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STREET EXIT PROJECT
Final Report

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STREET EXIT PROJECT

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Acknowledgement

Seattle Youth and Community Services has long been recognized as a pioneer in the development of services to high risk and exploited youth. It is within their character of integrity and commitment that they initiated and supported scrutiny of their programs. It is risky and threatening to allow outsiders full access to their operations as SYCS provided the investigators. They have our due respect for opening themselves up to a research process that would certainly not be possible in many organizations. We present this report with the intentions of improving services to all youth and as a dedication to the spirit of the staff and clients of SYCS.

Project Summary

The purpose of the Street Exit Project has been to analyze the interventions and services needed for youth to successfully exit from prostitution and related street lifestyles. Forty adolescent male and female prostitutes and street youth who were involved in services, were interviewed and tracked for 15 months. Integrated procedures of qualitative and quantitative data analyses were used to identify factors and attributes precipitating youths' decisions to: 1) seek or sever links with services, and 2) continue or discontinue prostitution/street behavior. The objectives of the research included: 1) providing a description of the decision-making process employed by youth and its relationship to services and exiting, and 2) developing an intervention model that would combine the most effective services to help youth from prostitution and street life. In this report, the investigators summarize the research process, conclusions and recommendations from the Street Exit Project research.

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STREET EXIT PROJECT

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1970's, communities across the country have been stunned by the discovery of a growing population of adolescents who live on the streets and survive through prostitution. Prostitution is an age old phenomenon, however, the dramatic increase in adolescent prostitution can be correlated to major shifts in the economic, moral, and social order of American life. Family structure, for example, has been placed in competition with economic structures. The symptoms of this stressful competition are apparent in the lives of children in our society. In fact, adolescents may be viewed as the scapegoats of our culture. Like the family schizophrenic who is chosen to exhibit the pain, tension, and conflict of the entire family, the ailments of modern life are manifest in the endless crises of adolescents which constitute the statistics on delinquency, substance abuse, early pregnancies, and suicide. Nowhere is the pejorative condition of adolescence more apparent than in the soaring numbers of runaway, throwaway, and homeless youth.

The estimates of runaway and homeless youth begin at one million and range upward to as high as two million. We now know that a majority of these young people become involved in prostitution and pornography. One third of those arrested for prostitution are under 21 and one third of those arrested for prostitution are now male (Federal Bureau of Investigation 1985). It is not coincidental that runaway and homeless youth become involved in commercialized sexual exploitation. Research has shown strong associations between early sexual victimization and other forms of child abuse and neglect with prostitution for both males and females (James 1980, 1982, Boyer and James 1983, Boyer 1986). In response to these very serious problems faced by adolescents, a range of prevention and intervention services have been developed in communities across the country.

The Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (later amended as the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act in 1977) was the federal response to the crises of homeless youth. By 1984, the federal government had provided at least partial funding for some 260 programs providing shelter and other services to

runaway and homeless youth. Additional funding has been provided at state and local levels that includes private and corporate support in many instances. At each level there are many examples of special resources directed toward youth at risk for prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation. These efforts have culminated in specialized intervention services for youth involved in prostitution.

Seattle Youth and Community Services (hereafter referred to as SYCS) is one of these agencies providing assistance to homeless and runaway youth through its two programs, The Shelter and the Orion Center. SYCS Serves 1500-2000 youth per year.

The Shelter serves runaway and homeless youth, street youth, and their families. The services include residential care, counseling, advocacy, community education, and referral services. The residential facility is the only emergency walk-in resource in the city of Seattle. The Shelter can house eight youth for up to two weeks. First time runaways are housed in volunteer shelter homes and family reconciliation counseling is a primary objective of contract counselors used to serve these youths.

The Orion Center is a multi-service center specifically designed to meet the needs of street youth and youth involved in prostitution. Services include: outreach, drop-in, meals, emergency housing, education, employment referral, medical services, individual and group counseling, legal advocacy, and referral. Orion is somewhat unique in that it is operated through the collaborative efforts of five agencies. SYCS is the lead agency. Management, staffing, and resources are also provided by Catholic Community Services, Seattle Public Schools, The Adolescent Clinic at the University of Washington, and Urban Policy Research.

The program philosophy and service approach used by SYCS are partially based on research findings and partially based on shared perceptions of what services, e.g. education and employment, are needed by youth to construct a conventional lifestyle. SYCS services based on research findings include: outreach, sexuality counseling, and a treatment approach sensitive to the subculture of street life. Outreach developed from the knowledge that abused children do not ask for help because they do not perceive its availability. Because these children tend to distrust adults and services in general, it is necessary to send help to them. The counseling approach is based on findings that indicate youth involved in prostitution have come to negatively define themselves according to rigid and contradictory cultural valuations of masculinity and femininity. Counselors are trained to address the effects of self and social labeling, and victimization. These approaches have demonstrated effectiveness in several street youth programs (Schram 1985, 1986).

Other services such as foster care, education, and employment services were assumed to be reasonable progressions for youth if alternative resources were available. These services are often referred to as transition services. SYCS services function partly on the theory that if you relink a youth in as many ways as possible to off-street networks, the pull of street life and street companions will diminish.

The programs of SYCS are similar to their sister projects across the nation in several respects: 1) they offer the same basic services and resources to youth, 2) they approach youth and service delivery with the same philosophy and style, and 3) they share the goal of reducing the incidence of adolescent prostitution. We make this point in order for the reader to recognize the applicability of the conclusions and recommendation made in this report to all programs serving high-risk youth.

The services provided by SYCS adequately reflect the combination of services provided by other programs funded by Title III. The federal priorities for services to high risk youth have included outreach, shelter, individual and family counseling, crisis intervention, and aftercare. Additional services are provided in many agencies as the need and the resources have arisen. A report by the National Runaway Network indicates that programs which are at least partially funded by Title III, provide an average of 13 of the following services:

Shelter	Education
Transportation	Pre-employment Training
Medical Care	Foster Care
Recreation	Legal Advocacy
Outreach	Independent Living
Individual Counseling	Group Counseling
Family Counseling	Mental Health Services
Drug/Alcohol Counseling	Crisis Counseling

The majority of services delivered under Title III are individual counseling; 75.9%, group counseling; 54.8%, recreational services; 41.2%, family counseling; 36.3%, and transportation services; 28%. Medical care, for example, was provided by only 9.4% of the services (Richardson and Deisher 1986). The National Network report states that the combination of these services are "the most effective means of working with multiple problems faced by these youth and families" (1984). This assumption has been the focus of the Street Exit research.

As a natural phase of the evolution of services to a unique population, the effectiveness and impact of interventions now in place are being questioned. In view of the fact that the problems of homeless youth continue to be present in communities, it is appropriate that services undergo a period of evaluation and reflection.

In 1984, the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families funded this 17 month evaluation study of services for street youth entitled The Street Exit Project. The STEP research was designed to analyze and evaluate the interventions and services needed for youth to successfully exit from prostitution and street lifestyles. Forty adolescent male and female prostitutes and street youth, who were involved in services, were tracked and interviewed over a 15 month period. Both quantitative and qualitative data were collected and analyzed for factors pertaining to: 1) seeking and severing service links, and 2) continuing or discontinuing street involvement.

The research focused on the clients and services of SYCS. This document is the final report of the Street Exit Project research. It includes a summary of the research process methodology, findings, and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The primary purpose of the Street Exit Project research has been to evaluate the effectiveness of interventions and services developed to assist youth in exiting street life. Over a 15 month period, 40 adolescent males and females (age 14-17) involved in prostitution or other street related activities were tracked and interviewed. Our objective was to describe the attributes of youths' decision-making process that precipitate: 1) seeking and severing links with services and 2) continuing or discontinuing prostitution and street related behaviors. With this information we had the following goals in mind: 1) to provide a description of the exiting process, 2) identify the perceptions and use of services by youth, and 3) assess the impact of services upon exiting from street life. The research approach was designed to generate data that could be used to: 1) assess the effectiveness of intervention strategies and 2) provide direction for more effective models and future programming.

The focus of this project encompassed many sets of complex social phenomena--e.g. prostitution, subcultures, adolescence, social services, in addition to the idiosyncracies of individual circumstance. The critical loci of interaction for these varied systems are within individual street youth. In order to accomplish the goal of improving services, the research approach was based on methodological principles of ethnographic research. From this perspective, successful services must be sensitive to the social and cultural context of street youth, the perceptions they hold of that context, and the role that services hold within it. We can no longer afford to assume that those outside that context can provide realistic services without benefit of a thorough and systematic analysis of services from the youth's point of view. Therefore, this research was designed to incorporate basic emic and holistic principles of the anthropological perspective. It was designed to elucidate cultural information from street youth in contact with services on the degree to which those services support or contradict the youths' perceptions of problems and solutions. The overall advantage to the ethnographic approach is that it not only controls for ethnocentrism in the research process but also ultimately in the delivery of services (Green 1978).

Our approach included diverse methods of data gathering and analyses. In order to have confidence in our research process and findings, we have used both quantitative and qualitative methods as sources of information and several cross-confirmatory measures. This research was intrinsically exploratory and therefore we did not use the hypothetical-deductive model. Our procedures are detailed below and referred to throughout this document.

Sample Population

The 40 young men and women who participated in this research were contacted through agencies serving street youth. The research was designed to focus on the services and interventions of Seattle Youth and Community Services and thus a majority of the subjects came from their service settings. Since the research was exploratory we included youth from a religiously based drop-in center and one youth from a youth service bureau. Table 2.1 gives the number of youth contacted at each agency.

Table 2.1 Service Contact

Agency	Number	Percentage
SYCS	(37)	(92.5)
Orion	26	65
The Shelter	11	27.5
New Horizons	2	5
S.E. Youth Services	1	2.5

The size of the sample was constrained by the brief time period available for tracking and the depth of the data necessary for us to achieve our research objectives. Sample selection was not random, however, our criteria provide a subject population that was closely representative of larger populations of street youth (see table 2.2).

The selection criteria included the following items.

1. age--14-17
2. length of street involvement--3 months minimum
3. contact with service agency for street youth
4. high risk behavior patterns
5. gender

In Table 2.2 we have compared the STEP sample with the investigator's previous samples of adolescent female (N=136) and male (n=47) prostitutes studied in 1980 and 1982, and the Orion population of 276 that intake interviews were completed on in the last year. One may see that males are over-represented in the STEP sample in comparison to the general Orion population. The STEP sample may be a more accurate reflection of the male to female ratio of street youth. The ethnic composition of all the samples is quite similar. Black youth are over-represented in comparison to the area's population of 4.2% (U.S. Census Bureau). The average age of youth is nearly the same in all the samples. The STEP sample is slightly younger which is due to the age criteria of 14-17. It is difficult to assess the categories of sexual orientation because these data were not recorded for the Orion population and the question was not asked directly of the

Table 2.2 Comparison of Street Youth Samples

	ENTRANCE INTO PROSTITUTION		SYCS/ORION	STEP
	female n=136	male n=47	client population	sample n=40
Gender				
Male			61.6% (170)	42.5% (17)
Female			38.4% (106)	57.5% (23)
Ethnicity				
Caucasian	61.8%	70.2% (3)	71.4% (197)	73% (29)
Black	25%	14.9% (7)	15.6% (43)	13% (5)
Native American	11%	8.5% (4)	3.6% (10)	15% (6)
Hispanic	1.5%	4.3% (2)	2.9% (8)	0
Average Age	16	16	not available median 17 average 16+	15.8%
Sexual Orientation				
Homosexual	**0	51.1% (2)	*15.2% (42)	23% (9)
Bisexual	5% (7)	19.1% (9)	1.5% (4)	21% (8)
Heterosexual	92% (125)	29.8% (1)	not available	56% (22)
Prostitution Involvement	100% (136)	100% (47)	49% (136) 60.5% (n=43) of those involved in prostitution were sexually abused	90% (36) m(14) n=17 f(21) n=23
Sexual Abuse	All prostitute sample 75%	83%	38.9% (71)	Before street actual molestation or rape 40% (16) Including attempts: 60%

*Estimates based on similar sample. **No subjects reporting as exclusively lesbian.

female prostitutes in 1980. The Step and Entrance samples are of course skewed in favor of those involved in prostitution. Finally, the samples are similar in the category of sexual abuse which is expected given abuse rates for prostitute samples in previous research.

Although the Step sample is not entirely representative we could not be so strict as to end up with no subjects at all. This is basically ethnographic, descriptive, and exploratory research. As the report will demonstrate, this sample has generated critically relevant data. In addition, the sample size of 40 was adequate for descriptive statistics. The reader should also note that we decided against the use of a control sample because such a sample implied a denial of services.

We were most interested, but not exclusively, in youth involved in prostitution. Youth who are not included in the prostitution category may have been associated with prostitution to a limited extent but it was not the main source of their street livelihood. One, although never prostituting, solicited customers with the intent of robbing them. Often those not involved even as posing as prostitutes had generally been involved in pimping or were dependent on friends who prostituted for their livelihood. Only one male subject had no involvement in prostitution or related activities. He however, had been exposed to prostitution and been approached by customers and a young woman looking for a pimp.

Once a client was determined to be suitable for the research they were contacted directly by the agency or research staff. If they agreed to participate, consent forms were signed. Our contact procedures are described below.

Subject Contact and Consent Procedure

The research staff maintained continuous contact with agency staff and developed procedures within each program to identify potential clients. Potential clients were first evaluated according to the selection criteria. The suitability of potential subjects was then discussed by research and agency staff. A staff member would then discuss the research objectives with the youth. If youth were interested, an appointment was made with the research staff. The research staff then discussed the research again with the client and they had a second opportunity to say "yes" or "no". It was made clear that participation was voluntary and that they could refuse further involvement without jeopardizing services extended to them. The research staff sought continuous feedback from the staff to assess the impact of the interviews on both subjects and programs. Program staff integrated the research process with great ease and communications were very good.

Once a youth agreed to participate, two consent forms were signed (see appendices). One was signed by the youth and a second by a parent, guardian, or other adult who had knowledge of the general circumstances of the youth. The youth were also informed that they would receive $5 for each of 3 interviews. The renumeration was provided in order to prevent any possibility of coercion, to ensure recontact, and because it was fair to compensate them for their contribution.

In a few cases we decided against asking youth to participate because we felt they were unstable and we did not want to interfere with their relationship with staff. Also, we were turned down by some clients (less then 5).

Human Subjects Assurances

The staff of SYCS and of the research project were fully informed of necessary procedures to assure protection of subjects. These were carried out fully in every instance. Potential subjects were informed of the purpose of the research, how the data were to be used, and assured of the confidentiality of information gathered. Any hesitation or resistance to participation was respected. If the potential subject agreed to participate, they were given a consent form and told that consent must also be given by an adult. Only youths for which such consent were obtained were allowed to participate.

Potential subjects were informed that their participation was voluntary and would not affect the services they received in any way. SYCS staff were not involved in collecting data from clients, nor did they have access to the information except in the form of summaries of research progress prepared by the research staff.

Confidentiality was insured in the following ways: 1) data collected during the research period were recorded by case number assigned to each subject, 2) a master list of subject names was kept in order that data from the three interviews would be correctly coded by subject number, and then destroyed, 3)interviews will be destroyed and tapes erased at the end of the project and 4) all names and identifying comments were deleted from the transcriptions. Data collected during the course of the project have been kept in locked files and only research staff have access to the data.

Data Collection

The research procedures were designed to generate data that could be used to analyze both the subjective and objective dimensions of the social phenomena under investigation. The data from this research were derived mainly from interviews with youth and staff, tracking procedures, and notes from field participation and observation. These procedures are described below.

Interview Schedules

The research design called for youth to participate in 3 formal interviews over the research period of 15 months at 3-4 month intervals. (see Table 2.3) The interviews were focused, but open-ended. This design allowed us to generate both quantitative and qualitative data.

Table 2.3 Interviews

Interview Schedules	Date Administered	Number of Subjects
A	Jan 1985 - May 1985	40
B	March 1985 - Sept 1985	38
C	Oct 1985 - Jan 1986	20
	Informal data collection for Interview C	18

Quantitative data were generated in the following manner. Interview questions were coded and responses recorded on the schedule for computer entry and preparation for analytic procedures. The responses on the schedule included an open alternative format. This format allowed us to gather qualitative data. The interview was tape recorded and later transcribed along with field notes. The descriptive material was then coded according to variable categories for easy access. The descriptive information has been used to interpret findings from quantitative data and to build descriptive models.

The interview questions were designed to elicit an emic (from the subject's point of view) perspective on the relationship of high risk youth to social services and successful exiting. The questions probed the interactive process between youth, social services, and the street subculture. The values, norms, behaviors, and perceptions of youth are shaped within the context of these interactions. Through an open interview approach we have

attempted to record how youth perceive, construct, and interact within that environment.

Below we describe the variable categories for each interview. The variable categories and question structure were derived from two main sources: 1) previous research on populations of street youth, and 2) from literature on decision-making, service seeking, and the exiting process. A variable list for each interview is included in the appendices.

Interview Schedule "A"

The first interview was administered to the 40 subjects between January and May of 1985. The objectives of the first interview were to generate data in eight-areas. These include: 1) demographic characteristics, 2) early home life and family information, 3) early sexual experience including neglect and abuse, 4) present situation, 5) relations and involvement with services, 6) exiting attempts, 7) criminal involvement, and 8) drug involvement.

The first interview was also used to probe three key areas: 1) the service seeking process and interaction with services, 2) exiting attempts and process, and 3) influence of subculture norms and values on service seeking and exiting. These data guided the fieldwork and influenced the focus of the later interviews. Below we have provided a detailed description of each of these areas of investigation.

1. Service Seeking/Severing Behavior

   a. Service contacts: What services are subjects in contact with? What prompted service contacts? Was it voluntary, involuntary or accidental? What is the outcome of contacts in terms of interaction, experience, services used, future contacts on exiting decisions?

   b. Perceptions of needs, problems and solutions: What motivates seeking/severing service contacts? What are the subjects perceptions of needing help? How are needs, problems, and solutions defined by subjects? How are problems related in their social environment?

   c. Subculture influence: What information is provided by subculture interactions on needs, problems and solutions? What is the perception of those who need and get help; of those who give help?

   d. Service action: What services are provided? How are they perceived as to purpose and potential by subjects?

What is the outcome; did subjects adhere to case plans and use service opportunities? Why or Why not; how was the exiting process affected?

e. Social identity change: Did service seeking/severing effect a change in status for subjects? Do subjects perceive ability to change? How congruent are service goals with subject beliefs? How coherent is the social network of subjects? What is acting for and against change?

f. Services and lifestyle patterns: How do subculture lifestyle patterns help/hinder service usage? Do services permeate subcultural boundaries? Do they ameliorate and anticipate subculture conflicts? What is the ability of subjects to cope with demands of services and interaction styles?

g. Perceptions of services: How do subjects perceive services and staff in terms of motives, views of subjects, ability and effectiveness? What changes would they make and what helps and what does not and why? What are subjects goals in relation to services and exiting? Are they congruent with service goals?

2. Exiting

a. Patterns of involvement in high risk behavior and street life: Is involvement continuous or sporadic? How intense has the commitment been? Has involvement been combined with conventional lifestyles such as employment, returning to family, marriage? What factors influenced involvement and intensity? What are the basic modes of support used?

b. Perception of lifestyle: Has perception of lifestyle change from first involvement? What is the current view of the lifestyle? What factors contribute to perceptions and changes from first involvement?

c. Rationalization: How do subjects view involvement in high risk behavior, prostitution or street related lifestyles? How is it explained, understood, and does this change over time? How are rationalizations and perceptions different from observable patterns? Have services impacted these perceptions and if so how or why not?

d. Relationship: What is current involvement? Are close relationships with street companions? What categorization do subjects have for the people they are involved with?

e. Adaptive strategies: How have subjects managed to survive socially, and in terms of the law either within or outside street life: How mobile have they been: What has been the living pattern and travel pattern over the year? What factors have influenced mobility? What adaptive strategies were successful and which were not? What are the strategies now? How have services affected these strategies?

f. Exiting attempts: What attempts, if any have subjects made, were any helpful, why? What do subjects perceive as alternatives now. What contributed to successful exit or lack of attempt to exit? What role and impact did social services have in these processes? If subject is out of high risk pattern what steps were taken, what was the final process and how permanent is the decision? What would precipitate a reentry? Do social services play a role in the permanence of an exiting decision, why or why not?

3. Subculture

a. Social network: To what degree are subject's social network composed of street/non-street people? How cohesive is the network? What role does the family play in subject's lives? What non-street resources are available? How do these relationships affect service seeking and attempts to exit?

b. Criminal Involvement: How does subculture involvement affect criminal, drug/alcohol involvement? What connections are made between these behaviors and lifestyle and social network patterns?

c. Outcomes: What is the assessment of positive, negative and neutrals of experience with lifestyles? How do subjects evaluate their present and future status? What do they plan to do? How are these planned perceived within the subculture?

d. Services: How are services perceived and evaluated in subculture terms? What are the positives, negatives and neutrals? How are they used? Do they aid exiting and change?

e. Exiting: How does the subculture perceive the potential for exiting? What myths and beliefs surround this process? Do services alter the nature of perceptions on beliefs about exiting?

Interview Schedule "B"

The objective of the second interview was to record changes in the life circumstances of the subjects over the time period elapsing between the 1st and 2nd interviews. Data were collected in the following areas:

1. Present Service Affiliation
   agency contacts
   use of services
   changes in agency contacts

2. Present Situation
   street status--on/off/in transition
   living situation
   social network
   employment status

3. Family Contacts and Relationships

4. Use of Resources

5. Street Related Behavior

6. Exiting Attempts

7. Sexually Exploitive Experiences

8. Drug Involvement

9. Crime Involvement

10. School/Training Contacts

11. Employment Attempts

Data from the second interviews have been analyzed for changes in status regarding: 1) street life, 2) use of services, and 3) decision making factors influencing street exiting. In addition to the standardized items on the schedule, subjects were asked to describe major events in their lives that occurred between interviews. The objective of this questioning was to build comprehensive case studies for understanding the exiting process and to elicit decision-making criteria. The second interview was shorter then the first interview because there was limited demographic information collected. This allowed us to be more "relaxed" with subjects during the interview. We were able to discuss more informally the major issues in their lives and their attempts to exit.

Interview Schedule "C"

The first part of schedule "C" is similar to schedule "B". One objective of the final interview was to allow us to continue recording changes in the life circumstances of the subjects. We collected information in the following areas.

1. Present Service Affiliation
   - agency contacts
   - use of services
   - changes in agency contacts

2. Present Situation
   - street status - on/off/in transition
   - living situation
   - social network
   - employment status

3. Family Contacts and Relationships

4. Use of Resources

5. Street Related Behavior

6. Exiting Attempts

7. Sexually Exploitive Experiences

8. Drug Involvement

9. Crime Involvement

10. School/Training Contacts

11. Employment Attempts

Another objective of the third interview was to elicit specific decision-making criteria. We attempted to generate this information in 3 ways.

First, we added questions that allowed subjects to reflect upon changes in their lives over the past years. These included questions on: (1) self-image, (2) employment, (3) housing, (4) school, (5) social life and activities, (6) family relationships, and (7) legal situations.

Second, it is our contention that sex-role image and sexuality issues are major influencing factors in the decision-making of street youth. We, therefore, added questions to elicit the subjects' perceptions of the approach of services to such issues as prostitution and homosexuality.

Third, we developed a specific interview format to systematically generate decision-making criteria (see attached guide). We attempted to get a complete description of three decision-making situations for each client. The decision situations were identified through tracking data or by the subject. We tried to identify specific situations that resulted in a change in service or street involvement. As can be seen by reviewing the guide, we attempted to describe different aspects of decision-making. These included: (1) descriptions of the situation, (2) awareness of options, (3) objective and subjective intentions, (4) affective and material consequences.

Tracking System

A separate tracking record was kept on each subject through the research period. Tracking contacts were provided by the youth and included a wide range of persons. Tracking information was gathered formally every two weeks on each youth. We were able to collect a considerable amount of information through informal contacts as well. One measure of our success with tracking was that we maintained contact with 5 youth who were out of state during part of the project.

The six areas of information that we noted for tracking include the following:

1. On/off street status.
2. Involvement in services.
3. Service contacts and outcomes.
4. Changes in lifestyle/major events.
5. Exiting attempts.
6. Affective state.

We integrated tracking data into the third interview format in order to probe for decision-making factors and perceptions of services.

Fieldwork

This research has utilized diverse methodological approaches to generate both quantitative and qualitative data. Documenting the observable patterns of interactions of youth in their daily routine has been a primary task of this research. Through participant/observation, we have been able to generate rich data on how youth relate to each other in various settings, the nature of their social interactions, their value systems, and expectations.

The research staff maintained contact with youth and staff in a variety of contexts. Examples of the settings in which we both participated and observed are listed below.

1. Agency drop-in programs
2. School programs
3. Staff consultations
4. Detention groups
5. Client retreat and leadership trainings
6. Administrative management meetings
7. Staff trainings
8. Counseling sessions
9. Housing transition programs
10. Meals and recreational events
11. Street environment

The research staff kept field notes on a daily basis. These notes were discussed on an on-going basis and were used as guides for the exploratory research approach. Fieldwork was more often than not the source of emerging concepts that could be developed, investigated, eliminated, or refined. The network of relationships between our data was linked through the understanding we gained from fieldwork. Thus, notes from fieldwork provided us with considerable qualitative and descriptive depth as well as interpretive and cross-confirmatory data for analysis and comparison.

Data Analysis

In this section we give a brief description of our approach to data analysis. Specific procedures are described in more detail in the chapters in which we present our findings.

Quantitative Data

Data collected from the 3 formal interview schedules were processed uniformly. The data were coded, key punched, and entered as data files on the University of Washington's CDC Cyber 175/750 mainframe.

Descriptive statistics were used to describe subjects demographic, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics. Item distributions were used to identify statistical outliers and inform scaling and other analytic techniques. Simple examination of inter-item correlations and high item-total associations have been used in scale construction. Reliability estimates have been determined for all composite indexes. (Nunnally, 1978)

Means, medians, standard deviations, and percentiles have been used to describe differences between subjects' perceptions and behaviors among fixed characteristics, e.g. sex. These statistics involve both scales and individual items. Percentiles for these variables have been tabulated for each group using contingency tables. Means and dispersion measures have been used for continuous variables such as attitudes towards services, or number of exiting attempts.

Based on distributions of outcome items and scales, differences on exit/no exit and service link/service sever have been measured. Multiway contingency tables have been analyzed cross-sectionally. Cross-classification of categorical data has been used to examine relations between two or three variables and allow alternative hypothesized constraints, e.g., fixed marginal distributions or conditional relationships.

When distributions warranted, interval-level relationships were computed between predetermined and outcome measures. Simple and multiple linear regression were used for predictors of social service involvement and/or number of weeks since involvement in high risk behavior. Choice of predictors were based on prior theoretical work and initial analyses. However, number of predictors to be used is limited by sample size. In addition, categorical outcomes, e.g. exit/no exit, were examined for differences on predetermined measures. Breakdowns were computed and between-group (eta2) statistics estimated. (Blalock, 1979)

Qualitative Data

The descriptive data from interviews, field notes, and tracking sheets were coded according to variable categories. An integrated process for analysis and display of descriptive data was used (Miles and Huberman 1985). The qualitative data were first analyzed for content and displayed in various forms, e.g. matrices, graphs, and charts. This process adds a degree of certainty to methods and conclusions based on qualitative data. Through the process of data reduction and display the analysis and conclusions are documented and available to the reader as is generally the case with quantitative data analysis.

CHAPTER 3

DATA SUMMARIES

Case Study

We are introducing the data summaries with four case studies. The life story of one youth will allow the reader to put the frequencies that follow in context.

Pam

Pam is a sixteen year old caucasian female. (We will refer to this client as Pam for the purposes of anonymity in this case summary). At the time of our first interview, Pam was living in a foster placement through the Long Term Services program of The Shelter. The LTS program was designed specifically to serve street youth. She entered this program in January, 1985, after spending eighteen days in a crisis bed at The Shelter for evaluation and in preparation for her transition into the foster placement. (The LTS program was ended because of a lack of funds in 1985.)

Pam's early life was very disorganized and unstable. She never knew her natural father. He and her mother never married nor maintained contact. She lived with her mother for the first twelve years of her life. At age 10 she spent two weeks in a foster placement. Pam's mother married seven times in this twelve year period. Pam never established a positive or trusting relationship with any of her stepfathers. Thus a father figure has been absent through her childhood and adolescent development.

At age ten, Pam had three negative sexual experiences. She was molested by an ex-boyfriend of her mother's, a friend of the family attempted to rape her, and she was actually raped by a stranger. All this happened within a four month period.

At age twelve, Pam was placed outside her home due to a long history of seemingly unresolvable conflicts with her mother. In the client's own words, "we can get along for about 4-5 days and then we get in fights. We are too much alike. We talk alike, we look alike, we act alike. We are friends, not mother and daughter." Over the next four years Pam was in four receiving homes, two foster homes, three crisis residential centers, and two group homes. One of the group home placements lasted two years, her last one before going to the streets. Yet even in that placement a number of factors finally culminated in her discharge from the placement. Problems with peers, staff or foster parents, and rules in all these placements eventually worked against any positive progress which may have been made. By the time Pam was discharged from the group home, she had used up what the state

system had to offer. She says, "I've been in group homes too long. They have never helped me. I went from a group home to the streets."

After being discharged from the placement and going home for a very brief time, Pam ended up on the streets via contacts she had made in the state system. She spent a total of about nine months on the streets between February and November of 1984. Soon after her arrival on the streets, she turned to prostitution as a way to make money in order to provide for her daily needs.

> I had no money and I knew it. Everybody up there was into prostitution and I knew that was the only way I could get money, easy money.

She prostituted daily for about four months. When not moving from hotel to hotel, she lived with friends in apartments, in street shelters, or with a sugar daddy. Pam was never comfortable or happy with her street life. The daily stresses of depending on prostitution to provide shelter, food, clothing, and medical needs, exhausted her physically and emotionally. She was never comfortable as a prostitute,

> I tried to get fired (by her pimp) because I didn't like working so I had a real hard time down there, and then after awhile I got sick of it and said: 'forget this'. I moved to Tacoma to get off the streets but I got on the streets there. I said I totally want off so I came back here and I was getting off, but I was still on, but everybody knew, don't mess with Pam she knows how to fight for herself now."

Larry

Larry is a caucasian male and was 15 when I first met him at the Orion Center. Larry had been an Orion Center client for approximately three months. For six weeks prior to our first meeting and interview, Larry had been living with two men in a nearby city. It was a sugar daddy arrangement where Larry traded sexual favors for a place to stay and food. Larry fled that arrangement after one of the men sexually assaulted him.

Larry claims to have been first involved with street activities at age ten. He ended up downtown looking for "something to do" and a haven while on the run from a group home. Larry's background was unstable and abusive. He was a hyperactive child who had behavior problems at home and school. Larry completed the seventh grade but did poorly in school. He functions at a low level in basic reading and math skill areas. He lived with his natural parents for the first eight years of his life, until they were divorced. Both his mother and father subsequently remarried. Larry lived with his father periodically, but an unresolved conflict developed with his stepmother.

Larry became involved in experimental drug use at an early age, possibly to self-medicate his hyperactivity. He was attracted to the glamour, excitement, and drama of street life. Being downtown at such a young age and small in stature, he was vulnerable to victimization at the hands of exploitive older adolescents and adults. Periodically he became involved with more caring street players who provided Larry protection and taught him some street survival skills.

> I met people there that told me to keep my ass off {the streets}, and I said, 'fuck you'. Because I was so young, everyone wanted to help me out.

Larry presents himself as a powerful macho street operator. He attempts to intimidate others through verbal and physical posturing. He tells exaggerated tales of his street exploits designed to impress the listener. This image covers an emotionally needy, fearful young boy who feels very little self worth. Larry has little trust for anyone in his world yet continues to be victimized. His emotional needs continue to attract him to potential relationships, usually on a sexual basis with other males. His neediness thus exposes his vulnerability. His image is designed to distance himself from the threat and vulnerability of intimate honest relationships. His tendency to exaggerate his exploits often alienates peers and other street contacts. He seems trapped in a self-perpetuating cycle of alienation, ostracism, and victimization.

The vast majority of Larry's service experiences have been negative. His lack of trust for adult "parenting" relationships often prevents him from feeling comfortable in residential placements. This fear was acted out behaviorally and by running away. If he ever did begin to feel more comfortable in a placement, his fears, anger and anxiety, which were usually suppressed, would explode through this new crack of comfort and safety. Most placements do not feel equipped to stay with a client when such emotionally explosive behaviors begin to surface. Unfortunately, such placements distance themselves from clients at a time when the client is most vulnerable to their judgements and acceptance.

Jean

Jean is a sixteen year old caucasian female. I first contacted Jean at the Shelter. She had been placed there by juvenile court and was awaiting placement.

Jean's early life--to age eight, was generally stable. She lived with both parents in New York. Jean is a very bright and creative young woman. The stability and security she experienced

as a child seem to have provided her with a basic sense of self-worth.

Some of the instability in Jean's life may derive from the fact that both of her parents were regular drug users. They used drugs in the presence of their children, and from this experience Jean developed a positive attitude toward open experimentation with drugs.

Jean's parents divorced when she was eight. She relocated in Washington with her mother, with whom she lived until she was fifteen. About this time Jean's mother became involved with a religious group. The ascetic nature of her mother's religious life plus adjusting to the divorce proved to be alienating for Jean.

> I lived with my Mom for a while, but she is a complete wierdo. She belongs to a religious cult down in California, called the Church of the Universal and Triumphant. Have you heard of it before? They are a bunch of weirdos. There is this lady who runs it called Elizabeth Clara Prophet. My Mom actually believes that is her last name...sure. She used to get really weird, like she would come home, we weren't allowed to wear the colors black, grey, brown, or orange inside the house. We weren't allowed to listen to the radio. We weren't allowed to watch TV, but we had both. We had this really beautiful Trinitron TV that just sat there, like she'd work and stuff and we'd watch TV and turn it off just as she would drive up.

Jean began having problems at home with her Mom and the house rules. Jean left her Mom and went to live with her Dad, hoping things would be better in a different environment. Her father had remarried and moved to Seattle. Jean lived with them for a few months but the problems continued there as well. Jean was kicked out of the house by her stepmom for repeatedly coming home too late. By this time Jean had become heavily involved in punk culture. She had been experimenting with a variety of drugs, including marijuana, LSD, MDA, crystal, cocaine, codeine, and heroin. She knew kids who were living on their own and developed friendships with them. This life of independence intrigued her. Jean had always thought of herself as an independent person: one who liked to be "unique". Two years later, Jean reflected back on this time:

> When I was fourteen I had a mohawk. Besides that I had to run away from home in order to be cool. Punk rock is a neat thing to do. Let's try it out. I mean I was just an obnoxious kid. And then I cut all my hair off except for my bangs and I was a skin head. I was totally obnoxious and now

> my hair has grown back...I don't know...I learned a lot through everything I went through. I do think I learned a lot, I had to go through that to be who I am right now.

And in retrospect, Jean speaks of what may have been missing for her in those days:

> I don't know, I think maybe if someone had explained to me that I was okay, that I wasn't abnormal or anything, I'd probably be still living with my parents. My parents looked at me like I was really strange, that what I was doing was wrong, not just unusual or special, but it was wrong... At least if I had one person telling me that I wasn't crazy, I'm sure it would have helped. Everyone was saying, 'God, what a weird kid'.

Jean went to the streets when she left her Dad's house. She lived in various crash pads with street friends. She made money dealing drugs and stealing. She stole thousands of dollars worth of jewelry from her mother, an action which seriously scarred that relationship.

More out of curiosity than need, Jean became involved in prostitution for a couple of months. She worked in several locations, without a pimp. Jean was still living with various friends during this time. Her street experiences were generally positive. She did tire of not having a place to live, but if all else failed, she could still go home to Mom's in emergencies.

Although Jean's street involvement was primarily still in the early stages, and she enjoyed the excitement and freedom, she did have one quite negative experience. Jean was violently raped by a stranger while walking alone downtown one night. She went home to her mother for comfort at that time. The availabilty of a home and parent at times like that has been extremely valuable for Jean. She has continued to feel cared for and worthwhile, despite other family conflicts.

Doug

Doug is a seventeen year old caucasian male. My first contact with "Doug" was at the Orion Center. He dropped-in on a daily basis for food, companionship and counseling. He was also working on his GED, and receiving help in a job search. At the time of our first interview, Doug was off the streets and living with a friend in an apartment near downtown. He had been out of active involvement in street life for about eight months. Prior to this attempt to exit Doug was deeply involved in a variety of street activities such as prostitution, pimping, and dealing drugs. Doug had been on the street for two and one-half years but was not involved in any street activities at the time of our first interview.

Doug's early family life was similar to that of most youth who end up on the street. He had never lived with both parents. Doug's mother died at the birth of he and his twin sister. He lived with his father, an alcoholic, intermittently for the first fourteen years of his life. During this period there were numerous occasions when his father would place Doug and his twin sister in a receiving home or foster home because he was unable to adequately provide for them.

Instability became a norm for Doug. He seemed to develop an emotional independence and ability to take care of himself at an early age. Living at home with his father is not an option for Doug now, but he and his father have managed to create a positive relationship.

> We've got problems between him and I. We can't handle each other; he drinks a lot and he doesn't like me doing the things I do. Sometimes I lie to him to keep things away from him and he doesn't like that. He doesn't like people lying to him. We get along great when we are apart. He calls me up or I'll call him up and say, 'Let's go boating, or fishing'.

By age fifteen Doug had spent a number of years in and out of DSHS receiving homes. He was tired of what that life was offering him and had developed strong negative feelings about the state child care system. He began going downtown, just to get away from a life which he found boring and unfulfilling. He quickly made friends with kids involved in prostitution and drug use. Within two weeks, Doug was down on the streets constantly and became committed to a street lifestyle. When asked if he would ever go back into the DSHS system, or recommend it to someone in need, Doug had this to say,

> DSHS will throw you into a receiving home, and I've been through all that baloney...Nobody really likes it because once you are thrown into a receiving home or any kind of home, you have to follow their rules. After you've been on the street, you know, where I'm the boss, you don't tell me what to do. It's like jumping from a hot bath into an ice bath.

We have introduced the preceding case studies to provide the reader with a context for understanding and evaluation of the quantitative data. We will return to the case studies at the end of this chapter, exploring each youth's street activities, use of services, attempts to exit street life, and their present situations.

Quantitative Data

In the sections that follow, we have summarized the quantitative data gathered from the three formal interviews administered to our sample. Interview A was completed with the original sample of forty street youth between January and May 1985. Interview A covered the subjects' early history as well as their recent and present situaticns.

Interview B was completed with thirty-five subjects between March and October 1985. Tracking information and informal interviews provided information on some questions for an additional three subjects. Interview C was completed on twenty subjects between October 1985 and January 1986. We were able to make informal contacts and obtain tracking information on an additional eighteen youth. Thus, thirty-eight youth (95%) were successfully tracked and at least informally interviewed for the duration of the study.

Interviews B and C covered the subjects' activities and experiences in the period between interviews. Thus the last two interviews cover a much narrower time frame than that in the first interview. The reader should keep this distinction in mind as he/she reads through the data.

The data summaries have been divided into nine categories:

1) demographic characteristics;
2) early home life, family characteristics, and recent family contact;
3) early sexual experiences, inluding abuse;
4) school;
5) employment;
6) present situation;
7) prostitution involvement;
8) criminal involvement;
9) drug use.

Each category includes data from all three data sets. These data have been integrated and compared when it was meaningful to do so. Percentages, frequencies, and descriptive summaries are also included.

Percentage scores are based on the number of responses for each question. The reader will note that there are several instances of missing data (sample size will vary). In some cases data is missing because we were unable to complete a formal interiew and only had limited informal contact and tracking information. The emphasis of this research was descriptive and more importantly, exploratory. The interviews were also open-ended. We were far more concerned with eliciting subjects' perceptions of their situation, than with forcing their responses

into a preconceived pattern. Thus, our formal interview schedule was not always relevant to each individual and their situation. We would opt for a stimulating and revealing conversation rather than following a structured line of questionning. The statistical data should only be viewed as providing a general profile which will support and provide a context for the descriptive themes.

Demographic Characteristics

Gender

We had planned to have twenty males and twenty females in our sample. We were unsuccessful in getting the last three males for the study, but had no problem in finding an additional three females for a sample size of forty. The lack of available males was partly accidental, and compounded by our time restrictions for interviewing. It was also due to the fact that males invclved in services tended to be older. Appropriate males did become available, but we decided against interviewing them because there would not be adequate tracking time.

Ethnicity

Blacks are overrepresented in this sample in comparison to the area's population of 4.2%. The sample does, however, reflect the proportionately greater involvement of black youth in juvenile crime. The area's Native American population is 1.4%. This sample is then overrepresented by Native Americans, but is a more accurate representation of the ethnic composition of the downtown area. Thirty-five per cent of the males in contrast to twenty-two per cent of the females were either Black or Native American.

A higher percentage of minority youth reported a homosexual orientation. No minority youth reported as bisexual in contrast to 28.6% of the caucasian youth. Five of the six male minority youth are involved in prostitution. These data support an association between ethnic minority status and homosexual orientation with involvement in prostitution. This association was demonstrated in the investigator's previous study of male prostitutes. We interpret this finding to be indicative of more conservative attitudes towards homosexuality in ethnic communities. The result for youth is an experience of severe assymetry between the expectations of their social world and their personal identity. The reactions of youth to the contradictions of their personal and social identity may be seen in our observations of their transvestite and cross gender behaviors which were not observed as frequently among male or female caucasians who were gay or lesbian identified.

Demographic Tables

Sample Size (n=40)

Age at time of interview

Age 13	5% (2)
14	15% (6)
15	10% (4)
16	38% (15)
17	30% (12)
18	3% (1)

Average age at time of interview:
15.8

Gender

Male	42.5% (17)
Female	57.5% (23)

Ethnicity

Caucasian	73% (29)
Black	13% (5)
Native American	15% (6)

Gender/Ethnicity

Males (n=17)	
Caucasian	65% (11)
Black/Native American	35% (6)
Females (n=23)	
Caucasian	78% (18)
Black/Native American	22% (5)

Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic status (SES) was determined by primary occupation or source of income for the parent figures for each youth. The SES level of the sample was spread fairly evenly over the range between welfare dependent and unemployed (10%) to management and professional categories (15%). Youth were raised in a wide variety of economic situations. SES does not seem to be related to a youth's involvement in street life, but as we will discuss later, it may be related to a subject's ability to utilize available services and successfully exit the street. That is, a youth's level of socialization and exposure to society's middle class institutions may lead to more success in dealing with these institutions. A higher SES is generally associated with early stability, and more exposure to middle class institutions and opportunities.

Mother's Socioeconomic Status

welfare	7% (3)	
unemployed	3% (1)	
housewife/homemaker	10% (4)	
babysitter	5% (2)	
unskilled (laborer, service, custodial)	10% (4)	
		35% (14)
semi skilled (food worker, driver)	8% (3)	
skilled (craftsperson, chef, foreman)	3% (1)	
lesser white collar (clerical, sales)	20% (8)	
		23% (9)
small business, manager/semi-professional (retail owner/ nursing)	14% (5)	
management, accounting/ professional	14% (5)	
		28% (10)

Father's Socioeconomic Status

welfare	5% (2)	
unemployed	3% (1)	
unskilled laborer	6% (2)	
		14% (5)
semiskilled laborer	6% (2)	
skilled laborer	22% (9)	
		28% (11)
small business/semi-pro	9% (3)	
management/professional executive	16% (6)	
		25% (9)

Sexual Orientation

The sexual orientation of the youth was determined by giving them two questions. They were first asked to place themself on Kinsey's (1948) seven point scale to determine the balance of their heterosexual to homosexual involvement. Next they were asked to state their primary sexual orientation: heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, asexual, or uncertain.

Sexual experience tends to spread across the Kinsey scale. The presumption of a sexual orientation and a consequent identity is not a given, but a social and historical construct (Boyer, 1986). The categories heterosexual and homosexual are arbitrary and heuristic. We have, however, used these categories because of the small sample size and the research focus on individual perceptions.

The youth were asked to state their sexual preference in each interview. There was more fluidity in the categories than the two apparent statistical changes shown in the tables: one less bisexual and one additional homosexual. Approximately 25% of the sample indicated a changing self-perception. These changes occurred within the bisexual and homosexual categories.

A larger percentage of the males (65%) identified as homosexual or bisexual than females (30%). This is expected since male prostitution involves homoerotic activity.

Kinsey Scale Sexual Orientation

	Interview 1 (n=38)
exclusively heterosexual	58% (22)
mainly heterosexual	8% (3)
mainly heterosexual/ with substantial homosexual	8% (3)
as much heterosexual as homosexual	5% (2)
mainly homosexual/ with substantial heterosexual	5% (2)
mainly homosexual	3% (1)
exclusively homosexual	13% (5)

Primary Sexual Orientation

	Interview 1 (n=40)	Interview 3 (n=40)
heterosexual	58% (23)	60% (24)
homosexual	22% (9)	22% (9)
bisexual	20% (8)	18% (7)

	males	females	males	females
heterosexual	41%(7)	70%(16)	41%(7)	74%(17)
homosexual	47%(8)	4% (1)	47%(8)	4% (1)
bisexual	12%(2)	26% (6)	12%(2)	22% (5)

	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
heterosexual	55%(16)	64% (7)	58%(17)	64% (7)
homosexual	17% (5)	36% (4)	17% (5)	36% (4)

bisexual	28% (8)	0		24% (7)	0

25% of the sample (10 subjects) experienced confusion and/or change in their primary sexual orientation over the year

Family

Only four of the youth in this study had parents who were still married to each other and living together. One quarter of the sample had never lived with both parents, and there were several failed adoptions. Thirty-seven per cent of the sample had experienced abandonment by one or both parents. In several cases the youths had been told that their absent parent was dead only to have them return unexpectedly. Not surprisingly families were riddled with conflict and abuse as the ratings of early home life indicate.

Despite family disorganizaton and alienation most of the youth were in regular contact with a family member (most often the youth's mother). The frequency of contact remained high throughout the study yet approximately one-half of the sample could not live with a family member. Others, who stated that they could live with a family member felt that it was probably unrealistic, unreliable, and would not be a healthy long term solution to their problems.

The data indicate that youth are interested in reconciling their relationships with family despite past and present problems. This process seems to be related to a youth's struggle for self worth. One generally looks toward one's family for a confirmation of worth and value. It is no different for these youth.

We have observed an improvement in some family relationships over the year. These relationships seem to be developing along more egalitarian lines than on a parent-child basis. This process may occur independently or may be aided by the mediation of a service person. However, parents are still unable to parent and may not have resolved their own overwhelming problems. Children who have been living as adults rarely fit back into a relationship in which they are expected to be obedient. Thus living together is usually not associated with family reconciliation and is often not a goal. Yet we have noticed improvements in family relationships and thus an improved sense of self worth usually precedes or coincides with successful exits from street life (see exiting chapter for further discussion).

At this point the reconciliation period seems to take place at one to two years after youth have left home. The challenge for services then is to assess the potential for family reconciliation, determine realistic expectations of its nature, mobilize the resources available, and speed up the process that we would expect to be longer in the absence of a mediator.

Did you ever live with both parents?

	Interview 1 (n=40)	Interview 2	Interview 3
yes, natural	58% (23)		
yes, adoptive	18% (7)		
no	25% (10)		

Did either of your parents unexpectedly leave the family for any length of time?

	(n=38)
yes, mother	18% (7)
yes, father	11% (4)
yes, both parents	8% (3)
no	63% (24)

How long did you live with both parents?

	(n=35)
0 to 3 years	49% (17)
7 to 16	51% (18)

Which family members have you lived with?

	(n=40)
mother	90% (36)
father	78% (31)
stepmother	30% (12)
stepfather	40% (16)
brother	75% (30)
sister	50% (20)
aunt	18% (7)
uncle	15% (6)
grandmother	15% (6)
grandfather	10% (4)
cousins	7% (3)

Number of weeks since last contact with family:

	(n=33)
1 week	79% (26)
2 weeks	3% (1)
3 weeks	3% (1)
4 weeks	12% (4)
40 weeks	3% (1)

Frequency of family contact over past year:

	(n=34)
1-2 times	6% (2)
3-4 times	3% (1)
monthly	28% (10)
weekly	33% (12)
more than 1/week	25% (9)

The following data is from questions asked in the second and third interviews.

Have you had contact with anyone in your family since our last interview?

	Interview 2 (n=37)	Interview 3 (n=35)
yes	97% (36)	97% (34)
no	3% (1)	3% (1)

Who did you have contact with?

	(n=36)	(n=34)
both parents	17% (6)	15% (5)
mother/stepmom	56% (20)	59% (20)
father/stepdad	17% (6)	18% (6)
others	11% (4)	9% (3)

Why do you contact your family?

	(n=33)
to maintain the relationship	48% (16)
for money	9% (3)
to maintain the option to live there	3% (1)
they are all I have	15% (5)
to use as a resource when no other alternative	24% (8)

Frequency of family contact since last interview:

	(n=36)	(n=30)
never	3% (1)	3% (1)
1-2 times	14% (5)	23% (7)
monthly	6% (2)	20% (6)
weekly	31% (11)	20% (6)
more than once a week	25% (9)	13% (4)
daily	22% (8)	20% (6)

How do you feel about your family today?

	(n=32)
very positive	3% (1)
positive	42% (16)
neither positive or negative	13% (5)
negative	13% (5)
very negative	13% (5)

How have these feelings changed since our last interview?

	(n=34)
more positive	40% (15)
no change	37% (14)
more negative	13% (5)

How do you think your family feels about you today?

	(n=34)
postive	37% (14)
neither pos or neg	16% (6)
negative	21% (8)
both positive and negative (different parents)	13% (5)
don't know	3% (1)

How do you think their feelings have changed?

	(n=33)
more positive	34% (13)
no change	41% (14)
more negative	16% (6)

Could you live with family members now?

	(n=40)	(n=34)
yes	57% (23)	44% (15)
no	43% (17)	56% (19)

Can you use family as a resource?

	(n=33)
yes	76% (25)
no	24% (8)

If you could live with family but do not - why not?

	(n=16)	(n=9)
personality conflict	44% (7)	44% (4)
want independence	31% (5)	44% (4)
cannot handle rules		11% (1)
unwanted	6% (1)	
family out of state	6% (1)	
no home resources	12% (2)	

If you cannot live there, why not?

	(n=24)		(n=20)	
personality conflict	29%	(5)	45%	(9)
unwanted	41%	(7)	25%	(5)
abused	18%	(3)	5%	(1)
out of state			5%	(1)
in placement			20%	(4)
no home resources	12%	(2)		

Rating of early home life and relationships with parents.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
My parents argued with each other a lot.	6%(2)	14%(5)	3%(1)	33%(12)	44%(16)
One of my parents sometimes hit the other when angry.	22%(8)	14%(5)	0	19%(7)	44%(16)
One or both parents had a problem with alcohol.	21%(8)	15%(6)	0	23%(9)	41%(16)
One or both parents had a problem with drugs.	47%(17)	19%(7)	0	17%(6)	17%(6)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
My family often had tough times economically.	27%(10)	27%(10)	0	30%(11)	16%(6)
My parents disapproved of my friends.	3%(1)	14%(5)	8%(3)	32%(12)	43%(16)
My parents disapproved of my sexual activity.	11%(4)	22%(8)	11%(4)	14%(5)	42%(15)
No one cared much if I did well at school.	51%(19)	35%(13)	3%(1)	5%(2)	5%(2)
I felt like a misfit at home.	19%(7)	16%(6)	5%(2)	30%(11)	30%(11)
I didn't have enough spending money/ allowance.	11%(4)	33%(12)	3%(1)	22%(8)	31%(11)

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	No Opinion	Agree	Strongly Agree
My parents expected too much of me when it came to school work & grades.	11%(4)	47%(17)	0	19%(7)	22%(8)
My mother/father protected me when things were difficult.	19%(7)	17%(6)	8%(3)	42%(15)	14%(5)
When I lived at home I wanted a different (gay) lifestyle.	3%(1)	11%(4)	3%(1)	49%(18)	35%(13)
My parents used to hit me often.	24%(9)	13%(5)	3%(1)	26%(10)	34%(13)
My parents or another close family member attempted or forced me to have sex with them.	45%(17)	26%(10)	0	11%(4)	18%(7)

Sexual History and Incidence of Abuse

A "first sexual experience" was broadly defined to include genital or breast contact that subjects perceived to be sexual. The youth were allowed to define and describe their "first sexual experience" according to their perceptions rather than imposing a strict operational definition.

For 40% (16) of the sample, the first sexual experience was an attempted or actual molestation or rape. This was an incestuous experience in 24% (9) of the cases. Also, 40% of the youth had experienced an actual rape or molestation before street involvement; with attempts included, the number is 58%. We have included attempts of sexual abuse in our evaluation of negative sexual experiences for several reasons. Categories for attempted abuse are included in the major studies on sexual abuse that have been done by such experts as David Finklehor, Ann Burgess, Nicholas Groth and Diana Russell. The reasons for including attempts are that traumatic effects of abuse may be precipitated even though penetration or touching does not occur. In addition, the uncomfortable and unsafe environment that a child may find themselves in may force a response such as running away even though nothing specific has happened. The descriptions of these events by our subjects support the serious nature of the situations and the effects on their behavior.

These data compare favorably with previous studies by James and Boyer that have indicated a significant association between sexual abuse and involvement in prostitution. A recent evaluation of the Orion population by Donna Schram, Ph.D., also supports a significant relationship between physical or sexual abuse and prostitution.

