Unraveling the Hidden Curriculum
Values in Youth Care Interventions and Youth Policy

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~ All that is solid melts into air ~

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1. General Introduction

Within liberal democratic societies, the upbringing of children is in general considered to be the private matter of parents. Governments are expected to respect the liberties of parents and to take a rather neutral stance (Archard, 1999); they should not be explicitly normative. At the same time, however, governments are required to ensure children's healthy development and safeguard children within society. Likewise, society needs to be protected from the anti-social behavior of some of its children. In this regard, governments do have an educating task towards children and/or their parents.

This educating task of the government can be divided into two main areas of concern. First of all, through policy measures, the government uses strategies like public service announcements, financial incentives, and legislation to stimulate appropriate behavior and to discourage or prohibit undesirable behavior. Second, governmental influence in child rearing takes place more indirectly through youth care agencies. These agencies offer interventions to children and/or parents through which professionals influence and structure child rearing practices within families. Both youth policy and youth care interventions endeavor to improve the development of children and therein represent an ideal of what constitutes desirable behavior and appropriate parenting.

However, in discussions concerning the care of youth—that is, discussions on policy measures or on professional youth care—issues being stressed include professionally-endorsed effectiveness or evidence of interventions and policies. Empirical data are used in order to substantiate the choices that are made. Value-based arguments do not seem to play a role in these discussions. But are youth care interventions and youth policy measures merely a "technical" response to the particular behavior of children and youth, or do values—implicitly or explicitly—also play a role in the professional field of youth care? This question is central to this dissertation and to the research that is presented in it. We will endeavor to explain whether or not values play a role in the development and execution of youth care interventions and youth policy measures. Although the word "role" might seem to indicate that we will pinpoint exactly how and through which mechanisms values are involved, we do not claim to clarify specific causal relationships between values and youth care interventions or youth policy. Rather, we use the word to clarify that we believe that values are an important element in youth care interventions and youth policies, and are in some way involved in their development and execution.

The professional field of youth care is often characterized by broad, rather vague claims and concepts, like "the importance of the family," or "in the best interest of the child." But what does the importance of the family signify? And what does this best interest mean? People differ in the meaning they attach to these kinds of concepts (Edel, 1979). Thus, specific and explicit child rearing goals, as they are expressed in interventions and in child care plans, may be more ambiguous than they appear to be. The emphasis that is currently placed on evidence leaves these differences in meaning and interpretation undiscussed; by concentrating on empirical data, ideals concerning the upbringing and development of children may be neglected. Also, even though values and beliefs might not be made explicit, this does not necessarily mean that they do not influence youth care interventions or governmental measures. Rather, they may form an implicit layer, or "hidden curriculum," in youth policy and in youth care interventions.

The concept hidden curriculum, often associated with educational issues, does not limit itself to school buildings and classrooms. Rather, it is an inherent part of all learning experiences (Jackson, 1983; Martin, 1983). With regard to policy measures and youth care interventions, it properly reflects the matter of unstated norms, values, and beliefs, which become transmitted in the field of professional youth care.

Neglecting to make implicit values and beliefs explicit means that the ideals and goals of child development are also being neglected. An overarching notion about the ideals of child development and the choices that are made in the upbringing of children is not made explicit and is not debated: Whereas effectiveness research is mostly aimed at the treatment of undesirable or dysfunctional behavior, discussion is lacking about why, and according to which norms, some behavior is qualified as dysfunctional. Concerns about the possible value-based definition of problem behavior, such as described by the British Psychological Society in response to the DSM-5 development, are currently not being expressed within the field of youth care (British Psychological Society, 2011).

If we assume that unstated values and beliefs are part and parcel of youth care interventions and youth policy, this also means that this hidden curriculum influences the experiences of children and parents who participate in specific youth care interventions, and that it influences the experiences that families encounter through policy measures. It may thereby indirectly affect the social-emotional development of children and youth, and may affect the ways in which children perceive the world and their position in it (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). We therefore believe that it is imperative that this hidden curriculum is

unraveled and made explicit. What kind of implicit messages are conveyed to children and their parents when participating in an intervention? With regard to notions of healthy parenting and healthy development, what kind of norms and values are being transmitted? Next to this important aim, explicating the hidden curriculum may serve several other purposes: First of all, explicating values may open up opportunities for a discussion on the aims of the professional youth care system, and it may also foster a debate about its role within society: what goals does the professional youth care community foresee for itself in the upbringing and education of children?

Second, clarifying the implicit values may help parents in their choice for a specific intervention; would they want to participate in a parenting course that may be highly effective, but in which values play a role that are not in line with their own values and beliefs? Next to the implications for children and parents, values may also have an impact on current research conducted within the professional field of youth care: What role do values play in the development and execution of interventions, and how may this affect, for example, the effectiveness research conducted in this field? In what way may values be related to the (increasing) use of risk assessments?

The research presented in this dissertation aims at unraveling the hidden curriculum in both youth care interventions and Dutch youth policy.

The research project described in this dissertation consists of five separate case studies: Four case studies are presented in Section A, which discusses four specific child care interventions: EQUIP, Multisystemic Therapy, Triple P, and Master your Mood, respectively. EQUIP is a group-based intervention for youth with antisocial behavior problems, which is based on Kohlberg's theory of moral development. Multisystemic Therapy is a social-ecological intervention which aims to assist parents and youth with serious behavioral problems (delinquency, substance abuse, truancy, etc.). Triple P is a preventive intervention for parents of children younger than 16 years of age, and it assists parents with numerous parenting problems. Finally, Master your Mood is a group-based intervention for adolescents with depressive symptoms. This intervention is largely based on cognitive-behavioral theories. In Section B, the fifth case study is presented, and describes a detailed analysis of Dutch youth and family policy between 2007 and 2010. During these years, a specific Ministry of Youth and Family was responsible for all policies directed at families and youth.

Through these case studies, we hope to reveal and clarify the hidden curriculum and will try to identify what kinds of values dominate the Dutch youth care system. Overall

conclusions of the first four case studies will be discussed in the last chapter in Section A. Comparably, overall findings concerning youth and family policy will be described in the final chapter of Section B. Possible implications for the development of children and youth, and for the (Dutch) youth care system will be described in the final chapter of this dissertation. The methodology used in these multiple case studies is described in Chapter 3. However, in the following chapter we will first discuss some theories relevant for our hypothesis that values can play an important role in the fields of youth care and youth policy. Besides giving a theoretical foundation, we will also discuss some relevant societal changes which may have led to the current dominance of empirical data and of the focus on effectiveness. In other words, we will try to frame the reasons why the current emphasis within this field is largely technical, and why normative matters are rarely part of debates. The arguments raised in this chapter will clarify in more detail why we believe that normative matters may still be an important element in the professional field of youth care, and why it should be an important subject of debate within this field.

2. Theoretical Background

Is the professional field of youth care indeed largely a technical response to the particular behavior of parents and children, as currently seems to be the dominant approach, or is this field inherently normative and do values and ideals also play an important role? This question is addressed in this dissertation and is investigated through five case studies. In the following chapter we will first discuss theories that are relevant for our hypothesis that values are involved in youth care interventions and youth policies. We expect values to be expressed, either implicitly or explicitly, in the development and execution of youth care interventions and youth policy measures. Before turning to specific theories on the role of values in child development and child rearing, we will first direct our attention to some social developments that we believe explain the current concentration on effectiveness and evidence-based practice (EPB) in the professional field of youth care.

Since the last decade of the 20th century, governments have become increasingly receptive to matters of effectiveness and evidence. Professionals working in public services, such as the youth care system, are often perceived by the public with a certain skepticism, as they have not been able to fully live up to the promises of improvements and solutions (Horowitz, 2004). A focus on effectiveness and evidence offers possibilities to express expertise and knowledge, and may thereby reinstate a certain authority to professionals and this professional field (Davies, Nutley, & Smith, 2000; Parton, 1994; Tonkens, 2008). When claims can be made about effect, it can be more easily encouraged to use specific (evidence-based) interventions with parents needing assistance in the upbringing of their children. Also, the current focus on effectiveness and evidence may be the result of several social and scientific processes. Before turning to a detailed discussion about values and the role they may play in the professional field of youth care, we first briefly want to discuss some developments within the professional and scientific field of child development, which may have led to the current emphasis of neutrality and objectivity within these fields.

Social and scientific developments

In the 20th century, a distinction has been made between objective, value-free education and normative philosophical education (Brezinka, 1992). This distinction has been highly influential within the scientific disciplines of child development (i.e. developmental psychology, child and educational studies). It has forced these sciences to relate the scientific

to "what is," to the factual and the objective. What "ought to be" is considered to be a normative philosophical question which cannot and should not be part of the scientific domain (Brezinka, 1992). However, this preference for—or obligation to—objectivity does not mean that the scientific theories of these disciplines are not implicitly value-laden. Many of the concepts used in disciplines concerning child development suffer from ambiguity and vagueness, which allows for the possibility of including values and normative issues (Brezinka, 1992; Edel, 1979). Reasons for not being explicit about these values lie mainly with the positioning of both the social sciences and the social scientist in society: If science is considered to be the dominant legitimate representative of truth, this certainty needs to be maintained rather than to be questioned (Edel, 1980). Moreover, scientists are themselves part of the moral and ideological viewpoints of the society they live in. It is therefore likely that a social scientist more or less naively goes along with these viewpoints and assumptions, and will presume them as facts (Brezinka, 1992; Edel, 1980). More importantly, by claiming that the social sciences need to be objective and can only claim facts, the scientist is expected to be objective and should not be influenced by developments in society (Strong, 1997). Nevertheless, research shows that subjects and methods of scientific inquiry in North American and Western European societies often reflect concerns that dominate these societies. This is indicative of the notion that a scientist does not live in the proverbial bell jar (Burman, 2008; Furlong, 2000).

