implemented a cross-site evaluation. The evaluation was designed to (1) provide a record and evaluation of the characteristics of each site's environment prior to funding, (2) document the course of planning and implementation of changes during TRM funding, (3) collect data on incoming students and outcome data agreed upon by all sites, (4) provide ongoing analyses of the data to the sites so that administrators could make program changes, and (5) use process and outcome data from these diverse sites to draw cross-site conclusions.

Retention is the clearest and most basic indicator of success in a boarding school because it represents the convergence of a number of factors: the ability of the system to meet the particular needs of each child, the capacity of the system to stabilize children emotionally and to socialize them into acceptable behavior patterns, the comfort level of children with the environment provided, and parents' perception that staying in the system is in the best interests of their children. Conversely, major reasons why children leave the system are homesickness, belief that they are needed at home, failure to adjust to the demands of the system, perturbation of the system to the extent that it rejects them, and removal by parents who need them at home or are either unhappy with or unimpressed by what the system has to offer. Simply put, high retention means that the system is working for the students entrusted to its care. Two of the 5 sites involved in the TRM program achieved high levels of retention; one did so in the years prior to TRM funding, and the other site made impressive gains during the study. Section 1 of this cross-site evaluation identifies the factors that were common to sites that achieved high retention, and it describes the prevailing situation at those sites that were not successful at retaining students.

Section 2 examines the process and outcome indicators that presumably impacted the retention rate at each TRM site. Table 1 shows key characteristics of at-risk youth and characteristics of the healing environment as defined by Reclamation Theory (Brendtro, Brokenleg, & Van Bockern, 2002, pp. 4-8) in comparison to process and outcome indicators used in this evaluation, focusing primarily on grades all sites had in common.

Table 1
Indicators and Reclamation Theory

At Risk Factors	Healing Environment	Indicators
"DESTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS, as experienced by the rejected or unclaimed child, hungry for love but unable to trust, expecting to be hurt again."	"Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy."	<u>Social Bonding</u> - School Bonding (ADAS) - Inclusion (Jessor) - Interpersonal (BarOn)
"CLIMATES OF FUTILITY, as encountered by the insecure youngster, crippled by feelings of inadequacy and a fear of failure."	"Meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults."	<u>Achievement</u> - School Achievement - Adaptability (BarOn)
"LEARNED IRRESPONSIBILITY, as seen in the youth whose sense of powerlessness may be masked by indifference or defiant, rebellious behavior."	"Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behavior."	<u>Responsibility</u> - Reliability (Jessor) - Stability (ADAS)
"LOSS OF PURPOSE, as portrayed by a generation of self-centered youth, desperately searching for meaning in a world of confusing values."	"Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults."	<u>Meaning & Identity</u> - Cultural Pride (Index) - Meaning (Jessor) - Identity (Jessor) - Social Responsibility (Jessor)

Each of the preceding chapters described the philosophy, staff, resources, programs, outside stakeholders, and outcomes of a single site. It became evident during the study that the diversity of sites provided examples of how system characteristics impeded positive change or decreased ability to meet the needs of children, as well as examples of best practices. Section 3 compares and contrasts the sites to provide a perspective on what qualities and conditions likely contributed to their ability (or lack of ability) to meet the needs of children. Areas addressed are staff, management, and administration; their relationship with families and communities; and their methods of transitioning students into the boarding school, dealing with the students' emotional problems, and aiding their socialization and academic proficiency. In addition, Section 3 examines each boarding school's ability to establish a data feedback loop to guide dynamic system change.

Section 4 is entitled *Elephants in the Living Room*, and deals with common issues across sites.

Methodology

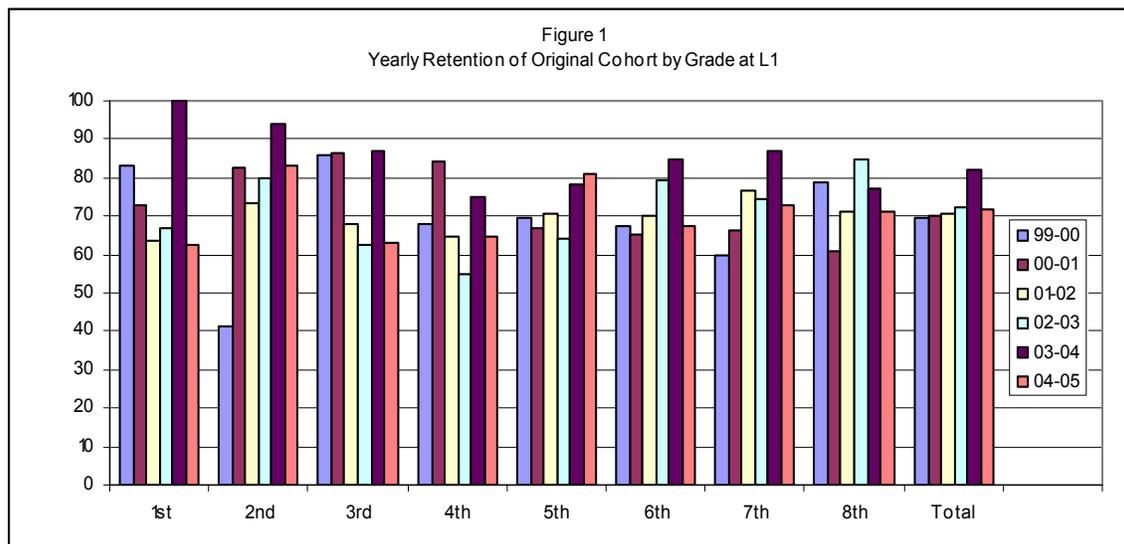
Staff and student surveys provided the basis for data comparison among boarding schools. The Prevention Planning Survey section of the American Drug and Alcohol Survey (ADAS), the Jessor Alienation Scale, The BarOn Emotional Quotient Inventory (BarOn), and a cultural pride inventory were measures used across sites for student surveys. Qualitative data from staff interviews, comments on questionnaires, evaluator observations, student interviews, and focus groups with students were also data sources. Staff ratings on staff questionnaires used a scale of 0 (*not a problem here*) to 4 (*a major problem*) to rate items according to "Your opinion of the current level of the problem at your institution and its effect on students." Staff ratings were inverted and transformed to a 100-point scale to provide an overall approval rating on each item for each site for comparison purposes. Staff surveys at one of the sites may have been compromised after the initial round of data collection: A number of staff at L3 reported that they had received heavy pressure from supervisors to provide only positive perspectives in future surveys.

The approach used in this cross-site evaluation is not that of a classical research study, but rather that of a field study patterned on chaos theory (DeJong, 1995). Data were collected in the course of complex changes occurring in systems. Some changes were due to increased funding brought by TRM; others occurred as a result of extraneous factors, many of which evolved during the TRM project. Therefore, the adopted approach was to collect as much pertinent data as possible at each site on what seemed to be relevant factors, and then backtrack from outcome results to possible causes. This data feedback loop was used extensively at sites that made numerous mid-course program changes.

Section 1. Retention Issues

Sites had differing approaches to retention.

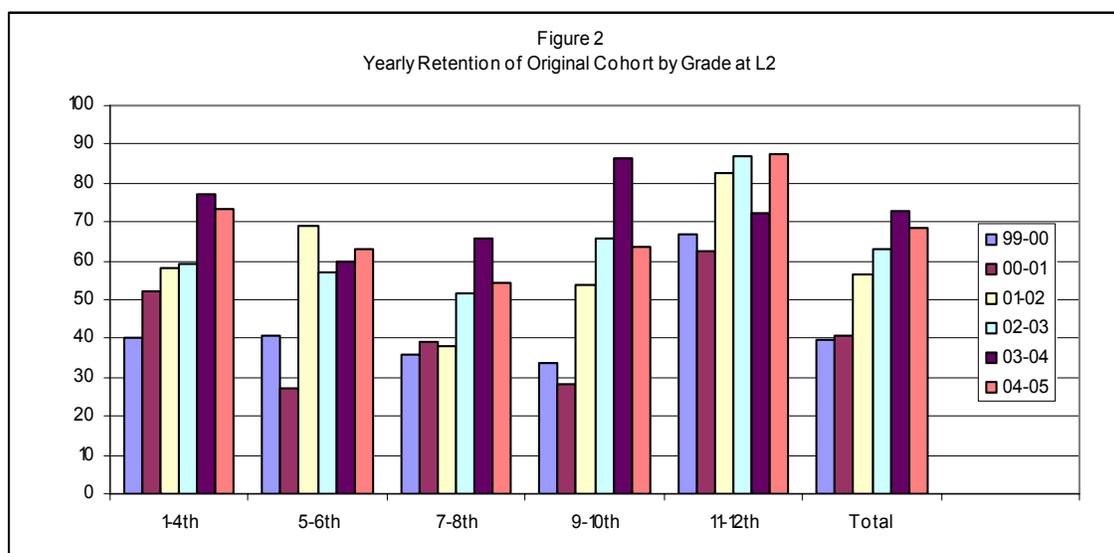
L1. L1 had the highest retention; Figure 1 shows percentage of students retained for each year over a six year period, before and during TRM funding.



L1 paid a great deal of attention to the transition process. Positive first impressions were generated by the attractiveness of the campus and the friendliness and involvement of all adults on campus. The first several weeks at the school emphasized assessment of incoming students. To promote peer bonding, arriving students were placed in small peer groups and assigned to rooms with one or more returning students who assisted them in acclimating to residential routines. Student participation in highly structured group activities provided staff opportunities to closely monitor peer interactions and to identify students in need of assistance with their social skills. The highly structured schedule quickly involved students, leaving them little time to experience homesickness.

L1 also developed policies aimed at limiting mid-year losses. The site attributed some of its retention success to its policy of limiting trips home during the school year to the Christmas holidays. This decision was reached after observations that student losses often occurred when students failed to return from trips home for Thanksgiving and spring break. While family members were allowed to visit their children and take them out for a day of activities, students had to be returned to the dormitory in the evening. The site also emphasized structure, stability, and security. Recognizing the disruption caused by the influx of new students, the site opted to maintain equilibrium by not replacing students who left during the academic year. While other schools brought in students throughout the year to bolster head counts, L1 took in mid-year students only under extraordinary circumstances. The institution of a high level of monitoring and structure, and emphasis on involvement of all staff, begun in school year (SY) 1998-1999, was associated with a drastic decline in incidents of assault. Incidents of physical assault dropped from 697 in SY 1998-1999 to 8 in SY 2002-2003, 12 in SY 2003-2004, and 2 in SY 2004-2005.

L2. L2 initially had a low level of retention. But as can be seen in Figure 2, this peripheral dormitory significantly increased retention by addressing the problem on multiple levels. In the first year of funding, the site identified alienation issues arising during the first few days of school. For example, a number of new students had always arrived without the paperwork necessary to begin classes at local schools. As a result, they missed the critical first days of school. Therefore, the site made a concerted effort to obtain paperwork for all students prior to their arrival. Staff paid additional attention to new students. A staff member developed a Rites of Passage program and ceremony for sixth grade boys to help them transition into the older boys' dorm.

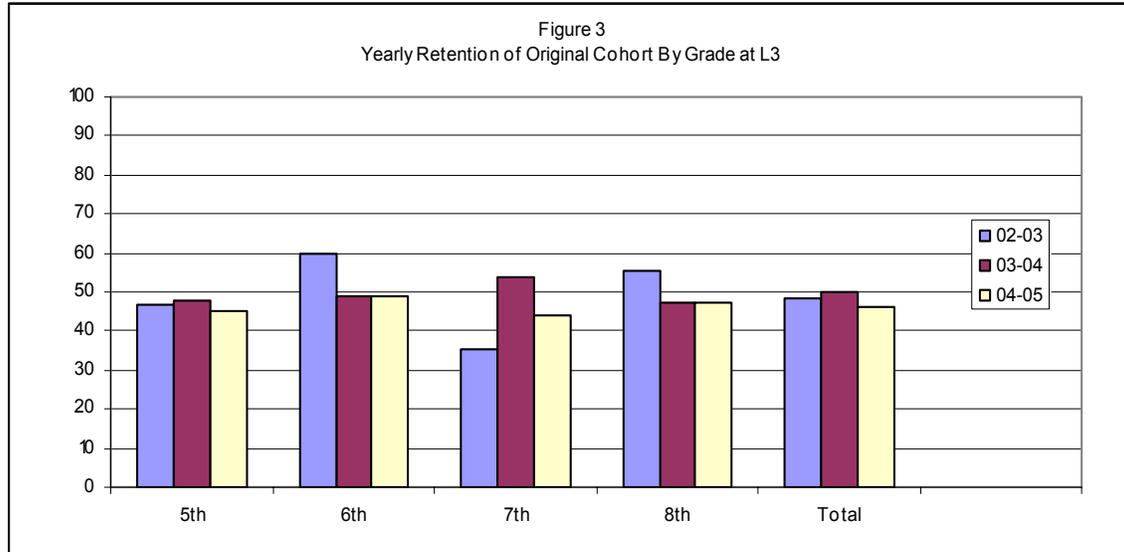


Each year, an L2 evaluation team worked with the cross-site evaluator to review the circumstances surrounding the loss of each student and brainstormed ways to avoid such losses in the future. The advent of TRM was accompanied by upgrades to the physical appearance of the site, inspiring student and parent pride in attendance. The site elected not to follow the example of L1 in curtailing visits home and continued to encourage students to visit their families on weekends and holidays; however, it allocated increased staff resources to track students when they went off site and to retrieve them when necessary. The site used TRM funds to increase the number of activities and services so that students had additional incentives to return after visits home. Finally, the site provided a strong support system, making all of the arrangements – including financial aid packages – for graduating students to continue with post-secondary education.