What may be of more interest is the characteristics of those subjects who were not victims of physical or sexual abuse. Youth who were not abused came from one or both of the following childhood circumstances:

1. Their families disintegrated or were severely disorganized due to one or both parents suffering from alcoholism, drug addiction, or mental disorders.

2. The youths were gay identified and experienced family rejection and social ostracism as a result.

While these youths were not physically or sexually abused they would fall into a category of psychological abuse. Only one female caucasian client is an exception. She seems to have demonstrated a lack of social skills and severe alienation from family, school, and peer groups.

Early Sexual History

Age at first sexual involvement

Age	%	frequency
5	8%	(3)
6	11%	(4)
7	3%	(1)
8	11%	(4)
9	14%	(5)
10	8%	(3)
11	8%	(3)
12	11%	(4)
13	17%	(6)
14	3%	(1)
15	6%	(2)

Average age at first sexual experience

9.8

Average age of partner

23.3

% of partners who were 5 years older or more than subjects

57.7%

Age range of partners

6-65

Feelings about first sexual experience

Very negative	32%	(12)
Negative	13%	(5)
Undecided	29%	(11)
Positive	24%	(9)
Very positive	3%	(1)

Sexual Orientation of first experience

Heterosexual	82%	(31)
Homosexual	18%	(7)

First Sexual Experience

Was your first sexual experience an attempted molestation?

yes	3%	(1)
no	95%	(38)

Was your first sexual experience an attempted rape?

yes	3%	(1)
no	95%	(38)

Was your first sexual experience a molestation?

yes	21%	(8)
no	79%	(31)

Was your first sexual experience a rape?

yes	15%	(6)
no	83%	(33)

Was your first sexual experience with a family member (incest)?

yes	24%	(9)
no	76%	(29)

Negative Sexual Experience That Occured Before Street Involvement
(not including first sexual experience)

Before you were on the street did anyone attempt to molest you?

yes	16%	(6)
no	84%	(32)

How old were you at attempted molestation?

age	n=6
6	1
7	1
10	2
12	1
14	1

Who attempted to molest you?

Total # of cases = 6

brother	1
parent's lover	2
stranger	2
peer	1

Before you were on the street did anyone molest you?

yes	11%	(4)
no	89%	(31)

Before you were on the street:

Molestation: Total # of cases = 4

How old were you at molestation?

age	
7	1
9	1
10	1
15	1

Who molested you?

stepfather	1
uncle & grandfathers	1
babysitter	1
parent's lover	1

Before you were on the street did anyone rape you?

yes	16%	(6)
no	84%	(31)

Before on the street: Rape: = 6 cases

How old were you when you were raped?

age	
7	2
8	1
10	2
13	1

Who raped you?

stepfather	1
uncle	1
acquaintance	1
authority figure	1
boyfriend	1
parent's lover	1

Before you were on the street were you ever sexually involved with a family member?

yes	34%	(12)
no	66%	(23)

Sexually involved with a family member = 12 cases

How old were you when you were involved with a family member?

age	
5	1
6	1
7	2
8	2
9	1
11	1
13	2
15	1

With which family member were you involved?

cousin	6
father	4
stepfather	1
uncle	1
grandfather	1
sister	1

% reporting at least one actual molestation or rape before street involvement: 40% (16)

% reporting at least one attempted molestation or rape before street involvement: 18% (7)

Number of subjects saying "yes" to one or more of the following: parents hit me, attempted molestation, attempted rape, molestation, rape and incest.

number of incidents	%	( )
1	25%	(10)
2	15%	(6)
3	15%	(6)
4	5%	(2)
5	10%	(4)
6	5%	(2)
7	3%	(1)

Demographic characteristics of subjects experiencing abuse.

Physical Abuse

males	68.8%	(11)	
females	54.5%	(12)	
caucasians	59.3%	(16)	
Native Americans/ Black	63.6%	(7)	

Sexual Abuse and physical abuse (includes attempts)

males	47.1%	(8)	n=17
females	65.2%	(15)	n=23
heterosexuals	68.8%	(11)	n=22
homosexuals	44.4%	(4)	n=9
bisexuals	50.0%	(4)	n=8

Sexual abuse (actual molestation/rape)

male	17.6%	(3)
female	56.5%	(13)
caucasian	44.8%	(13)
American Indian	50.0%	(3)
Black	0	(0)
Heterosexual	50.0%	(11)
Homosexual	22.2%	(2)
Bi-sexual	37.5%	(3)

While you were on the street were you ever raped?

yes	61%	(23)
no	39%	(15)

How many times were you raped?

once	11
twice	5
three	1
four	3
nine	1

Who raped you?

customer	10
pimp	4
stranger	3

Have you ever been pregnant?

yes	44%	(16)
no	56%	(20)

Are you pregnant now?

yes	10%	(3)
no	90%	(28)

Have you ever had a sexually transmitted disease?

yes	41%	(15)
no	57%	(21)

Between the first and second interviews, six of the youth (15%) were subject to attempted molestation or rape. An additional four instances of attempted molestion or rape occurred between the second and third interviews (It should be noted that information was only available for 45% (18) of the sample at the third interview). Eight of these ten situations were street related. This finding suggests the risk street youth have for continued exploitation and perpetuation of the dynamics that initially involved them in prostitution.

Has anyone attempted to molest you since our last interview?

	Interview 2 (n=34)	Interview 3 (n=18)
yes	10% (4)	17% (3)
no	79% (30)	83% (15)

How many times were you molested?

	(n=4)	(n=3)
once	75% (3)	67% (2)
four	25% (1)	
missing		33% (1)

Who attempted to molest you?

acquaintance	25% (1)	
stranger	75% (3)	67% (2)

Were the attempted molestations street-related?

yes	75% (3)	33% (1)
no	25% (1)	33% (1)

Have you been molested since our last (first or second) interview?

	(n=38)	(n=18)
yes	0	0
no	100% (38)	100% (18)

Have you been raped since our last (first or second) interview?

	(n=32)	(n=18)
yes	9% (3)	6% (1)
no	90% (29)	94% (17)

Who raped you?

acquaintance	33% (1)	
stranger	67% (2)	100% (1)

Was the rape street-related?

yes	100%	(3)	100%	(1)
no		0		0

Service Relations and Involvement

The youth in our sample have extensive experience with state-provided residential services. The data suggests that these placements were generally made involuntarily and that youth overwhelmingly would not use them again. Due to negative and uncomfortable experiences in these placements, street youth uniformly reject traditional services offered by the state and the juvenile justice system. A slight exception to this may be in the area of foster care. Almost a third of our sample said they would consider using foster care at some time, citing a desire for a family environment. Five subjects were involved in what could be called successful foster placements during our study period. None of these were traditional foster homes. The value and appropriateness of foster care in certain exit situations is discussed at length in the exiting chapter in this report.

The data also illustrate that most of the subjects in this study have initially embraced the specialized services developed for street youth. These youth have responded to street services, heavily utilized the survival and crisis services offered (food, medical, shelter, and counseling) and some have become involved in other programs offered (school, employment, and help off street).

Approximately three-fourths of the sample (69% in interview 2, and 78% in interview 3), rely on street services for counseling. This is the most readily available service. Our observations indicate that rather than traditional therapeutic counseling relationships, youth are seeking nurturing and advisory relationships from nonexploitive adults they can trust. This type of relationship has been lacking in any consistent form for most of our subjects. Our observations also indicate that critical social skills and self concepts are predicated on such relationships. During the exit process, a positive adult relationship can provide valuable support in coping with problems encountered. We have, however, observed that most subjects return to the street following an exit attempt due to a lack of skills for dealing with the exit lifestyle and activities associated with it. A positive relationship with a skilled and supportive advocate is not enough for a successful exit, as we will discuss. Inconsistent support from staff relationships has also been associated with many unsuccessful exit attempts. This would suggest that stable and consistent nurturing/advisory relationships should be a major priority for street services.

Have you ever been in receiving care?

	Interview 1 (n=40)
yes	68% (27)
no	32% (13)

How many times have you been in receiving care?

# of times	
1	5
2	2
3	4
4	4
5	1
6	1
9	1
10	3
18	1
20	1
25	1
28	1

How were you placed in receiving care?

	(n=27)
voluntary	11% (3)
involuntary	37% (10)
both	52% (14)

Have you ever been in a group home?

	(n=40)
yes	55% (22)
no	45% (18)

How many times have you been in a group home?

(n=20)

# of times	
1	9
2	4
3	4
4	1
5	1
10	1

How were you placed in the group home?

(n=21)

voluntary	14%	(3)
involuntary	48%	(10)
both	38%	(8)

Have you ever been in foster care?

(n=40)

yes	50%	(20)
no	50%	(20)

How many times have you been in foster care?

(n=19)

# of times	
1	8
2	1
4	2
5	2
9	1
10	1
12	1
13	1
20	2

How were you placed in foster care?

	(n=20)
voluntary	30% (6)
involuntary	20% (4)
both	50% (10)

Have you ever been in any counselling?

	(n=39)
yes	95% (37)
no	5% (2)

How was the counselling arranged?

	(n=36)
voluntary	11% (4)
involuntary	17% (6)
both	72% (26)

Have you ever been institutionalized? (includes detention)

	(n=39)
yes	92% (36)
no	8% (3)

How many times have you been institutionalized?

(n=38)

# of times	
1	26% (10)
2	21% (8)
3	11% (4)
4	3% (1)
5	6% (2)
6	3% (1)
7	3% (1)
9	3% (1)
11	3% (1)
12	6% (2)
15	3% (1)
20	6% (2)
29	3% (1)
50	3% (1)

What was the first institution you were placed in?

(n=37)

detention	78% (29)
mental health	14% (5)
DJR	5% (2)

How old were you when you were placed in this institution?

(n=36)

7	3% (1)
11	8% (3)
12	11% (4)
13	19% (7)
14	11% (4)
15	17% (6)
16	19% (7)
17	6% (2)

How much time did you spend in that institution?

(n=28)

1-7 days	36%	(10)
14-21 days	18%	(5)
30-60 days	32%	(9)
120-365 days	7%	(2)
over a year	7%	(2)

How many times were you admitted to this institution?

(n=33)

1	42%	(14)
2	21%	(7)
3	15%	(5)
5 and greater	21%	(7)

What was the second institution you were placed in?

(n=10)

detention	40%	(4)
drug/alcohol	10%	(1)
mental health	50%	(5)

How old were you?

(n=9)

8	11%	(1)
9	11%	(1)
12	11%	(1)
14	33%	(3)
15	22%	(2)
16	11%	(1)

How long were you in the institution?

(n=7)

7-21 days	43%	(3)
30-60 days	29%	(2)
270-365 days	29%	(2)

How many times were you admitted to this institution?

(n=9)

1	33%	(3)
2	22%	(2)
3	11%	(1)
5 and greater	33%	(3)

Would you ever consider using any of the following services? (Interview 1, n=38-40)

	yes		no	
group home	15%	(6)	85%	(33)
foster home	31%	(12)	69%	(27)
receiving home	15%	(6)	85%	(33)
juvenile court	8%	(3)	93%	(36)
police	42%	(16)	58%	(22)
street youth services	97%	(39)	3%	(1)

What service resources have you used since our last interview?

	Interview 2 (n=35)		Interview 3 (n=31)	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Shelter	40% (14)	60% (21)	45% (14)	55% (17)
Food	63% (22)	37% (13)	81% (25)	19% (6)
Clothing	14% (5)	86% (30)	29% (9)	71% (22)
Medical Care	43% (15)	57% (20)	77% (23)	23% (7)
Money	17% (6)	83% (29)	27% (8)	73% (22)
Employment	20% (7)	80% (28)	26% (8)	74% (23)
Counseling	69% (25)	31% (11)	78% (25)	22% (7)
Help off street	42% (14)	58% (20)	45% (14)	55% (17)

Have you been in a group home?

	Interview 1	Interview 2 (n=37)	Interview 3 (n=34)
yes		18% (7)	9% (3)
no		79% (30)	91% (31)

How many times were you in a group home?

once	4	2
twice	2	1
three times	1	

How many days did you spend in group homes?

# of days		
2	1	
6	1	
7	1	1
9		2
17	1	
21	1	
30	1	

Have you been in a foster home?

	(n=37)	(n=35)
yes	14% (5)	9% (3)
no	86% (32)	91% (32)

How many times have you been in a foster home?

# of times		
once	5	3

How many days were you in foster care?

# of days		
30	1	
54	1	
more than 90	3	3

Have you been in receiving care?

	(n=37)	(n=35)
yes	0% (0)	3% (1)
no	100% (37)	97% (34)

How many times have you been in receiving care?

once	1

How many days were you in receiving care?

21	1

Have you been in emergency housing?

	(n=37)	(n=35)
yes	19% (7)	17% (6)
no	81% (30)	83% (29)

How many times have you been in emergency housing?

# of times		
once	7	5
missing		1

How many days did you spend in emergency housing?

# of days		
4	1	
10		1
14	1	2
20		1
21	1	
30		1
45	1	
missing	3	1

Have you been in DSHS walk-in?

	(n=36)	(n=35)
yes	11% (4)	6% (2)
no	89% (32)	94% (33)

How many times have you been in DSHS walk-in?

# of times		
1	2	1
3	1	
missing		1

How many days have you been in DSHS walk-in?

# of days		
1	1	1
2	1	
missing	2	1

Have you been in detention?

	(n=37)	(n=36)
yes	51% (19)	31% (11)
no	49% (18)	69% (25)

How many times have you been in detention?

# of times		
1	11	8
2	7	2
3	1	
missing		1

How many days have you been in detention?

# of days		
1	2	
3		1
4	1	
6	3	2
7	2	
9		3
10		1
14	3	
15		1
24		1
28	1	
30	1	
35	1	
45	1	2
60	1	

Have you been in an institution? (mental health, drug/alcohol treatment, DJR)

	(n=53)	(n=34)
yes	5% (2)	12% (4)
no	92% (35)	88% (30)

How many times?

# of times		
1	1	4
3	1	

How many days?

# of days		
3	1	2
12		1
45	1	
over 90		1

Have you learned of any new service resources?

	(n=30)
yes	40% (12)
no	60% (18)

Have you used any new resources since our last interview?

	(n=30)
yes	37% (11)
no	63% (19)

School

This sample is comparable to other delinquent samples in that most youth did not complete junior high school. The physical, social and developmental changes that occur at puberty confound the circumstances of youth who have other problems such as family conflict or have exerienced abuse. Other studies have indicated the increased risk for youth at this age and this sample is no exception. Forty-eight per cent of the sample completed an eighth grade education or less.

Involvement in school programs varied over the year of our study. Enrollment and attendance decreased at the time of the second interview and then increased at the time of the third interview. These changes are partly related to seasonal changes. The second interview took place primarily in the summer months when schools are either out of session or de-emphasized. The GED program is available at Orion during summer months. Then in the fall, we observed that a number of youth viewed that time as an opportunity to start fresh and begin something new. Thus a few more became involved in school at that time. Six youth passed their GED test during the year. Most youth in the sample feel they need school and will continue on with an education some day, but they are generally alienated from traditional educational institutions at present.

Our data suggests that school involvement is not associated with street status. It is not directly associated with preparation for an exit nor involved in an actual exit. Youth who have exited have often only begun to think of education after they were off the street in a stable living situation, with income and an off-street social network.

Our observations of the school program at Orion suggest that it is helpful for improving self-concepts, providing non-street related activities, and developing skills essential in a non-street lifestyle. A youth can leave the Orion school feeling they accomplished something that day. Besides skill development, it provides an opportunity to practice the process of taking a task to completion and to experience success. Thus, indirectly, school may be important in preparing youth for an exit, but a GED does not insure movement from street life. This is important to recognize, because youth often have the expectation that education, or a certificate will change their life. It usually does not. The purpose of their involvement with school programs needs to be reframed. A school program that allows a youth to drop in on a day to day basis should certainly be a part of street services. In addition, other service programs that provide similar opportunities for skill development and practice at successful task completion should be explored.

What is the highest grade you have completed?

	Interview 1 (n=40)	Interview 2	Interview 3 (n=8)
5th	3% (1)		
6th	5% (2)		
7th	20% (8)		
8th	20% (8)		
9th	25% (10)		
10th	22% (9)		
GED	5% (2)		24% (8)

How old were you when you received your GED?

			(n=8)
13			13% (1)
15			25% (2)
16			25% (2)
17			13% (1)
18			25% (2)

Are you enrolled in any school now?

		(n=37)	(n=36)
yes, full-time		5% (2)	17% (6)
yes, part-time		11% (4)	8% (3)
yes, drop-in GED		3% (1)	11% (4)
no		81% (30)	47% (17)
no, program completed			17% (6)

Are you enrolled and attending school?

	(n=40)
yes, full-time	3% (1)
yes, part-time	13% (5)
yes, drop-in GED	13% (5)
no	73% (29)

If you are enrolled, are you attending?

	(n=7)	(n=13)
yes	57% (4)	92% (12)
no	43% (3)	8% (1)

Were you in school three months ago?

	(n=37)	(n=35)
yes	24% (9)	14% (5)
no	74% (28)	71% (25)
completed program		14% (5)

How has your school situation changed since then?

	(n=38)	(n=35)
same	68% (26)	54% (19)
now in school	10% (4)	26% (9)
now out of school	18% (7)	6% (2)
completed program		14% (5)

Do you think you need school?

	(n=34)
yes	74% (28)
no	16% (6)

What are your feelings about school?

	(n=32)	
strongly positive	9%	(3)
positive	22%	(7)
ok	47%	(15)
negative	16%	(5)
strongly negative	6%	(2)

Has your school experience helped or hindered you?

	(n=33)	
helped alot	3%	(1)
helped some	55%	(21)
neither helped nor hindered you	18%	(7)
hindered some	12%	(4)

How much school do you want?

	(n=33)	
high school graduation	3%	(1)
GED	9%	(3)
trade/business school	27%	(9)
some college or community coll.	27%	(9)
college graduation	18%	(6)
graduate/professional school	3%	(1)

How much schooling do you expect to get?

	(n=33)	
high school graduation	3%	(1)
GED	9%	(3)
trade/business school	27%	(9)
some college or community coll.	27%	(9)
college graduation	18%	(6)
graduate/professional school	3%	(1)

Employment

Twenty-one youth in our sample were employed at some time during the year. Other data, as well as our observations, indicate that youth were unable to stay in jobs very long. At interview 2, 17% (6) had jobs, and 23% (8) were employed at interview 3. Most jobs seemed to terminate within a few weeks. This was primarily due to two factors: 1) instability in housing or related situations which made it difficult to follow the time structure of employment, and 2) subjects lacked the social skills necessary to adjust and cope with the stresses of employment. In both cases, the termination of employment was often experienced as a failure and negatively affected self-confidence.

Staff were unable to provide follow-up and on the job supervision, that might have resulted in more employment successes. As we will discuss in later sections, in-house employment may be a necessary prerequisite to conventional employment for youth. In-house employment would offer youth the opportunity to experiment with employment associated behaviors in an environment where they already feel acceptance, safety, and security. In-house employment would also provide staff an opportunity to do social and life skills training, and provide a valuable transitional link between street life and non-street existence.

Have you been employed during the year of the study?

	(n=34)
yes	62% (21)
no	38% (13)

How many jobs have you had in the year?

	(n=31)
1	39% 12
2	19% 6
3	6% 2
unknown	35% 11

How did you get the jobs?

	(n=19)
help from services	26% (5)
referral from friend	5% (1)
on own	68% (13)

How would you find a job now?

	(n=18)
help from services	33% (6)
on own	67% (12)

Are you employed now?

	Interview 2 (n=36)	Interview 3 (n=35)
yes	17% (6)	23% (8)
no	83% (30)	77% (27)

Present Situation (Circumstances at time of 3 interviews)

At the time of the first interview, 45% (17) of the sample had been on the streets one year or less. 49% had been on the street more than a year with three subjects on the street over five years.

There were no dramatic changes in subjects' living situations over the study period. There was a small decrease in the number of subjects living in placements with service providers. This is partially due to the fact that many subjects were contacted for the first interview while in placement. None of those initial placements lasted for the duration of the study; most were short-term. As the study progressed, many subjects were not interested in residential placements and only occasionally sought out emergency housing. We interpret this pattern as an indication of the youth's decreasing trust in services to provide them with stable housing.

The length of time spent in one's present situation indicates a decrease in stability from the beginning of the study to the end. Youth were not finding stable places to live nor stable sources of income to support a long term housing situation. The instability in housing and income strongly suggests a need for long term housing and more appropriate employment opportunities. Both of these resources would need to be sensitive to the particular needs of street youth to avoid duplicating the alienation experienced in traditional residential and employment programs.

The majority of our sample continued to be partially dependent on illegal street activities for support. Seventy-five percent were at least partially dependent on illegal street activities at the second interview, and sixty-two percent at the third interview. Dependence on employment or off-street legal sources of income increased from nine percent at the second interview, to twenty-one percent at the third interview. Dependence on the state for support in the form of welfare or a state-sponsered placement remained relatively even at seventeen percent for the second interview and eighteen percent at the third interview.

Nearly three-fourths of the youths felt that their life on the street was preferable to their previous situation. This was true despite the transient nature of their existence and their haphazard ability to provide for basic needs. Street life feels secure to youth because they develop a sense of continuity and control in an admittedly unpredictable situation. This is a sense of control they did not have in the equally unpredictable situation of their home life. When they speak of independence this is what they are referring to; they have more control over both positive and negative events. Many may be seeing a cause and

effect relationship between their behavior and outcomes or consequences for the first time in their lives. There is more security in this situation than in the seemingly random abuse and neglect that often took place at home. It is not the quality of life that is most significant to them, but their ability to control and make sense of events around them.

(Note: In tables below, apartment/dorm and motel, apt. refer to: independent, temporarily stable living situations; ranging from college dormatories and apartments to motel rooms rented by the week; paid for by friends, pimp, sugar daddy, family, self or a combination thereof, through legal employment or illegal street activities.)

What year did you first go on the street?

	Interview 1 (n=40)	
1976	3%	(1)
1977	3%	(1)
1978	5%	(2)
1979	8%	(3)
1980	13%	(5)
1981	5%	(2)
1982	10%	(4)
1983	28%	(11)
1984	28%	(11)

What is the total length of time you have been on the street?

	(n=37)	
one month	5%	(2)
less than 6 months	22%	(8)
6 months to 1 year	22%	(8)
1 to 2 years	16%	(6)
2 to 3 years	16%	(6)
3 to 5 years	11%	(4)
5 to 8 years	8%	(3)

What is your present living situation?

	Interview 1 (n=40)	Interview 2 (n=36)	Interview 3 (n=34)
apartment/dorm	28% (11)	36% (13)	50% (17)
long-term placement	30% (12)	8% (3)	12% (4)
home	15% (6)	11% (4)	12% (4)
short-term DSHS		8% (3)	
emergency housing	5% (2)	3% (1)	3% (1)
detention/institution		17% (6)	6% (2)
no stable place	20% (8)	17% (6)	15% (5)

Who are you living with?

	(n=40)	(n=36)	(n=35)
street friends	40% (16)	31% (11)	37% (13)
pimp	3% (1)	11% (4)	6% (2)
sugar daddy		3% (1)	6% (2)
family	15% (6)	11% (4)	14% (5)
nonstreet friends	5% (2)	8% (3)	20% (7)
service providers	35% (14)	32% (12)	17% (6)
alone	3% (1)	3% (1)	

Where did you sleep last night?

placement	23% (9)	18% (6)	22% (5)
emergency housing	15% (6)	3% (1)	
street friends	25% (10)	23% (8)	22% (5)
home, family	15% (6)	9% (3)	13% (3)
motel, apt	18% (7)	29% (10)	17% (4)
detention		18% (6)	
relative	3% (1)		4% (1)
with trick	3% (1)		4% (1)
nonstreet friends			17% (4)

How long have you been in your present situation?

	(n=40)	(n=34)
0 to 10 days	44% (17)	56% (19)
10 to 30 days	19% (7)	32% (11)
30 days and up	43% (16)	12% (4)

Is living on the street better than the situation you were in before?

	(n=36)
yes	72% (26)
no	28% (10)

Has your situation changed since the second interview?

	(n=35)
same	26% (9)
different	74% (26)

Are you presently in a relationship?

	(n=38)	(n=35)	(n=29)
yes	68% (26)		
yes, street related		43% (15)	52% (15)
yes, nonstreet		23% (8)	14% (4)
no	32% (12)	34% (12)	34% (10)

How do you get money to support yourself?

	(n=36)	(n=34)
job	6% (2)	9% (3)
street activities	28% (10)	15% (5)
combination, with street	47% (17)	44% (15)
combination, without street	3% (1)	12% (4)
off-street illegal		3% (1)
welfare	6% (2)	3% (1)
state	11% (4)	15% (5)

Are you employed?

	(n=36)	(n=35)
yes	16% (6)	23% (8)
no	79% (30)	77% (27)

Have you been on the street at all since our last interview?

	(n=37)	(n=34)
yes	76% (29)	82% (28)
no	21% (8)	18% (6)

Prostitution

Ninety-five percent (38) of the sample have been involved in prostitution at some time. At the first interview, 55%, 12 of 22 subjects on whom we had data, were involved. Involvement in prostitution at the second interview had increased to 73% (27). And, at the third interview, of 31 subjects, 68% (21) were involved in prostitution.

An actual frequency of prostitution is difficult to document. Youth involved in services were less inclined to be open about their prostitution involvement and other illicit activity. In fact, some youth stated during the interviews that they hid such activity from staff because they did not want to disappoint them or appear as if they were not making progress. In addition, prostitution activity is often hidden and therefore difficult for staff to observe. Our tracking data does suggest a decrease in activity for those who continued to prostitute. We observed a general desire across gender, age, and sexual orientation categories to be less dependent on prostitution for livelihood. Yet, many youth still find prostitution to be their only means of making money, and thus resort to it in times of need.

Continued dependence on prostitution shows how difficult it is to leave street life because of: 1) a lack of monetary alternatives and resources, 2) socialization and enculturation into street subculture, and 3) risks engendered by prostitution involvement. Because of insufficient funds and resources, street services have not been able to present viable alternatives to youth experiencing these conditions. Stable long-term housing sensitive to the special needs of street youth, stable sources of income, and healthy accepting off-street social networks must be a priority if services are to be effective in dealing with prostitution.

Gender and Sexual Orientation of Subjects Involved in Prostitution

	Males	Females	Hetero-sexual	Homo-sexual	Bisexual
Involved (38) 95%	88% (15)	100% (23)	91% (21)	100% (8)	100% (9)
Not Involved (2) 5%	12% (2)	0	9% (2)	0	0
Totals	(17)	(23)	(23)	(8)	(9)

Three subjects, who initially reported themselves as not involved in prostitution, are now known to have been involved. Two young women became involved during the year, and we discovered that one young man had been involved a few years prior to the study. We initially reported that 87.5% (35) of the sample had been or was presently involved in prostitution. With this new tracking and retrospective information we can now say that 95% (38) subjects have been involved in prostitution.

Gender, Age, and Sexual Orientation of Subjects Involved in Prostitution (during study period)

	Involved in Prostitution		Not Involved in Prostitution	
	Interview 2 (n=27)	Interview 3 (n=21)	Interview 2 (n=10)	Interview 3 (n=10)
Males	37% (10)	38% (8)	60% (6)	80% (8)
Females	63% (17)	62% (13)	40% (4)	20% (2)
Heterosexual	48% (13)	44% (7)	90% (9)	70% (7)
Nonhetero	48% (13)	56% (9)	10% (1)	30% (3)
15 and under	26% (7)	24% (5)	30% (3)	50% (5)
16 and over	74% (20)	76% (16)	70% (7)	50% (5)

Have you ever been arrested for prostitution?

	Interview 1 (n=35)
yes	54% (19)
no	46% (16)

Have you been on the street since our last interview?

	Interview 2 (n=37)	Interview 3 (n=34)
yes	79% (29)	82% (28)
no	21% (8)	18% (6)

Have you prostituted in the last three months (or since our last interview)?

	Interview 1 (n=22)	Interview 2 (n=37)	Interview 3 (n=31)
yes	55% (12)	73% (27)	68% (21)
no	45% (10)	27% (10)	32% (10)

Frequency of prostitution

	(n=12)	(n=27)	(n=21)
daily	33% (4)	30% (8)	24% (5)
more than once/week	50% (6)	15% (4)	24% (5)
weekly	8% (1)	22% (6)	
monthly	8% (1)	15% (4)	24% (5)
unknown		18% (5)	29% (6)

PROSTITUTION INVOLVEMENT

	Interview 1		Interview 2	
	yes	no	yes	no
Age				
15 and below	10	2	7	3
16 and above	25	3	20	7
Sexual Orientation				
heterosexual	18	5	13	9
nonheterosexual	17	0	13	1
Gender				
male	14	3	10	6
female	21	2	17	4
Totals	35	5	27	10

(3 missing cases)

yes= any prostitution involvement in time on streets preceding interview 1

yes= any prostitution involvement in time between interviews 1 and 2

Criminal Involvement

The data on criminal involvement from our first interview covered a youth's activity over the previous year. 72.5% of the sample had been in juvenile detention or jail. The most common crimes or status offenses included: running away from home (87.5%); refusing to talk to a police officer (obstructing: 65%); suspension from school (60%); and shoplifting (60%). Other crimes committed by over one-half of the sample were: thefts, vandalism, and fighting.

The data on crime from the second and third interviews suggest that criminal involvement decreased since the first interview. However, we are not confident in the reliability of subject responses to these questions, and criminal activity is difficult to observe through our tracking procedures. In addition, there is a great deal of missing data.

The data on arrests however, are more definitive. One-half of those questioned have been arrested at least once during the time of our study. In addition, fighting and theft seem to be behaviors that many clients still engage in. This suggests that although subjects are trying to exit street life and improve their situations, it is difficult to abandon some of their criminal behaviors if they are still connected to street activities.

Have you ever:

	Interview 1 (last year) (n=35)	Interview 2 (last 3 mos) (n=32)	Interview 3 (last 3 mos) (n=16)
suspended from school	69% (24)	9% (3)	0
set a building on fire	14% (5)	0	0
gone to school drunk	54% (19)	3% (1)	0
tried to get away from police	57% (20)	28% (9)	13% (2)
hit a teacher	40% (14)	0	0
broken house or school windows	40% (14)	3% (1)	7% (1)
ran away from home	100% (35)	34% (11)	27% (4)
shoplifted	69% (24)	6% (2)	6% (1)
bought stolen goods	51% (18)	28% (9)	0
taken a stranger's car	37% (13)	6% (2)	7% (1)
broken into a parking meter	34% (12)	9% (3)	0
slashed tires	17% (6)	9% (3)	0
picked a fight	66% (23)	53% (17)	38% (6)
forged a check	29% (10)	6% (2)	0
pulled a weapon	57% (20)	34% (11)	20% (3)
taken something greater than $50	63% (22)	16% (5)	31% (5)
refused to talk to police	74% (26)	37% (12)	7% (1)
broken into & damaged a building	34% (12)	9% (3)	0
been in jail	83% (29)	49% (16)	47% (8)
hit a parent	40% (14)	12% (4)	6% (1)
taken something worth $10-$50	60% (21)	12% (4)	53% (8)
damaged other people's things	57% (20)	19% (6)	27% (4)
taken things from someone's wallet	57% (20)	12% (4)	27% (4)

forced someone to have sex	3% (1)	0	0
threatened to beat someone up	42% (17)	41% (13)	40% (6)
sold stolen goods	40% (14)	3% (1)	7% (1)
used force to get money	34% (12)	22% (7)	27% (4)
lied about age to buy alcohol	51% (18)	37% (12)	63% (10)
used a weapon to get something	31% (11)	12% (4)	0
broken a car window	29% (10)	3% (1)	0
questioned as a suspect in crime	69% (24)	19% (6)	7% (1)
beaten someone up so badly they needed a doctor	43% (15)	16% (5)	13% (2)
abused your child		3% (1)	4% (1)

Have you ever been arrested?

	Interview 2 (n=32)
yes	87% (28)
no	13% (4)

How many times have you been arrested?

	(n=26)
1	27% (7)
2	23% (6)
3	8% (2)
4	15% (4)
5	8% (2)
6	4% (1)
8	4% (1)
10	12% (3)

Have you been arrested in the last three months?

	(n=32)
yes	48% (17)
no	47% (15)

Have you ever used a weapon in robbing someone?

	(n=32)
yes	22% (7)
no	78% (25)

How many times in the last year?

	(n=5)
1-9 times	60% (3)
10+ times	40% (2)

Have you ever, in your street activities, sold drugs?

	(n=32)
yes	62% (20)
no	37% (12)

How many times in the last year?

	(n=13)
1-10 times	38% (5)
50-99 times	23% (3)
100+ times	38% (5)

Friends' Activities (in the last three months)

	none	very few	some	most	all
damaged property					
int. 1 (n=31)	23% (7)	29% (9)	26% (8)	13% (4)	10% (3)
int. 2 (n=24)	25% (6)	33% (8)	37% (9)	4% (1)	0
int. 3 (n=9)	56% (5)	11% (1)	11% (1)	11% (1)	11% (1)
used marijuana					
int. 1 (n=33)	0	0	3% (1)	30% (10)	67% (22)
int. 2 (n=27)	0	11% (3)	11% (3)	26% (7)	48% (13)
int. 3 (n=9)	0	0	11% (1)	56% (5)	33% (3)
gotten drunk					
int. 1 (n=33)	0	0	9% (3)	24% (8)	67% (22)
int. 2 (n=27)	0	4% (1)	22% (6)	26% (7)	48% (13)
int. 3 (n=9)	0	0	11% (1)	67% (6)	22% (2)
stolen $10 or less					
int. 1 (n=32)	16% (5)	19% (6)	16% (5)	19% (6)	31% (10)
int. 2 (n=25)	32% (8)	12% (3)	24% (6)	16% (4)	16% (4)
int. 3 (n=9)	33% (3)	22% (2)	44% (4)	0	0
used alcohol					
int. 1 (n=33)	0	0	6% (2)	39% (13)	54% (18)
int. 2 (n=27)	0	7% (2)	18% (5)	18% (5)	56% (15)
int. 3 (n=9)	0	0	11% (1)	44% (4)	44% (4)
hit someone for no reason					
int. 1 (n=32)	9% (3)	22% (7)	19% (6)	28% (9)	22% (7)
int. 2 (n=27)	18% (5)	26% (7)	26% (7)	15% (4)	15% (4)
int. 3 (n=10)	40% (4)	20% (2)	20% (2)	20% (2)	0
sold hard drugs					
int. 1 (n=32)	12% (4)	22% (7)	28% (9)	25% (8)	12% (4)
int. 2 (n=27)	30% (8)	22% (6)	30% (8)	15% (4)	4% (1)
int. 3 (n=9)	67% (6)	11% (1)	11% (1)	11% (1)	0
breaking in and stealing					
int. 1 (n=32)	25% (8)	31% (10)	31% (10)	9% (3)	3% (1)
int. 2 (n=26)	54% (14)	23% (6)	15% (4)	4% (1)	4% (1)
int. 3 (n=9)	56% (5)	33% (3)	11% (1)	0	0
stolen $50 or less					
int. 1 (n=32)	22% (7)	25% (8)	31% (10)	9% (3)	12% (4)
int. 2 (n=27)	44% (12)	18% (5)	26% (7)	7% (2)	4% (1)
int. 3 (n=9)	33% (3)	33% (3)	33% (3)	0	0

used prescription drugs					
int. 1 (n=30)	20% (6)	33% (10)	13% (4)	17% (5)	17% (5)
int. 2 (n=27)	26% (7)	22% (6)	33% (9)	11% (3)	7% (2)
int. 3 (n=9)	44% (4)	22% (2)	22% (2)	11% (1)	0
sold alcohol to minors					
int. 1 (n=32)	3% (1)	19% (6)	16% (5)	41% (13)	22% (7)
int. 2 (n=26)	19% (5)	12% (3)	23% (6)	31% (8)	15% (4)
int. 3 (n=9)	33% (3)	11% (1)	44% (4)	11% (1)	0

Drug Use

The data from the first interview, which covered the previous year, indicate that the most frequently used substances were alcohol, marijuana, and amphetamines. Cocaine and hallucinogens were the next most frequently used drugs. Our data from the second and third interviews suggest that drug use has decreased in the sample. Major drugs used were beer, wine and marijuana, followed by hard liquor, amphetamines, cocaine, and hallucinogens. The reliability of some of this data may be questionable as youth seemed less inclined to be honest about the extent of their drug involvement in the second and third interviews. As relationships between research staff and subjects developed over time, youth may have been more inclined to minimize negative behavior to elicit approval from staff. It is difficult to verify drug use through tracking. Observations of drug-related behaviors are often our best measure of a subject's drug involvement.

We were surprised by the relatively large number of youth in this sample who frequently used heroin, particularly at the time of the first interview. A separate analysis of these cases showed that heroin use was related to length of time on the street. The average length of time on the street for subjects who were using heroin was three years and four months. The average length of time on the street for those who had not used heroin was one year and two months.

The data on drug addiction suggest that many youth have been addicted to drugs earlier in their street history, but that the majority of these youth have gained control of drug use over time. Only one youth successfully controlled an addiction with the aid of a residential drug treatment program. Three other youth went through inpatient drug treatment programs, but still have serious drug problems. Many youth were able to resolve chemical dependency problems on their own after stabilizing other aspects of their situation.

9. Drug Involvement

What drugs have you used recently?

	Interview 1 (last year) (n=35)	Interview 2 (last 3 mos) (n=30)	Interview 3 (last 3 mos) (n=18)
beer and wine	91% (32)	77% (24)	78% (14)
hard liquor	86% (30)	50% (14)	62% (10)
hallucinogens	69% (24)	43% (13)	44% (7)
heroin	43% (15)	21% (6)	18% (3)
inhalants	46% (16)	10% (3)	25% (4)
marijuana	94% (33)	83% (25)	78% (14)
methadone	11% (4)	3% (1)	6% (1)
opiates	49% (17)	10% (3)	6% (1)
barbituates	57% (20)	10% (3)	6% (1)
amphetimines	94% (33)	53% (16)	47% (8)
tranquilizers	34% (12)	17% (5)	0
PCP	29% (10)	7% (2)	0
cocaine	77% (27)	52% (16)	31% (5)

How often have you used these drugs?

	once or twice	once a month	every 2-3 weeks	once a week	2-3 times /week	once a day	2-3 times /day
beer & wine							
int. 1 (n=30)	17% (5)	20% (6)	13% (4)	10% (3)	17% (5)	13% (4)	10% (3)
int. 2 (n=22)	14% (3)	14% (3)	18% (4)	23% (5)	14% (3)	14% (3)	5% (1)
int. 3 (n=13)	8% (1)	0	0	31% (4)	23% (3)	23% (3)	15% (2)
hard liquor							
int. 1 (n=21)	29% (6)	10% (2)	14% (3)	10% (2)	33% (7)	5% (1)	0
int. 2 (n+14)	21% (3)	29% (4)	0	29% (4)	7% (1)	14% (2)	0
int. 3 (n=10)	10% (1)	10% (1)	0	30% (3)	30% (3)	10% (1)	10% (1)
hallucinogens							
int. 1 (n=20)	40% (8)	5% (1)	10% (2)	25% (5)	5% (1)	15% (3)	0
int. 2 (n=13)	46% (6)	15% (2)	8% (1)	8% (1)	0	15% (2)	8% (1)
int. 3 (n=7)	14% (1)	29% (2)	0	14% (1)	29% (2)	14% (1)	0
heroin							
int. 1 (n=9)	11% (1)	22% (2)	22% (2)	11% (1)	33% (3)	0	0
int. 2 (n=6)	0	17% (1)	0	0	50% (3)	17% (1)	17% (1)
int. 3 (n=3)	33% (1)	0	0	0	33% (1)	33% (1)	0
inhalants							
int. 1 (n=8)	0	0	25% (2)	25% (2)	37% (3)	0	12% (1)
int. 2 (n=3)	33% (1)	0	0	33% (1)	0	33% (1)	0
int. 3 (n=4)	50% (2)	0	0	0	25% (1)	25% (1)	0
marijuana							
int. 1 (n=29)	14% (4)	7% (2)	3% (1)	7% (1)	17% (5)	28% (8)	24% (7)
int. 2 (n=25)	12% (3)	20% (5)	0	12% (3)	20% (5)	20% (5)	16% (4)
int. 3 (n=14)	0	7% (1)	7% (1)	7% (1)	29% (4)	7% (1)	43% (6)
methadone							
int. 1 (n=2)	50% (1)	50% (1)	0	0	0	0	0
int. 2 (n=1)	0	100% (1)	0	0	0	0	0
int. 3 (n=1)	0	0	100% (1)	0	0	0	0
opiates							
int. 1 (n=12)	42% (5)	17% (2)	0	17% (2)	8% (1)	17% (2)	0
int. 2 (n=3)	67% (2)	0	0	0	33% (1)	0	0
int. 3 (n=1)	100% (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0

barbituates							
int. 1 (n=12)	25% (3)	42% (5)	0	0	17% (2)	17% (2)	0
int. 2 (n=3)	100% (3)	0	0	0	0	0	0
int. 3 (n=1)	100% (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
amphetimines							
int. 1 (n=25)	16% (4)	12% (3)	8% (2)	24% (6)	20% (5)	12% (3)	8% (1)
int. 2 (n=16)	12% (2)	12% (2)	6% (1)	12% (2)	19% (3)	25% (4)	12% (2)
int. 3 (n=8)	25% (2)	0	0	13% (1)	38% (3)	25% (2)	0
tranquilizers							
int. 1 (n=5)	20% (1)	20% (1)	20% (1)	0	20% (1)	0	20% (1)
int. 2 (n=5)	40% (2)	40% (2)	0	0	20% (1)	0	0
int. 3 (n=0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
PCP							
int. 1 (n=4)	50% (2)	50% (2)	0	0	0	0	0
int. 2 (n=3)	67% (2)	0	0	0	33% (1)	0	0
int. 3 (n=0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cocaine							
int. 1 (n=22)	36% (8)	23% (5)	0	14% (3)	23% (5)	4% (1)	0
int. 2 (n=15)	33% (5)	0	27% (4)	7% (1)	13% (2)	13% (2)	7% (1)
int. 3 (n=5)	20% (1)	40% (2)	0	20% (1)	20% (1)	0	0

Have you ever been additcted to drugs or alcohol?

	Interview 2 (n=33)	Interview 3 (n=13)
yes	55% (18)	77% (10)
no	45% (15)	23% (3)

How long were you or have you been addicted?

	(n=16)
1-3 months	25% (4)
6-12	37% (6)
24 months	6% (1)
36 months	12% (2)
48 months & greater	19% (3)

Were you addicted to any drug three months ago?

	(n=31)	(n=18)
yes	23% (7)	33% (6)
no	77% (24)	67% (12)

Are you addicted to any drug now?

	(n=32)	(n=19)
yes	12% (4)	21% (4)
no	87% (28)	79% (15)

What drug were/are you addicted to?

	(n=18)	(n=10)
alcohol	11% (2)	10% (1)
marijuana	11% (2)	
MDA	11% (2)	
crystal	17% (3)	
cocaine	17% (3)	
heroine	11% (2)	10% (1)
crank	5% (1)	10% (1)
multiple	17% (3)	70% (7)

Addiction

Our data on drug usage is self-reported and thus open to skepticism. This is not a unique problem even for research that focuses exclusively on drug use. In addition, we did not administer formal diagnostic tests to measure levels of dependency. However, our quantitative data in combination with observation and descriptive data have given interesting, if unorthodox findings. While these findings are not conclusive, they do indicate some rethinking of the relationship between drug use, its treatment by services, and street status. We are somewhat cautious about this data, but present it here with the intention of generating dialogue that may lead to more effective services.

In Table A-1, we show the percentage of youth who were ever addicted by ending street status.

Table A-1 Percent Ever Addicted in Ending Status Groups

Status n=38 (2 cases unknown)			
	On Street	Transition	Off Street
	18	8	12
% ever addicted:	61%	57%	45%

The data shown in Table A-1 suggest a tendency for addiction among the on street category. One should be careful in drawing this conclusion. There is a large number of youth on the street who are not addicted as well as a large number of youth off the street who were.

In Table A-2 we show the ending status of those who have been addicted and those who have not been addicted in a subsample of 33. We used a smaller sample for this analysis because data were more complete for each case.

Table A-2 Addiction by Ending Status (n=33)

Ever Addicted	Yes (n=18)	No (n=15)
Status		
On	50% (9)	26% (4)
T	44% (8)	40% (6)
Off	5.6% (1)	33% (5)

We see the trend towards street status with addiction status is revealed in this table. Again, it is not conclusive ($p<.09$). One must remember that drug use is a feature of street life and the causal relationship between the two is not a simple one.

In Table A-3 we show the results of analyzing the relationship between addiction and changes in street status.

Table A-3 Addiction and Status Change (n=31)

Status	On	T On	T	T Off	Off
Ever Addicted					
Yes n=17	5	3	3	5	1
No n=14	2	3	3	3	3

Of those who were ever addicted in this subsample:

8 were on the street
6 were off the street
3 were in transition

Of those never addicted:

5 were on the street
6 were off the street.

In Tables A-4 and A-5, we see that addicted youth were on the street two years earlier than non-addicted youth. We also show that addicted youth have been on the street five times longer than non-addicted youth.

Table A-4 Age of Street Involvement/Ever Addicted

		Age of 1st Street Involvement	
Ever Addicted	Yes	12.6	
	No	14.7	$p<.004$

Table A-5 Length of Street Involvement/Ever Addicted

		Length of Street Involvement (in months)	
Ever Addicted	Yes	35.2	
	No	7.8	p<.001

All of the youth in this study had used drugs. Only four youth had so little experience that their usage could be described as non-problemmatic. Drug usage by street youth is a problem. Where our findings are perhaps unorthodox is in the response to and treatment of drug problems.

Four youth received impatient care for drug treatment. Three remain addicted and on the street. Youth who were addicted and left the streets did so without intensive treatment for their addiction problem. With a change in the structure of their lifestyle, they were able to gain control of their drug problem.

We have observed youth over the research period with regard to their drug use and its role in their street status. We find ourselves at odds with orthodox views on addiction. We are not suggesting that drug use is not a problem, it is. The solution may not be, however, through orthodox treatment in which addiction is treated as a primary issue within the context of the "disease model" metaphor.

We recommend that services use treatment models that give equal weight to the psychological, environmental and social variable of which drug use is a part. Our observations indicate that youth who overcome an addiction have the following factors in common.

1. They believe that they are not in fact (helpless) and do have the power to control their problem.

2. Control over addiction was mediated by counseling but more importantly through changes in their relationship to their environment and people in it.

An addiction to the street lifestyle is at least as strong as the addiction to drugs. Drugs are a part of that lifestyle as our data show. Through restructuring of the lifestyle of youth, we have seen sustained control of drug problems. Our findings contradict the notion that one must deal with substance abuse first. For street youth, that is unlikely to help if involvement in the subculture continues. Youth will continue to use drugs to cope with the instability, pain, and trauma of street life, as well as enjoy recreational use.

Secondly, our findings (limited though they are) lead us to doubt the disease model. We see it as an over-extended metaphor. In the conclusion we describe the problems of street youth as the result of a passive victim psychology. The disease model and treatment based on that model attributes addiction to factors that individuals do not have any control over. This approach is self-defeating and reinforces youths feelings of victimization.

We have seen that addiction includes addiction to a substance as well as to a lifestyle. Addiction is a co-factor that may or may not be a primary issue. If it isn't, to treat it as such may not be successful. (We are all by now well aware of the low success rate of substance abuse programs, 2-5%. Peele 1985) Our hypothesis is:

> If you provide a stable opportunity structure, drug use will decrease.

CASE STUDY COMPLETIONS

Pam

While on the street, she was introduced to The Orion Center by a friend. Over time, this service has grown to be very important to her due to the acceptance, nonjudgemental support, and nurturing she receives there from staff, the concrete services they offer, and the peer group she has there. Orion staff played a major role in her exiting from the street and her eventual placement in LTS. They provided valuable counseling, support, advocacy, and emergency housing during the transition process. Her involvement with The Orion Center continued to be of primary importance, even after her exit from the streets.

> "I still (use Orion). I thought they were going to tell me when I went into The Shelter that I wouldn't be able to go into Orion, and I was ready, if they told me that, to go back onto the streets, so I could go to Orion. I would rather be on the streets, than go to a foster home, to be able to go to Orion."

Pam was discharged from the LTS program after two and one half months, following some physical acting out behavior in the foster home. Such behavior, verbal tantrums, which may escalate to the destruction of property, or physical confrontation of responsible adults, is not uncommon as adolescents undergo the difficult transition from street life back into a more domestic situation. It may take such an adolescent a long time to feel safe expressing feelings in an open direct manner in a family situation. Their experiences attempting this in the past, in their own families, have probably been mostly negative. It seems that Pam may have been beginning to feel like she could let down part of her tough exterior wall, which serves to keep her emotionally distant from people, and experiment with being more trusting and vulnerable with her foster parents. The release of intense feelings in emotional outbursts often will accompany this process as a youth tests the limits of her new situation. Unfortunately, Pam's foster parents did not feel equipped to handle this behavior and asked LTS staff to terminate the placement. LTS staff concurred, feeling Pam may be too disturbed for the placement. The LTS Termination Summary stated:

> The one aspect of our program that proved to be the most difficult for Pam was living in a home situation and following the limits and guidelines necessary there. Her tendency was to get angry at minor things and this anger often escalated to the point that Pam would be very verbally abusive to the Advocate Home Parents and to the other client in the home. Pam was never physically violent while in our program though I have no doubt that the potential for such violence is there. Some of the conflict may be attributed to

cultural differences, and some to the fact that Pam has a difficult time accepting responsibility for her actions and tends to blame others. But whatever the reason, Pam was either unwilling or unable to modify her behavior so as to make living in a home setting feasible for her.

LTS staff suggested that Pam may function better in a more secure and structured setting with trained residential staff.

Following the termination, Pam went immediately to The Orion Center to re-establish her contacts there. She also dropped-in for regular contact with New Horizons Ministries, which operates a drop-in center for street kids downtown, offering food, counseling, and a place to hang-out. Pam reluctantly became actively involved in prostitution to provide for her needs on the street. She felt she had no other alternatives. Pam lived in a variety of places: YMCA emergency housing, the homes of street and nonstreet friends, with her Mom and brother, and with a sugar daddy.

As a result of her negative experiences in LTS, Pam wrote off the possibility of further long-term residential placement.

> I don't want to (live in a family environment). I want to go to job corps, so I can get away from Seattle; so I can get away from the streets.
>
> There is no way, I don't think I would be able to go to another foster home. I have tried too many; too many group homes and too many foster homes. It is mostly I always have problems with the mother anyway. It just brought back too many memories. I couldn't stand it. I tried putting up with her bullshit (foster mom), but I couldn't. I mean four months was a long time for me.

Pam's relationship with her Orion caseworker, which had previously been a reliable emotional back-up was negatively impacted by the LTS termination.

> Him and me have pulled totally apart since I left. When I left the foster home he hardly even... It seems like he doesn't want anything to do with me anymore. I told him I would go to that group home and I changed my mind again and it seems like he thinks, `there is no hope for Pam'. I guess he has given up. Him and me have totally pulled apart. He asks how I am doing. `Good'...whatever...
>
> I have a lot of feelings for him cuz he has helped me so much, and now it just seems like he has just given up, and I am not, so it upsets me a lot.

That is another reason I don't come here very much, because in a way, I don't want to see him cuz it seems like he doesn't really want to see me or something like that. It hurts my feeling a lot...but still I don't tell him things cuz he never asks anything. All he does is 'how are you'.

The caseworker seemed to feel overwhelmed by the situation. Pam was not willing to cooperate with any further placement opportunities. The caseworker felt as if he had nothing to offer which could keep her off the streets. Thus both caseworker and client were dealing with their own feelings of failure. Pam, being in a sensitive and vulnerable position, perceived the changes in her relationship with her caseworker as a rejection.

In early summer, Pam was arrested for robbery and assault in an incident on the downtown streets. It was an argument with another young woman on the street over some clothes that Pam felt the girl had stolen from her. Pam had been actively involved in prostitution and drug use in the weeks prior to this incident. She had also been raped on the street during this time.

After spending six weeks in county detention, Pam was sent to the state juvenile rehabilitation institution at Echo Glen for approximately six months. Initially Pam was placed in the locked Toutle cottage for violent and aggressive youth. Pam was unhappy there.

It made me worse...because of the rules and stuff,...I've been on my own for so long and they say that I can't take responsibility for anything, that I do this and I do that and when I came up here... I mean why are they saying all this shit about me down at Toutle when you're not this way at all.

Yeah, I didn't feel like they respected me at all, I mean I'm not that way, what they were saying I'm like.

It's a locked up cottage; they can't let you do nothing; I mean none at all. It really sucks down there, cuz you're locked up you know.

After a few months, Pam decided she wanted to live in the drug treatment cottage at Echo Glen. She completed the rigorous application process, and consistently advocated for her admittance, entirely on her own initiative. Pam remained committed to the program, despite the fact that it would mean an additional five weeks confinement at Echo Glen. Pam felt she needed to deal with her drug problem before she could control her street involvement:

...because I should quit drugs; learn more about it... Well, I was doing prostitution to get drugs...

> Cuz I don't want to go back to the streets when I get out and I know if I have a drug problem I'd fall through. When I came here I told myself that I was going to change; that I was going to get better; I was going to change for myself. The street was hell...not having a place to stay; staying out in the cold all the time; getting raped; going through hell with dates.

