Manual

Changing Lives Program (CLP)

Revised: 9/02

Printed: 10/8/02

The Changing Lives Program was developed under the auspices of the Youth Development Project of the Adolescent and Adult Development Program, Child and Family Psychosocial Research Center, Department of Psychology, Florida International University, Miami, Florida, 33199. Any comments or suggestions regarding the material should be directed to William M. Kurtines at the above address.

Contributors: Ondina Arrufat, Marlene Arzola, Alan M. Berman, Steven Berman, Ervin Briones, Janene Bussell, Laura Ferrer-Wreder, John Futterknecht, Gabrielle Kortsch, William M. Kurtines, Lisa Lewis-Arango, Carolyn Cass Lorente, Clary Milnitsky, Marilyn Montgomery, Seth Schwartz, Sara Swenson.

.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: Introduction 3
The Population and the Problem 4
Working with Disadvantaged Adolescents 4
Overview of Intervention Components 4
Theoretical Framework 5
Intervention Goals: Promoting Positive Development 5
Intervention Strategies 6
Intervention Domains 7
Implementation Strategy 7
Promoting Positive Development 8
Individual and Group Exercises: The Life Course Journal 8
Conclusion 8
CHAPTER 2: Intervention Goals: Promoting Positive Development 9
Introduction 9
The Goal of Programs for Promoting Positive Development 9
Targeting the Developmental Moment 10
Identity and the Transition to Adulthood 10
Identity Development as a Positive Intervention Outcome 10
Identity as a Core Organizing Concept for Interventions Targeting Positive Youth Development 11
Linking Identity and Life Course Theory 12
Identity Formation as a Life Transition Focal Turning Point 12
The Life Course Trajectory 13
Life Course Turning Points: Changing A Life Course 14
CHAPTER 3: Intervention Strategies: 16
A Transformative Co-constructivist Approach 16
Freire's Transformative Pedagogy 16
Intervention Strategies 16
Co-constructive Learning and Transformative Empowerment Activities 16
The Flow of CLP: Interweaving and Layering CLP Intervention Strategies and Objectives 18
(1) Engagement 20
(2) Co-constructive Learning Experiences 20
Exploration 21
Problem Posing 24
(3) Transformative Activities 25
Roberto 26
Marcia 26
References 27

CHAPTER 1:
Introduction

This manual describes the Changing Lives Program (CLP). The Changing Lives Program is a school-based positive development program that aims to empower troubled adolescents to change their lives in positive directions. Our goal is to create context in which troubled young people can transform their sense of control and responsibility and change their "negative" life trajectories into positive ones.

Our intervention goal is changing lives and we use intervention strategies that are transformative and co-constructivist to achieve this goal. A transformative co-constructivist approach seeks to create an intervention context in which students take an active role in the intervention process and the interventionist (facilitator, teacher, etc.) works with the students to co-construct alternatives to negative life pathways.

In CLP, the learning process is co-participatory. In the process of identifying effective methods for overcoming obstacles to changing negative life pathways *and* engaging in transformative activities to bring about change, participants become empowered as they experience the possibility of creating and constructing (rather than enduring) the circumstances of their lives. In CLP, participants not only talk about their problems; they *do* something about them. In the context of such mastery experiences, they become empowered to transform themselves, their lives, and their communities.

CLP thus seeks to do more than treat behavior problems or prevent negative developmental outcomes; it also seeks to promote positive psychosocial development as a means for providing youth with the opportunity to be in control of their lives and take responsibility for the direction of their life course. That is, like other treatment and prevention programs, CLP targets reducing or eliminating the behavior problems and risk factors that troubled adolescents bring into intervention programs, but it also seeks to go one step further. CLP also seeks to promote positive change in young people that will serve as a catalyst for future change.

CLP is an approach that considers positive change that takes place as part of youth development intervention to serve as a catalyst for future change. More specifically, it holds that what is important about future change is that it will be under the control (and responsibility) of the young people who have changed during the intervention. CLP further holds that it is change that is youth-selected and youth-directed that will be most likely to persist past the end of the intervention. What is unique about CLP's approach to promoting positive development is that the focus is not on providing youth with guidance and direction but on creating context in young people themselves make the choices that give their lives direction and purpose.

The basic concepts that provide the foundation for CLP evolved out of our work with the multiculturally diverse population of urban youth that participate in our program – youth who are disadvantaged by socioeconomic status, ethnicity, minority status, or who are in other ways socially marginalized. These basic concepts have proved useful to us in promoting positive change in the lives of marginalized young people, but they are not limited to this population. They can be used by anyone who feels the need to change their life in directions that are more positive and in need of practical methods for moving their lives in positive directions. The basic concepts apply to anyone who feels the need to change their life and are looking for way to make it happen.

The Population and the Problem

Although adolescent stress and storm is not a universal phenomena (Arnett, 1999), for an increasing number of youth the transition to adulthood poses a formidable challenge. This is particularly so for disadvantaged youth. Such youth begin life outside the mainstream social institutions (e.g., economic, political, educational, etc.) that have traditionally provided young people value references and normative support (Côté & Allathar, 1994; Tait, 1993). For such socially marginalized youth, the development of a personal and moral sense of identity (i.e., who they are and the values they believe in) has become increasingly problematic.

The cost to society is high. Because of the experience of increasing marginalization, these young people put little (if any) investment in most normative social institutions. The cost to the youth themselves is also high. These marginalized youth have withdrawn from proactive participation in their personal lives, tending not to take control and responsibility for the direction of their lives, instead searching for daily adventure that too frequently includes antisocial activities and problem behaviors. As a result, the number of youth at risk for problem behaviors is extraordinary high (Dahlberg, 1998; Rutter, Giller, & Hagell, 1998), particularly among disadvantaged youth.

A large proportion of marginalized young people in the United States come from inner city, low-income minority families that exist within a community context of disempowerment, limited access to resources, and pervasive violence, crime, and substance abuse (Berman, Kurtines, Silverman, & Serafini, 1996; National Center for Children in Poverty, 1993; Wilson, Rodriguez, & Taylor, 1997). Such youth tend to be disadvantaged by socioeconomic status, ethnicity, minority status, or in other ways socially marginalized (National Center for Children in Poverty, 1993). They are, for example, often subject to diverse forms of oppression, the deleterious effects of poverty, and various forms of institutional and individual racism. The psychological consequences are profound. Many young people respond to the experience of marginalization in ways (e.g., impulsiveness/ immediatism, pretending not to care, keeping their pain inside themselves, acting out against others, or escaping through drug use) that result in further marginalization and disengagement (Allison, et al., 1999; Keys, Bemak, & Lockhart, 1998).

Working with Disadvantaged Adolescents

Adolescence represents an opportune time for intervening to prevent risky behaviors that compromise healthy development and assisting with the normative course of development into adulthood. Adolescence is a time of experimentation, increased risks, and heightened vulnerability as well as openness to change (Lerner, 1995). Thus, for some developmental domains, adolescence provides a maximally effective point of focus for programs that promote youth development (Sherrod & Brim, 1986).

However, the challenge of developing interventions for promoting positive development in disadvantaged youth in the context of limited resources is formidable. The development of effective interventions requires approaches that are readily adaptable to local and particular contexts, culturally responsive, and practical. Our experience in using this approach with the young people drawn from a diverse array of cultural contexts and traditions has shown it to be useful for providing them the opportunity to increase their proactive participation in defining who they are and what they believe in. Our experience in this area is consistent with the growing awareness of the importance of creating positive development programs designed to encourage and empower young people (McWhirter, 1994, 1997). The idea of empowerment is one that may be, and is increasingly, utilized within counseling to encourage people to actively engage in meaningful, self-directed, life course change and social action.

Overview of Intervention Components

This chapter provides an overview of the Changing Lives Program and the basic components of the intervention, beginning with the developmental framework that provides the basic theoretical orientation for the program. Subsequent chapters will provide a more detailed look at the specific components.

Theoretical Framework

In seeking to promote positive development by creating contexts in which these troubled young people can change their lives, the CLP draws its developmental framework from both psychosocial developmental theory (Erikson, 1968) and life course theory (Elder, 1998) which we refer to as a "psychosocial developmental life course" approach. From psychosocial developmental theory, this approach adopts the view of adolescence as the developmental stage at which the individual is first confronted with, systematically and seriously, addressing the complex and difficult challenge (and responsibility) of choosing the goals, roles, and beliefs about the world that give the individual's life direction and purpose as well as coherence and integration. From life course theory, it adopts an emphasis on how individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they make within the constraints and opportunities of history and social circumstances. In line with Eriksonian theory, the CLP not only targets (and seeks to resolve) identity issues of the developmental moment but also is aimed at fostering domains of functioning that are foundational to successfully meeting other developmental challenges across the life span (Waterman, 1994). The psychosocial developmental life course approach of CLP, however, draws on life course theory to extend Eriksonian theory to include the view that intraindividual change after childhood is less developmentally predictable than has usually been described in Erikson's approach. Rather, in adapting the view of identity as a "steering mechanism" for life course change, a life course approach emphasizes the self-directed nature of change in adolescence and adulthood consistent with life course theory (Elder, 1998) and the emerging view of individuals as producers of their development (Brandtstaedter & Lerner, 1999; Lerner & Busch-Rossnagel, 1981).

Intervention Goals: Promoting Positive Development

There has been a growing interest in developing intervention programs designed to affect the lives of young people, with the goal of moving their life trajectories in more adaptive directions (Rutter, 1990). More recently, there has also been a growing recognition that interventions need to do more than "treat" problem behaviors (i.e., symptoms) or "prevent" negative developmental outcomes (Lerner, Fisher, & Weinberg, 2000). As a result, a growing literature focusing on interventions that seek to *promote positive development* has emerged that are usually termed positive development programs/interventions or youth development programs (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 1999). CLP is a positive development program.

Positive development programs differ from both intervention and prevention programs. Treatment intervention programs, for example, specifically target identified problem behaviors. Prevention intervention programs similarly specifically target risk and protective factors identified as probable antecedents of negative developmental outcomes. Positive youth development programs, in contrast, lack the specificity of treatment and prevention programs. They often emerge in response to issues and concerns that are local and particular, culturally bound, and historically situated. In these cases, the aim of youth development programs is to promote "positive" development where the meaning and significance of the concept of "positive" is determined by a complex interaction of locally, culturally, historically, and developmentally relevant factors.

When employed as universal interventions (e.g., 4-H, Girl/Boy Scouts, etc.) the most general aim of youth development programs is to enrich and enhance the normative course of development in a multitude of ways (specified and not specified) that are locally, culturally, contextually, and developmentally meaningful and significant (Mulkeen & Markstrom, 2001). The goal of universal positive development interventions (i.e., interventions that do not specifically target identified behavior problems or "at risk" youth) is thus to intervene across a broad and diverse array of specific and non-specific positive development constructs to promote, enrich, and enhance ongoing progress along an already positive life course. That is, the goal is not to change lives; on the contrary, the goal is to "hold the course" and, if possible, enrich and enhance progress along the way.