This focus on facts and predictability of scientific inquiries also has had consequences for the way in which scientific knowledge is used in the practice of professionals working with children and families. By defining children and parenting in terms of facts and predictability, the professional youth care system increasingly thinks, judges, and acts according to these structures (Horowitz, 2004; Huer, 1990). Because of their own professional obligations, youth care institutions and governmental parties need clear, factual information on which they can found their policies and interventions. Policy measures and youth care interventions ask for predictability of behavior and for certainty about changes in behavior (MacIntyre, 2007). Paradoxically, the growing skepticism for being unable to deliver the progress the social sciences implicitly promises is combined with major expectations regarding matters like risk management and the possibilities for ensuring safety and security in society. These societal expectations thereby strengthen the objective and mathematical character of the sciences (Horowitz, 2004; Huer, 1990; Munro, 1999).

Developments in the professional field

Overall, the emphasis on facts, mathematical probability, and predictability has become stronger and stronger, while normative matters regarding developmental and educational goals have become more and more marginalized (i.e. Koops, 2000; 2003). Developments within the social scientific field have had their impact on the way the professional field of child development (i.e. youth care system) is being structured, but these developments do not stand on their own. Other societal developments may have had a comparable impact on this field.

First, professional responsibility for the care of children and youth has moved from private organizations (e.g. religious organizations and philanthropists) to a governmental responsibility. This has had consequences for the way normative issues in this field have been expressed: In the early days of child care, many of the institutions involved with the care for children and youth were religious organizations, which based their work on the religious values of their conviction (King, 1999). It wasn't until the beginning of the 20th century that attention towards the healthy development of inspired the creation of special laws and increased governmental interference in child care institutions (Goldson, 2001; King, 1999). The questioning of the patriarchal definition of the family (i.e. the father losing his important and unquestionable role in the family) allowed the government to attribute children's developmental problems to family situations. This in its turn allowed for governmental interference in family life (Donzelot, 1979; King, 1999). As Donzelot (1979) elaborately argues, the processes of moralization, normalization, and tutelage reflect the increasing control of the government over the private sphere of its citizens and the way in which the family is considered to reflect the norms and values of society. He also describes the ways in which the social order and the family are entangled in family policy. Donzelot refers to this as government through family, as opposed to government of family (Donzelot, 1979). Nowadays, with compulsory education for children and the increased labor participation of women, children spend much of their time in semi-governmental parenting settings such as schools and after-school and day-care centers. Consequently, parents and children are more and more exposed to governmental interference (Ambert, 1994).

State interference in family life increased with the growing notion that the family could be held responsible for problematic behavior of children. In earlier days a distinction was made between criminal children (who needed to be disciplined) and abused or neglected children (who needed to be educated). In the second half of the 19th century, this distinction was no longer considered valid and both criminal and abused or neglected children were

considered to be one and the same group of "problematic children" (Donzelot, 1979; King, 1999). State interference in family life was thus legitimized as a measure of preventing criminal behavior. Boundaries between what was considered normal and abnormal became more permeable (Foley, 2001; King, 1999).

Second, since the Second World War, the system of professional child care and correction has started to rely more and more on a medical model of thinking about developmental problems and solutions, in which there is a clear relation between problem and solution (Foley, 2001). Values, either religion- or otherwise-inspired, hardly play a role in this form of governmental youth care. Governments are after all expected to maintain some sense of neutrality and are expected to respect the variety of values and beliefs within society (Archard, 1999). A medicalized model, in which the diagnosis and treatment of problem behavior are objectified, thus satisfies this quest for neutrality.

Democratization and individualization processes in society are a third factor which has had an impact on both the social sciences and the professional field of child and youth care. Democratization processes have decreased the authority of both the scientist and the professional (Tonkens, 2008). They have also resulted in a loss of a shared morality. Morality is no longer dictated by church or law, but is to be established among citizens, which allows for moral relativism and the coexistence of different and sometimes conflicting ethical principles. Consequently, discussions are preferably held over facts; a conflict of values can be put aside as "pluralism" (Bellamy, 2008; MacIntyre, 2007; Polanowksi, 2002). Another consequence of democratization and individualization is that professionals more often have to deal with clients who have already informed themselves on a specific subject. The public is increasingly well educated and well informed, and is more critical towards interventions that are offered to them. Clients are not easily persuaded in accepting a certain kind of intervention (Davies, et al., 2000; Tonkens, 2008). The possibility of families having a say in how and when assistance is offered, and being able to choose in what way interventions are accepted, conflicts with the authority of the professional. Evidence-based practice offer opportunities to the professional to express knowledge and expertise and thereby reinstates a certain status to the profession, which may explain why this evidence-based focus is received so enthusiastically by professionals and professional youth care institutions.

Third, the neoliberal market approach has gained influence throughout society and has also had its impact on the youth care system. Due to the influence of the market approach, more and more emphasis is being placed on matters of accountability and efficiency (Davies, et al., 2000; Tonkens, 2008). These matters are responded to with an increased focus on

program evaluation, performance indicator systems, and audit and inspection "regimes" (Nutley & Webb, 2000). Although professionals often complain about bureaucratic hassles, these evaluations, performance indicators, and inspection regimes also offer chances to prove and secure one's professionalism (Schinkel, 2009). In this sense, the focus on evidence can be seen as a response to the characteristics of a (neo)liberal society (Archard, 1999; Davies, et al., 2000).

Last, the youth care system feels a moral obligation to justify public spending. Within this context, evidence-based practice is another way in which professionalism can be re-established within the field, while it also answers to the need to justify social costs (Nutley & Webb, 2004; Tilbury, 2004; Tonkens, 2008).

Evidence-based practice and "what works"

The focus on evidence can be seen as a retreat from political ideology, and matches the assumptions of a liberal democratic society that does not impose on others how one ought to live (Archard, 1999; Davies, et al., 2000). For professionals working in youth care organizations, this move to evidence-based youth care may have helped in regaining a sense of authority (Tonkens, 2008). To act morally in (child) health care is to know and understand what one is doing and how to be competent (Gambrill, 2006). Effectiveness in this sense is a necessary (moral) component of the child care system and can also be seen as a way to distinguish professionals from empathic non-professionals (Gambrill, 1999).

Within the evidence-based ideology, the aim is to make use of current best evidence in making decisions about care for patients. Individual clinical expertise needs to be integrated with the best available clinical evidence from scientific research (Gambril, 1999; Sackett, Rosenberg, Gray, Haynes, & Richardson, 1996). Domain-specific knowledge about outcomes is an important element in the adequate treatment of problem behaviors and disorders. However, this does not necessarily have to mean that clients' concerns, values, and expectations should not be taken into account (Gambrill, 1999).

Evidence-based practice (EBP) originates from the medical field and was introduced into the youth care system as professionals within this system were thought to neglect new research findings and tended to stick to known and more familiar youth care interventions (Gambrill, 2006; Gibbs & Gambrill, 2002; Sackett, et al., 1996). As research has shown that EBP outperform care-as-usual both in duration and in costs, the benefits of EBP are quite easily highlighted (La Greca, Silverman, & Lochman, 2009). In its most restricted form, randomized controlled trials are needed to determine whether or not a certain intervention is

effective. Recently, however, bottom-up approaches are more accepted as well, and proposals have been made for a different rating system that would include qualitative and descriptive research methods (Veerman & Van Yperen, 2007).

Within the effectiveness approach, different choices are made which reflect different views on evidence-based practice and -policies. Descriptions of EBP differ, for example, in their breadth and in the attention to ethical issues. Some approaches take a broad systemic philosophical viewpoint, whereas others limit themselves to the use of empirically-supported interventions, which leaves out the role of clinical expertise and the attention to client values and preferences (Gambrill, 2006). EBP, as described by its originators, is a "deeply participating, anti-authoritarian paradigm that encourages all involved parties to question claims about what we know" (Gambrill, 2006, p. 352). Individual circumstances of the client need to be taken into consideration (Gibbs & Gambrill, 2002). In general, two models reflect the two dominant perspectives that are taken within the evidence-based ideology. Model 1, below, shows the elements of EBP as explained by its originators. Both patient values and expectations, and the expertise of the professional, play a role in deciding the outcomes. Model 2, also below, represents the narrow focus on the effectiveness of an intervention. The "effectiveness ladder," as proposed and used by the Netherlands Youth Institute, is based on this latter model (Veerman & Van Yperen, 2007).
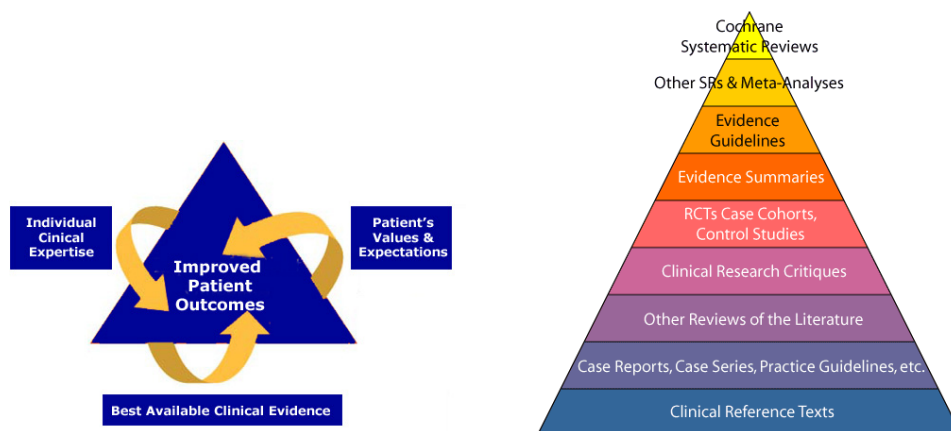
Model 1: *Model of evidence-based practice. Image adapted from: Sackett, D.L., Rosenberg, M.C., Gray, J.A.Richardson, W.S. Evidence-based medicine; what it is and what it isn't. BMJ, 1996, 312, 71-72*
Model 2: *Pyramid of effectiveness. Image adapted from: Navigating the Maze, University of Virginia, Health Sciences Library*

Evidence-based practice has been subjected to criticism, which in general focuses on its usefulness in areas such as education and the child care system. Criticism on the evidence-based approach also seems to reflect these two distinct definitions of what "evidence-based"

actually accounts for; the goals of the educational system, for example, cannot always be set in advance (Biesta, 2007). Moreover, effectiveness does not say anything about the desirability of an intervention as a means to reach certain ends (Biesta, 2007; MacIntyre, 2007). Some interventions are not chosen, even though they are clearly very effective. For example, we do not keep children imprisoned for the rest of their lives, even though it would have a very significant and positive effect on recidivism. Evidence-based practice thus entails normative and political choices which are not made explicit. Also, despite the fact that evidence-based practice was set out to be deeply anti-authoritarian (Gambrill, 2006), the perception and aims of the clients are usually not taken into account. For example, clients always start an intervention out of a need to improve their quality of life. EBP, on the other hand, focuses on effective ingredients of an intervention, and specifically aims to reduce symptoms. Reduction of symptoms does not necessarily result in an improved quality of life. Best practices are thus not necessarily in the best interests of the client (La Greca, et al., 2009; Sing & Oswald, 2004). The evidence-based ideology is also based on the notion that all people are rational agents (Webb, 2001; Nutley & Webb, 2000). Within social work however, decision making is often complex and problematic, and influenced by the specific organization, by decisions made by management, and by relationships between different organizations. An evidence-based approach devaluates this context of social work and it neglects to take into consideration the perception and context of both client and professional (Webb, 2001). Acknowledging the benefits of EBP, the claim has also been made that broader issues of concern, such as personalized approaches and involving mediators in treatment, need to be addressed (La Greca, et al., 2009).