The commonalities between the two sites that had high retention rates at the end of the TRM funding were:

- Both sites examined the dynamics of the retention problem, and recognized that students were coming in with problems related to family situations and past and present life stressors that needed to be addressed.
- Both sites believed in the students. They assumed that students would do well if provided with an optimal environment, and utilized grassroots problem-solving to optimize their environments.
- Both sites took responsibility for student retention. When confronted by adverse outcomes, these sites did not blame the students or their backgrounds. Instead, both sites modified their systems.
- Both sites used the feedback from the ongoing evaluation as a basis for effective problem solving.

L3. L3 was unable to impact its retention rate. As can be seen in Figure 3, this boarding school continued to lose one-half of its original cohort each year.



Each year, L3 lost a significant number of its 200+ students during the first month of school. Females, particularly in the middle school group, were more likely than males to leave the school. In contrast to the other two TRM sites which modified programs based on evaluation results, staff and administrators at this site resisted recommendations for increasing structure and stability in the dormitory and academic settings, arguing that their students came from homes with no structure, so imposing structure and residential continuity was not necessary or not advisable.

Other factors probably also contributed to this site's poor retention rate. Despite having the best student-to-staff ratio of any site (approximately 1:1 and double that of other sites), most staff worked 8 a.m.–4 p.m. As a result, the students had little supervision after school and on weekends. When the ongoing evaluation process identified this shortcoming, administration and staff resisted making any changes to the staffing pattern, maintaining that students wanted and needed free time outside of school.

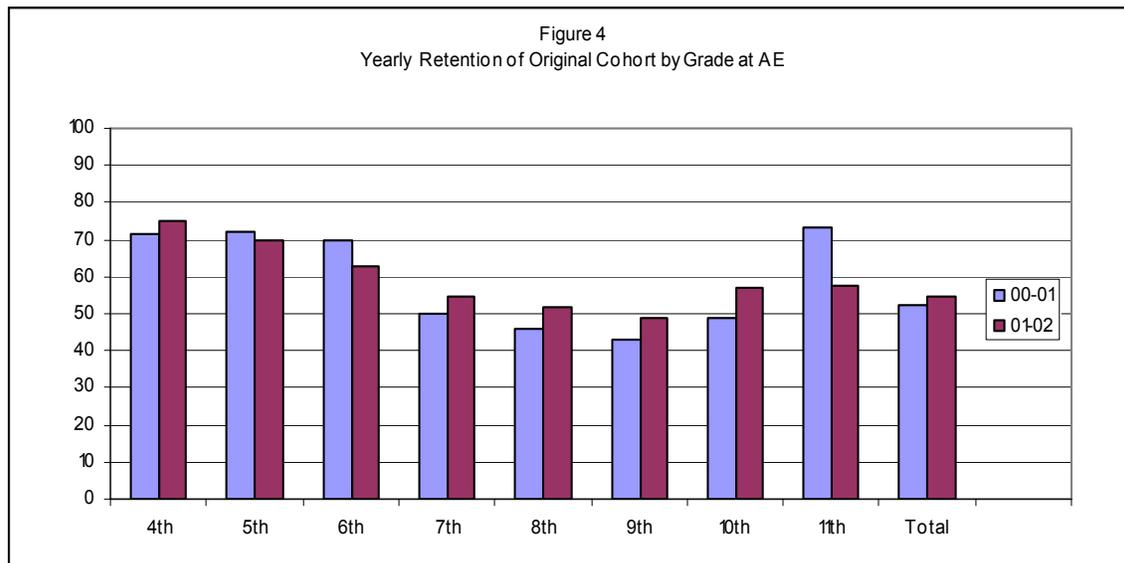
This site also had high level of reported violent physical assaults (719), sexual assaults (57), and incidents of harassment (402) during SY 2004-2005. It is likely that these numerous incidents of aggression prompted many students to leave the school because they did not feel safe. To some degree, the discrepancy between retention of boys and girls, which was over 20 percentage points for the seventh and eighth graders, may have been related to the differential effect of sexual assault and harassment for the two genders.

Conditions at L3 also discouraged development of peer relationships. In the academic situation, students had individual trajectories. As a result, they were pulled from classrooms to spend hours or weeks in resource rooms, Responsible Thinking Classrooms, detention, alternative classrooms, sessions with mental health providers, and gifted and talented programs. After school, students were shuttled between dormitories and segregated based on their recent behavior. Good students with potential as positive peer leaders were segregated into an honor dormitory. Students with behavioral problems were placed in after-school detention and/or housed in a locked therapeutic dormitory, and sometimes experienced periods of solitary confinement. In order to keep student counts high, L3 brought in replacements from a waiting

list during the school year. The resultant disruption of peer group equilibrium further destabilized social development.

The reliance on medication at L3 may have also impacted retention outcomes. During the first year of funding at this site, the FDA began publishing its concerns over the use of many psychotropic medications for the treatment of children and adolescents. In addition, the press noted a lack of studies regarding the effects of these medications on American Indians and other minority group members. These medications were extensively used at L3, and there appeared to be a number of adverse reactions in its population. Of 248 students enrolling in L3 during SY 2003-2004, 8.5% (21) were committed to inpatient treatment facilities during the year. In 18 of these cases, students were hospitalized for suicidal or aggressive behavior while on medications carrying FDA black box warnings regarding such outcomes. Of an incoming cohort of fifth graders, all of whom entered without prescriptions for medication, 72% had received a clinical diagnosis within months of their entrance. Of the students in this cohort who were removed by parents, the majority were removed shortly after receiving a diagnosis or after medications were either prescribed or increased. Unlike the sites which successfully addressed retention issues, this site reacted very differently from L1 and L2 when asked to scrutinize reasons for poor retention. The site responded by generating extensive clinical case studies to support their contention that psychiatric problems of the students, rather than characteristics of the system, were responsible for attrition.

AE. This site used TRM monies to increase personnel and programs related to the academic proficiency of its students. As shown in Figure 4, this approach did not significantly improve retention.



Two promising strategies proposed by AE had the potential to impact retention and other positive outcomes for students. The first proposed strategy was to use paraprofessional Counseling Techs (CTs) to provide assessment, case management, and advocacy for students. This strategy resulted from the recognition that serving a student body of over 500 students necessitated a bureaucracy that, almost by definition, was not nurturing and supportive of

individual students. The CTs acted as caregivers who made a personal connection with each student and performed as parental surrogates in negotiating with the bureaucracy. As these CT case managers were stretched thin by average caseloads of 50 students, it was proposed that TRM funds be used to decrease this ratio. However, when funds were received, the site added classroom personnel rather than CTs, diminishing the CTs' role.

A second AE proposal with the potential to reduce attrition was the utilization of special environments to provide short-term intensive services in specialized residential settings to students at risk for dropping out. Implementation of this strategy had begun in the year prior to TRM funding, and the proposal contained a detailed description of the programming necessary for each component. But this initiative also lost, rather than gained, momentum during TRM funding due to the loss of the student services director, who had provided key leadership.

NTDS. This site organized activities during count week to ensure maximum student attendance at that key time. However, little attention was paid to long-term retention. When parents and the police force organized an initiative to deal with truancy, school officials responded that they did not want unwilling students in their classrooms.

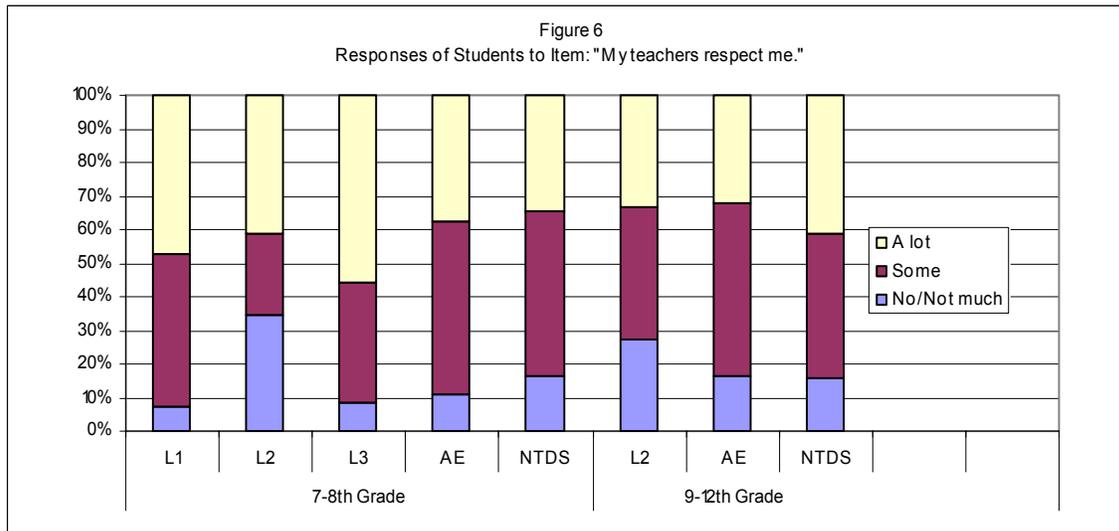
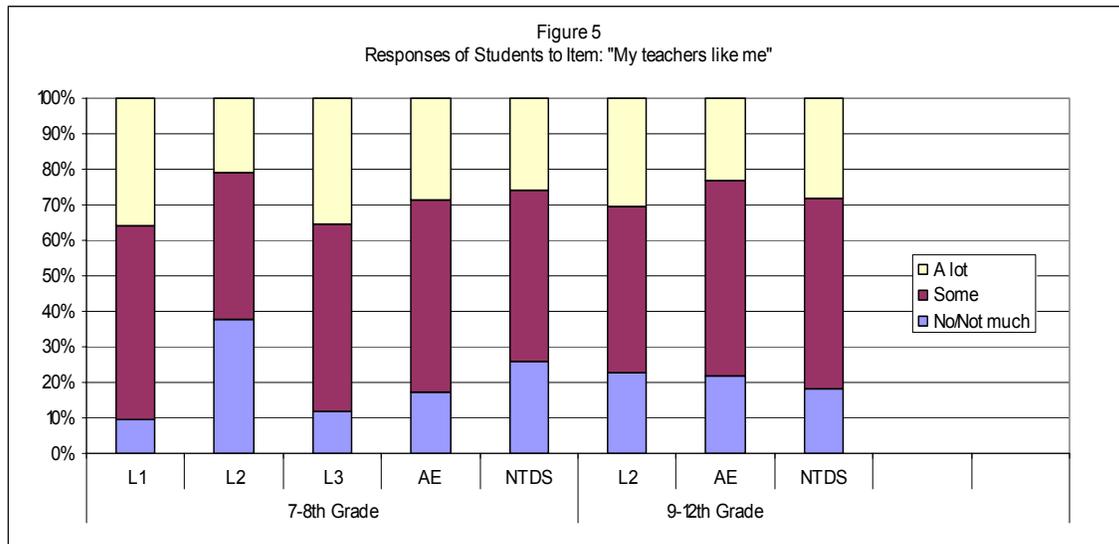
Section 2. Process and Outcome Indicators

The data from each site used in cross-sectional analysis primarily came from two time points – the spring before TRM funds were substantially used to support program changes, and the spring of the final year of TRM funding. For L1 and L3, the time points were spring 2003 and spring 2005. For L2, the time points were spring 2001 and spring 2005. For AE and NTDS, the time points were spring 2001 and spring 2002. In all sites other than L3 (where funding was largely used to continue existing programs and the number of staff did not noticeably increase), TRM funding provided more staff available to spend time with students and the addition of some pro-social peer group activities.

Several factors differentially impacted the ability to make clean cross-sectional comparisons. With its high retention rate, L1 allowed for the most valid pre-post comparisons because their policy was not to replace students lost to attrition. L2 changed its intake criteria after the start of the study. Believing that the enhanced mental health services purchased with TRM funds obligated them to accept students at higher risk, L2 accepted increasingly difficult students. At L3, the population surveyed at the end of each school year included only about one-half of the original cohort of 200 students, and was further diluted as a number of students were brought in to replace those who had left. Thus, many of the students completing the L3 survey at the end of the year were not the same students who completed the survey at the beginning of the year. However, the admission and replacement policies at L3 did not change over the two comparison years, so there should be little differential bias between the two time points. AE and NTDS cross-sectional time points appear to be equivalent at baseline and outcome. However, lack of information about the community in which the NTDS students spent the majority of their time made it difficult to attribute plausible causality for outcome data. For L1, L2, and L3, individual tracking of student scores on a number of the survey instruments allowed pre-post comparisons of scores for students present throughout the year.