Positive development programs may also target troubled youth. We use the term "troubled" youth to describe the population we work with (and develop interventions for) as an alternative to the terms

"behavior problem" youth or "at-risk' youth. In developing CLP for the "troubled" youth, the youth we work with are drawn from the same general population as the behavior problem and at risk youth targeted by treatment and prevention programs and, like those youth, as a population they exhibit a full spectrum of the behavior problems and risk factors. In contrast to treatment and prevention programs that target specific types of behavior problems (conduct disorders, AOD use/abuse, etc.) or risk factors, however, CLP does *not* target specific behavior problems or risk factors; rather, the focus of CLP is on promoting positive development. CLP provides (as needed and available) selected interventions that target specific behavior problems and risk factors and reducing behavior problems (conduct disorders, AOD use/abuse, etc.) and risk factors are an important goal of our intervention work but it is not our only goal. Nor is it in the long-run even our primary goal. From the perspective of a psychosocial developmental life course approach, important addressing the pressing problems of the here and now, but in the end they are not more important than being capable of addressing all of the pressing problems that will inevitably arise in the future. Changing lives in ways that will move the lives of young people's in positive direction is a central aim of CLP.

Like universal youth development programs, the focus of CLP is on promoting positive development, but in contrast to programs that aim at facilitating development along a trajectory or life course that is already proceeding in a positive direction, CLP aims at altering or changing the course of lives that are proceeding in a negative direction. When employed as selective interventions (i.e., with troubled youth), the aim of CLP is thus to alter or change the direction of the "negative" life trajectories of the youth in our programs. That is, the aim is to change the lives of troubled young people for the better where "change" means a qualitative change in direction (i.e., from negative to positive) and where "for the better" (negative to positive) is to be understood in ways that are particularly local (i.e., in ways that are relative to relative to each individual's specific life course trajectory at the time of entry into the program) as well as culturally, historically, and developmentally appropriate. Our goal is thus to *promote qualitative change in the direction of participants lives in ways that are individually, culturally, historically, and developmentally meaningful and significant*. We consequently consider our programs to be open-ended responses that target the intersection of the developmental and historical moment – changing lives and changing times (Lerner, et al. 2000).

Intervention Strategies

For its intervention strategies, CLP draws on Freire's (1983/1970) approach to empowering marginalized people by enhancing their critical consciousness about their exclusion from the mainstream. Freire developed this approach in his work with impoverished Brazilian peasants. He found that individuals marginalized by extreme poverty had difficulty progressing when provided traditional classroom instruction format. According to Freire, didactic approaches only served to emphasize in the peasants' minds their sense of "incompetence" in contrast to the "competence" of the knowledgeable expert who dictates the lesson. Freire offered an alternative: a "problem posing" and co-constructive learning model. Freire referred to such a transformative pedagogy as a pedagogy of dialogue rather than instruction. Transformative pedagogy is participatory; it identifies and seeks to solve problems. While intentionally identifying problems and following through by engaging in transformative activities to solve these problems, students become the "experts" and, in the process, develop a greater sense of control and responsibility over their lives. They become empowered as they experience the possibility of creating (rather than enduring) the circumstances of their lives. Because of such mastery experiences, youth learn "to see a closer correspondence between their goals and a sense of how to achieve them, gain greater access to and control over resources and ... gain mastery over their lives" (Zimmerman, 1995, p. 583). It is in this sense that the personal identity that is initially formed during adolescence serves as a "steering mechanism" that guides the remainder of the individual's life course trajectory. Adolescence is thus a developmental period that provides a significant opportunity to intervene in ways that have the potential for significantly altering (in a positive direction) the adolescent's life course trajectory

In our work with young people, as noted, the learning process is co-participatory. In the process of intentionally engaging in critically posing problems and in following through by engaging in transformative activities to solve these problems, participants acquire a greater critical understanding, transform their

sense of control and responsibility, and increase their proactive participation in defining who they are and what they believe in. Within the context of the program these young people become empowered to transform themselves and, as a result, the context of their communities.

Intervention Domains

CLP seeks to promote positive development by empowering young people in ways that enable them to change their lives in positive directions. In doing so, CLP targets three developmental domains:

- Skills and Knowledge (the focus is on Critical Understanding)
- Attitudes and Orientations (the focus is on Control and Responsibility)
- Self Understanding and Insight (the focus is on Knowledge of Self)

that enable young people to:

- think critically about making the choices that shape their life course
- take personal responsibility for these decisions, and
- live up to their fullest potentials

Implementation Strategy

Although CLP may be implemented in a variety of settings, this manual focuses on implementing CLP with troubled youth in alternative high schools (or as part of other similar school outreach programs). For its school-based implementation, CLP draws on a transformed model of school counseling proposed by Keys, Bemak, and Lockhart (1998). This model is designed to serve the typically greater and more diverse mental health needs characteristic of the type of troubled youth who attend alternative schools or programs. Within this model, emphasis is placed on therapeutically focused group work (complemented by individual counseling) in order to reach more students in an intervention format that is both developmentally appropriate and directly relevant to student needs. In our work on developing school-based programs for disadvantaged youth, whenever possible we seek to integrate the implementation of CLP into the ongoing flow of a school's activities (e.g., as part of the school's ongoing counseling program, outreach social services, etc.). In the alternative high schools, students participate in program services either through self or counselor referral. The types of program services available to them include psycho educational services, individual counseling, and counseling groups (the groups include anger management, relationship, substance use/abuse, alternative lifestyles, etc.).

In implementing CLP, the most immediate and direct goal is to address the presenting problems that the youth bring into the counseling groups (i.e., relationship issues, life choices, anger management, substance use, etc.). It is to this end that CLP draws on the transformed model of school counseling with its emphasis on therapeutically focused group work. The immediate focus is on changing youth-identified problem behaviors, while the long term focus is on promoting positive development.

CLP thus adopts a "bottom-up" implementation strategy that focuses on targeting developmental gains that assist youth in proactively guiding the systems/contexts that have an impact on their lives (Silverman & Kurtines 1997; Kurtines & Silverman, 1999). As noted, domains targeted for intervention include the acceptance of control and responsibility changing their lives and their communities, and knowledge of self. We believe this "bottom-up" approach complements "top-down" prevention models that are designed to intervene at a contextual/ecosystemic level (e.g., with family, peers, school, etc.). In addition, we believe the "bottom-up" approach used in the CLP is consistent with many contemporary views of identity, in that adaptive identity development involves making decisions to take control of one's life as well as the exploration of and commitment to one's potential (Berzonsky, 1989; Côté, 1996; 1997; Dryer, 1994; Josselson, 1994; Waterman, 1995).

Promoting Positive Development

The immediate focus of CLP is thus on changing youth-identified problem behaviors. The goal of promoting positive development is more long term and indirect. It is to this end that our program draws on the psychosocial developmental and life course work of Erikson and Elder for our focus on creating contexts in which these troubled young people can change their lives, and on the participatory and transformative work of Freire for our focus on getting youth re-engaged and empowered. Thus, although the specific issues that are addressed in each of the specific counseling sessions or types of counseling groups (e.g., anger management issues, relationship issues, etc.) are important in their own right, CLP goes one step further.

In CLP, we work to address not only the problems the youth present, we also use our work on these problems and issues as an opportunity to promote long-term positive developmental change. That is, in working with adolescents in a transitional phase of development, we use the opportunity to work with a particular problem (an exploitative romantic relationship, angry feelings over family conflict, etc.) as an opportunity also to foster the development of basic skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientations, and insight and understanding (e.g., critical communication skills, conflict resolution skills, emotional insight and understanding) that empower them in ways that carry forth beyond the intervention and the particular presenting problem. Moreover, we have found that the participants in our intervention (i.e., young people who are open to growth and development) respond positively to the opportunity to develop in themselves the skills, attitudes, and insights offered by the program.

Individual and Group Exercises: The Life Course Journal

The Life Course Journal (LCJ) that is used in conjunction with the manual is integral part of the implementation of CLP. The Life Course Journal is the focal point for our efforts to foster the development of the basic skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientations, and insight and understanding targeted by CLP. The exercises are implemented in both individual and group sessions, although (as described in more detail in the remaining chapters of the manual), the timing of the exercises is adapted to the flow of each. Thus, as noted, although the specific issues that are addressed in counseling are important in their own right, CLP goes one step further. We work to address not only the problems the youth present, we also use our work on these problems and issues as an opportunity to foster the basic skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientations, insight and understanding, and transformative empowerment activities that help promote long-term positive developmental change.

CLP is designed to be implemented by facilitators (counselors, teachers, etc.) with some background and/or training in working in a group format. In our work with multicultural populations we have also found it useful if the group facilitator has had experience in working with at risk, urban, and minority youth. In implementing CLP with our population, all members of the intervention team (group facilitators, group co-facilitators, and group assistants) participate in an ongoing program of training and supervision conducted as part of the implementation of CLP. The training and supervision is designed to familiarize intervention team members with the target population and CLP's intervention goals and procedures as well as address specific intervention issues that arise in the context of implementing the program.

Conclusion

In our role as practitioners and educators, we work with young people who come to us in need of change. They find their lives moving in directions they do not necessarily want them to move, and in desperate need of help to turn their lives around. As practitioners and educators, our job is to help them change their lives. Our goal is to create contexts in which they can find themselves and reconnect with their lives and families. That is, to help them transform the negative trajectory of their lives – to turn their lives around and get them launched in a positive directions.

CHAPTER 2:
Intervention Goals:
Promoting Positive Development

In an essay regarding troubled youth, Erikson and Erikson (1957) foresaw the importance of intervening during adolescence in order to redirect young people towards productive styles of living and to prevent society's confirmation of and a young person's commitment to a socially marginalized identity. Today, the number of such youth is extraordinarily high, particularly among those who already begin life marginalized. Such youth tend to respond to their marginalization in ways (e.g., impulsiveness or immediatism, pretending not to care, keeping their pain inside themselves, or escaping through drug use) that distance them from sources of social support, making them among the most difficult populations to work with.

Introduction

There has been a growing interest in developing intervention programs designed to affect the lives of young people, with the goal of moving their life trajectories in more adaptive directions (Rutter, 1990). More recently, there has also been a growing recognition that interventions need to do more than "treat" problem behaviors (i.e., symptoms) or "prevent" negative developmental outcomes (Lerner, Fisher, & Weinberg, 2000). As a result, a growing literature focusing on interventions that seek to *promote positive development* has emerged that are usually termed positive development programs/interventions or youth development programs (Catalano, Berglund, Ryan, Lonczak, & Hawkins, 1999).

