Detention home teens as tutors

A cooperative cross-age tutoring pilot project

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ABSTRACT Concerned professionals in the juvenile justice field frequently express concern for effective programs that help youth offenders successfully rejoin society. This mixed-method pilot study involved detention home teens functioning as tutors for special education students in a public school. Tutors were selected who, based on previous assessment as well as administration input, showed evidence of learning difficulties and antisocial behaviors. The treatment phase lasted for approximately 3 months, with one-on-one tutoring increasing from twice a week to daily sessions. Although initially the tutors had to be supervised by an adult, eventually they demonstrated an improvement in responsibility and were allowed to come and go on their own. The tutors experienced gains in self-esteem and overall school and social attitude.

Several factors have been identified (Caliber Associates, 2002; Leone et al., 2000) that put youth at risk of delinquency and other antisocial behavioral problems. These dynamic factors may include poor academic achievement, lack of identification with the child's school, a peer support group that engages in and encourages problem behaviors, poor inter-familial relations, low self-esteem, and a lack of identification with one's local neighborhood. The situation is further compounded when schools practice inconsistent and inequitable disciplinary measures (Skiba and Peterson, 2000). The end result often leads to substance abuse, school dropout, delinquency and sometimes violence.

The problem is further exacerbated by the trend towards punishment and retributive sanctions rather than rehabilitation for youth offenders (Empey et al., 1999). Several organizations throughout the world, including the United Nations in the 1990 Convention on the Rights of the Child (Articles 20, 37, 40), the Joint Committee on Human Rights (2003), and Human Rights Watch (1999) have long urged for a more proactive,



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positive-oriented treatment towards youth offenders, rather than focusing on harsh, reactive punishment. Both of the latter two organizations reported that rehabilitative opportunities in young offender institutions were sorely lacking. The Howard League for Penal Reform (2003) reported that in England and Wales alone, in a 22 month period, close to 300 children in the juvenile justice system were injured, many seriously, by adult authority figures using control and restraint measures. Some of these incidents, where excessive force was used, even led to teen deaths. This retributive, negativeoriented approach may lead the offender to a feeling of helplessness, which can result in recidivism and a continuation of the antisocial behaviors.

Several researchers (Henggeler, 1989; Leschied et al., 1991) have found that quick-fix programs do not really work for youth offenders and that once they are incarcerated the likelihood of reoffending actually increases. In a 5 year longitudinal study, Bullis et al. (2002) reported that youth released from the youth detention system performed poorly at integrating back into the community. Clearly there is a need for practical and effective rehabilitative programs to help our youth rejoin society as productive, successful members.

Peer interactive learning has, in fact, been the standard method utilized in rabbinical schools for nearly 2000 years. In this unique system, the rabbi, or teacher, functions more as a guide to the learning process. After the actual class time, students then review the materials in direct, one-on-one interactive sessions. Thus, the student goes from the role of passive to active learner. This promising technique of cross-age and peer interactive learning, or peer tutoring (PT), has been found to offer a variety of benefits for both the tutee and the tutor, including improvements in behavior and social skills (Kamps et al., 1999; Lazerson, 1988). This has occurred in both school related settings, such as the traditional classroom (Gautry, 1990), and non-academic settings such as the sports field, music instrument practice, etc. Lazerson (1980) found that behavioral problem tutors and tutees experienced significant gains as a result of engaging in consistent tutoring sessions. This cross-age peer tutoring trial project was designed to help meet the unique needs and demands of youth already processed through the juvenile justice system. Individuals from a detention home in western New York State would function as tutors for younger students in a Buffalo, New York public school.

Method

Participants

All new research projects involve some degree of risk. This aspect was somewhat intensified since the study required detention home youth coming into the public school and interacting with the students. It was therefore decided that only three detention home teenagers would come to the school to tutor the younger tutees. Parental or guardian permission was secured for all participants, as well as a guarantee of confidentiality. In addition, the director and detention home staff held a sensitivity training session with the host school faculty as to the nature of the project and the background of the tutors. To further insure the safety of all involved, and to make sure that the tutors would not abscond, it was initially deemed necessary for a detention home security guard to 'shadow' each tutor. The tutees were selected from the host elementary school's special education, self-contained classes. This was necessary to insure that the tutors would indeed take on the role of teaching. The PT would begin on a 6 week trial basis, with the detention home participants tutoring every other school day for one period of up to 60 minutes. Three additional detention home teens, with similar backgrounds and educational difficulties, were chosen as the control group.