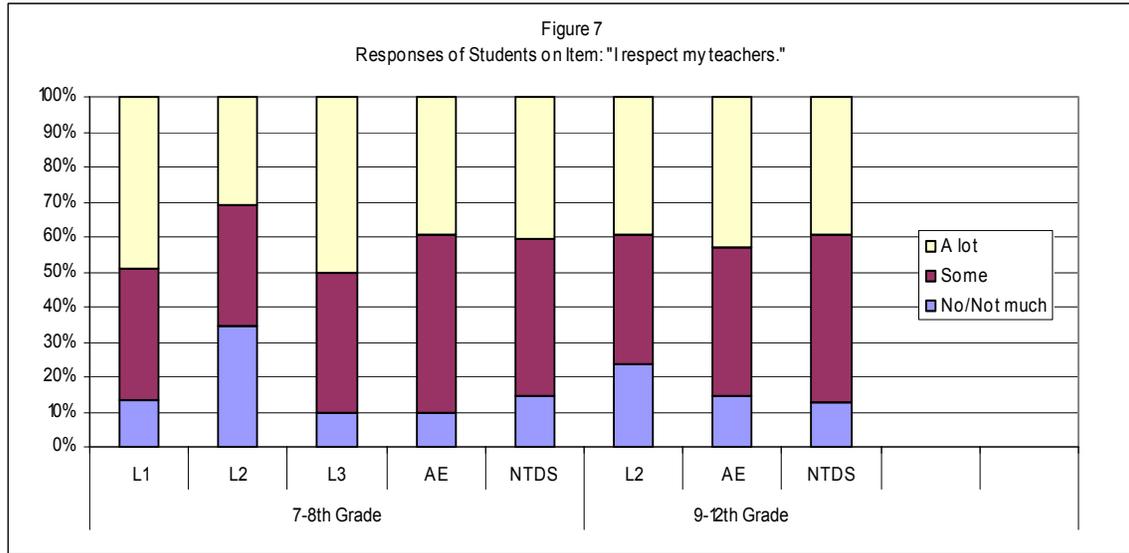
1. Social Bonding

School Bonding. At the end of the last year of study for each site (L1, L2, L3 in 2005; AE and PR in 2002) students were asked about their perception of their teachers. Figures show responses on two ADAS items: "My teachers like me" (Figure 5) and "My teachers respect me" (Figure 6).

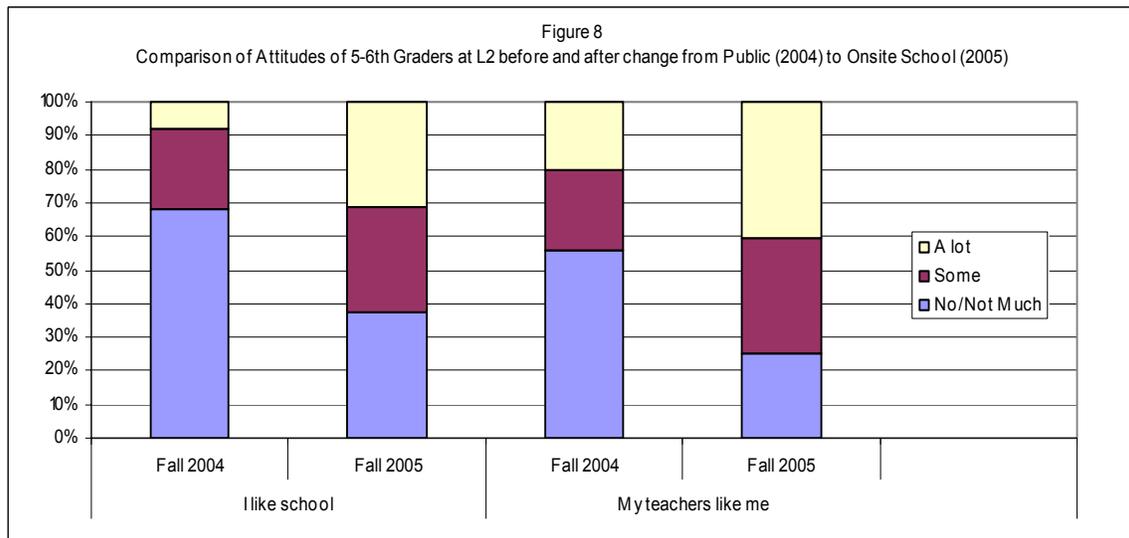


The site with the poorest ratings of teacher liking and respect for grades 7 and 8 was L2. While one-quarter of L2 high school students were able to attend an alternative school on campus, all seventh and eighth grade students had to attend the local public school. There was a 20-point difference between the L2 student ratings on this variable and the student ratings at all of the boarding schools in the seventh and eighth grade group. As can be seen in Figure 7,

there was also a 10-point difference between the L2 high school group and other schools in their responses to "I respect my teachers."

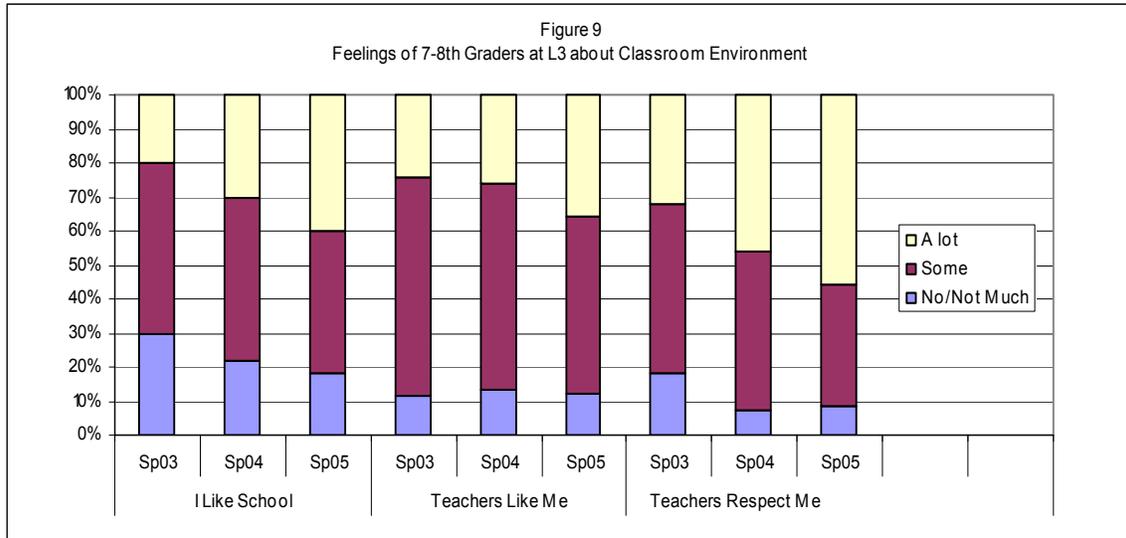


In the final year of funding, L2 moved its fifth and sixth grade classes onto campus. As Figure 8 indicates, there was a sharp improvement in the percentage of students who said they liked school and felt their teachers liked them.

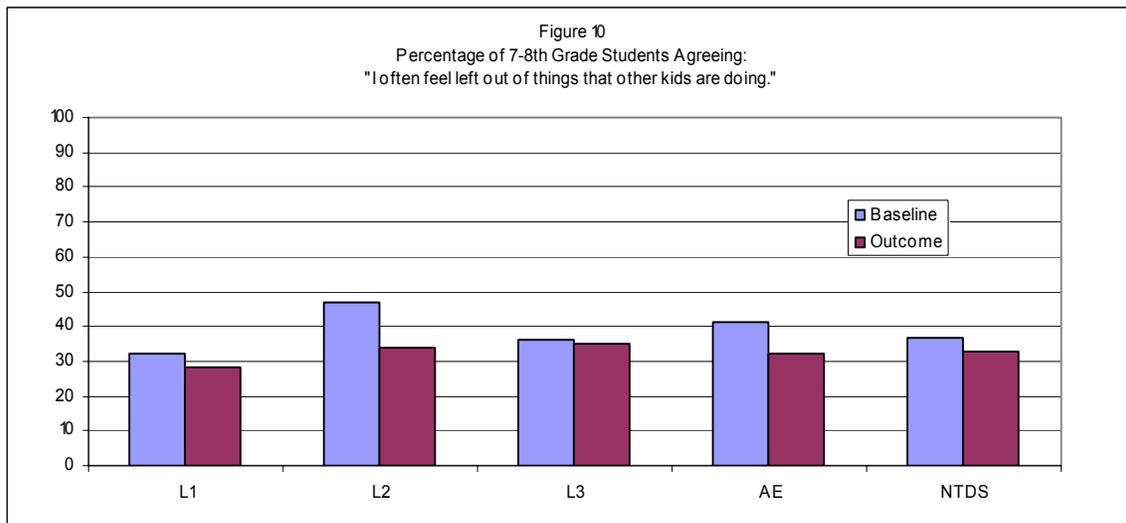


The data indicate that American Indian schools are doing a good job at helping students feel liked and respected by their teachers, and it suggests that boarding schools may be preferable to placing Native students in public schools where they perceive discrimination.

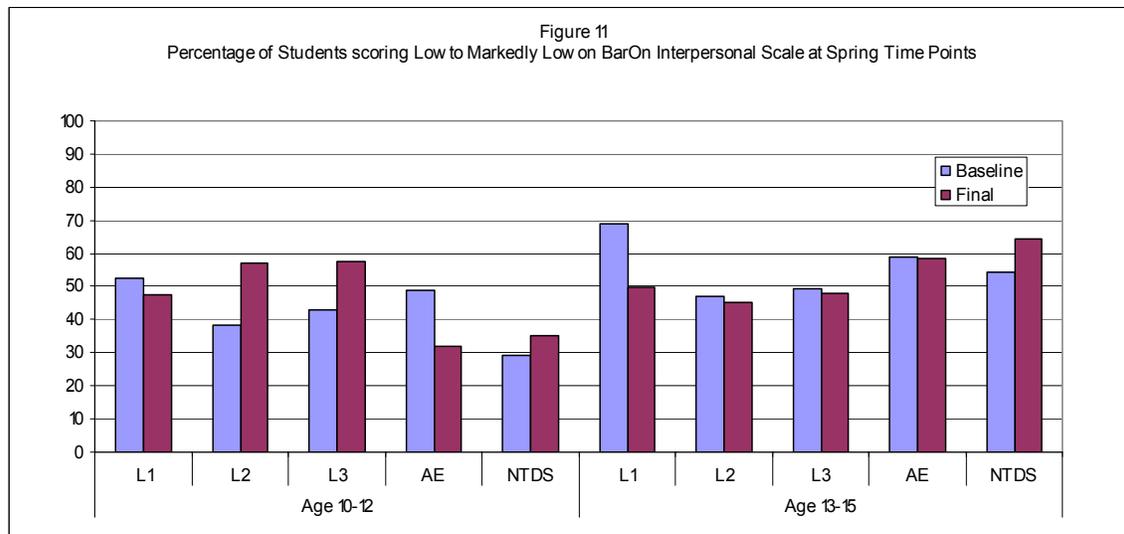
Creating a mechanism for student advocacy seems to improve school bonding. As can be seen in Figure 9, at L3 the percentage of students who liked school and reported feeling liked and respected by their teachers increased when designated caregivers acted as advocates for them with their teachers.



Inclusion. One of the items on the Jessor Alienation Scale asked students about the statement "I often feel left out of things that other kids are doing." Figure 10 shows the percentage of seventh and eighth grade students at each site agreeing with this statement at beginning and ending time points. There was a trend in the general student body toward a decrease in agreement with this statement at all sites except L3.



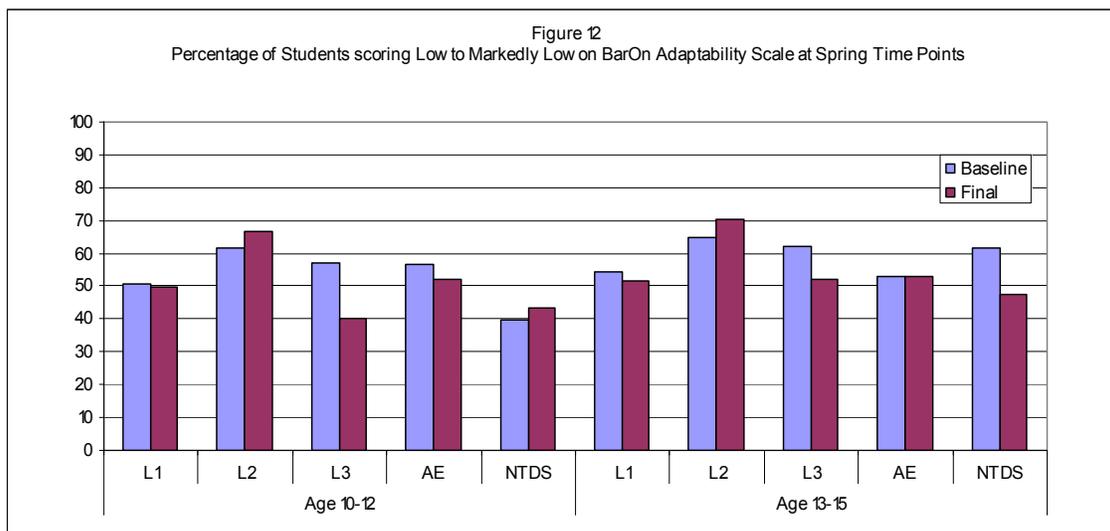
Interpersonal. The percentage of students scoring in the range of low to markedly low on the BarOn Interpersonal scale is shown in Figure 11. Students at L1, where efforts were made to provide maximum peer group continuity and focus on the development of social skills, showed statistically significant improvement in interpersonal scores when the pre- and posttest scores of students present at both time points during SY 2003-2004 were analyzed. At L2, comparability was compromised both by the site's decision to take in increasingly troubled students after mental health resources were increased by TRM and by its increased success in retaining its student body. There was no evidence at L3 of a change in intake criteria to account for the shift upward in the younger group. The small number of students in the younger group at AE ruled out statistical comparisons at that site.