The positive structure, active involvement in improving herself, and respect she received in the drug program had a strong impact on Pam. She successfully completed the program and was seen as a leader by her peers.

Towards the end of her time at Echo Glen, Pam reestablished positive contact with her Orion caseworker. She had also developed a relationship with a volunteer from New Horizons who had consistently written and called Pam, providing emotional support while she was in Echo Glen. Pam's mother had visited Echo Glen regularly as well. Their relationship took on an improved honest tone, through the mutual efforts of both mother and daughter.

Following her release, Pam returned home to live with her mother. After stabilizing in her living situation and in her relationship with her family, Pam began working at a local fast food establishment. She periodically makes contact with both her Orion caseworker and the New Horizons volunteer, for talking and emotional support. Pam seems to have developed a healthy perspective on her street involvement, yet she will always need support in coping with these memories at certain times.

It is a realistic expectation that most street youth, considering their histories of emotional stress and trauma, will continue to need follow-up service contact. This need may continue indefinitely. The alienation experienced by having lived in two such different worlds can cause intense personal stress and periods of emotional imbalance. Coping with this alienation is aided by support from a healthy relationship with an adult who accepts and understands the youth's street and nonstreet lives.

> I still have feelings...yeah I was a prostitute and that I was a shit and all that. But then I think of it this way; that I don't have to do it the rest of my life.

Larry

Larry felt comfortable at the Orion Center. He enjoyed hanging out there and was developing a good relationship with his caseworker.

"Orion is my food supply. It's my hangout, like a hamburger joint, this is my hangout."
"{My Orion caseworker} is the one that knows where I'm coming from, the others just blame everything on me."

However, his emotionally neediness still led him to desire a residential placement and home atmosphere. A couple of months after our first interview, Larry got into serious trouble with some street enemies. Fear for his safety led him to spend more time at Orion for protection. Through his caseworker relationship, he began to see the emptiness and exploitation in his relationships with his "street friends." He asked for a placement at the Shelter, seeking safety from the streets and realizing that he needed to start looking to nonstreet settings for healthy relationships.

"I just got tired of being on the street, I wanted to get off."
"{I need} a lot of structure, and a home environment, and someplace that will help me at least cut down on my drugs"

Larry enjoyed being in the home environment of the Shelter. The nurturing he experienced in that setting and the recreational activities which allowed him to be a kid felt good to him. As expected, as Larry got more comfortable at the Shelter, his fears of intimacy and distrust of positive relationships manifested themselves in some behavior problems. Shelter staff did not feel equipped to handle these emotional outbursts. They terminated Larry because the Shelter was "not staffed to safely handle young people like Larry who are impulsive and anxious." This decision was made despite an acknowledgement that Larry exhibited "enough self-control to not seriously attack staff or other clients" during his emotional outbursts. (quotations taken from Shelter termination summary) Larry was very upset by the termination, feeling that the Shelter staff had lied to him and not followed through on a promise.

"Well she {Shelter staff} promised me she wouldn't kick me out, and then she decided to kick me out. I've got a bad temper, and I told them I said I got a bad temper, it's hard for me to control it, and she promised me she wouldn't kick me out because of my temper, and then she told me I was kicked out and I busted the lamp, literally busted the lamp."

Larry went back to active street involvement for a few months, but maintained his caseworker relationship at the Orion Center as well as his vision of living in a home environment. He also retained a dream of living with his family again and investigated the possibility of living with his father.

In anticipation of this move home, Larry spent a great deal of time at Orion and in emergency housing. He received nurturing

and parenting from many Orion staff. His relationships in the center took on a more honest and mature tone. His storytelling behavior also decreased.

Despite this gradual transition orchestrated by Orion staff, Larry went home to his Dad's house abruptly, scared by threats of violence towards him on the street. His expectations were high. He was going to return to high school and live at home as a "normal" kid. However, conflicts with his stepmother remained and in reality he did not possess the skills to deal with stresses at home, nor fit in with peers at school and in the neighborhood. Larry's identity is his street persona. There is some comfort in that persona because it is known and understood, despite his negative street experiences. It is far too threatening to his self-image, however shakey that may be, to abruptly give up those defense mechanisms and attachments.

Thus Larry returned to Orion after a few days at home and quickly turned his still unrealistic expectations to the possibility of returning home to live with his mother. This transition was also well orchestrated by Orion, including emergency housing at the Shelter, visits to the school, and establishment of some contact with a church-affiliated counselor in his Mom's community.

Again Larry went home abruptly, before he was truly emotionally prepared. He lasted at home a week, feeling that the rules were quite unreasonable. And more importantly, he felt like he just did not fit into the suburban adolescent lifestyle. He felt quite alienated and alone.

This time his return to Orion and the street environment was treated differently. Larry felt like a failure. Instead of unconditional acceptance and understanding he was greeted by conditional acceptance at Orion. This created a similar context to the one which alienated him at home. He did not possess the skills nor self-esteem necessary to meet these conditions. Thus he became alienated from Orion as well. Being at Orion reminded him of a "failure" which he felt deeply already. It reinforced his feelings that he could not fit in and could not be successful in a nonstreet lifestyle.

Six months later this alienation continues. Larry identifies himself as a street person now and is more involved with the adult street lifestyle. He rarely drops in Orion, nor sees his caseworker. In response to queries about using counselors now, he replied, "I don't talk to anybody except for my friends." Larry was recently involved for a time with a service operated for and by street people. He experienced some value and self-worth there.

> "It's just street people helping street people. I'm doing what I've always wanted to do...help other people."

The recommendation section of this report outlines ways which street services for youth can be improved to facilitate similar feelings of self-worth in youth.

Jean

Jean exited from street life involuntarily. She was picked up by a vice officer for offering and agreeing to an act of prostitution. She became entangled in the juvenile justice system on that charge and some previous buglaries. She was in and out of detention and ran from Crisis Residential Center placements. Warrants were issued for probation violations. Jean told me later that although she had negative feelings about her experiences with the legal system, she would probably still be involved with street life if she had not become involved with the law. The police and legal system physically removed her from the street and coerced her into staying away from street activities. Although Jean resented and rebelled against her placements through the legal system, she did appreciate that they provided her a place to stay, and therefore a certain measure of stability.

In October of 1984, after spending a year actively involved with street life, she moved in with a friend and her mother. What was originally intended to be a short-term crash pad, eventually turned into a long-term foster placement.

> I asked if I could stay there for a week, and they said sure, and I never left...and we got really close...

Jean's life stabilized in this setting. She continued to see all her street friends, but she loved having a place to go every night. It was the first step in her transition off the street.

> I don't have to worry about where I'm going to spend the night or anything. So I guess even though I have a place to stay, I am still kinda hanging around the same people.

Slowly Jean chose to make more changes in her life. She reduced her drug use, becoming more aware that it was a destructive path to follow. On her own initiative she decided to turn herself in on her warrants, to clear up her past trouble. This process proved to be more troublesome than Jean had thought it would be. Once she had turned herself in, authorities (parents and court officials) began to make decisions for her. Her father, sure that she was an addict, wanted her in drug treatment. Others tried to place her in a group home. This situation remained unresolved for over a year. When asked why she wasn't doing all the things people want her to do, such as school, job, and counseling, she explained how their approach turned her off.

...probably because everyone wants me to. If they would just leave me alone, I'd go about it my own way. I'd have got it done a long time ago. It's like after I had turned myself in on the warrants you know, it's like they all completely forgot that I was the one doing this, and they all took it upon themselves to make me do things. And that's where they fucked up. If they would just say, 'so how are things going?' instead of 'why haven't you done this yet?' and assuming that I haven't. It doesn't really make me want to. It's just like fuck you, I'm not going to do this if they keep nagging at me. Because it doesn't really make me want to.

Jean originally was placed in the foster home on a nine month ARP (alternative residential placement). When the ARP expired, Jean, her caseworker, and her Mom all agreed that Jean should remain in foster care indefinitely. Jean's relationship with her Mom has improved in recent months, but it is no longer a parent-child relationship. She and her mom are interacting more as equals, with increasing mutual respect. Both are dedicated to this continued improvement and believe that living separately is the best arrangement. Jean's mother and caseworker are both pleased with Jean's success in foster care and do not want to interrupt this progress.

Financially, Jean's mother is not able to make a contribution to her placement or counseling. Thus, the court approved State dependent status for Jean on November 13, 1985. With this arrangement, Jean can remain in foster care until her 18th birthday and the State will provide funds for counseling, as required by court order. As part of this process, the court ordered a psychological evaluation of Jean to determine her mental health status and needs.

Jean was interviewed and given psychological tests by a psychologist and psychiatrist at the County Department of Youth Services. This was a negative experience for Jean. She did not feel listened to or respected. The result of her evaluation was that Jean was labelled potentially schizophrenic. The psychiatrist felt Jean had the potential to explode over an issue, and lose touch or "go off" at any time.

Jean vehemently disagrees with this diagnosis. She feels that she has, and will continue to, cope in a healthy manner with her life. Jean's self-image is strong enough that she is able to ignore this label, realizing its fallacy. That strength in Jean's self-esteem has been a major factor in the success of her exit. Often in her life, she has gotten a message from authority figures that she was not "ok". The stability in Jean's early life seems to have provided her with the strength to maintain perspective and not identify with the labels placed on her by others. In this

regard, Jean is different from other youth in our sample who had no stability in their early years and are still struggling to develop a positive self-image now. Those youth will tend to identify with the negative labels they receive from others. This process locks them in a cycle of consistently low self-esteem, and makes exit from the street life terribly difficult.

Jean's case is an excellent example of the exit process from street life by a youth who still desired and needed the stability, guidance, and nurturing provided by a family setting. Her own family could no longer provide her with that.

> I was brought up in a really like you know... like I had someone watching over me and stuff. I know for me at least that it was needed. I still need someone to kind of look out for me; I'm not always a total grown-up. I've gone though a lot of things; I'm sure I've matured a lot faster than most kids, but I'm not adult yet. I still want to go to school...
>
> I think most kids would say they need an adult that they don't feel will put them down, cuz with an adult you can have someone that can speak for you, but can speak on the same level as other adults. And as a kid you can't do that at all, you're always a child, you're the child in all those court papers and everything and you have your guardian or whatever and that's the person that can talk for you. That's the reason me and my foster mom have gotten along so well is that she's been able to help me out so much.

Jean found, on her own, a family setting which was more consistent with her own values, and provided the appropriate balance between independence and responsibility. It is difficult for a youth coming off the street to relinquish the freedom and self-determination they have had. Jean was able to retain all of this in her foster placement, while she gained the stability which she desired. There were no conditions on her placement. Jean's movements out of her street behaviors, and into new off-street activities were all made at her own pace. She had all the time she desired to rest, recover, and adjust to change. Guidance, support, and structure were available to Jean when she was ready for them. Thus, Jean was able to maintain her self-respect throughout the exit process. This situation has worked beautifully for Jean and could serve as a model for similar youth desiring to leave the street via a family situation.

Jean expects to remain in foster care until her eighteenth birthday. She has used her time in foster care to rest and slowly transition out of her street activities. She needed a place where she felt safe and accepted; where she was respected as an individual. In the foster home, she has experienced a healthy

balance between security and freedom. Provided with this environment, Jean has made some positive changes in her life. She is no longer involved in any negative street activities, including drug use. She is enrolled in and attending an alternative high school, working towards graduating with a diploma rather than a GED. She comments, "A GED is just as good, but I kind of want to learn something; that might be kind of like wow!" Jean is involved in counseling with a psychologist chosen by her state caseworker. Jean enjoys this opportunity: "for free, someone to talk to, why not. I think that everyone should see a psychologist."

Following a year of stable off-street placement, Jean reflected back over her situation. She commented on the value of stability, coupled with a sense of freedom and self-determination. Jean also spoke of the need for trust in relationships between youth and their parent/advisors.

> I think stability is more important that emotional help because if once a child knows that they're stable, that they have a place to stay; that is such a total tremendous load off of your back. They have a place to stay where they can come and go, basically with rules that they agreed on with an adult, or whatever you know.
>
> It's important to the child that they feel as if they have total freedom; they can do whatever they want and then afterwards, I think that is when they (the adult) start laying down more of the rules and things. She (foster mom) still gives me freedom; she just makes me feel like I'm totally trusted because I am, I mean she's left me at the house for a whole weekend by ourselves and I didn't totally party it up; the whole house was totally clean when she came back. I think that, like stability, maybe trust in an adult that they can feel, that they can trust is very important too.
>
> I think that sometimes that, alright say you take a kid right and you put it with an adult and the adult is supposed to relate to the child and they're supposed to straighten everything out and this little foster family is supposed to be happy. If the child believes that they can get through to the adult and they can think, no not that they can think, but they can understand how the child is thinking, how himself is feeling or herself is feeling, then it will work. But if the child doesn't think that this adult will ever pay attention to anything they say, then it won't work and they won't ever believe they can get through to the adult. It will be a total lost cause cuz they don't honestly believe it can happen.

Doug

Over time, Doug began to feel bored and a bit alienated from street life as well. He felt uncomfortable with himself as a prostitute, particularly when he had sex with male customers. The lack of friends he could trust eventually outweighed the excitement he felt from being involved in street life. He used drugs to deal with his boredom and to cope with the sexual activity of prostitution. He began going to The Orion Center, just to be with other kids and to pass the time. At first, he had no thoughts or intentions of leaving the streets, but The Orion Center became a safe place for him to spend time away from the streets.

Two external factors motivated Doug to leave the streets. He developed an enemy over an issue of money who threatened his life. He also became involved in a personal relationship with a young woman whom he had met on the street, but was not involved in street life. She supported Doug in his attempt to improve his situation.

Once Doug established a fairly stable living situation for himself he began to develop some internal motivation to create a new lifestyle. He began going to Orion on a daily basis. At first it was just a diversion, something to keep himself busy until he felt safe on the street again. In response to Orion's offer of help in finding a stable job, Doug replied,

> Shit, I make $100 a night. I don't need you guys to find me a job of $100 a week.

But once he was more involved with Orion and the counselors, his feelings changed:

> You felt safe [at Orion]. On the street you never felt safe. The safety and the comfort of being away from all that [the street lifestyle].

Then Doug found he became more aware of how The Orion Center could be of help to him.

> The counselors are really good because they talk to you and they do feel for you and you could tell them anything, it doesn't matter what you tell the. They'll try and talk to you and find a way out. There is always a way out of things. They help you with your GED. And I'm not into prostitution and I haven't been in it for awhile, but a lot of times I think, boy, I've got to go and make some money, and that's the easiest way I know.

> But they're helping me here to stick with this and I'm not going back to that {prostitution}. I feel like I'm accomplishing something everyday.

Once Doug had made a break from the street and separated himself from the lure of its lifestyle, The Orion Center was in a position to help him resist the impulse to go back. At the same time, Doug began to establish a stable self-supporting existence off the street.

Doug's situation remained unchanged for approximately three months. He lived with his friend in an apartment off the street, and actively looked for a job. He went through a job training program connected with The Orion Center to help him improve his job search skills. His attitude remained positive and he remained determined to staff off the street and out of that life. Slowly he stopped going to Orion on a daily basis, but still came in many times a week for companionship, counseling, and appointments with the job counselor. He was trying to sever ties with certain street friends who were still actively involved in street life. He told me at one point that he still thought about going back to the street when he was worried about money and finding a job. He sees the street as a resource if he is ever in desperate need of money and does not see any other options.

With the advocacy and support of Orion's employment counselor, Doug finally landed a job. He worked as a crane operator for the newly operating Island Jetfoil. Initially he was very pleased with the job, but soon problems developed. The company, being new, had cash flow problems and could not pay their workers on schedule. Doug worked one month of six day weeks without getting paid. The lack of money and long hours slowly eroded Doug's enthusiasm. He missed seeing his friends and when he did, he had no money to spend.

After about six weeks, Doug had an opportunity to make some extra money trafficking drugs between Seattle and Los Angeles. The fast cash and excitement were a strong lure for him. He asked his employer for a few days off without pay, hoping to keep his job. They denied a leave of leave of absence, which left Doug in a state of exasperation. He quit his job.

Doug did not view this new venture as a move back to the streets. He was still determined to stay away from street involvement and stabilize his life. He had moved into the YMCA Transitional Housing for Young Adults program while he was working. He wanted to save money and have a stable place of his own. This worked out well, for a short time.

About the time he was leaving his job, Doug ran into an old friend, who had formerly been a drug dealer, and they arranged to

rent an apartment together. They paid the rent three months in advance to give themselves a cushion and some stability.

During this time Doug began to realize that although he was no longer directly involved in street activities, he was still very much involved with his street friends.

> It was like eight months that I was not literally on the street, that I was associating with people from the streets and back to all the things that go around it. I guess just not being down there does not mean {you aren't involved with the street}. If you are up in this area on Capitol Hill and you are around the street, I guess you could call that street life, being on the street. If you are with those people and out in that atmosphere.

Doug then made a very conscious effort to divorce himself from his street associations, and thus, the Orion Center.

> Ever since I got out of the Orion and the general area of Seattle, I have tried to keep myself from telling other people things that I can't afford them to hear because people will go out there and tell people 'this guy is doing this' just to get back at you for something that you did. But I don't feel I have really done anything to anyone in Seattle.

At the time of our second interview, Doug was living off the street in his apartment. He avoided going downtown and to Orion as much as possible. His social network included a new group of friends who were set up off the street, but some were involved in illegal activities. Doug was feeling in limbo. He was involved in some serious reflection about where he had been and where he was going.

> I feel that once you try to get away from that kind of situation, like the street life, it is kind of hard at first cuz you are kind of addicted to it and you like that feeling of going back and doing the same things and seeing the same people. You don't want to make a new start anywhere else. That is the biggest part. The kids just don't want to go and try somewhere else because they are trying too hard now where they are at.

Doug's relationship with his father had deteriorated. Reflecting on his life Doug stated:

> My dad is just upset at me because of when I lived there, things didn't go the way he wanted them to, and he just feels his son is disrespectful to him and not showing him the respect he deserves. At times I didn't

want to because he was drinking so much and being really bad. When he tried to quit, I was the only one that was there to help. Every weekend, I drove to Tacoma just to see him for his visiting hours. I was the only one in the family that did it. I called him up, the last time that I talked to him, and he was telling me that there were some things that he found out that was going on at the house while I was there, that he didn't like and he didn't want to talk to me and didn't want to have to deal with it. He didn't want to think about me...yeah, so I'm just...if he wants to find me, he'll find me. That is the way I feel. If it takes 30-40 years, that is just the way it goes. I have been without a father for a long time. He didn't really show me that he was my father when I needed him. I was in this foster home when I was younger. They asked for rights to be my legal guardian. He didn't even think about it...'ok, sure'. It showed me that he must not have cared too much about me to give me up so easily.

Although Doug had been able to sever his street ties, he found it very difficult to make the complete transition into a more conventional situation. He seemed to be floating. He had nothing from his history to hold onto, and no sense of a future that was firm enough to take root. Doug took his life step by step, fighting the urge to go back to the streets each day.

I have been really mellow with my drugs lately. That is why I feel my head is kind of clearing up and I'm really beginning to realize that I need to get my shit together. It is so hard. I want to get things started in my life and then there are times when I just say "fuck this". "I don't want to do this". I just want to kick back today and just enjoy the sun. You can't do that once you make that big commitment. I feel like I still have time to fucking screw around, why not do it? If I can afford it and I know I am going to be able to live and make things work to where I may be in three months and my finances are good, I really don't have to. Life is rough, I'm telling you...

When asked if he would consider prostitution or pimping, Doug felt that was behind him.

I don't feel like prostitution. Sure it is easy money, yeah, but then again, I feel that I tried to get away from that and I tried to make myself more considerate of my body and the way I do things..nor pimping {thinking in response to someone offering to work for him}. If I got in the situation, where I really needed money bad, I wouldn't make someone else frustrated while I was out having fun.

Although he may not prostitute or pimp, it is clear Doug is comfortable supporting himself through illegal means. He seems to still be "addicted" to the fast cash and "excitement" of criminal involvement. It may be a long time before Doug is able to complete his transition into a more conventional lifestyle and employment.

> I have grown to think and tell myself "you are 18 and you have a long time to make a career decision; don't just jump in a boat and say "hey, this is it". I want to try a lot of things, but then again...

Doug was not seen by this researcher in the last six months of our study period, nor was he involved with the Orion Center or any other service that we know of. When we last spoke, he felt it was a positive move to divorce all ties with his street "friends" and the downtown Seattle street lifestyle. As we find to be true with many street youth, Doug felt this separation was a very important factor in ensuring the success of his exit.

At that time, Doug also expressed ambivalence about his deteriorating relationship with his Orion caseworker. He seemed to be uncomfortable carrying on this relationship amidst his confusion and insecurity during his transition away from the Seattle street scene. Doug made no further attempts to contact his Orion caseworker for services or counseling. No outreach was done by his caseworker or other Orion staff in any efforts to maintain contact with Doug. Thus, the relationship was abandoned by both parties.

The caseworker was very disappointed by Doug's new illegal involvements, and felt his efforts to help Doug had had little positive impact on Doug and his situation. It is not uncommon for a caseworker to feel hurt, disappointment, and frustration when a case takes a negative turn. Typically a caseworker, often coping with their own sense of failure, will state that they have no further services to offer the client. The blame and responsibility for the deteriorating relationship is placed on the client.

Often a caseworker will have other clients actively seeking his aid. This serves to facilitate the rationalization of a decision to reduce outreach efforts or terminate services to a particular client. This is a very difficult and important decision for a caseworker to make, considering the reality that they have a limited amount of energy to spread over an often overwhelming caseload. A caseworker must constantly assess the relative effectiveness and impact of their decision to intervene with a client or not. In Doug's case, the caseworker seemed to feel powerless to impact Doug through their relationship. No further action was taken in Doug's case.

Doug's Orion case file was officially terminated on September 10, 1985, following three months of no contact. Doug's whereabouts at this time are unknown...

CHAPTER 4

SERVICES

Service Involvement and Attitudes

In this section we have summarized the interview data on the involvement of street youth with services and their attitudes about their experiences. Our data on the use of services by street youth indicate the following:

1. A majority of the youth had been placed in state care and a majority of youth (92%) had been held in detention.

2. Youth would no longer accept most of the traditional placements made by the state. They were, however, open to foster placements.

3. Youth listed housing and counseling as their primary needs.

4. Youth would accept and used the services specifically designed for street youth.

As the data show, the youth in our sample had repeatedly been placed in state residential placements--e.g. receiving, group and foster care. These placements were generally short term and youth perceived them as involuntary placements. Street youth uniformly rejected future placement in this system because of previous negative and uncomfortable experiences.

An exception to the rejection of traditional state placements was in the area of foster care when mediated through a street youth service. Almost one third of the youth said they would consider foster care because of their desire for a family environment.

Five of the youth in our sample were in what we considered successful foster placements during the research period. These were not traditional placements. Licensing occurred after youth identified a situation they felt they would be comfortable enough to remain. The opportunity for these youth to have a role in selecting foster care contributed to their successful exit from street life.

The data also show that a majority of the youth initially embraced the specialized services developed for street youth. This may seem to be a tautological association since the sample was drawn from a street youth service agency. It should be kept

in mind that the services of Orion are voluntary. Orion attracted 700 youth to its services in 1985.

The services most heavily used by youth included survival and crises services--e.g. food, shelter, medical, and counseling. Fewer youth utilized the school and employment programs. About three fourths of the sample used street services for counseling through the research period. Counseling, of course, is the most immediately available services. Our experience with this population and our observations of their interactions with Orion's staff suggest that youth are seeking nurturing and advisory relationships rather than a traditional therapeutic one. For the most part, the youth in our sample lacked a stable relationship with a non-exploitive adult. Their relationship with an Orion caseworker filled this void.

A supportive adult relationship is an important factor in a successful exit. It is important, however, that this relationship be sustained with a youth after an exit. As we will discuss, youth generally return to the streets following an apparently successful exit. Exiting often means losing connections with supportive adults. In some instances, youth must return in order to maintain these relationships. It is a dilemma that plans for "aftercare" may help resolve.

Would you use any of the following services?

	no	involuntary	yes
group home	82% (32)	3% (1)	15% (6)
receiving home	85% (33)	0	15% (6)
foster home	69% (27)	0	31% (12)
Juvenile Court	90% (35)	3% (1)	8% (3)
Police	58% (22)	0	42% (16)
youth services	3% (1)	0	98% (39)

Reputation of Services on Street

	very negative/ negative	no opinion	very positive positive
Shelter	33% (4)	8% (1)	59% (7)
Orion	6% (2)	6% (2)	87% (27)
Horizons	12% (2)	18% (3)	71% (12)
DSHS (12 responses)	92% (11)	0	8% (1)

Type of Service Required

	First Choice	Second Choice
housing	47.2% (17)	11.1% (4)
food	16.7% (6)	16.7% (6)
activities	11.1% (4)	11.1% (4)
counseling	8.3% (3)	30.6% (11)
friendship	8.3% (3)	0
GED	5.6% (2)	0
employment	2.8% (1)	0
clothes	0	2.8% (1)
advocacy	0	2.8% (1)

Service needed due to street activity?

yes	86.1% (34)
no	11.1% (4)

Subject Evaluation of Services

	strongly disagree	disagree	no opinion	agree	strongly agree
Agency staff respond rapidly to my problems	0 0	8.3% (3)	8.3% (3)	47.2% (17)	19.4% (7)
I trust staff with confidential information	2.8% (1)	8.3% (3)	2.8% (1)	50.0% (18)	19.4% (7)
Staff are flexible about dealing with my situation	0 0	11.1% (4)	5.6% (2)	44.4% (16)	22.2% (8)
Staff and I generally agree about what my problem is	0 0	13.9% (5)	5.6% (2)	44.4% (16)	19.4% (7)
The agency was able to provide the right services for me	0 0	5.6% (2)	8.3% (3)	47.2% (17)	22.2% (8)
Staff assured me I would be OK	0 0	2.8% (1)	11.1% (4)	44.4% (16)	25% (9)
Staff encouraged me to become independent of services	2.8% (1)	22.2% (8)	11.1% (4)	33.3% (12)	13.9% (5)
Services provided were well coordinated	2.8% (1)	2.8% (1)	2.8% (1)	58.3% (21)	16.7% (6)
I had opportunity to talk with staff about services	0 0	2.8% (1)	2.8% (1)	55.6% (20)	22.2% (8)

Feelings about Services

	negative	ambivalent	positive
What is your mood when you decide to seek services?	33.3% (12)	30.6% (11)	25% (9)
How do you feel when you first come in contact with services/service staff?	13.9% (5)	44.4% (16)	27.8% (10)
What is your mood while you are there?	2.8% (1)	16.7% (6)	66.7% (24)
Does how you feel change after you leave services?	13.9% (5)	19.4% (7)	44.4% (16)

Attitudes towards services

	yes	no
Was service needed due to street activity?	86.1% (3)	11.1% (4)
Did agency meet your need?	83.3% (30)	8.3% (3)
Would you use service again?	94.4% (34)	2.8% (1)
Do friends use this service?	88.9% (32)	11.1% (4)
Would you send someone there?	84.4% (34)	2.8% (1)
Did it help you leave the street?	69.4% (25)	19.4% (7)
Is it difficult to take agency's help?	27.8% (10)	66.7% (24)

Description of Services

Location

The Orion Center is located seven blocks east of the well-known center of street youth activity on First and Pike streets in downtown Seattle. Locating Orion away from the center of activity, but within walking distance, was intentional. Program staff wanted to minimize street related behaviors in the center that would affect the safety and security of staff and the integrity of services. In this regard they have been successful. In two years there were only two break-ins and thefts. This success is partially due to the service style of the center, but also because they seldom serve delinquent males whose primary street involvement is gang activity and violent crime.

There is seldom any violent behavior in the center. The staff has been successful in creating an environment in which the youth they do serve feel some responsibility for the atmosphere in the center. While not intending to undervalue the efforts of staff in creating a safe environment for services, the importance of the center's location should not be underestimated.

The location of Orion was also intended to allow for a built-in self-selection process of youth using its services. Locating the center a bit outside the paths of street youth, suggests that a conscious decision is made to "go to Orion" that includes some behavioral expectations. The use of Orion varies greatly between individuals and for the same individuals at different times. At any given time one may see youth in Orion sleeping, eating, listening to music, playing cards, taking G.E.D. tests, in a counseling session, or calling prospective employers. While an appearance at the Orion Center is a part of the daily activity of many street youth, it is our observation that the center staff have succeeded in making Orion a "time out" from and an alternative to street activity. It is the perception of our subject population that if you are involved with Orion to any extent then you are "making progress". Walking the few blocks to Orion is a symbolic gesture which has a significance that staff have been able to capitalize upon.

Contact

Street youth may come in contact with the Orion Center in several ways. Information about the Orion Center is passed to youth through street and non-street networks. The street information network includes outreach staff, other street youth who have been at Orion, the police, and other programs serving street populations in the downtown are. The non-street information network includes referrals from the juvenile justice system, contacts made by Orion staff doing group counseling in detention, other youth service agencies, and the media.

An evaluation of referral sources to Orion by Schram (1985) indicates that over 60% of the clients are: 1) self referrals, 2) referred by outreach, or 3) other street youth respectively. The majority of our sample of 40 stated that they first came into Orion on their own or with a friend. It would be inaccurate to suggest, however, that the referral categories were discrete units. Clearly, outreach efforts generate referrals by self and friends. These referrals underscore our observation of the pivotal importance of outreach in a configuration of services to street youth.

Population

The intent of the Orion program has been to offer a continuum of services to youth involved in street lifestyles. The formal policy of the center states that services are available to all street youth aged 11-21. Identifying the target population for services is a major difficulty for services because "street youth" are not homogenous. Street youth include various subgroups defined by gender, sexual orientation, street activities, and reasons for being on the street. An ever changing youth culture often makes it difficult to identify youth who are appropriate for services. In addition, the Orion Center staff operates from the perspective that various subgroups cannot always be best served in the same location.

The Orion Center attempts to serve males and females under the age of 18 who are involved in prostitution or are considered to be at high risk for such involvement. Orion also serves males and females up to the age of 22 who are involved in prostitution, and gay and lesbian street youth.

Younger runaways--age 14 and under, who are new to the streets are immediately referred out of the center. These referrals are made to avoid the influence of older street youth. Younger clients are generally referred to the SYCS Shelter program or the state department of Social and Health Services. Older males--age 18-22, are also referred out of the center as quickly as possible. It is believed that these youth tend to be involved in aggressive delinquent activities and intimidate other center clients. Not all staff agree with the policy, but older delinquent males are seldom served at Orion. The older males are referred to various employment training and G.E.D. programs. The objective of this policy is to make the center safe for the target population.

Outreach

Orion has four outreach caseworkers and a counseling coordinator who works 50% administration and 50% outreach. The caseworkers reflect the client population with regard to gender, ethnicity and sexual orientation. Two workers are on the street each evening, Monday through Saturday. Staff always work in pairs for safety reasons. Outreach workers are generally on the street for 2-4 hours at a time. Their circuit includes Pike St. to Madison on First and Second Ave. They also occasionally search out youth in outlying areas where juvenile prostitution is prevalent, such as Aurora, the Sea-Tac strip, Yesler Terrace, and the International District. Outreach is more difficult in these areas because youth are not as visible as they are in downtown areas. New areas of juvenile prostitution are constantly emerging and effective outreach has become more difficult over the years.

Services to street youth in Seattle evolved from an outreach program begun by the Shelter in 1979. At that time the growing number of adolescents involved in prostitution had become apparent from the highly visible youth culture that was emerging on the streets of downtown Seattle. Outreach services were designed to provide crisis counseling, referral, and advocacy by directly contacting youth on the street. The first outreach services did not have the back-up resources provided by the collaborative and centralized services of the Orion Center.

Since The Shelter's initial attempts at serving street youth through outreach, there have been many changes in work styles, philosophy of treatment, goals and expectations. We will not launch into a lengthy critique of outreach services in this report. We will, however, discuss the significance of outreach in a general configuration of service to street youth.

The distinguishing feature of outreach services is that counselor/advocates go on the street on a regular basis in order to establish contacts with youth and disseminate resource information. Prior to the existence of the Orion Center, outreach workers spent more time on the street and the quality of street interactions were more intense and involved. The focus on outreach as the primary contact point with street youth has been diffused and substituted with interactions at the center. This change has several implications for services to street youth.

Our observations suggest that the combination of outreach services with a service center in close proximity to street youth activity solves some problems. It may reduce job stress for staff while at the same time allowing for more stable relations between youth and staff to develop, which ultimately facilitates exiting.

Outreach work is difficult because: 1) working hours are irregular; 2) it takes place in a volatile environment; 3) youth

are less often interested in advocacy than in their street activities; and 4) staff are constantly faced with uncertainty and the unexpected. Outreach from a nearby service center reduces the amount of time staff need to actually be on the street. There is also a central location and regular hours that enable maintenance of relationships formed on the street. The service center allows referrals from friends and self referrals to be acted upon immediately rather than waiting for a chance meeting with a counselor on the street.

After having observed the operations of outreach staff since 1979, it is our conclusion that the backup resources and stability offered to both youth and staff act to maximize the effectiveness of outreach efforts. We have, however, noted a slight trend towards de-emphasizing outreach activities. The result is that the most needy youth may not be reached. We draw this conclusion from our subjects' descriptions of the type of services to which they are most responsive.

We have also observed that Orion caseworkers are spending less time doing outreach to clients who are on their caseloads, who may have left the street environment. Some of these clients may be incarcerated; others are living at home or with friends. We have talked with some subjects and clients who feel "abandoned" by their caseworker in these situations. Caseworkers are now consumed on a daily basis with clients who drop into the center. They find they have less and less time to do the sort of outreach that provides aftercare for clients.

Drop-in at Orion

When a youth enters the center, they come into the drop-in area. The room is informal and furnished with couches, tables, chairs, a stereo, a foosball table, and a video machine. There are two drop-in staff available to greet a new youth in the center and explain the services. Nothing is required of the youth. Services are entirely voluntary. They are free to "hang-out" in the drop-in and socialize with other kids. Drop-in staff try to provide youth with basic need requests such as clothing or food. They also organize outings, social activities, and provide informal counseling. Once comfortable, and if appropriate for services, they will be directed to an available caseworker for intake.

Drop-in is an opportunity for intervention from the point of view of service providers. For youth, it has several meanings. It is a safe haven from the street, It is the hub of social activity amoung youth who use Orion. It is a place to get messages and to locate friends.

With regard to services, drop-in is a testing ground. Youth are testing the response of staff to their needs and to them as

individuals. They are looking for acceptance without coercion. The turf issues are who can trust who and who controls the pace of the relationships being formed.

Casework

The outreach caseworkers currently carry caseloads of 35-40 youth. Counseling takes place in a variety of contexts, both in the center and out in the community. Caseworkers are also actively involved advocating for their clients in the legal and social service systems.

The primary goal of the clinical casework component is to establish a trusting relationship with the youth and open lines of communication. Once this relationship is established, which often takes up to six months, deeper issues are explored. These may include family issues, physical, sexual, or psychological abuse. A major focus of the counseling relationship is to move the youth out of the street lifestyle into more conventional settings. Other treatment issues, as identified by the clinical staff, include sexuality, sex-roles, personal relationships, drug and alcohol use, and peer relationships.

Support Services and Resources

Housing

Housing resources are severely limited. Four emergency beds exist at the YMCA and two at the YWCA. These are assigned on a night by night basis, and are for kids under the age of 18. To date The Shelter has been occasionally used for emergency bed nights. The Downtown YMCA also has a two month housing program for 18-21 year olds, called Young Adults in Transition. Many of the older Orion clients utilize this program when recommended by staff.

The most apparent need of street youth is permanent housing. Unfortunately, housing resources are not only limited, but have decreased during the project period. Six emergency beds are available through the YMCA and YWCA. These are used for youth in crisis and are assigned on a night to night basis. Youth may only stay for 1-2 nights. The Shelter has been used more in the past year for emergency housing, however, there are constraints on the use of this facility by various funding sources. The downtown YMCA has a two month housing program for 18-21 year olds, called Young Adults in Transition. The program has room for 12 youth. For the most part, Orion staff are involved in a constant routine of juggling the needs of youth with program requirements and limited bed space.

Education

The Orion Center has a fully accredited school program. The option of school involvement is present to all youth. They have an opportunity to learn about the school program and to participate in informal activities. Youth who have specific goals develop a performance contract with the staff.

The school program focuses on developing basic skills and preparing youth for a General Education Degree exam. The school also has two computers with games and educational programs. The school staff also provide youth with counseling, and recreational activities.

The major goal of the school program is simply to facilitate a positive learning experience. They try to give youth the confidence and motivation to seek learning in more structual settings and to simply place a valve upon learning.

Previous evaluations of the Orion program show that 196 youth were involved in the school program in 1985. Eight clients received a G.E.D. In our sample, 6 completed their G.E.D. during the research period.

"G.E.D. spells losers, that's why I want a high school diploma." This statement reflects the attitude of a majority of street youth to alternative education. Having a degree was a false promise in the eyes of many youth because it did not lead to improvements in their lives.

Street youth often do not finish their G.E.D. program, (see Schram 1985) but they do use the school program. The school program operates on basic behavioral principles. Positive reinforcement is immediate and success of some sort possible. Tasks assigned are short and can be completed with little time involved. Instruction is individualized and there is no competitive tension.

Participation in school activities allows street youth to spend time doing activities they perceive as "normal," they feel good about completing tasks or skill assessments on development. Logs are kept of their accomplishments and are a visual record of "progress". They are given encouragement to experiment with creative expressions as wells as practice behaviors in an educational setting.

Completion of a G.E.D. has been the apparent objective for including education programs in street services. Few youth actually get such a degree. Unfortunately, the number of degrees are usually a measure of the value of the school program. Service staff discovered the value of the school program for offsetting a street identity. The auxillary importance of the school program

has begun to take center stage.

Employment

The employment component focuses on job development in the community. Youth who are trying to leave street life are placed in conventional jobs requiring few skills. Employment counseling and advocacy are provided for youth who are trying to find and sustain conventional employment. Youth are also referred to other employment programs in the area.

The employment component at Orion has gone through several transitions since the center began. During the research period the employment component was operated by an employment developer who has intermittently had assistants and volunteers.

The employment counselor focuses on job search and development in the community. Youth who are trying to leave the street are placed in entry level jobs requiring few skills. Youth are provided with individual counseling, career counseling, and assistance in finding work. Using various funding resources, some clients are paid while involved with on-the-job training programs.

The employment counselor has developed a unique approach to job preparation. Orion has involved about 40 youth in two dramatic productions. Youth were paid for their participation for up to 3 months. Involvement in the production of a play was a unique approach for teaching youth job skills such as co-operation, task completion and reliability.

Medical Services

Medical services are provided at the center by a certified health practitioner. A physician and medical interns are available two nights per week. The physician who provides services is also associated with two other free medical clinics for youth in the downtown area. Youth can receive treatment at these clinics if necessary. First aid and health care information is provided at Orion on a regular basis.

Co-ordination of Services

The multiple services provided in one location at Orion is convenient for youth and staff. The centralization of services also help maintain service relations with clients. One of the frustrations of working with street youth is that they often get lost in the shuffle of referring them to different locations for services. Centralized services, however, require constant communication between staff to maintain a consistent treatment approach to youth. This process at Orion includes informal discussions between staff about specific clients and formal consultations on youth that include the input of a consulting

psychologist.

Meals

Dinners are cooked by various church groups in their homes and brought to Orion nightly. The food is good, generally considered to be one of the better meals available on the street. Dinner is served six nights a week at 6:00 p.m. Other miscellaneous foodstuffs are periodically donated by various groups, restaurants, or individuals and used for snacks and informal lunches.

The provision of meals is an elegant, but simple statement of caring. Staff are interested in the basic health and nutrition of clients. Clients depend on Orion to quiet pangs of hunger. Through informal interactions at meals, staff can make contact and develop a better understanding with youth. For clients it's a resource that saves on other resources for them.

Providing basic needs is a double edge sword. A client may eat at Orion and save their money for drugs. Another client may eat at Orion and not trick that night or commit a theft. For services, it is a risk that must be taken if there is to be hope for change. Food is available--there are no questions or requirements. Meals are an act of tenderness without strings in an exploitive world. The meals are a gateway to a transition--and so there really is nothing to lose.

Service Attributes

The data presented at the beginning of this chapter includes responses to questions concerning attitudes towards services, the affective response to service involvement, and an evaluation of services by the youth we interviewed. The youth in our study were very clear about the style and tone of services to which they would respond. In this section we discuss the attributes of the Orion program that both attracted and inhibited youth involvement.

Factors Precipitating Links with Services

Youth who are involved in street life tend to hold two basic attitudes towards services. First, they do not feel that they were helped in previous service experiences. In fact, they feel that they were hurt, and were denied basic rights and freedoms. Second, youth do not believe that help exists for them. If they are aware of resources, they often do not perceive that assistance is meant for them.

Either attitude tends to preclude street youth from seeking help on their own. In fact, much of their "running" and absorption into street life is to avoid further interference of "helping" institutions. For youth who feel that "help" is dangerous, or do not perceive its availability, services must be, literally, taken to them.

It is this perception of services held by youth that led SYCS to establish the Orion Center in the downtown area and to focus efforts on outreach. The generalized distrust of services has likewise led SYCS to evolve a non-traditional approach to attracting street youth to services. Attributes of this approach that are successful in involving youth in services are described below:

1) Street youth respond to the location of services and staff near to them on the street. They interpret the location of services as a genuine act of caring and concern.

2) The initial contact services offered by Orion--e.g. meals, recreation, medical, personal hygiene, and emergency assistance are presented within a context of choice. A youth can eat a meal at Orion without further obligation on their part or that of the staff. This is in stark contrast to other experiences with services in which both parties are locked into giving and accepting services by legal constraints.

3) Other services offered by Orion that signify deeper involvement with the center--e.g. housing, employment, education, and counseling--are carried forth without

coercion. They are entirely voluntary. A major element in youths' resistance to service is fear of coercion. They are afraid of being forced into a placement, forced back home, or turned in. Staff do operate under some legal and regulatory constraints, but try to be honest with youth about the constraints so youth are able to choose or not choose services.

4) Clients do not have to reveal their life histories and personal information in order to receive services. The drop in counselors are able to assess youths' situations without being so intrusive that they are frightened away. This is a very critical element to a successful service given that 60% - 70% of the adolescents are victims of sexual abuse. Boundaries of intimacy may be violated psychologically as well as physically. Youth feel safe at Orion partially because their personal integrity is not violated by a forceful and formalized style of intake interviewing or insistence upon one to one counseling sessions.

5) Clients do not have to make dramatic changes in their lifestyle or social support system in order to begin receiving services at Orion. Staff recognize the reality of a transition phase off the street. While steps are taken to insure that services are not abused, clients are able to accept services as they feel comfortable and prepared to do so without risking rejection and denial of help. They are likewise given a "time out" from the stresses of the street without having to give up those aspects of their lifestyle that provide them with security and relationships. Clients stated that not being able to see their friends led to running away or refusing services. At Orion, they may continue to be involved in the support network they have constructed for themselves. This is particularly important for gay youth who feel accepted at Orion.

6) Clients of Orion are able to receive services without actually having to ask for help. Many clients have developed a strategic sense of pride and resist asking for help because it may signify their inability to care for themselves. We repeatedly had youth tell us that they would not ask for help while at the same time they were utilizing all of the services that were available.

The general tone that is conveyed to Orion clients is neither earthshaking nor revolutionary. They are treated with respect and unconditional acceptance. There is an egalitarian quality to relationships that clients describe as "they make friends with you." The result is an atmosphere that eases the resistance towards services and generates mutual respect. Youth then seem to

value the nurturing and caretaking that is also apparent in their relations with the staff.

Maintaining Links with Services

A youth is met by a drop-in counselor when they first walk into the Orion Center. An assessment of needs and suitability for services is made through informal conversation. The drop-in counselor then makes a referral to a caseworker. The caseworker, again in an informal way, seeks out the new client and begins to develop a relationship with them. Eventually conversations become more focused and deliberate. The goal with each client is to develop a case plan and behavioral contract with the purpose of moving the youth from dependence on street activities and a street lifestyle.

The services first offered to youth are located within the center. Thus the center itself gradually accrues importance to youth and often becomes the central focus of their daily activities. The following services are available: housing referral, meals, counselors, school, medical exams, employment referrals, group projects and recreation activities. These services are tied together by the "drop-in environment". Youths meet friends, socialize and are generally involved in informal and non-directed activities.

The therapeutic value of the time spent in non-directed activity and socializing should not be undervalued. It is in this context that youth seem most receptive to advice and information in contrast to formal and closed "sessions," Orion has generated within its walls a social microcosm in which the needs of youth dominate the activities and attention of the staff. An observer feels the energy of youth expressed in an environment that is sometimes chaotic and sometimes directed, but never without intention.

The intention of Orion is to shift youth from the street to services activities and construction of a non-street lifestyle. In order to succeed they must be able to maintain their relationships with street youth and sustain their involvement in programs that will enable them to live out of the street environment. Below we have described some of the specific attributes of Orion services that tend to maintain youths' link with their programs.

1) Youth trust that Orion staff will take care of them. The experience of youth at Orion is that they will be given whatever they need without the imposition of obligations that they cannot fulfill. If youth need food they are fed, if they need bus money to keep an appointment at Juvenile Court it is given to them. If they have lost their only pair of shoes, they will be given another

pair. If they need help talking to a parent a counselor intercedes. If they are upset, somone will calm them down and make them feel safe. If they want to be left alone, no one will bother them. If they need a second chance, they get one.

2) Clients see Orion staff working for them and generally see them as being on their side. This approach makes provision of services to these youth somewhat easier because it resolves at least two issues. First, the advocate relationship, in contrast to the authoritarian one, allows youth to be more receptive to services. Secondly, they see the inherent limitations of services and seem to have more regard for the few resources that do exist for them.

3) Youth value the time they are given to build relationships in the center before having to become involved in programs. Youth will drop in at Orion on a regular basis--sometimes for as long as six months, before they establish a relationship with a caseworker and begin a case plan. During this time they are testing to see if they are being accepted or not, and often create situations to determine how committed staff are to them.

   This testing time is often a frustrating and discouraging time for staff. We have observed that a number of things are being absorbed and learned by the youths:

   a. They are learning about available programs and how one becomes involved. When they are ready they will have a lot of information and won't appear naive.

   b. They are observing relations and learning how one succeeds in this environment.

   c. They are often practicing behaviors and kinds of interactions that will be acceptable to service staff.

   d. They are making friends in the center which protect them, and provide them with information as their involvement deepens.

   To summarize, during this time youth are learning the culture of the service environment. Once they feel competent to interact and function in this environment they begin to increase their participation.

4) Clients feel better about themselves while they are in Orion. They have positive interactions with adults, they are involved in non-street activities, and they can say

Table 4.1 Factors Precipitating Service Links

Street Related	System Related
Basic Needs; food, shelter, health/medical, legal	Contact through Detention Group
Personal Service: clothes, haircut, personal hygiene	Referral from Agencies
Response to Street Danger: enemy, pimp, gang	Parental Inquiries
Police Referral	
Interaction with Street Peers Involved with Services	
Accidental/Co-incidental	
Outreach Contact	
Need for Safe Place and Respite from Street Pace	

Table 4.2 Factors Maintaining Links With Services

Positive response to need by service staff.
Accepting environment that is safe and non-coercive.
Social interactions with peers in non-street context.
Safety from street behaviors and dangers: enemies, gangs and pimps.
Daily activities; ways to spend time.
Positive feelings about use of time.
Provision of service when rejected by other agencies.
Nurturing/care-taking relationships with adults that are non-sexual and non-exploitive.
Feeling of belonging in own territory.
Acceptance of gay identified youth.
Feeling useful, needed, used time well, non-street accomplishments.
Maintain relations with friends.
Egalitarian atmosphere.
Have experiences to talk about with friends.
People they can talk to about confidences.
No fear of coercion or force.
Control closeness or relationships.
Feeling of normality.

that they are doing things to change their lives. All of these circumstances seem to increase their feelings of self-worth.

5) Youth at Orion feel that they are understood. Street youth live with many secrets that burden them such as experiences in which they were abused, and others in which they exploited and hurt people. An important factor in services is for clients to be able to safely reveal confidences and to still be accepted once their secrets are out.

6) Clients often continue going to Orion because their friends are involved in programs. The support system that youth have developed through street friends functions as a family for them. We have observed that relinking with a client can often be made when Orion continues to be the center of activities for friends.

7) Youth are able to fill their day with activities at Orion. All young people complain that "they have nothing to do" and it is the same for street youth. However, not only does Orion provide a way to spend time, it provides activities that youth do not feel guilty or ashamed of because they are non-street. The school program is particularly successful in this regard. It is designed to offer youth short term assignments with immediate feedback. They never have to start all over.

Adolescence is a time of intense ambiguity. Youth are caught between their needs as children and their progress towards self sufficiency and independent adulthood. Street youth are no different in this respect with the important exception that they have been independent and self-reliant. This fact must be taken into consideration in providing services because youth are not afraid of severing their links. The challenge to services is to provide an environment that balances an egalitarian approach with the nurturing and caretaking still needed by street youth.

Factors Inhibiting Links with Services

We have also begun to understand some of the reasons that youth stop using services. This information was gathered from youth involved in other agencies and from Orion clients reflecting upon their feelings about services over time.

1. Some youth reported either not knowing about Orion or not knowing where it was located. Youth who are involved in street activities outside of downtown, such as in Rainier Valley, cannot easily access Orion. Some of these youth are served by Youth Service Bureaus with a special prostitution

program.

2. Youth who were contacted in detention often lost the Orion cards. They did not know where Orion was located and did not understand the services that were available.

3. Youth reported feeling that there was nothing different about Orion. They expected to be forced into a placement if they went there.

4. A few youth recognized Orion as a service for those who wanted off the streets. They had not made that decision and did not go primarily because they had heard that you HAD to have a counselor. They felt alienated from other counseling experiences or felt that they did not need counseling.

5. Youth perceived Orion clients as beneath them in status, or as "really bad" kids and did not want to associate with them.

6. Youth perceived Orion as "for gays only" and that they would be uncomfortable there.

7. Youth perceived Orion as part of the "downtown scene" and did not want to go there either from fear or wanting to stay away from downtown altogether.

8. Females involved with pimps tend not to use services. Services are threatening to pimps and thus endanger the young women.

9. The ethnic make up and sexual orientation of staff members draws certain types of clients to Orion. At times, Orion has not had a black caseworker. This may make it difficult to attract heterosexual minority youth.

The factors cited above raise several issues regarding approaches to serving street youth. First, there must be consistent and systematic advertising of the service. Orion staff are aware that posters, and other forms of identifying information are needed in strategic locations, such as bus terminals. a lack of funding has prevented Orion from maintaining publicity about its programming.

Second, although youth in other parts of the city need service, it may not be appropriate or responsible to attract youth to the downtown area. These youth are more likely to be better served in their communities.

The provision of service to females involved in prostitution, particularly those with pimps, is an acknowledged problem at Orion. These young women are difficult to reach and it is even more difficult to maintain contact with them. Their lives are

dominated by their pimps and they risk violence if they are caught even carrying the card of a service contact. Pimps of course fear losing their "money maker". These young women are also quite likely to continue street involvement for longer periods of times because of their isolation and dependence. The best access point that Orion has developed to reach this subset of street youth is through the detention center. It is our position (and Orion staff agrees) that female adolescent prostitutes are probably underserved and rectifying this situation is a continuing challenge for Orion. This is true particularly in light of the fact that prostitution programs were originally funded to serve adolescent prostitutes.

Orion counselors are presently carrying a maximum caseload. They do not need more clients. This fact may temper the motivation to intensify outreach in other locales and sustained publicity. At the same time, however, isolated youth may be more vulnerable and in need of assistance. We would recommend that attempts to reach populations of adolescent prostitutes, in particular, be itensified.

Severing Links with Services

The longer a youth has been on the street, the longer they will be on the street. The length of time and intensity of services required increases dramatically for committed youth. Also, the longer youth has been on the street, the more likely they are to return following an exit attempt.

Committment to street life involves an organization of personal and social identity that revolves around the facts of deviance. It is an enculturation process that may not be reversed for some youth, those who have been raised in "street families" for examples. To put this in another perspective, it would be like asking the principal investigator of this project to stop being female, caucasian, and American. In order to change, an individual must completely reorganize their lifestyle, livelihood, and identity. This is a change that few people in any circumstance can accomplish completely.

In the paragraphs that follow we discuss one of the major factors that tend to lead youth to sever their links with services.

Subculture

The "fast life," as the street subculture is called by its members, is the source of the greatest frustration and misunderstanding for service personnel. "The streets always call you back," say youth. Services cannot compete with the pace and intensity of street life. Nor should they. Street youth simply must make a choice between the dangerous excitement of the street

and conventional life, if that is what holds them there.

The pull of the fast life is more complex than a choice of lifestyles. Street youth are returned to street ties for many reasons. Among the reasons are: 1) the need to buy or be given drugs, 2) lonliness and a desire for company who know you and still accept you, 3) the attention and self-reinforcent given by a "paying customer," 4) the need for fast cash, 5) to be part of a social network of activity, and 6) a lack of any other possibilities. There is a sense of security and safety for youth on the street, because even the uncertainties are known.

Youth who have become committed to "the fastlife" of adult prostitution or to a street existence are easily identified. Committed youth view themselves as separate from "downtown" youth. They are connected with adults. They tend to speak, act, dress, and conduct themselves in a manner that can be described as professional in contrast to the behavior of more naive and childlike street youth.

Committed youth do not feel comfortable at Orion because they see it as more appropriate for younger people. Although they need services, they may view them initially as a supplement to their lifestyle rather than as an opportunity for change.