The tutors: brief profiles

According to the law, the three tutors, John, Sean and Lynn, were 'habitually truant, disobedient, ungovernable, incorrigible, and beyond control of parents and other lawful authority'. Each of them was adjudicated in a formal court hearing and placed in a secured group home because, according to sworn testimony, there was 'significant likelihood' that they would either abscond or continue to engage in delinquent activity.

John, a 15-year-old youth, had been in foster care or institutions since he was 2 years old. The detention home (DH) staff reported that John arrived at the group home 'fighting, cursing, and swearing'. This was his 11th placement in 13 years. Sean, another 15-year-old, was identified as a 'sneaky, lying con-artist'. He was torn between his divorced parents who attempted to 'buy his attention, or flatly reject him'. Lynn was a 16-yearold girl characterized as 'withdrawn and disinterested'. She had been beaten and abused by her parents. Her sarcasm and steadfast refusal to cooperate in the most minor ways drove people from her within moments of meeting her. A social worker wrote that all three of the tutors were 'angry, confused, hurt youngsters who had learned to mask their feelings under a façade of "I don't care what the hell happens". It would be difficult to locate a group of young people with lower self-esteem.

All three of the tutors had been educationally tested at reading levels near the third grade, and none of them reported any positive educational experiences from previous school settings. However, since low self-concept seemed to be their most pressing concern, they were picked before other DH youth with similar learning problems.

Materials

The focus of the tutoring sessions was mainly reading comprehension on a first-grade level and decoding. In addition, the tutors were given a variety of basic math materials, such as blocks, sticks, flash cards, etc., to help improve the tutees in this area as well. Self-concept was evaluated by a system initially designed by Luszki and Schmuck (1974). On this scale one notes the discrepancies, if any, between the individual's notion of actual self and the ideal self. The author added several terms to this particular scale, for it was reasoned that they would indicate important aspects of selfesteem. Terms such as healthy, bored, close to teachers, close to parent(s), close with peers, successful, tired, etc., were added to this assessment device (see Appendix).

Teacher and tutor questionnaires were sent out at the end of the study to supply further insight and information regarding the program. These forms were very important to the project for they would reflect the effectiveness of the program from both tutor and teacher perspectives. In addition, informal, in-depth, open interviews were conducted. It was reasoned that this qualitative research technique would provide additional relevant information and insight into the various facets of the program.

Procedures

The tutors first attended two training sessions for the project. During these sessions, the tutors practiced and role-played how to reinforce correct statements from 'their students' and how to properly correct mistakes. The tutors met with their students each school day for a 45–60 minute period. Initially, in order to make sure that they would not abscond, a detention home staff had to escort them to and from the public school. The social worker also had to remain in the building while the tutoring was going on. Tutors had special sign-in sheets to mark their arrival and departure times. Weekly staff meetings were held between the program director and the tutors. At these informal meetings we discussed ideas, the accomplishments of the previous week, and, of course, any personal gripes or issues that they had.

Results

Self-concept

The self-concept scale was administered on a pre-test and post-test basis to both the participants and the control group. All three tutors experienced dramatic gains in self-concept. As the N for this trial project was too small to perform statistical analysis, still the scores of the three DH tutors was so profound that it may serve as some indication of the program's success. The

	Pre-test	Post-test	
Tutors	1.26	1.8	
	2.21	2.11	
	3.24	3.5	
М	23	8	
Control	1.28	1.26	
	2.19	2.23	
	3.22	3.26	
М	23	25	

TUDIE I DISCIEDANCIES UN SELI-CUNCEDI SCALE	Table 1	Discrepancies o	n self-concept scal	e
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average decrease of discrepancies on this scale was 15 (Table 1) as compared with the control group who actually experienced an increase in the number of discrepancies on the post-test, from 23 to 25.

It is reasoned that the lower the number of discrepancies, the higher the self-concept, for the 'actual self' more nearly matches the individual's 'ideal self'. Only one of the DH control group showed a slight improvement on self-concept post-scale, going from a score of 28 to 26 discrepancies. Based on the information generated from these scales, the tutors felt more confident in themselves both intellectually and emotionally.

Teacher questionnaires and interview feedback

To nearly everyone's surprise, the tutors turned out to be true assets to the cooperating teachers and to their students. They described the tutors as 'capable, sincere, and hard-working young people' – a far cry from the labels the courts used to describe them. Teachers reported that the tutors assumed a variety of responsibilities, and that this load increased throughout the duration of the project. They noted that the tutors quickly adapted to their new roles and performed functions such as correcting exams and paperwork, running off dittos, leading small math and reading groups, and escorting the class to and from various specials, like art and gym.