2. Achievement.

School Achievement. According to Beiser et al. (1998), interactions with teachers affect children's assessments of their own competence, a factor that predicts school performance. Based on the data just presented, students at American Indian schools generally have positive relationships with their teachers. Therefore, it would be expected that school achievement outcomes would show improvement over time. However, when TRM funding began, the effects of the No Child Left Behind initiative were beginning to be felt. Teachers in BIA boarding schools found themselves dealing with an increasingly higher percentage of students with histories of school failure. Faced with declining budgets and pressure to increase proficiency ratings, public schools in the sites' catchment areas reportedly began encouraging students with special needs to leave their local schools, resulting in an influx of these students into BIA boarding schools. Faced with this dynamic, only L2 was able to increase the academic proficiency of its students. L2 accomplished this by strengthening its tutoring system; providing an alternative, on-campus school for students who did not fit in regular classrooms; and continuing strong support for college-bound students.

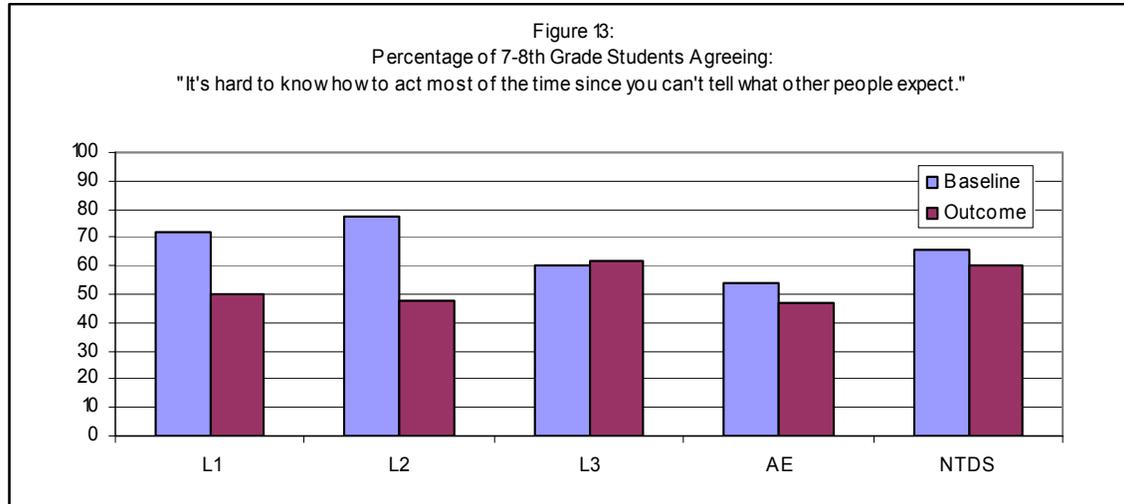
Adaptability. The BarOn Adaptability scale is based on items assessing students' confidence in their ability to solve problems and meet challenges. Figure 12 shows baseline and outcome spring time points. While there appeared to be shifts between percentages at time points, none were statistically significant; at sites with high attrition and a student replacement policy, these factors would have generated additional extraneous factors. Pre- and posttest comparisons of individual student scores found a significant improvement during the year only at L1.



Concerned that its students were not being equipped for life outside its highly structured environment, in SY 2004-2005 L1 had implemented a privilege-responsibility system called the gold card system. The gold card system allowed students who displayed age-appropriate responsible behaviors to enjoy age-appropriate privileges. One privilege was the right to go off campus to places in town such as restaurants, the local Boys and Girls Club, and the shopping mall. Pre-post comparisons of scores on adaptability for this school year showed significant improvement at this site. Analyses of pre- and posttest scores at L2 and L3 did not find significant changes in either direction.

3. Responsibility.

Reliability of the Social Environment. Several elements need to be in place in order for students to subscribe to pro-social norms. Many students coming from high-risk environments have acquired learned helplessness as a result of having to deal with situations that they do not understand and cannot control. They need to feel that the environment around them obeys a structure they can rely on, so that if they invest themselves in understanding it and subscribing to it, they can determine their own future. Students were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the Jessor Alienation Item indicating learned helplessness: "It's hard to know how to act most of the time since you can't tell what other people expect" (Figure 13).



Several sites made changes that should have impacted this indicator. At L1, Applied Humanism was implemented over the course of TRM funding, shifting from a system of punishments for infractions toward one in which staff utilized infractions as opportunities to help students take responsibility for their behavior. Agreement with the reliability item at L1 dropped from 72% in the 7-8th grade group in spring 2003 to 50% in spring 2005. At L2, where an intense effort was made to increase consistency and the environment was restructured on multiple levels, a chi square comparison of the overall percentage of students agreeing at baseline in spring 2001 with those agreeing in spring 2005 showed a significant decrease, from 64% to 47%. At L3, the spring 2003 cross-sectional percentage of 61% was similar to the spring 2005 percentage of 64%. However, in pre- and posttests at L3, a paired *t*-test showed that the mean level of agreement with this alienation item *actually increased significantly* during the course of a year for surviving students from the original cohort.

Stability. In addition to perceiving a reliable world that acts according to understood patterns, students need to feel that they are going to be fairly treated, and that the environment around them is physically safe. In the ADAS survey, seventh and eighth grade students were asked questions about the school environment. One question had to do with the fairness of enforcement of school rules. As can be seen in Figure 14, the extreme responses came from the students at L1 and AE. The majority of students at L1 had confidence in the fairness of the rule enforcement at their school. AE, a site at which enforcement was undermined by athletic status, had the smallest percentage of students indicating that it was "very true" or "mostly true" that school rules were fairly enforced. Students at the L2 peripheral dormitory, who were forced to attend local public schools where they experienced discrimination, were only slightly less likely than AE students to be cynical with regard to fairness of enforcement.

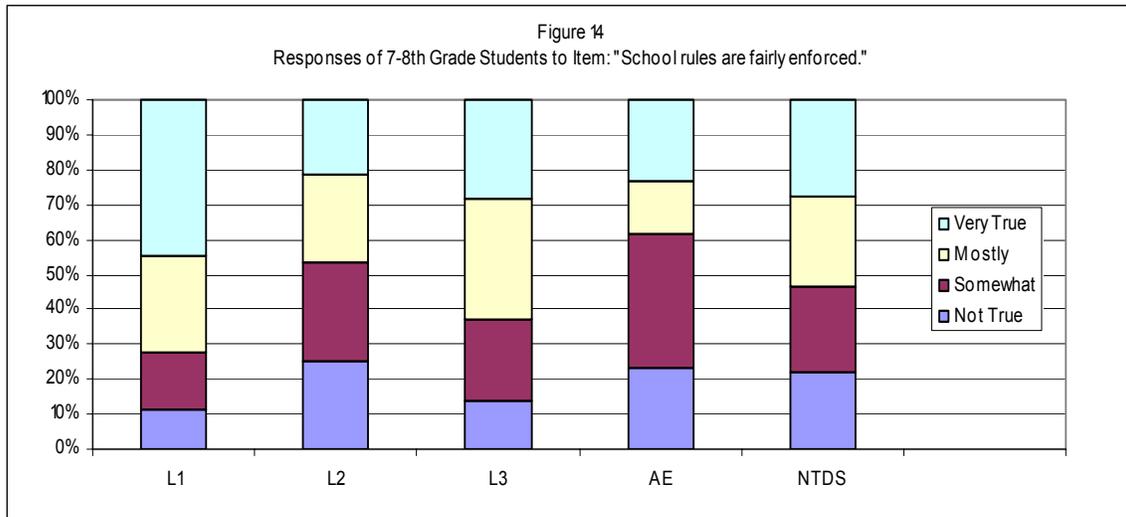
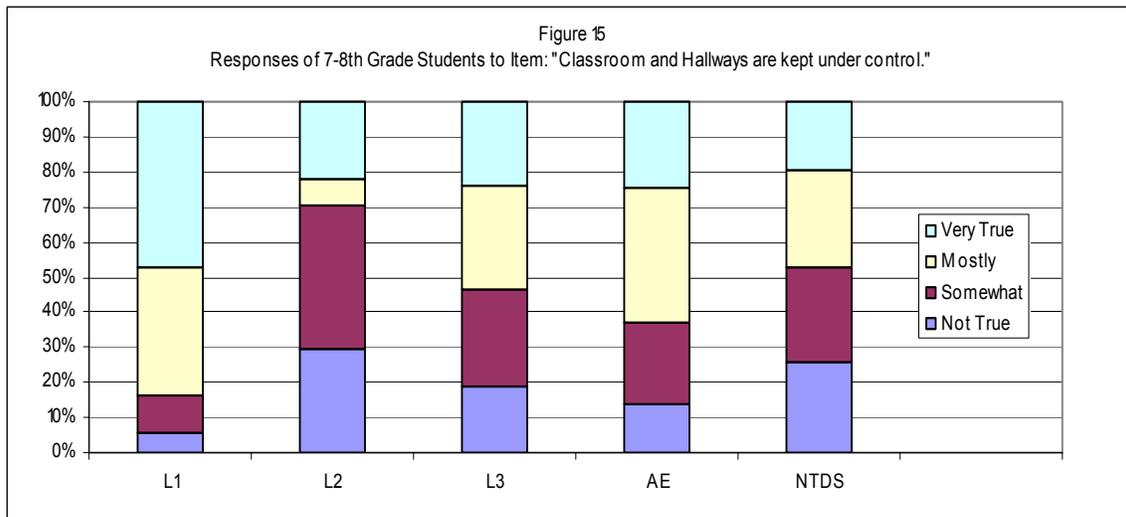


Figure 15 shows how the seventh and eighth grade students responded when asked how true it was that classrooms and hallways were kept under control. At L1, 83% of the students responded with "very true" or "mostly true." Only 30% of the L2 students attending public schools selected those responses.



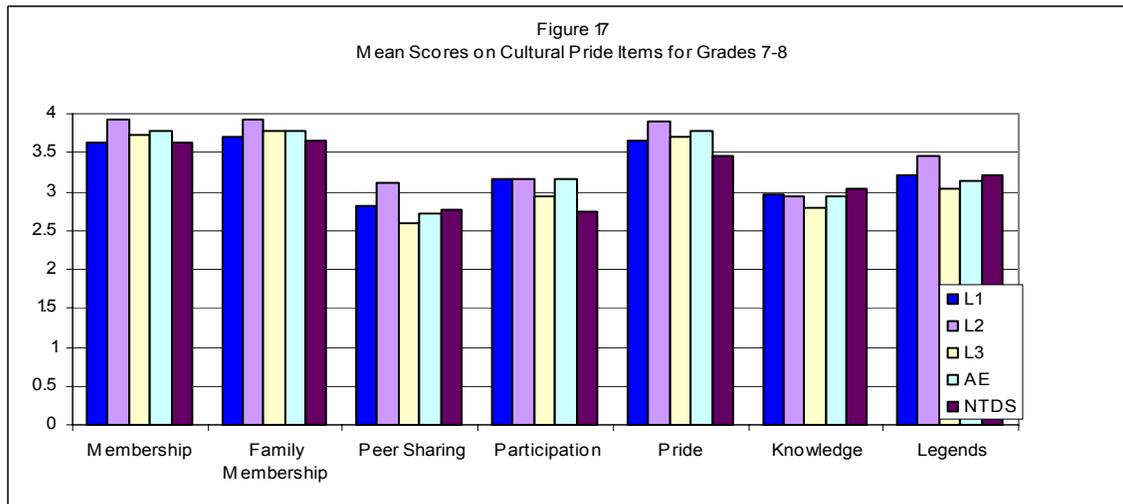
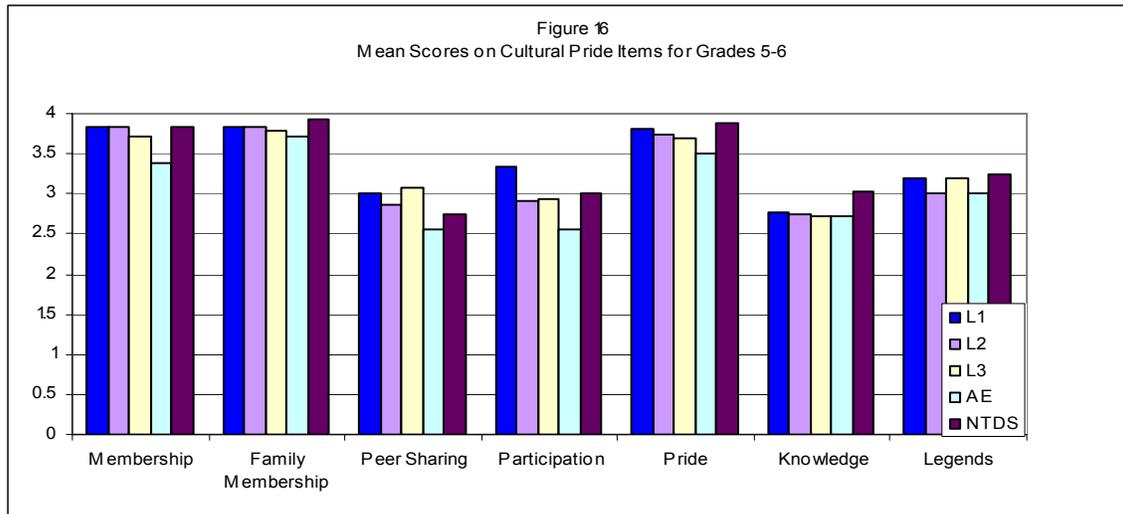
4. Meaning and Values.