The knowledge and status of evidence-based practice are based on scientific research and effectiveness research, of which two of the side effects are the individualization of problematic behavior and the individualization of solutions to these problems (e.g. Carney, 1999; Furlong, 2000; Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). After all, effectiveness research is preferably designed as an investigation of clear causal relations within a controlled experimental setting. Social structures are hard to control and are therefore often not included in this kind of research (La Greca, et al., 2009). Consequently, causes and solutions to emotional and behavioral problems are most often framed as an individual matter or a family matter at most.

Also, Hausman (2002) has pointed out that within community health approaches, qualitative and ethnographic methods are most commonly used for research in this field. These methods of research enable the researcher to take the perceptions and ideas of the

community into account. However, these research methods also make it almost impossible for community health approaches to meet the standards of EBP (Hausman, 2002). This kind of criticism is often perceived by proponents of EBP as a lack of understanding the approach (Gibbs & Gambrill, 2002). However, it may also reflect a difference in understanding the aims and goals of EBP, which may result in a difference in approach, in the use of effectiveness research, and in defining "evidence."

The concern of Hausman (2002) is in line with more general criticism over the method of research in EBP. Randomized controlled trials (RCTs) are considered to be "the golden standard" for effectiveness research. RCTs are highly indicative of causal relations between interventions and improved client outcomes. However, the method is hardly insightful as to *why* a certain intervention is better than another (Davies, et al., 2000). Qualitative methods would be better suited to address this issue. With regard to evidence-based policy, qualitative methods can add to an understanding of the context in which policies have to be implemented (Davies et al., 2000). In line with the abovementioned points of criticism, some therefore argue that the use of the term "evidence-based" in itself may be aiming too high, especially in the field of policies. Use of terms like "evidence-influenced," "evidence-aware," or "evidence informed" might be more suitable for this specific field (Davies et al., 2000; Van Yperen, 2004; Veerman & Van Yperen, 2007). Nevertheless, even though the importance of more general factors in the treatment of children and youth is being acknowledged, for example client-context elements and the therapeutic relationship, the main focus tends to remain on effect and evidence. EBP is a dominant force in the field of child care, and current efforts highlight the use of monitoring and treatment adherence to increase the effectiveness of interventions (Van Yperen, Van der Steege, Addink, & Boendermaker, 2010).

An overarching notion in the criticism of evidence-based practice is that such causal relations between symptoms and treatment do not exist in the fields of social work and youth care. Many more factors are equally important in the success and effectiveness of this process (Van Yperen, et al., 2010). We want to emphasize that this dissertation does not aim to clarify all of these elements, but focuses explicitly on the role of values. This does not mean that we do not acknowledge the fact that other factors may also play an important role both in youth care interventions and in youth policy; these factors, however, will not be addressed in our research project.

Before detailing the specific role of values in youth care interventions and youth policy, we first have to further explain what we mean when we talk about values or value orientations. This will also help in providing understanding as to why we believe that the role of values within this system cannot be disregarded.

Values, childhood, and parenting

Values

According to Korsgaard, "it is the most striking fact about human life that we have values" (1996, p. 1). The definition of the concept of values, however, differs between scientists: Some scientists view values as criteria that people use in order to choose and evaluate actions, people, and events. Others claim that values can be deducted from the actual behavior of people itself, or that they can be altered to suit that behavior. There are also some scientists who define values as qualities inherent in objects themselves (Schwartz, 1974; Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). The concept of values is closely related to the notion of normative claims. Yet, normative claims are more demanding that values and prescribe that something ought to be done (Brezinka, 1992; Korsgaard, 1996). Normative claims ask for clear and explicit explanations for not complying with these "demands." Claiming something is right is in essence telling others they ought to do it (Korsgaard, 1996). Although the concepts "values" and "normativity" can be clearly distinguished theoretically, the distinction is less clear in real life: The evaluation of persons and things (values) is often combined with a prescription to others of how to think and act upon these persons and things (normativity). Both youth care interventions and youth policy are often founded on the notion that something (children's behavior, parenting style) needs to change and needs to be *better*. The underlying notion is thus not only evaluative but may also be prescriptive.

The concept "development" itself refers to an ideal progression toward some specific goal or endpoint. Some therefore claim that the concept of development is in itself essentially and inevitably value-laden (Tappan & Brown, 1992). It is in this sense a prescriptive concept. The interpretation of developmental issues is consequently necessarily tied to ethical and political values, and to biases and assumptions of the interpreter (Tappan & Brown, 1992). Much in the same vein, Bruner (1986) emphasized the prescriptive character of developmental theory, arguing that the objective of developmental theory is not only to describe but also to offer an alternative ("better") way of achieving certain outcomes (Bruner, 1986). These aims of child development cannot be captured in empirical research but are rather an ethical matter (Koops, 2003).

In this research project, we define values as "desirable goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in people's lives" (Devos, Spini & Schwartz, 2002, p. 481; Schwartz, 1994). Values guide the selection of behavior and events and transcend specific situations (Schwartz, 1992). This definition includes the desirability of goals and it thereby does not focus solely on the evaluative character of values, but also takes more normative claims into consideration.

The role of values with regard to the upbringing and education of children is widely recognized. Also, research has shown that values play an important role in the educational context. Both contexts are closely related to the professional field of youth care: Comparable to parental child rearing, professional child care focuses on parenting practices and on the healthy development of children. Comparable to the educational context, professional youth care aims at teaching parents and children ways in which they can handle parenting issues or developmental issues in a healthier ("better") way, and it can thus be defined as a learning experience. Therefore, when hypothesizing on the possible role of values within the professional field of youth care, it may be useful to investigate the role of values in these two contexts.

Values and parenting

Values and the transmission of values has been a well researched subject in regard to the parenting practices of parents. The transmission of values is part of the socialization process of children (Ramaekers, 2009; Roest, 2004). Although it is generally acknowledged that the social context of children—including social institutions and adults other than their parents—is important in the values children adopt, the focus within this kind of research has mainly been on the unidirectional transmission of values from parents to children (Kuczinsky, Marshall, & Schell, 1997). It should be noted though that value transmission is not necessarily a unidirectional process, but can also be bidirectional, especially when children become older (Kuczinsky, et al., 1997; Roets, 2007).

The roles of values and of differences in value-orientation become salient in the child rearing practices of parents when comparisons are made between cultures and culture-specific child rearing traditions. Two of the most widely cited researchers on cross-cultural comparisons of human development are Harry Triandis and Çigdem Kagitçibasi. Triandis, in describing the influence of values on human development, made use of the individualism-collectivism dichotomy and considered these as cultural dimensions that shape the beliefs,

attitudes, norms, and values of individuals in a given society (Gelfand, Triandis & Chan, 1996; Triandis, 1994). He also included the dimensions of "cultural complexity" (vs. simplicity) and "cultural tightness" (vs. looseness) (Triandis, 1994). Cultural complexity refers not only to population density and systems of information, but also to the number of distinctions that are made concerning objects and events such as occupations. Cultural tightness refers to the tolerance towards deviations from the social norm (Triandis, 1994). Kagitçibasi elaborated on the individualism-collectivism dichotomy by focusing on the degree of connectedness (vs. separateness) of the self (Kagitçibasi, 1996). Included in her "models of family change" are contextual influences such as the economic characteristics of a society, and urbanization and migration processes (Kagitçibasi, 1996; 1999). Notwithstanding the fruitfulness of such research, a framework of value dimensions, as described by Triandis and Kagitçibasi, does not capture the full picture of how values affect and are transmitted by parenting processes: Cultural influences on people's value orientations appear to be more nuanced and detailed than is exemplified by this use of broad dimensions. It has, for example, become evident that value-differences also exist between two distinctly individualistic societies, and that values may also differ between social groups within a given society (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006; Suizzo, 2007; Super, et al., 1996). The collectivist value of interpersonal relations, for instance, may be defined by some as putting the community's interest first. Others may relate this value to putting the family's interest first (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006). Not only specific child rearing goals appear to differ between cultures, but there are also distinct differences in the way children's behavior is being interpreted (Ambert, 1994; Harwood, Schoelmerich, Ventura-Cook, Schulze, & Wilson, 1996; Harwood, Schoelmerich, & Schulze, 2000; Harkness, Super, & Van Tijen, 2000). Dependent behavior by young children, for example, may be seen by some as being natural and legitimate; others may consider it to be a burden, and define it as a result of some negative experience (Harkness, Super, & Van Tijen, 2000).