Positive development programs differ from both treatment and prevention programs. *Treatment intervention programs*, for example, specifically target identified problem behaviors. *Prevention intervention programs* similarly specifically target risk and protective factors identified as probable antecedents of negative developmental outcomes. *Positive youth development programs,* in contrast, lack the specificity of treatment and prevention programs. They often emerge in response to issues and concerns that are local and particular, culturally bound, and historically situated. They are, in other words, open-ended responses that target the intersection of the developmental *and* historical moment – changing lives *and* changing times. Consequently, they often not only aim to treat identified problem behaviors and prevent specific negative developmental outcomes but, more importantly, to intervene across a broad and diverse array of specific and non-specific positive development construct..

The Goal of Programs for Promoting Positive Development

Youth development programs thus do more than seek to "treat" problem behaviors or "prevent" negative developmental outcomes; they seek to promote positive development in troubled youth. They seek to change their long-term life course trajectories in positive ways. The goal is to promote qualitative change relative the individual's specific life course trajectory at the time of entry into the program, i.e., qualitative life course trajectory change that is both positive *and* long-term. That is, the aim of our programs is to change the lives of troubled young people for the better where "change" means a qualitative change in direction (i.e., from negative to positive) and where "for the better" (negative to positive) is to be understood in ways that are particularly local (i.e., in ways that are relative to relative to each individual's specific life course trajectory at the time of entry into the program) as well as culturally, historically, and developmentally appropriate. Our goal is thus to *promote qualitative change in the direction of participants lives in ways that are individually, culturally, historically, and developmentally meaningful and significant*.

Targeting the Developmental Moment

Because change is so rapid and dramatic during the early years of life, previous research on intervention programs has focused on early childhood (Sherrod, 1997). In contrast, the period of adolescence has yet to benefit from such extensive intervention efforts (Ferrer Wreder, Montgomery, & Lorente, 2002/in press; Montgomery, Ferrer Wreder, Kurtines, & Lorente, 2001). Adolescence, however, like early childhood, represents an opportune time to intervene by diverting adolescents away from risky behaviors that compromise healthy development and assisting with their normative course of development into adulthood. Like early childhood, adolescence is a time of vivid and all-encompassing individual change, characterized by vulnerability, plasticity, and openness to change (Sherrod & Brim, 1986).

Moreover, adolescent vulnerability has been exacerbated by the social/historical transformations that have been taking place in the modern and emerging postmodern world (Côté, 1994). More specifically, as adult life course trajectories in contemporary culture have become increasingly more diverse as well as more complex and as an extended period of adolescence has increasingly become the institutional pathway that defines the transition from childhood to adulthood, adolescence is more than a developmental period characterized by the consolidation of the changes that take place during childhood – it has come to be characterized by an even greater vulnerability and heightened openness to change (Côté & Allahar, 1994; Tait, 1993). The interaction of the accelerating process of historical change at the institutional level and the openness and plasticity of the developmental moment has rendered adolescence a life transition that can be as formidable as it is formative.

Identity and the Transition to Adulthood

In contemporary culture, the adolescent is confronted with a complex and difficult challenge (and responsibility) of choosing goals, roles, and beliefs about the world that give the individual's life direction and purpose as well as coherence and integration. Erikson's psychosocial developmental theory, for example, proposes that adolescence is the developmental period in which the formation of a sense of identity, a sense of "who one is" and "what one means to others" takes on great salience (Erikson, 1959; 1968). Adolescence has become the life transition during which the individual chooses (and make a commitment to) the values, goals, and beliefs that guide the process of intra/inter individual functioning throughout adult life (Erikson, 1963). Life course theory (Elder, 1998) holds a similar view of individuals working through the direction of their life course over time within the context of established institutional or social pathways with adolescence as a particularly important life transition in this respect. Additionally, in the prevention literature, emerging views of resiliency as a protective factor against negative developmental outcomes often include the idea that one's life has a purpose and plan, insight as to who one really is, and a sense of being able to exact some measure of control over one's life (e.g., Masten & Coatsworth, 1998; Luthar, 1993). Various literatures have converged in. suggesting diverse of constructs and concepts are associated with positive identity development as related to successfully negotiating the transition to adulthood in contemporary culture.

Identity Development as a Positive Intervention Outcome

Fittingly, the recognition of the importance of the formation of a mature identity (i.e., a self-constructed, coherent, and dynamic organization of the self) as a positive intervention outcome has grown, along with the recognition of the need to develop interventions for young people with the goal of moving their life trajectories in more adaptive directions (Rutter, 1990). The need to develop youth intervention programs that specifically target positive identity, for example, has been raised in the ego identity literature (Archer, 1994; Ferrer Wreder, Montgomery, & Lorente, 2001/in press; Montemayor, Adams, & Gullotta, 1994; Montgomery & Sorell, 1998; Montgomery, et al., 2001). Moreover, as discussed below, the concept of identity has also begun to emerge as a core organizing concept in the growing literature on interventions that target promoting positive youth development (Ferrer Wreder, Montgomery, & Lorente, 2001/in press).

Further, these emerging views of the importance of positive adjustment and optimal functioning dovetail well with views of the preventive role of the formation of a positive identity. Erikson and Erikson (1957),

for example, foresaw and commented on the importance of intervening during adolescence in order to redirect the energies of young people toward productive styles of living and to prevent society's confirmation of, and a young person's commitment to, a socially marginalized identity. Life course theory offers a similar view of life transitions such as adolescence[1] as periods of potentially significant opportunities to alter the trajectory of the individual's life course.

Finally, in addition to the recognition of the importance of developing youth intervention programs that promote positive identity, there is also a growing literature evaluating the outcome of such interventions. Moreover, a pattern of significant findings across a wide range of well-evaluated youth development intervention outcome studies, using a wide range of indices of positive adjustment and optimal functioning, provides evidence for such programs impact on concepts and constructs broadly related to positive identity development, as well as the reducing of youths' behavior problems (Ferrer Wreder, Montgomery, & Lorente, 2001/in press).

Identity as a Core Organizing Concept for Interventions Targeting Positive Youth Development

The growth of evidence-based interventions, coupled with the emergence of a diverse collection of general indices of positive adjustment and optimal functioning, has resulted in a recognition of the need to identify and articulate more general "umbrella" concepts for organizing this proliferation of evaluative concepts and constructs. Not unexpectedly, the concept of identity (i.e., a self-constructed, coherent, and dynamic organization of the self) has emerged as a useful concept for organizing such indices.

A recent comprehensive review of youth development programs (Catalano, et al., 1999), for instance, included 25 well-evaluated interventions. For this review, a well-evaluated intervention was defined as one that included an experimental design (random assignment to intervention or control condition) or quasi-experimental design (comparison control condition), multiple measures, and multiple assessment points (pre, post, follow-ups). To be included in the review, programs had to a) address one or more positive youth development constructs, b) involve youth between the ages of six and twenty, c) involve youth not selected because of their need for treatment, and d) address at least one youth development construct in multiple socialization domains, or address multiple youth development constructs in multiple domains.

These criteria captured a broad array of positive youth development programs, including a number that worked with children and a number that dealt with early and middle adolescents. Variables targeted for intervention included diverse positive youth development constructs as well as a variety of problem behaviors. Of the successful programs for adolescent populations, eleven[2] included a goal of fostering positive identity development among the positive youth development constructs evaluated. For purposes of the review, positive identity was defined as the internal organization of a coherent sense of self; operationally, "programs were classified as fostering clear and positive identity if they sought to develop healthy identity formation and achievement in youth, including positive identification with a social or cultural sub-group that supports their healthy development of sense of self" (Catalano et al, 1999, p. 17).

Catalano et al. (1999) reported that each of the eleven well-evaluated interventions that targeted some aspect of identity (among other positive youth development outcomes) demonstrated significant change

---

1 The transition from childhood to adulthood.

2 These programs included the following: Across Ages -- LoSciuto, Rajala, Townsend, & Taylor, 1997; Bicultural Competence Skills -- Schinke, Botvin, Trimble, Orlandi, Gilchrist, & Locklear, 1988; Big Brothers/Big Sisters -- Tierney, Grossman, & Resch, 1995; Growing Healthy -- Smith, Redican, & Olson, 1992; Know Your Body -- Walter, Vaughan, & Wynder, 1989; The Child Development Project -- Battistich, Schaps, Watson, & Solomon, 1996; Teen Outreach -- Allan, Philliber, Herrling, & Kuperminc, 1996; Valued Youth Partnership -- Cardenas, Montecel, Supik, & Harris, 1992; Woodrock -- LoSciuto, Freeman, Altman, & Lanphear, 1997.

in youth behavior outcomes. The primary emphasis of all programs set in schools was on youths' acquisition of skill-based learning to produce desired changes in positive youth development outcomes, whereas programs in community settings or family settings often included more general adaptive functioning goals. Positive youth development outcomes for school programs included greater increases for the intervention groups on attitudes measures (accepting personal responsibly, maintaining a healthy body, etc.) and practices measures (decision making skills, personal healthy practices, etc.).

Programs targeting community and family socialization domains also had a measurable impact on positive youth development outcomes, including significant intervention-related gains in self-control, assertiveness, healthy and adaptive coping in peer-pressure situations, school attendance and academic performance, parental relationship and peer emotional support, positive attitudes about older people, levels of community service, levels of cognitive competence, improved race relations, and perceptions of others from different cultural or ethnic groups. These interventions also had a significant impact on the reduction of problem behaviors. In some interventions, problem behaviors related to health were reduced, i.e., decreases occurred in current smoking, smoking initiation, and intention to smoke or use alcohol or marijuana. Other programs reported treatment-related reductions in loneliness and social isolation, the carrying of weapons, vehicle theft, school failure, school suspension, and teen-pregnancy.

The pattern of significant findings across the wide range of interventions evaluated with a variety of measures tended to consistently provide evidence for the impact of the programs on concepts and constructs broadly related to positive identity development, in addition to the reduction of youths' behavior problems. An umbrella construct such as the concept of identity thus appears not only useful, but necessary for organizing and helping to make sense of the proliferation of evaluative concepts and constructs (and the burgeoning number of measures and indices) that have been used in evaluating positive youth development programs. More specifically, the concept of identity provides a framework for articulating a diverse array of general indices of positive adjustment and optimal functioning that have typically been the target of intervention in youth development programs. Moreover, it provides a vocabulary of concepts that is especially relevant to adolescence as the transition to adulthood. The concept of identity thus appears to have the potential to make a significant contribution to the development of youth intervention program in ways consistent with the movement toward a greater emphasis on positive adjustment, optimal functioning, and support of young people's efforts to develop a consistent and competent view of themselves.