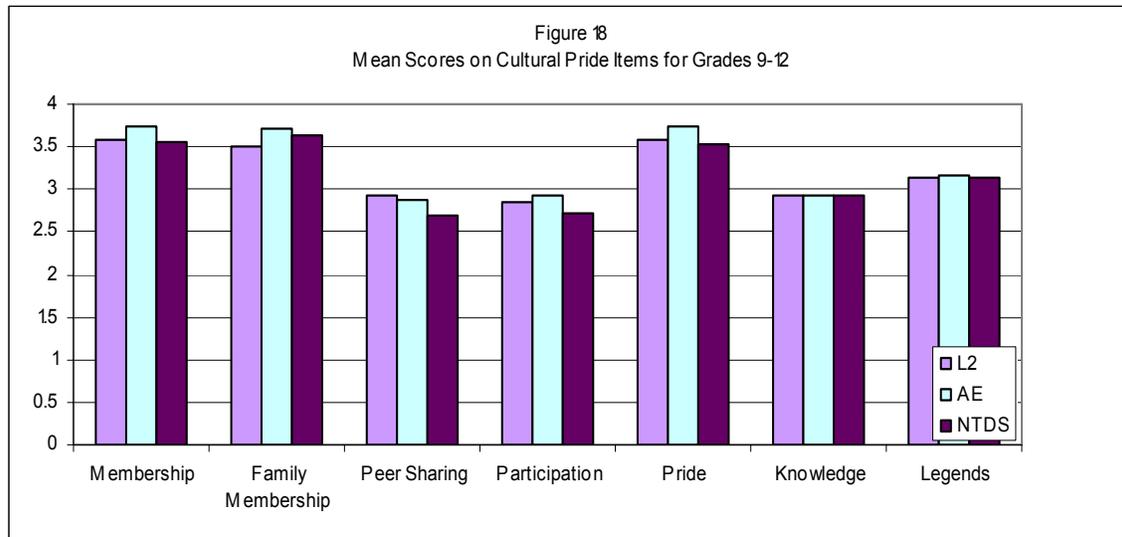
Cultural Pride. By the conclusion of TRM, all of the sites had well-developed cultural components. L2 was initially identified as having weaknesses in the cultural area, but quickly implemented a number of elements. Students from NTDS benefited from cultural elements found in the surrounding community. A variety of cultural elements were found at other sites. Facilities at all sites were decorated with cultural motifs, banners, and posters. Students from all

sites with the exception of L2 had the opportunity to participate in drum groups. All sites had dance groups, and students at all sites were involved in making traditional crafts. Sweat lodges were used by students at AE, L3, and NTDS. All sites other than L2 offered courses in traditional culture; however, residential staff at L2 assisted students in gathering information about their tribes and ancestors over the Internet. There were artifacts and a large number of books by and about American Indians in the libraries at all sites, and all had guest speakers, pow wows, and an elders program. All sites encouraged students to wear clothing bearing American Indian motifs. A staff member at L2 made American Indian flutes for all graduating seniors. A staff member at L3 published books with American Indian stories that were used at that site.

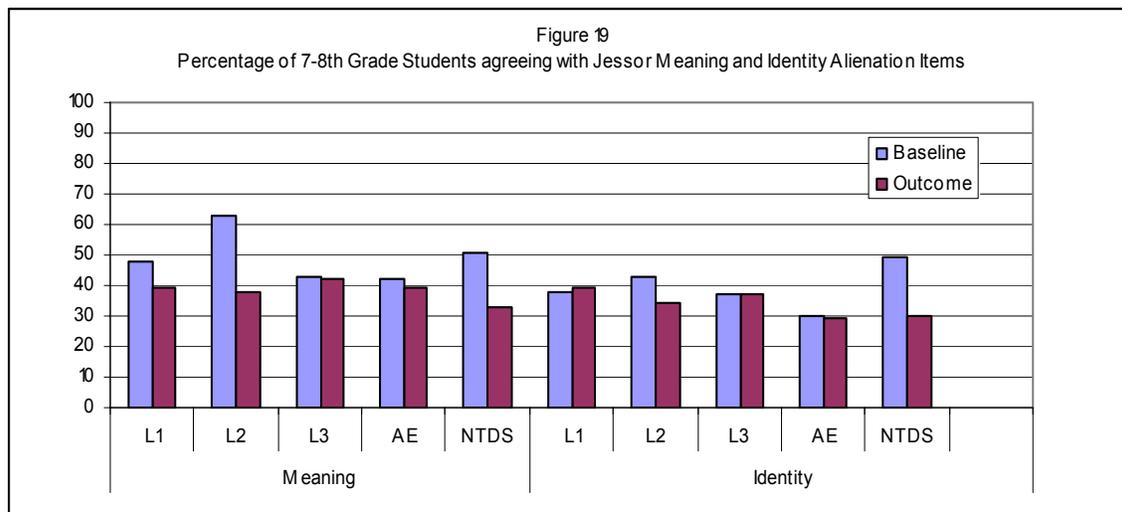
Students at some sites were encouraged to attend traditional religious services. All sites except L3 provided opportunities for students to learn and practice traditional languages.

As Figures 16-18 show, the mean scores on cultural pride items were similar across the sites for the different age groups.



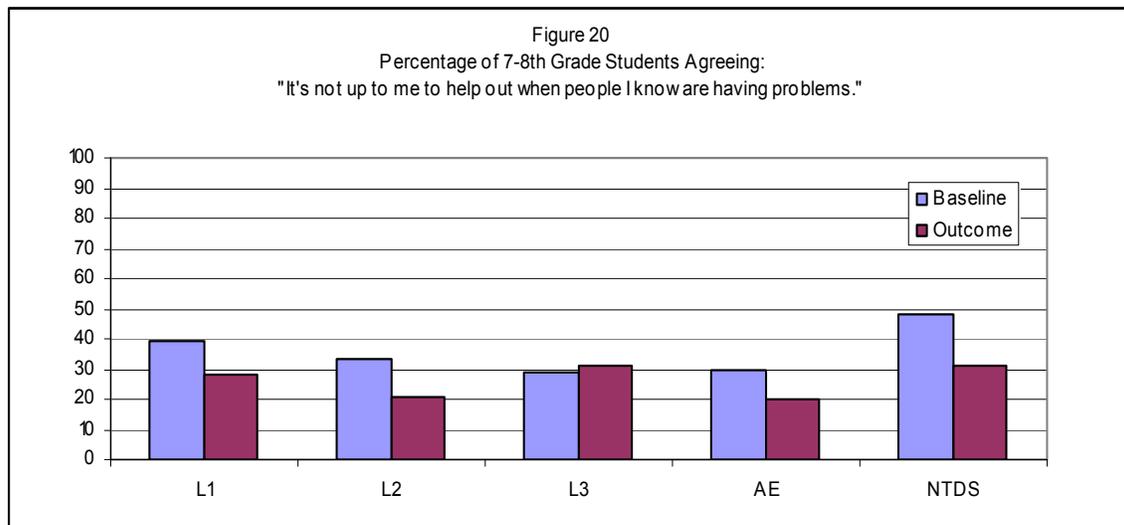


Meaning and Identity. Figure 19 shows the percentage of students at each site agreeing with the statements “Hardly anything I’m doing in my life means very much to me” and “I sometimes feel unsure about who I really am.”



In the L2 cross-sectional analysis there was a trend ($p < .06$) toward a decrease between spring baseline and the final spring outcome on the meaning item. A pre- and posttest comparison of all means for L2 students present in both fall 2004 and spring 2005 confirmed a highly significant shift ($p < .001$) toward disagreement with this negative statement. An apparent shift at the NTDS in both meaning and identity items cannot be attributed to TRM changes, and may be related to events in the community.

Social Responsibility and Caregiving. A Jessor Alienation item asks students for their agreement with the statement "It's not up to me to help out when people I know are having problems" (Figure 20). The percentage of students agreeing with this item trended downward for four of the five sites when spring baseline and outcome time points were compared, suggesting a cross-sectional increase in social responsibility. L1 promoted some elements of caregiving by expecting students to look after others in their group, implementing a social skills development program, using equine therapy, and assigning campus maintenance or food service responsibilities to each group to involve them in positive contributions to the general welfare. L2 promoted responsibility through an extensive agricultural program involving students in raising show hogs, paying students for campus maintenance and food service duties, and expecting them to work off any damage they did to campus.



Section 3. Organizational Issues: Structural Barriers and Best Practices

The focus of a boarding school must be the children. This includes the children's health, safety, emotional health and maturity, their inner spiritual core of identity and meaning, and development of their minds. Many at-risk children enter boarding schools. When they graduate, these children need to be able to walk in beauty and to have acquired the skills that will allow them to shoulder the responsibilities required to succeed in relationships, careers, and life. Organizational decisions must be made with this outcome at the foreground.

The social bonding of children with emotionally healthy adults is key to their healthy development in all other areas. If children cannot love and trust, they will not have the emotional balance necessary to perceive the world as it is, the energy and focus for educational curiosity, and the pro-social investment in others that nourishes the individual and holds the society together.

If they are to fulfill their developmental potential, children must bond with caring adults. Thus, the staff with whom children interact daily must be good role models and have the potential for bonding with children. This is particularly important for direct-care staff. In the children's eyes, direct-care staff represent all authority, the source of feedback that forms their self-concept, the givers of all nurturing, and the mediators of the larger world that they must

learn about. The influence that direct-care staff have on children is unequalled by any other personnel at a boarding school. The staff in regular interaction with children are, therefore, central to the mission of the school. Staff that children interact with daily in the dormitory, in the classroom, and on the sports field are both role models and potential bonding sites. These staff on the line, like soldiers in battle, are (or should be) considered second in importance only to the children. In reality, many of these staff are underpaid, underappreciated, and considered expendable.

Management and administration were examined to see how well their activities provided support to frontline staff and kept them oriented to producing positive student outcomes. Managers are generally judged on how well they coordinate their teams to carry out objectives. Analysis here also looked at how well they handled staff (i.e., how well they recruited and retained the best staff possible, kept them happy and functional, supplied them with the tools they needed to do their jobs, and kept them focused on long-term objectives).

The idea of total quality management involving all stakeholders is also important. In an optimal situation, all stakeholders in the process and all members of the organization need to understand what their roles are and to understand the roles and needs of the children and the staff that serve them. Outcomes of children at these sites were varied. This section will focus on how well the sites as organizations aligned themselves with the needs of the children they served.