Tutor questionnaires and interview feedback

Based on tutor responses from both the questionnaires and the informal interviews, all three tutors found the project to be very successful. It was, in fact, quite remarkable to read their questionnaires, for one would think that they had been filled out by college student teachers. For example, on the question 'How can the program be improved?' the tutors wrote the following responses: 'Suzy needs to work individually or with one other student so she won't be so distracted' and 'Curtis must work with concrete objects before going into subtraction'. John wrote that one of his tutees 'needed more than praise, maybe some real rewards, like candy or stickers, or even movie tickets'. When the teacher didn't follow through on his suggestion, he simply brought in some tangible rewards on his own. In other words, the tutors filled out these forms as teachers, not as troubled individuals from a detention home. During the interview sessions, they indicated that this was their first real positive experience with 'the system' in general, and with school in particular. Sean remarked that he was 'tired of everyone trying to save us, when we proved we could save ourselves ... all we needed was a real shot at it without somebody always breathing down our necks'.

Report from detention home staff

The following is a summary of the project from the director and social worker of the detention home:

At first they were nervous and slightly suspicious. Each had their fill of 'programs that will help you'. But this was different - they were helpers. Cautiously, they agreed to try. Within days the effects were noticeable. John, a loner who had no close friends in the home, emerged as a leader. A defensive non-reader, he began to pick up books - 'So I can help my kids.' A virtual school phobic, he looked forward to going to school. Intensely distrustful of adults and especially authority figures, he began to talk openly about 'his' teacher, 'his' supervisor Dr Laz, and 'our' school. His temper was still a problem and he still became easily frustrated, but when reminded that such behavior was inappropriate for someone working with kids, he began to seriously work on it. We knew he was on to something mighty important when he decided to ride his bike [to tutor] in a downpour rather than stay back at the home, where he'd be nice and dry. He simply couldn't miss teaching his kids. Sean saw abundant opportunities to con everyone. Then he began to notice that he didn't have to. He was treated well, with respect, with the assumption that he was capable and responsible, and that he didn't have to play games to get it. Probably the most dramatic turnaround came with Lynn. A very angry, sarcastic, and bitter girl, she viciously bad-mouthed John and Sean for initially 'ass-kissing' the staff. She resisted any attempt to deal with her attitude. But gradually, as she saw what was happening to the boys, she began very cautiously to ask questions about the program. Finally, we confronted her. It seemed she really wanted to get involved but couldn't back down from her stand. We agreed to let her see how it worked. Above the objections of John and Sean, who were sure she'd wreck 'our program' by abusing her freedom, Lynn entered the program. Her current highly successful adjustment in a girl's residential program is attributed by her to the experiences she had as a student teacher in this unique project.

Discussion

Needless to say, due to such a small N, one must be careful in generalizing these positive results to other teens in the detention home system. Furthermore, it is possible that such high results were achieved due to the small director/tutor ratio, rather than the actual treatment itself. However, since the results were so promising, the program merits further testing with a larger N and control group. At the present time, all of the tutors involved in this project have successfully left the detention home system to pursue community-oriented jobs. Upon conclusion of the project during the last staff meeting, the author asked the tutors to share some of their feelings about themselves and the project. Three salient points were expressed by the tutors: an increase in self-worth; an improvement in self-control; and a sense of responsibility to their students. 'I don't want to happen to them what happened to me, John commented. They noted that this was the first time in their lives that they had been put in a position of giving, rather than always on the receiving end. Lynn remarked that she was 'sick of people always looking at me like I'm some sort of reject, a loser'. She added that the tutoring project gave her a chance to 'prove 'em wrong . . . that I'm good enough to help others'. A salient factor which emerged from their interview responses was that they all felt more in control of their own lives and destiny than before. Further research might focus on locus of control, rather than a general notion of self-concept. These three tutors may have helped pave a route out of a system that often seems more like a dead-end than anything else, for dozens, perhaps hundreds like themselves. They have shown that they are willing, and indeed capable, of handling responsibility when given the proper circumstances and opportunity.

Appendix: self-concept scale (adapted from Luszki and Schmuck, 1974)

I am			I'd like to be			
Almost always	Half of the time	Hardly ever		Almost always	Half of the time	Hardly ever
			Friendly			
			Bored			
			Studious			
			Likeable			
			Нарру			
			Shy			
			Smart			
			Mean			
			Popular			
			Destructive			
			Close to teacher			
			Close to classmates			
			Close to Dad			
			Close to Mom			
			Close to sibling(s)			
			Tired			
			Honest			
			Brave			
			Lazy			
			Cooperative			
			Healthy			
			Jealous			
			Worried			
			Successful			

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