Linking Identity and Life Course Theory

The concept of identity as a self-constructed, coherent, and dynamic organization of the self, however, has an even more potentially important contribution to make in promoting positive development in light of the way that it dovetails with emerging views of the individuals as "producers" of or contributors to their own development (Brandtstaedter & Lerner, 1999; Lerner & Busch-Rossnagel, 1981) such as life course theory (Elder, 1998). More specifically, it has the potential to broaden the range of available outcomes to include concepts useful in documenting the impact of such interventions in helping troubled young people to turn their lives around and change their life course or life trajectory in positive ways, i.e., ways that move them along proactive and prosocial pathways rather than trajectories or pathways that are disruptive and antisocial.

Identity Formation as a Life Transition Focal Turning Point

Life course theory holds that life transitions link human agency and life contexts. People bring a life history of personal experiences and dispositions to each transition, interpret the new circumstances in terms of this history, and work out lines of adaptation that maintain or fundamentally alter the direction of their life course. Life course theory thus views individual differences as interacting with the new transition experience to influence responses and accommodation to life events (Elder, 1998b; Giele & Elder, 1998). To this, the Eriksonian concept of identity as self-integration adds a dimension of richness with respect to the concept of human agency that life course theory suggests but does not fully capture.

Clausen (1998), for example, in discussing the methods (e.g., life reviews and life stories) he used in his longitudinal life course research (spanning 50 years) reported that, “I repeatedly found myself coming back to the concept of identity” (p. 202). Identity, he noted, helped to make sense out of the continuities and discontinuities, the ups and downs in life satisfaction, and the turning points in the courses of the lives he studied. Identity, however, was not only helpful in understanding the individuals he studied, it also helped make clear the central role that human agency played in giving direction to their lives. In his longitudinal research, for instance, he found that positive life satisfaction was associated with a greater sense of confidence and control whereas dissatisfaction was associated with a sense of inadequacy. Giele and Elder (1998), in their summarization of Clausen’s work, noted that he placed “the individual in the driver’s seat, so to speak, as the appropriate focus for life course analysis.” They concluded, “What gives the life course its life is the sentient individual going through vital changes, encountering new relationships and circumstances, and, in the end, deciding whether to hold or change course” (Giele & Elder, 1998, p. 184).

The concept of identity derived from psychosocial developmental theory, when integrated with the concepts of life course trajectories and life turning points derived from life course theory (described next), offers a view of adolescence as a life transition focal turning point. That is, it offers a view of adolescence as a life transition (from childhood to adulthood) that may be characterized as a period of increased likelihood of a radical break or departure from one’s previous life trajectory and, hence, an optimal time for interventions designed to have an impact on the individual’s long-term life course prospects.

The integration of the concept of identity with the concepts of life course trajectories and life turning points also provides a link between development, context, and human agency–i.e., a coherent conceptualization of individuals as producers of their own development. Linking these life course concepts with the psychosocial developmental concept of identity, in turn, highlights the role of identity as the “steering mechanism” guiding the individual’s life course trajectory. A life trajectory is the course or path of the individual’s life as it moves through the sequence of socially defined, age-graded events and roles over time (Elder, 1998a; 1998b), and identity is the “self-structure” (i.e., the self-constructed, coherent, and dynamic organization of the individual’s drives, abilities, beliefs, and personal history) that steers the individual along this path.

The Life Course Trajectory

The concept of a life course trajectory as the course or path of the individual’s life, as derived from life course theory, helps to extend our understanding of how individuals construct their lives. The concept of a life course trajectory helps to make more explicit the links between institutional and developmental trajectories and the process by which individuals move through their life course. That is, although a life course trajectory is in many ways similar to other types of trajectories such as developmental and institutional trajectories, a life course trajectory differs in some very important ways – ways that contribute to our understanding of individuals as producers of their own development

Because a life course trajectory is the course or “path” of the individual’s life as it moves through the sequence of socially defined, age-graded events and roles over time (i.e., life course), life course theory focuses on concepts such as life course trajectories, institutionalized pathways, and transitions. The paradigmatic themes that life course theory emphasizes include human agency and choice making in the construction of lives.3 From the perspective of life course theory, consequently, a life course trajectory is the trajectory that the individual, through her/his choices, constructs from the array of available trajectories (e.g., institutional, developmental, etc.) Competent people make plans and choose from among alternatives that can shape and alter their life course (Clausen, 1993). Indeed, as discussed below, choices have transitional qualities that may lead to a life turning point (Elder, 1998).

3Other paradigmatic themes include, the timing of lives (historical, social, and biological), linked or interdependent lives, and human lives in historical time and place.

Institutional trajectories or social pathways are socially established life pathways. Culture, the nation-state, and the social organization of work and residence contribute to the establishment of institutionalized pathways. According to life course theory, the life course of the individual is worked out over time in terms of these established institutional or social pathways. These institutional trajectories generally have specified time-boundaries, are age-graded, and identify relatively early, on-time, or late transitions. At the primary level of the individual actor, institutional/social pathways create decision pressures and constraints on the individual's choices at multiple levels (micro to macro – family to federal). These regulatory codes interact with the individual's life course agenda, related (and relevant) developmental agendas, and with each other on each nested level.

Developmental trajectories or pathways refer to change and constancy in the same behavior or disposition over time. The focus of developmental trajectories tends to be on regularities and continuities in development as regulated by biological or maturational types of processes rather than social, historical, or environmental processes. Traditional approaches have tended to emphasize developmental trajectories as general, universal, and unidirectional, involving movement toward a higher level of functioning (Colby, 1998). Historically, this view has tended to emphasize the unfolding and emergence of an entity primarily formed from sources within that entity by a mechanism of a stage-like progression. More recent approaches (e.g., life span theory in developmental psychology, cf. Baltes, Lindenberger, and Staudinger, 1998) have emphasized the organism's plasticity (Lerner, 1995), adopting a more functionalist perspective (Dixon & Baltes, 1986) and a view of development as selective age-related changes in adaptive capacity (Baltes, Lindenberger, and Staudinger, 1998).

A life course trajectory is thus similar to both a developmental trajectory or pathway and an institutional trajectory or social pathway, but differs in that it does not privilege any particular process or determinant in regulating the trajectory (social/historical, biological/maturational, etc.). That is, life course theory adopts the view that individuals may differ in how they move through trajectories that get them to the same endpoint (i.e., "equifinality"). More significantly, life course theory adopts the view that human agency can be numbered as among the multiple determinants (e.g., social/historical, biological, etc.) that play an important role in which life course trajectories are followed and how they are followed. Indeed, a basic principle of life course theory is that although human agency is one determinant among many, it is one that is critical to understanding how individuals work out their lives in particular contexts. As Elder (1998) observed, one of the basic principles of life course theory is that "individuals construct their own life course through the choices and actions they take within the constraints and opportunities of history and social circumstances." (Elder, 1998, p. 961).

Life Course Turning Points: Changing A Life Course

Life course theory thus offers a rich vocabulary of concepts and constructs for conceptualizing the process by which individuals' change their lives. Life course theory, not only holds that life transitions involve qualitative state changes that are both social and psychological, but also that these qualitative state changes that occur are always elements of a larger trajectory (the individual's life course or life trajectory). An individual's entire life trajectory is itself made up of a succession of qualitative states beginning with birth and ending in death. Indeed, it is this succession of changes that defines the individual's movement along a life path. Moreover, many of these qualitative state changes involve movement along the specific social and psychological trajectories that make up the individual's life course.

To this, life course theory adds the view that although many (and perhaps most) of these qualitative state changes involve movement along the specific social and psychological trajectories that make up the individual's life course, a particular state change may represent a life course turning point as well (Elder, 1998). That is, a social or psychological state change may be indicative of more than continued movement along the individual's specific life course trajectory as it has been defined up to a particular point -- it may represent, due at least in part to choices made, a substantial turning point in the individual's life course. More specifically, it may represent a turning point in the sense of a change or alteration in direction that is qualitatively different from the direction that has defined the life course up to a particular

point (e.g., a change from movement along a path toward a negative developmental outcome to movement along a path toward a positive developmental outcome).

Moreover, because a life course is a trajectory that the individual, through her/his choices, constructs from the array of available trajectories (e.g., institutional, developmental, etc.), the individual is in this sense the “producer” of her/his life course trajectory and in charge of his/her life course. Agency in the selection of particular roles or situations represents a mechanism through which life advantages and disadvantages may begin to cumulate according to the Law of Effect in which behavior is sustained or changed by its consequences. Take, for example, a substance abuser whose life trajectory has been moving along a path of increasingly greater substance abuse. This life trajectory may involve qualitative changes at many levels. It may involve changes in social and psychological states in general (e.g., alternating between being in school or out school, employed or unemployed, in a romantic relationship or out of one, feeling well or paranoid, etc.). This trajectory may also involve qualitative changes in social and psychological states related to substance abuse itself (e.g., alternating between the substances abused; the occasions, contexts, severity of abuse, etc.). The pattern of the continued movement along this path (i.e., this specific succession of changes) that defines the life trajectory of this particular substance abuser is the outcome of a succession of choices made by that particular individual.

The concept of a “life course turning point” represents a radical break or departure from a life trajectory. Many (perhaps most) state changes do not represent life course turning points. If a particular substance abuser undergoes a change in social state (e.g., chooses to enter a rehabilitation program), this particular state change may represent no more than another qualitative state change (in a program versus out of a program) that continues movement in the same direction along the same trajectory (in and out of programs along a path of increasing substance abuse). If this person undergoes a change in psychological state (e.g., a commitment to taking charge of one’s life as opposed to not being in control of one’s life), this particular state change may also represent no more than another qualitative state change that continues movement in the same direction along the same trajectory (in control or not in control). Thus, many (perhaps most) state changes do not represent life course turning points.

As articulated by life course theory, however, the concept of a “life course turning point” allows that some state changes may represent a radical break or departure from a life trajectory. That is, change may involve a qualitative change or alteration in the direction of the current life trajectory (e.g., from positive to negative) or a change in life trajectory itself (e.g., a religious conversion experience). If a particular substance abuser undergoes a change in social state (e.g., chooses to enter a rehabilitation program) followed by a succession of choices resulting in successful program completion, or if entering the program promotes a change in psychological state (e.g., taking charge of one’s life) followed by social or psychological state change in a different direction along the same trajectory (getting off and staying off drugs) or to an entirely different trajectory (starting a new school, a new career, new friends, etc.), then this state change may also represent a life course turning point.

Life course theory views life transition such as adolescence as periods of increased likelihood of radical breaks or departures from a previous life trajectory. Such change may represent a substantial turning point in the individual’s life course. Interventions that target the transition to adulthood thus not only have the potential to bring about quantitative change in risk or protective factors that may compromise or promote healthy development; they may bring about qualitative change that radically alters the long-term life course prospects of the individual. The concepts of a life course trajectory, human agency, and life course transitions, when coupled with the concept of identity as a self-constructed, coherent, and dynamic organization of the self, provide a long-term perspective on the impact of interventions by linking self-directed changes in social and psychological states over a substantial part of the life span.