Direct-Care Staff

Parenting is one of the hardest jobs in the world to do well. It requires the emotional maturity to see what is in the long-term interests of children and the knowledge and compassion to do it. At-risk children add a whole new layer of complexity to the job of parenting. While professional staff can be helpful, the work cannot be done in occasional counseling sessions by a professional, facing a silent or rebellious child who has been pre-convicted of misbehavior by adult reports. At-risk children who have learned that adults cannot be trusted will bond with adults only after what may be an extended period of testing to ensure they can be trusted to care, to act in the children's best interests, and to continue to be there. Boarding school staff are asked to become familiar with children who may have bonding issues, repair the damage, and provide guidance and boundaries to those children while maintaining the tenuous bond that functions as a lifeline to the children. Staff able to do this consistently, fairly, and with multiple children in a group with its own dynamics are hard to find. Boarding school salaries vary, but are seldom generous. At one site, TRM gave a tremendous boost to the range of potential job applicants when the site was able to use funds to increase the starting hourly rate for dormitory personnel from \$6.00 to \$7.50 per hour. In order to serve in this most crucial of roles, many residential staff have to make personal sacrifices and live near or below the poverty line. This creates life stressors and makes them – and their ability to be present and focus on their charges – vulnerable to failures in transportation, loss of daycare, and problems with housing situations. Those best able to understand the situations from which many of these students come may have similar personal histories which may have scarred them emotionally and left them vulnerable to addictions. Residential staff also need training; like parents everywhere, their parenting skill sets are a mixture of parenting practices they grew up with, combined with reactions to what they perceive as having been wrong with those practices. While boarding school teachers are paid near or at the level they could receive elsewhere, they face the same daunting challenges handled by residential staff, providing remedial help for students, who in addition to bonding issues, often come with histories of academic failure. The key hiring criteria for boarding schools

often is the default of availability and no criminal history. Positions often open unexpectedly, especially on the residential level; if a site is already stretched thin with only the bare minimum number of staff positions necessary to provide coverage, a less than optimal candidate may be hired. A range of nepotism appeared at sites (traces at some sites, a significant factor at others). The assurance that an individual is a known quantity and can be trusted is a positive for personnel managers scrambling to fill positions, but negatives of preferential treatment for relatives and friends often impact workplace functioning.

Perception of staff roles differed across sites. Staff were considered central to the therapeutic mission of L1 and L2. L1 put into practice its philosophy that in order to optimize outcomes, it was of critical importance that children form bonds with caring adults. L1 maximized the number of potential nexus sites by requiring that all staff members, regardless of position, make themselves available to bond with students. Under TRM, the L1 philosophy was taken to a new level when a hiring process was instituted that tested prospective staff for characteristics indicating a child-centered perspective. L2 provided the most homelike setting, complete with a variety of staff who filled the roles of parents and extended family members, and who appeared in multiple support roles in the stable social environment around the students. All L2 students received a preventive level of counseling support on common issues and additional, customized mental health and life skills interventions coordinated by a Level Two gatekeeper in 24/7 contact with the site. Both L1 and L2 recognized that life stressors had impacted students, but acted under the assumption that, given a team effort to provide appropriate handling, students could be put back onto a track which would allow them to meet developmental challenges. Both sites required that staff exercise a high level of responsibility in dealing with their charges, and both demanded that frontline staff deal respectfully with children and use de-escalation tactics and group management skills rather than physical coercion. AE and NTDS were the most laissez-faire of the sites in their approach, concentrating on presenting programs and expecting students to either rise to the challenges or drop out. L3 concentrated on obtaining and maintaining funding for programs. A clear hierarchy of staff existed at L3, topped by professionals. L3 home living staff, who spent the majority of time with students, were in the most marginalized positions. L3 staff at lower levels deferred responsibility to those at higher levels. Rather than taking responsibility and redirecting students in situations with the potential for confrontation or other violations of norms, lower-level staff called in CPOs. CPOs often arrived after situations had escalated, which contributed to a high assault rate and necessitated frequent use of physical restraint techniques. The clear message to students at L3 was that the adults around them did not trust them.

The number of staff members at a site was seen to be a factor. With 75 staff members, L2 had maximum flexibility and a team approach to meeting needs of children, with little interference from interdepartmental rivalries or territorial issues. With 135 employees, L1 utilized staff members in multiple roles which crossed over organizational boundaries and enhanced communication. The other sites exceeded the "Rule of 150." Gladwell (2000) describes Dunbar's sociological dynamic called the "Rule of 150" as applied to number of people in organizations: Up to this size, he explains,

orders can be implemented and unruly behavior controlled on the basis of personal loyalties and direct man-to-man contacts. With larger groups, this becomes impossible... At a bigger size you have to impose complicated hierarchies and rules and regulations and formal measures to try to command loyalty and cohesion. (p. 180)

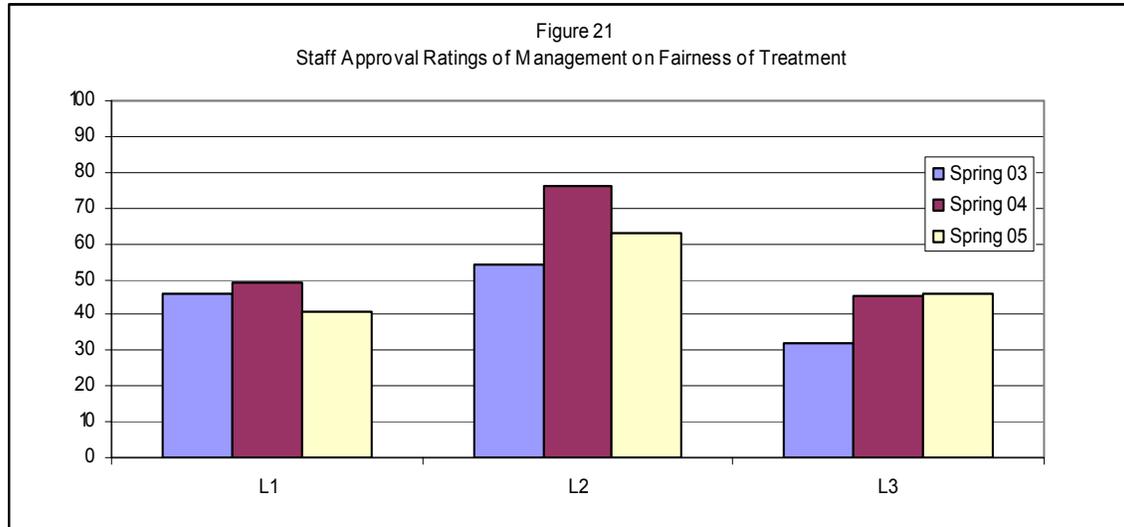
Dissention increased when the number of staff exceeded 150. Staff ratings of the level of dissention were inverted and transformed on a 100-point scale to provide an index of staff affinity for the final year of funding for each site. At an affinity level of 30 and buffeted by political and family factions inside and outside the school, NTDS had the lowest level of staff affinity. AE scored 44. L2, with the smallest staff, had the highest rating with 57, only slightly ahead of L1 at 52. While these sites showed stable ratings across time on this measure, L3 showed a huge shift. In spring 2003, L3 had a low affinity rating of 40, exceeding only NTDS. After pressure was applied to staff by management to increase its positive ratings on the survey, the L3 spring 2005 ratings increased to 52.

Best Practices in Staffing. L1 addressed retention and training issues. The site implemented the Applied Humanism job interview process and hired only staff that scored well on it, indicating that their ideas of childrearing were compatible with the site's philosophy. Because TRM had expanded the number of positions available from the bare minimum required for safe staffing, the site was under less pressure to fill positions with unsuitable candidates. L1 maximized the number of potential nexus sites by requiring that all staff members at the boarding school, regardless of position, make themselves available to bond with students. Staff were trained using the Applied Humanism model which helped them examine their own preconceptions about parenting and to align their ideas with the site's philosophy. Wing counselors were utilized in a double role, serving the children and providing ongoing feedback to staff on how their interactions with children could be more therapeutic. Program divisions were minimized when residential and academic staff met to discuss how best to deal with individual children, and academic staff participated in after-school and weekend activities.

Supervision and Management

In a business, managers are judged by the production of the team they supervise. A manager is only as good as the team he or she directs; a team is made better by a manager's skillful coaching: encouragement, direction, and strategic placement of players in positions optimally matched to their circumstances and skills. As previously noted, good staff are hard to find in the boarding school situation, and the team a manager has to deal with may not have optimal skills. Ideally, in this situation, managers' behavior toward their team members needs to mirror the treatment staff are to give the children – an attitude of respect, guidance, and seeking out the potential in the individual.

An item on the staff survey asked staff at L1, L2, and L3 to rank the item "Management is inconsistent, not all staff are treated equally," according to how much it did or did not create a barrier at their site. Staff ratings were inverted and transformed on a 100-point scale to provide an index of management fairness for each site. Figure 21 shows overall ratings.



L2 consistently had the highest ratings of management fairness. Score increases at L3 may again be an artifact of pressure applied to staff at that site to provide more positive assessments.

Like the frontline staff who walk a delicate line between nurturing and enabling students, the manager walks a delicate line between nurturing and enabling staff. There were a range of management styles which created barriers. Some of these barriers were:

- An overemphasis on nurturance of staff in some situations crossed the line to the extent that staff members were enabled and permitted to not do their jobs. At some sites, nonperforming staff were shuffled between departments and programs, leading to tension and discouragement of other staff required to carry their load. When persons shuffled were relatives, the problem was exacerbated.
- Top down managers discouraged creative innovations by their team members rather than recognizing and affirming them.
- At several sites, dormitory managers imposed shift schedules designed for their convenience. In one case, an inexperienced manager created a multi-week schedule that forced all staff to work different days each week in order to provide his adherents with four-day stretches off. The schedule wreaked havoc on child-care arrangements of single parents, exhausted staff who were forced to work stretches as long as eight days in a row, and destabilized the routine for the dormitory residents.
- While Anglo managers were expected to act as bosses, it was noted that some American Indians in management positions were under pressure due to their own or others' expectations of conflicting roles. Serious repercussions emerged at two sites where managers used the traditional joking pattern of communication despite evaluation feedback that the "Indian way of communicating" was being misunderstood by some employees. At one site, employees dismissed for nonperformance sued the supervisor alleging verbal and sexual harassment. At another site, employees characterized the joking as "demeaning," "foul language," "laden with sexual innuendo," and "shaming." In response to the latter manager's style, a number of good employees resigned. Another clash occurred when a

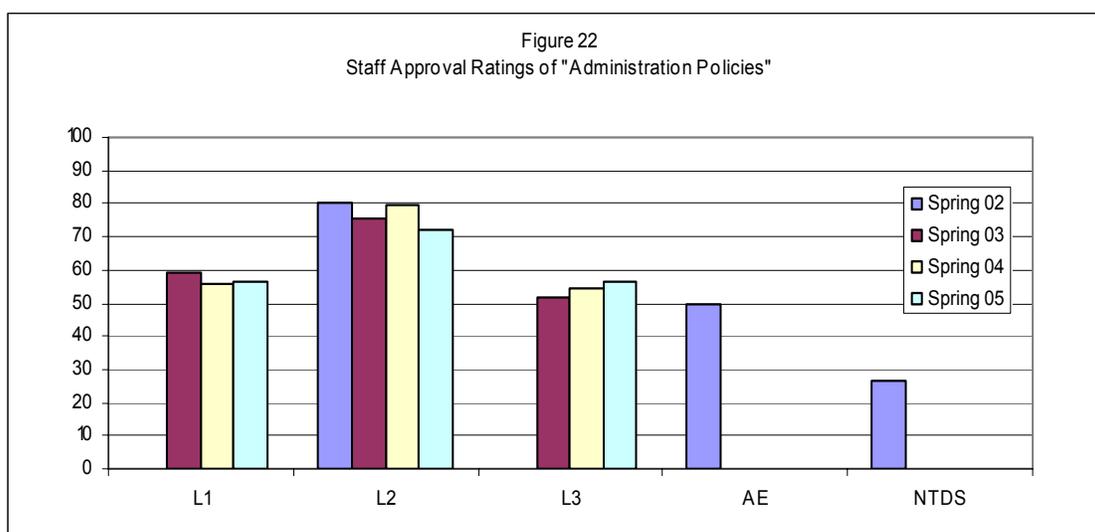
residential director regularly dropped off his teenaged granddaughters to be “babysat” by dormitory personnel, and the teenagers flouted staff authority.

- While some managers took responsibility when under pressure from above and buffered their staff, others deflected responsibility for problems onto the direct-care staff.

Best Practices in Management. At many of the sites, managers engaged in supportive practices, role-modeled commitment to children, gained the respect of their teams by putting in long hours, worked shoulder to shoulder with direct-care staff, provided affirmation and emotional support to staff, understood their employees’ life circumstances, accommodated scheduling and child-care needs, and shielded their people from outside pressures.

Administration

“The Leader is the Servant of the People.” The National Indian Youth Leadership Program relates its leadership program to American Indian traditions such as Gadugi, which defines the leader’s role as that of a servant to the people (Hall, 1999). This principle is at odds with a concept in the mainstream society that allocates to administrators and managers a higher status, benefits, and privileges of control over those under their authority. If staff are recognized as the foot soldiers on the front lines, and managers and administrators as service leaders, then managers and administrators should be considered their logistics and supply center. Management would then be judged by how well they obtain and allocate the resources needed to optimize staff efforts, provide training to optimize staff aptitudes, and motivate and support their staff. Administration would be evaluated both on management and coordination of the supervisory structure under them. The administrator’s additional roles, however, include being the public face of the system, working with a governing board to set a steady course for the school, and interacting with funding agencies to obtain maximum resources. Figure 22 shows approval ratings of “Administration policies” derived from staff surveys.



The number of staff is one factor affecting administration policy ratings. L2, with 75 staff, had the highest ratings. Ratings were 15 to 20 points lower for L1 (135 staff), L3 (200 staff), and AE (219), and 50 points lower at NTDS. The "Rule of 150" was apparent here. While there was clearly person-to-person contact and personal loyalty between administration and staff at L2, it was less evident at the other sites where there was little connection between ground-level staff and the administration.