Besides cultural influences, social stratification is another important factor in the kind of values parents express and want to convey to their children. The social context in which families live also often influences which values parents want to convey to their children, which values they believe are important (De Winter, et al., 2006). Parental values are affected by parents' occupations and by the expectation parents have for their children's future careers (Harwood, et al., 1996; Harwood, et al., 2000; Hitlin, 2006). Research by Kohn, for example, shows that differences in the conditions of life affect the values parents have, which in turn influence the parent-to-child value transmission: Working class and poor families will,

according to Kohn, place more emphasis on conformity values, whereas middle class families will emphasize self-direction values more strongly (Kohn, 1963; Kohn, Slomczynski, & Schoenbach, 1986). Along the same line, the educational status of fathers is positively related to their children's emphasis on values like benevolence, spirituality, and on conservatist values. In contrast, the mother's educational status is negatively related to these same values (Hitlin, 2006).

These differences in values affect parenting strategies and parenting styles (Devereux, Bronfenbrenner, & Rodgers, 1969; Ellis & Petersen, 1992; Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006). Depending on the socialization goals of parents, and their conception of what is needed to become an adaptive adult, they tend to be more demanding and controlling, or to be more inconsistent and indulgent (Devereux, et al., 1969: Roer-Strier, 2006). The authoritative parenting style, which aims at fostering independency and autonomy, is much appraised by white middle class families, but it might not be as beneficial to other populations. An authoritative parenting style, for example, has found to be least effective for academic achievement in Asian American and African American youth (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Also, an authoritarian parenting style, which is often associated with values such as conformity and obedience, doesn't have to be unfavorable in all situations (De Winter, 2006). It can, for example, result in an assertive attitude in African American girls, as opposed to fearful and timid behavior in European American girls (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Also, African American mothers are more often inclined to use physical punishment, which is often strongly opposed in European American families. However, in African American families, this physical punishment is often associated with "warmth" and "use of reason," and it therefore doesn't have the detrimental effects identified in a European American population (Baumrind, 1997; Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Stainton Rogers, 2001).

As becomes evident in the abovementioned research, the values parents raise their children with do have consequences for the way in which these children develop and for the kind of values and behavior these children themselves will express. It has also become evident that research on the role of values in childhood socialization is primarily aimed at the family and family-related influences. When attention is paid to the impact of larger societal social structures on child development, the family is often used as mediator in this relation. The family is thus considered a key-socializing agent. Family influences are, however, one of the many influences that shape individuals and linkages may even be weak (Kohn, et al., 1986).

Another important field of interest in which the role of values is evident is the educational system. Research conducted on the so-called hidden curriculum of education most explicitly reflects value-transmission within schools and classrooms (Giroux & Purpel, 1983). Ever since Philip Jackson's seminal work *Life in the Classroom* (1968), the concept hidden curriculum is a well-acknowledged and -researched subject within the educational field. The concept refers to "unstated norms, values and beliefs which are being transmitted to students," which partly define the educational context and practice (Giroux & Penna, 1983, p. 102; Jackson, 1983). For example, the explicit curriculum of the school may be to aim for the emancipation of children, while research shows that the hidden curriculum may validate inequality and differences in social class (Apple & King, 1983). In the same vein, it is also argued that the hidden curriculum may actually establish a moral- and justice-oriented atmosphere within classrooms and school buildings, and it may well be related to the teacher's individual intentions and qualities and the classroom culture (Gofton & Regehr, 2006; Kohlberg, 1983). Thus, the formal educational learning that happens within schools should be seen apart from the socialization processes which occur throughout the day (Gofton & Regehr, 2006). However, this hidden curriculum does not limit itself to classrooms or to the educational system, but can be considered inherent to any learning experience (Martin, 1983). Comparable to the educational context, youth care interventions are responsible for the formal teaching of skills and competencies while they also take up responsibilities in the (re-) socialization of children and youth, with the aim to improve family functioning and parental child rearing. It is thus a learning experience for parents and children. In this sense, it can be expected that the hidden curriculum plays an equally important role in the experiences of children and parents enrolled in youth care interventions.

Based on the abovementioned research, it becomes clear that parenting practices are partly driven by parents' value orientations, in which structures such as socioeconomic background and culture also play an important role. But parenting is also influenced by ideas and perceptions of childhood. In other words, parenting is not only oriented towards ideals and beliefs about what children ought to be and about what is needed to become an adaptive adult (Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006), but it also reflects certain concepts of what already is, how parents define childhood in and of itself. As will be explained below, these ideas and perceptions may also impact what kind of values are being transmitted to children and youth. We will therefore cover this matter next.

Childhood

Although childhood as a concept is widely used and assumed to be rather unambiguous, it is actually a rather recent invention, which mainly evolved in the 20th century (Koops, 2003; Prout & James, 1997; Stainton Rogers, 2001). One of the most widely known (and critized) books on the changing nature of childhood and family life is Philippe Ariès' book *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), in which changes in family life and family relationships are well described and brought into relation with economic developments. But Ariès was not the first and certainly not the last to describe historical changes in the construction of childhood (see e.g. Burman, 1994; Hendrick, 1997; Peeters, 1986; Piper, 1999). Many researchers have also brought to our attention cultural differences in the concept of childhood (see e.g. Boyden, 1997; Burman, 1994; Woodhead, 1997). Parenting practices and parenting styles seem to be related not only to future-oriented beliefs and goals, but also to the way in which people define and perceive childhood itself.

In general, three different images of childhood exist: Children as innate "evil" beings, children as inherently good creatures, and children conceptualized as a *tabula rasa*. A conceptualization of children as innate evil beings (*Dionysian*) can be found, for example, in the theories of Freud, in which the Id needs to be tamed by the Ego and Super Ego (Grusec, 1997; Jenks, 2005). The second notion of childhood, in which a child is perceived as an inherently good creature (*Apollonian*; Grusec, 1997; Jenks, 2005; Oksenberg-Rorty, 1998) comes forward explicitly, for example, in Rousseau's theory of child development (Rousseau, 1989). In recent times, this notion of childhood can be found most clearly in what is internationally known as the Waldorf schools – schools based on the pedagogical ideas of Rudolf Steiner. Finally, a child as tabula rasa can be found in theories of John Locke, in which a child is depicted as a blank slate on which experience leaves its mark – which is not to say that children's innate and particular traits, tendencies, and temperaments should be disregarded. This tabula rasa idea of childhood is also found in social learning approaches such as those of Bandura or Patterson (Grusec, 1997; Yolton, 1998). In other words, the perception or image of childhood can both define parenting strategies and may explain theoretical underpinnings of youth care interventions: From a Dionysian perspective parenting and education is aimed at keeping children on the right track, and parents tend to offer strict moral guidance. Values like obedience and self-discipline will most likely play an important role in these parenting practices. Parenting from an Apollonian perspective, the focus is more specifically on encouragement, and children are guided and stimulated in their development (Baumrind, 1997; Jenks, 2005). Child rearing practices in this perspective will

most likely highlight values like stimulation and self-expression. Youth care interventions based on social learning theories may reflect the idea that children are blank slates and can be taught whatever is desired, whereas interventions based on Rousseauian theories will express the idea that children are inherently good and the focus will be on cultivating these good tendencies. However, changes in the perception of childhood can occur even within a child's lifetime: Adolescents, for example, are more often described and perceived as Dionysian, whereas younger children are most often depicted as Apollonian (White, 2008). In addition, it has become evident that newborns are invariably considered as Apollonian, but they are often perceived as more Dionysian when they are a year older (Murphy, 2007).

In Western European and North American societies, childhood is generally known as a time of innocence, and the general belief is that children should be protected against the dangers and the harsh realities of adult life (Stainton Rogers, 2001). Although this is a Western concept of childhood, it has been the foundation of international legislations such as the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (Burman, 1994). This western notion of childhood may conflict with other notions of childhood and child development, yet, as it is seen as a stable and unambiguous concept, these differences tend to be overlooked. For example, some communities in Equador (e.g. the Saraguro) consider working hard as one of the core elements of moral development. Children in the Saraguro community have all sorts of tasks within their households enabling them to show what they can do, that they are hard workers, and that they are moral beings. NGOs situated in this community perceive this practice as child labor, which should be tackled in order for these children to have good and healthy childhoods. Based on their own Western normative notion of childhood, their efforts to help these children actually interrupt and prevent what is considered adequate moral development of Saraguro children (Jenson, 2011). Comparably, a focus on the nuclear family is a typically Western concept of family life, and is therefore often unquestioned (Boyden, 1997).

The perception of childhood not only changes over time and differs between cultures, but is also influenced by societal and temporal developments. For example, when social tensions are growing in society, the "innate evilness" of children becomes more pronounced. Consequently, regulations and laws concerning children and youth become more repressive, and youth policies will emphasize values like national security or conformity (Burman, 2008; Carney, 1999). The "moral agenda" of the government and of social institutions is thus influenced by societal concepts of good and inappropriate behavior. Measures that are taken

to control inappropriate behavior will consequently differ, and different values will thus be expressed according to which measure is used (Goldson, 2001; King, 1999). The dynamic character of the nature of childhood has led Prout and James (1997) to argue that childhood should be defined as an "actively negotiated set of social relationships" (Prout & James, 1997). What is in the best interest of the child and what is defined as good parenting is not given "by nature," but is equally dependent upon cultural and historical factors, and on what kind of construction of childhood dominates a society at a given time (Ambert, 1994; Prout & James, 1997). However, the current western general notion is that the process of development is something natural and that abnormal development may occur when the circumstances are not right. This definition regards children primarily as vulnerable and defined by their (micro) environments. Social and political influences are seen as secondary influences. According to Wyn and White, the focus is first and foremost on the "pre-social self," meaning that the individual has a self that exists independent of social relations (Wyn & White, 1997). Since social scientific research on child development is dominated by North American and Western European research, and the construction of concepts like childhood or child development is basically a North American/Western European construction, the fluid, dynamic, and changing character of concepts like these, is often obscured (Ambert, 1994; Prout & James, 1997).

As the abovementioned research has shown, values play an important role in the child rearing practices of parents as well as in the educational system. The concept of development itself also seems to be value-laden. Culture, economic factors and societal developments can influence the kind of values that are transmitted. Related to this are cultural and temporal differences in the understanding of concepts like childhood and child development, which in turn may also influence the kind of values that will dominate parental and professional child rearing practices. Taking all this into account, it is surprising that the role of values has been largely disregarded in the professional field of youth care. This field is, after all, not only highly influential in child rearing practices of parents, but it also has a certain educational implication in that it "teaches" parents and children to become healthy and well-functioning adults. The aforementioned research has led us to hypothesize that the professional field of youth care is not only a purely factual and objective response to the behavior of children, but that values also play an important role.