These youth challenge services in a variety of ways. Involvement with these youth is likely to span many years. Their needs and expectations are different which in turn modifies the expectations of services. In order to maintain contact with these youth the role of staff is decidedly different. Their involvement with services may be marginal, but staff may be the only link these youth have outside of their street network. Staff must be more accepting and less judging than with other clients. This is a role that sets up many contradictions and is related to the need for services to have a coherent philosophy towards the unconventional and illegal lifestyles of those they would like to help.

Providing services to committed youth is important, however. We have observed that relationships with staff start these youth on a reflective path that presents the possibility of a different future. More specifically, their crime and drug involvement tends to decrease and they are less prone to violent behavior when they are connected to services.

Summary

The most significant attribute of the service atmosphere at Orion is the sense of safety. Orion's clients are both very needy and very distrustful. Client needs cannot be met without first gaining their trust. Orion has succeeded in conveying an environment of personal and social safety to youth. This sense of

Table 4.3 Factors That Inhibit Link With Services

Do not know about special services.
Do not know where services are located.
Believe you must have a counselor and counseling sessions to go to services.
Not knowing what to expect and what will be required.
Fear of coercion.
Fear staff will call parents, police, or probation officer.
Perception that services provides for people different than yourself--e.g. only bad kids, only gay kids.
Prevented by pimp.

Table 4.4 Factors Precipitating Severing Links With Services

Service inability to provide long-term housing .
Too young to achieve conventional independence.
Discouragement, disillusioned and feeling that "I can't make it."
Feeling that no "progress" is being made.
Misunderstanding with staff over street related behavior.
Abuse of services by lying about age or misuse of resources.
Debilitating problems such as chemical dependency and mental disorders.
Feeling that staff "have given up on me".
Personality conflict with staff.
Client being "too needy" and staff overwhelmed by problems.
Attachment to street life and enculturation into street subculture.
Complications of circumstances because of contradictory service directions supplied by more than one agency at a time.
Negative family contact and fear of being arrested.
Fighting or alienation of friends who use Service.
Referred out and subsequent loss of contact with caseworker and discontinuity of services.
Fear of success.

safety has been accomplished in several ways. Clients feel safe at Orion because the uncomfortable intimacy of a counseling relationship is not immediately forced upon them. Youth control the degree and pace of closeness and self-disclosure. Within Orion they have a temporary respite from street pressures including their own street persona and activity. In summary, clients are safe from what they perceive as coercive measures directed toward immediately changing them.

We have observed that the Orion environment successfully conveys an atmosphere of safety and trust that is appealing to street youth. Eventually, client distrust and discomfort is eased. Relationships with staff are formed and a routine becomes established. At this point clients are able to set aside the defensive posture of their street personae, and are free to see alternatives and employ options.

We conclude that the Orion Center has been successful in attracting street youth to their services. Their success can be measured by: 1) the number of clients who use the center, 2) the minimal acts of violence that take place within or against the center, and 3) the high rate of referrals to the center made by street youths themselves.

The Orion program of SYCS has been successful in its approach to contacting and attracting its target population to services. This is a success that deserves recognition and acclaimation. The principles of this success are a service model based on outreach and a contact environment that conveys safety and trust. This aspect of the Orion model is one we would recommend other programs duplicate.

The success of Orion is, however, qualifed by two factors. First, Orion does not serve the entire street youth population. Older delinquent males and female prostitutes who are highly enculturated into the adult "fast life" subculture are not easily served by Orion. Second, Orion's ability to contact, attract, and involve a large number of street youth to its service environment does not necessarily translate into successful exits from the street. As we will discuss in the remainder of this report, the success of Orion clients is related to individual client history, and the style of service delivery that follows initial contact and trust building. What happens to street youth involved in services over time is the focus of the next chapter.

Resource Knowledge

The following lists indicate the subjects' knowledge of resources available to them. The numbers reflect the frequency that a particular resource was cited as known to be available. The numbers do not in all cases reflect usage. However they do suggest a pattern of resource knowledge and use.

What Resources Are Available for Kids?

Shelter	Responses	Shelter	Responses
Orion	23	Tricking (note 1)	5
YCMA	17	Stay with trick	2
DSHS	10	Friends	4
Beacon Hill Shelter	9	Motel	3
Dismas	6	Relatives/Parents	3
1st Ave. Service Center	2	Cars	1
Chaplin Center	1	Boyfriends	1
Sunshine Inn	1	Bus	1
Seven Seas Hotel	1	24 hour coffee shop	1
St. Frances House	1	Park benches	1
New Beginnings	1	Walk around	1
Crisis Center	1	Under bridges	1
Issaquah	1		

San Francisco Shelters:

Larkin Street	2
Diamond Street	1
YMCA	1

The following are descriptive statements by subjects regarding shelter services for youth:

DSHS: If you are interested in getting off the street you could go to DSHS. And they usually are not worth the trouble. WHY IS THAT: Cuz they are not usually helpful. They just make you feel worse. They make you feel like a piece of trash and then you have to do what they say. And what your parents say. I hate them.

BRIDGE: They said it was a receiving home, but it was like a group home and it was terrible. The kids there were really angry. They were so angry because a lot of them had been sexually abused when they were younger and they were just against people.

LARKIN STREET (SAN FRANCISCO): I love the rap group. They should have a rap group every night.

MISSIONS: I've only spent a night at the mission. It was ugly and I'll never go back again.

FOOD

Orion	24	Street Kids USA Van	1
Dismas	12	Millionaire Club	1
Sunshine Inn	4	Missions	1
Food Band	4	Restaurant	5
Indian Center	2	Friends	3
1st Ave. Service Center	2	Steal	3
DSHS	1	Prostitution	2
Salvation Army	1	Dumpster	1
Chaplain Center	1		

San Francisco Food:

Larkin Street	1
Diamond Street	1
St. Anthonys	1

CLOTHING

Orion	12	Clothing Bank	1
Salvation Army	4	Chaplain Center	1
Dismas	3	Service Center	1
Indian Center	2	Steal	4
Churches	2	Trick and buy	3
Goodwill	2	Friends	3
Market St. Youth Center	1	Parents	1

San Francisco Clothing:

Diamond Street	1
Hospitality	1
Huckleberry	1

MEDICAL SERVICES

Free Clinics	12	Hospitals	16
Orion	4	Medical Coupons	2
Pike Market Clinic	3	Parents	2
Georgetown Dental Medical	2	Juvie	1
1st & Virginia Clinic	1		

MONEY

Dismas	1	Trick	10
Orion	1	Drugs	6
Indian Center	1	Steal	5
Parents	4	Panhandle	3
Job	4	Meter Pick	1
Bank Account	1	Sugar Daddy	1
Boyfriend	1		

COMPANIONSHIP AND FRIENDS

Orion	13	Monastery	11
Dismas	4	Downtown	11
Sonshine Inn	1	Dates (tricks)	1
1st Ave. Service Center	1	Chaplain Center	1
Issaquah	1	Kent	1
Punk Clubs	1	Foster Mother	1
School	1	Malls	1
Arnolds	1	Seattle	1
Bellevue	1		

COUNSELING

Orion	28	Church	1
Dismas	4	Group Home	1
Beacon Hill Shelter	3	Crisis Clinic	1
Y - Shelter	2	Mental Health Center	1
Mt. Baker	2	Probation Officer	1
Youth Advocates	1	East Side Alcohol Ctr.	1
DSHS	1	Kent counselor	1
Pike Mkt. Medical Clinic	1		

EMPLOYMENT

Orion	10	Millionaires Club	1
YMCA	1	Youth Advocates	1
Welfare	1	Youth Employment Agency	1
Dismas	1	Job Corps	1

SCHOOL

Orion	15	Public	3
Dismas	1	Colleges	3
SOIC	1	Alternative	3
Youth Center	1		

Alternative schools: But I didn't want to go to an alternative school. . . because I'm trying to get off the streets and they want to stick me in a school where all the street kids go.

HELP OFF THE STREETS

Orion	17	YMCA	2
Dismas	9	Chaplain Center	1
DSHS	4		

I need to count on myself a lot. There are not any agencies that can do it for me.

The Orion Center will help you get off the street by giving you a place to stay. But nobody, no matter how good the program is, can get somebody off the street until they are ready to get off the street.

No, nobody helps you leave the street. Unless you want to. If you want to leave, you can. But if you need help they'll help... (Dismas)

(DSHS) They treat you like dirt, they don't do nothing for ycu... they don't care.

SERVICES: Orion Center (Interview 1)

A. What services did you think the agency would offer?

Shelter - 5
Food - 8
Counseling - 6
School - 4
Job - 1
Hangout - 3
Help - 1
Help home - 1
Friends - 1
Clothing - 2
Didn't know - 5

B. What services did they offer?

Counseling - 9
Housing - 0
Food - 9
Job - 2
School - 7
Hangout - 5
Medica - 1
Friends - 2
Haircut - 1
Clothing - 2
Support - 1
Anything I really needed and wasn't getting
Getting me to a place where I could start my life

C. Were you ready to take advantage of the services offered?

Not the first time - 2
Yes - 6
I was real ill, yes
I was wary, it was hard to take
Didn't need services
I felt like it was charity
No I just went because of friend

D. What did they do for you?

Food - 3
HOusing - 4
Hangout - 2
Counseling - 5
Survival - 1
Job - 1
School - 1
Medical - 1
Support - 4
Friends - 1
Informing everyone about whats going on
Talked to counselor and he informed me of different programs. Didn't try to push them on me
Helped me get to know people

E. What didn't they do for you

Nothing - 11
pushing - 1
Beating around bush - 1
Closed sunday - 1
Workshop - 1
Longer hours and crisis line - 1
Wouldn't let me come whenever because I'm at the shelter

F. What specific actions did they ask you to take

None - 10
Just suggestions - 2
They respected me. Didn't ask me to change.
Get a job and get it together - 2
Stay out of trouble
Go into a home, stay at y
certain meetings

G. Did you do these

N/A - 7
No - 1
Yes - 2
In direction

H. Did involvement in service mean avoiding something you did not want to do?

no - 10
Streets
Boredom
Prostitution

I. What did you like about the services?

Friendly people - 3
Easy to get toknow
Second home
They are open to you
friends
Help with anything you need help with
outgoing
attention
atmosphere
staff
warm
Comfortable
Drop in

J. What did you dislike about them

Nothing - 7
Don't discipline kids enough
Atmosphere, could be warmer
Food could be better
Hours
Couldn't help when in DSHS Care
Too many rumors, gossip
Too much concentration on gays and prostitutes
One of the counselors

K. Did service help you leave the street?

Helped contact parents and talk to them
referrals
Shelter, counseling referals
Education
In long term sense
Counseling
Shelter
No - 3
Haven't used services
I'm hard headed, I'm not really ready.
I left on my own

L. How did you feel about yourself when receiving services

Enjoy
Difficult
Same
Low class tramp
At first low, now a lot better
Good, like I'm accomplishing something every day
Real good, somebody cares
Good, positive self image
good friends here, staff who care
lucky, don't have to be on street
good, doing myself a favor
accepted most of the time
Better, don't have to sleep with people to get stuff, but worse because dependent

M. Under what circumstances would the agency no longer provide you with services?

Sell dope in here
Violent/hurt someone - 3
damage things
DSHS - 2
Fighting - 2
Go when I'm not supposed to
Prostitute when staying in shelter
I'm not sure, if they did I'd probably get really mad
If they knew you were lying, but even then, they are all softies.

SERVICES S.E.Y.S.B. (Interview 1)

(incomplete interview)

A. What services did you think the agency would offer?

I didn't know

B. What services did they offer?

Counseling
Job

C. Were you ready to take advantage of services offered?

Yeah

E. What didn't they do

Nothing

F. What specific actions did they ask you to take

Make appointments. Call if can't come in.

G. Did you do them

yes

H. Did involvement in service mean avoiding something you did not want to do?

no

J. What did you dislike about them?

nothing

M. Under what circumstance would the agency no longer provide you with services?

Nothing

SERVICES Y-Shelter (Interview 1)

(incomplete interview)

A. What services did you think the agency would offer?

Place to stay

B. What services did they offer?

Place to stay and counseling

C. Were you ready to take advantage of services offered?

yes

E. What didn't they do?

nothing

F. What specific actions did they ask you to take

don't run

G. Did you do them

not always

SERVICES: New Horizons (Interview 1)

A. What services did you think the agency would offer?

I didn't know
I thought they were a police connection at first
To hang out. Its like a zoo.
Food

B. What services did they offer?

Food
Clothing
Swimming
They tried to get me to stay away from J, get off streets, quit dope.
I just about beat that counselor up.

C. Were you ready to take advantage of services offered?

Yes
I used them. I destroyed things on purpose

D. What did they do for you

Food - 2
Job
Warmth
Resume help
Clothes
Counseling
They bitched at me alot. They made me so angry.

E. What didn't they do

Nothing
More counseling
Open more hours
They never did anything that made me notice very much. Just a place to drop J (boyfriend/pimp) off while I was making money.

F. What specific actions did they ask you to take

None - 2
Quit dope, hoing, leave Boyfriend/Pimp. Sell Ouigi board to one of staff.

G. Did you do them

no
N/A - 2

H. Did involvement in service mean avoiding something you didn't want to do?

No - 2
It would have if I would have listened to them. No dope, no monestary, no this or that.

I. What did you like about the services

Nice
On street downtown. Can go in and out
Atmosphere
They baby sat for me

J. What did you dislike about them

Need to make more homey, cozy.
Rules
They were nosey
Strict

K. Did service help you leave the street

Yes - relationships

L. How did you feel about yourself when receiving services?

Better - 2
Shitty.

M. Under what circumstance would the agency no longer provide you with services?

Fight
I don't know. I got away with murder in that place. I was slamming dope in the bathroom.

SERVICES: The Shelter (Interview 1)

A. What services did you think the agency would offer?

Counseling - 5
Housing - 4
Structure - 1
Foster home - 1
Keep off Streets - 1
Food - 3
Cigarettes - 1
Clothes - 1
Stay alive - 1
Didn't know - 1
Prepare for LTS - 1
Anticipated bad - 1

B. What Services did they offer?

Counseling - 4
Housing - 4
Foster home - 2
Cigarettes - 2
Keep off Streets - 1
Stay Alive - 1
Didn't want help - 1

C. Were you ready to take advantage of services offered?

Yes - 5
No - 2

Its fun...Went so I could go to foster home...More or less.

D. What did they do for you?

Establish good relationship with my parents
Caring
Nothing
Acceptance
Someone to talk to
Talk about dad
Got foster home
Food
Shelter

E. What didn't they do?

Need more time
Nothing - 3
Rules bad
Too strict - 2
Need more freedom - 3
Food bad

F. What specific actions did they ask you to take?

None - 3
Stay here and try to do better
Chores - 3
Listen
Groups
Activities
School
Follow rules
Not go downtown
Not see friends
Get along

G. Did you do them?

Yes - 7
N/A - 1

H. Did involvement in service mean avoiding somehing you did not want to do?

Detention - 2
Friends, cause I can't leave
Drugs
Streets
Protection from date and pimp
No - 3

I. What did you like about the services?

Kids friendly
Staff
Caring
Friends being taken care of
Its nice to kick back and relax withour as much responsibility
No bars on windows
Nice people
Safe
Everything
Soft beds

J. What did you dislike about them?

Can't go to bank and get my money, have to earn it here
Nothing - 5
One of staff
Lack of freedom
Not going out
Staff bitchy. Too demanding, inconsistent
Food terrible

K. Did service help you leave the street?

Improve situation at home.
Place to stay, survival.
Yes, kept in placement
Yes - 2
I had no choice
No, I don't need help. I've done that
N/A

L. How did you feel about yourself when receiving services?

Good - 2
A little better
Better than when I was on street
Great
Better - 2

M. Under what circumstances would the agency no longer provide you with services?

Drug use
Negative attitude, won't participate
They never turn people away
Run away - 3
Turn 18 years
Nothing
Assault/violence
Kicked out of school

CHAPTER 5

THE CONTEXT OF SERVICE DELIVERY

Introduction

One morning in late August, Benny appeared at the Orion center. He was well known there, he had been a street kid for years. For this, Benny was a little famous--he thought--having starred in the documentary Streetwise. Benny was even successful, he had left the streets several months ago. That's why the staff were surprised to see him this day.

Benny had a way of grabbing the starring role. A child treatment center had at first refused to admit him because of his street experience. Advocacy from Orion helped him to get admitted and Benny was their star success. He volunteered for drug and alcohol treatment. Benny stopped drinking, found a job, moved out of the city, and attended Alcoholics Anonymous regularly. But today, Benny seemed undone--he was confused and desparate. He was frightening to be near.

While still a child, Benny had been taken from an abusive mother. Caseworkers described him as "repeatedly traumatized." One trauma seemed to always be with Benny. While in foster care, he was raped several times by the foster father.

Away from the streets, Benny felt alone and unsafe with his "success." His friends didn't understand what had happened to him. He had to keep his personal history a secret. Lonliness brought Benny back to the streets, to his home and to his private hell. Now, Benny believed that he could never leave the streets. His fear deepened and overwhelmed him. Today, he had a psychotic episode at Orion.

Two female staff members talked to Benny in a room, alone. Six hour passed. They did not fear for their safety, but they knew they could not help him. They were afraid for him, Benny wanted to die.

The Staff decided to call the Mental Health Professionals , but first, the police arrived. They handcuffed Benny, then he was strapped on a stretcher in front of his friends at Orion. The staff did not know Benny would be treated this way. They had not been afraid for themselves, he was not threatening.

Benny felt betrayed, again. He pleaded his innocence to past victimization. As they took him away to a locked ward, he screamed over and over again, "I am not a faggot. You did this to me. I am not a faggot."

Benny's plight is the human tragedy that the staff of street youth agencies face daily. In the last section, we described the services offered by agencies. In this section we describe the context in which staff try to provide services. The reader will note that the information presented in several parts of this chapter is clearly impressionistic. Our analyses is based largely on the process of participant-observation. While some may disagree with the point of view we express, our intention is to raise the issues for subsequent dialogue.

Organizational Context

Street youth agencies, like most non-profits, rely on mixed sources of funding. They depend on the cyclical largess of public and private monies. The resource level of agencies depends upon general economic conditions, (and the perception of those conditions) as well as the philosophical position of those in power toward the "have-nots".

The delivery of social services is maintained in our society under richer or poor conditions, but always with deep ambivalence. A majority of the time and energy of agency administrators is spent acquiring resources and justifying their existence. Program planning and assessment are often shaped, not by client needs, but funding constraints and requisite responses to safeguard public trust.

Street youth agencies often find themselves in Catch-22 circumstances. Quality management and programming requires stable growth, but they do not have control over their resources. The needs of the target population requires flexibility in agency response, but funding is unpredictable. Quality service delivery requires autonomy in decision-making, but funds are generally restricted. While many of these controls are obviously necessary, striking a productive balance is difficult.

Agencies, for the most part, have very little control over their environment. Yet management styles and programs operate within an organizational form that belies the reality. The street youth agencies observed in this research were most closely organized according to the Human Relations Model type (Hall and Quinn 1985). The primary value in this organizational type is human committment. Organizational performance is evaluated by criteria that includes group cohesion, morale, and the development and value of human resources. However, the human relations model is at odds with the supra-system organization.

The organizational goals of street youth agencies are in many respects discordant with the cultural context in which they operate and are governed. The maintenance of non-profit agencies for the provision of social services seems too often to be working against the forces of mother nature. Administrators must keep a

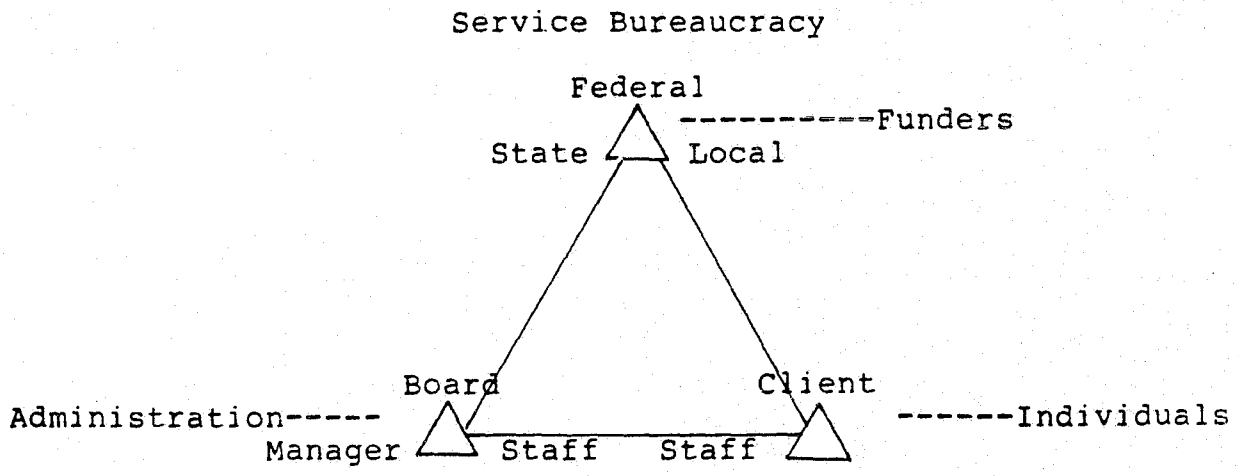
perspective on these contradictions. They must see the paradoxical as the core of a dynamic tension based on competing values. Needless to say this is a difficult and tiring experience.

We have observed how the conditions and circumstances of street youth agencies reflect the character of the people they serve. Marginal agencies have emerged to serve youth at the margins of society. Agencies require stability to be effective for the same reasons youth need stability to develop into functioning adults.

It is clear that constant fear over funding is debilitating. But another paradox presents itself. Bureaucratization of services destroys the flexibility and creativity necessary to respond to street youth. Institutionalized services by state child welfare services and the juvenile justice systems are obvious examples. However, our participation and experience with street youth agencies suggests that the creative energy emerging from the dynamic tension of their paradoxical situation is a bit out of balance.

If there is a concensus as to need and the appropriate response to that need, a funding committment for basic resources should be made. This committment should cover a period of time that allows for planning, implementation, and evaluation prior to another funding cycle. An approach to funding basic services for a recognized planning period would also be, simply, more fair to staff.

There is also a dynamic tension apparent between the external service bureaucracy, agency administration, and individual service providers.



This tension registers between conflict and creativity. Staff providing service to street youth must function (as do youth) within a context of uncertainty. In order to survive in their jobs and work well with youth, they must have a high tolerance for ambiguity. Most staff move between accepting ambiguity as an opportunity to think and act independently, to perceiving it as danger and a threat to their job security and professional integrity.

Ambiguity of Service Context

The existing service context is one that breeds insecurity and frustration as well as movement and creativity. Agencies serve "marginal people" and find themselves in situations where the agencies are perceived as marginal. In order to serve the population they must remain distinct from the style and tone of "traditional" services. At the same time, the stress level is so high in these agencies that no one can expect trained and experienced staff to remain without consideration for their professional needs.

The professional hopes of individual staff is an important dimension that affects service delivery. The staff of street youth agencies are often under 30 and are beginning their careers. Opportunities for advancement and professional growth are limited in agency environments in which there is not enough control to provide predictable planning and growth. The quality of service is inevitably affected.

In the following section we have included a descriptive display of some of the major events that effect both staff and services. We have included this information to broaden the understanding of the context in which services must operate. As the reader will note, many of the difficulties affecting street youth agencies arise from the system of providing services through non-profit agencies. These agencies are dependent on funding cycles and levels that are subject to political winds and windfalls.

As one might guess, the system for providing services often puts contradictory expectations upon agencies. Funding bureaucracies often treat social problems as if they were hmogeneous and constant. Agencies must maintain funding and meet guidelines while social needs are rapidly changing. Bureaucracies, by nature, do not respond to change rapidly. Agencies trying to offer services must risk losing funding or becoming irrelevant.

In Table 5.1 (Events Affecting Service Delivery) we have listed some of the external and internal forces that affect both staff and service delivery. We have included this chart because it reflects the stresses generally experienced by non-profit social service agencies. We do not suggest that SYCS is unique in any way, nor is this information present to bare their internal problems. Outsiders often simply do not understand the pressure under which agencies operate. These are some of the facts of life for non-profit agencies. The organizational difficulties of growth, expansion and short-term funding lead them to some of the same difficulties youth have in attempting to sustain stability in a context of limited resources.

In Tables 5.1 and 5.2 we have listed some of the major issues that must be balanced by agencies. These are issues that effect agency stability and individual service needs.

Staff

The expectations for successful services may be considered from at least two points of view. Most often, the focus is on realistic expectations for clients. In this section we discuss the expectations placed on staff working with street youth.

The work of service providers is taxing physically and emotionally. There are great demands placed upon staff from many directions to succeed with clients. The context in which staff work and the philosophy they bring to their work affects services. We have written this section because we feel it is important to have an understanding of the complexity and multi-dimensions of the work they do. We believe that in many ways, staff are overburdened by personal and professional expectations. Our recommendations for resolving some of the dilemmas for staff are discussed further in the final chapters of this report.

There are three issues for staff that we believe have a particularly strong impact on service delivery. We are interested in the influence on services arising from: 1) working with youth whose outcomes are not in sight, 2) working with a population whose lifestyle and identity are perceived as illegal and immoral, and 3) providing a context in which street youth will respond to services.

Working with street youth means facing, on a daily basis, a configuration of social and psychological factors that generate contradictions for staff at every turn. They are surrounded by the exhilaration and energy of youth that is only equaled by the despair they also feel. Staff must create a sense of future possibilities, but in a context of limited resources. They see involvement and progress in youth that is often thwarted by fear, and find themself, with their clients, starting over. Staff must

Table 5.1 Context of Events Affecting Services

Event	Effect on Staff	Effect on Service
SYCS programs in competition with each other for funding from same source.	Alienation between staff of shelter and Orion.	Orion clients not housed with-in agency shelter program.
(Funding issue resolved/ new problem among staff emerges)		
Interagency debate over appropriate target population. Conflict of goals and treatment philosophy. Programs work at cross-purposes.	Shelter is original service of SYCS for first time runaways. Orion street youth population demands different service and resources. Confusion and bitterness among staff as to purpose and value.	Staff from each program tend not to use services and resources of others.
Management decisions and reorganization clarifies and resolves issues. Integration of two programs through administrative reorganization. At same time reduction of funding of several sources.	Temporary increase of work load because of lost positions. Staff fears about agency stability and community reputation.	Shelter closed for 1 month to accomodate reorganization, restaffing, and renovations. Part of service - crisis residential care dropped because of cost. Increased workload for staff means less client interaction.

Table 5.1 (Continued) Context of Events Affecting Services

Event	Effect on Staff	Effect on Service
Shelter reopens under reorganized administrative management plan. SYCS receives increased local & state funding support. Stability & perceptory stability returns.	Staff changes; resignations, new staff hired, in-house promotions. Realignment of internal relations. Crisis orientation lifts.	Shelter used on regular basis for transition care for Orion clients. Full attention to services & assessment of programs. Client numbers increase.
Closure of Monastery - infamous youth disco & ascendancy of Broadway & University District as centers of youth culture.	Confusion around outreach areas of operation & how to identify target (needy) population of youth.	Orion operations cetner in-house & outreach contacts decrease. Population characteristics of Orion begin to change. At-risk youth difficult to find & are alienated from newly emerging street youth styles (punk culture).
Increase of road improvement & construction projects downtown.	Staff places less importance on outreach - wait for youth to come in. Reassessment of "target population" & outreach methods.	At-risk street youth further displaced & outreach difficult. Prostitution population seems lost & is now spread throughout the city. Increased focus on detention contacts. Attempt to develop diversion program within detention.

Table 5.1 (Continued) Context of Events Affecting Services

Event	Effect on Staff	Effect on Service
Increase of Police Sweeps of street youth.	Youth are increasingly difficult to contact through outreach, staff withdraw. Increased discussion of target population. Staff increases investment in exploited street youth population. Criminal status of youth forces staff to work around the law and legal system.	Services become more centered at Orion. Clients served are those who come in the door. Population changes to punk youth (Blockheads). Other street youth and staff fear they will take over the center. Criminal status of youth affects trust in services and generally disrupts ability to proceed with core plans.
Increased public concerns about AIDS	Intense discussion on policy, confidentiality and how AIDS affect treatment philosophy. Policy developed and implemented. Staff training by experts in area and public health associates.	Clients, particularly those perceived as at-risk, receive increased attention in terms of information, counseling, and advocacy. AIDS center of attention.
Cyclical attention from media.	Staff must balance time for Media demands with casework. DP agreements on effect of media exposure on clients and value of attention to maintain support of agency.	Exposure to media gives client expectation that life will change and adds pressure upon them to change because of public attention. Exposure sometimes changes relationship between clients and staff and other clients due to attention. Often disappointment and cynicism - results become clients do not see useful purpose to media attention.

Table 5.1 (Continued) Context of Events Affecting Services

Event	Effect on Staff	Effect on Service
Use of State DSHS resources for placements.	State regulations and requirements resume high energy output by staff to use state placement resources. Requirements often at odds with client needs. Staff in position of split loyalty between SYCS administration and client conflicts.	State resources used but some youth avoid Orion because fear DSHS placement or they no longer want to go through the complex process. Lack of flexibility leaves staff no room to work with some youth.
Federal Resources.	Basic funding support for majority of administration and staff.	Yearly funding cycle and changes in amount makes planning difficult. Short term planning results in abrupt changes and affects staff morale. Morale affects energy level and commitment to clients.

Table 5.2

Administration of Services Through Bureaucracy	Administration of Services To The Individual
Publicity/Media to educate public, sustain funding	Sensationalizing and exploiting youth and staff
DSHS - State housing placements - sole resource. Have been supportive of innovative and non-traditional placements.	Youth distrustful and alienated from system because of coercion and bad placement. Distrust SYCS staff working with system.
Juvenile Justice System/ Detention provides contact point for encultured female prostitutes/ Resources for diversion and contact with community resources.	SYCS attempting to provide service to youth viewed as both offender and victim. Must work with and against Juvenile System.
Service focus on centralized activities at Orion - diminish chaos and increase smooth administrative flow of services and increased efficiency. Bureaucratization and organization around comfort of staff.	Flexible, creative and innovative energy coming from tension and drama of new services and focus on needs of client.

measure everything they say and do against the fragile egos and self concepts of their clients, yet be ready to take the necessary risks for change.

1) Working with youth is always challenging, but working with street youth is doubly so. Adolescence is a life stage in which development and socialization is at a critical juncture. Staff working with street youth are faced with helping youth finish developmental and socialization processes. In doing so, however, they are not continuing an established path, but changing and revising lifestyles and identities. Outsiders often fail to appreciate how enormous the task is of working with street youth.

Working with youth presents special problems for staff with regard to demonstrating the efficiency of their services to themselves and to the public. It is difficult to measure the subtle and internal shifts a youth may be experiencing. The outcome of your efforts is often not in sight. The fact of working with youth further implies long term involvement. The reality for services to street youth is that they are providing parenting and are raising youth. Staff become the significant adults in the developmental years of these adolescents. The major socializing institutions of our culture, family and school, have failed or have been insufficient agents in the lives of street youth. Orion staff are in effect providing what we call tertiary socialization. Orion provides the third and final line of positive socialization for normal integration into the adult world.

The fact of the parenting role Orion staff play is not lost on Orion clients. Many of them consider Orion as their home both literally and figuratively. The needs of street youth place demands on staff that are in contrast to the traditional expectation of services filling specific and short term needs. In this parenting context, youth need time to grow, staff must perceive their role in a different manner professionally, and the public cannot expect youth to mature overnight and become self-sufficient. The community must decide if they will support an agency whose role is by default, that of a parent. The community must answer the question, do these adolescents also have the right to grow and develop in a nurturing environment? The need for long term placements only underscores this point.

2. Street youth are not a homogeneous population. They differ with regard to age, ethnicity, gender, delinquent styles, and behavioral styles. Orion has focused on street youth, male and female who tend to be involved in prostitution. They have been subject to some criticism, and it is an issue of internal debate as well, because of their general exclusion of male delinquent street youth. These youth tend to be more likely involved in violent crime, pimping, and aggressive behavior, but still need services. At this point we will discuss some of the

implications for staff generated by the provision of services to youth involved in prostitution.

Prostitutes are a deeply stigmatized population who are viewed as both criminal and illegal persons. Michel Foucault, in his masterful work, The History of Sexuality, described the emergence of a category of persons whose social identity was based on the facts of their involvement in culturally defined sexual deviance. Both prostitutes and homosexuals are perceived as socially differentiated species. Youth who are involved in prostitution, gay identified, and in many cases for males, both prostitutes and gay, have internalized the definitions presented to them by the world. Services to these youths take place in a context in which moral ambivalence is shared by the youth, the staff who serve them, and the community that supports the agency.

Working with street youth successfully requires staff to undergo a constant process of self reflection, scrutiny of personal values, and creating a coherent philosophical base from which they may guide youth. The success of staff in this respect varies and seems to require regular opportunities for discussion in which they feel safe to reveal their prejudices and questions. Staff trainings are given priority at Orion. The principal investigator admits to a long held bias in this area. We would like to make the point, however, that the need to address the personal reactions of staff to sexuality issues never ends. The assumption that staff values are clear and consistent with agency goals should never be made.

Youth and staff must also face the moral ambivalence of the community in which they live and work. It is difficult to engender support for youth who are involved in criminal activity that is further stigmatized by sexual immorality. If staff are not clear about their views, agency support may be undercut. The subtle and complex psychology of prostitution provides an example. The principal investigator's previous research on prostitution indicates that in some respects prostituting may be viewed as a healthy choice with some therapeutic value. In the case of individuals who have been sexually abused, prostitution allows them to create situations in which they have control over who has sexual access to them. This point can be made in therapy to assist self understanding and diffuse internalized guilt, however if prostitution continues, another set of problems emerge. Staff may recognize the need to suppress their directive to "stop tricking" for therapeutic reasons that the community may find difficult to tolerate.

Staff who work with youth involved in prostitution face innumerable contradictions that require carefully made choices that vary with each situation. One final example is that of adolescent prostitutes as both victim and offender. Over the past decade, the public has become more aware of the physical and

sexual abuse characterizing the backgrounds of street youth. In fact services to this specific delinquent population have been generated from the related awareness and concern over child abuse. Despite their victim status, youth as young as 10 and 11 years old are arrested for prostitution. This continues to occur despite the existence of a state law that deems soliciting of a minor for prostitution a felony. The victim/offender status confuses clients and confounds the delivery of services.

3. Orion staff work with youth who have known nothing but rejection. They are distrustful of helpers and have experienced physical violations and disruption of developmental processes. They are involved in illegal activity that is also perceived as immoral and reflective of a pathological condition rather than social and cultural forces. Staff are challenged to create an environment in which these youth will respond, accept services, be freed to perceive alternatives and to feel safe to risk changing. The dilemmas are recognized by Orion clients. We have noted that some youth hide activity, such as prostitution, from staff. This is partially due to their need to be accepted, to be perceived as making progress, and to not be rejected from services. But, they also recognize the implications of the contradictions inherent in serving them. We have also observed youth responding in a way that they interpret as protecting staff from the inescapable contradictions of their reality. The challenge to the community and to services is to allow a creative and independent response in a culture that bureaucraticizes social services.

"Frank on Tuesday and Wednesday"

In this section we present a description of the daily routine of an Orion caseworker. The number of agencies, systems, and areas of knowledge that a caseworker must be familiar with and have the skills to artfully handle is impressive. In addition, staff must interact with individuals whose personalities and lifestyle range from 14 year old delinquents to seasoned politicians and the media.

Tuesday

8:30 -- Frank picks up his client, Brad, at The Shelter and takes him to juvenile court for at 10:00 dependency hearing. Frank takes the extra time to prepare Brad for the court events.

10:00 -- Brad's case goes before the judge who asks for a routine fact-finding. A new court date is set. Frank and Brad have spent one half hour in court. Brad does not fully understand what has happened.

11:00 -- Frank takes Brad to lunch and spends the time explaining the state and legal process involved for Brad to be

placed in a foster home. Part of this conversation includes a discussion of Brad's changing relationship with Orion once he is placed.

12:30 -- Frank takes Brad to visit his potential foster parent, who is now hospitalized with pneumonia. The illness is not too serious and should not affect Brad's placement.

1:30 -- Frank and Brad return to Orion. Brad goes to employment training at Orion that is part of a dramatic production.

Frank's Afternoon -- A client of 2 years, Barry drops-in to talk to Frank. Barry's housing is haphazard and unstable. Frank is directive about Barry not following through with plans and committments for obtaining stable housing and for appointments to secure SSI payments. Barry is not keeping appointments, nor is he attending school, part of his contract with Orion. He is continuing to prostitute and use drugs daily. Frank counsels Barry until about 2:30.

2:30 -- Frank begins paperwork. Evaluation forms and case logs must be kept and continually updated on each client. Client advocacy with various state systems likewise involves considerable paperwork. In addition, each client has a treatment plan that must be documented, and often revised.

Paper work is intermittently interrupted by clients dropping in. Caseworkers are always available. Dona can no longer live with friends and is trying to rent an apartment. The phone rings, R.B. has finished an in-house drug program. He wants to separate from Orion but maintain contact with Frank. They agree to see each other by appointment outside the center, and for R.B. to continue in the gay support group.

Next, Frank must call Catholic Community Services and co-ordinate with their staff about a dependency hearing for another client.

Barbara comes in the door and sits down. She is pregnant and has no place to live. Frank contacts several agencies and coordinates emergency housing and some emergency money through Catholic Community Services. He then sets up an appointment for pregnancy counseling.

Tony has been trying to talk to Frank all afternoon. He finally finds Frank off the phone and discusses his medical problem with him. Tony has venereal warts and Frank gives him some basic information and then discusses the process for using the health practitioner at Orion and the other free medical clinics. Frank continues to talk with Tony about how he relates to others in the center and his tendency to create a victim role for himself.

Barry comes back, gives Frank a hug and asks for a cigarette.

5:00 -- Frank walks around the center and makes himself available to youth for casual and crisis interactions. He talks with staff about how individual kids are doing, and issues around the center's operation. He takes care of some paperwork, makes some copies of forms and helps office staff by covering phones for a few minutes.

6:00 -- Frank goes back to his desk and prepares for a family counseling session with Glenda who is pregnant. They discuss her education needs, future plans, and the quality of interactions with her baby.

6:30 -- Frank meets with a college student who wants to volunteer at Orion. They discuss his experience and the needs at Orion.

7:00 -- It is time for outreach work out of the center. Tonight, rather than going out on the street, he visits several clients who are being held in detention.

Wednesday

9:00 -- Frank walks in the door at Orion and checks his box for messages. There are four phone calls he must return. One is about licensing a foster home for Brad. The second is from the YMCA to let him know there will not be any beds available in the transition program until the end of the month. The third call is from staff at The Shelter who are giving him an update on court dates for a client.

Frank returns the calls, gets a cup of coffee and has a cigarette.

9:30 -- Frank begins some paperwork. He reviews treatment plans of 3 clients and writes new ones. He then completes updates on 3 more clients, makes copies and files everything.

The phone starts ringing for Frank. Shelter staff are wondering about the status of foster care for 2 clients housed there. Another youth has used up the 2 week time limit and needs an extension. The YWCA calls about Danny who is dressing like a drag queen and disrupting school--can Frank talk to him. Frank corners Danny in the hallway at Orion, and he agrees to tone down his clothing.

Two more clients have come in to talk to Frank, but he was on the phone. They left the building and Frank returned to his paperwork.

It is now 2:00. Frank leaves the building with two other staff members for lunch. At lunch they discuss arrangements for the staff retreat and the problems of certain clients. One client has made suicidal gestures in the center. Another has run through every housing option and has no place to go.

3:00 -- Frank returns to Orion. He calls the YMCA to get a bed for the night for a client. Catholic Community Services calls and the foster care program has been put on hold for a client because of court problems.

4:00 -- Frank has to finish an affidavit for a dependency hearing. He goes to another office hoping not to be disturbed. He finishes the report and completes other paperwork.

5:00 -- Noting how noisy it is, Frank has a cup of coffee and a cigarette. He leaves Orion and takes the court report to the appropriate agency. He is finished for the day.

Below we have listed the agencies that Frank was in contact with over a two day period. Staff must have knowledge about the workings of many more systems and be able to communicate with their staff if they are to work effectively with SYCS clients.

Seattle Youth and Community Services
- Orion
- The Shelter

Catholic Community Services
YMCA
King County Department of Youth Services
- Detention
- Probation
- Juvenile Court

Department of Social and Health Services
- Children's Services (Foster Care, Children's Protective Services, Welfare)

Harborview Medical Center
Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Program, STD Clinic, AIDS Clinic
Free Medical Clinics
Mental Health Agencies
Social Security Administration
Drug and Alcohol Programs

Below we have listed all the different problems and issues that a staff member must confront and cope with in an average day.

General Areas of Knowledge

Foster Care -- mediating the relationships, counseling and advocacy for clients, awareness of regulations and licensing requirements.
Housing -- knowledge of resources, limits, constraints, and requirements, and how to manipulate the system.
Emergency Needs -- resources for food, money and physical and mental health needs.
Juvenile Court -- procedures and requirements for dependency issues to criminal procedures.
Therapy and Counseling -- skills in a variety of settings--e.g. on the street, in detention, group and one-on-one.
Educational Resources -- knowledge of alternatives and requirements and how to make contact.
State Systems -- Department of Social and Health Services, Social Security, Children's Protective Services, Juvenile Rehabilitation.
Drug and Alcohol -- knowledge of symptoms, characteristics and substances, resources, requirements and contracts.
Public and Media -- response to interviews, publicity, requests for information, and student projects.

Daily Issues (Examples from "Frank Days")

Chemical Dependency
Foster Care
Housing Needs
Emergency Money
Court Dependency
Transvestite Issues
Emergency and Crisis Counseling
Suicide Gestures
Family Counseling
Gay Identity Issues
Pregnancy Counseling
Medical (Venereal warts)
Volunteer Interviewing
Outreach
Paperwork, filing
Staff Organization/Retreat Planning
Prostitution/Street Behavior
Responding to Public/Media/Research
Responding in an interaction setting that is intense and in a small space with many people who have many different needs.

CHAPTER 6

EXITING

Interview Data on Exiting Attempts

The first step in our procedures to gather data on exiting was to interview our subjects about their attempts to leave street life. In this section we have summarized the data from responses to questions on exiting in the formal interviews. For the interviews, an exit was defined by the youth. Table 6.1 lists the criteria for on or off street status elicited from youth.

Nearly all of the youth had tried to leave the street at some time prior to our interviewing them. Only two in the sample had not attempted a change in lifestyle. A majority relied on the help of services or friends in their attempt to exit. Family and services played a supportive role for about half of the youth. Most of the youth who exited maintained contact with both street friends and service personnel while they were out of the street lifestyle. For about three-fourths of the sample, their exits lasted for only a few days to 3 months.

Most of the youth said they planned to leave the streets. They knew of others, including friends who had exited. There was a near consensus, however, that the odds for succeeding were between 0-5 out of ten.

Reasons for deciding to try to leave the street varied. The categories with the most frequent responses included: 1) their own decision or desire to change, 2) the pressure of street problems, and 3) resolution of family conflicts.

These data begin to shed light on the harsh reality confronting a street youth who has the desire to change, but little else. Of 28 youth who responded, only 54% believed their exit attempt resulted in actually leaving the street. Their off street housing was not permanent. Neither was their income; only a few youth had a job (3 in interview 1). Many continued to rely on street activities to support themselves. The general pattern was a return to the streets. The reasons for returning were most often: 1) to see friends, 2) to prostitute because they needed money, and 3) because of no other alternative.

Over the course of the research period, the youth became more determined to leave their street existence. They believed their involvement with services had provided them with an increased chance for success. They remained cautiously optimistic, but clear about the factors that could undermine their resolve and factors that would help them succeed. Youth rated the following factors highest for keeping them on the street: 1) the need for

Table 6.1 Street Youth Criteria for On/Off Street Status

ON STREET

Basis Needs	Activities/Economies
no stable place	prostitution
no food	crime
no place to get clean	drug use and dealing
no place to do laundry	survival - "making it"
Social Relations	**Affect/Self Image**
care for self; avoid dependence	"cool"; "in"; excitement
independence; freedom	"down"; "cold"; "lonely"
no one cares	"hard"; "mean"; "tough"
using people and being used	not dealing with problems; avoiding, running
	streetwise; know about "life"

OFF STREET

Basic Needs	Activities
stable place	job; no illegitimate activities
food, hygiene provided for. . .	school
	"responsibilities"
Social Relations	**Affect/Self Image**
"home"; someone caring; someone to depend on	"going places"; future
friendship; people to count on	"act right"; follow rules
	follow through on goals

money and no alternative, 2) friends, 3) self-image, 4) drugs, 5) lack of services. Factors that would keep youth off the street included: 1) a place to live, 2) a job and money, 3) friends and family, 4) self-image, and 5) services.

(Note: In the data summaries that follow, the reader will notice that the "n" changes for the responses. We remind readers that youth were in different phases of their street careers. Missing data occurs because the interview questions were not relevant to immediate circumstances of youth.)

4. Exiting

Have you ever left the street?

	Interview 1 (n=38)	
yes, voluntarily	87%	(33)
yes, involuntarily	3%	(1)
both	5%	(2)
no	5%	(2)

How many times have you tried to leave the street?

	(n=34)	
once	35%	(12)
twice	29%	(10)
3-10 times	29%	(10)
more than 10 times	6%	(2)

Did anyone help you leave?

	(n=35)	
yes	66%	(23)
no	34%	(12)

Who helped you leave the streets?

	(n=23)	
friend	48%	(11)
services	35%	(8)
parents	9%	(2)
boyfriend/girlfriend	4%	(1)
multiple helpers	4%	(1)

Role of family in exiting

	(n=35)
supportive	51% (18)
nonsupportive	6% (2)
no role	43% (15)

Role of services in exit

	(n=35)
supportive	48% (17)
nonsupportive	3% (1)
no role	48% (17)

Where did you live during the exit?

	(n=33)
home	39% (13)
placement	27% (9)
own place/apartment	27% (9)
emergency housing	6% (2)

Did you want to live elseware?

	(n=35)
yes	31% (11)
no	69% (24)

Who did you live with while off the street?

	(n=34)
family	38% (13)
services	29% (10)
friends	18% (6)
alone	9% (3)
boyfriend	6% (2)

Were there things you wanted to do when you were off the street that you couldn't?

	(n=32)
yes	78% (25)
no	22% (7)

Did you maintain street contacts while off the street?

	(n=35)
yes	74% (26)
no	26% (9)

Did you maintain service contacts?

	(n=34)
yes	65% (22)
no	35% (12)

How long were you off the street?

	(n=34)	
less than a week	20%	(7)
1-4 weeks	26%	(9)
1-3 months	29%	(10)
3-6 months	9%	(3)
6 months - 1 year	12%	(4)
over a year	3%	(1)

Do you know people who have left the streets?

	(n=35)	
yes	83%	(29)
no	17%	(6)

Do you have friends who have left the street?

	(n=31)	
yes	81%	(25)
no	19%	(6)

What are the odds of being able to leave the street?

	(n=28)	
0 to 5 out of 10	93%	(26)
6 to 10 out of 10	7%	(2)

Do you plan to leave the streets?

	(n=27)	
yes	96%	(26)
no	4%	(1)

Would a change in services help you leave the street?

	(n=24)
yes	8% (2)
no	92% (22)

Have you tried to leave the street?

	Interview 2 (n=29)	Interview 3 (n=28)
yes, voluntarily	69% (20)	82% (23)
yes, involuntarily	13% (4)	7% (2)
both	10% (3)	4% (1)
no	7% (2)	7% (2)

Why did you leave the street? (primary reason)

	(n=30)	(n=27)
decision to change lifestyle	37% (11)	34% (10)
pregnancy	10% (3)	10% (3)
incarceration	17% (5)	17% (5)
lover	7% (2)	
street problems	7% (2)	17% (5)
reconciliation with family	20% (6)	10% (3)
off-street opportunity	3% (1)	10% (3)

secondary reason

	(n=27)	(n=27)
decision to change lifestyle	44% (12)	37% (10)
incarceration		4% (1)
street problems	41% (11)	33% (9)
reconciliation with family	15% (4)	7% (2)
fear of aids		11% (3)
off-street opportunity		7% (2)

What was the key factor that helped you leave the street?

	(n=28)
own desire	39% (11)
job	7% (2)
support of friends	4% (1)
services provided housing	11% (3)
support of services	4% (1)
reconciliation with family	21% (6)
incarceration	11% (3)
source of off-street money	4% (1)

Number of attempts to leave the streets

	(n=27)	(n=24)
# of attempts		
1	78% (21)	83% (20)
2	22% (6)	8% (2)
3		8% (2)

Did you actually leave the street?

	(n=28)	(n=28)
yes	54% (15)	79% (22)
no	7% (2)	7% (2)
no, but decreased involvement	39% (11)	14% (4)

Did anyone help you leave?

	(n=25)	(n=25)
yes	68% (17)	100% (25)
no	32% (8)	0

Who helped you leave?

	(n=17)	(n=25)
friend	29% (5)	20% (5)
parent	12% (2)	40% (10)
service person	35% (6)	20% (5)
significant other	12% (2)	8% (2)
multiple helpers	12% (2)	12% (3)

What role did your family play in the exit?

	(n=27)	(n=24)
no role	26% (7)	21% (5)
supportive role	67% (18)	75% (18)
non supportive role	7% (2)	4% (1)

What role did services play in the exit?

	(n=28)	(n=22)
no role	25% (7)	14% (3)
supportive role	71% (20)	86% (19)
nonsupportive role	4% (1)	0

Where did you live when you left the streets?

	(n=28)	(n=32)
home(with family)	32% (9)	34% (11)
placement	11% (3)	9% (3)
apartment	29% (8)	19% (6)
detention	14% (4)	3% (1)
institution	0	3% (1)
emergency housing	7% (2)	9% (3)
no stable place	7% (2)	9% (3)

How did you support yourself when you were off the street?

	(n=25)	(n=32)
job	12% (3)	6% (2)
money from family	8% (2)	25% (8)
friends	0	6% (2)
combination with street	40% (10)	19% (6)
combination without street	12% (3)	25% (8)
welfare/state	28% (7)	19% (6)

Did you maintain street contacts?

	(n=35)	(n=30)
yes	74% (26)	77% (23)
no	26% (9)	23% (7)

Did you return to the street?

	(n=31)	(n=32)
yes	68% (21)	59% (19)
no	31% (10)	41% (13)

Why did you return to the street?

	(n=24)	(n=18)
see friends	37% (9)	33% (6)
entertainment	4% (1)	6% (1)
prostitution, sexual activity	4% (1)	22% (4)
prostitution, needed money	29% (7)	17% (3)
drug dealing	4% (1)	6% (1)
no other alternative	21% (5)	17% (3)

How determined are you to stay on the street as compared to 3 months ago?

	(n=31)	(n=25)
much less now	32% (10)	56% (14)
less now	16% (5)	20% (5)
about the same	13% (4)	12% (3)
more now	16% (5)	4% (1)
much more now	23% (7)	4% (1)
don't know	0	4% (1)

As compared to 3 months ago, leaving the street now would be...

	(n=22)		(n=24)	
much more difficult	9%	(2)	4%	(1)
more difficult	27%	(6)	12%	(3)
about the same	12%	(4)	17%	(4)
easier	27%	(6)	42%	(10)
much easier	18%	(4)	12%	(3)
don't know		0	12%	(3)

Compared to today, leaving the streets in 3 months will be...