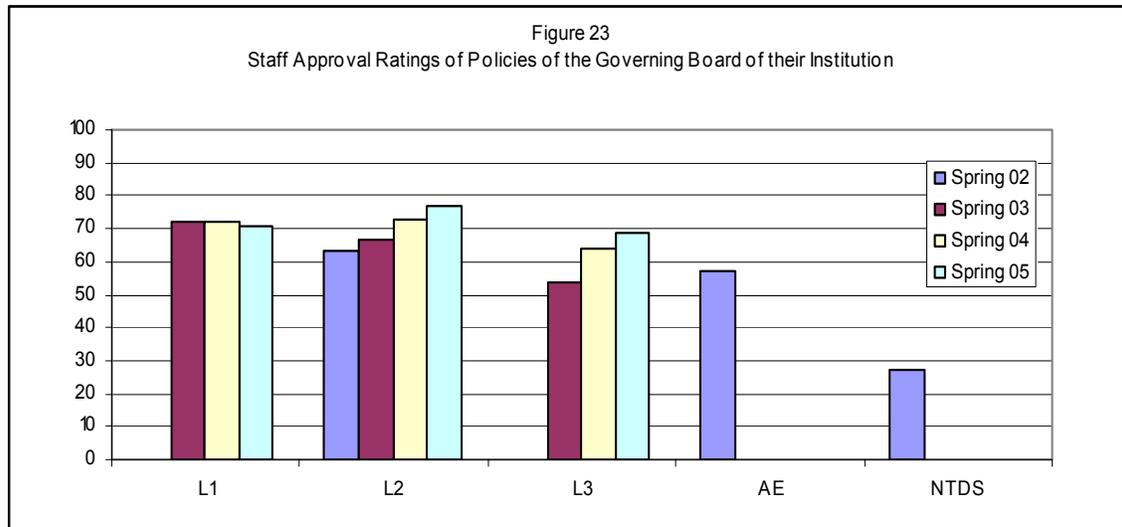
A strong administrator is an asset. However, the administrator's strength must be judiciously and supportively used. At two sites, mid-level managers were reluctant to discuss problems with a strong administrator for fear of retaliation. In both cases, the resultant negative dynamic trickled down the system. The administrators remained uninformed about issues, and their considerable experience was not optimally utilized to head off emerging problems. When problems surfaced, managers resorted to blaming their predecessors, other departments, or the quality of the staff under them; and coordination between departments eroded as departments unleashed preemptive attacks against each other. Administration policies created in a vacuum of objective data, disconnected from frontline staff and relying on self-protective management reports, then affected the quality of care given to the children.

Several sites had weak administrators at the highest levels, resulting in lack of direction and coordination between departments. The day school (NTDS), showing the lowest approval of administration policies, was a formidable challenge for an administrator, buffeted by factions within and outside the school.

Best Practices in Administration. The highest ratings on administration policy came from L2, the peripheral dormitory that in SY 2004-2005 had only one-quarter of its students attending school on campus. The administrator at this site personified service leadership. With an average of 75 staff members during the years of funding, the administrator had an open-door policy and involved himself with the nurturance and guidance of staff. By putting in long hours and working shoulder to shoulder with staff, he role modeled a high level of dedication, and demonstrated an understanding of the perspective and issues of staff at all levels. Response to disagreement was respectful, and the administrator and staff members customarily addressed each other formally as "Mr." and "Ms." Consensus-building was used in making decisions, and the administrator showed the respect due to elders to the experienced managers under him without compromising either their authority or his. There was optimal alignment with outside entities; the administrator worked cooperatively with the school district, had a high level of support from the tribe, and negotiated the intricacies of the funding environment to maximize support for his organization while protecting its autonomy.

School Boards and Governing Bodies.

The school board or other governing body has the responsibility of providing guidance and oversight to the school. The governing bodies generally took their responsibilities seriously. Figure 23 shows staff approval ratings of their institutions' governing bodies. Under the same pressure as the administrator, the governing board of NTDS received the lowest ratings from staff. Approval was highest at L1 and L2. L3 staff ratings are again difficult to interpret, as staff at this site were pressured by their administration in later years to give high ratings.



While most school boards were supportive, staff at other sites complained that school board members and children from their families expected special treatment. At one site, staff complained that they were unable to discipline children related to school board members, and school board members resisted any changes which would remove special housing and privileges their children received.

Best Practices. At L1 and L2, there was evidence of good communication between sites and their governing bodies. Evaluation results were shared with board members, who reciprocated by supporting changes designed to utilize the results. At both L1 and L2, members of the governing board were seen on campus and involved in TRM activities. At L1, supported and governed by a single tribe, financial support was quickly forthcoming and generous for needs identified.

Families and Communities

The sites differed in how they worked with families, communities of origin, and the surrounding community.

L1 has worked hard and successfully managed to upgrade the image of the school in the surrounding community from what it was in past decades. The administrator has been active in community leadership and aggressive in challenging discrimination against Native students and the school. Use of the school's new gymnasium by community organizations, and a partnership with the local community in using school athletic fields, have done much for community relations. A mentoring system which pairs police recruits with students has benefited both recruits and students. The school has a Web site which provides ongoing information to parents, and online videos show student activities. However, the site strictly limits student visits home to Christmas holidays, a policy which appears to have resulted in increased retention and daily attendance. Parents are encouraged to visit the school for other holidays, such as Thanksgiving. Many parents come to visit the school at this time and enjoy a holiday dinner with their children. While students can be checked out by visiting parents, such visits cannot be overnight. The site relied on a social worker for ongoing contact between children and families; the social worker visited communities regularly and made home visits as necessary.

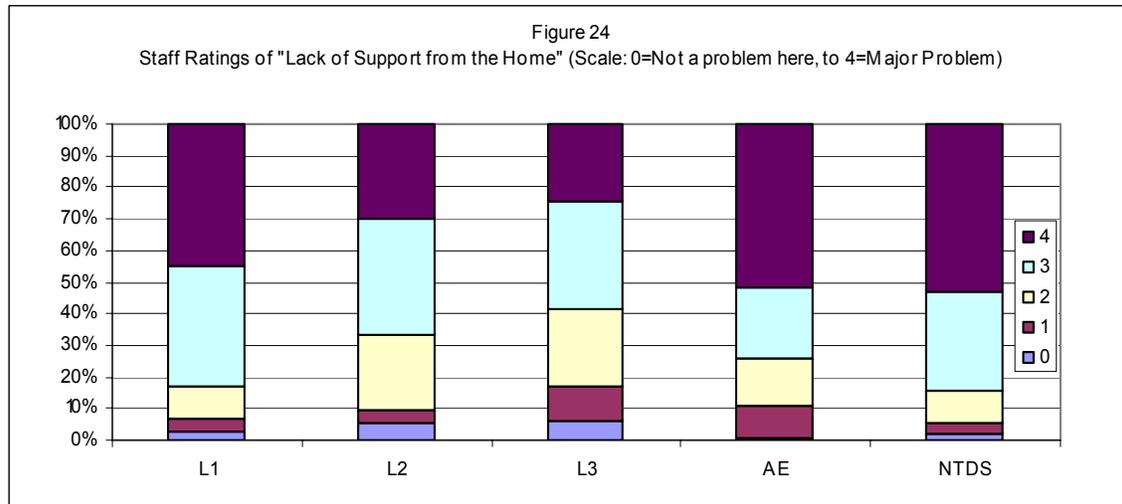
At L2, licensed counselors and social workers were the staff primarily involved in ongoing contact between children and families, making home visits as necessary. These knowledgeable professionals met with parents and social service representatives and were available for court hearings, home studies, and home visits. They were present for IEP meetings for students with special education needs. As professionals, they were able to bring weight to their advocacy for students and to work with social workers in the home communities of students to address family situations. Students were assisted by residential staff in writing letters home to parents and were able to communicate with family and friends using e-mail from the library's computer lab. A "Parent Compact," part of the L2 application, designated respective areas of accountability among students, parent/guardians, and school. All students were provided with trips home for Thanksgiving, Christmas, spring break, and summer. Parents, many of whom live in state, were encouraged to take their children home for visits at least once a month. Rooms in the dorms were reserved for parents of students who wished to visit L2. Parents were asked to come in for disciplinary consultations, or were connected to proceedings via conference calls. Parents and other family members were invited to Parent Day and a Christmas play. During the course of funding L2 began creating yearbooks and sent out a video/DVD to parents. Traditional dance groups begun during TRM funding performed in the surrounding community and at traditional gatherings. However, reports indicated continuing discrimination against American Indian children at the public schools they attended.

Many of the L3 students living in the local area returned home for weekends. While special education case managers had been contacting parents regularly with regard to academic progress, the addition of TRM paraprofessional case managers increased the amount of contact between L3 and students' homes, calling each home on a biweekly basis and providing a central contact person for parents' concerns. At the beginning of the final school year studied in the evaluation, family members of one in six students attended family activities. Using questionnaires, statistics on the number of families sending representatives to family days were compiled, and concerns were solicited. A video and CD-ROM package was produced for distribution to families and stakeholders. Students were involved in representing the school in the wider community: They have won the state chess championship, done well in Tae Kwon Do competitions, and collaborated with the community in Earth Day activities. Reports from students and staff indicated that some discrimination against students still exists in the surrounding community.

Recognizing the centrality of the family to students' emotional problems, AE proposed to undertake the difficult task of doing family therapy. However, because most families involved were located a long distance from the school, this element was not implemented. Paraprofessional parent liaisons were added by the TRM program, but again, distances limited their effectiveness.

At the NTDS site, families of all students lived in the surrounding reservation. Many staff members viewed involvement by family members in school operations as negative and unsupportive. Therapeutic Residential Model staff members hired as parent liaisons were not successful in developing much interaction with families due to logistical problems, and the social worker found little acceptance of, or resources for, family therapy.

Staff perceptions of parental support are shown in Figure 24. At all sites, most staff considered families to be a problem. L2 and L3, which tried hardest to involve parents, showed the least negative view of family support.



At several sites, child abuse reporting proved to be a complex issue. Administrators saw abrupt decreases in the number of children sent from certain communities soon after charges of child abuse were filed against parents living in those communities. There were indications that conscientious social service workers were subjected to political backlash when allegations of child abuse were investigated.

While many students returned home each summer to family situations which were not optimal, approximately one in ten students had no home to go to. These students ended up in homeless shelters or other situations where they were warehoused for the summer. Progress made during the year was often set back by these intervals. Schools struggled to find funds to keep such children through the summer; in the past, some staff had resorted to taking students home with them. Summer programs running on shoestring budgets were created at L1, L2, and AE, which managed to keep a number of students in the dormitories for an extended period of time during the summers. These sites used some mixture of academics, work, and recreation to assist students. According to staff reports, bonding was considerably improved by the opportunity to work more intensively with these students.

Funding Agencies

Many children coming into boarding school situations suffer from learned helplessness as a result of being subjected to circumstances outside their control. Indian boarding schools, like Indian people, have long been subject to the whims of federal control, and demonstrate similar symptoms. Administrators are expected to work out budgets for the following year and to award contracts to teachers each spring without knowing how much money they will be given to work with. As late as April, millions can be shaved off expected budgets. Sites are expected to transport, house, feed, clothe, educate, and provide mental health and medical services to students who often have significant mental health or social problems, neglected medical and dental needs, and special education requirements. During the TRM project, the federal offices determining funding and policy were constantly reshuffled, and federal officials directing programs were shifted out of them just as they were becoming familiar with program and site complexities. Sites which had spent months or years educating an official regarding their program had to start over from scratch when another official was handed the reins. The advent

of ISEP (Indian Student Equalization Program) funding, designed with grassroots input, has provided some promise of stability across the next several years; however, other sources of funding continue to fluctuate.

Establishment of Data Feedback Loops

Responses to evaluation varied between sites. While several sites participated vigorously in the evaluation, others resisted it. At one site, "evaluation" was done by a highly developed public relations apparatus accustomed to grant-writing and distributing lists of accomplishments and fact sheets to prep staff members before funding agencies' site visits. At this site an internal evaluator was briefly contracted but received little cooperation and an on-staff evaluator who took over focused on producing justifications for maintaining the status quo. Changes in response to the external evaluation were watered down, ineffective, and amounted to minor reshuffling of staff and students; problems were consistently attributed to difficulties of working with students rather than to system flaws. A second site did not respond to evaluation results; however, a response from the community to the evaluation, combined with other external factors, eventually led to a reorganization of the school. Two sites took action against staff believed to have communicated criticism to evaluators.

Consistency of data collected within and between sites creates a problem for evaluation. Two sites, with similar-size populations, submitted yearly assault totals of 719 and 2, respectively. While the latter site clearly maximized factors which would limit such occurrences, and the environment of the former was rife with factors which would result in them, staff perception of what constitutes an assault also contributed to the number of incidents reported. Staff committed to optimizing children's potential are less likely to interpret horseplay as assault, while staff looking at children for evidence of psychopathology or sociopathology are more likely to interpret it as such.