In the beginning of this chapter we elaborated on the dominant role of effectiveness and evidence-based practice within the field of youth care. But this field is also defined by

other developments and changes, some of which already hint at the possibility that values and normativity are an inherent part of this field. In the following section, we therefore turn our attention to the professional field of youth care, with a specific focus on the youth care system in the Netherlands and on Dutch youth policy. This section will address in more detail the lack of debate about the normative aspects in this field and will relate it to broader social developments.

The professional field of youth care

The results of parenting, and consequently of parenting problems, do not only have an impact on the family members themselves, but also have consequences for society (De Winter, 2004). Moreover, it is exactly these consequences for society that have led to state interference in child rearing in the first place (King, 1999). On the other hand, society also bears a responsibility for the upbringing and socialization of children (De Winter, 2004). Policy measures directed at children and their families and the development of a professional youth care system are clear examples of how society aims to take up this responsibility.

The Dutch youth care system

The youth care system is generally based on the assumption that children need certain skills and competencies in order to become healthy, adaptive adults (Woodhead, 1997; Rosenthal & Roer-Strier, 2006). However, people generally share an understanding of what it means to be a healthy, adaptive adult, and while people often make claims about the importance of children learning certain skills and competencies, they less frequently discuss why it is important, or what would happen if children were not taught these things (Woodhead, 1997). Underlying developmental ideals within youth care interventions and within youth policy measures are hardly ever made explicit. The choice of language in the professional field of youth care strengthens the implicitness of these underlying ideals and values; as Woodhead has convincingly argued, the use of words like "needs" already indicates an apparent factual basis, which is lacking in words like "wants" or "should have." By focusing on the needs of a child, the ends that are being served can be left undiscussed (Woodhead, 1997). In this definition of needs, what is included and excluded is not made explicit. Consequently, interventions aiming at normalization do not question what this normalization entails (Moss, Dillon, & Statham, 2000). Thus, claims about children's needs convey a judgment on what is good for them, which is indicative of an implicit value judgment that is not at all self-evident (Foley, 2001; Moss, et al., 2000; Murphy, 2007; Woodhead, 1997).

These implicit value judgments are partly related to value orientations within society and within the youth care system itself. For example, comparable to individualization processes in Dutch society, the youth care system has also taken a more individualized approach. A problem is assessed as essentially that of the child or of the family, and social structures and influences are hardly taken into consideration (Moss, et al., 2000). Consequently, interventions are geared towards enhancing the strengths of individual children and/or families. The individualization of the youth care system manifests, for example, in textbook references to themes like "activation by self-regulation" (Matthijs & Vincken, 1997); such a phrase emphasizes the need to challenge clients to think of changes and to implement them by themselves. Clients are expected to oversee and prevent future problems themselves (Duyvendak et al., 2006; Tonkens, 2008). Although contextual and social factors are taken into consideration in the first diagnosis of the problem, the core assumption in treatment is that children and families themselves are fundamentally responsible for changes and improvements (Duijvendak, et al., 2006; Moss, et al., 2000; Tonkens, 2008).

The individualistic focus of the youth care system may add to the individualization of problems and problematic behavior, and has consequences for the way in which young people view the world and their own position in it (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Wyn & White, 2000). Cross-cultural research has shown, for example, that the message young people get from society is one that says they have to take care of themselves and that they cannot count on local or national institutions to assist them in forming their lives (Jonsson & Flanagan, 2000). Also, liberal themes such as "autonomy" and "freedom of choice" implicitly represent an individualistic perspective of "the good life" (Tonkens, 2006). For many young people, individualization means that they can make their own choices in how they want to live their lives, for example in choosing whether or not to go to college, or to get an education while working, or if, when and in what form they want to start a family. Another group of people, however, finds it very difficult to make these choices, and the flexibility of society makes them feel anxious rather than independent (Furlong, 2000; Wyn & White, 2000). In general, the individualization of society has led to a situation in which young people tend to find the causes for problems in themselves rather than in economical or political processes, a situation described by Furlong and Cartmel as an *epistemological fallacy* (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997). This fallacy holds that social structures such as socioeconomic backgrounds still do influence the opportunities people have and the experiences they encounter in their lives. Due to increasing individualization and decreasing collectivism, however, these structures and

influences tend to become more and more invisible. As a consequence, people experience society as being risky and unsafe, but in dealing with these feelings, they rely only upon themselves and tend to forget the mutual interdependency between people (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997).

Despite a general individualistic approach, a more paternalistic approach is taken towards families who are thought to be incapable of solving their own problems and families who are thought to be "at risk" (e.g. multi-problem families) (Fox-Harding, 1997). More importantly, youth in general is often considered a problematic phase full of risks, even though young people are also considered a resource for future society (Roger, 2008; Sharland, 2005). Risk in regard to youth is two-fold: youth can be at risk regarding their own development, but they can also be at risk for causing trouble to society or even for making other people feel anxious (Kelly, 2003; Wyn & White, 2000). The need for control is more evident for youth than for younger children: Youth's relation to control and power is more profound since they have to deal explicitly with social institutions like the educational system or the social justice system, but have relatively little say in these institutions. Rather, adults' decisions define which youth develop in a healthy manner towards adulthood and which are in need of interventions (Kelly, 2003: Wyn & White, 1997); young people's own experiences in relation to risk factors are not taken into account (Sharland, 2005). The discourse of youth as a problem has resulted in the establishment of many institutions for the monitoring and surveillance of young people, which makes it possible to define some children as being "at risk" and to take precautionary measures.

In recent times, the professional youth care has increasingly seemed to focus on early intervention and prevention. This seems to point to a more distant and relaxed attitude of the government towards the public. Also, it has become a common practice that the quality and effectiveness of services are being monitored through performance measurements. These performance measurements are, however, not merely a technical matter, but are also influenced by political and value-based choices (Monasso, 2008; Munro, 2007; Tilbury, 2004), for example, choices in how social problems are defined and how the term "good outcome" is defined (i.e. Parton, 2010). Thus, performance indicators do not only reflect pure facts, but also reflect certain beliefs and values which are often not discussed (Kelly, 2003; Tilbury, 2004). Nevertheless, many of these choices guide the decision-making process in this field and thereby have an impact on the experiences and treatment of clients (Tilbury, 2004).

Early intervention and prevention are welcomed within the field of professional youth care, as it implies that all children will be helped and that more severe problems are being prevented (Parton, 2008; 2010). Yet, comparable to the use of performance indicators, what is defined as a problem in need of prevention is not made explicit (Parton, 2010). Moreover, the use of databases—which have their own specific logic—in itself is often considered a new form of prevention. Technological developments including databases have made the gathering and exchange of data and information possible (Kelly, 2003; Monasso, 2008; Parton, 2010), but it can be questioned what kind of effect they have (Schinkel, 2009). Also, databases developed for specific policy fields (e.g. judicial or employment) can be combined and information can be exchanged between these fields. Thus, this makes it a system of control rather than a preventive system and has resulted in what Parton calls a "preventive-surveillance state" (Parton, 2008; Schinkel, 2009). A focus on prevention and early intervention is also based on the two assumptions that futures can be predicted and that state interference will always have positive effects (Fox-Harding, 1997; Parton, 2008). Control and the calculation of risk thus seem to be important but implicit themes in the institutionalized care for children and youth.

As previously mentioned, perspectives and opinions about what is considered to be "normal" or "abnormal" behavior can change over time, indicating a change in tolerance of the state towards "deviations" (Carney, 1999; Fox-Harding, 1997; Stainton Rogers, 2001). The more precise the definition of acceptable behavior becomes—as is the case with the increasing use of risk-inventories and increasing information exchange—the harsher judgments become about variations in childhoods and forms of family life that do not conform to these norms (Boyden, 1997). Within current Western societies, for example, playing is something that is limited to specific areas and times (Boyden, 1997). Being outside of parental control can be seen as morally polluting for children; children should be protected and raised by parents and schools. Being out of the house late in the evening is considered a risk factor in becoming delinquent (Loeber, 2009). Consequently, interventions often focus on encouraging parents to keep their children at home, especially during the evening. It can be questioned however, whether being outside is the actual key factor in the development of delinquent behavior. The development of delinquent behavior can also be due to the fact that there are "criminalizing factors" in the street. These factors, however, are not resolved by the expectation and norm that children "ought to be" inside during the evening. The focus of this type of intervention thus lies mainly on the role of socializing agents such as the family and the school. When socialization "fails," these agents play a crucial role (Prout & James, 1997).

Moreover, the following interventions may represent a middle class concept of what constitutes a good and healthy upbringing: Research shows that middle-class children tend to be placed in settings which are controlled by adults, and in which children need to conform to the rules of adults. Working-class parents tend to leave their children unsupervised because they perceive this as an opportunity for creativity, exploration and self-direction. However, these ideas do not match with middle-class ideals and notions of childhood (Weininger & Lareau, 2009) and will consequently be defined as "inadequate parenting behavior."

Youth policy

For youth policy, the "education" of youth may be an even more complex process, in which a vast range of actors and stakeholders—such as citizens, professionals, and the media—play a role. Choices that are made within the process of policy development are based on empirical evidence as well as on the values and beliefs of policy makers (Davies, et al., 2000; Rigby, Tarant & Neuman, 2007; Tilbury, 2004). Facts are a necessary ingredient for child and youth policies, but policies are equally influenced by the ideologies of the dominant political parties and their perspectives on society. Policy strategies on youth and families will reflect some of these concerns, but they tend to obscure this discussion by backing up their strategies with scientific results and research data rather than explicitly stating what they believe is important (Woodhead, 1997). The social and cultural climate of a society can have an effect on the notions citizens themselves have of children, youth, and the role of the state, and these claims have an impact on the political agenda and policy strategies (Boyden, 1997; Carney, 1999). Strategies and responses to juvenile behavior are thus "a result of a complex interaction of social, cultural and economic calculations and interests" rather than a response to the specific behavior of children and youth (Monk, 1999).