CHAPTER 3:
Intervention Strategies:

A Transformative Co-constructivist Approach

This Chapter describes CLP's intervention process, strategies, and objectives. Although the intervention process, strategies, and objectives are described separately in this manual for purposes of explanation, they are conceptually interrelated and integrated in actual implementation. Moreover, as described below, the implementation of the program involves the interweaving and layering of CLP intervention strategies and objectives.

Freire's Transformative Pedagogy

Freire's Transformative Pedagogy (1983/1970) provides the framework for our intervention strategies. Freire's approach to educational intervention offers an alternative to traditional didactic approaches in which the teacher or facilitator is viewed as the source of knowledge to be transferred to the student – i.e., the teacher as the "expert" and the student as a passive recipient of "knowledge" with respect to both the means and goals of education. For Freire, the goal of education is to change or transform the world and the proactive participation of the student in this process is critical for achieving this goal. In contrast to the traditional structured, content oriented didactic approach, Freire offers a problem-posing and co-constructive learning model, in which student participation is an essential part of the co-construction of a transformed reality. Freire (1970/1983) called this learning model "collaborative learning in the sense of co-intentional education".

CLP uses a co-co-constructive learning approach (Freire, 1970/1983) in all its psycho educational and counseling activities. A co-co-constructive learning approach is one in which the student takes an active role and the teacher works in cooperation with the student as part of the process of collaboratively exploring and challenging them to develop in positive directions. In the process of intentionally engaging in posing problems and in following through by engaging in transformative activities to solve these problems, students come to increase their proactive participation in defining who they are and what they believe in. Freire referred to such transformative pedagogy as pedagogy of dialogue rather than of instruction. It is problem posing and also problem solving through a learning process that is co-constructive and participatory.

Intervention Strategies

Co-constructive Learning and Transformative Empowerment Activities

The two basic intervention strategies that we use in CLP define the basic orientation we adopt toward all teaching and learning activities, at both the group and individual levels, namely, co-constructive learning and transformative empowerment activities. These basic strategies are at the core of our efforts to empower troubled youth to change their lives in positive directions. Because a very large proportion of these young people are lower income inner city minority youth who begin life already marginalized with respect to mainstream social institutions, they have historically lacked the opportunity to participate proactively in the mainstream institutions that have historically provided young people normative support and value reference. A result of this lack of participation is that, in addition to not being invested in these institutions, these young people also tend not to have developed the critical skills needed to effectively engage in these institutions. Moreover, the nature of their mastery experiences when engaging these institutions tend to be negative rather than positive and they tend to be disengaged from the system, lacking in a sense of direction or purpose, investment in the system, and characterized by a broad and pervasive sense of hopelessness and helplessness.

Consequently, one of the primary objectives of CLP is to facilitate the process of empowering these youth and getting them re-engaged (or often engaged for the first time) and invested in the system by means of youth-directed transformative activities. Such activities are intended not only to provide the opportunity to set goals for themselves and develop effective skills for achieving their goals, but also to engage in positive mastery experiences, hopefully with respect to those goals.

As described below, in CLP the facilitator may employ any opportunity (e.g., self-disclosures, disclosures in informal interactions, etc.) in which participants identify issues and problems that are personally meaningful to them (i.e., life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves) and that they want to do something about to use these two interrelated strategies, and should do so whenever the opportunity arises.

In addition to capitalizing on serendipitous opportunities, the Life Course Journal (LCJ) designed for use in conjunction with CLP provides a structured opportunity for exposing participants to mastery experiences via transformative activities. The first exercise of the LCJ begins with a discussion of participants change goals for the counseling sessions. The notion of counseling change goals sets the stage for later exercises and discussions of other types of goals, including life goals and transformative goals. Transformative goals are different from life goals. Life goals are what we want to do with our lives; transformative goals are the things we want to change about our life and our world *to be able to reach our life goals*. Transformative goals provide a link between life goals and transformative activities to achieve those goals (and associated mastery experiences).

Co-constructive Learning Experiences. Co-constructive learning experiences provide a context for youth participation in a conjoint skills learning process. Like prevention and intervention programs, positive development programs target the development of skills and competence (e.g., problem solving skills, a positive attitude toward personal control and responsibility, etc.). The development of these skills is thus an important objective of the co-constructive learning experiences. In addition, however, they also have another important objective, namely, to set the stage for using these skills in the empowerment activities that flow from the development of these skills. To achieve this goal, the facilitator works to provide the opportunity for these co-constructive learning experiences to take place in the context of youth-directed problem posing activities that are designed to facilitate the identification of the problems that eventually become the goals for the youth-directed transformative activities described next.

Transformative Empowerment Activities. Transformative activities provide a context for fostering empowerment. The goal or target for these transformative activities are "identified" by the participants as part of the problem posing process that takes place during the co-constructive learning experiences. The identification of the goal for the transformative activities is thus part of the "problem posing" co-constructive learning process and the transformative activities that are carried out by the participants is the "problem solving" part of the co-constructive learning process. Sometimes the transformative goals "fall out naturally" from the counseling process and sometimes the facilitator has to work to bring them into the counseling process. The LCJ is designed to help facilitate this process. The transformative and co-constructive approach used by CLP considers participation in transformative empowerment activities to be the key ingredient for facilitating transformative life course change regardless of how it is precipitated. That is, the intervention goal is to facilitate change, with the facilitative method being of secondary importance. Whether a mastery experience is the natural outcome of the ongoing flow of the counseling process or of participation in a relatively structured exercise is less important that the fact that the mastery experience happens.

Participation in these youth-directed transformative activities serves to provide the participants with experience in engaging in successful activities that have a direct impact on their lives. As part of their participation in these empowerment activities, youth learn to apply the problem posing and problem solving method in ways that enhance the quality of their lives.

The experience of participating in successful youth-directed transformative activities has two goals. The first is to solve the problem that the participants present and/or identify, and in this way provide a direct and successful mastery experience. The second and more long-term goal is that the experience of

participating in successful youth-directed activities empowers youth by strengthening their sense of control and responsibility over their lives. As a consequence of these experiences, participants come "to see a closer correspondence between their goals and a sense of how to achieve them, gain greater access to and control over resources and .... gain mastery over their lives (Zimmerman, 1995; p. 583)."

CLP's basic intervention strategies (co-constructive learning and transformative empowerment activities) are *not* implemented in a fixed sequence; rather, they are implemented contingently in layered and interwoven fashion. In implementing these intervention strategies, the primary goal is to use the strategies, as the opportunity arises, to foster skills development and the identification of transformative goals. As noted, sometimes the opportunities arise as a natural outcome of the ongoing flow of the counseling process. The use of the LCJ exercises, however, ensures that at some point in the counseling process, each young person in the program has the opportunity to participate in co-constructive learning experiences and transformative empowerment activities.

The co-constructive learning experiences and transformative activities are thus two interrelated procedures for achieving one of the primary goals of the CLP intervention: empowering troubled youth to change their lives in positive directions. The LCJ is designed to provide relatively structured co-constructive learning experiences to enhance participants' skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientations, and self-understanding and insight. The facilitator capitalizes on serendipitous opportunities to supplement and enhance these the exercises. The youth-directed transformative activities provide the opportunity to apply these skills, attitudes, and insights into transforming their lives. Successful transformative activities, in turn, provide positive mastery experiences, enhancing a sense of control and responsibility. It is this transformed sense of control and responsibility that carries forth and enables young people to themselves make the choices and take the actions (and responsibility) for changing the direction of their life course and maintaining it beyond the intervention. Thus, as each young person's life course history plays itself out, the youth will be better equipped to act critically, constructively, and adaptively to the changes that take place.

The Flow of CLP: Interweaving and Layering CLP Intervention Strategies and Objectives

The general structure of the implementation of CLP is phasic in nature (with the co-constructive learning experiences typically preceding the youth-directed transformative activities) but, as noted its implementation involves the interweaving and layering of CLP intervention strategies and objectives involves three phases: (1) *Engagement,* (2) *Co-constructive learning, and* (3) *Transformative Activities.* The engagement phase (1) and the co-constructive learning experiences (2) provide the foundation for the student-directed transformative activities (3). The phases are designed to be flexible and open to being adapted to diverse populations and problems, goals, and institutional and cultural settings. The duration of the program and sequence of the phases can be adapted to educational and other institutional settings. The specific aim of CLP is to empower troubled adolescents to change their lives in positive directions. Table 3 outlines the three phases of CLP

As can be seen from Table 3, in the later phase of CLP the focus shifts from engagement to the primary intervention strategies and objectives of CLP, co-constructive learning and transformative activities. The CLP facilitator applies these phasically, with the co-constructive learning activities generally preceding the transformative activities, although the sequencing most often tends to be iterative (back and forth) rather than invariant and sequential. That is, it is often useful, even when at the transformative activities phase, to "go back to" the co-constructive learning phase, particularly if the outcome of the co-constructive learning is to promote a skill, attitude, or insight that facilitates a positive outcome for the transformative activity or even identifies a more meaningful and significant change or transformative goal.

The LCJ is designed to facilitate the implementation process. The LCJ provides a focal point for the co-constructive learning experiences. The exercises in the LCJ are designed to help foster the development of the basic skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientations, and insight and understanding targeted by CLP and, equally important, identify change and transformative goals to foster life course change. The LCJ exercises are basically designed to be integrated into the co-constructive learning phase. We have also found, however, that it is generally helpful to move to the co-constructive learning phase as early as

Table 3
Interweaving and Layering CLP Intervention Strategies and Objectives

Intervention Phase	Increases	Through (intervention strategy)
Engagement	Group cohesion in group counseling	Cohesion-building activities
	Facilitator-student rapport in individual counseling	Joining/Establishing therapeutic alliance
Co-constructive learning	Critical understanding	Exploration of alternatives (critical problem posing) Acceptance of responsibility, identify change goals, challenges, obstacles, etc.
Co-constructive learning	Knowledge of self	Exploration for insight (emotion focused problem posing) Identify life goals future selves, transformative life goals, etc.
Co-constructive learning	Realization of one's potentials	Problem posing (identifying the right problem rather than a solution for the wrong problem)
Transformative Activities	Personal empowerment Proactive participation in self and community	Student-directed transformative activities (toward self, school, or community)

possible in the intervention. Consequently, it has proved helpful to implement the first two exercises *as part of the engagement phase*. The first two exercises address issues of counseling change goals and life history experiences, and have proved to be useful "ice breakers" as well as exercises that get participants involved and invested in concept of life change in the first few sessions. However, the timing of the use of these exercises (indeed, all of the exercise) may be adapted to the flow of each particular counseling setting.