Best Practices in Evaluation. The two sites that effectively utilized evaluation information had the best student outcome data. At L1, the school contracted a highly qualified internal evaluator who worked closely with staff to implement a data feedback loop that systematically addressed the areas identified by the cross-site evaluation, as well as exploring additional areas internally identified as needing improvement. At L2, an evaluation team worked closely with the cross-site evaluator, and evaluation results were shared with staff, who were then involved in developing strategies to improve outcomes. Under the CSAP funding phase of the development of AE, implementation of a computerized tracking system increased the site's ability to respond quickly and flexibly to student performance and behavior, which contributed to a dramatic improvement in behavior. Prior to the implementation of this system, AE students were in a situation similar to that of NTDS students, who experienced few consequences for misbehavior and lack of attendance.

Section 4. Elephants in the Living Room

Communication

Every ethnic group has its own communication style. In many groups, it is joking and playful insults that express affection and belonging. Members of the group effortlessly read the linguistic markers at an emotional level. Boarding schools are multicultural settings which bring together students and staff from many different backgrounds. The common use of the English language merely makes it less apparent that miscommunication of words and actions between members of different tribes or between tribal and non-tribal individuals is ongoing. Gestures or words intended to be inclusive and friendly may be interpreted by some as hostile. Students who expect others to share freely may be perceived as extorting or stealing.

Operation in a mainstream multiethnic culture requires care in use of language and understanding of how gestures and words may be interpreted by a listener from a different background. Effective communication in a multiethnic culture often requires use of language from which ethnic markers have been carefully screened, exaggerated to underline their use, or eliminated. Few staff and even fewer students are consciously aware of these undercurrents and how they and their listeners are reacting to them. When there is a power differential between students and staff, or between staff and managers, the lower-status person can feel humiliated, shamed, or victimized at a conscious or subconscious level.

Religion

At several sites, there was a level of religious tension. Some Christian staff members were motivated to serve students with an idea of saving them, and some viewed traditional cultural practices with suspicion. While Christian religious services were welcomed at some sites, some staff members hesitated to include elements from American Indian religious traditions. There were also inter-tribal tensions. At a school serving students from multiple tribes, multiple sweat lodges had to be constructed to satisfy the traditions of the different tribes.

Race and Nepotism

At several sites, issues of race and nepotism impacted staff unity. In general, staff from different tribes and Anglo staff worked harmoniously together. However, there were complaints at some locations that American Indian staff were cut more slack than Anglo staff and promoted over Anglo peers with better qualifications. On the other hand, the idea that "a prophet has no honor in his own country" sometimes appeared operative, as American Indian professionals complained that opinions of credentialed Anglos were given more weight than theirs. While the presence of relatives either as fellow students or staff was a major comfort for students, the "relative" factor could cause problems. Nepotism was clearly evident on multiple levels in one grant school and became a focus for staff discontent. Staff complained that relatives of school board members and supervisors flouted discipline and received favors and considerations that other students or staff did not receive. Staff members who were less than totally scrupulous about interacting with students who were relatives or from their home communities, could be accused of favoritism. Staff reported that many fights were sparked by younger siblings complaining about squabbles to older siblings, who then involved themselves in the situation.

Internal Dynamics: “Diagnosing the Social Situation”

Many at-risk students in boarding schools have grown up in dysfunctional families. In *The Politics of the Family*, R.D. Laing (1969) describes the functioning of every family as a multigenerational drama:

The actors come and go. As they die, others are born. The new-born enters the part vacated by the newly dead. The system perpetuates itself over generations; the young are introduced to the parts that the dead once played. Hence the drama continues. The dramatic structure abides, subject to transformations whose laws we have not yet formulated and whose existence we have barely begun to fathom. (p. 29)

The child whose temperament does not fit his or her role, or for whom the stress of the role is too much, can become the target of scapegoating by the family unit. Due to either the stress of the role on the child or the stress of the behavioral reactions to an environment that does not promote positive development, the child can internalize this failure by exhibiting mental health problems or externalize opposition to this pressure with rebellious behavior. The family then blames the child for its problems. Laing proposed a model of healing based on “diagnosing the social situation” that has generated the behavior, and addressing the problem by altering that situation. Each boarding school, like the families Laing studied, was a social system with its own complex set of dynamics, some of them dysfunctional. Accordingly, before boarding schools can heal children, it may be necessary to heal the boarding school’s social environment. This is hard to do. While most individuals working at Indian boarding schools are highly motivated to adopt methods to help children, they are reluctant to deal with system dynamics. The first step toward recovery is recognizing the problem and being willing to change. The two sites which posted high retention asked for help in defining the problem and were willing, to some degree, to change. The other three were generally unwilling or unable to address system barriers. One site would not acknowledge there was a problem to be addressed. A second site was too locked in internal dissension to take action to solve systemic problems. A third blamed the children for their failure.

The evaluator as a change agent

Evaluation of these projects is not easy, either for the evaluator or the site. The more deeply the evaluator gets into the dynamics of the project through the process of seeking out the roots of barriers, the more interpersonal dynamics emerge. Researchers prefer the illusion that antiseptic conditions required by the experimental method can exist in the field, i.e., that they can flawlessly implement a pristine intervention, applicable across sites, which – if properly implemented – will improve outcomes. The evaluator emerges with glimpses of the real story of why a project fails or succeeds, but can rarely paint the complete picture, just as a family therapist cannot divulge the personal secrets of family members without tearing apart the very social unit he or she is working to improve. Acting in ignorance of those systemic problems leads to meaningless data that account for only peripheral factors. By becoming involved in the system and tweaking relationships, either intentionally or blindly, the evaluator changes the equilibrium of the social unit, hopefully – but not necessarily – for the better.

Medication

Issues with medication emerged. All sites agreed that some students were in need of medication to function appropriately or securely. The disagreement was in how many of them needed it. Two sites provided little in the way of triage for mental health services, reflecting administration belief that mental health issues were either not serious, or not the business of the school to address. A third site, L1, utilized the insights of a team of frontline staff to develop and monitor individualized approaches to student issues, addressing them so successfully that Level Three, medication triage, was seldom utilized. At L2, the effort to address mental health issues was centered on in-house counselors, who provided proactive prevention activities, utilized an early warning system provided by dormitory staff, and acted as gatekeepers to the third level of triage, a psychiatrist. At L3, the dysfunction of the system appeared to amplify the dysfunction of students, and Level Three solutions of clinical diagnosis and medication were applied to an extraordinary number of students, without the moderating influence of a knowledgeable gatekeeper.

While the FDA has applied black box warnings to many of the drugs used at L3 (FDA, 2004; Hammad, Laughrin, & Racoosin, 2006), the situational factors at L3 which may have precipitated the need to medicate students placed them at further risk when medicated. Parents who are familiar with the range of their children's behavior are more likely to recognize behavior changes signaling the emergence of side effects. Overworked frontline staff, whose only contact with children has been in the throes of their transition into the school environment, are not as likely to provide such knowledgeable monitoring.

Ideally, a system would have a balance between the three levels of triage. A number of children entering the boarding school system are headed for development of the chronic depression rooted in an early traumatic event. As conceptualized by the Cognitive Behavioral Analysis System of Psychotherapy, due to derailing of the developmental process, adults with this chronic form of depression have an egocentric worldview which does not allow them to appreciate that their actions have consequences (McCullough, 2005; Glasser, 1989). With its emphasis on communicating logical consequences to the child, the Applied Humanism system (Hall, 1992) may have been successful because it addressed the root causes of this depression. While such cognitive therapy has been shown to be as effective as medication in adults, the skillful combination of the two has been shown to maximize the results in chronically depressed adults (Keller et al., 2000). While L1 and L2 data indicate that triage at levels one and two may preclude the need for medication for almost all at-risk youth in this population, more rigorous study needs to be done. Given the extreme stance of L3 and its clear overemphasis on medication rather than support, it is not a good test case for addressing the medication issue in this pediatric population.

Conclusions

The survey data indicated that students coming into the boarding school or peripheral dormitory sites had similar risk factors. The outcome data indicated that some of the sites successfully met most of their students' emotional and developmental needs, but others did not. The sites that had the best student outcomes were those that focused on the needs of the children rather than the provision of services. These sites used the evaluation process to scrutinize their systems and make systemic changes.

The boarding schools that were the most successful at retaining students created a caregiving culture where staff acted as parents. L1 and L2 demonstrated that when children

were given structure and support, when behavior expectations were clear and consequences were logical rather than punitive, and when children were treated with respect, they were resilient. In contrast, L3 indicated that in the absence of structure and the lack of positive expectations from adults, children will revert to defensive survival patterns that are, in the long term, dysfunctional.

The differences in group management dynamics at L1, L2, and L3 were striking. Staff members at L1 and L2 were a constant presence, leveraging ratios of one employee to two students to successfully redirect situations before they got out of control. Staff members relied heavily on early intervention. Since many students were believed to have been victims of abuse and violence in the past, staff scrupulously avoided reawakening trauma by using physical restraint. Assaults became a rarity at these sites, virtually eliminating the need for physical restraint of students. In contrast, 200 L3 employees could not protect 200 fifth through eighth graders from each other. Abrogating responsibility to L3's professional hierarchy, the disempowered direct-care staff stood by while situations escalated out of control, resulting in an average of 20 violent assaults per week in SY 2004-2005. This inaction also had a cost to the aggressors. By the time designated professionals arrived, situations were often at the point where children were "taken down" and physically restrained by adults who were, in turn, modeling the utility of physical coercion.

Behavioral infractions were treated differently at the sites. L1 staff utilized misbehavior as an opportunity for a positive learning experience. Students who disrupted the L1 classroom participated with the teacher in a decision to go to a red card room, where they were assisted in settling down and exploring alternative ways to handle situations before returning to the classroom. L2 utilized the bonds students had created with adults, relying heavily on communicating communal disappointment in the behavior of the student, and requiring the student to work off damage he or she had done. At L3, children were punished by being placed in detention or a locked ward with other miscreants, fostering a banding together and internal support of the "tough kids." L3 students who caused problems for teachers experienced the rejection of a quick dispatch to alternate classroom settings (either short or long term), and were often sent to the psychiatrist – where they were told their brains would not work properly without the use of medication.

Students at L1 and L2 were encouraged to engage in age-appropriate activities. L1 students, male and female, regularly participated in evening baking sessions and small group sessions oriented to life skills, inclusive athletic activities, and a variety of other activities where they had the opportunity to bond with role models. L2 students raised and trained show hogs in the afternoon and evening, and participated in cultural, athletic, scouting type activities and group counseling sessions. At L3, middle school students were locked out of their dorm rooms to get them to attend weekly dances, regularly wore heavy makeup, and were exposed to movies and video games with adult content. While sexual assaults were rare at L1 and L2, at L3 there were 1.6 sexual assaults reported per week in SY 2004-2005.

Structure, stability, and presence of adults also appeared to reduce occurrence of emotional stress. Medication and Level Three professional help were rarely used at L1. Instead, considerable effort was put into providing a supportive, structured, nurturing environment. L2 had the services of a tribally contracted psychiatrist one day a week, but recommendations for use of medication were reviewed and often turned down by the gatekeeper, a licensed counselor committed to making minimal use of medication. L1 and L2 both adopted a strategy of counseling "on the hoof" and scheduled duty hours after school and on weekends. L1 and L2 documented a reduction in the need for Level Three services as their systems evolved over the years of TRM funding. Students in the stressful environment of L3, on the other hand, were

disproportionately labeled with psychiatric diagnoses, medicated, and hospitalized with emotional breakdowns by a half-time psychiatrist. Unlike the after-school "on the hoof" model of counseling at L1 and L2, mental health sessions at L3 required extraction of students from class, interrupting the academic process and returning a distracted child to the classroom.

The two sites with the highest retention conformed most closely to the four elements described in *Reclaiming Youth at Risk: Our Hope for the Future* (Brendtro et al., 2002):

- (1) Experiencing belonging in a supportive community, rather than being lost in a depersonalized bureaucracy.
- (2) Meeting one's needs for mastery, rather than enduring inflexible systems designed for the convenience of adults.
- (3) Involving youth in determining their own future, while recognizing society's need to control harmful behavior.
- (4) Expecting youth to be caregivers, not just helpless recipients overly dependent on the care of adults. (p. 4)

A shift in the configuration of factors at a site can affect results. The sites that accomplished gains in retention and other positive outcomes had nearly optimal alignments of administration, staff, governing bodies, and funding. This chemistry is fragile. At one site, the loss of a charismatic leader brought the momentum for positive change to quick halt. At another site, the replacement of a nurturing residential supervisor with a top down manager who lacked those characteristics led to a hemorrhaging of residential staff with whom students had bonded.

Beginning in SY 2006-2007, all of the sites will lose their TRM funding. In preparation, programs are already being trimmed back and exiting staff are not being replaced. There is evidence that the quality of care provided by even the successful sites is already eroding, as sites prepare to shift back from a proactive to a crisis management mode. Of course, the extent of this erosion of services one year out, and its impact on the children, is not yet known. It can only be hoped that these sites will find a way to continue their recently adopted proactive strategies.

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