In general, the policy-making process is an interactive process. Policy making is not a one-to-one translation of political ideology and is more than mere formal decision making (Rigby, et al., 2007). The role of values in the policy-making process becomes more salient in morally-laden subjects such as the treatment of HIV/AIDS or drug-use and treatment. In such cases, choices that are made more clearly reflect the underlying values, for example valuing protection from stigmatization or valuing health benefits (Burris, 2008). Also, repressive measures that are taken towards the use of drugs are not always the most effective measures, but are used to convey the value-based intentions of the politicians (Maynard-Moody & Stull, 1987). However, as child rearing is par excellence considered to be a private matter of

parents, the need to found policy choices on objective and neutral arguments appears to be all the more imperative.

The agenda of governments is also dependent upon the role the government itself envisions in its relationship to families and children. In this regard, Fox-Harding (1997) has come to a division of four distinctively different state-family relationships: First, the laissez-faire perspective, which considers parenting a role for parents only and does not acknowledge the role of the state. Second, on the other hand, the paternalism perspective allows for much governmental interference in family life and for protection of children and families. Third, the rights of the child, not only in care but also in autonomy and free choice, are best represented by the child's rights-perspective. This perspective grants children a major role in developing their own upbringing. Lastly, the pro-birth family perspective differs from the other three perspectives in that it takes into consideration the social context of families and its influence on child rearing possibilities; in this perspective, the state should put every effort into helping and assisting families (Fox Harding, 1997). An important difference between the four perspectives is the concern with social and political influences, such as class and power, in the development of policies. The pro-birth perspective is in this light most aware of issues like ethnicity and class. The child protectionist perspective, by contrast, is not totally unaware of these social factors, but focuses instead on the best care for the child regardless of the antecedents (Fox Harding, 1997).

These perspectives can co-exist within a society, although one will be dominant, which will always be debated (Fox Harding, 1997). "Scandals," such as the Dutch case of Savannah or the British case of Victoria Climbié (House of Commons Health Committee, 2003'; Inspectie Jeugdzorg, 2005), may cause a change in mindset, for example, leading to a stronger emphasis on the child protectionist perspective (Fox Harding, 1997). None of these perspectives, however, is immune to human errors and misconceptions. False positives (where the assumption that a child is safe turns out to be wrong) are more likely in a pro-birth family perspective with an emphasis on the interests of the parent, and concerns for caring about and understanding the situation of the parents. False negatives, on the other hand, (in which case children are taken away from their parents where it turns out to be unnecessary) are more likely to occur with a child protectionist model that emphasizes the interests of the child and is focused on risk assessments and (early) intervention (Baartman, 2009; Fox-Harding, 1997). In general, both false positive and false negatives will incite debates and inquiries (Baartman, 2009; Munro, 1999).

Another way of defining the nature of state-family relationships is through a natalism-familialism dichotomy, in which familialism refers to an approach that considers the family to be one entity, comparable to an institute, and in which the family is the main goal of family policies. Natalism, on the other hand, considers every member of the family an individual, and the family is often used as a means to other ends such as labor participation of women (Mätzke & Ostner, 2010). According to these authors, European countries are becoming more and more natalist in their approach towards families (Mätzke & Ostner, 2010). Youth policy in such cases is instrumental to other goals such as economic interests. This would mean that even more people have a stake in youth and family policy measures, which would imply that youth and family policy measures may be more likely to be subdued in favor of advancing other interests.

To summarize, both in the scientific field and in the professional field, societal changes and developments have resulted in a situation, in which the focus of youth care is mainly on objective, measurable matters such as effectiveness, accountability, and predictability. Youth care interventions cannot be guided by explicit ideas on what ought to be, but the liberal and multicultural society demands to take a relativistic position with regards to the value orientations of the public. As a consequence, discussions tend to revolve around facts; normative or moral conflicts are left undiscussed or are put aside by being labeled as "pluralism" (MacIntyre, 2007; Polanowski, 2002). It can be questioned, however, whether the professional field of youth care is indeed a neutral, technical response to the behavior of children and parents. Based on research on cross-cultural and historical differences in parenting and on research conducted on perceptions of childhood, values appear to play an important role in the child rearing practices of parents. Moreover, educational research has also shown the influence of implicit values on the educational curriculum. Taking this research into account, it can be hypothesized that values play an equally important role in the professional field of youth care and that this field may be inherently normative. Within youth care and youth policy this possible role of values has largely been neglected. Instead, societal changes and processes have resulted in what is claimed to be a value-neutral youth care system. As a result, the effectiveness of youth care interventions and the so-called evidence-based practice now seem to dominate the field. But this does not necessarily mean that values have stopped playing a role in various aspects of youth care. Research has, for example, made evident that neutral-objective techniques such as risks assessments and the use of databases are not as objective as they are presented. More

importantly, values and perspectives on childhood are expressed in choices that are made, which may have an impact on the lives of children and their parents (Moss, et al., 2000).

It is therefore important to make these implicit values explicit. Also, besides finding out whether values do indeed play a role in the professional care of children and youth, we also do not know what kind of values may be expressed. It is therefore important that this investigation proceeds from a relatively "objective" viewpoint; that is, a broad range of values need to be taken into consideration, and the investigation should not focus on a specific value orientation (e.g. autonomy or conformity). In the following chapter, we will describe the methodology of our research project and the framework of values we use to make such an objective investigation possible.

3. Methodology - A Framework of Universal Values[*]

In this chapter, we will discuss in more detail the design of the research project and our specific framework and method for the analysis of values. As we have described in the previous chapter, values appear to be inherently tied to the concept of development and are thereby an inherent part of child rearing. Considering the role of values in the child rearing practices of parents and in the educational system (e.g. Baumrind, 1997; Devereux, et al., 1969; Harwood, et al., 2000; Jackson, 1983), our hypothesis is that the professional field of child and youth care, despite its claim for objectivity and neutrality, is also inherently value-laden. This, however, is a rather unexplored field of research and thus a reliable research method is not readily available. In this chapter we will therefore describe in detail the methodology of our research project and the framework of values we use in this investigation.

Within the social sciences, the subject of values is well-researched, and the topic is addressed in different strands of research, such as the three below. Values can, for example, be studied from a cross-cultural perspective. The focus then lies mainly on describing different cultures alongside different value dimensions. This strand of research is most commonly associated with researchers like Geert Hofstede, Cigdem Kagitcibasi or Harry Triandis (Hofstede, 1980; Kagitcibasi, 1999; Triandis, 1994). Working with value dimensions sits well with cross-cultural comparison. Our research, however, focuses on the transmission of values between individuals within a specific pedagogical field, and would benefit from an analysis with individual values rather than broad-scaled value dimensions. Dimensions tend to be seen as contrasting domains, and variations between individuals and within cultures tend to be neglected (Schwartz, 1990). A second strand of research concentrates on studying the values of parents with regard to the upbringing of their children. This kind of research takes a micro-perspective in studying values; values are then usually abstracted from interviews with parents and the focus is usually on a specific aspect of parenting (e.g. Harkness, Super & Van Tijen, 2000; Suizzo, 2007). Values can also be analyzed through a grounded research approach, in which the continuous coding and structuring of themes in

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[*]   An adapted version of this chapter is accepted for publication in *Methodology - European Journal for Research Methods for the Behavioral and Social Sciences*.

documents may clarify which values are important (Boeije, 2010; Corbin & Strauss, 1990). For the purposes of our investigation, neither of these methodological approaches is useful. In this research project, interventions themselves are the research subject and the not the people executing them. We therefore need a method that offers opportunities for the content analysis of documents and which also allows for investigating values without taking a specific theoretical orientation beforehand. Furthermore, we prefer a detailed analysis of values, rather than working with broad-scaled value dimensions.

A model that offers a solution to these requirements is offered by Schwartz in his theory on the universals in content and structure of values (Schwartz 1992; 1994). This theory and corresponding model offer possibilities to analyze values on a micro level (values itself) but also on a macro level by means of value domains and value hierarchies, as will be discussed later in this chapter (Schwartz, 1992). The list of values Schwartz has developed, and which together make up his value survey, offers good operationalizations of values and thereby offers an interesting possibility as a framework for content analysis. As such, it offers opportunities to take interventions themselves as the research subject, instead of the people executing the interventions. Third and last of all, the 56 universal values that make up Schwartz's theory and model represent a vast variety of values. This makes it possible to analyze documents without having to take a specific orientation beforehand.

Schwartz's theory on the content and structure of values

Schwartz (1992) identifies values as the criteria people use to evaluate people and events (Schwartz, 1974; 1992). He argues that the content of a value is the kind of motivational concern it expresses (Schwartz, 1994). The content of the universal structure of values is based on three universal requirements of human existence that all individuals and societies must meet. It is assumed that the drive behind values is motivated by three needs: (a) needs of the individual as a biological organism, (b) needs for coordinated interaction, and (c) needs for the survival and welfare of groups (Schwartz, 1992). From these three needs follows a definition of values as "(1) concepts or beliefs that (2) pertain to desirable end states or behaviors, that (3) transcend specific situations and (4) guide selection or evaluation of behavior and events and (5) are ordered by relative importance" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 3-4). Alternatively, values can more succinctly be defined as "desirable goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in human lives" (Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995, p. 93).

Schwartz and Bilskey hypothesized that a universal value structure could be constructed around several motivational domains or value types (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz &

Bilsky, 1987). In order to test this theory, Schwartz collected a selection of values from the Rokeach Value Survey (21 out of Rokeach's 36 values), and obtained additional values from instruments of other cultures, for instance, the Chinese Cultural Connection, Hofstede's theory, texts on comparative religion, and he consulted with Muslim and Druze scholars (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987). Although earlier studies were based on the assumption that there would be seven motivational domains, the research gave evidence of there being 10:[2] Universalism, Benevolence, Tradition, Conformity, Security, Power, Achievement, Hedonism, Stimulation, and Self-Direction (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987, 1990).