	(n=20)		(n=22)	
much more difficult	5%	(1)	9%	(2)
more difficult	10%	(2)	14%	(3)
about the same		0	18%	(4)
easier	45%	(9)	32%	(7)
much easier	10%	(2)		0
don't know	30%	(6)	27%	(6)

Rating factors that keep you on the street

	very unimportant	unimportant	no opinion	important	very important
friends					
int.2 (n=17)	6%(1)	29%(5)	0	47%(8)	18%(3)
int.3 (n=11)	0	27%(3)	0	45%(5)	27%(3)
relationship					
int.2 (n=17)	12%(2)	29%(5)	12%(2)	35%(6)	12%(2)
int.3 (n=11)	0	45%(5)	9%(1)	36%(4)	9%(1)
money					
int.2 (n=17)	6%(1)	18%(3)	12%(2)	23%(4)	41%(7)
int.3 (n=11)	0	55%(6)	9%(1)	9%(1)	27%(3)
drugs					
int.2 (n=17)	12%(2)	29%(5)	12%(2)	23%(4)	23%(4)
int.3 (n=11)	0	27%(3)	9%(1)	45%(5)	18%(2)
lifestyle					
int.2 (n=17)	23%(4)	23%(4)	18%(3)	18%(3)	18%(3)
int.3 (n=11)	0	45%(5)	9%(1)	36%(4)	9%(1)
no alternative					
int.2 (n=17)	18%(3)	23%(4)	18%(3)	12%(2)	29%(5)
int.3 (n=11)	0	36%(4)	0	36%(4)	27%(3)
self image					
int.2 (n=17)	12%(2)	19%(3)	12%(2)	44%(7)	12%(2)
int.3 (n=10)	0	50%(5)	0	30%(3)	20%(2)
services					
int.2 (n=15)	7%(1)	33%(5)	20%(3)	40%(6)	0
int.3 (n=10)	0	50%(5)	10%(1)	20%(2)	20%(2)

Rating factors that keep you off the street

	very unimportant	unimportant	no opinion	important	very important
family					
int.1 (n=35)	0	20%(7)	14%(5)	40%(14)	26%(9)
int.2 (n=30)	3%(1)	20%(6)	13%(4)	53%(16)	10%(3)
int.3 (n=16)	13%(2)	25%(4)	6%(1)	44% (7)	13%(2)
counseling					
int.1 (n=35)	3%(1)	14%(5)	11%(4)	49%(17)	23%(8)
int.2 (n=30)	7%(2)	17%(5)	13%(4)	43%(13)	20%(6)
int.3 (n=15)	7%(1)	13%(2)	7%(1)	67%(10)	7%(1)
job					
int.1 (n=36)	6%(2)	0	6%(2)	47%(17)	42%(15)
int.2 (n=30)	3%(1)	13%(4)	10%(3)	40%(12)	33%(10)
int.3 (n=16)	6%(1)	19%(3)	19%(3)	25% (4)	31% (5)
money					
int.1 (n=35)	6%(2)	6%(2)	3%(1)	29%(10)	57%(20)
int.2 (n=30)	0	17%(5)	7%(2)	27% (8)	50%(15)
int.3 (n=16)	6%(1)	13%(2)	13%(2)	31% (5)	38% (6)
place to live					
int.1 (n=35)	0	0	0	40%(14)	60%(21)
int.2 (n=30)	3%(1)	7%(2)	3%(1)	47%(14)	40%(12)
int.3 (n=16)	6%(1)	6%(1)	0	38% (6)	50% (8)
friends					
int.1 (n=34)	6%(2)	9%(3)	15%(5)	24% (8)	47%(16)
int.2 (n=30)	3%(1)	17%(5)	10%(3)	37%(11)	33%(10)
int.3 (n=16)	6%(1)	6%(1)	13%(2)	50% (8)	25% (4)
personal relationship					
int.1 (n=34)	0	12%(4)	9%(3)	56%(19)	24%(8)
int.2 (n=30)	7%(2)	17%(5)	23%(7)	27% (8)	27%(8)
int.3 (n=16)	0	19%(3)	13%(2)	31% (5)	38%(6)
self-image					
int.1 (n=34)	0	3%(1)	9%(3)	41%(14)	47%(16)
int.2 (n=30)	3%(1)	7%(2)	7%(2)	50%(15)	33%(10)
int.3 (n=16)	0	19%(3)	0	25% (4)	56% (9)
school					
int.1 (n=14)	7%(1)	36%(5)	0	43%(6)	14%(2)
int.2 (n=30)	17%(5)	27%(8)	17%(5)	23%(7)	17%(5)

int.3 (n=16)	25%(4)	31%(5)	13%(2)	19%(3)	13%(2)
services					
int.1 (n=0)					
int.2 (n=29)	3%(1)	24%(7)	28%(8)	31%(9)	14%(4)
int.3 (n=12)	8%(1)	50%(6)	0	42%(5)	0

Assignment of Street Status

Data on exiting patterns and service use were gathered on each youth through biweekly tracking. (Tracking procedures are described in Chapter Two on Methodology.) A variety of information was gathered. Part of the procedure included assigning a status to each youth every month with regard to their street activities. Youth were put in one of three categories: 1) on the street, 2) in transition, or 3) off the street. Our procedures for assigning street status are described below.

A street status was assigned through a three-way process. First, each subject was rated according to nine criteria (see Table 6.2). Items included the subjects' situation with regard to: 1) living situation, 2) school, 3) family contact, 4) crime involvement and means of support, 5) drug use, 6) service use, 7) employment status, 8) social network, and 9) activity around exiting. All items were weighted equally as one point. A total score of 5 points in any one category resulted in assignment of that status.

Our second procedure for assigning status was intended to be subjective. Without identifying isolated factors, we categorized subjects based on our knowledge of street culture and our intuitive perception of individual situations. One can see that subjectivity cannot be deleted from an objective process, but we wanted to test our operationalized definition of street status against our subject evaluations. The statuses assigned to youth subjectively matched the more objective scale scores in all but two cases. We continued to use the objective criteria and scoring procedures for status assignment throughout the research period.

Our designation of street status assignments were checked through a third process. Variables from each of the 3 formal interviews associated with street status were identified. Responses to these interview questions were coded according to the street status they defined. A response to living situation that was "no stable place" was coded as an "on street" response, for example. We then analyzed the responses for associations with assigned street status at the time of interview. Our categorical designation of street status (on, transition, off) was very adequate for explaining variability in our street scales generated earlier (eta squared = .06 or better).

Tracking Street Patterns

A chart of monthly street status was kept for each youth for approximately 15 months. We had confirmed information that allowed us to assign a street status to some subjects prior to their first interview. (See samples of attached street status charts.) These charts allowed us to analyze the general movement patterns of a group of street youth involved with services.

An individualized chart of street status was also kept for each youth (samples are attached). On these charts each change in status was noted with descriptive information that connected the status change to particular events occuring in their lives at that time. Later we analyzed the descriptive information for major factors causing movement in either direction.

The analyses of the street status data revealed the characteristics of the process of attempting to exit from street life. One can see that for most youth there was considerable movement between categories. Exits are followed by regression and returns to the street. Overall the exit process is unstable and tenuous. There is not a smooth transition from a street lifestyle to a conventional existence for the majority of youth.

In reviewing these charts, the reader should note that some subjects were interviewed as late as May. In some cases we were able to confirm their status for preceding months, in other cases we could not. Also, we were unable to track some clients during different parts of the research periods. Since we were unable to assign them a status in every instance, some cases do not appear in the summary chart. Thus, there is some missing data, and the numbers for each month will not always add up to the "n" size of 40 in the tables.

TABLE 6.2

ITEMS FOR SCALES DETERMINING SUBJECT STATUS — INTERVIEW SCHEDULE ONE

ON STREET	TRANSITION	OFF STREET
transient/unstable living situation	housing: emergency, placement/ or at home intermittently	stable living situation
not in school	school: enrolled, drop in alternative, intermittent attendance	attending school/GED program/equivalent
limited/severed contact with family	relink/increase contact with family	reconciliation w/family
illegitimate means of support: prost/crime	decreased prost/crime involvement not dep for survival	decreased prost/crime/ not dependent for suppo
regular/problemmatic drug use	decreased drug use	non problem drug use
limited use of services/ street maintenance	increased use of services for basic needs and counseling	use of services for maintaining exit or decreased dependence
social network predominantly street	change in social network to fewer street people, service relations	social network includes few street relations/ primarily those also in services
no plan/activity or expectation of exit	plan/activity/expectation of exit	follow through on exit plan, expectation
no employment or legitimate means of support	initial employment/attempts	employed

VARIABLE NUMBERS — Interview A

LIVING SITUATION
46, 47

SCHOOL
9, 10

FAMILY RELATIONS
18-21

MEANS OF SUPPORT
48, 139

PROST/CRIME INVOLVEMENT
139

DRUG USE
14

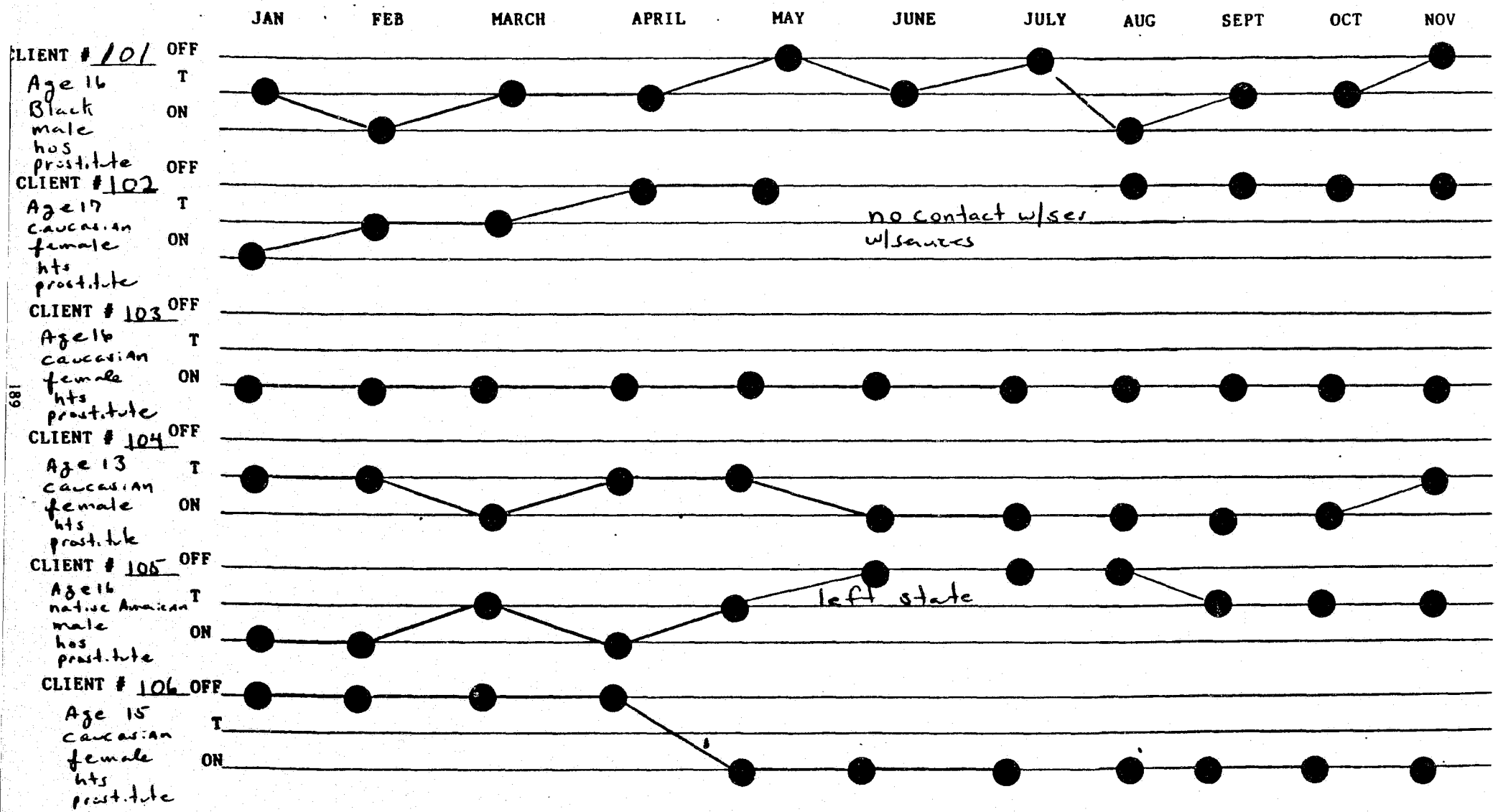
USE OF SERVICES
56,57,71,79

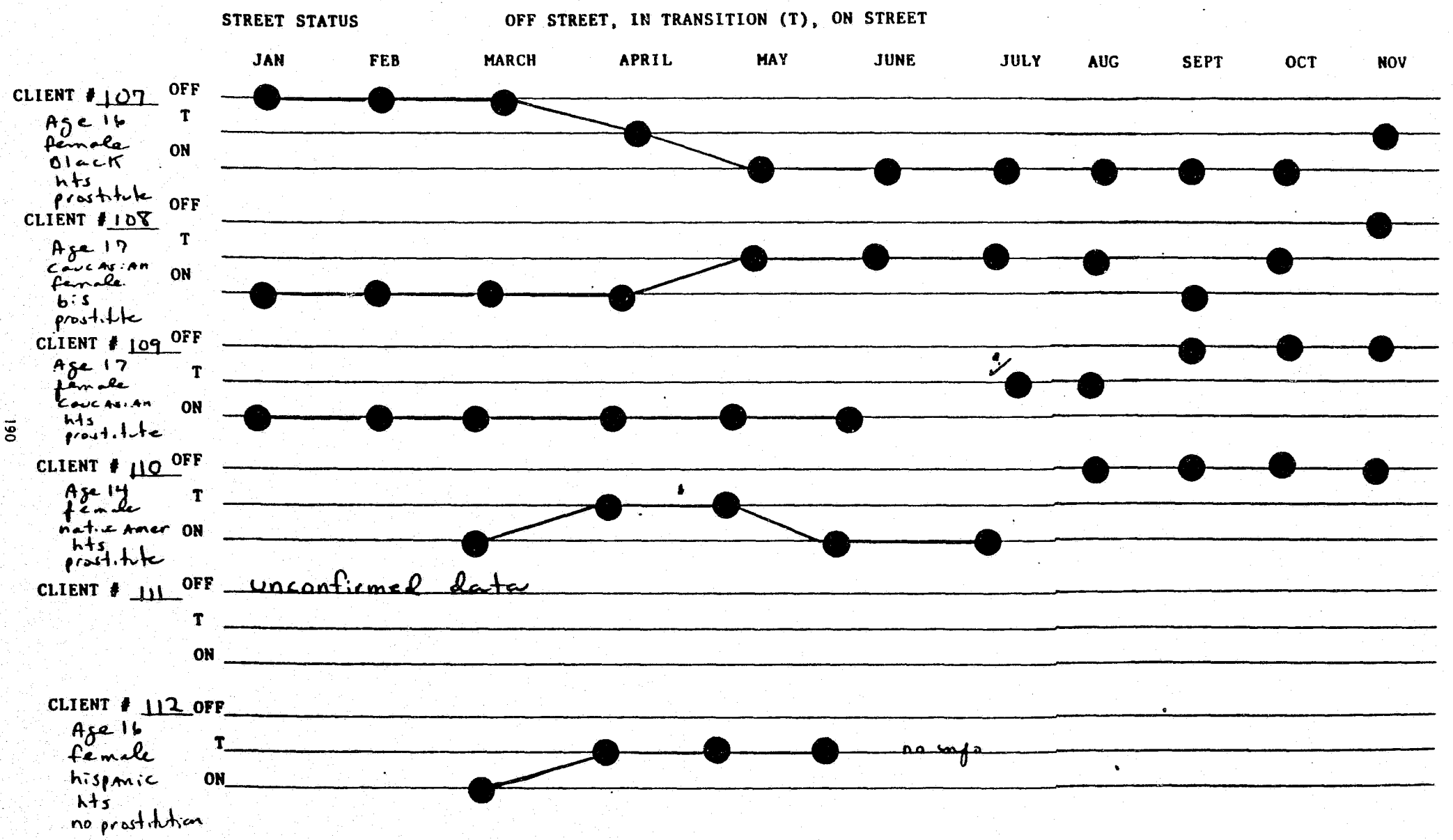
SOCIAL NETWORK
78,103,113

EXIT PLAN
67,84,85,88

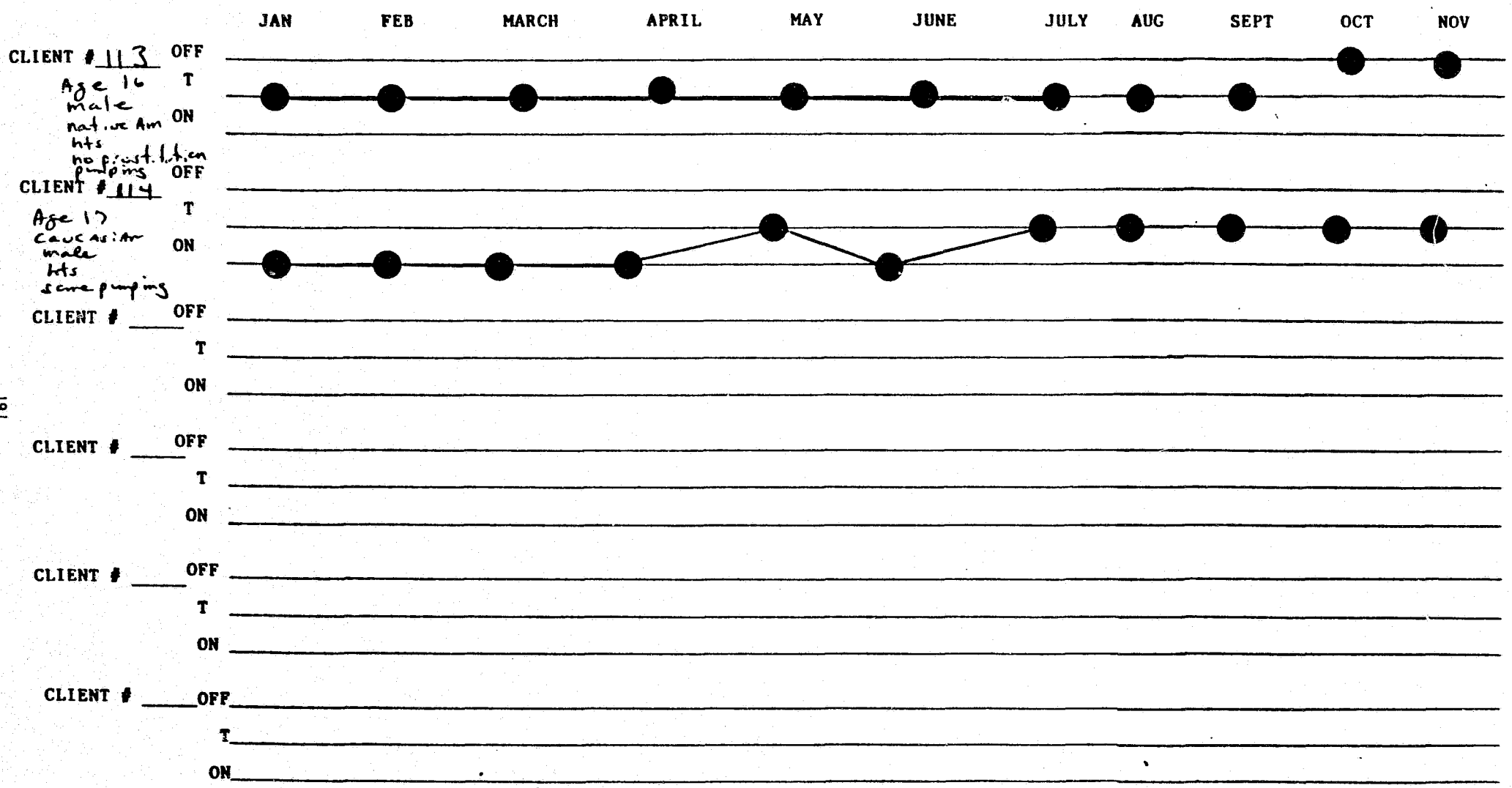
SELF_IDENTIFICATION
38,43,67,88
daily routine

STREET STATUS OFF STREET, IN TRANSITION (T), ON STREET




STREET STATUS
OFF STREET, IN TRANSITION (T), ON STREET
JAN
FEB
MARCH
APRIL
MAY
JUNE
JULY
AUG
SEPT
OCT
NOV
CLIENT # 107
Age 16
female
Black
hts
prostitute
OFF
T
ON
CLIENT # 108
Age 17
Caucasian
female
bis
prostitute
OFF
T
ON
CLIENT # 109
Age 17
female
Caucasian
hts
prostitute
OFF
T
ON
CLIENT # 110
Age 14
female
native amer
hts
prostitute
OFF
T
ON
CLIENT # 111
unconfirmed data
OFF
T
ON
CLIENT # 112
Age 16
female
hispanic
hts
no prostitution
OFF
T
ON
no info

STREET STATUS OFF STREET, IN TRANSITION (T), ON STREET

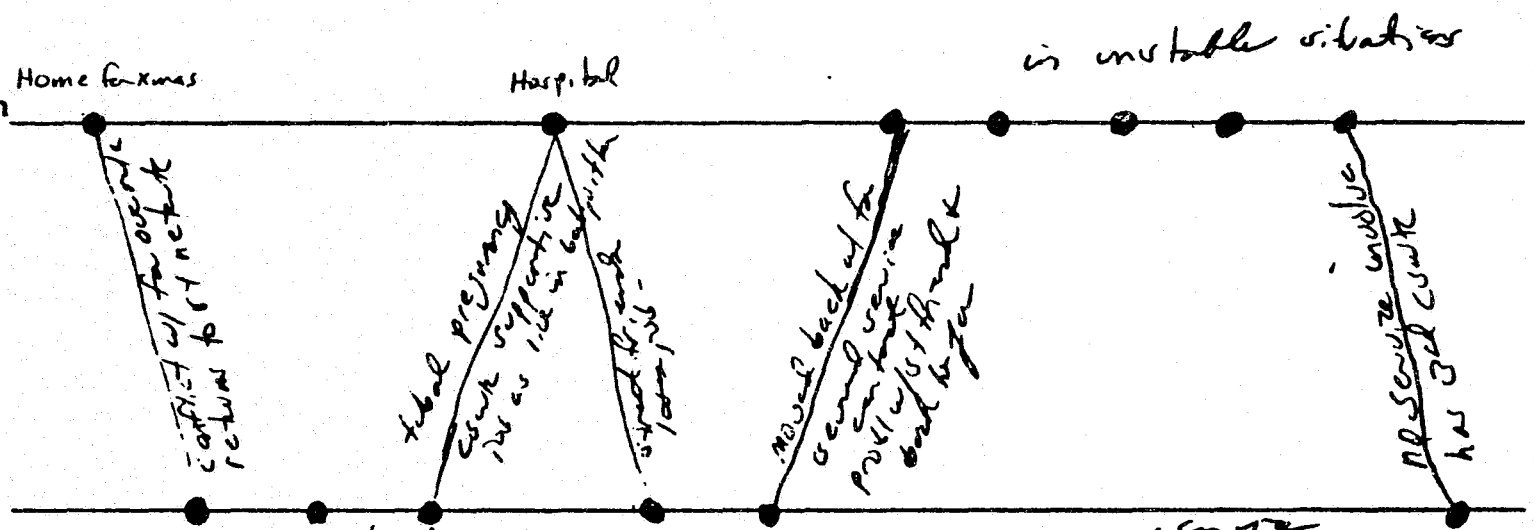


CASE # 203

F 16 Cas Dis P

Jan Feb Mar Apr May Jun Jul Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec Jan

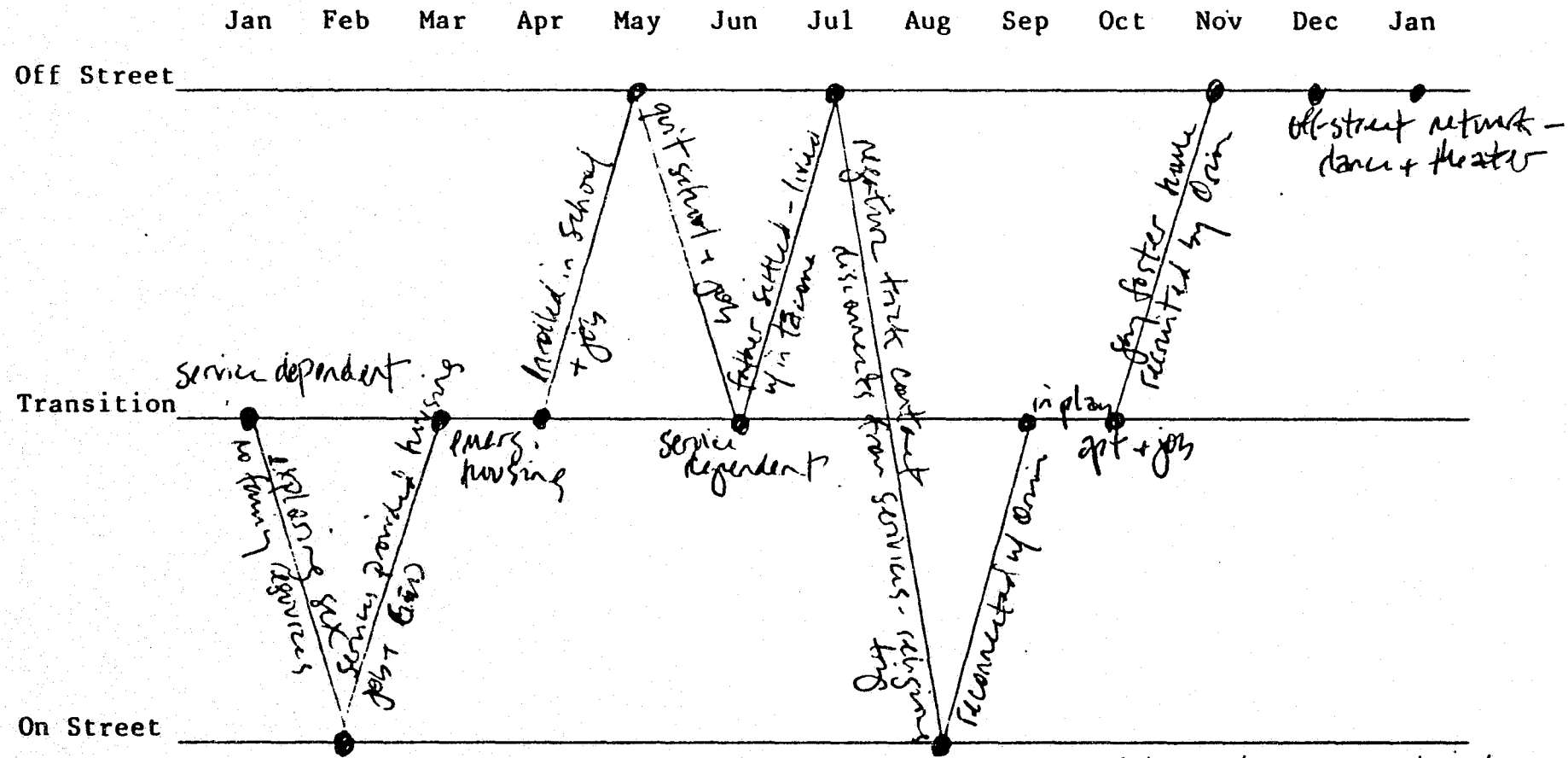
Off Street



192

CASE # 101

M 16 blk/n.a hsP



- exploring sexuality - street only place to do
- role change in play too abrupt
- failed adoption - age 6 adoption
- six-role alienation - no acceptance in available social networks
- "I'm be a nice gay person" - has talent
- functioning in services with early stability - needed gay support group + gay role models

service attitude change - initially pushed too much - set up for failure; change to more personal level - support for being kid

foster home provides needed role models has healthy social network
consistent drop in relationship - he made the feel good - lots of attention

CASE # 103

Filcane bip*

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Off Street													
Transition													
On Street													

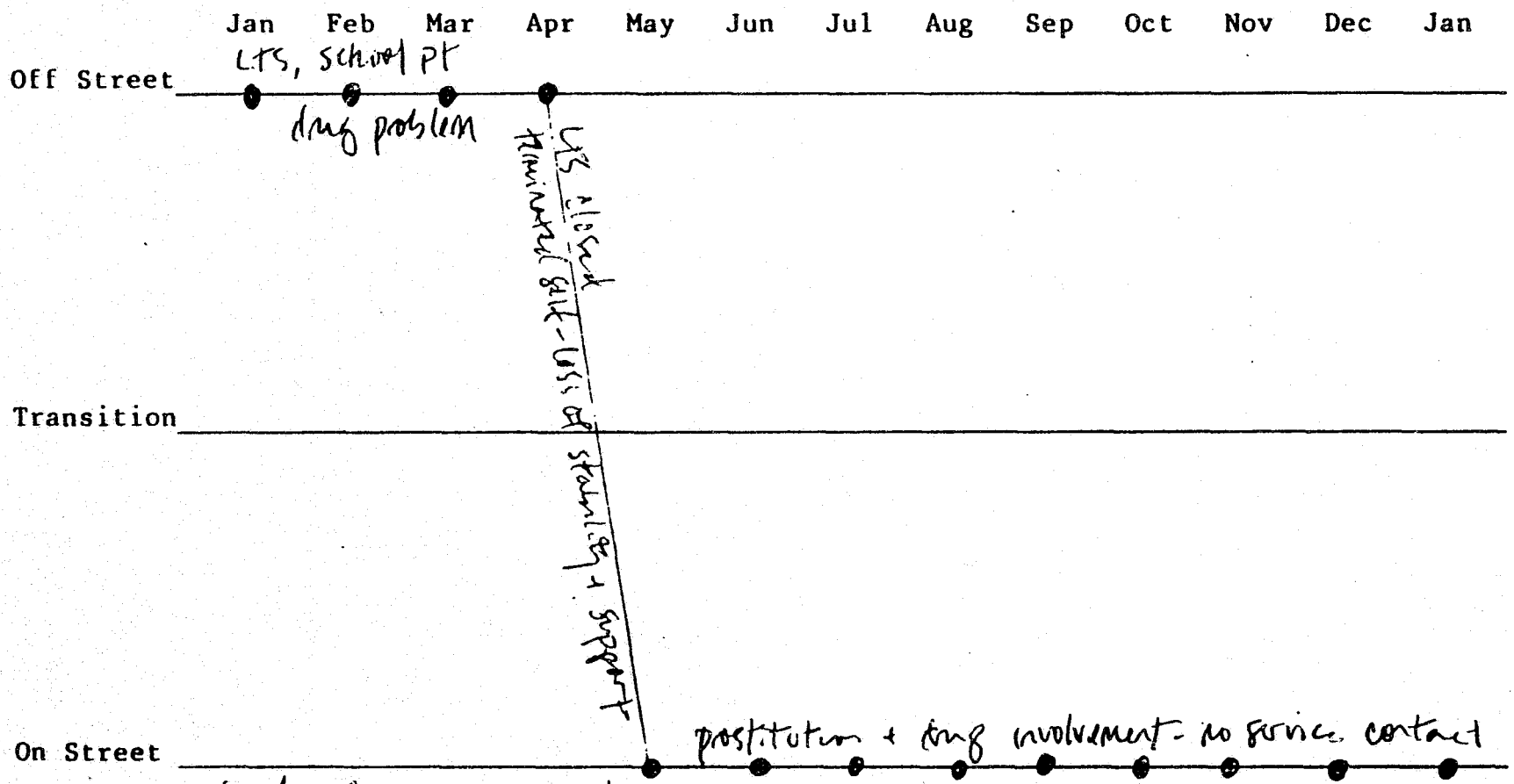
living w/ pimp + Mom flees warrant; prostitution in Alaska -

Mom - alc + addict
molested by stepdad 7-10 } early enculturation street identity
at least 70 prostitution arrests - supported drug habits of Mom + pimp
move to Alaska positive - more independence, new social network w/ older street women
avoiding incarceration - decision to move
professional prostitution

contact w/ Orion via probation
developed relationship w/ services -
consistent contact - acceptance + understanding - only humane option
encourages some self esteem

CASE # 106

FISCave.HTP

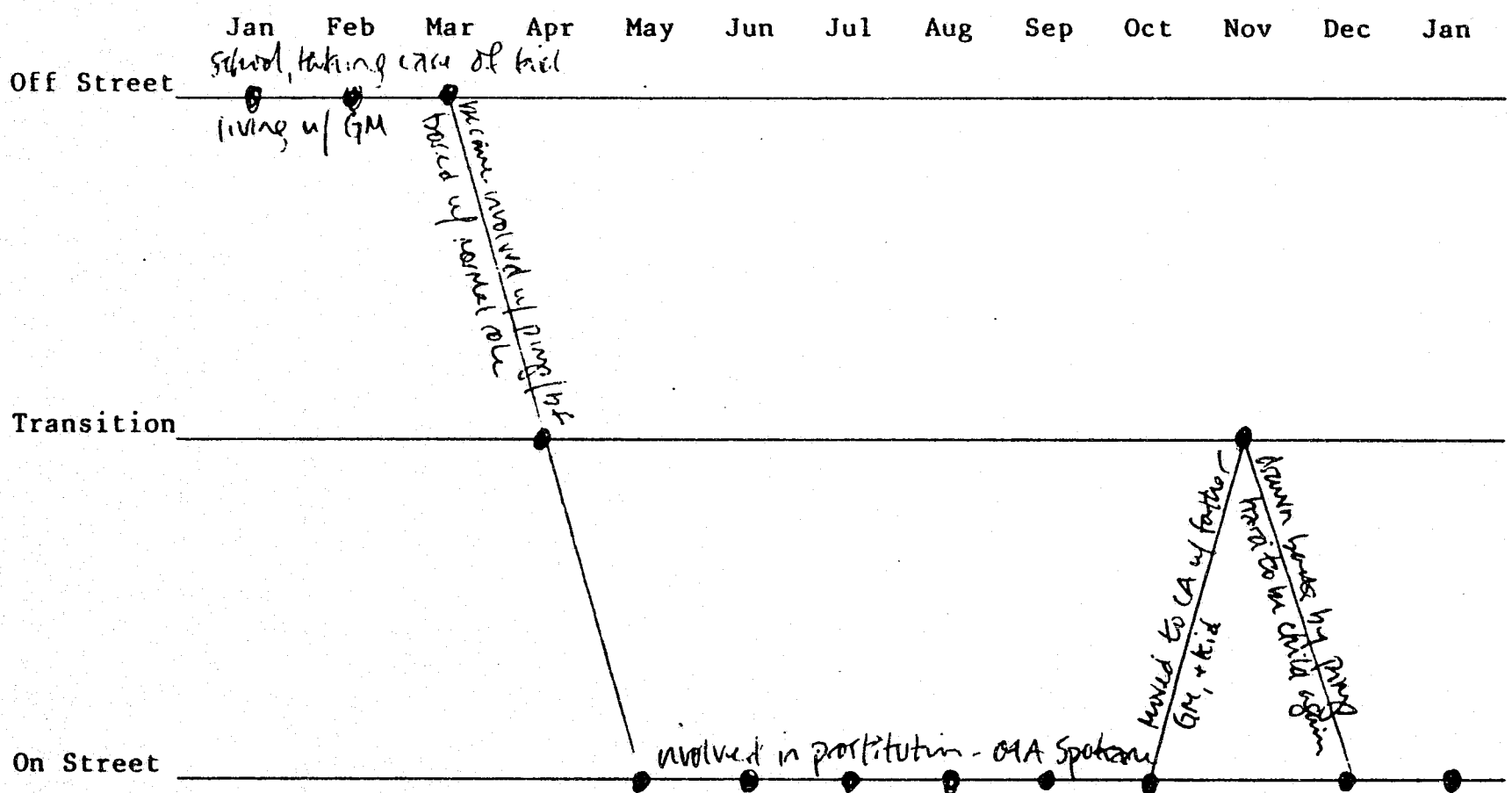


no family resources — early abuse
On Street at 8 - early enculturation arrested ODA age 11
poor self image - anticipated rejection in all situations
warrant, legal system - major problem/hurdle
drugs + street identity -
escape/avoid intimacy - needs unconditional care — alt. foster care
ambivalent about need/desire
for family + desire for independence

comfortable in foster home - called "Mom + Dad" — they asked not to for personal reasons — perceived as rejection
no follow-up after LTS — needed continued support + connection
poor handling of "failure" in LTS — need reframing...

CASE # 107

F11 blk hr P

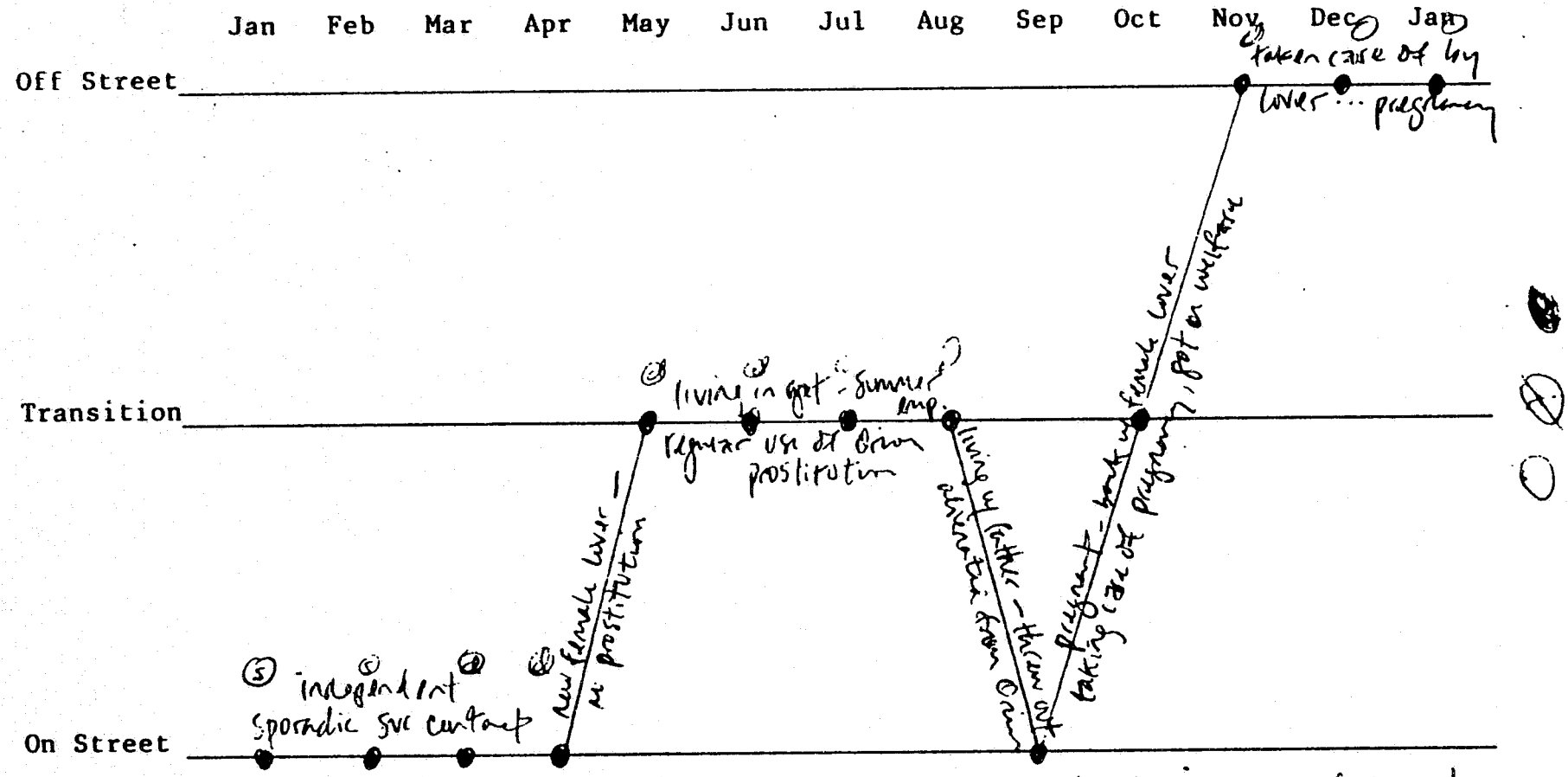


- street relationships major factor - pimp
  limited self image associated w/ black culture
  + poverty - couldn't handle responsibility
  lots of anger towards men - (father didn't come through for her) - self-hatred - abandoned by men
- needs independence - feels overprotected - too much responsibility too early - never a kid
  baby used by others to manipulate

racial + class limitations of services...
SEYSS - good outreach + relationship deve
needs support group - of black ♀

CASE # 108

Fiscaucha D

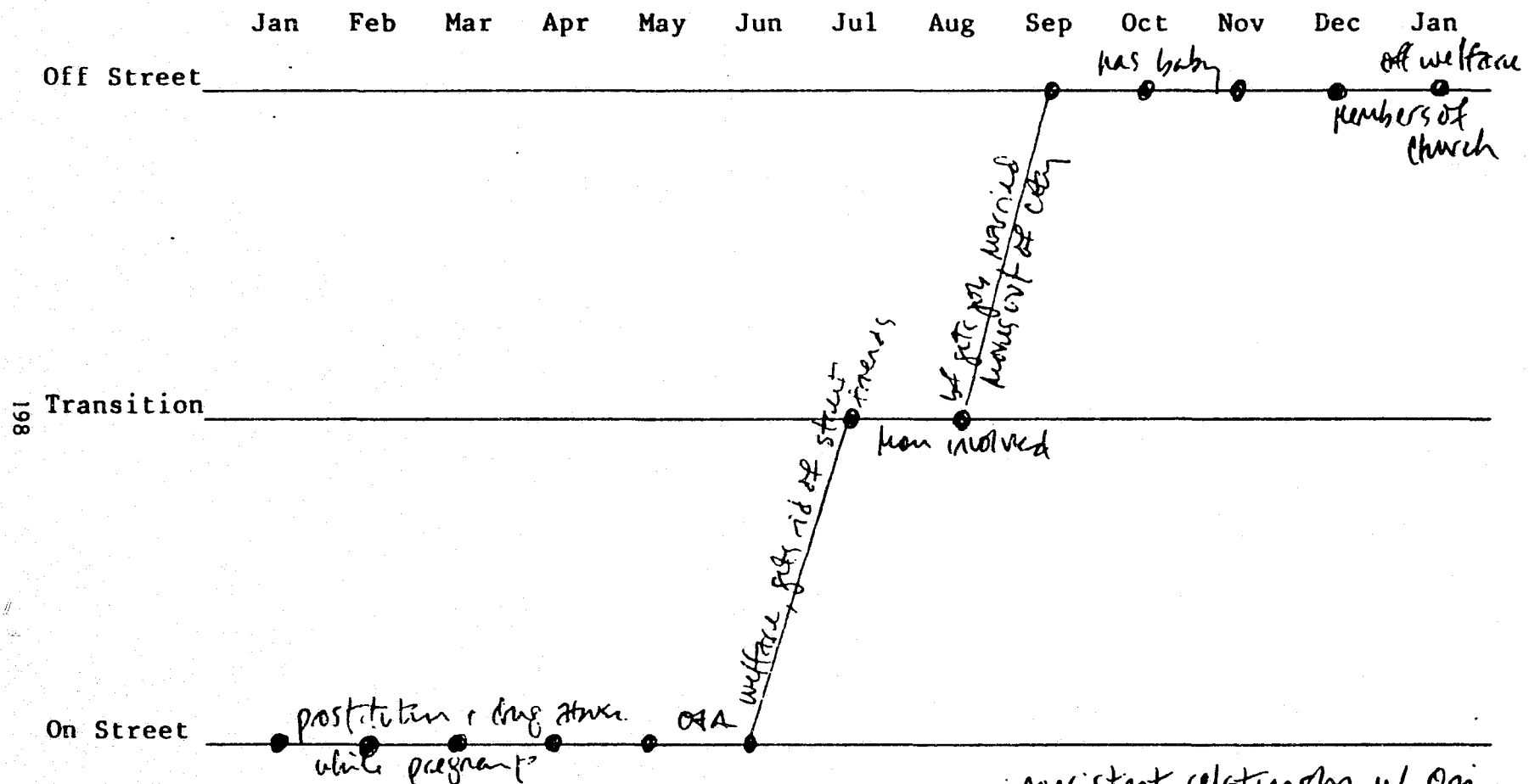


- independent: doesn't want to ask for help
- physical abuse father into weird occult stuff -
  used drugs to escape - dependent on substances - not ok
  to seek help - link btw drugs + prostitution
- felt accepted on street
- hard to be kid - afraid to be adult
- sexual confusion - over bisexuality
- pride
- identity tied to relationships

leadership training - good support
resisted services - avoiding dependency
yet always kept contact w/ Choice +
Orion - for connection
has decreased drug use...

CASE # 106

Financial



198

- pregnancy - helped related to mom + some resolution
- abused at home + in placements
- burned out services — pregnancy only way out
- took good care of self...
- got off drugs on own when restructured lifestyle
- wanted standard conventional life

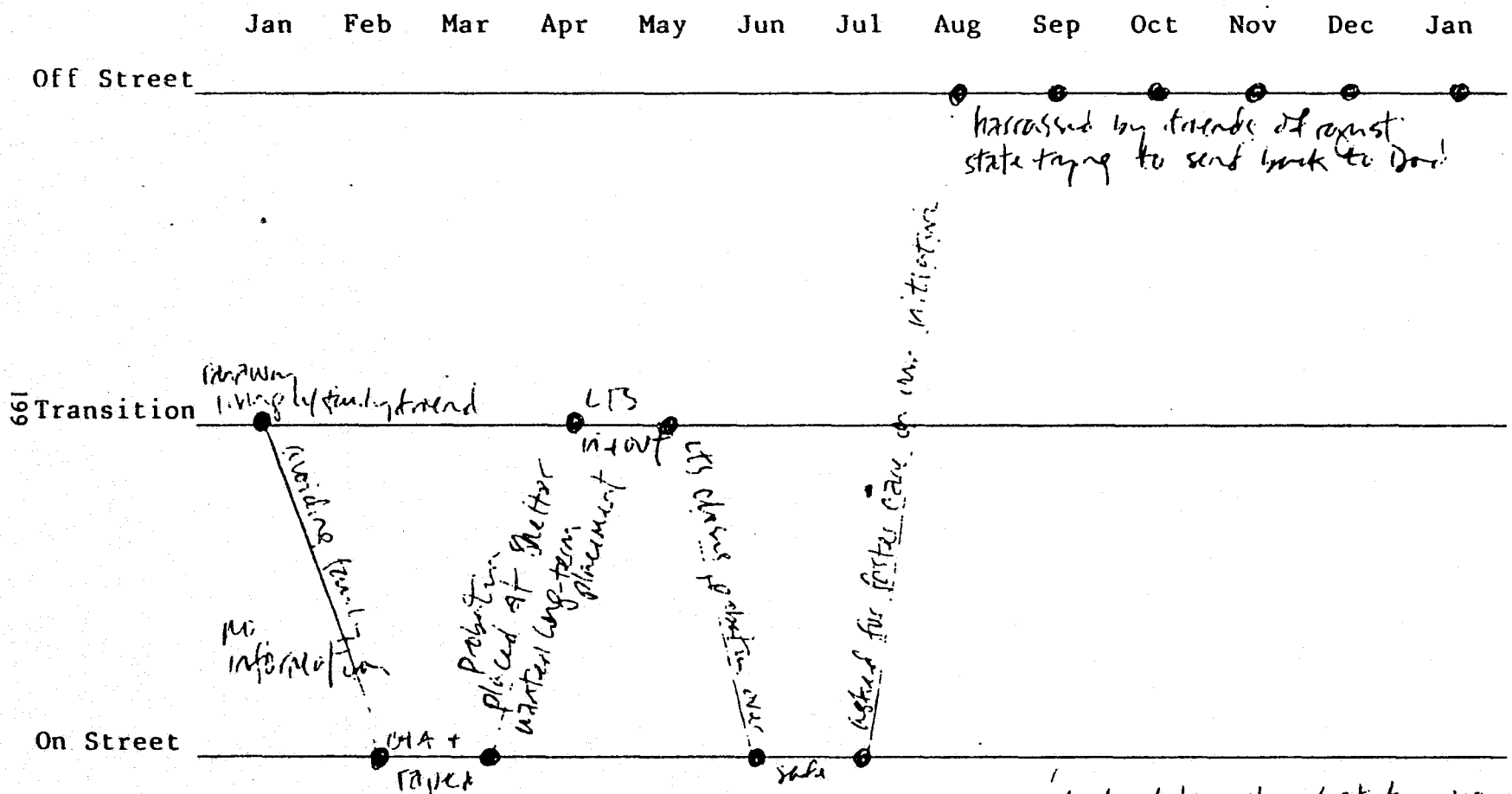
consistent relationship w Orin
- "told truth, trusted, didn't try to control"

very inappropriate early services
- drugs

Orin stuck w her through all testing

CASE # 116

[illegible]



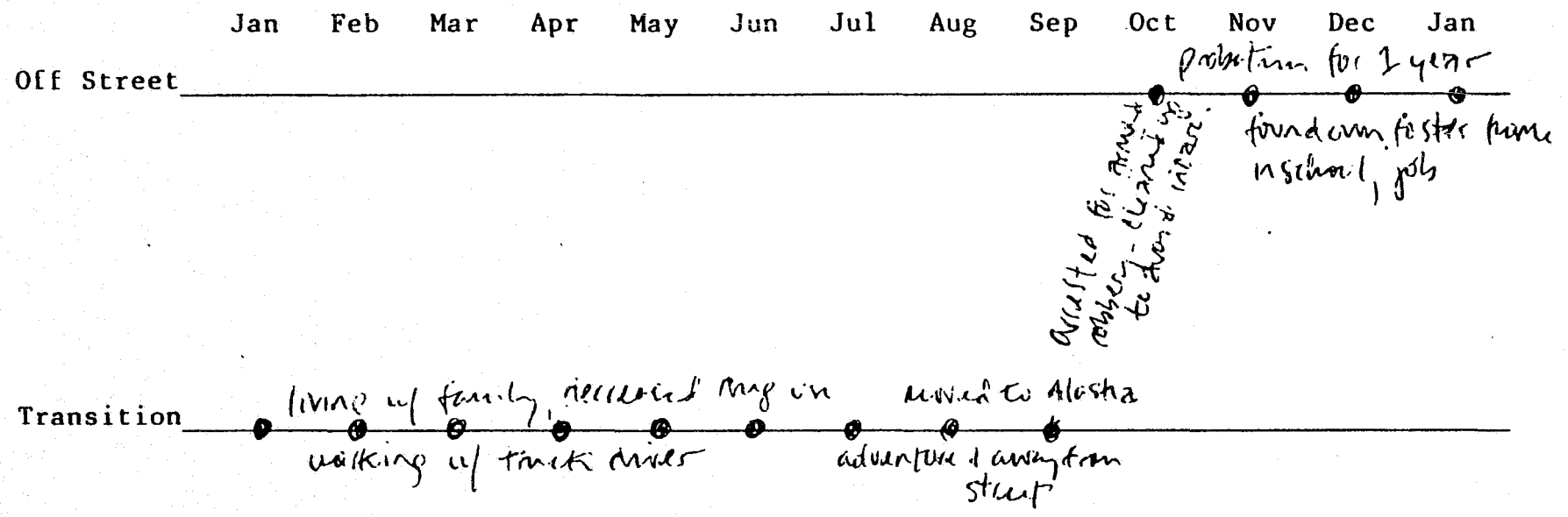
- good self image, knows deserves better - makes good decisions
- not street person, doesn't belong
- deep distrust of state - fear of losing son back to father who abused her
- feelings ignored, dismissed by state → depression

bad relationship w/ state - inappropriate response to abuse history
needs connection w/ other family members

CASE # 113

Mlk. native ht P

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Off Street										arrested for armed robbery - cleaned up to drop & incarc.	probation for 1 year; found own foster home in school, job		
Transition	living w/ family, working w/ truck driver			decreased drug use			adventure & away from street	moved to Alaska					
On Street													

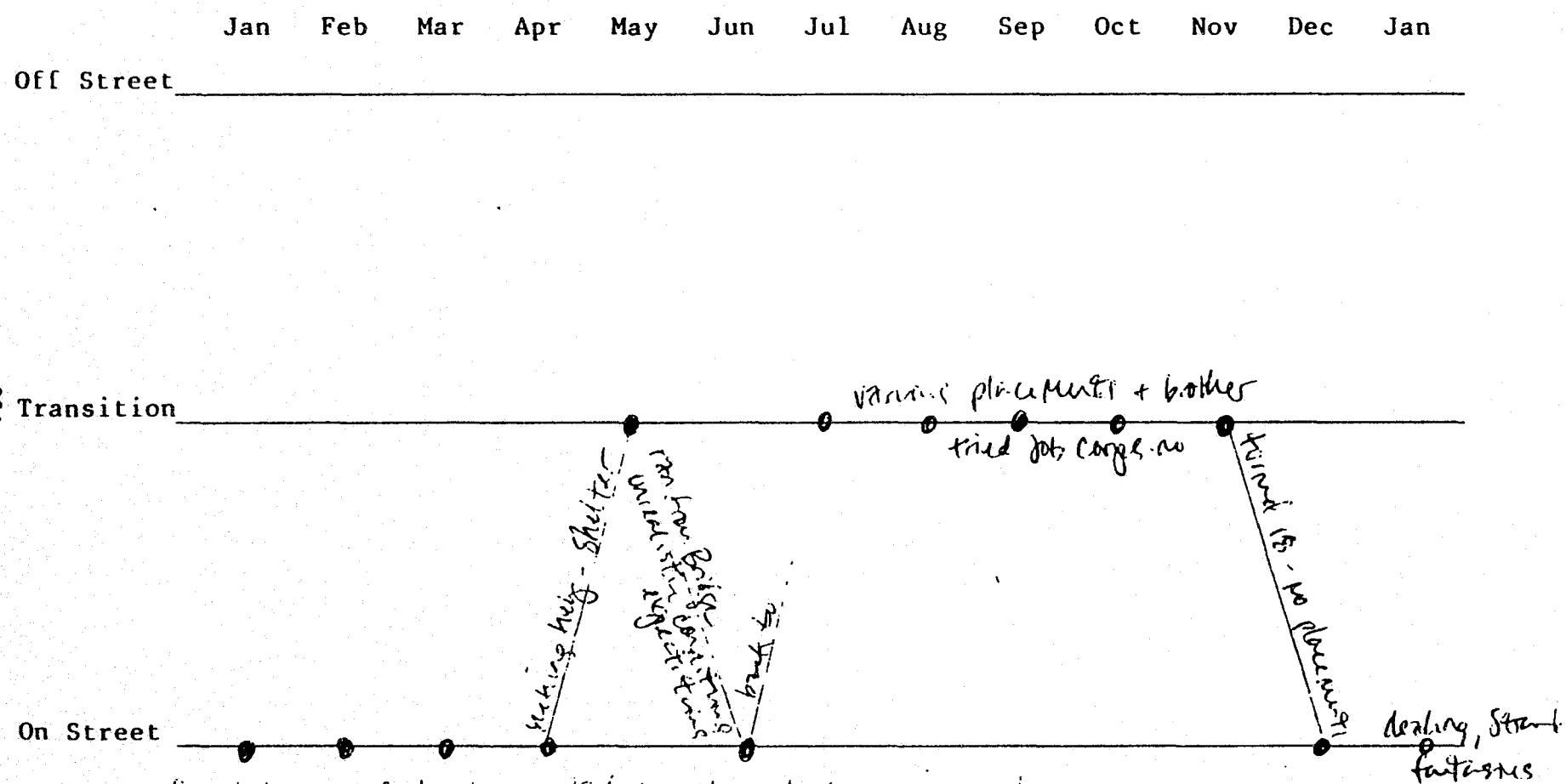


- enculturated in street culture — paying attention to street hierarchy — wants to be a scammer who makes it - slick
- Mom + Dad were alcoholic — didn't want to be like them —
- some street status — slick, good social skills, felt better off
- good perspective — successful in street - wanted to keep it

consistent unconditional acceptance + support from New Horizons - relationship continues from Alaska - support through transition provides connection