The intervention domains that are the target of the exercises (critical understanding, responsibility, knowledge of self) are useful in helping in the task of transforming CLP participants into agents of change, in control of (and responsible for) their lives. The co-constructive learning (and the exercises that facilitate this process) and the transformative activities help to lay the foundations for facilitating youth empowerment. The co-constructive learning experiences provide participants with useful tools for helping them to understand (and change) themselves. In addition, they also help in identifying counseling change goals and transformative life goals. Consequently, in implementing CLP the facilitator has an important role to play in guiding the direction of the co-constructive learning experiences, the youth-identified

transformative goals, and the youth-directed transformative activities – that of helping to focus the participant in engaging in youth-directed transformations that provide them with the opportunity to transform their lives for the better by transforming themselves into agents of change.

In implementing CLP it is important that the facilitator be always aware that each of CLP's intervention domains may receive differing emphasis at differing times (depending on the salience of that objective to that particular point in the process) and that none are exclusive to any particular time. The facilitator should continually look for ways of sharing skills and knowledge, attitudes and orientation, and understanding and insight with the participants. This means using CLP's basic intervention strategies as the opportunities present themselves in the sessions. In addition, the facilitator is also always alert to the task of guiding the evolution of the participants understanding of these concepts and how they can be applied to their problems. That is, for CLP to work it is important for the facilitator to understand that the intervention strategies need to interwoven and layered throughout the intervention and that they should use every opportunity to fulfill CLP objectives at the point they are most relevant.

(1) Engagement

CLP is implemented in either an individual or a group format. In both format, establishing working therapeutic relationships--between the counselor and the individual in the individual format or the counselor, individual members of the group, and among group members – is always the initial phase of the intervention activities. This means that the initial phase of the intervention involves dedicating as much time as needed to the establishment of rapport in individual counseling and the development of group cohesion in the group format. Because the transformed model of school counseling focuses on therapeutically focused group work as a way of maximizing the efficient way of limited counseling resources, the flow of CLP will be illustrated in this section using a group format and group processes. The flow of CLP in individual counseling, however, follows a parallel process.

Genuine cohesiveness is not an automatic condition of getting together as a group, but rather an ongoing process arrived at through building connections between people. This shared sense of cohesion facilitates structuring the implementation of the intervention to fit the specific participants in each group. As the implementation of the intervention proceeds, the focus shifts from establishing group cohesion to the task of helping the youth to transform themselves through co-constructive learning experiences and the youth-directed transformative activities.

(2) Co-constructive Learning Experiences

The co-constructive learning experiences helps to set the stage for engaging in transformative activities. The practical implication of drawing on Freire's approach, at least with respect to working with the marginalized youth that CLP targets, is that in the group participants take an active role and the teacher works in cooperation with them as part of the process of collaboratively exploring the student's life goals and future possible selves and creatively identifying and co-constructing alternatives for taking charge of and changing their lives in ways that move them in directions the students want them to move. CLP, as noted, considers engaging in mastery experiences to be a key therapeutic ingredient. In the process of intentionally engaging in critically posing problems and in following through by engaging in transformative activities to solve problems, challenges, and obstacles to achieving life goals, participants come to identify issues and problems that are personally meaningful to them (i.e., life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves) and that they want to do something about.

The concepts of enhanced critical understanding, control and responsibility, self-realization, and proactive participation provide conceptual links to the emancipatory potential of Freire's transformative pedagogy. More specifically, it highlights the need to focus on the problems and choices that young people encounter as a means for both understanding and transforming their lives and their communities (Freire, 1970; Kurtines, et al., 1995; Wells, 1990). In the intervention, participants have the opportunity to critically pose problems and engage in transformative activities to solve these problems. Through co-constructive learning activities young people can investigate, question, and challenge the grounds and implications of

not playing an active role in their lives (e.g., not accepting responsibility or control for life choices) versus proactively participating in life (e.g., accepting control over one's life and responsibility for one's life choices). This process involves the mutual sharing of knowledge and the reciprocal learning that takes place during the co-constructive learning phase and is implemented by LCJ exercises that focus on control and responsibility for one's life, life goals and future possible selves, and identifying worthy life goals. The two main processes by which this goal is accomplished are through *exploration* and *problem posing*.

Exploration

CLP uses the counseling session as a starting point from which the students can use *exploration of alternatives and exploration for insight.* The use of both types of exploration is intended to facilitate the identification of the problems that eventually become the goals for the youth-directed transformative activities. The sessions provide a context in which participants explore life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves. In group counseling, as the group becomes more cohesive and inclusive, the group also provides a context for the members to challenge one another to think critically about the problems, challenges, and issues they face. In individual counseling, the facilitator plays the same role.

As part of the co-constructive learning process, the participants explore life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves, gather and share information, generate and critically evaluate alternatives. We have found that the use of LCJ exercises facilitates this process, particularly when students are encouraged to assume a genuinely active and participatory role.

The use of exploration of alternatives and exploration for insight as intervention strategies in CLP is rooted in what has been termed the construction and discovery approaches to promoting positive identity development (Schwartz, 2002). Both approaches to facilitating identity formation include efforts to conceptualize and operationalize domain appropriate components of the exploration process. The self-constructive approach has its roots in Kelly's (1955) person-as-scientist viewpoint, where, through information seeking and critical problem solving, individuals are seen as formulating and testing hypotheses about the world around them (Berzonsky, 1999; Kurtines, Berman, Ittel, & Williamson, 1995). From the perspective of the self-constructive approach, effective exploration processes include both social-cognitive style and problem solving competence (Berman et al., 2001). *Style* refers *to* the individual's orientation toward exploration, closure, or avoidance (Berzonsky, 1989). *Competence* refers to the individual's ability *to* generate potential alternatives, *to* evaluate each alternative without bias, and to select the best supported alternatives (Berman et al., 2001*).* From a self-constructive perspective, intervening to promote positive identity development involves the use of intervention strategies to facilitate the effective use of both cognitive style and competence in identity exploration.

The self-discovery approach, on the other hand, is rooted in Maslow's (1968) theory of self-actualization and in Csikszentmihalyi's (1990) concept of flow. From the perspective of the self-discovery approach, effective exploration processes includes three levels of affective processing, with each higher level incorporating and integrating the previous one. In order of increasing integration, the three process levels are flow, personal expressiveness, and self-actualization (Schwartz, *2001;* Waterman, 1990). The experience of *flow* is the outcome of a balance between the challenges posed by an activity or goal and the skills that one brings to it (Csikszentmihalyi, 1996), and results in a distorted sense of time and intense interest and involvement in the activity or pursuit of the goal. Feelings of *personal expressiveness* result from the incorporation of flow-producing activities, goals, and ideals into one's sense of identity (Waterman, 1992), and results in the feeling that this activity or goal represents what one was meant to do. *Self-actualization* results in a sense of identity that is entirely congruent with the true self, such that the person no longer needs to participate in specific activities to tap into his/her unique potentials. From a self-discovery perspective, then, intervening to promote the successful formation of an identity involves the use of intervention strategies to facilitate the use of three levels of affective processing in identity exploration.

Moreover, in addition to providing rationale for what needs to be targeted, these two approaches offer two potential types of intervention strategies to facilitate the process of exploration (a) a cognitively based, *self-constructive approach* whereby individuals are encourage to use cognitively based problem solving strategies to sort through externally presented options and select the best alternative; and (b) an affectively based, *self discovery approach* whereby individuals are encouraged to use to gain "insight" into their "unique potentials" and to formulate life goals that correspond to those potentials.

As described next, we have found both approaches to proactive exploration to be useful intervention strategies for facilitating each participant's identification of issues and problems that are personally meaningful and significant to them (e.g., life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves).

Exploration of Alternatives

The facilitator uses appropriate spontaneous opportunities (e.g., discussion or disclosure of a participant's life choice, goal or challenge) to foster the use of exploration of alternatives via the type of critical skills discussed above. These critical skills are viewed as including information seeking as well as critical problem solving and decision-making. Because information seeking is a style or orientation toward to problem solving, we have found it useful to cover information seeking orientation before critical skills in the sequence of concepts. CLP also broadens previous conceptions of problem solving (i.e., generating alternatives) to include a critical evaluative component. Finally, this approach also extends the construct of critical thinking by contextualizing the use of critical skills within the problems and choices of individuals' lives (Freire, 1970; Kurtines, et al., 1995). Wells (1990) has stated that the most efficacious interventions with at-risk high school students have components that include the "…use of 'real life' examples" (p. 23).

In addition, the facilitator also uses the structured exercises from the LCJ to promote co-constructive critical problem posing and problem solving activities with respect to life choices, goals or challenges and transformative activities. For our work, this includes four related processes: 1) creativity, 2) suspension of judgment, 3) critical evaluation, and 4) taking action. The process of creativity involves identifying or generating alternatives for solving a problem. The process of suspension of judgment involves viewing all the possible alternatives related to a particular problem objectively (i.e., including alternatives that the individual disagrees with). The process of critical evaluation involves activities such as questioning and challenging the utility and validity of all of the available alternatives and selecting an alternative. Taking action (transformative activities) includes doing what is necessary to solve the problem. These processes are operationalized as involving activities that the individual participates in and each activity is considered an important part of critical problem solving and decision-making. The LCJ incorporates opportunities to learn and apply critical problem solving and decision-making throughout all of its exercises.

Facilitative strategies (i.e., strategies that facilitate the implementation of the intervention strategy) are used as appropriate. For exploration of alternatives, facilitative strategies that we have found useful include: *sharing experiences, role-playing, and positive feedback*.

Sharing Experiences. In group counseling, the continuing and ongoing interactions among the group members contribute to the experience of group cohesion and trust. Consequently, members of the group begin to feel more comfortable sharing experiences related to their own choices. The process of sharing experiences primarily facilitates exploration of alternatives. When one member discusses his or her past experiences as part of the group exercises, the sharing of these experiences serves to broaden the range of types of experiences and alternatives to which the members of the other relationships are exposed. The diversity of types of experiences that emerge in the context of group discussion thus exposes the group members to a broader and more diverse array of alternatives as they explore their own life choices.

Role Playing. Role playing (e.g., switching roles, Gestalt empty chair exercises, etc.) is used to facilitate perspective taking. Role playing is used to gain greater understanding of the implication of choosing specific life goals and future possible selves from the perspective of other people. In role play, the focus is on the person's understanding of the nature and degree of the other person's involvement in the life choice.