For his investigation, Schwartz developed the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS). In this survey a total of 56 values were selected and people were asked to rate them in order of importance to their lives, with a score of 7 points attributed to the highest level of "supreme importance" and a score of -1 point attributed to the lowest, being "opposed to my values" (Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Bilsky, 1987; 1990). Originally, samples were drawn from 20 countries, but later studies increased the number of countries (e.g. Schwartz, 1992; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995). Results of these studies confirmed relationships between the different values, and demonstrated the existence of 10 motivational domains.[3] An overview of the motivational domains, their meanings, and examples of values of each domain is given in Table 3.1.

As opposed to the Rokeach Value Survey, which asks respondents to rank values, Schwartz and his colleagues preferred rating the values themselves because the large number of values would make ranking a very complex task for respondents. Rating would also permit measuring "negative values," values that people tend to avoid.

Schwartz's model is based on the assumption that to a person, some values are equally important, some values never come into conflict with each other, and some values are just never compared (Braithwaite & Law, 1985). Consequently, the motivational domains can be described as a motivational continuum; as one moves from one domain to the one adjacent to it, there is a gradual difference in meaning (Fontaine, Poortinga, Delbeke, & Schwartz,

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[2]   It would reach beyond the scope of this research to elaborate on this matter in detail. The interested reader is referred to Schwartz and Bilsky (1987), Schwartz (1992), and Schwartz (1994).

[3]   In more recent articles, Schwartz refers to these motivational domains as "basic values." For the intelligibility of this research, however, the phrase "motivational domains" will be used so as to prevent any confusion between values and basic values.

2008; Schwartz, 1992; 1994). For example, Benevolence shares with Universalism a concern for the welfare of others. Benevolence values however focus on the welfare of those close around you; Universalism aims for the enhancement of welfare for all people. Likewise, Conformity and Tradition share an "in-group" focus with Benevolence. They differ in that values of the domains Conformity and Tradition are more concerned with the stability of society, whereas Benevolence values emphasize the welfare of individuals.

Table 3.1: *Overview of domains and values of Schwartz's theory on content and structure of values*

Domain	Meaning and examples of values
Universalism	Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature; *equality, social justice, broad-minded*
Benevolence	Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact; *helpful, responsible, loyal*
Tradition	Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide; *respect for tradition, accepting portion in life*
Conformity	Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms; o*bedient, self-discipline, politeness*
Security	Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self; *healthy, sense of belonging, social order*
Power	Social status and prestige, control or dominance over people and resources; *authority, social power, social recognition*
Achievement	Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards; *intelligent, successful, capable*
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself; *enjoying life, pleasure*
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life; *daring, exciting life*
Self-Direction	Independent thought and action, choosing own goals; *independent, self-respect, freedom*

Due to the character of these domains, some of them are compatible whereas others conflict with each other: Tradition and Conformity both stress self-restraint and submission and can therefore be compatible. Likewise, Hedonism and Stimulation both share a desire for affectively pleasant arousal, and those values will also be compatible. Conflict, however, will occur in values of the domains of Self-Direction and Conformity, since the emphasis on

independent thought will conflict with the emphasis on submission (Schwartz, 1992). Schwartz's theory takes this dynamic between values into consideration and states that conflict may arise along two dimensions: a protectionist/growth dimension and a person-/social-focused dimension (Fontaine, et al., 2008). These two dimensions lead to four quadrants, or higher-order value types:

- Openness to Change: emphasizing independent thought and the favoring of change. (Stimulation and Self-Direction)

- Conservation: reflecting self-restriction, stability and the preservation of tradition. (Conformity, Tradition, and Security)

- Self-Transcendence: reflecting values as acceptance of others as equals and concern to their welfare. (Benevolence and Universalism)

- Self-Enhancement: emphasizing one's own relative success and dominance over others. (Achievement and Power) (Schwartz, 1992).

The Hedonism domain can be placed in both the Self-Enhancement and Openness-to-Change quadrant (Schwartz, 1992; 1994; Devos, Spini & Schwartz, 2002). The circular structure of values is described in Figure 3.1 below. Included are the four quadrants and two dimensions. The theory thus offers the possibility for a detailed analysis of values while it at the same time allows for a translation to more abstract or general levels.

Figure 3.1: *Circumplex of the circular, bidimensional value structure*
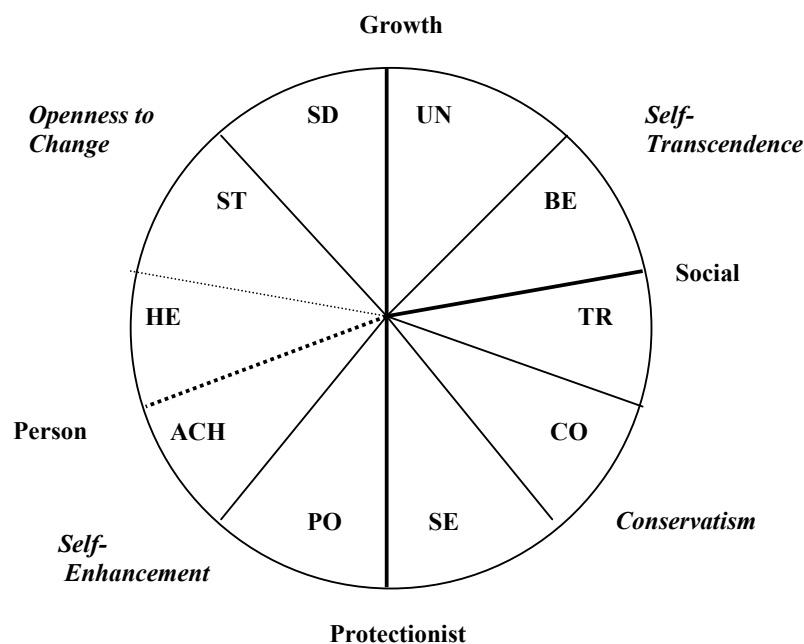
Extensive research has been conducted on the correlation between values, value structures, and social- and developmental issues. For example, a study by Knafo and Schwartz (2004) on the relation between parent-child value congruence and identity formation showed no significant evidence of a relation between these two processes, though some meaningful differences were found between perception and acceptance of parental values and processes of identity formation (Knafo & Schwartz, 2004). Sagiv and Schwartz (2000) on the other hand, in researching the relation between values and well-being, showed that values have some influence in well-being: Positive correlations were found between well-being and values from the domains Achievement, Self-Direction, and Stimulation; negative correlations were found with values from the Tradition domain. Findings also indicate that subjective well-being is dependent on the congruence of personal values with values in the social environment (Sagiv & Schwartz, 2000). Findings of a study into the relationship between values and personality suggest that both personality and value orientations may be guided by similar motivational directives, such as security, conformity or hedonism (Bilsky & Schwartz, 1994). Also, Devos, Spini and Schwartz (2002) found that religious affiliation was associated with values from the Conformity and Tradition domains. Right-wing political orientation was associated with Power and Security values, whereas left-wing political orientation correlated with Universalism and Self-Direction values. As trust in institutions (educational, judicial, media etc.) is linked to values of the Conservatism quadrant, the researchers conclude that both Catholics and Protestants have more trust in institutions than non-religious people. Comparably, people with a right-wing political orientation have more trust in institutions than people with a left-wing political orientation (Devos, et al., 2002). Building on modernization theory, Schwartz and Sagie (2000) found that socioeconomical development is positively related to values of the domains of Self-Direction, Stimulation, Benevolence, and Hedonism. Likewise, the values of those same four domains were found to have a greater emphasis in political systems that were more democratic, while less importance was placed on values of the domains of Power and Conformity (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000).

Schwartz's theory and value survey is used by other researchers as well; a few of whose studies will be discussed here: A study to determine the influence of parents, peers, schools, and teachers on students' values made use of the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS). The study showed that variables such as the socioeconomical position of parents and religious background influenced the students' values to a larger degree than values of teachers and schools (Astill, Feather, & Keeves, 2002). Tal and Yinon (2002) used the SVS to measure

relationships between values, attitudes, and behavior of teachers. Their findings show among others that when measured across the four quadrants, values explain behavior in daily-life situations, whereas attitudes explain behavior in a school setting (Tal & Yinon,, 2002). The Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), an adaptation of the SVS, was used to assess relationships between values and workplace commitment, the latter of which was found to be strongly linked to Benevolence values (Cohen, 2009). The PVQ is also used to assess the value orientations of young children (Bubeck & Bilsky, 2004). An adapted version of the PVQ has been used with this same aim, taking into account the developmental stages of young children (Döring, Blauensteiner, Aryus, Drögekamp, & Bilsky, 2010). Another study showed, by using SVS, that gender differences exist for some value domains (Power, Tradition, Universalism and Achievement) and that gender-based differences vary across generations (Higgins, Lyons, & Duxbury, 2005). A study of the inter-value structure in memory, using the theory and values of Schwartz, revealed a coherent, motivationally-driven pattern of value relations in people's reactions to values when measured in reaction time (Pakizeh, Gebauer, & Maio, 2007). Schwartz's theory has also been the foundation in sociological research on social class, socialization, and values (Hitlin, 2006) and the Schwartz Value Survey has been used to develop the *Goals and Values in Adulthood Questionnaire* (Suizzo, 2007). Currently, the theory and survey are used in the European Social Survey – an ongoing investigation into the values of European Union citizens (www.europeansocialsurvey.org).

Notwithstanding the fruitfulness of Schwartz's theory and research, some doubts have been raised concerning the methods for validating this theory. The Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) was thought to be problematic for some cultures due to its high level of abstract thought and the context-free rating of values. It was therefore replaced by the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), which increased the support for the value theory, although it still doesn't yield a 100% fit (Schwartz, Melech, Lehman, Burgess, Harris, & Owens, 2001).