CASE # 114

Milwaukee P

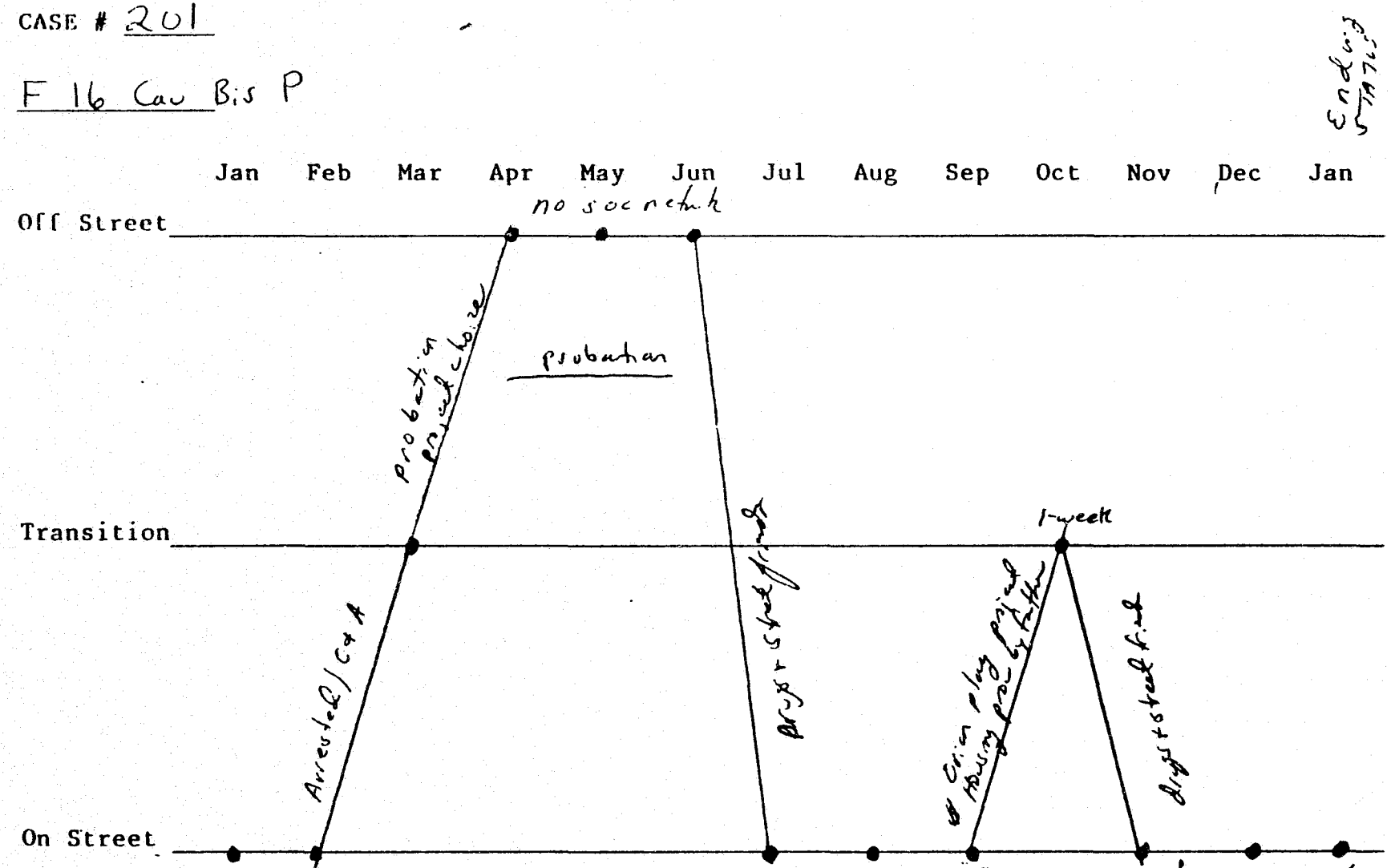


- tired of instability, 18, street - wanted something better burned out + scared
- never had anything - no early socialization, no caring...
- frustration w/ limits of services - appropriate services/placement not available
- no personal resources for change - resources needed not available

good casework at Omn - needed long-term housing + consistency
age trap - needed structured placement but none available when 18
hard to outreach
job corps bureaucracy triggered him up
needed more support/advocacy

CASE # 201

F 16 Cau Bis P



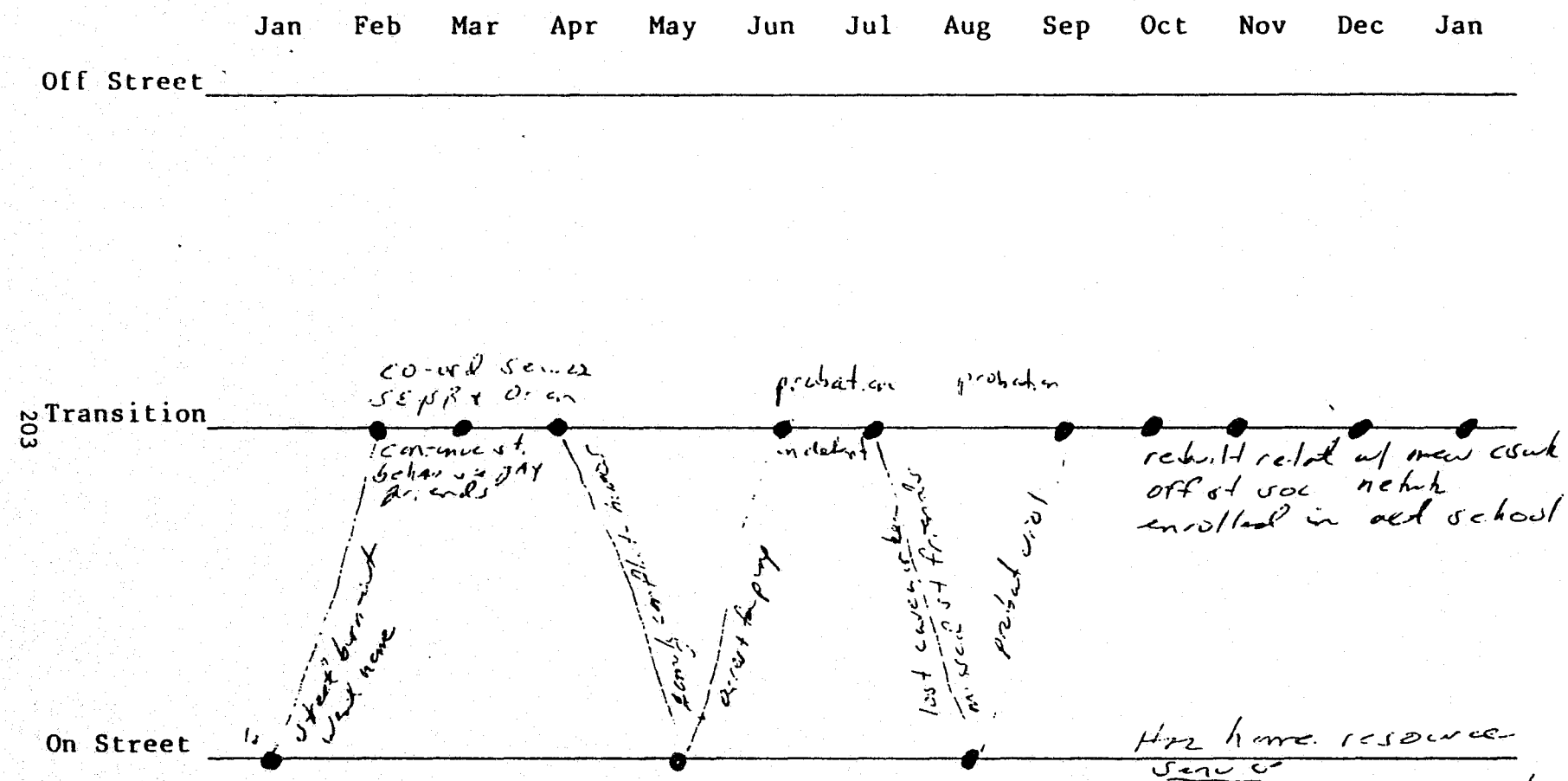
Decision-making issues
avoiding incarceration
import to ty - so know she could exit if wanted
no real ⊕ o sincere intent to remain off
left home day after probation
plg for summer & exit - but then more incentive in fall, no ex.
successful on st more ∴ off

Comment on sec...
after case on ...
off st network

CASE # 202

M w/ 14 hos

Ending Status



203

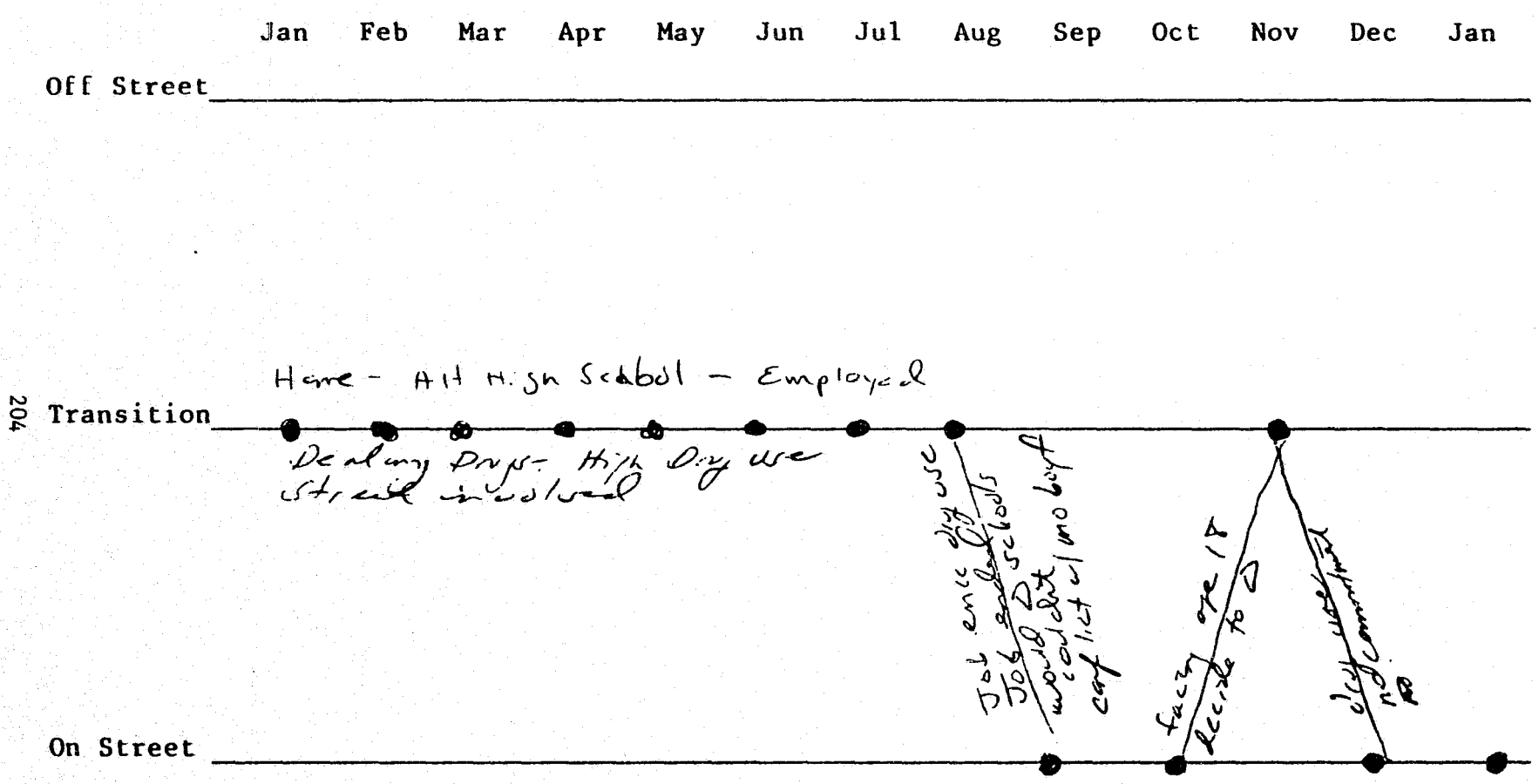
Hrz home resource
Serv o

1. co-ordn service w/ SE + Oran
2. no off st soc network
+ family conflict homos
3. family counsely around homos
4. return to street - self [illegible]
+ reconnect w/ Macre
put back in [illegible]

1. tired of instability + street
2. [illegible] of homosexuality w/ family / comment
3. need for st friends + homosexuality
4. [illegible] use ↓ - st soc networks
or sexual exploit
[illegible] → continued st connection

CASE # 205

M 17 Cau Bis P



	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Jan
Off Street													
Transition													
On Street													

Home - Alt High School - Employed

Dealing Drugs - High Drug use
street involved

Job enc drug use
Job ~~ended~~ schools
would Δ
couldn't
conflict w/ mo boyf

facing age 18
decide to Δ

drug use
not committed

Has home resource
Had to Δ schools to regular
school instead of alt
Major conflict w/ mo live in boy
Decision to change lifestyle
Addiction problem - major/encouraged

at 18 - serve failure
a time to Δ + he
wasn't able to

YAT program
supportive cswk
no offst network
or employm -
cswk not active in
this regard
lacking follow thru by cswk

Status Change January - July 1985

We were able to assign a status for all 40 subjects in January 1985. When we began tracking, 6 subjects were off the street. By July 1985, only 2 were off, 1 was in transition, and 3 were back on the street.

We began with 15 youth in transition. By July, 4 were off the street, 9 still in transition, and 2 were on the street.

We began with 19 youth on the street. By July, 2 of these youth were off, 7 in transition, and 10 were still on the street. (See Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Street Status January - July 1985

January 1985 First Status		July 1985 Status		
		Off	Transition	On
Off	6	2	1	3
Transition	15	4	9	2
On	19	2	7	10
TOTALS		8	17	15

Table 6.5 Street Status January 1985 - April 1986

Street Status	January 1985	A	B	C	End of Status (April)
On Street	15	18	21	17	20
Transition	19	16	12	8	8
Off Street	6	6	7	12	10
TOTAL	40	40	40	37	38
Unknown				3	2

By July, those in the off category increased by 2. The transition category decreased by 4. Twenty one (52.5%) youth remained with the same status over a 6 month period. Six (14.6%) made negative moves toward the street. Thirteen (32.5%) made positive moves away from the street.

Table 6.4 Movement for 6 Months January-July

away from street	same	toward street
+	0	-
13	21	6
(32.5%)	(52.5%)	(14.6%)

The general pattern for the first six months, was one in which more youth are off the street or in transition. At this point one is tempted to be optimistic and to focus on the slight tendency of movement away from the street. These positive changes are due in part to the onset of intensive use of services. As we have described, service provision is crisis oriented and temporary in nature. Exhaustion of service resources is reflected in the movement patterns. Despite the apparent fluidity of these movements, patterns are identifiable. Through July, 6 of the youth who had originally been on the street, remained on the street with little movement. In addition, 23 (57.5%) of the sample experienced some failure or regression in their exit attempts. They either moved from off status to transition or on status, or they moved from transition to on status.

We continued to analyze the movement patterns of youth throughout the research period. As the reader can see, status changed constantly. We have therefore chosen 5 points in time to demonstrate movement patterns over the 15 month research period. These include status in January 1985, status at the time of the 3 formal interviews, and an ending status determined in March 1986. The March status is used on the ending status for the purpose of variable analyses (see Table 6.5).

Even as we have prepared this report, we have been aware of changes in status among the youth in our sample. In April, we reevaluated the ending status assignments. Two youth who had been off the street returned. In parts of this chapter we refer to this most recent status, even though it was not used to for the variable analyses.

The tracking period approximated 15 months, although one sees movement in all directions. The time period allowed the patterns of movement to emerge in ways that we were able to correlate to specific factors. These correlations are discussed in the following chapters. At this point, we discuss conclusions we have drawn from the status changes over time.

1. There was a tendency over time for youth to find their way back to the status they had originally been assigned. The psychological, social and material resources a youth brought with them to services were likely to be the strongest factor affecting their ending status.

2. There was less stability in the on street category. These youth would generally move back and forth between on and transition, but seldom moved into the off status. There was also a strong tendency in the transition cases to move toward the on status.

3. In table 6.6 we have compared the regressive (toward the street) movements of each case in each status category. Those youth whose ending status was on the street or in transition near the end of the study experienced more failed attempts to exit. In the last 6 months of the study, 22 youth had reached the off status, but 19 (86%) returned to the street.

4. The study began with 6 youth off the street and ended with 10 in the off category. We began with 15 youth on the street and ended with 20. Remembering the criteria used to determine status, these movements may indicate dramatic change or minor improvements or losses in net circumstance. (See Table 6.7)

In Table 6.8 we have listed basic characteristics of youth in each category. These include: gender, age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and if they were involved in prostitution. Ending status is not clearly associated with any of these factors.

TABLE 6.6
COMPARISON OF STREET STATUS BETWEEN JANUARY AND NOVEMBER 1985 (n=35) *

Status	January	November (status shifts by category)	Regressions
OFF STREET	9	2 - off 3 - transition 4 - on	0, 2 3, 0, 0 0, 1, 0, 1 mean = .8
TRANSITION	17	3 - off 9 - transition 5 - on	2, 1, 1 2,0,1,1,0,2,1,1,1, 2,1,0,2,0 mean = .9
ON STREET	9	1 - off 1 - transition 7 - on	1 1 0,1,0,2,1,2,2, mean = 1.1

* Only cases were used for which a status could be assigned for each month in this table.

Table 6.7 Status Change by Individual Category
From Interview A to Ending Status

Status at Interview A				End Status - April
On Street	18	On	12	20
		Transition	1	
		Off	4	(1 unknown)
Transition	16	On	6	8
		Transition	4	
		Off	5	(1 unknown)
Off Street	6	On	2	10
		Transition	4	
		Off	1	(2 unknown)
N = 40				40

TABLE 6.8 BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF ENDING STATUS GROUPS
ENDING STATUS: on street

Case #	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Sexuality	Prostitution
201	F	caucasian	17	hetero*	P+
203	F	caucasian	17	hetero *	P+
205	M	cauc	18	bisex *	P+
207	F	cauc	15	hetero	P+
210	M	cauc	18	homos	P+
214	F	cauc	14	hetero	P+
216	F	cauc	17	bisex	P+
217	M	cauc	16	bisex*	P+
222	M	cauc	17	hetero	P+
223	M	cauc	18	homos	P+
103	F	cauc	16	bisex*	P+
104	F	cauc	14	hetero	P+
105	M	Native/Chicano	17	homos	P+
106	F	cauc	16	hetero	P+
107	F	black	17	hetero	P+
111	F	cuac	16	hetero	P+
114	M	cauc	18	hetero*	P+
204	F	Chicana	18	hetero	P+

* denotes change or confusion in sexual orientation over year

Homos = homosexual

Bisex = bisexual

Hetero = heterosexual

P+ = prostitution invovolved

P- = no prostitution involvement

TABLE 6.8 cont. ENDING STATUS: transition

Case #	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Sexuality	Prostitution
202	M	black	15	homos	P+
211	M	black	17	homos	P+
212	F	cauc	15	hetero	P+
215	F	cauc	18	bisex *	P+
218	M	cauc	18	homos	P+
		ENDING STATUS: long-term secure placement			
208	F	cauc	17	hetero	P+
209	M	cauc	15	hetero	P+
220	M	cauc	15	hetero	P-
		ENDING STATUS: unknown			
206	M	cauc	18	hetero *	P+
112	F	nativ/hisp	17	hetero	P+

* denotes change or confusion in sexual orientation over year

TABLE 6.8 cont.

ENDING STATUS: off street

Case #	Gender	Ethnicity	Age	Sexuality	Prostitution
213	F	cauc	16	bisex	P+
219	F	cauc	18	bisex *	P+
221	F	cauc	18	hetero	P+
224	F	black	17	hetero	P+
225	M	cauc	17	homos	P+
226	M	black	17	hetero	P-
101	M	native	17	homos	P+
102	F	cauc	18	hetero *	P+
108	F	cauc	15	bisex	P+
109	F	cauc	18	hetero	P+
110	F	native	15	hetero	P+
113	M	native	17	hetero	P+

* denotes change or confusion in sexual orientation over year

Influence of Subculture on Exiting

Youth involved in the subculture of street prostitution have well defined beliefs about the meaning of their experiences. Their interpretation of life events is based on observations of others in similar circumstances, information that is communicated to them about people like themselves," and their own self-image and feelings about their potential for change.

The belief system of the subculture provides readily available rationalizations for failing to change and for remaining in street life. We have listed some of these beliefs as cited to us by youth in this study.

1. "Once a whore, always a whore."

2. "There's so much street in me, I'll never get it out."

3. "They all die or end up junkies."

4. "You're always going to have that feeling like you want to be on the street. You are always going to go back. You are going to do it, just to do it."

5. "I don't feel safe anywhere but the streets. You get protection."

6. "Most of us feel used and ashamed of ourselves. And we just stay where we think we should be."

In Table 6.9 we have provided samples of descriptive data on: 1) factors precipitating an exit, 2) role of services, and 3) role of family in exiting. This data is presented by case for several of the subjects and in their own words.

In Table 6.10 we have summarized factors identified as influencing a return to <u>on</u> street status.

In Table 6.11 we have listed factors that influence a progressive movement away from the street. We have identified these factors as positive or negative. Negative factors are indicative of a likely return or regression because they may be a temporary circumstance.

As the proceding discussions will show, youth whose exits are based on positive factors are less likely to return to the streets.

TABLE 6.9 ROLE OF SERVICE CONTACTS IN EXIT

201	didn't talk to services about exiting, afraid they would tell parents about activities, wnt home on probation, maintained contact with one staff who "understands street kids".
203	provided services needed such as counseling, housing, no contact in later exit attempts and not follow up, chaged caseworkers three time.
204	provided housing and support, no follow up
205	provided housing and support with follow up, no exit
206	no role
207	no role
208	provided with long term housing, caseworker subpport, follow up care and support, was later incarcerated no follow up or visits
210	no role in first exit attempts, late heavy caseworker involvement, advocacy in housing, transportation, foster care placemtn, continued aftercare following exit.
211	no active role, support from street friends, later caseworkers imposed structure on use of services to motivate prpogress and provided emergency housing when needed.
212	support in contacting mother, family reconciliation with adoptive parents, no basic needs requested.
213	no role, DSHS licensed foster home client found on own.
217	active involvement with services, provided housing, nurturing, emotional support, counseling, family sessions, connections with off street support network, exit lasted five days, no follow up and then reduced contact.
218	emergency housing, emotional support, counseling
221	regular use of services - housing, counseling, academic counseling from service teacher, support of peers
222	used services for basic needs and to contact street friends, no counseling, very independent
226	provided with basic needs, housing, food, family counseling, little contact following exit, strong need to be independent of services

TABLE 6.9 FACTORS PRECIPITATING EXITS

201	almost dies of drug overdoes, bad memory of older brother who died of heroin overdose, wanted away from drug scene, fear of drugs and death, incarcerated for prostitution arrest, placed on rigid probation and folled restrictions to avoid further incarceration, wanted to prove self to parents and managed the discipline to do it.
202	life on street became hard, difficult to find food and shelter, was tired of running, was motivated by peers who were doing well, was incarcerated and placed on rigid probation.
204	had problems on the street and became afraid of the violence, was in danger
205	had street enemies, was turning 18 and felt it was time to change.
206	became involved with sugar daddy who provided needs and took care everything, wanted a family, and safety from street enemeis and threats of violence, didn't like self as prostitute, disliked having sex with males, could not trust any street friends.
208	sick of streets, had gun and knife pulled on when on drugs, brok up with boyfriend, had friend who also wanted to leave streets, was incarcerated, decides to try living with family again.
209	fear of street violence, wanted caring and sfe environment.
210	tired of instability and prostitution, wanted to reconcile with mother.
213	needed housing, was able to work out relationship with peer's mother, became foster home, did not want street life or further incarceration.
214	tired of prostitution and of pimp working her, wanted safety and nurturing.
215	picked up on O&A, motivated to avoid arrest, wanted something better for self.
221	never liked the streets, only there out of necessity, other peers told to get off and helped with protection from street problems
223	wanted away from drugs, prostitution, and danger, wanted stability.
225	reconciliation with mother, was moved by show of concern
101	strong connection with services, reconcile with father, placed in gay foster home, was on the street because of lack of alternative and because of homosexuality.

TABLE 6.9 ROLE OF FAMILY IN EXIT

201	conflict with father, mother wanted clinet back, provided shelter, financial and emotional support.
203	father wanted client back home, ended involvemtn with mother who was unstable and transient, felt good about father's overtures but knows he is not consistent.
204	mother took care of client's baby, not enough home resources for client to live at home, poverty.
206	no role, client wanted to live with father but was not allowed to by him
207	called mother to say hello, mother asked to come home, client statyed for two days, father called client a whore and kicked her out
210	provided shelter, food, and work in family business, but conditioned on ending homosexual involvements
213	no role in exit, are now supportive, had given up custody to date due to lack of financial resources
218	provided hom but alientated from family because of homosexuality
221	regular contact with mother, would like to live at home but has conflict with stepfather and no contact with father, recently got veteran's benefits through father for support
224	arranged for placement through state, sued parents for support, contact severed by parents after award
101	no contact with mother because of mental illness, father supportive but living situation is unstable, occassionally lives with father but is disliked by step mother because of homosexuality
*note	clients do turn to families if they are available

Table 6.10 Factors Influencing Regression

Services	Family	Institutions
Mistrust of services.	Rejection by parents or parental figures.	Avoid treatment.
Inappropriate response/addressed wrong issue.	Rejection because of homosexuality.	Avoid incarceration.
No follow-up or after care.	Avoid abuse.	Alienation from school.
Service intolerance.	Dysfunctional & disorganized family.	Dysfunctional in expected roles.
Loss or change of caseworker	Poverty/No resources or support.	Inappropriate response to circumstance resulting in mistrust.
Difficult communication due to ethnic/class difference.	Irreconcilable problems.	

Social Network	Material Status	Psychological Status
Attraction to pimp/lover.	Too young to work/rent an apts.	Chemical addiction.
Need for hay peers.	Need for financial resource.	Mental disorder.
Companionship need/loneliness & need for street friends.	Loss of resources when turn 18 & need for money.	Depression.
Loss of off street relationship.		Self-image.
Need for status & role of street encultured/street identity.		Passivity.
Feel safe on street - return when dangerous situation is resolved.		
Part of adult criminal network.		

Table 6.11 Factors Influencing Progression

Positive Factors (+)	Negative Factors (-)
Family Reconciliation	Avoiding Pimp
Family Acceptance of homosexuality	Avoiding Street Enemies
Pregnancy	O & A Arrest
Long Term Foster Care	Probation/Incarceration
Off-Street Financial Support/Income from School, employment, state	Street Burn-out
Need for Structure/Nurturing/Dependent	Loss of Street Status
Maturing Out-Self Image Change and Future oriented	Loss of Street Network
Move Out of Area	Drug & Alcohol Treatment

CHAPTER 7

CHARACTERISTICS OF ENDING STATUS GROUPS

Introduction

The youth we identified to participate in the STEP research were in different stages of a street life career. These stages included levels of entrance, commitment and exit. A sample of this sort is problematic for interpreting numerical analyses because of the lack of controls. On the other hand, the sample was extraordinarily valuable from the perspective of exploratory research. This group provided us with a view of the entire spectrum of circumstances affecting the lives of street youth and a cross-sectional view of their deviant career patterns.

As we have described in previous chapters, the youth were tracked over a 15 month period. During this time, their street status--off, in transition or on, often changed. When the formal interviews and tracking were completed the youth were individually assigned an ending status. In this chapter we present findings from our analyses of variables by these three status outcomes.

The previous chapter on exiting showed the fluidity of status patterns over time. We recognize that the ending status categories are not likely to be the end of the story for these youth. Indeed, there were status changes as this report was being written. The point in time we selected to assign an ending status was arbitrarily defined by research parameters and not the life circumstances of the youth. The reader will see, however, that the 15 month tracking period was long enough for patterns to emerge that could be correlated to specific variables. In this regard, the exploratory research approach has been successful because we have been able to generate formal hypotheses from these data.

Street Status Categories

After completion of the third formal interview and tracking, the sample was categorized by outcome in relation to street status. There were three categories:

1. those who had exited from street life (off),
2. those who were in transition (T),
3. those who were still involved with street life (on).

The operationalized definition for these categories was described in Chapter II on methodology.

The frequencies in the ending status categories that were used for statistical analyses are shown in table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Ending Status March 1986

Street Status N=40	Off 12	Transition 8	On 18	Unknown 2

Two months after the ending status was assigned we tracked the sample once more. We found that two youth who had been in the off category had returned to the streets. The reader will note that the starting category frequencies may be different in some tables. We used this "final" status for some of the qualitative analyses.

Table 7.2 Final Status May 1986

Street Status N=40	Off 10	Transition 8	On 20	Unknown 2

The following information was provided in an earlier chapter, but we repeat it here for the convenience of the reader.

Table 7.3 Starting Status January 1986

Street Status	Off 6	Transition 15	On 19	Unknown 0

As one can see, there are a few more youth off the street at the end of the study, than there were at the beginning. Yet, only 25% of the sample have exited. Services are working for these youth. We are, however, in the unenviable position of explaining what has happened to the other 75%. We believe our data provides insight that can lead to improved services for these youth who have been unable to exit. Indeed, that was the purpose of the research. We will begin by presenting our results on the variables associated with the status outcome.

Demographic Characteristics of Status Groups

The tables below summarize the basic demographic characteristics of youth by ending status (March 1986).

Age

The ages of the group ranged from 14-17. The group of youth who were off the street were slightly older than the others, but

Characteristics of Ending Status Groups
(as of March 1986)

	ON (n=18)	TRANSITION (includes ltp) (n=8)	OFF (n=12)
Age			
15 & under	39% (7)	62% (5)	33% (4)
16 & over	61% (11)	37% (3)	67% (8)
Mean age	15.72	15.25	16.17
Gender			
male	39% (7)	62% (5)	33% (4)
female	61% (11)	37% (3)	67% (8)
Ethnicity			
caucasian	83% (15)	75% (6)	58% (7)
black	6% (1)	25% (2)	17% (2)
native/ hispanic	11% (2)	0	25% (3)
Primary Sexual Orientation			
heterosexual	53% (9)	62% (5)	50% (6)
homosexual	18% (3)	37% (3)	25% (3)
bisexual	29% (5)	0	25% (3)

	ON	TRANSITION	OFF
Ever live w/ both parents			
natural	50% (9)	50% (9)	75% (9)
adoptive	22% (4)	0	17% (2)
totals	72%(13)	50% (9)	92%(11)
Years with both parents			
0-3 years	57% (8)	62% (5)	18% (2)
7+ years	43% (6)	37% (3)	82% (9)
Mean yrs. with both parents	5.25	5.0	8.36
Ever addicted	61% (8)	57% (4)	45% (5)
Addicted Jan. 85	25% (3)	14% (1)	30% (3)
Addicted second interview	23% (3)	14% (1)	0
Abuse (includes sexual and physical)			
abused	56%(10)	25% (2)	25% (3)
not abused	44% (8)	75% (6)	75% (9)

not significantly so. Although our sample was too small and varied for an adequate statistical measure, we did observe that older youth had some advantage that would accommodate an exit. Older youth are more likely to become employed and are able to rent apartments. Children's Services are less likely to insist on having them in placements, which they will not stay in. "Maturing out" may also be a positive factor in exiting for older youth. The younger subjects had fewer such resources available to them. In addition, the street life was their hiding place from coercive placements.

Gender

There were more females (n=23) than males (n=17) in the sample. However, males and females were fairly evenly distributed across the categories. Generally, older males, and females who had become pregnant, were in the off-street category.

Ethnicity

There was not a clear association between ethnicity and ending status. A majority of the sample were caucasian. The number of ethnic youth, while representative, was too small for meaningful numerical analyses. We did observe that Black male homosexual youth tended to remain in the transition category throughout the research period. These youth felt particularly alienated from their ethnic culture and were not particularly accepted within the homosexual subculture. Their transition category accurately reflects their limbo status in society. These youth seemed to be without a social structure in which they could participate.

Sexual Orientation

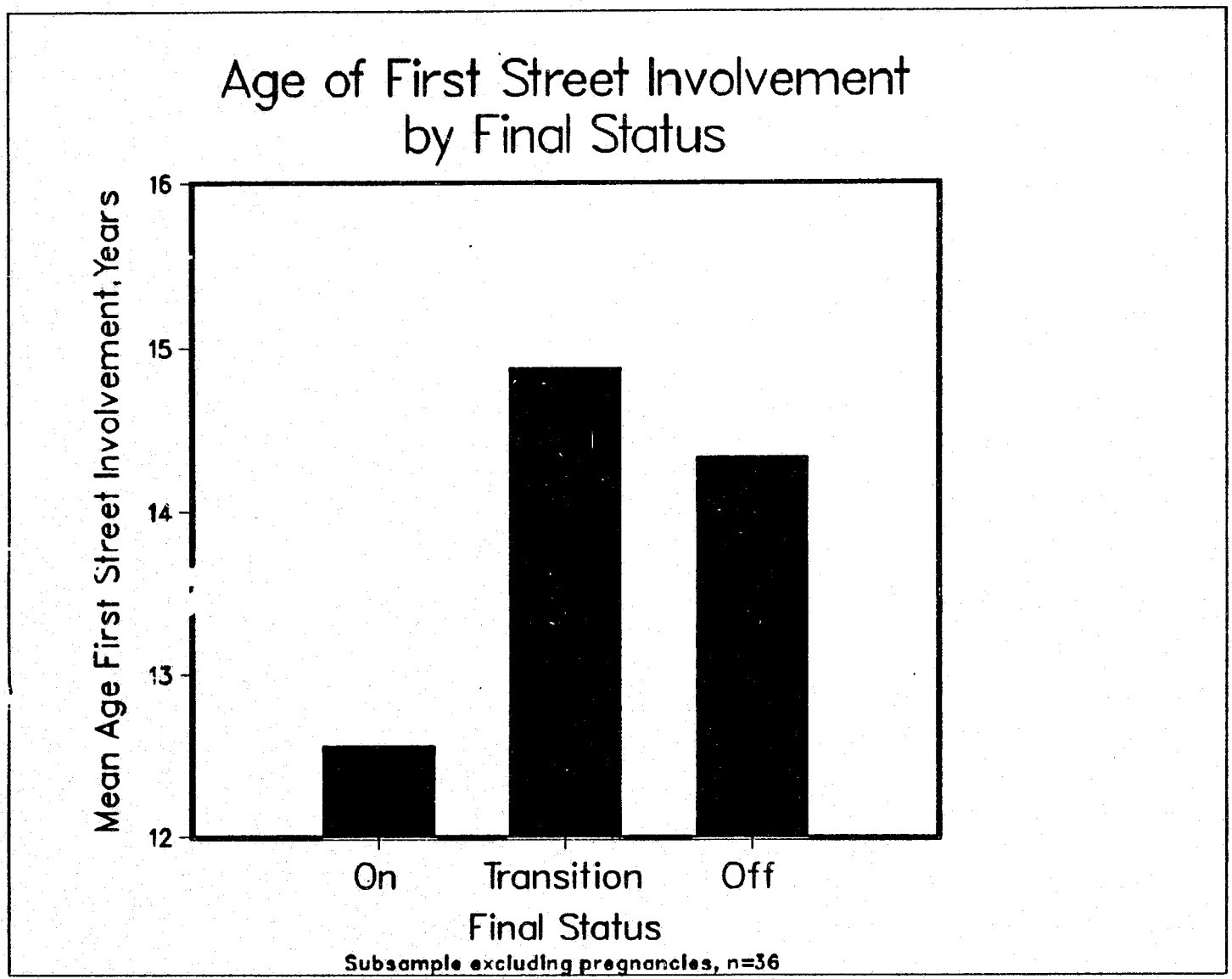
Of the sample, 44% identified as homosexual or bisexual. This is extraordinarily high in comparison to the general population (estimates are between 8 and 20%). A non-heterosexual orientation is a factor in street involvement. However, these data indicated that there is not an association between sexual orientation and ending status.

The characteristics described above were not correlated with ending status at significant levels. We did, however, find significant associations between ending status and several variables that were combined into a composite variable we called early socialization. The findings from our analyses and variance among early socialization factors are described below. The significant findings have also been displayed with the assistance of a computer graphics program.

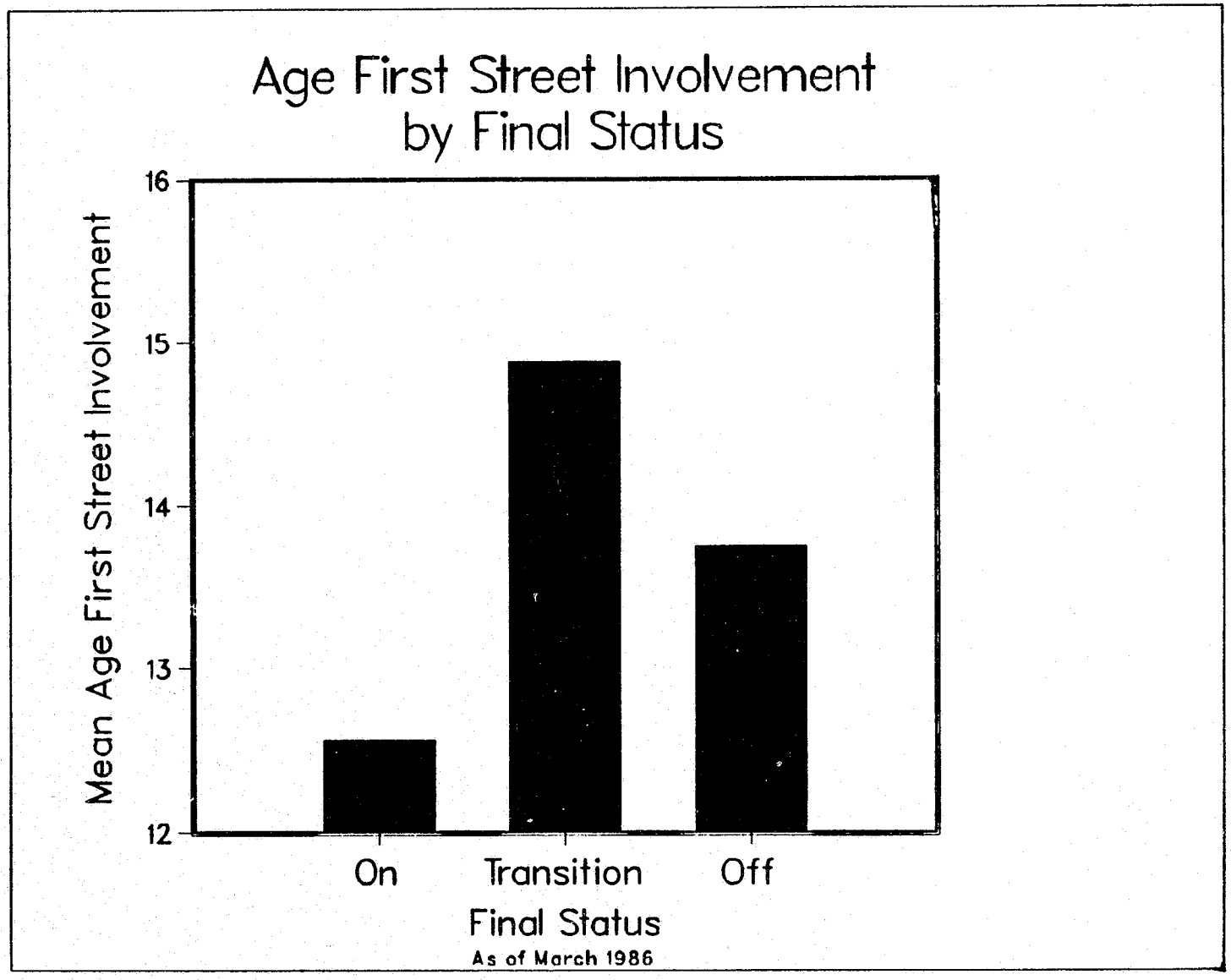
Age at First Street Involvement

The age at first street involvement ranged from 7 years old to 17. The mean age was 13.5 years old. The mean age for each status category is given in the data summaries. As can be seen, the on street youth were involved in street life at an age that was one year younger than the off group, and 2 years younger than the transition group. This finding was significant at $p<.05$. (See graphs 7a and 7b.)

Graph 7a


Age of First Street Involvement
by Final Status
Mean Age First Street Involvement, Years
16
15
14
13
12
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Subsample excluding pregnancies, n=36

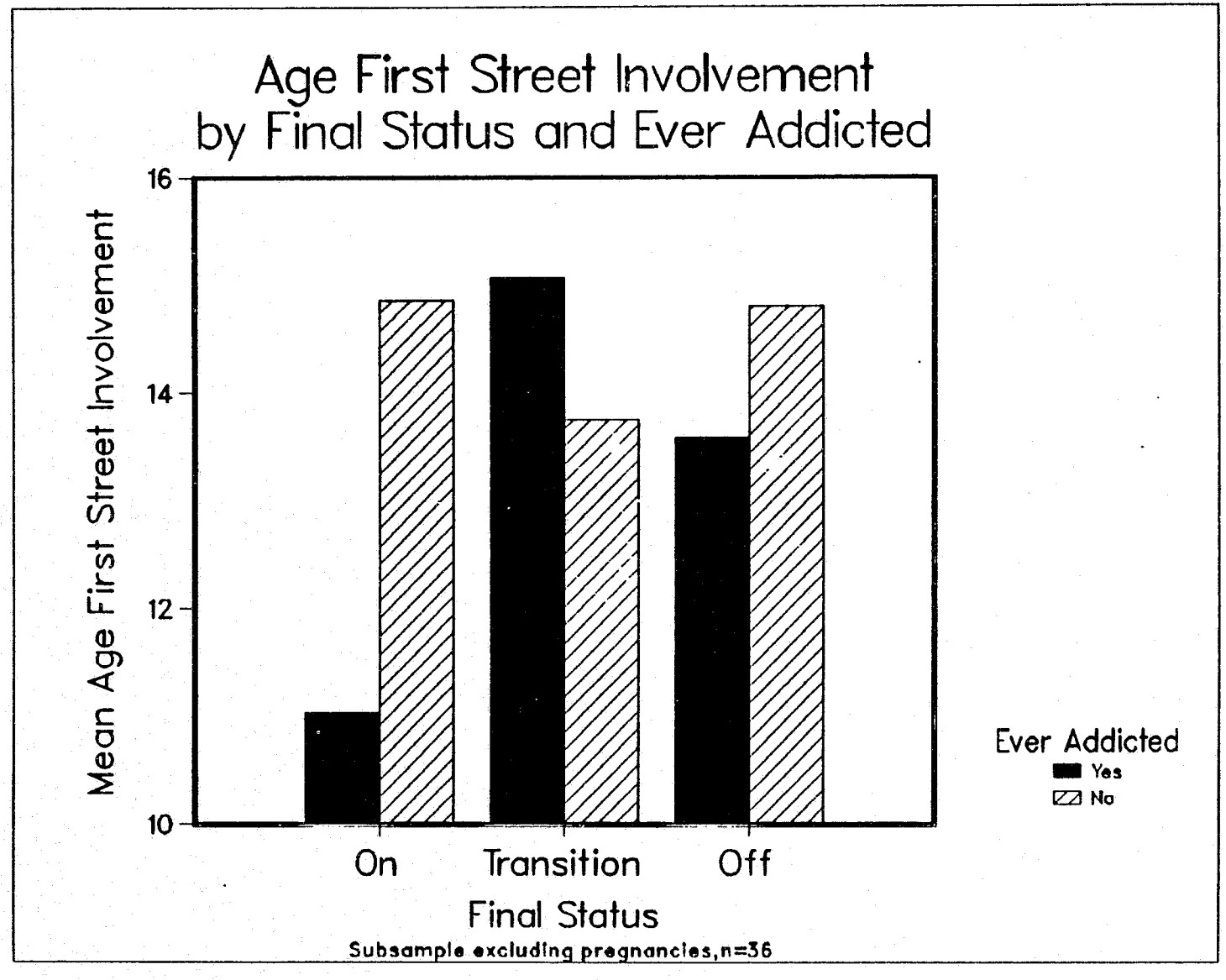
Graph 7b


Age First Street Involvement
by Final Status
Mean Age First Street Involvement
16
15
14
13
12
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
As of March 1986

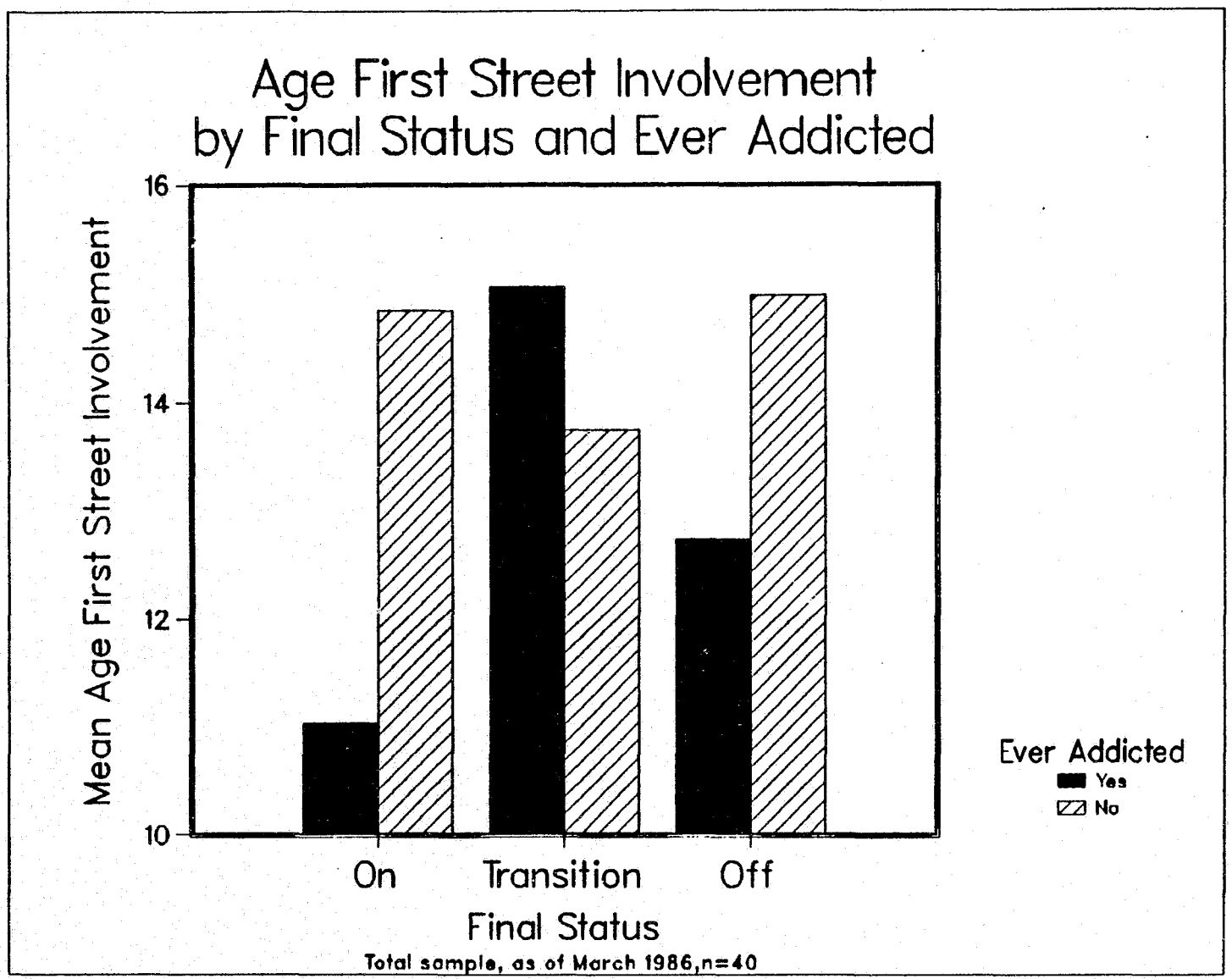
Total Length of Time on the Street

The length of time on the street ranged from 1 month (2 youth spent a total of 1 month living on the streets over a 3-6 month period) to 96 months (8 years). The means for length of time on the street for each category are listed in the data summaries. As one can see, youth who were still on the street at the end of the tracking period had spent more time on the street in comparison to youth in the other categories. Based on a F value, this finding was significant at a level of $p<.05$. (See graphs 7c and 7d.)

Graph 7c


Age First Street Involvement
by Final Status and Ever Addicted
Mean Age First Street Involvement
16
14
12
10
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Addicted
Yes
No
Subsample excluding pregnancies, n=36

Graph 7d


Age First Street Involvement
by Final Status and Ever Addicted
Mean Age First Street Involvement
16
14
12
10
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Addicted
Yes
No
Total sample, as of March 1986, n=40

Ever Live With Both Parents

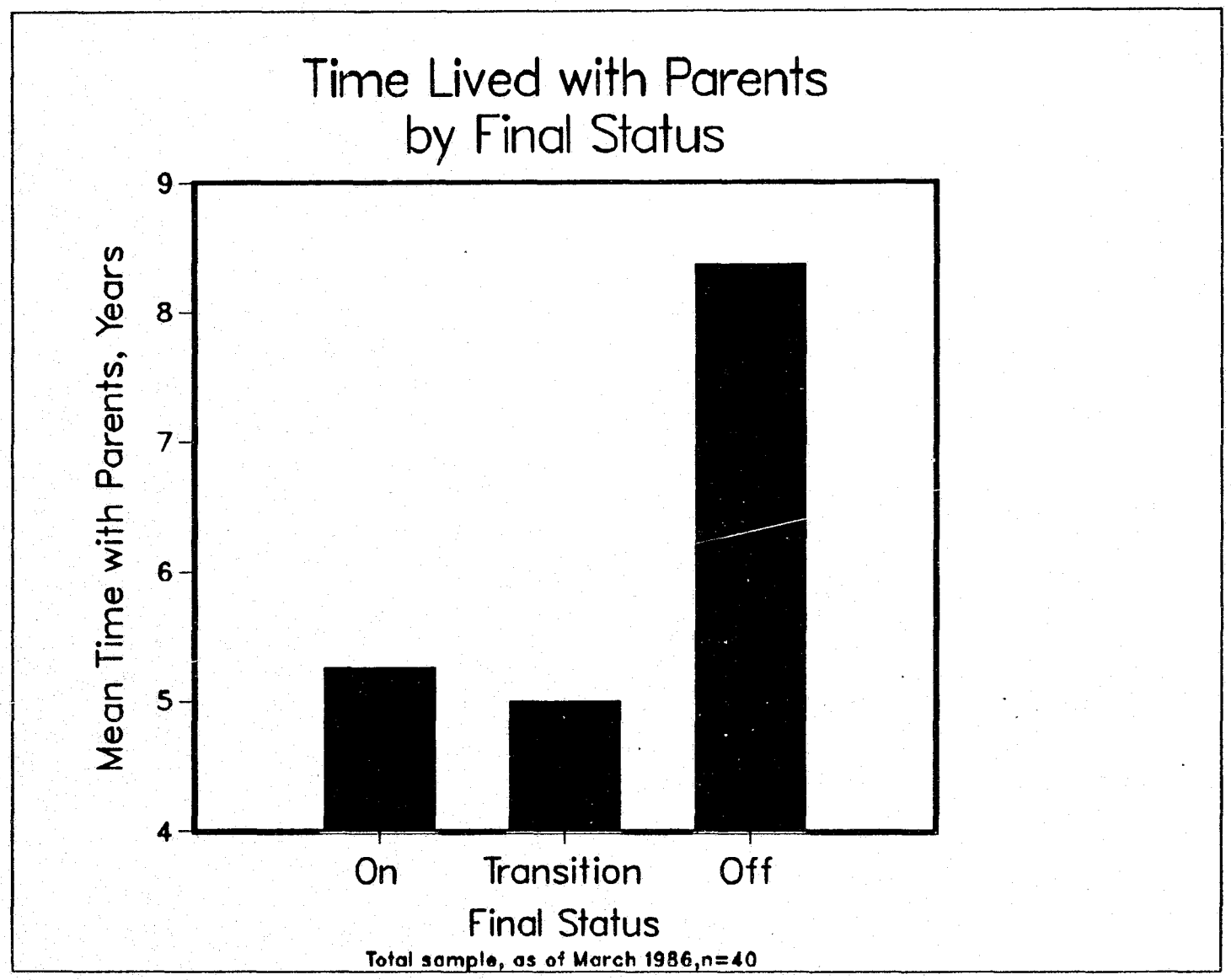
Of the sample, 82.5% had lived with their parents at some time. It is interesting to note that 6 youth, 15% of the sample, were adopted. Nearly all of the youth who were off the street (92%) had lived with both parents, while one 72% of those still on the street had done so. The difference in the parenting experience between the off street and in street groups is more striking when one looks at the amount of time each group spent with parents.