Positive Feedback. Positive feedback serves primarily to facilitate skills training with respect problem posing and problem solving. With regard to facilitating skills training, when a member of the group observes another group member successfully using one of the critical skills (e.g., critically examining a life choice, life goal, possible self) it provides the opportunity for positive modeling to occur. The successful use of the skill, in turn, provides the opportunity for peer reinforcement from the other members of the group and from the facilitator. The group can also provide corrective or instructive peer and facilitator feedback, e.g., as when an individual shares with the others in the group his/her concern about a particular aspect of his/her life choice, goal or challenge that is "out of touch." The group also facilitates social comparison processes, i.e., the presence of others in the group facilitates the youth's evaluation of his/her decisions and actions relative to consensual standards of appropriate behavior. For example, hearing about how other individuals have handled issues involving different life choices, challenges, and goals contributes to the individual's understanding of how to handle his/her own life issues.

Exploration for Insight

The facilitator uses appropriate unplanned or spontaneous opportunities (e.g., participant's disclosure of a personal issue) to foster the use of exploration for insight as a means for facilitating the identification and fulfillment of participants' unique talents, competencies, abilities, and potentials as well as identifying the means for live up to or fulfilling those potentials.

In addition, the facilitator also uses LCJ exercises to promote co-constructive exploration with respect to personal life goals and the realization of one's personal potentials in achieving those goals. We operationalize these goals as 'personal strivings' (Emmons, 1989), or everyday life goals. These personal strivings are those life goals that, when reached, lead to increased self-worth and feelings that one is doing what one was meant to do (Emmons, 1989; Waterman, 1999). Exploration for insight as an intervention strategy, consequently, focuses on processes that are affective in orientation, with a primary emphasis on looking inward. Participants are asked to discuss their feelings about their personal strivings and the consistencies and inconsistencies that exist between their 'true selves' and the personal strivings that they bring to the group. The goal is to provide participants the opportunity to learn to understand and monitor their own feelings, to operationalize these wants and needs in the form of personal strivings, and to increase the degree to which those personal strivings are reflective of who and what the participants believed themselves to be. In this way, exploration for insight is used to facilitate participant movement along the path to self-actualization.

Additionally, dialogue and exercises concerning feelings about personal strivings and their component activities are also used to facilitate constructive changes in the strivings themselves. Such changes are most apt to occur when a participant's feelings about a striving are negative in nature (e.g., "sad," "angry," "depressed," et cetera), but even in cases where individuals are satisfied with their strivings, the possibility of coming up with something even better might lead to change. Sometimes personal expressiveness and flow can be increased not only by becoming happier with one's current goals but by replacing those goals with others that have more potential to be personally expressive.

For exploration for insight, facilitative strategies that we have found useful include: *disclosure, interpretation, and positive feedback*.

Disclosure. Disclosure is used to facilitate interpretation and group discussion. In exploration for insight, the focus is on facilitating the expression of each participant's feeling about his or her goals and strivings. In addition, disclosures serve as models for the other group members both for future disclosures and for the responses and interpretations offered in response to those disclosures.

Interpretation. Interpretation is the process of assigning probable reasons or motives for a participant's disclosures or behaviors. Interpretation is an important element in exploration for insight because the feedback provided leads the participant to whom it is directed to explore its potential truth. It also contributes to the building and maintenance of group cohesion.

Positive Feedback. Positive feedback serves the same function in exploration for insight that it does in exploration of alternatives.

Problem Posing

Sharing life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves in the exercises also provide an opportunity to engage in *problem posing* as a means for identifying for themselves an issue or problem in themselves (or their school or community) that they want to do something about, i.e., change goals. Although problem *solving* is widely recognized as a useful skill, Freire draws on the tradition of critical theory and stresses the importance of identifying *what is a problem* (i.e., “problem posing” in contrast to “problem solving”). In stressing *problem posing* as the foundation for transformative activities, he recognized the crucial need to critically examine our understanding of what is a problem if problem solving transformative activities are to be effective. That is, he recognized that it is important to solve the problem that will produce the results we want (i.e., the “right” problem) and to not be deflected or distracted by solving the wrong problem or problems. As long as impoverished peasants focus their energy and activities on the inadequacy of and reform to the welfare system that is supposed to support them in their poverty, for example, they remain oblivious to the fact of their economic marginalization (in the service of other interests) and its role in creating the poverty that makes the welfare system necessary. In such a case, is the problem the welfare system or their economic marginalization? Would reforming the welfare system (assuming that this problem could even be solved), solve the problem of the poverty that is created by their economic marginalization? Does channeling the peasants’ activities toward solving problems that need not (or perhaps cannot) be solved distract them from solving the real problem? Does this distraction serve other interests? “Problem solving” skills, consequently, are not sufficient for successful transformative activities. Critical “problem posing” is also crucial because it is foundational for effective problem solving.

As we use them in CLP, the processes of exploration and problem posing work hand-in-hand. Exploration processes, particularly exercises that address life choices and challenges, life goals, and possible selves that have meaning and significance to group members either individually or as a group, have the potential for becoming the target student-directed transformative activities. These problem-posing activities help to set the stage for the next phase of the program, engaging in student-directed transformative activities.

As noted, in CLP each student is encouraged to assume a genuinely active and participatory role in the learning process. In this case, each participant shares with other members of the group issues and problems that are personally meaningful to them (i.e., life challenges, life goals, and possible future selves) for the group’s consideration. When introducing the concept of problem posing, we find it helpful to focus on problems that are personally meaningful for either the group or members of the group. We do not have “teacher-directed” activities that all participants are expected to engage in. Because the problem posing is done as part of a school-counseling program, we also find it useful to focus on problems and issues that are relevant to educational and local community settings. More specifically, we have found it useful to suggest that members of the group focus on issues or problems involving:

- themselves personally (e.g., the life challenges they face, their own personal life goals, their potential or possible future selves, etc.)
- their school (e.g., as students, as graduates, etc.)
- their community in the broadest sense (e.g., neighborhood, city, nation)

We find that many students experience the process of problem posing as extremely useful. It not only provides a context for each student to identify an issue(s) or problem(s) that are personally meaningful, but also to do something about those issues or problems. Although the focus of the program is on issues each participant brings into the group (e.g., the life challenges they face, their life goals, possible future selves, etc.), groups also sometimes identify issues and problems as a group. Both have the potential to carry over to the transformative activities phase of the program (and beyond) in ways that produce results. Consequently, each individual participant is provided the opportunity to move in the direction of

identifying an issue or problem (life challenge, life goal, possible future self, etc.) that they want to do something about. Groups that choose to identify group issues or activities are also provided the opportunity to move in the direction of doing something about them. Each participant's transformative activity (i.e., what they want to do about their most significant life challenge, life goal, possible future self, etc.) provides their own personal transformative activity. The group's transformative activity (if the group chooses to identify one) similarly provides the group's personal transformative activity.

This type of co-constructive learning and problem posing, in which students play an active role, helps students learn how to "suspend" judgment and adopt multiple perspectives. Problem posing also helps to foster in them the use of critical problem solving and decision making skills. They learn to think creatively about issues and problems and to identify and generate alternatives for solving problems and to critically evaluate alternatives. They learn, in other words, to take a proactive stance and accept responsibility for their decisions and actions.

In nurturing a proactive, critical, and reflective perspective in our students–of their own lives, their school, and their own communities, in addition to providing a context for the development of critical understanding, skills and knowledge, and awareness, insight, and understanding, co-constructive learning processes thus also provide the foundation for the next phase of the intervention, namely, the student-directed transformative activities. Through these self-directed transformative activities and the success of these activities in real life problems, students become empowered and develop a sense of control of (and responsibility for) the choices and decisions they make.

(3) Transformative Activities

The third phase of CLP involves the students' engagement in transformative activities. We look to these transformative activities to help us to meet the challenge of developing in the student a greater critical understanding, of transforming their sense of control and responsibility, and of increase their proactive participation in defining who they are and what they believe in. That is, we seek to engage our participants in more than "learning" processes but also in processes with the potential to transform themselves and the communities in which they live. In this phase of CLP*, participants do more than talk about problems; they do something about them***.**

As noted, we begin the process of identifying change goals early in the program. The goal is to get the students prepared for change at all levels (thinking, feeling, doing) by starting with counseling change goals and, through the dialectical use of the goals or targets for transformative activities are chosen by the students themselves during the "problem-posing" phase of the co-constructive learning experiences. Students choose to intervene in ways that are personally most meaningful to them, as individuals and/or as a group. As individuals, each participant identifies a life challenge, life goal, or possible future self that they want to do something about, identifies alternatives, and then takes responsibility for doing something about the problem – taking action to change things. These student-directed endeavors provide mastery-building experiences in making meaningful change.

Transformative activities are thus student-directed (as opposed to "teacher directed") in that students who make the choice of the problems to be solved, and *they are the ones who carry out* the transformative activities. The class provides a supportive context for students who tackle the problems that have an impact on their lives, their school, or the life of their community.

Engaging students in successful self-initiated transformative activities has as its primary long-term goal the empowerment and reinvestment, particularly for the highly marginalized. For all students, however, transformative activities strengthen a sense of personal responsibility. Because of these experiences, students gain an increased sense mastery over their lives. For individuals who come from backgrounds that have limited access to social, political, or economic power, the experience of gaining influence is particularly important. It is both the increased critical understanding and transformed sense of commitment and responsibility that enable students to go forth to address issues that impact their lives after they have finished CLP.

Roberto

Roberto, a student in one of our groups whose oppositional behavior had gotten him in trouble in the past, came to his counseling group with many problems. His transformative goal for the counseling sessions to change his relationship with his mother. His felt that his relationship with his mother was threatened. The issue was one of trust. His behavior in the group was sarcastic and his perspective was very centered on his own problems. Gradually, with the support of the group, he became more actively engaged in the group. His participation became not only more constructive with respect to others, but also more critical (in constructive ways) toward himself and his own problems. In the course of the group exercises, he began to disclose some of the feelings that were troubling him, especially with respect to his relationship to his mother. Through such disclosures and critical discussion, he appeared to begin to develop a more accurate understanding of himself, and the origins of his negative behavior, namely, the extent that his acting out was his way of dealing with his difficulties with his mother. He identified his concern that his relationship with his mother was threatened as his the most important thing to change about his life. The issue was one of trust. In the course of the problem posing activities, Roberto identified having an honest dialogue with his mother as his transformative activity, and he took responsibility for implementing it. Roberto disclosed to the group that he thought his effort to re-establish a trustful relationship with his mother had been a very constructive experience. His acceptance of personal responsibility for his actions helped to increase his positive perception of himself, and he was no longer negative or disruptive. He also continued to become more engaged in and facilitative of constructive and critical group process. Roberto would often say in group: "There's always a way to change things a little bit." Roberto’s experience in the program thus appeared to have begun to alter his life in positive ways.