Years with Both Parents

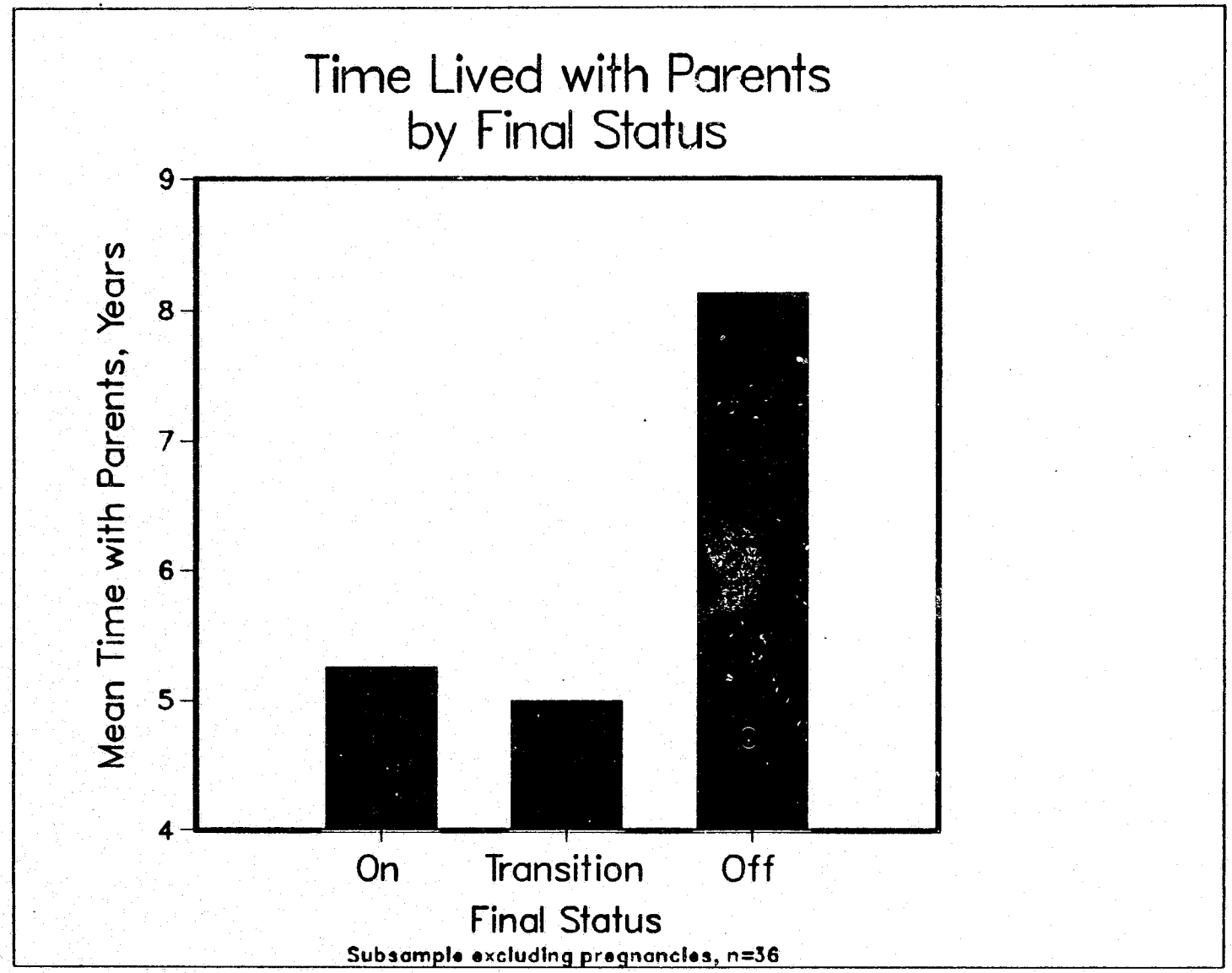
First, one should keep in mind that 28% of the on street youth had never lived with both parents in contrast to 8% (1) of the off street group. The mean for years with parents is three years less for the on and transition group (5 years) in contrast to 8 years for the off group. (See graphs 7e and 7f.)

We combined the transition and on groups and compared time with both parents against the off group. Of those in the low category, 86.7% were either on the street or in transition. This finding was significant $p<.06$.

Graph 7e


Time Lived with Parents
by Final Status
Mean Time with Parents, Years
9
8
7
6
5
4
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Total sample, as of March 1986,n=40

Graph 7f


Time Lived with Parents
by Final Status
Mean Time with Parents, Years
9
8
7
6
5
4
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Subsample excluding pregnancies, n=36

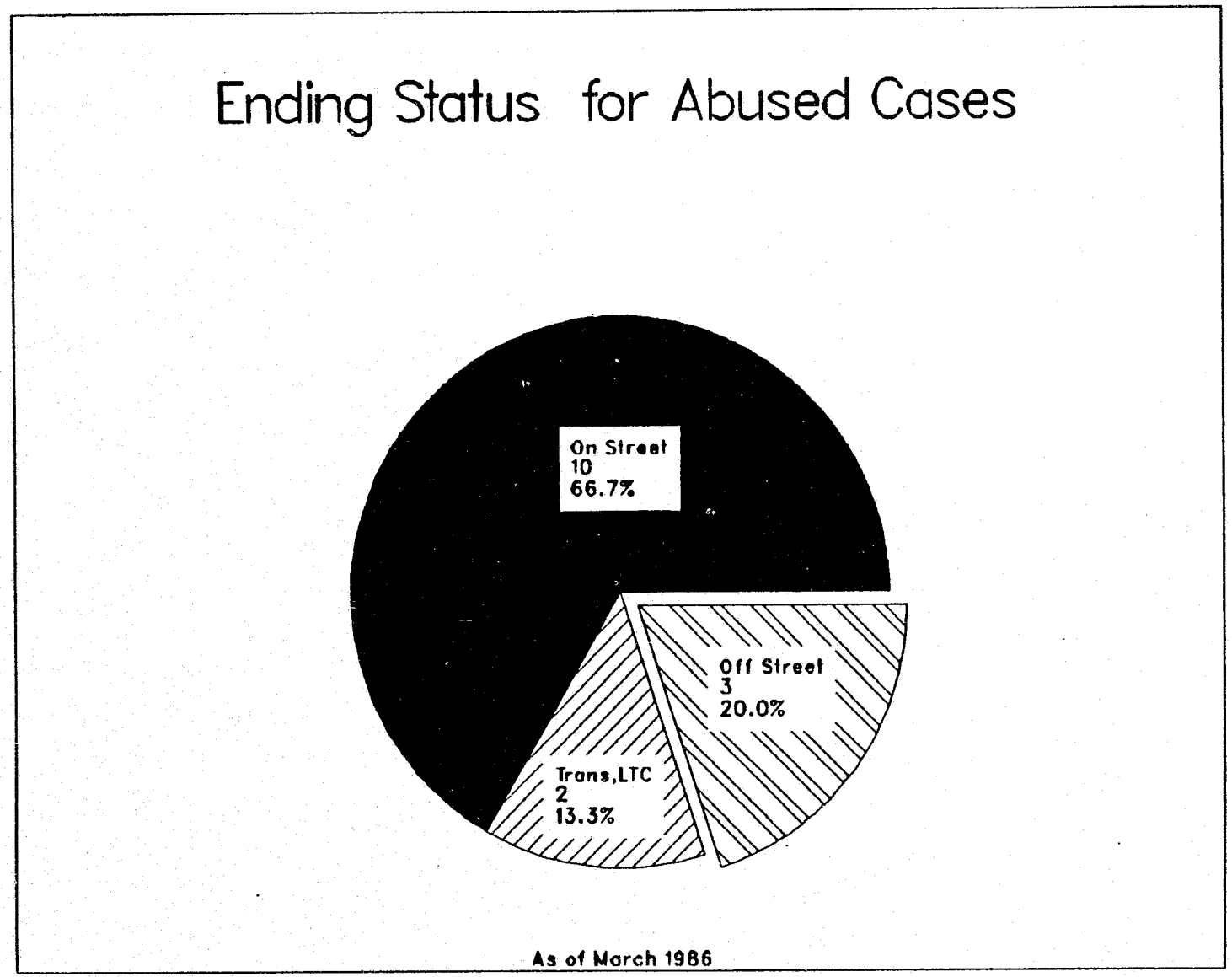
Abuse

The reader may recall from the data summaries in Chapter 3 that 40% (16) of the sample experienced sexual abuse prior to street involvement. Another 18% (7) reported an attempted molestation prior to street involvement. Of the sample 78% reported experiencing one or more of the following incidents:

parents hit me	molestation
attempted molestation	rape
attempted rape	incest

One can see from the data below, that abuse was far more likely to have been the experience of youth still on the street than for those now off the street. (See graph 7g).

Graph 7g


Ending Status for Abused Cases
On Street
10
66.7%
Off Street
3
20.0%
Trans,LTC
2
13.3%
As of March 1986

Summary of Group Characteristics

On Street Status

Those youth who were in the on category at the end of the interviewing and tracking period had the following characteristics in common. In contrast to off street youth, on street youth had been:

1. involved in street life at an earlier age.
2. surviving on the street for a longer period of time.
3. abused more severely both physically and sexually.
4. without parents or with parents for a shorter period of time.

On Street youth had earlier exposure to subculture values, were more enculturated into street life, had experienced less positive socialization and opportunities for integration into conventional life. In addition, the higher incidence of abuse among the on group raises questions concerning their developmental histories.

Transition Group

The transition group were highly dependent on services. This group was relatively small by the end of the research although nearly all of the subjects had been assigned as transition at one time or another. The transition group tended to fall into two sub-categories. Transition youth were either Black and homosexual, or younger clients (under 15) who refused DSHS placements and would limit service involvement because of fear of coercion.

Unknown Group

After the last tracking, which was done in May 1986, we had only 2 subjects on whom we were unable to get information. They were both female, one was hispanic and the other native American. Both youth tended to be disconnected and uncomfortable with the social service system. Our observations of these youth while we were in contact with them, suggest that ethnic and class value conflict played a major role in their alienation from services.

Off Street Group

As of March 1986, 12 youth were assigned an off street status. The situations that accommodated their exit are as follows:

1. 5 youth entered foster homes.

2. 4 females became pregnant and took advantage of such stabilizing services as Aid to Dependent Children and Women, Infants, and Children's program.

3. One youth sued her parents for damages from childhood abuse. She won the suit and was provided with an income.

4. One youth reconciled with his family who had rejected him because of his homosexuality. He went home.

5. One youth reconciled with family over long-term conflicts.

Within two months 2 youth had returned to the streets. We now know that one of these youth has exited again.

Youth who were able to leave the street had the following characteristics in common in contrast to the on group:

1. minimal exposure to street life and prostitution.

2. later involvement in street life.

3. stable family life in early childhood.

4. were more likely to have lived with both parents at same time.

5. were more likely to have spent more time with both parents.

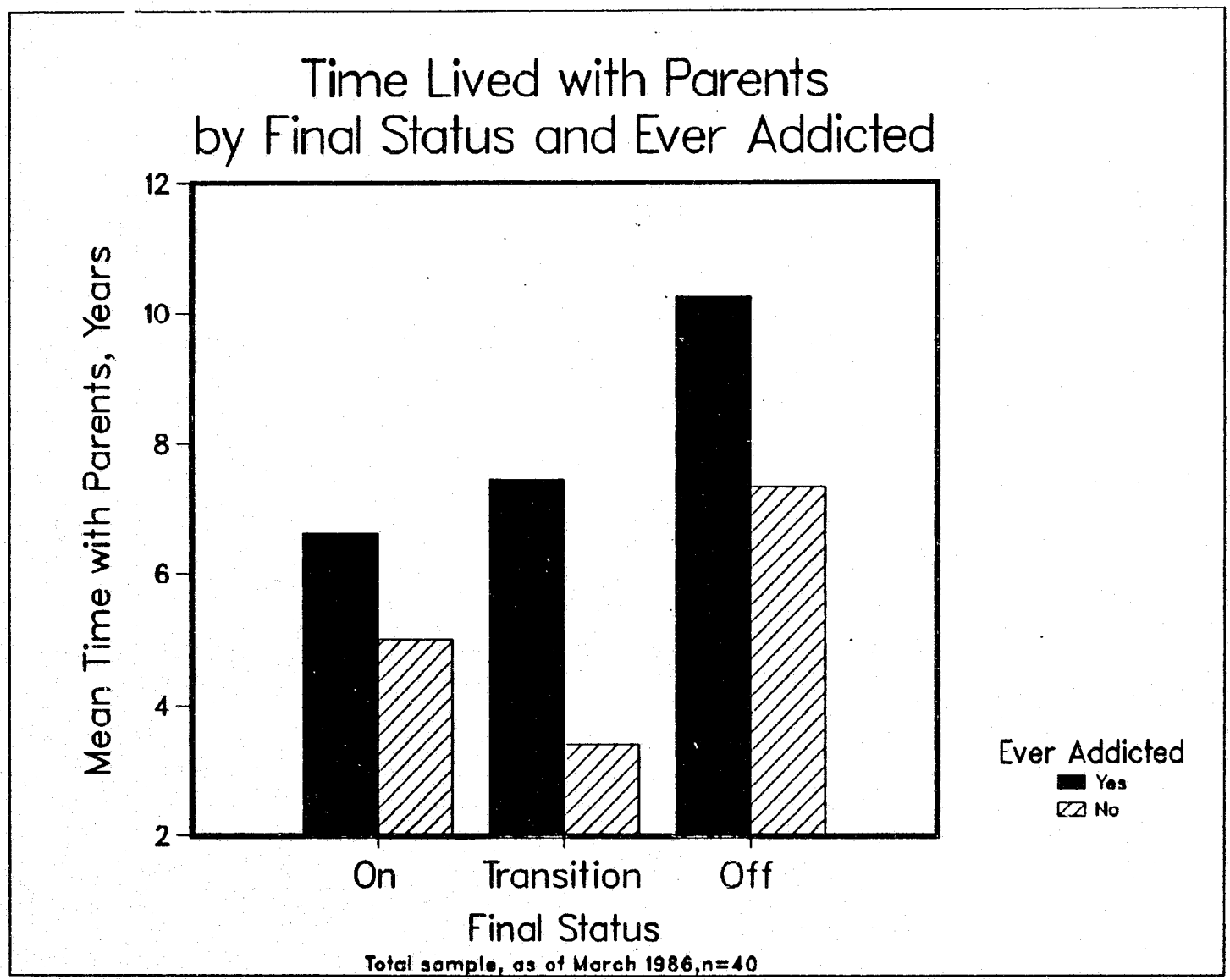
6. were less likely to have been abused, or were abused less severely.

Conclusion

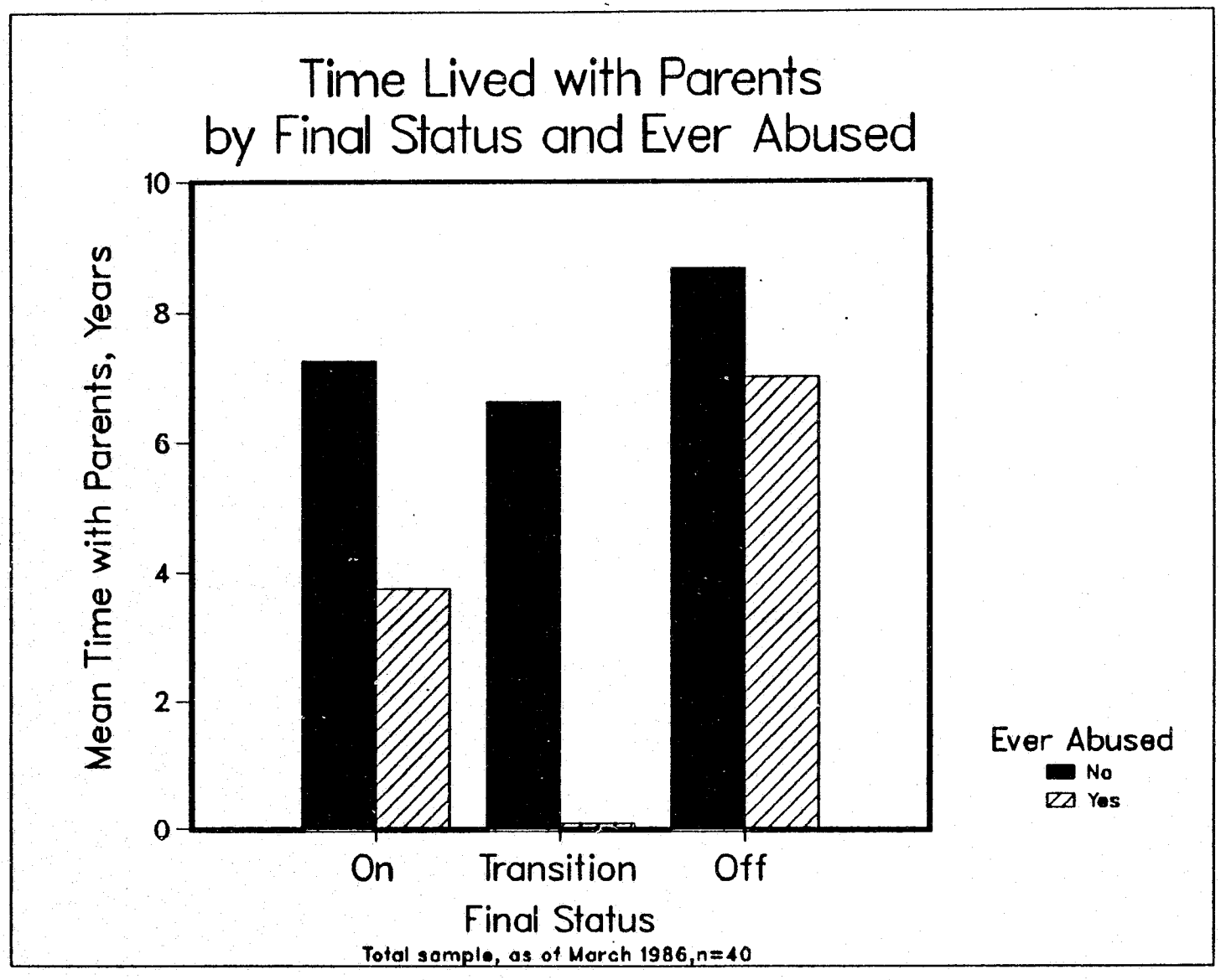
Youth who exited from street life during the STEP study had these characteristics in common: 1) they had experienced less abuse as children prior to street involvement; 2) they had spent more time with parents or parental figures; and 3) they had become involved in street life at a later age than youth who did not exit or who remained in a transition state (see graphs). These4 factors were part of a composite variable called early socialization that was found to be significantly associated with a street exit. Youth who were able to sustain an exit had experienced more positive socialization than youth who remained in the street environment. Observations of these youth in a variety of situations indicate their early socialization had provided them with the: 1) maturation capacity, 2) basic skills, and 3) self-esteem required to effect change in their lives and to avail

themselves of service resources. Their more positive early socialization experience acted as a protective cushion against prolonged self-destructive behavior. The resources they brought to the service setting enable them to maximize their use of resources and to effect an exit. As graphs 7h-7k show, positive early socialization could compensate for factors that tend to inhibit an exit, such as addiction and abuse. In the next chapter we discuss how the youth in the different outcome categories utilized services.

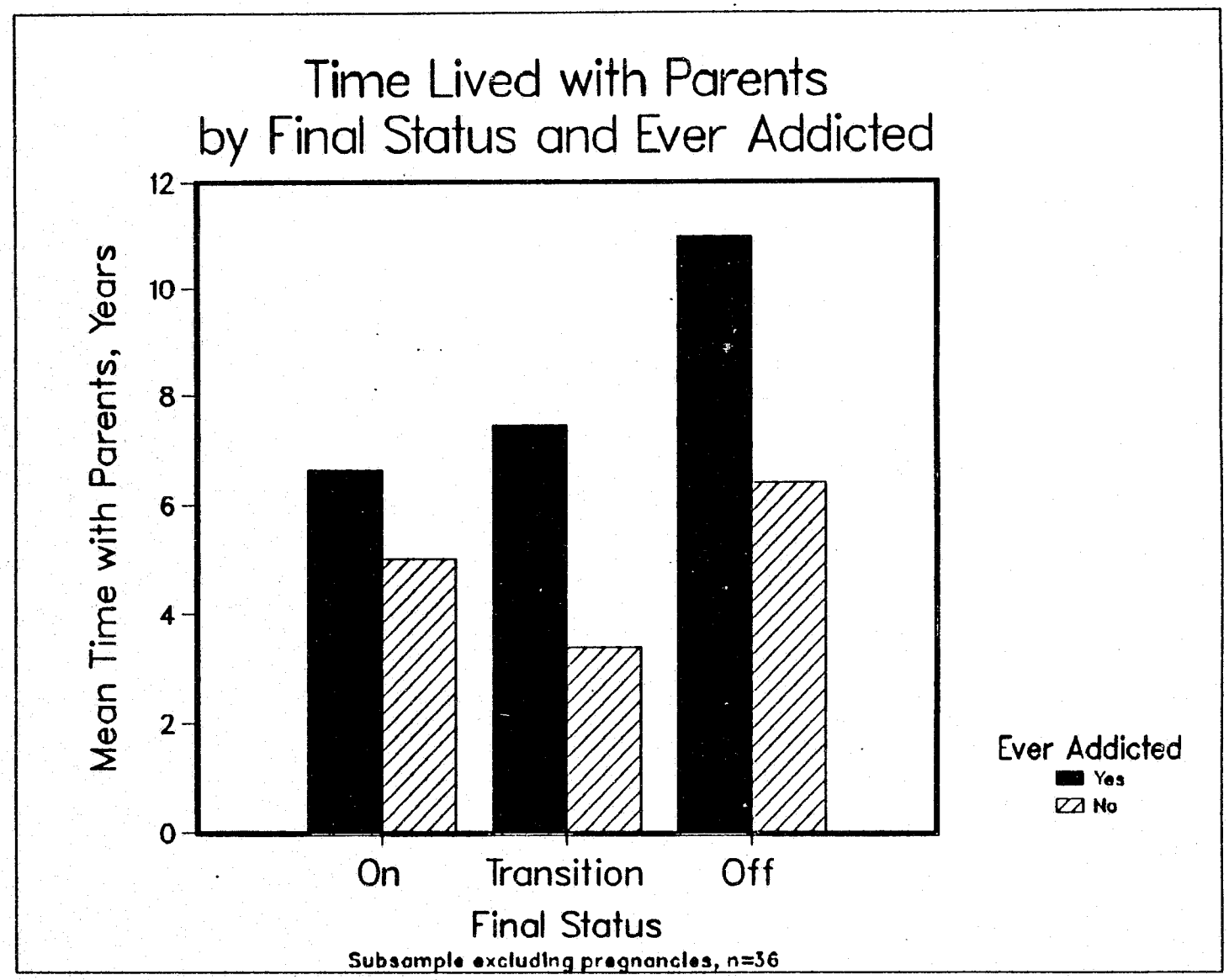
Graph 7h


Time Lived with Parents
by Final Status and Ever Addicted
Mean Time with Parents, Years
12
10
8
6
4
2
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Addicted
Yes
No
Total sample, as of March 1986, n=40

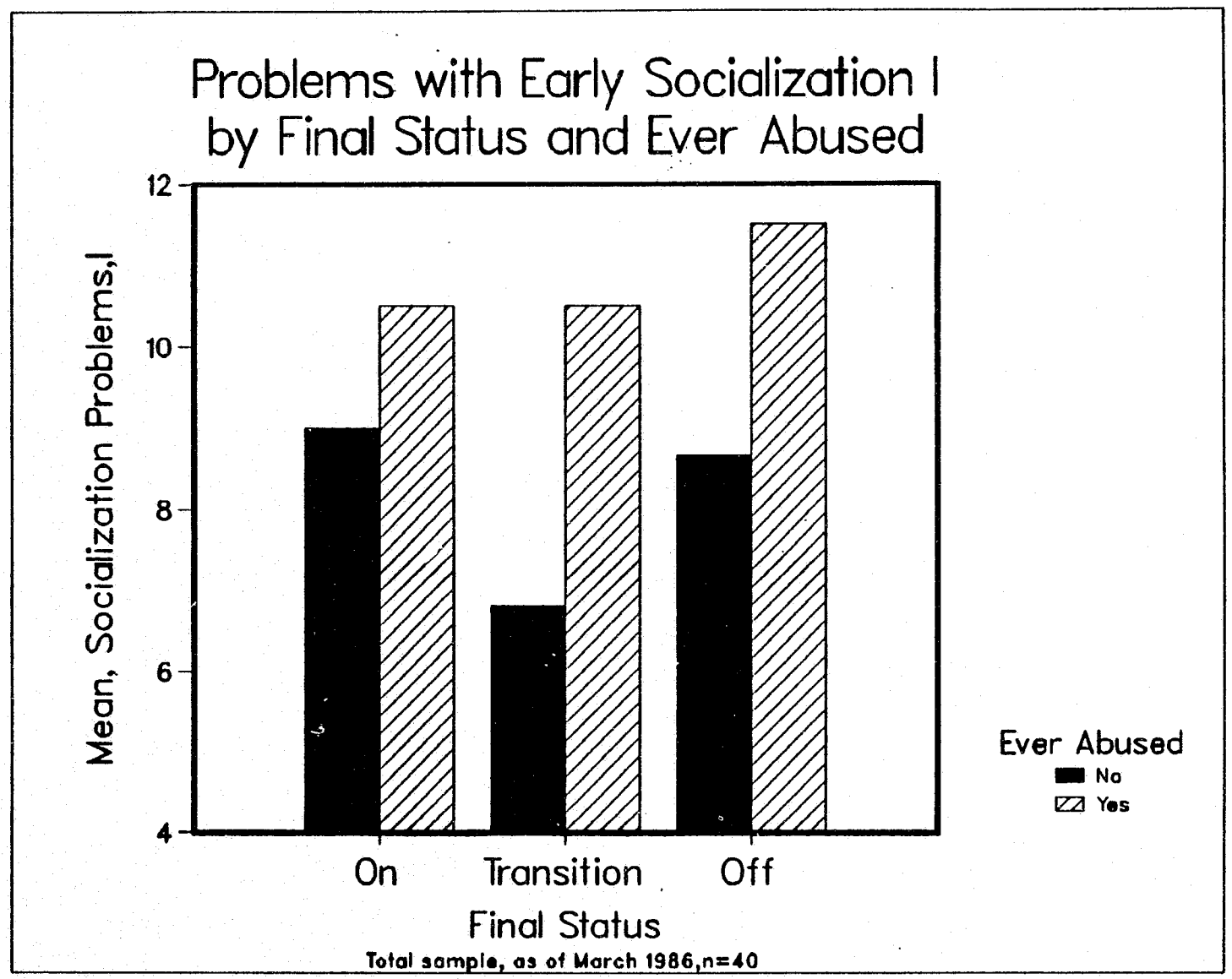
Graph 7i


Time Lived with Parents
by Final Status and Ever Abused
Mean Time with Parents, Years
10
8
6
4
2
0
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Abused
No
Yes
Total sample, as of March 1986, n=40

Graph 7j


Time Lived with Parents
by Final Status and Ever Addicted
Mean Time with Parents, Years
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Addicted
Yes
No
Subsample excluding pregnancies, n=36

Graph 7k


Problems with Early Socialization I
by Final Status and Ever Abused
Mean, Socialization Problems,I
12
10
8
6
4
On
Transition
Off
Final Status
Ever Abused
No
Yes
Total sample, as of March 1986,n=40

ON STREET FEMALE

CASE SUMMARIES

ENDING STATUS: ON STREET

Female prostitutes with on street status at end of research

Case #	Description
103	First prostitution activity at age 12. Sexually abused since early childhood. Mother addicted to drugs. Involved with professional pimp for three years. Mother also involved with subject's pimp. Enculturation into adult street subculture.
104	On street since age 12. Parents abandoned her. Has know knowledge of whereabouts of father. Mother is alcoholic. Has had no parenting.
106	On street since age 8. Sexually abused in childhood. Enculturation into adult street subculture. Is addicted to several drugs. Has no contact with family. Had little parenting.
107	Mother rejected her because she was an unwanted child and skin tone darker than other children. Lived with other family members, saw father irregularly. Pregnant and had a child at age 14. Involved with a pimp. Involved with prostitution since age 13.
111	Involved in street activities since age 11. Serious chemical dependency with multiple drugs. Adopted and mother remains supportive.
201	On street sinceage 12. Adopted and relationships failed Addicted to several drugs. Brother dies of heroin addiction. Identified in early childhood as having mental disorders. Parents physically abused her and are also alcoholics. Works independently, without pimp. Enculturation into adult street life subculture

C A S E S U M M A R I E S

E N D I N G S T A T U S : T R A N S I T I O N

Female prostitutes with transition status at end of research.

212 — On the street at age 14. Was adopted at age six. Was physically and sexually abused by adoptive parents. At age 14 gave up on parents and was determined to be independent. Prostituted and did domestic work to survive. Has become a nanny for people who are marginally involved with street life.

215 — On the street at age 15. Comes from a family with middle class socio-economic status and no abuse history. Became involved with a pimp and drug use. Has low self-esteem problem, very alienated from peers and family.

Male prostitutes and street youth with transition status at end of research.

202 — On the street at age 13. Is a minority youth who is homosexual and has been unable to achieve family reconciliation. Feels rejected by family and culture, experiencing identity confusion.

211 — On the street at age 17. Is a minority gay youth. Mother is an alchoholic and was physically abused by father. Family has rejected him. Has decreased prostitution and drug use.

218 — On the street at age 15. Father abondoned family. Mother could not parent. They lived with several of her boyfriends. Is gay and alienated from family. Living with sugar daddy.

ON STREET FEMALE

Female prostitutes with on street status at end of research

203 First involvement with prostitution at age 16. Is not involved with drugs. Is dependent on sugar daddy relationship. Has dysfunctional and neglectful parents.

207 On the street since age 14. Was sexually abused and completely rejected by parents. Is addicted to drugs.

214 On the street at age 12. Physically abused in early childhood. Has dysfunctional parents who are divorced. Involved with a pimp and enculturated into adult street subculture.

216 On the street since age 12. Heavy drug involvement and likely addiction. Enculturated into adult street subculture. Refers to herself consistently as a "junkie whore."

ON STREET MALE

Male street youth and prostitutes with on status at end of reseach

205 On street independently since age 14, however comes from a "street family." Family were "bikers" and used drugs regularly. Has prostituted and sold drugs to survive.

210 On the street since age 13. Was identified in childhood as emotionally disturbed. Parents are divorced. Mother has problemmatic drug use. Was rejected by family because of homosexuality

217 On street since age 8. Identified as emotionally disturbed, problems around homosexuality. Comes from a dysfunctional and rejecting family. Has problemmatic drug useage.

222 On the street since age 14. Experienced severe physical abuse. Was ejected from family. Is from a marginal street family. Had early exposure to street with deep enculturation.

223 On the street since age 17. Has been identified as having a possible emotional disturbance. Parents are very religious and rejected him because of homosexuality. Is addicted to drugs.

105 On the street from age 8. Comes from a street family. Mother can occasionally help. Is enculturated to a street lifestyle. Is addicted and has problems around his homosexuality.

114 On the street since age 11/ Is from a "crime involved family. Enculturated by family who have now abandoned him.

OFF STREET MALES

Male street youth and prostitutes with off street status at end of research

225	On street ag age 15. At that time parents divorced. Family rejected him because of homosexuality and tried to institutionalize him. Eventually mother accepted him. Left street following family reconciliation.
226	On street at age 14. Involved with delinquent behavior he was exposed to through peers. Achieved reconciliation with family and left streets.
101	On street at age 15. Was adopted and had early stable family life. Mother developed emotional disorder and parents divorced. Father unable to care for youth and could not live with mother. Had issues around mixed ethnic identity and homosexuality. Father remained supportive. Left street when placed in a gay foster home.
113	On street independently since age 12. Family was a street family. Both parents were alcoholic. Family remained supportive. Committed felony stayed in school and found foster home to keep probation requirements. Experienced seemed to have "matured" him.

OFF STREET FEMALES

Female prostitutes with off street status at end of research

108	On street at age 10. Experienced physical abuse and addicted to drugs. Became pregnant and female friends, ex-street people offered support.
109	On street at age 12. Addicted to various drugs. Involved with various treatment programs for emotional disturbances from age 2. Family was chaotic and non supportive. Became pregnant and married father, also a street youth. Relied on various services for exit.
110	On street at age 14. Had stable family life, but was severly physically abused in this setting. Very successful in school. Ran to escape abuse. Was placed in long term foster home.

OFF STREET FEMALES

C A S E S U M M A R I E S

E N D I N G S T A T U S : O F F S T R E E T

Female prostitutes with off street status at end of research.

Case #	Description
213	On street at age 15. Divorced and dysfunctional family. Is not addicted drugs, had limited exposure and involvement with prostitution. Was arrested and found own foster home during court process. Had stable family life in early childhood and no abuse.
219	On street at age 16. Had early stability with both parents until age 12. Parents divorced and was temporarily placed with DSHS. No drug involvement.
221	On street at age 16. Parents were divorced, but had early stability. Had minimum prostitution and drug involvement. Heavily dependent on services. Was able to receive veteran's benefits from father for income.
224	First involved with street and prostitution at age 13. Was adopted and had some early stability, but was also sexually abused. Heavy street enculturation, involvement with pimp, and drug use. Was able to win civil suit because of the abuse that provided her with income security.
102	On the street since age 11. Was physically and sexually abused. Has had three childten. Last pregnancy accomadated exit. All three children have been relenquished.

Youth in Long Term Placements at end of research

Status Assigned: Transition

209 — On the street at age 13. Was adopted. Identified as having emotional disorders, was hyperactive. Had several DSHS placements. Involved with drugs. Was frightened by the streets. Parents remained involved. Youth accepted placement.

220 — On the street at age 12. Was physically abused by father. Escaped from father with mother and siblings. Involved with drugs and prostitution. Was tired and afraid of streets. Mother stabilized and will take him back at some point.

208 — On the street at age 16. Was sexually and physically abused by step-father. Mother was very unstable and youth took over parenting role. Was in placements between age 10 and 16. Spent 9 months at Echo Glen (institution) and had drug addiction. Little enculturation into street life and dependent on services

CASE SUMMARIES

ENDING STATUS: UNKNOWN

Females

204

On the street at age 13. Was from a large Native American family. Experienced extreme poverty and has no resources. Was involved with a pimp and little service involvement. Our information indicates that she is most like still on the street.

112

On the street at age 15. Has been completely rejected and abandoned by family. Her father is in prison and she does not know were her mother is. Had not been prostituting when last heard from. Is very dependent upon boyfriend.

Males

206

On the street at age 15. Mother died at birth of youth and his twin sister. Father was unable to parent. Children were in many placement. Became involved in pimping, drug dealing, and prostitution. Had many street enemies and left town. Is likely to be involved in similar actitivities elsewhere.

CHAPTER 8

SERVICE USE CHARACTERISTICS OF ENDING STATUS GROUPS

In Chapter 3, we presented data on the use of services by the sample as a whole. In this chapter, we will describe the patterns of service use by each outcome group.

We first identified all of the services and resources available to youth in the programs (See Matrix 8.1 and Summary Table 8.2). These services are similar to those offered by other programs serving street youth across the country. The services offered include the following:

- Emergency needs
- Employment counseling
- Adult social network
- Skill development
- Family Reconciliation
- Intensive Therapy
- Outreach
- Recreation Activities
- Long-term Housing/ Foster Care
- Daily Activities
- Safe Haven
- Counseling
- Protection
- Court Advocacy
- Drug & Alcohol Counseling
- Aftercare follow-up
- Emergency Housing

We also identified other factors that were not explicit resources, but were qualities that positively influenced service involvement. These factors included:

- A stable casework relationship
- Investment in services by youth
- Age appropriate service response
- Use of a referral network
- Availability of off-street social network
- Planned treatment strategy
- Tolerance of youth by service staff

Services Used By All Groups

The resource matrix (8.1a and 8.1b) and accompanying table (8.2) identify the services used by all the youth. The sample is grouped by ending status and individually identified by case numbers.

One can see that all of the youth in the sample tended to use services for: 1) emergency needs -- food, shelter, emergency housing and medical care, 2) counseling, 3) safe haven, 4) outreach, 5) contact with adults. These services are the most readily available to youth. The design of programs tends to be oriented toward providing emergency, short-term, and crisis care.

Matrix 8.1a Resources Used by Ending Status — Off Street and Transition Youth

Case Numbers	Off Group										Transition							
	101	102	108	109	110	113	213	224	225	226	202	208	209	211	215	218	220	212
Resources																		
Emergency Needs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Counseling	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Safe Haven	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Outreach	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	-	X
Protection	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X
Daily Activity	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
Court Advocacy	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	X
Skill Development	X	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	Ø	X	X	X	-	X	X	-
Employment	X	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X		-
Family Counseling	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	X	-	X	X
Recreation	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Referral Network	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	-
Aftercare	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	-
Off street Social Network	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Intensive Therapy	-	-	-	X	X	-	X	-	-	-	-	-	X	-	-	-	X	-
Substance Abuse Treatment	-	-	-	X	Ø	-	-	-	-	-	Ø	X		-	-	Ø	-	Ø
Stable Housing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	X	-
Service Tolerance	X	-	X	X	X	X	-	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Service Investment	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Stable Casework Relationship	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Appropriate Service Response	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Treatment Strategy	X	-	X	X	X	-	-	-	-	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X

KEY X - factor present
Ø - not applicable
- - factor absent

Matrix 8.1b Resources Used by Ending Status — On Street Youth

Case Numbers	103	104	105	106	107	111	114	201	203	205	207	210	214	216	217	219	221	222	223
Resources																			
Emergency Needs	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Counseling	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	–	X
Safe Haven	X	X	X	X	–	–	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Outreach	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	X
Protection	X	–	X	X	–	–	X	–	X	–	X	X	–	–	X	X	X	X	X
Daily Activity				X	X			X		X		X	X		X		X	X	
Court Advocacy	X	–	X	X	X	–	X	–	–	–	X	X	–	–	–	X	X		
Skill Development				X						X		X	X		X	X	X	X	
Employment			X		X	X	X	X		X							X		
Family Counseling			X		X	X	X								X	X	X		
Recreation				X						X		X	X		X	X	X		
Referral Network				X	X		X					X				X	X		
Aftercare					X							X				X	X		
Off street Social Network					X							X			X	X			
Intensive Therapy				X											X				
Substance Abuse Treatment						X								X					
Stable Housing				X												X			
Service Tolerance	X	X	X	X	X	–	X	–	?	X	X	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	X
Service Investment	X	–	X	X	X	–	X	–	X	X	X	X	–	X	X	X	X	X	X
Stable Casework Relationship	X	–	X	X	X	–	X	–	X	X	X	X	–	X	X	X	X	–	X
Appropriate Service Response	X	X	X	–	X	–	X	–	X	X	X	X	–	X	–	X	X	X	X
Treatment Strategy	X	-	X	X	X	–	X	–	-	X	X	X	–	-	X	X	X	–	X

KEY X - factor present
Ø - not applicable
\- - factor absent

TABLE 8.2 Summary of Resource Matrix 8.1a and b

Resources Utilized	Street Status (n=37)* OFF (10)	Transition (8)	ON (19)
Emergency needs	9	7	19
Employment	4	1	7
Daily activity	5	3	9
Counseling	9	8	16
Safe haven	8	8	17
Adult social network	7	7	16
Skill Development	4	5	8
Protection	6	7	12
Family reconciliation	8	5	7
Court Advocacy	6	5	7
Referral Network	6	6	6
Intensive Therapy	3	2	2
Substance abuse treatment	1	1	2
Outreach	9	6	16
Aftercare	6	5	4
Off street social network	5	0	4
Recreation/alternative activity	5	2	7
Long term housing	3 (+4 youth found own housing)	3	2
Service Response			
Service investment	8	8	15
Age appropriate service	9	8	16
Appropriate service response	9	8	14
Service tolerance	7	8	15
Stable casework relation	6	8	14

* Status of three subjects was unknown

Several services that would seem to be critical for a street exit had low use. These services include: 1) employment programs, 2) skill development, 3) intensive therapy, 4) drug and alcohol counseling/treatment, and 5) long-term housing. These services were not used because there was limited opportunity, not because youth were uninterested. Services such as drug and alcohol treatment are not readily available for adolescents. Often the resources are severely limited and opportunities exist for only a handful of youth such as foster care. Other services such as intensive therapy and skill development may occur, but crisis-oriented programs are not conducive, nor do they easily integrate these services.

Differences in Service Use Between Groups

Youth who were in the off street category based their exit on the following resources:

1. Long-term housing -- Seven youth found stable housing situations. Of those 7, 4 youth did not rely on services to find their housing. They identified a living situation independently, however services staff may have acted as advocates or mediators.

2. Family reconciliation -- A high percentage of off street youth used service staff to achieve resolution of family conflicts. This does not mean that youth moved back home, they generally did not. It does not mean that youth need to reconcile with their families at some level and receive at least psychological support in order to move out of the street lifestyle.

3. Off-street social network -- Youth in the off street group had a social network made up of people not involved in street life. Youth could rely on these people for a variety of support needs. They were less likely to return to the street in search of companionship or material resources.

4. Daily activity -- Youth in the off street group were involved with a job, school, or care of their children on a daily basis. They were busy and their time directed.

Factors Present in Off Street Pattern (Matrix 8.3)

Youth who were able to exit from the street by the end of the research period had the following factors in common;

1. Long-term housing
2. Income resource
3. Non-street social support system
4. Structured daily activity

SERVICE/EXIT MATRIX 8.3
FACTORS PRESENT = X *
FACTORS ABSENT = 0

CASE NUMBER	OFF (n=12)						regressed	regressed	TRANSITION (n=5)												
	102	108	109	110	113	213	219	221	224	225	226	101	202	211	212	215	218				
LONG TERM HOUSING				X	X	X	X					X					0				Foster Care
								X						X	X		0				Transitional
											X		X	X	X	X	0				Home/family
	X	X	X						X	X							6				Independent/stable
INCOME RESOURCE				X		X							X	X		0					State/Childrens Services
	X	X											X	X		0					Welfare
			X		X		X			X	X	X			X	0	X				Employed
								X	X							0					Other benefits
SOCIAL SUPPORT SYSTEM	0	0	X	X	0	X	X	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	0	0	0				Off street social network
	0	X	0	X	X	X	0	0	0	0	0	X	0	0	0	0	0				Non-street adult/ parent relation
	0	0	0	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0	X	X	X	0	0	0				Service dependence
	X	X	X	0	X	0	0	X	0	X	X	X	X	0	X	X	X				Family reconciled
	0	0	0	0	X	X	0		X	0	0	0	X	X	0	0	0				Probation
STRUCTURED DAILY ACTIVITY			X		X		X			X	X	X		0	X	X	X				Job
				X	X	X		X	X			X	X	0		X	X				School
	X	X	X											0							Care of child
	0	X/5	Xd	Xd	Xd	Xd	Xs	Xd	0	0	Xs	X	Xs	Xs	0	Xs	0				SERVICE DEPENDENT EXIT

In matrix 8.3 we have displayed the specific resources used by youth in each of these four categories.

The resources that are most critical for a successful exit are generally the most difficult for services to provide. The needs of youth in such areas as permanent housing and income are beyond the range of relief that service and their communities can provide from their resource base at this time.

It is very clear that youth cannot leave the streets unless there is a structure for them to move into. Services are quite successful at attracting street youth and making improvements in the quality of their lives in many respects. But without long-term stabilizing resources, many youth have little choice but to return to the streets once intermediate resources have been used up.

Factors Present in On Street Pattern

Except for two youth, all of the sample attempted to leave the streets. They were assigned an off status at least once during the research period. In matrix 8.4 we have displayed the factors influencing an on street pattern. The on street youth were unable to substitute conventional lifestyles into their living pattern.

The street life subculture continued to provide the structure of daily life. None of the on street youth were able to find an income source. Not surprisingly, past survival strategies prevailed. Of the off street youth, one-half (n=12) found jobs. Of these, two were first in foster care and found supplemental work. Another was first on welfare because she was pregnant and recently found work. Of the other 6 youth in the off group, two were on welfare because of pregnancy, 1 received social security benefits, and another had successfully sued her parents for support. The other two youth were supported by the state in foster care.

The situations described above enabled street exits, however, these situations were simply not available for the majority sample.

Summary

A lack of stabilizing and long-term resources that youth can depend upon affects their ability to change. Without the availability of such basic needs, it is simply unfair to even expect a change. Apparently only a few can sneak through the maze of obstacles that act to keep youth on the street.

In this small study of 40 youth, 10 had exited at the end of the research. If we use the March tracking, the number of youth

ON STREET FACTOR MATRIX* 8.4

Case Numbers	ON (n=17)										Transition (n=5)															
	103	104	105	106	107	111	114	201	203	205	207	210	214	216	217	222	223	202	211	212	215	218	
No income alternative	X	O	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X			X	O	X	O		O	Prostitution
						X	X			X					X	X		O		O		O	Selling drugs
							X									X		O		O		O	Theft
	X	X	O	X	O	O	X	O	O	O	X	O	O	X	O	X	O	O	O	X	O	O	No stable resource
	O	O	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	O	O	O	X	O	Drug Dependence
	X	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	Avoid legal problems
	X	O	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	O	X	X	X	O	X	O	O	O	X	O	Pimp/street lover relation
	X	O	X	X	O	O	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	O	Early enculturat
	X	O	X	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	X	O	Street identity
	X	O	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	Street friends
	X	X	O	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	O	X	Alienated from school
	O	X	O	X	O	O	X	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	Alienated from family
	X	X	O	X	O	?	O	X	X	O	X	X	X	X	X	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	Alienated from services
	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	Mental disorder
	X	X	X	X	X	X	O	X	O	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	O	O	X	X	O	O	Needs independen
	X	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	X	X	O	X	X	O	X	X	X	O	O	X	Sexuality proble
	O	X	O	?	O	X	X	O	X	O	O	X	X	O	X	O	X	O	O	O	O	O	Social skill problem

*X = factor present

O = factor absent

off the street was 12. Services have been successful with 25-30% of the population they serve.

The need for stable resources is obvious, but the problem is still more complex. We observed youth during exit attempts in similar circumstances. Some moved ahead, others fell back. In order to have a more thorough understanding of the exit process, we must look at how available resources and service use intersects with the social histories of youth.

	Service dependent - survival	Service dependent - development	Service independent - (on or off street)
food	major source of food	regular use of meals	provide for self
health care	use of clinics and health practitioner when needed	regular use of health services	provide for self
shelter	use of emergency housing when needed	in transition housing or long-term placement	provide own shelter or with friends/family
emotional support in crisis	as needed and available	primary choice for support on regular basis	nonservice supports in crisis
drop-in	use when bored and to see friends	seeking safe off-street environment	use drop-in on rare occasions, usually for social reasons
school	not applicable	GED or skill development	on own/ or none
employment	not applicable	job counseling	on own/ or none
legal/system advocacy	advice and guidance in crises	involved in long-term planning for situation	family/self advocacy
long-term nurturing/ counseling relationship	n/a	primary support person - dealing with issues of personal depth	no relationship in services
involvement in organized group activities	n/a	regular involvement - positive peer and staff relationships in supportive group	outside services/ or none

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was not to question the need for services to street youth. Anyone with knowledge of the histories and survival patterns of these dispossessed children could not doubt their need. Neither was our objective to evaluate the worth of services from simple outcome measures based on definitions of success. Instead, we have analyzed the dynamics of interaction between youth and services to understand how the process of change occurs for youth. We have focused on the points of view of youth and services providers in order to compare the expectations of each with outcomes, and their interpretations of events. We have condensed our lines of inquiry to the 4 questions: (1) Can youth leave the street and change their lifestyle, (2) If so, how and why do some youth change while others do not, (3) What role do services play in this change, and (4) How can services have a greater impact?

The accrued experience of services with street youth has made it possible to provide answers to these questions. Services developed unique approaches to attract alienated and suspicious street youth in order to provide basic needs and the potential for change. Observing youth within the existing structure of services, has brought the differential needs into relief and contradictory expectations to the surface. We have found that services are successful at several levels, but there are undiagnosed issues that defy the best intentions of youth and staff. The frustrations of staff and a confused public are voiced in statements like the following:

"This kid was at Orion for 2 years. Now what?"

"Why don't they act right?"

"We are always rescuing them."

"Every chance he gets, he messes up."

What was not easily discernible when services were first developing is now more understandable. We have investigated these issues with the intent of generating information that would enable services to engage in a process of "fine tuning". In this chapter, we direct the reader's attention to those issues that must be addressed if we are to follow through with our promises of assistance to street youth.

A. Can youth leave the street?

Outcomes based on our sample of 40 street youth indicate that with the existing service structure 25-30% of street youth will exit and change their lifestyle.

In order for this finding to be meaningful, we must place it in a general context of service delivery and a specific context of types of street youth.

One may take the view that we are in the unenviable position of rationalizing a success rate that is well under 50%. There is, in addition, an already noted instability in exit patterns. The number of youth who had exited in March 1986 (15 months after tracking began) was 12. In May, this number fell to 10. A few weeks later, one of these youth again, left the street and the off number was 11.

In spite of this apparent instability, our knowledge of the circumstances of the youth in the off group gives us confidence in at least 10 of the exits. These youth are in relatively stable situations and have made significant personal changes. We do not expect that they will regress into the street lifestyle, however, life will not be easy for them. Likewise, we would expect several youth in the transition group to finally achieve a stable exit within the next year.

On the other hand, we do not expect youth in the on street category to move off the street under the present service system. These youth, as we will discuss shortly, do not have adequate developmental skills to utilize the existing combination of resources. The unfortunate complement to this dilemma, is that services are not designed to stimulate this development.

A more positive perspective on the 25-30% success rate comes into view when it is contrasted with the rates of other service systems. Programs for street youth exist, first of all, because all other systems have failed. That 25-30% of these youth - "who fall through the cracks," are stabilized is nothing but impressive. Many service systems and treatment programs such as chemical dependency programs and parole and probation services cannot boast of a success rate nearly so high.

We have found that services for street youth can impact the problem. The Orion Multi-Service Center served over 700 youth in the Seattle-King County area in 1985. From our sample of 40, the overall pattern of movement was away from street life during the tracking period. All but two of the youth in our sample were actively trying to leave street life. At this point, however, it seems that the success of services depends primarily on the characteristics of youth.

B. Why do some street youth change, while others do not?

All street youth are not the same. Although the sample used in this research was relatively small, there were findings that significantly ($p<.05$) differentiated youth who exited from those who did not. Youth who were in the off street category at the end of the research had these following characteristics in common in contrast to transition and on street youth:

1. They were older at age of first street involvement.
2. They had been on the street a shorter length of time.
3. They had lived with both parents.
4. They had lived with families a longer period of time.
5. They were less severely abused or neglected.

In summary, youth who exited scored higher on the scales we constructed to measure positive versus negative socialization. As has been found in other program evaluation, healthier clients do better (Durkin & Durkin, 1975).

In contrast to the general population, street youth experience extraordinary rates of abuse and exploitation. Adolescent prostitutes in particular, have significantly higher rates of physical and sexual abuse than other delinquent populations (James & Boyer 1982, Boyer 1986). Yet even within this severely abused population there are significant differences. And, in Gregory Bateson's words, these are differences that make a difference. Not only are some youth more damaged than others, but the effects of their victimization controls their lives and constrain their futures. They require, in our opinion, a different style of service delivery and screening procedures that will identify them.

C. What role do services play in changes made by street youth?

Street youth programs provide 3 levels of services to youth. These levels may be described as services for the following needs:

1. Crisis and survival
2. Positive socializing environment
3. Independence training and exiting

Not surprisingly, the use of resources within each of these levels is determined by the psychological and material needs of youth. The effects of providing these services vary according to the socialization experience of individual youth.

Street youth programs generally provide crisis and survival services to all of their clients. They provide food, emergency housing, medical care, and protection to youth actively involved in street life. These services have several positive results. First, they may in fact keep some youth alive. Second, services

provide a preventive safety net. Medical care, meals, housing, and protection often protect youth from additional circumstances of exploitation.

The provision of basic services lays the foundation for involving youth in long term services and developing relationships that will accommodate therapy and socialization skills. Services provide an environment in which youth experiment with different kinds of behavior and have opportunities to develop egalitarian and non-exploitive relationships with adults and peers. It is in this environment that parenting and nurturing are experienced by youth, often for the first time.

Services are well equipped to provide the first two levels of service; 1) crisis and survival needs, and 2) a positive socialization environment. It is the third level, independence training and exiting services, that presents problems for services. Either resources necessary for exiting - e.g. housing and employment are limited, or youth are not developmentally prepared to cope with the independence of an exit. In many cases, as we have seen, these are co-occuring factors.

Under the existing service structure, hundreds of youth are provided with services. In this study 25-30% of a sample of 40 were able to leave the street. It took 1-2 years for them to accomplish a stable exit. The services they used to support their exit included:

1. long term housing
2. family reconciliation
3. involvement in a structured daily activity
4. a source of income.

Street youth programs are providing an important service by improving the quality of life for street youth and protecting them from added exploitation by meeting survival needs and forming a social support network. Most services, however, simply do not have the resources to assist youth in sustaining an exit. It was healthier youth, who brought more material and psychological resources with them, that were able to effectively use services.