Marcia

Marcia, on the other hand, provides an example of a transformative activity that targeted the school community. An out-going 14-year-old adolescent, she was considered by her friends to be a leader because "she is not afraid of the teachers." Marcia came from a working class family in a low-income neighborhood where most people had very little education. She saw getting out of this environment as her challenge. As she put it, "a fight for the glory that she deserves but that the school doesn't acknowledge.” Marcia was easier to engage than most students because she was quick to see the opportunity the program provided. As the sessions progressed, she began to articulate more clearly the changes that she was experiencing, particularly with respect to her sense of control and responsibility. In the context of the group discussion, she began to take more active steps reflective of her increased sense of control, particularly with respect to her personal investment and participation in the school. During the group sessions, for example, she became very actively involved in one of the transformative activities that her group chose, i.e., that of promoting dialogue with the teachers. She also articulated a greater sense of responsibility for her own actions as she reflected on the fact that, in some small way, she might be able to contribute to and influence the quality of time she was spending in the school.

References

NEED TO BE UPDATED

Archer, S. L. (1989). Gender differences in identity development: Issues of process, domain, and timing. Journal of Adolescence, 12, 117-138.

Bandura, A. (1989). Human agency in social cognitive theory. American Psychologist, 44, 1175-1184.

Berman, A. M., Schwartz, S. J., Kurtines, W. M., & Berman, S. L. (1999). The process of exploration in identity formation: The role of style and competence. Manuscript submitted for publication.

Berman, S. L. (1996). Making life choices: Facilitating identity formation in adolescents and young adults. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida International University, Miami.

Berman, S. L., Berman, A. M., Lorente, C. C., Ferrer, L. A., Arrufat, O., & Kurtines, W. M. (1996). The Making Life Choices Program. Paper presented at the third annual meeting of the Society for Research on Identity Formation, Boston, MA.

Berman, S. L., Kurtines, W. M., Silverman, W. K., & Serafini, L. (1996). The impact of exposure to crime and violence on urban youth. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 66(3), 329-336.

Berzonsky, M. D. (1989). Identity style: Conceptualization and measurement. Journal of Adolescent Research, 5, 268-282.

Berzonsky, M. D. (1990). Self-construction over the life span: A process perspective on identity formation. In G. J. Neimeyer & R. A. Neimeyer (Eds.), Advances in personal construct psychology (Vol. 1, pp. 155-186). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Berzonsky, M. D. (1997). Identity Style Inventory, version 3. Unpublished measure, State University of New York, Cortland.

Berzonsky, M. D., & Neimeyer, G. J. (1994). Ego identity status and identity processing orientation: The mediating role of commitment. Journal of Research in Personality, 28, 425-435.

Botvin, G. J., & Botvin, E. M. (1992). Adolescent tobacco, alcohol, and drug abuse: Prevention strategies, empirical findings, and assessment issues. Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics, 13, 290-300.

Coatsworth, J. D., Szapocznik, J., Kurtines, W. M., & Santisteban, D. A. (in press). Culturally competent psychosocial interventions with antisocial problem behavior in Hispanic youth. In D. M. Stoff, J. Breiling, & J. D. Maser (Eds.) Handbook of antisocial behavior. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Côté, J. E., & Allahar, A. L. (1996). Generation on hold: Coming of age in the late twentieth century. New York: New York University Press.

Dahlberg, L. L. (1998). Youth violence in the United States: Major trends, risk factors, and prevention approaches. American Journal of Preventive Medicine, 14 (4), 259-272.

Dishion, T. J., Capaldi, D., Spracklin, K. M. & Li, F. (1995). Peer ecology of male adolescent drug use. Development and Psychopathology, 7, 803-824.

Dishion, T. J., French, D. C. & Patterson, G. R. (1995). The development and ecology of antisocial behavior. In D. Cicchetti & D. J. Cohen (Eds.) Developmental psychopathology, 4, 509-527.

Elias, M. J., Gara, M., Ubriaco, M., Rothbaum, P. M., Clabby, J. F., & Schuyler, T. (1986). Impact of a preventive social problem solving intervention on children's coping with middle school stressors. American Journal of Community Psychology, 14(3), 259-275.

Enright, R. D., Ganiere, D. M., Buss, R. R., Lapsley, D. K., & Olson, L. M. (1983). Promoting identity development in adolescents. Journal of Early Adolescence, 3, 247-255.

Enright, R. D., Olson, L. M., Ganiere, D., Lapsley, D. K., & Buss, R. R. (1984). A clinical model for enhancing adolescent ego identity. Journal of Adolescence, 7, 119-130.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). Identity: Youth and crisis. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H. (1964). Insight and responsibility. New York: Norton

Erikson, E. H. (1980). Identity and the life cycle: A reissue. New York: Norton.

Erikson, E. H., & Erikson, K. T. (1957). The confirmation of the delinquent. In S. Schlein (Ed.), Erik H. Erikson: A way of looking at things, selected papers from 1930 to 1980. New York: Norton.

Ferrer-Wreder, L. A. (1998). Making life choices program: A psychoeducational intervention for promoting critical cognitive and affective competencies in adolescents at-risk for problem behaviors. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Florida International University, Miami.

Ferrer-Wreder, L. A., Cass-Lorente, C., Kurtines, W. M., Briones, E., Bussell, J. R., Berman, S. L., & Arrufat, O. (2000/in press). Promoting identity development in marginalized youth. Journal of Adolescent Research.

Freire, P. (1983). Pedagogy of the oppressed. New York: Herder & Herder (Original work published 1970).

Freud, S. (1914/1963). The history of the psychoanalytic movement. (P. Rieff, Ed.) New York: Collier Books.

Grotevant, H. D. (1987). Toward a process model of identity formation. Journal of Adolescent Research, 2, 203-222.

Grotevant, H. D. & Adams, G. R. (1984). Development of an objective measure to assess ego-identity in adolescents: Validation and replication. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 13, 419-438.

Hernandez, J. T., & DiClemente, R. J. (1992). Self-control and ego identity development as predictors of unprotected sex in late adolescent males. Journal of Adolescence, 15, 437-447.

Institute of Medicine (1994). Reducing risks for mental disorders: Frontiers for preventive intervention research. Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Jones, R. M. (1994). Curricula focused on behavioral deviance. In S. L. Archer, (Ed.), Interventions for adolescent identity development (pp. 174-190). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Josselson, R. (1994). The theory of identity development and the question of intervention: An introduction. In S. L. Archer, (Ed.), Interventions for adolescent identity development. (pp. 12-28). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Keys, S. G., Bemak, F., & Lockhart, E. J. (1998). Transforming school counseling to serve the mental health needs of at-risk youth. Journal of Counseling and Development, 76,381-388.

Kurtines, W. M. (1984). Moral behavior as rule governed behavior: A psychosocial role-theoretical approach to moral behavior and development. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.) Morality, moral behavior and moral development (pp. 303-324). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kurtines, W. M. (1987). Psychosocial theory as a nomotic science: Sociomoral behavior and development from rule governed perspective. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), Moral development through social interaction (pp. 149-196). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kurtines, W. M. (1998). A co-constructivist perspective on human behavior and development. Manuscript in preparation.

Kurtines, W. M., Berman, S. L., Ittel, A., & Williamson, S. (1995). Moral development: A co-constructivist perspective. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), Moral development: An introduction (pp. 337-376). New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Kurtines, W. M., & Silverman, W. K. (in press). Emerging views of the role of theory. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology.

Kurtines, W. M. & Szapocznik, J. (1996). Structural family therapy in contexts of cultural diversity. In E. Hibbs & R. Jensen (Eds.) Psychosocial treatment research with children and adolescents. Washington, D.C.: American Psychological Association.

Lerner, R. M. (1995). America's youth in crisis: Challenges and options for programs and polices. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lerner, R. M., & Busch-Rossnagel, N. A. (1981). Individuals as producers of their development: Conceptual and empirical bases. In R. M. Lerner & M. A. Busch-Rossnagel (Eds.) Individuals as producers of their development: A life span perspective (pp. 1-36). New York: Academic Press.

Marcia, J. E. (1966). Development and validation of ego identity status. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 5, 551-558.

Markstrom-Adams, C., Ascione, F. R., Braegger, D., & Adams, G. R. (1993). The effects of two forms of perspective-taking on ego-identity formation in late adolescence. Journal of Adolescence, 16, 217-224.

Rutter, M., Giller, H., & Hagell, A. (1998). Antisocial behavior by young people. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schlenker, B., Britt, T., Pennington, J., Murphy, R., & Doherty, K. (1994). The triangle model of responsibility. Psychological Review, 101(4), 632-652.

Sherrod, L. R. (1997). Promoting youth development through research-based policies. Applied Developmental Science, 1(1), 17-27.

Silverman, W. K., & Kurtines, W. M. (1997). Theory in child psychosocial treatment research: Have it or had it? A pragmatic alternative. Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 25, 359-367.

Spivack, G., & Shure, M. B. (1982). The cognition of social adjustment: Interpersonal cognitive problem-solving and thinking. In B. B. Lahey, & A. E. Kazdin (Eds.), Advances in clinical psychology (Vol. 5, pp. 323-372). New York: Plenum.

Szapocznik, J. & Kurtines, W. M. (1993). Family psychology and cultural diversity: Opportunities for theory, research and application. [Invited Article] American Psychologist, 48 (4), 400-407. {Reprinted in N. Goldberger & J. Veroff (1995), Essential papers in psychology and culture. New York: N.Y.U. Press}.

Tetlock, P. E. (1992). The impact of accountability on judgment and choice. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), Advances in experimental social psychology (Vol. 25, pp. 331-376). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Tolan, P. H., & Guerra, N. G. (1994). Prevention of delinquency: Current status and issues. Applied and Preventive Psychology, 3, 251-273.

Varenhorst, B. B. (1974). Training adolescents as peer counselors. Personnel and Guidance Journal, 53(4), 271-275.

Waterman, A. S. (1993). Developmental perspectives on identity formation: From adolescence to adulthood. In J. E. Marcia, A. S. Waterman, D. R. Matteson, S. L. Archer, & J. L. Orlofsky (Eds.), Ego identity: A handbook for psychosocial research (pp. 42-68). New York: Springer-Verlag.

Waterman, A. S. (1994). Ethical considerations in interventions for promoting identity development. In S. L. Archer, (Ed.), Interventions for adolescent identity development. (pp. 231-244). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Waterman, A. S. (1995). Eudaimonic theory: Self-realization and the collective good. In W. M. Kurtines & J. L. Gewirtz (Eds.), Moral development: An introduction (pp. 255-278). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Williams, R. N. (1992). The human context of agency. American Psychologist, 47(6), 752-759.

Wilcox, R. R. (1997). Introduction to robust estimation and hypothesis testing. New York: Academic Press.

Wilson, D. K., Rodrigue, J. R., & Taylor, W. C. (1997). Health-promoting and health-compromising behaviors among minority adolescents. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.