Most services can at this time provide only "short term and transitional" services. You cannot leave the street unless there is a structure to move into. This fact is not lost on street youth. They utilize transition housing services when they are eligible, but they know full well that the only long term living situation available to them is the street. Youth then are forced to reinterpret services as part of an adaptive pattern to street existence and less as an opportunity for real change.

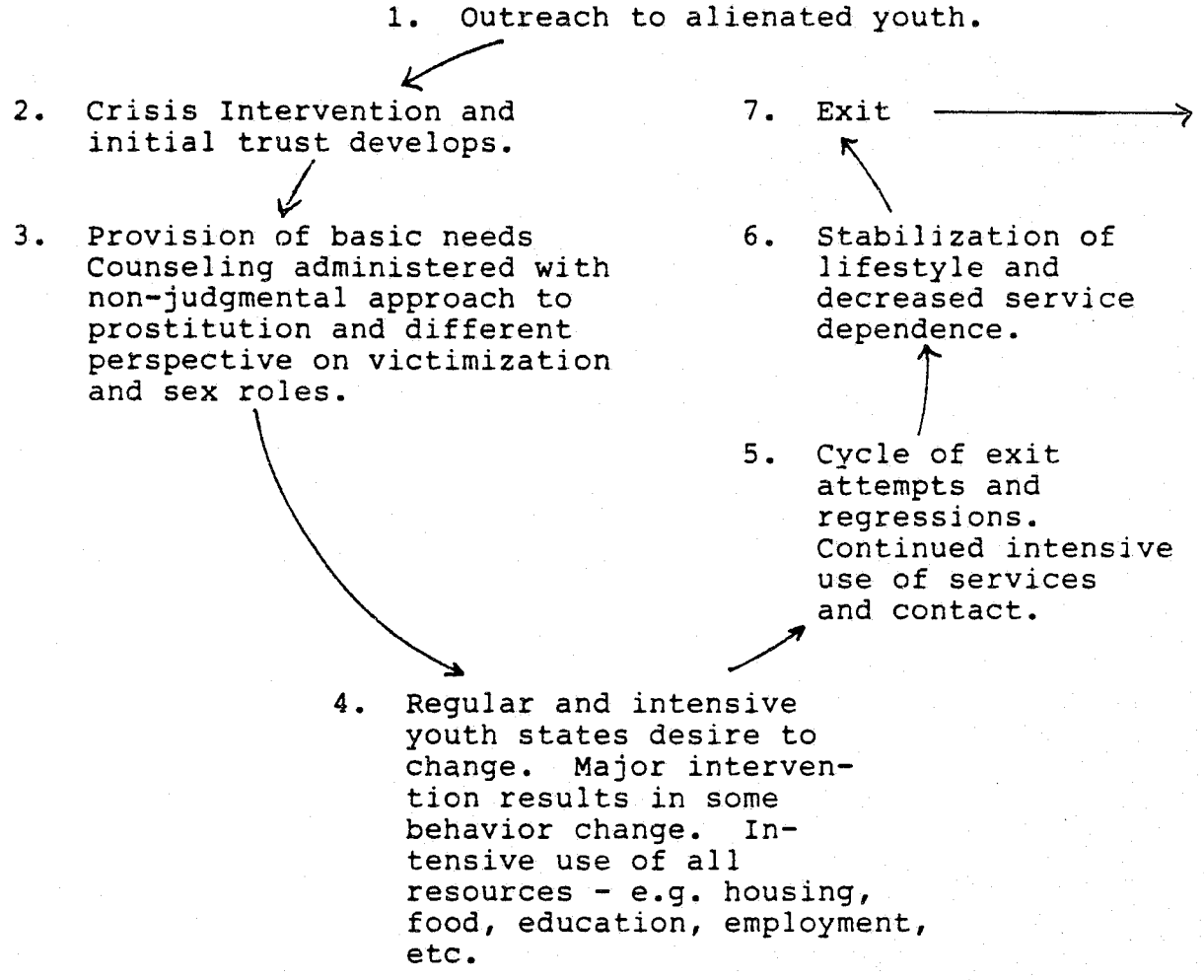
Without the opportunity for at least a long term and stable housing situation, it is simply not a fair test of street youth's

ability to exit. One needs to observe first hand the panic and terror these young people experience because they do not know what is going to happen to them.

We have found that the resources necessary for exiting are in reality, available to only a few. At the same time we are left with the phenomenon of some youth having the capability to develop and use resources while others do not. We have observed youth in situations that seemed to provide all of the necessary resources and stability, but could not sustain the situation and returned to the street. The factors involved in these situations have not been understood. We have found that the expectation of the service system for, perhaps, a majority of youth, in fact contradicts their needs. In order for services to improve, we must pay more attention to the needs of youth who have not left the street.

D. How can services have a greater impact?

The services offered by street youth programs are based on beliefs and concepts of how people change. How youth might exit from street life has been hypothesized from these beliefs. The exit process assumed by staff that we have identified, is diagrammed below. There are seven steps:



Services for street youth have been very successful at several levels in the hypothesized exit process. First, services are able to attract and involve large numbers of street youth who are, by all reports, the most resistant and wary of services. Second, programs have succeeded in creating a service environment in which youth feel safe, experience positive and non-exploitive relationships with adults, have opportunities for non-street activities, and are involved in nurturing and caring interactions. These are significant accomplishments considering the history of service use by this population.

Street youth programs have learned to outreach and involve youth effectively, but this phase is often followed by a drift back to street life. Our findings indicate that the exit process described above holds true for 25-30% of street youth involved in services. At the end of the research period--15 months, ten youth from a sample of 40 were in situations defined as having exited from street life. We know the career patterns for street youth include a stubbornly prevalent phase of re-entry into street life

and persistent recycling through services. This research, as well as years of service experience, indicates that we cannot be content with existing service designs. If we are to develop services that will be effective for a larger percentage of street youth, we must be prepared to make changes based upon what we learn and move forward.

Our strongest findings were the contrasting socialization experiences between status groups. To summarize, youth who exited from street life during the STEP study had these characteristics in common: 1) they had experienced less abuse as children prior to street involvement; 2) they had spent more time with parents or parental figures; and 3) they had become involved in street life at a later age than youth who did not exit or who remained in a transition state. These factors were part of a composite variable called early socialization that was found to be significantly associated with a street exit. Youth who were able to sustain an exit had experienced more positive socialization than youth who remained in the street environment. Observations of these youth in a variety of situations indicate their early socialization had provided them with the: 1) maturation capacity, 2) basic skills, and 3) self-esteem required to effect change in their lives and to avail themselves of service resources. Their more positive early socialization experience acted as a protective cushion against prolonged self-destructive behavior.

The issue raised for services is: How can we provide poorly equipped street youth with experiences that will stimulate their growth and development, thus providing them with the capacity to construct a more stable and positive lifestyle? In order to adequately address this question we need to compare services and their expectations with the actual needs and capacity of a majority of street youth.

Services offered by most street youth programs, including SYCS are listed below:

A. Basic Needs	B. Verbal Therapy	C. Lifestyle Alternatives
Shelter	Individual	Education
Transportation	Group	Pre-employment Training
Medical Care	Family	Foster Care
Recreation	Drug & Alcohol	Legal Advocacy
Outreach	Crisis	Independent Living
Crisis/Emergency	Mental Health Services	

The majority of services delivered under Title III are: individual counseling, 75.9%; group counseling, 54.8%; recreation services, 41.2%; family counseling, 36.3%; and transportation services, 28%. Medical care, for example, was provided by only 9.4% (Richardson and Deisher 1986). The services that are presently provided are without question necessary for a

comprehensive approach to the needs of high risk youth. However, the philosophical base of street service programs determines not only the kind of services offered, but also the style in which they are delivered. The question arises: What is the most effective way to get from "A"--meeting basic needs, to "C"--a lifestyle change? Is it through "B"--verbal therapy followed by presenting alternatives? The answer from the STEP research is no for, perhaps, a majority of youth who need our interventions.

The results from the STEP research have led us to conclude that services have been operating on two mistaken assumption. This occurred because: 1) only certain aspects of services were based upon empirical knowledge, and 2) we are now beginning to reach a comprehensive understanding of the degree and kind of damage that has been done to these young people. First, services have assumed a developmental capacity and maturity level that is appropriate for conventional youth but is quite simply impossible for youth who have experienced the psychosexual and psychosocial interruptions in their maturation and developmental processes that characterizes most young prostitutes and street youth. They simply cannot function in many of the situations that services place them. Second, the style in which services are delivered is assumed to be one which will promote growth, development, and change in youth. Conclusions drawn by the STEP research staff indicate otherwise. The passive delivery of services and reliance on verbal therapy does not provide the environment noted by developmental theorist as necessary to stimulate development, learn skills, and experience value as a person to generate a positive sense of self-worth.

The STEP findings also make it very clear that youth seriously and genuinely attempt to leave the streets. The youth tracked in the STEP research attempted an average of 2 exits during the research period. In one 6 month period, 22 youth exited and 19 returned to the streets, only to try again. Failure tends to increase commitment to street life and to intensify feelings of low self-esteem making youth more vulnerable to victimization and disillusionment. Youth who do not exit will continue street behavior and enter an adult criminal network or continue dependence on public resources in adult life.

The present design of services is effective for a percentage of street youth, but many youth--the most damaged, are left behind. For these youth, we do not believe that "you can get there from here". From our research, this may be as high as 75% of street youth. And, this problem is endemic to street youth projects across the country.

In order to improve services we must first understand the developmental processes that have been affected by abuse and neglect. These processes include psychosocial and psychosexual development, and cognitive organization. Second, we need to

understand how these disruptions disable youth in their efforts to change.

We hear repeatedly from street youth that: "no one leaves the street until they are ready". We now believe the role of services should be framed in terms of "getting youth ready" to leave the streets in a way we have not completely understood before. Street youth have recognized their inability to function in off-street situations; they are often awaiting the day when they will have learned how to cope. Below we have provided a brief description of the psychosocial/sexual disruptions experienced by victims of abuse and neglect (Helfer 1980). We include this information because it is an accurate description of street youth who have been abused, suffer long term effects, and have not been able to sustain an exit from street life.

Effect of Abuse and Neglect

1. Victims of serious and long term abuse, which have been the experiences of up to 75% of street youth, may have sensory deprivation and experience muted sensory responses. In effect, they have shut down because of negative sensory messages. Often their world of deprivation and street enculturation has literally stunk. What they have seen and heard in their environment has been violence. When they have been touched, it usually hurt. It is putting the cart before the horse to engage a young woman who is a prostitute--complete with a pimp, in therapy on sexual decision-making when her basic sensory communicative capacity is impaired. We are skipping several steps.

2. Victims of abuse do not know how to get their needs met in a predictable way. They view the world as a jumble of random events. Consequently, they are unable to take action to create a sense of cause and effect in their lives.

3. Victims feel responsible for the actions of others. They internalize responsibility for their own victimization. The result is an inability to separate themselves from others, which is reflected in a fluid self-image both physical and psychological. With an undefined sense of self, it is impossible to say yes or no to sexual requests or demands.

4. Victims have never been able to practice decision-making or problem solving because they have been powerless. They have been left powerless in a most basic way, never having had control over their bodies and personal physical space.

5. Victims' sense of trust has been violated by the abuse, thus they are ineffectual in relationships. They have learned not to trust, which also characterizes their attitude toward services as well as their self-confidence. They learn not to ask and become increasingly isolated.

6. Victims are unable to distinguish between what they feel and what they do. They do not believe they have control over actions and they are afraid to feel. The result is they often act on what they think. If they think it, they must do it, which invariably leads to a failing of some sort.

7. Victims of abuse are at very high risk for cognitive and motor dysfunction, language disability, hearing and speech deficiencies as well as defects in personal and social skills.

What we have outlined is a passive victim psychology that is referred to in psychological literature as learned helplessness. It is a psychology based on the perception of events--both good and bad as external to the self and random. It is compounded by possibly unrecognized physical and mental correlates. Currently accepted interventions with street youth are typically verbal and focus on psychological processes. Yet there is considerable evidence of delays in development which have, historically, not been treated effectively with verbal therapies. To simply increase the number of services, particularly those based on verbal therapy, is unlikely to achieve the desired goal. We believe that these services are necessary, but they must be enhanced with additional programs designed to address other equally important developmental issues.

Developmental approaches emphasize building self-confidence through acquisition of skills and feelings of contribution. Observations and interview data on clients involved in the STEP research provide insight on youth's perceptions and use of services in this regard. All clients were most positive toward services and most actively involved when they felt they were of some value to the staff and to the overall operation of the center. Clients felt most connected when they were asked to help remodel, speak for the agency, and were allowed to assist staff in various ways from taking out the garbage to talking to another youth about their behavior. In many cases these functions were not formalized, were taken away, and their value to youth not recognized because youth involvement was not part of the service approach. Youth who were interviewed stated they felt ill at ease with services because they did not like charity and did not feel useful. They had identified a subtle but critical power imbalance that inhibited their involvement in services. Youth drifted back to the street after reaching a plateau of inactivity with service involvement.

We have concluded that two related variables are critical in the design of effective services for street youth. These are 1) addressing developmental processes, and 2) an experimental and participatory style of service delivery. In the following chapter we outline our recommendations for changes in services in the direction indicated by the STEP research.

CHAPTER 10

RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

Much has been said about the nature of adolescent prostitution and the glamour and exploitation of street life. Much less has been said about the nature of street youth as children who share with all other human beings, an innate capacity for growth and development. Services have tried to find the key for effecting change in youth. The right remedy has been sought through various combinations of services. Yet we have all seen youth take advantage of these services and still continue to recycle back into street life. The application of a remedy has brought results for some, but not for the majority of street youth. We believe that our research has revealed some of the reasons for this shortcoming. The services offered for youth are obviously resources they need. It is the philosophical approach and style of service delivery that is flawed. It is our conclusion that the passive application of services undermines program goals of self-sufficiency for youth and contradicts their development needs.

The pattern of service delivery has been to administer aid for the symptoms of a destructive lifestyle. Short-term housing, for example, is offered with the expectation (or blind hope) that youth will find something stable on their own. Talk therapy is often relied upon as a panacea for change. Unfortunately, the majority of street youth have long-term problems needing long-term solutions; solutions that should complement normal development processes rather than by-passing them. In other words, the patient must be involved in the healing process.

Without true opportunities for a stable lifestyle and the skills to sustain it, street youth services are easily reinterpreted as part of a general adaptive strategy for survival. This statement does not imply any malintent on the part of youth. We have observed their genuine attempts to change. Youth are simply more realistic about their situation than we are. And why shouldn't they be? They are the ones with everything to lose.

Critics of services for street youth often suggest the result is simply to enable criminal youth to maintain an irresponsible lifestyle away from parental authority. This perspective assumes a choice on the part of youth, one we have seldom witnessed. Although services do not "enable" a street lifestyle, they may have an unwitting role in perpetuating it. Both staff and youth have considered this possibility.

We observed that clients were most positive toward services when they felt they were of some value to the staff and the operation of programs. Clients felt invested and connected when asked to assist in various ways including helping with remodeling, talking to another youth, or ever taking out the trash. Generally, these functions were not formalized, they were taken away and their value to youth went unrecognized. Youth involvement has, ironically, not been part of the service philosophy. Youth we interviewed also stated that they often felt ill at ease with services because they felt useless and did not like having to accept charity. We have, in addition, repeatedly heard staff saying they "rescued" youth too much.

Staff and youth have identified a subtle but critical power imbalance in the style of service delivery. This imbalance inhibits youth development. After reaching a plateau of inactivity with service involvement, youth drift back to the street.

In the previous chapter we described the effects on developmental processes resulting from child abuse and neglect. We described the psychology of a victim who does not see cause and effect in their lives. These are victims who relate to the world as passive receptors of random events. For street youth, who relate to the world in this way, there is little difference in meaning between being beaten up on the street one night and fed by an outreach worker the next. Both events are random and disconnected from acts of the self or a future course. We are not denying the importance of resources offered to street youth, but we have concluded that the existing structure of services must be enhanced. Services need to be delivered within a context addressing the developmental areas that have been damaged and delayed in abused and neglected youth. The objective of services should be to "get youth ready" for an exit by stimulating growth and development.

It is our primary recommendation that programs move toward self-help models that include the following:

1. actively involve youth in the provision of their own needs

2. actively involve youth in decision-making aspects of program operations

3. actively involve youth in the provision of services to other youth

We are recommending the integration of developmental approaches which emphasize building self-confidence, acquiring skills, and feelings of contribution. From a philosophical perspective, the

intention is to turn youth into givers. Those of us who survived "the 60's" eventually learned that you do not find meaning in life, but you give meaning to life.

We have taken our cues from street youth. "It made me feel good to know that I could make someone else feel good." We have concluded that youth are most likely to achieve service goals and resolve developmental delays brought on by abuse through active participation in meeting their needs and the needs of others. Through participation they can learn skills, and develop self-esteem to cope with conventional life, but these experiences must precede attempts at community placement.

Our recommendation requires a service environment that does not passively offer alternatives, but instead stimulates growth and self-esteem by giving youth value. This value is given through an opportunity to learn and practice skills through contributions in a participatory process. The ultimate objective is developmental competency.

Compentency Model of Services for Street Youth

We are recommending programs move toward an experiential and participatory model for services to street youth. This model does not have as its primary focus either pathology or, its complement, therapy and counseling. It is a model that crosses the boundaries of mental health and therapy to incorporate developmental and psycho-educational theory, and adolescent medicine. It is a positive approach that builds on the developemental capacity of every human being to mature, learn skills of autonomy, and self-worth. This approach minimizes issues of ethnicity or social class because it focuses on processes of normal growth and development through "the pursuit of competence" (Durkin 1986: 2).

The components of a program model based on "the pursuit of competence" are described below.

Recommendation for Program Design

1. Client Screening -- Most services have devised intake forms that are used for a variety of purpose including developing a data base. Client needs may be more thoroughly assessed for designing individualized services by asking the additional questions.

    1. If client ever lived with both parents.
    2. How long clients lived with parents.
    3. Age at first street involvement.
    4. Duration and incidents of abuse.

This information will allow staff to distinguish clients who need intensive services from those who are apt to function under the existing service design.

2. Client Assessments -- We believe that it is now necessary for services to begin developing a data base on the developmental issues of street youth populations. We recommend that services begin seeking connections with specialists in adolescent development and adolescent medicine in their areas. The purpose would be to begin collecting information from physical and social-psycho testing on developmental issues such as learning disabilities, sensory deprivation, etc. so that appropriate service can be provided.

3. Life Skill Development -- Assessment data should form the basis for design of life skill services. Often these programs make assumptions about basic abilities that youth do not yet possess. Life skill development would address both the instruction and production needs of youth.

4. In-House Pre-employment Skills -- Programs should assess their operations for ways youth could be integrated into productive positions within their agencies. We have called these in-house roles opportunity positions. The purpose is to provide youth with experience and participation in providing for their and others' needs. This method allows youth to address developmental, basic skill, and self-esteem needs within a protective service setting.

   This is a setting clients have voluntarily chosen. Within the service setting youth may be provided with positions that coincide with their interests and aptitudes and needs as designated by assessments.

   Youth could be involved in a variety of functions: 1. talking to new youth in drop-in settings, 2. tutoring other youth, 3. office help, 4. maintenance and repairs, 5. organizing meals and recreation, 6. participating with a leadership role in parenting classes, substance abuse groups or pregnancy counseling. The concept involved in this participatory process has been referred to as retroflexive reformation in self-help models designed for adult criminals. It is simply a way of internalizing information and new values through teaching others.

5. Decision-Making Groups -- Programs should include regular (daily) sessions in which youth can discuss operations of the program and have a voice in their directions. These groups could be based on the New England style town meetings.

6. Advocate Network Model -- Aftercare is an important factor in sustaining a street exit attempt. It is both unlikely and perhaps unwise to create new services and new bureaucratic functions for this purpose. One programming goal most services have in common is community integration. We recommend that agencies begin programs which connect youth to a group of 4-7 adults who will act as a resource network. This is not necessarily foster care. The network would function as an off-street social network and resource back-up in the way Big Brothers and Sisters function.

   The advocate network would accomplish the following:
   1. Allow clients to disengage from services.
   2. Provide clients with a non-street base for a social network.
   3. Provide clients with a non-street and non-service base to generate resources and continued support.

7. Youth Success Groups -- Youth who leave the streets need access to people involved in the same process who understand them, and they also need continuing reinforcement for their positive gains. We recommend that services invest effort in forming exit groups who can meet regularly and be used by services to counsel youth still in programs.

8. Long-term Housing -- It is very clear that youth cannot leave the street if they do not have a structure to move into. Some youth, those who have the developmental skills, are able to achieve housing situations on their own. For those who cannot, it is critical that long-term (1-3 year) opportunities be developed. We have recommended that youth in the 16-18 age group be perceived as poor and homeless, which they are. With this definition, it may be possible for cities to allocate some low-cost housing for youth and subsidize boarding house rooms and apartments. (A model based on the ideas is being developed in Seattle. Contact SYCS for more information.)

9. Family Reconciliation -- Youth who were able to exit seldom went home. They did however resolve some family conflicts. Youth seem to need at least verbal support from family members as to their worth. Some families appear so hopeless that staff often disregard their continued importance to youth. We recommend that services attempt to improve a client's relations with families in some way, no matter how impossible the situation may appear.

10. Outreach -- We recommend that agencies continue to focus on outreach as a tool for developing links with services. If outreach is abandoned the most needy youth will not be served.

The components of a competency model that we have proposed is based on learning skills and self-worth through doing, learning and teaching. It is difficult to "talk" someone into developing. Even "nurturing" has its limits. Our objective is to recommend a service style that can stimulate growth and development through experience and participation in a positive (non-street) context.

It is the nature of the child to complete development tasks, mature, and become competent. Research has shown that youth who have been damaged by abuse and neglect can become adequately adjusted adults. Stimulating developmental processes can overcome the effects of abuse and addiction. We have not yet trusted the innate competency of human development as part of the healing process. We now know enough about the nature of the child and the abused street child to use these tools (Durkin & Durkin 1975, Durkin 1986).

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CHAPTER 11

FINANCIAL SUMMARY

See forms below.

Budget/Cost Data

Name of Grantee Seattle Youth and Community Services (The Shelter)

Grant Number 91-0917079

Report for Quarter Ending 6/30/86

CATEGORY	AMOUNT AWARDED	LAST QUARTER EXPENDITURES	CURRENT QUARTER EXPENDITURES	EXPENDITURES TO DATE
Personnel	33,914	3,414	99	30,903
Fringe Benefits	6,511	686	(324)	4,953
Travel	2,000	-0-	301	1,966
Equipment	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Supplies	1,370	607	(135)	1,370
Contractual	63,500	11,981	7,281	70,592
Other	14,500	766	1,458	12,191
Total Direct Charges	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Indirect Charges	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
TOTALS	121,795	17,454	8,680	121,795
Grantee Funds (a) Cash	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
(b) In-Kind	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-

Please explain:

(1) Any expenditures planned for this quarter which were deferred.
(2) Any expenditures planned for a later quarter, but made this quarter.
(3) Any transfer of funds between categories made this quarter.
(4) Any expenditures for which no budget allocations were made.
(5) Any estimated expenditures.

Budget/Cost Data

Name of Grantee Seattle Youth and Community Services (The Shelter)

Grant Number 91-0917079

Report for Quarter Ending Final Report 6/30/86

CATEGORY	AMOUNT AWARDED	LAST QUARTER EXPENDITURES	CURRENT QUARTER EXPENDITURES	EXPENDITURES TO DATE
Personnel	33,914			30,903
Fringe Benefits	6,511			4,953
Travel	2,000			1,966
Equipment	-0-			-0-
Supplies	1,370			1,370
Contractual	63,500			70,592
Other	14,500			12,191
Total Direct Charges	-0-			-0-
Indirect Charges	-0-			-0-
TOTALS	121,795			121,795
Grantee Funds (a) Cash	-0-			-0-
(b) In-Kind	-0-			-0-

Please explain:

(1) Any expenditures planned for this quarter which were deferred.
(2) Any expenditures planned for a later quarter, but made this quarter.
(3) Any transfer of funds between categories made this quarter.
(4) Any expenditures for which no budget allocations were made.
(5) Any estimated expenditures.

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Street Exit Project Research
Interview Schedule A
Variable List

1. Client Number
1a. Interview Number
2. Interviewer
2a. Date of interview
2b. Time began/ended
3. Client Status
4. How old were you on your last birthday?
5. Date of Birth (mo,da,yr)
6. Place of Birth
7. Gender
8. Ethnic Identity
9. Are you now attending or enrolled in school?
10. What was the highest grade you have finished?
11. Did you ever live with both parents?
12. When you were home, what family members did you live with?
13. Did either of your parents unexpectedly leave the family for any length of time?
14. When you were growing up, what job did the head of household (father, mother, stepparent) have?
15. How many brothers (or step-brothers) do you have?
16. How many sisters (or step-sisters) do you have?
17. Have any of your brothers/sisters been on the street?
18. If you wanted, could you live with a family member now?
19. If you can go home and don't, why aren't you returning to your parents?
20. When was your last contact with any family member?
21. During the months you were not living with your family in the past year, how often have you been in touch with your family through phone calls, letters, or visits?
22. My parents argued with each other alot.
23. One of my parents sometimes hit the other when angry.
24. One or both parents had a problem with alcohol.
25. One or both parents had a problem with drugs.
26. My family often had tough times economically.
27. My parents disapproved of my friends.
28. My parents disapproved of my sexual activity.
29. No one cared much if I did well at school.
30. I felt like a misfit at home.
31. I didn't have enough spending money/allowance.
32. My parents expected too much of me when it came to school work and grades.
33. My mother/father protected me when things were difficult.
34. When I lived at home I wanted a different lifestyle.
35. My parents used to hit me often.
35a. My parents or another close family member attempted or forced me to have sex with them.
36. Define being "on the street". What makes someone a street

person?

37. Define being "off the street". What makes someone a non-street person?
38. Are you presently on the street?
39. What is your present situation and how long have you been in that situation?
40. When did you first go on "the street"?
41. What is the total length of time you have been on the street?
42. Describe the situation that put you on the street.
43. What is your present situation if not on the street?
44. Is living on the street a better situation than what you were in before?
45. Describe your typical daily routine.
46. Where did you sleep last night?
47. Over the past year where have you lived and who have you lived with?
48. Describe the ways and places in which you can get the following:
    Shelter
    Food
    Clothing
    Medical
    Money
    Companionship/Friends
49. List OTHER ways you could get assistance for the following:
    Counseling
    Employment
    School
    Help off the street (Exiting)
50. Have you ever been placed in receiving care?
51. Have you ever been placed in a group home?
52. Have you ever been placed in a foster home?
53. Have you ever received counseling of any kind?
54. Describe your first experience with out of home placement.
55. When would you use any of the following as a resource?
    Group home
    Foster home
    Receiving home
    Juvenile court
    Police
    Youth service agencies
56. Can you name 3 service agencies you've been involved in with the purpose of getting off the street? For each one, what is their reputation on the street?
57. Over the past 3 months what service have you had contact with? (Three most recent service agencies.)

57a. When was first contact made?
57b. How was contact made?
57c. Type of service required?
57d. Was service needed due to street activity?
57e. Did agency meet your need?
57f. Would you use service again?

57g. Do friends use this service?
57h. Would you send someone there?
57i. Did it help you leave the street?
57j. Is is difficult to take agency's help?
58a. What services did you think the agency would offer?
58b. What services did they offer?
58c. Were you ready to take advantage of services offered?
58d. What did they do for you?
58e. What didn't they do?
58f. What specific actions did they ask you to take?
58g. Did you do them?
58h. Did involvement in service mean avoiding something you did not want to do? Is there any risk to service involvement?
58i. What did you like about the services?
58j. What did you dislike about them?
58k. Did service help you leave the street?
58l. How did you feel about yourself when receiving services?
58m. Under what circumstances would the agency no longer provide you with services?
59a. Agency staff respond rapidly to my problems.
59b. I trust staff with confidential information.
59c. Staff are flexible about dealing with my situation.
59d. Staff and I generally agree about what my problem is.
59e. The agency was able to provide the right services for me.
59f. Staff assured me I'd be OK.
59g. Staff encouraged me to become independent of services.
59h. Services provided were well coordinated.
59i. I had opportunity to talk with staff about services.
60. What is your mood when you decide to seek services?
61. How do you feel when you first come in contact with services/service staff?
62. What's your mood while you're there (in services/agency/institution)?
63. Does how you feel change after you leave services?
64. What do you think non-service people think that services do?
65. Have you been provided services by more than one agency or institution at the same time?
66. Was it an advantage or disadvantage? Why?
67. Have you ever left the streets?
68. If you have left more than once, please provide dates for when you've left and then returned to the street.
69. Describe the situation in which you left the streets the longest.
70. Did anyone help you leave?
71. What role did services play in leaving the street?
72. What role did your family play in leaving the street?
73. Where did you live? How did you end up there?
74. Did you want to live elsewhere?
75. Who did you live with?
76. After you left how did you spend your time?
77. Were there things you wanted to do that you couldn't?
78. Did you maintain street contacts after leaving the street?

79. Did you maintain contact with services?
80. What was good about being off the street?
81. What was bad about being off the street?
82. How long were you off the street after you left?
83. What led you to decide to go back to the street?
84. Do you have plans to leave the street now?
85. What do friends think you should do?
86. What do family members think you should do?
87. Do you have friends that have left and stayed off the streets?
88. How determined are you to stay on the streets now as compared to 3 months ago?
89. As compared to 3 months ago, leaving the street now would be: (much more difficult -- much easier).
90. As compared to where you are today, leaving the streets in 3 months will be: (much more difficult -- much easier).
91. How long can males expect to work on the streets?
92. What's the maximum age a male can be while working the streets?
93. How long can females expect to work on the streets?
94. What's the maximum age a female can be while working the streets?
95. Please rate the following as factors which might help keep you OFF the street:
    Family
    Counseling
    A job
    Money
    Place to live
    Friends
    Personal relationship
    Self-image
96. If you had all of the above, would you still want to be on the streets?
97. Is there anything else that you think might help keep you off the streets?
98. What are the odds of leaving the street? Of every 10 street people, how many can leave the street?
99. Do you know of people who have left the street? How were they able to leave?
100. Based on your understanding of the streets, please choose how easy or difficult it is for each type of street person to leave the streets:
    Straight male
    Straight female
    Gay male
    Gay female
101. What have you learned that you could tell someone who is on the street?
102. What proportion of your friends are male and female?
103. What proportion of your friends are street or non-street people?

104. What proportion of your friends are heterosexual or homosexual?
105. On a scale of 1 to 5 where do you see yourself in terms of masculinity?
106. On a scale of 1 to 5 where do you see yourself in terms of femininity?
107. Where would you place yourself on the following scale? (Exclusively hetersexual--as much heterosexual as homosexual--exclusively homosexual).
108. What would you consider to be your primary sexual orientation?
109. Has anything in your life happened that made you feel less feminine/masculine? Describe.
110. Did you begin to date sooner or later than your friends? Why?
111. Were you ever regularly called a name or nickname that made you feel bad?
112. Do you see your self as different from non-street boys/girls?
113. Are you presently in relationship with someone?
114. What kind of personal relationship do you want to have in the future?
115. At what age were you first sexually involved with another person?
116. Who was your first partner?
117. How old was your first partner?
118. How would you describe this experience? (Very negative--very positive)

Before you were on the street.... (for questions 119-123)

119. Did anyone ever attempt to assault or molest you sexually?
120. Were you ever molested by someone 10 years older than you?
121. Were you ever sexually involved with a member of your family?
122. Were you ever raped?
123. Did any of the above influence your getting onto the street?

Since you've been on the street....(for questions 124-125)

124. Have you ever been raped?
125. Has anyone ever attempted to force you into sexual activity?
126. Have you ever been pregnant?
127. (Boys only) Have you ever made a girl pregnant?
128. Have you had a sexually transmitted disease?
129. Have you ever received counseling on your sexual activities?
130. Is sexual activity a problem for you?
131. How have your sexual experiences changed your life?
132. Do you have any medical problems?
133. How would you rate your physical health?
134. How would you rate your mental health?
135. Compared to 3 months ago, my physical health is: better, same, worse.
136. Compared to 3 months ago, my mental health is: better, same, worse.
137. Have you ever been institutionalized?
138. Name the institutions in which you have been institutionalized.

139. Have you ever: (and # of times in past year)
Been suspended or expelled from school?
Intentionally started a building on fire?
Gone to school drunk?
Tried to get away from police officer?
Hit a teacher or school official?
Broken house or school windows?
Ran away from home?
Been caught shoplifting by store clerk or owner?
Bought something you knew was stolen?
Taken a stranger's car without permission?
Broken into a parking meter?
Slash bus/car seats, tires?
Picked a fight?
Tried to pass a check by forging someone's name?
Pulled a weapon to show someone you "meant business"?
Taken something greater than $50 in value without paying for it?
Refused to tell police/official what you knew?
Broken into a building and taken something or caused damage?
Been in jail?
Hit a parent?
Taken something $10-50 in value without paying for it?
Forced another person to have sex?
Threatened to beat someone up unless they gave you something?
Sold something you had stolen yourself?
Used force to get money from another person?
Pretended to be older to buy alcohol?
Used a weapon to get something?
Purposely broken a car window?
Been questioned as a suspect in a crime?
Beat someone up so badly they needed a doctor?
Been arrested for prostitution?
How often prostitution in last week___? Last month___?
Last 3 months___?

140. During the last 3 months how many of your friends have:
140a. Damaged property that did not belong to you?
140b. Used marijuana, hash or pot?
140c. Gotten drunk once in a while?
140d. Stolen something worth less than $10?
140e. Used alcohol?
140f. Hit or threatened to hit someone for no reason?
140g. Sold hard drugs?
140h. Broken into a vehicle or building to steal something?
140i. Stolen something worth more than $50?
140j. Used prescription drugs such as amphetamines or barbituates?
140k. Sold or given alcohol to others?

141. Have you ever used....(and how many times in the last 3 mos.)
beer/wine
hard liquor
hallucinogins
heroin

inhalants
marijuana
methadone
opiates
barbituates
stimulants
tranquilizers
pcp
cocaine

142. Do you think this research is worth doing?

Street Exit Project Research
Interview Schedule B
Variable List

1. Client Number
2. Interview Number
3. Interviewer
4. Date of first interview
4a. Date of second interview
5. Original Client Referral
6. Present Status
7. Present Service Affiliation
8. List all of the agencies that you have had contact with over the last three months and the reason for contact.
9. Are any of these agencies new contacts?
10. Are you in contact with new or different staff or caseworkers in the last three months?
11. Why change/contact?
12. How was contact made, situation, outcome?
13. List all of the counselors you have assigned to you.
14. At the present time, what agency or service are you in contact with most?
15. How do they define your problem?
16. Do you see it in the same way?
17. What is their plan for you? (At this primary agency)
18. Are you involved in any specific programs at this primary agency?
19. What is the focus of your problem/plan?
20. What is your present status: On street/off street/transition.
21. What is your present living situation?
22. Where did you spend last night?
23. Are you presently in a relationship with someone?
24. Who are you living with? Street/non-street.
25. How do you get money to support yourself?
26. Are you employed? If yes, where/how did you get the job?
27. Have you been on the street at all since our last interview?
28. Describe how your situation has changed in the last three months.
29. List places you have lived: With whom: Street/non-street.
30. Describe your typical daily routine.
31. Are you enrolled in any school now? If yes, what school.
32. Are you attending any school? If yes, What school.
33. Were you in school three months ago?
34. How has your school situation changed since then?
35. Do you feel that you need school?
36. What kind of education do you feel you need?
37. What are your feelings about school?
38. Has the school experience: (helped you alot - hindered you alot)
39. What kind of life and employment would you like to have?
40. How do you expect to support yourself?
41. Have you had any contact with family members in the last

three months? If yes, with whom and how often?

42. How do you feel about your family today?
43. As compared to 3 months ago, how have these feelings about your family changed? (much more positive-much more negative).
44. How do you think your family feels about you today?
45. As compared to 3 months ago, how do you think their feelings about you have changed? (much more positive today-much more negative today).
46. What resources have you used in the last three months for the following:
    Shelter
    Food
    Clothing
    Medical
    Money
    Employment
    Counseling
    Help off the street
    Describe circumstances in which you used resource.
47. In the last three months have you:
    Been in a group home?
    Been in a foster home?
    Receiving home?
    Emergency housing?
    DSHS walk-in?
    Detention?
    Institution?

If yes to any of above, now long, situation and number of times.

48. Have you been on the street in the last three months? Describe situation.
49. Have you prostituted in the last three months? How often?
50. Have you tried to leave the street? Of these attempts, how many were successful? If no, go to question 60.
51. Did anyone help you try to leave?
52. What role did your family play in you trying to leave the street?
53. What role did services play in leaving the street?
54. Who did you live with? Is that the same situation as present living situation?
55. How are/were you supported?
56. How do/did you spend your time?
57. When you left or tried to leave, did you maintain any street contacts?
58. What was the key thing and who were the key people that helped you leave the street?
59. Have you returned to street situation since your exit for any reason?
60 **If subject is actively involved in street life: What are the advantages that you see in staying on the street?
61. If you were not on the streets where would you be now?
62. Have services influenced your being on the streets?

63. How long do you plan to stay on the street?
64. Are you in a relationship with someone who is also on the street?
65. Rate the following factors as reason for staying on the streets:
    Friends
    Lovers
    Money
    Drugs
    Lifestyle
    No other alternatives
    Self-image
    Services
66. How determined are you to stay on the streets now as compared to 3 months ago?
67. In what ways could services make a difference?
68. If no services existed for street kids, how would that change your situation and the streets in general?
69. What are your plans for the next day?
70. What are your plans for the next week?
71. What are your plans for the next month?
72. What are your plans for the next year?
73. How determined are you to stay on the streets now as compared to 3 months ago?
74. As compared to 3 months ago, leaving the street now would be: (much more difficult-much easier).
75. As compared to where you are today, leaving the streets in 3 months will be: (much more difficult-much easier).
76. In the last interview you rated the following factors as to what might help <u>keep you off</u> the streets. How would you rate them now?
    Family
    Counseling
    A job
    Money
    Place to live
    Friends
    Personal relationship
    Self-image
    School
    Services
77. In the last three months: What proportion of your friends are male and female?
78. What proportion of your friends are street or non-street people?
79. What proportion of your friends are heterosexual or homosexual?
80. Are the people you are friends with now different from friends 3 months ago? If yes, in what ways are they different?
81. Compared to 3 months ago, my physical health is: (better, same or worse).

82. Compared to 3 months ago, my mental health is: (better, same or worse).
83. In the last three months has anyone attempted (but not succeeded) in molesting you?
83a. If yes, how many times?
83b. Who was it? (primary inident)
83c. How old were they?
83d. What was your relationship?
83e. Was it incest?
83f. Was it street-related?
83g. How was the situation resolved?
84. In the last 3 months, has anyone molested you?
84a. If yes, how many times?
84b. Who was it? (primary incident)
84c. How old were they?
84d. What was your relationship?
84e. Was it incest?
84f. Was it street-related?
84g. How was the situation resolved?
85. In the last 3 months, has anyone raped you?
85a. If yes, how many times?
85b. Who was it? (primary incident)
85c. How old were they?
85d. What was your relationship?
85e. Was it incest?
85f. Was it street-related?
85g. How was the situation resolved?
86. What do you consider to be your primary sexual orientation?
87. In the last 3 months, have you: (and how many times in the last 3 months).
Been suspended or expelled from school?
Intentionally started a building on fire?
Gone to school drunk?
Tried to get away from police officer?
Hit a teacher or school official?
Broken house or school windows?
Ran away from home?
Been caught shoplifting by store clerk/owner?
Bought something you knew was stolen?
Taken a stranger's car without permission?
Broken into a parking meter?
Slash bus/car seats, tires?
Picked a fight?
Tried to pass a check by forging someone's name?
Pulled a weapon to show someone you "meant business"?
Taken something greater then $50 in value without paying for it?
Refused to tell police/official what you knew?
Broken into a building and taken something or caused damage?
Been in jail?
Hit a parent?
Taken something $10-$50 in value without paying for it?

Damaged things that did not belong to you?
Taken things from someone's wallet or purse?
Forced another person to have sex?
Threatened to beat someone up unless they gave you something?
Sold something you had stolen yourself?
Used force to get money from another person?
Pretended to be older to buy alcohol?
Used a weapon to get something?
Purposely broken a car window?
Been questioned as a suspect in a crime?
Beat someone up so badly they needed a doctor?

89. Have you ever sold drugs?
Number of times during past 3 months?
Number of times during the past year?

90. Have you ever used a weapon when robbing someone?
Number of times during past 3 months?
Number of times during the past year?

91. Have you ever been addicted to drugs or alcohol? (If yes, when, what, and how long)?

92. Are you now addicted to drugs or alcohol? (If yes, what and for how long)?

93. Were you addicted to drugs or alcohol 3 months ago? (If yes, what, and for how long)?

94. Have you ever been arrested? (If so, for what and when)?

94a. What happened with the charges?

95. Have you been arrested in the past 3 months?

95a. What happened to these charges?

96. During the last 3 months how many of your friends have: (none of them - all of them).
Damaged property that did not belong to them.
Used marijuana, hash or pot.
Gotten drunk once in awhile.
Stolen something worth less than $10.
Used alcohol.
Hit or threatened to hit someone for no reason.
Sold hard drugs.
Broken into a venicle or building to steal something.
Stolen something worth more than $50.
Used prescription drugs such as amphetamines or barbituates.
Sold or given alcohol to others.

97. In the past 3 months, have you used:
beer/wine
hard liquor
hallucinogens
heroin
inhalants
marijuana
methadone
opiates
barbituates
stimulants
tranquilizers

pcp
cocaine

98. List major event from tracking data.
99. How have events changed your situation?
100. Do you think differently about yourself now?
101. Will you do anything differently as a result of these events?
102. What do you need to learn to have the life you want?
103. How much schooling would you LIKE to get?
104. How much schooling do you EXPECT to get?

Street Exit Project Research
Interview Schedule C
Variable List

1. Client Number
2. Interview Number
3. Interviewer
3a. Date of first Interview
4. Date of second interview
5. Date of third interview
6. Age at first conact with any services
7. Age at first contact with street services
8. Length of time in contact with services
9. Length of time in contact with street services
10. Service involvement (in last year)
11. Has your involvement with service programs increased or decreased over the year? Why?
12. Original Client Referral
    Orion
    Short term services
    Long term services
    New Horizon
    Detention
    S.E. Youth Service Bureau
    Other
13. Present Status
    On street
    Transition
    Off Street
14. Present Services Affiliation
    Orion
    Shelter
    Long term service
    Horizon
    Detention
    DSHS placement (specify)
    Other (specify)
15. List all of the agencies that you have had contact with since our last interview (and reason for contact).
16. Are any of these agencies new contacts?
    If yes: Which agency, how was contact made, situation, outcomes.
17. Are you in contact with new or different staff or caseworkers in the last three months?
18. Why change/contact?
19. How was contact made, situation, outcome?
20. List all of the counselors you have assigned to you.
21. How many counselors do you have assigned to you?
22. At the present time, what agency or service are you in contact with most?
23. What services are you using at this agency?
24. What is their plan for you? (At this primary agency)?

25. Is this plan new? Have any old plans fallen through? What happened?
26. Do you agree with the agency's plan for you? Do you see the situation in the same way?
27. What are your plans?
    for the next day
    for the next week
    for the next month
    for the next year
28. Will your plan work? What will make it work? What problems/hurdles will you encounter?
29. What is the main problem as you see it?
30. What is your present status: on street/off street/transition?
31. What is your present living situation?
32. Where were you living at the time of our last interview? same/different
33. How long have you been in your present living situation?
34. Where did you spend last night?
35. Are you presently in a relationship with someone? street/non-street
36. Who are you living with? Street/non-street
37. How do you get money to support yourself?
38. Are you employed?
    If yes, where/how did you get the job?
39. Have you been employed in the last year?
    When?
40. How did you get the job/s?
41. Have you been on the street at all since our last interview?
42. Describe how your situation has changed since our last interview:
43. List places you have lived: With whom: Street/Non-street
44. Describe your typical daily routine
45. Are you enrolled in any school now?
46. Are you attending any school?
    If yes to either, what school?
47. Were you in school three months ago?
48. How has your school situation changed since then?
49. Do you have a GED?
50. If yes, when did you get it and where?
51. Have you had any contact with family members since the last interview?
    If yes, with whom and how often?
52. Can you live with a family member now?
    If yes, why aren't you? If no, why not?
53. Can you use family as a resource?
54. How has the situation with family members changed?
55. Do you talk to service staff about your family problems? Who?
56. What do they say to you about it?
57. What has been your reaction? Are they helpful?

58. Do you want help with your family problems? What kind of help?
59. Do you need any of the following resources? If you do, where can you go and what can you do?
Shelter
Food
Clothing
Medical
Money
Employment
Counseling
Help off the street
60. Have you learned about any new resources or used different ones since the time of our last interview?
61. In the last three months have you:
Been in a group home?
Been in a foster home?
Receiving home?
Emergency housing?
DSHS walk-in?
Detention?
Institution?
If yes to any of above, how long, situation & # of times.
62. Have you been on the street in the last three months? 63. Have you prostituted in the last three months?
About how often?
64. Have you tried to leave the street?
If yes, how many times have you tried in the last 3 months?
Of these attempts, how many were successful?
65. Did anyone help you try to leave?
66. What role did your family play in you trying to leave the street?
67. What role did services play in leaving the street?
68. Who did you live with, is that the same situation as present living situation?
69. How are/were you supported?
70. How do/did you spend your time?
71. When you left or tried to leave, did you maintain any street contacts?
72. What was the key thing and who were the key people that helped you leave the street?
73. What have services been unable to provide for you?
74. Have you returned to street situation since your exit for any reason?
75. What are the advantages that you see in staying on the streets?
76. Have services influenced your being on the streets? How?
77. How long do you plan to stay on the street?
78. Are you in a relationship with someone who is also on the streets?

79. Rate the following factors as reason for staying on the streets: (Very Unimp.-Unimp.-No Opinion-Import.-Very Import.)
Friends
Lovers
Money
Drugs
Lifestyle
No other alternatives
Self-image
Services

80. In what ways could services make a difference?

81. If no services existed for street kids, how would that change your situation and the streets in general?

82. In the last interview you rated the following factors as to what might help keep you off the streets. How would you rate them now?
Family
Counseling
A job
Money
Place to live
Friends
Personal relationship
Self Image
School

83. In the last three months:
What proportion of your friends are male and female?

84. What proportion of your friends are street or non-street

85. What proportion of your friends are heterosexual or homosexual?

86. Are the people you are friends with now different from friends 3 months ago? In what ways?

87. Compared to 3 mos. ago, my physical health is: (better--same--worse)

88. Compared to 3 mos. ago, my mental health is: (better--same--worse)

89. In the last three months has anyone attempted (but not succeeded) in molesting you?

89a. If yes, how many times?

89b. Who was it? (primary incident)

89c. How old were they?

89d. What was your relationship?

89e. Was it incest?

89f. Was it street-related?

89g. How was the situation resolved?

90. In the last three months, has anyone molested you?

90a. If yes, how many times?

90b. Who was it? (primary incident)

90c. How old were they?

90d. What was your relationship?

90e. Was it incest?

90f. Was it street related?

90g. How was the situation resolved?
91. In the last 3 months, has anyone raped you?
91a. If yes, how many times?
91b. Who was it? (primary incident)
91c. How old were they?
91d. What was your relationship?
91e. Was it incest?
91f. Was it street related?
91g. How was the situation resolved?
92. What do you consider to be your primary sexual orientation?

Heterosexual	Asexual
Homosexual	Uncertain
Bisexual	

93. What crimes have you committed since the last interview?
94. Have you done any of the things on the following list since the last interview?

Have you (and number of times):
Been suspended or expelled from school
Intentionally started a building on fire
Gone to school drunk
Tried to get away from police officer
Hit a teacher or school official
Broken house or school windows
Ran away from home
Caught shoplifting by store clerk/owner
Bought something you knew was stolen
Taken a stranger's car without permission
Broken into a parking meter
Slash bus/car seats, tires
Picked a fight
Tried to pass a check by forging someone's name
Pulled a weapon to show someone you "meant business"
Taken something greater than $50 in value without paying for it
Refused to tell police/official what you knew
Broken into a building and taken something or caused damage
Been in jail (if yes, explain)
Hit a parent
Taken something $10-$50 in value without paying for it
Damaged things that did not belong to you
Taken things from someone's wallet or purse
Forced another person to have sex
Threatened to beat someone up unless they gave you somthing
Sold something you had stolen yourself
Used force to get money from another person
Pretended to be older to buy alcohol
Used a weapon to get something
Purposely broken a car window
Been questioned as a suspect in a crime
Beat someone up so badly they needed a doctor

95. During the last 3 months how many of your friends have:
Damaged property that did not belong to you

Used marijuana, hash or pot
Gotten drunk once in a while
Stolen something worth less than #10
Used alcohol
Hit or threatened to hit someone for no reason
Sold hard drugs
Broken into a vehicle or building to steal something
Stolen something worth more than $50
Used prescripition drugs such as amphetamines or barbituates
Sold or given alcohol to others

96. What drugs have you used since that last interview?
97. What drugs do you now use (and how often do you use them)?
beer/wine
hard liquor
hallucinogins
heroin
inhalants
marijuana
methadone
opiates
barbiturates
stimulants
tranquilizers
pcp
cocaine
98. What medical/health issues do you have now?
99. What were/are your medical needs?
100. Have you used the clinic at Orion for your medical needs? Any other places?
101. How have the following parts of your life changed in the past year:
Personal self-image:
Employment:
Housing:
School:
Social life and activities:
Family relations:
Legal situation and institutionalization:
102. What do agency staff think of prostitution and your involvement those activities?
103. What do they say to you about it? What have your reactions been to their comments?
104. Are staff helpful regarding this topic? What do you want from them? Are there aspects of the issue you do not undertand?
105. Who can/do you talk to about prostitution?
106. What do staff think of homosexuality? What do they think/feel about your sexuality?
107. What do they say to you about it? What have your reactions been to their comments?
108. Are staff helpful in dealing with this issue? What do you want from them? Are their aspects of homosexuality that you

do not understand?

109. Who can/do you talk to about homosexuality and your sexual preferences?

INTERVIEW GUIDE

DECISION MAKING

LIST AND DESCRIBE DECISION POINT

ELICIT INFORMATION ON ALTERNATIVES & OPTIONS AVAILABLE AT POINT IN TIME DECISION WAS MADE

REVIEW AND ELICIT INFORMATION ON PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF KNOWN OPTIONS WITH REGARD TO SPECIFIC DECISION

OBJECTIVE ATTRIBUTES

SUBJECTIVE ATTRIBUTES

ELICIT INFORMATION ON SUB PLANS

DESCRIBE THE CHOICE MADE

DESCRIBE THE RESULTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CHOICE MADE

DESCRIBE REACTIONS AND RESULTING SITUATION OF CLIENT

SEATTLE YOUTH & COMMUNITY SERVICES
STREET EXIT PROJECT RESEARCH
Debra Boyer, Principal Investigator, Research Director
Telephone: 322-7927
Subject Consent Form

Seattle Youth & Community Services (The Shelter and The Orion Center) is conducting a study of services provided to youth who are involved in street life. The results of the study will be used to provide better services to youth.

Your participation will include answering questions about the services you have used and the attempts you have made to leave street life. There will also be questions on family background, your activities and relationships. We will ask you to participate in 3 interviews over a 1 year period. In addition we will track your use of services and the outcomes during that time. Your participation in the study and your identity will be known only to Seattle Youth & Community Services staff you are in contact with and the research staff. The information you provide will be confidential and will not in any way preclude or interfere with provision of services to you.

We will take the following steps to assure confidentiality. The 3 interviews will be tape recorded and transcribed. Identifying information will not be transcribed and the tapes will be erased. The questionnaires will be given a code number and the information computerized and then the questionnaires will be destroyed. They will be kept in a locked cabinet until that time. Research reports will not in any way identify you as a participant.

You may refuse to answer any questions in the interview you wish. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time without penalty or without jeopardizing the service you receive at Seattle Youth & Community Services. Counseling is available if you wish to talk to someone after the interviews.

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

I voluntarily consent to participate in this study. I have had an opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation will not be known except to appropriate Seattle Youth & Community Services staff. I agree to allow the researcher to publish information I provide in any report at her discretion.

Signature of Subject _____ Date _____

SEATTLE YOUTH & COMMUNITY SERVICES
STREET EXIT PROJECT RESEARCH
Debra Boyer, Principal Investigator, Research Director
Telephone: 322-7927
Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Seattle Youth & Community Services (The Shelter and The Orion Center) is conducting a study of services provided to youth who are involved in street life. The results of the study will be used to provide better services. The study involves interviewing your child 3 times over a 1 year period and also tracking their participation in and use of services. The interviews include questions about the use and effectiveness of services and attempts to change lifestyles. Questions on family relationships, street related activities and backgrounds will also be asked. The identity of the participants will be known only to Seattle Youth & Community Services staff who are providing services and the research staff. The information gathered will remain confidential. Research reports will not in any way identify the participants. Your child's participation or the information they provide will not in any way preclude the provision of services.

Participation in this study involves no obligation on the part of either parent or child. Your child may choose to withdraw from the interviews and/or the research at any time. No discomfort is anticipated to be related to the interview procedures. Your child has already consented to participate if you approve.

As the parent/legal guardian of _____
I voluntarily consent to his/her participation in this study. I have had an opportunity to ask questions.

_____ _____
Signature Date