The theory was originally developed using exploratory analyses such as multidimensional scaling (MDS) and similarity structure analysis (SSA). In an effort to confirm the findings, data were analyzed using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), which largely yielded similar results (Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). Perrinjaquet and colleagues (2007) tested the quasicircumplex structure using confirmatory analysis approaches and tested the psychometric properties of the SVS. None of the models they used gave evidence of the quasicircumplex structure. Measures of the SVS showed low levels of reliability and

weak construct- and discriminant validity (Perringjaquet, Furrer, Usunier, Cestre, & Valette-Florence, 2007). However, research has shown that a circumplex structure can be distorted as a result of an unbalanced number of items used to represent the several sections on a circle (Perrinjaquet et al., 2007). Both Schwartz and Boehnke (2004), as well as Perrinjacquet and colleagues (2007) conclude that the number of values per value domain, ranging from two values for Hedonism to nine for Universalism, may have influenced the results (Perrinjaquet, et al., 2007; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004). The theoretical soundness of the theory itself is not necessarily questioned by the authors (Perrinjaquet, et al., 2007). Spini (2003) also concluded that the number of values for each domain might be problematic, yet his research confirmed Schwartz's theory (Spini, 2003). Fontaine and colleagues conclude that the theorized value structure adequately describes the average structure of the value domains. They find that the observed differences do not necessarily have to be ascribed to sampling fluctuations, and hypothesize that the deviations may point to genuine cultural- and social-group differences (e.g. in the understanding of values) (Fontaine, et al., 2008).

Seligman and Katz object to the dominant approach in value theories in general; they claim that the structure might be more dynamic and much more dependent on the context than is generally acknowledged, and that there might be differences between actual and ideal behavior. However, considering values as motivationally-driven—as is the case in Schwartz's theory—suits their own multiple-value-system approach (Seligman & Katz, 1996). We agree that the discrepancy between actual and ideal behavior might be problematic when using the Schwartz Value Survey. We also believe that by using Schwartz's framework as a code system for qualitative analyses, we can tackle this problem by focusing strictly on desired, or ideal, behavior. Youth care interventions and policies by nature focus on ideal behavior, as their aim is to change "wrong" behavior into what is considered to be appropriate behavior. Value transmission in youth care interventions may be an important element in altering the "wrong" value orientation of the young people involved. Concerns over the understanding of values in the analysis are tackled by defining the values more specifically (see Appendix 1a) and by establishing an adequate interrater agreement. Also, in the interpretation of the results, the value hierarchies that arise from the analyses give clear indications on the possible variance in meaning between different values, as is indicated by Fontaine and colleagues (Fontaine, et al., 2000). We will return to this point in more detail in the section on reliability.

Even though Schwartz's theory is generally supported and has been used in much research on values, some methodological issues have been addressed of which the results are inconclusive. Although Schwartz's theory on the content and structure of values is neither flawless nor exhaustive, it has been inspiring for many researchers studying values. We believe that Schwartz's theory also offers an adequate framework for our research of value orientations within the Dutch youth care system. However, in order for us to use this framework as a code system for qualitative analyses, some revisions had to be made, which will be discussed below.

Using Schwartz's theory for content analysis

Rokeach claimed that values can be transmitted by important institutions of a society or culture: Religious values are transmitted by religious institutions, families are seen as institutions that transmit values during child rearing, and educational, political, and legal institutions equally aspire to transmit their values (Rokeach, 1973). He postulated five possible ways in which values can be assessed at a macro- rather than micro level. The first two methods he proposed, content analysis in documents and assessing the values espoused by gatekeepers, are especially relevant for our investigation. The other methods are: Assessing the values of people aspiring membership, assessing gatekeepers' perception of values in society or organization, and assessing clients' perception of values in institutions or organizations (Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). Rokeach and colleagues conducted one content analysis of political writings using the Rokeach Value list (Rokeach, Homant, & Penner, 1970), in which they concluded that it is possible to deduct values from content analysis, and that extracting values from writing can proceed objectively (Rokeach, 1973).

The Schwartz value structure has been repeatedly investigated by the use of either the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS) or the Portrait Value Questionnaire (PVQ), but hardly ever as a means for content analysis. In a recent study, Bardi and colleagues successfully developed and validated a value lexicon, based on Schwartz's theory, in order to retrieve values from archival data sources (Bardi, Calogero, & Mullen, 2008). Although this is an inspiring example of how values can be deducted from documents, this value lexicon does not meet our needs as it is based on Schwartz's 10 value domains, as opposed to the 56-individual-values list. It thereby lacks the broad-scaled approach to values which we desire for our research project. Also, the value lexicon of Bardi and colleagues focuses specifically on the explicit use of certain words. Our research project tries to incorporate more implicit value references. A strict focus on explicit words therefore does not suffice. Another study suggests

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using Schwartz's theory and model for the analysis of narratives in television programs; an adapted version of the SVS is used that subjects who watch the show have to answer (Pascual & Samaniego, 2007). However, in this approach, people's perception of values in television programs are analyzed, which does not necessarily correspond to the values of the program itself.

Since no study could be found using the individual values of Schwartz's theory as a framework for the content analysis of documents—as opposed to a survey method as it is most commonly used—interrater agreement had to be established (Fleiss, 1981; Tinsley & Weiss, 1975). Before turning to a full description of our procedure and analysis, we will therefore first describe the way in which interrater reliability was established. Also, revisions we needed to make in order to reliably use the framework of values will be discussed.

Reliability

Interrater reliability had to be established in order to use Schwartz's framework as a reliable means for content analysis. Rokeach in his content analysis of political writings did not compute an interrater agreement index (Rokeach et al., 1970), and Schwartz himself never used his theory for content analysis. Even though it would add to the reliability of our investigation if previous research had already established an interrater agreement index, we still find it important to establish the reliability of the methodology of this specific research project (Tinsley & Weiss, 1975).

In order to determine the interrater agreement, the main researcher of this investigation and an objective researcher (not belonging to the research group) both analyzed, independently of each other, four documents that differed both in subject and in form: a policy report, a scientific article, a transcribed interview, and a transcribed observation, which were representative of the majority of the documents which need to be analyzed in this research project. Before details concerning the analysis were discussed, the second researcher was introduced to Schwartz's theory. The researchers also discussed the values and their definitions as offered by Schwartz to ensure that the meaning of the values was mutually understood. When necessary, definitions were elaborated upon to ensure their clarity (see Appendix 1a) and to enable the researchers to indentify value-based expressions in texts. Also, both researchers first analyzed some similar texts to test whether they had the same understanding about value-based expressions therein, and about the labeling of these text fragments. The researchers had to (a) decide on what text fragments expressed a value, and

(b) with which value the fragment could be labeled. Details on the exact procedure and analysis are described further on, in this chapter's procedure section.

SPSS 16.0 was used to compute Cohen's kappa (k). General directives for the interpretation of kappa have been established: A k-value below 0.40 should be interpreted as *poor agreement*, k-values between 0.41 and 0.75 represent *fair-* (0.41 to 0.60) to *good-* (0.61 to 0.75) *agreement beyond chance. Excellent agreement* is represented by a k-value of 0.75 or higher (Fleiss, 1981; Robson, 2002). Similar directives have been indicated by Landis and Koch (1977).

In the first interrater analysis, only text fragments which were labeled by both researchers were used for the agreement analysis. This analysis resulted in fair agreement with k = 0.537 when measured over domains, and k = 0.514 when measured over 56 values. An in-depth investigation of these results showed that three values in particular caused a lot of variation: *capable*, *intelligent*, and *responsible*. After having discussed the results, it was concluded that the interrater agreement could not reliably be measured due to the lack of power in this first analysis. A second analysis was necessary in which the amount of text fragments was increased and the number of values narrowed down in order to minimize the standard error and to have a representative sample of text fragments (Sim & Wright, 2005; Van Der Heijden, 2010). A description of the reduction of values to 39 values will be given in the following paragraph. Four documents were added to the analysis: two scientific articles, an observational report, and a policy report. The same two researchers conducted the second analysis. The meaning of the three values *capable*, *intelligent*, and *responsible* was again discussed, since these values were the hardest to identify in text fragments. This second interrater analysis also included text fragments that were labeled by one researcher only and text fragments that were not labeled by either researcher. The first four documents were analyzed again on the three "weak" values specifically.

The results showed only minor differences in the interrater agreement: with k ranging from 0.530 to 0.554. Cohen's kappa was also computed for the individual domains, which showed a major increase with kappa now ranging between 0.424 and 1. The standard error decreased (see Table 3.2). The analysis also showed an increase in interrater agreement in documents analyzed between the first and second phases, which indicates improved agreement between the two researchers on both the selection of text fragments and on the labeling of the text fragments with values; k increased to 0.570 and to 0.608 when measured over the latter four documents only. Moreover, one article in the documents, which was added in the second phase, turned out to be especially problematic: The main subject of this

document is a case example of how a youth care intervention can work in practice. As the main researcher already conducted observations of this intervention, her interpretation of this article was more detailed compared to the reading of the other researcher. The *k*-value increased to good agreement, when this article was removed from the four documents for the analysis (see Table 3.2). It should be noted, though, that this removal also resulted in an increase of the standard error.

Taking into account the large number of categories (39) and the sometimes-latent content of our analysis, the agreement reached is sufficient to proceed with the analysis (Holsti, 1969; Sim & Wright, 2005; Strijbos, Martens, Prins, & Jochems, 2006). Also, low kappa-values do not necessarily mean low agreement (Feinstein & Cicchetti, 1990; Tinsley & Weiss, 1975).

Table 3.2: *Cohen's kappa over values and domains in different analyses*

	Text fragments (n)	*k* over values	Std. error	*k* over domains	Std. Error
1st analysis	160	0.514	0.042	0.537	0.047
2nd analysis	310	0.532	0.03	0.554	0.034
Added documents only	140	0.570	0.045	0.608	0.049
Without outlier	131	0.591	0.045	0.631	0.05
Values yes/no	1034	0.530	0.027		

For the interrater analysis, documents were taken from three of the five case studies that constitute this research project. The value hierarchy of these three different cases differed only slightly between the two researchers; both researchers generally agreed on which of the values and domains were most dominant in each separate case. Agreement on the value hierarchy per case study was either 70% or 100%.

To compute the agreement in value hierarchy, domains were ranked in order of importance. Comparable to Schwartz's ranking from -1 to 7, we computed our ranking from 1 (*not important*) to 4 (*very important*). The calculated percentages were interpreted based on the distribution mentioned below. A more detailed overview of the agreement in value hierarchy can be found in Appendix 2.

Rank	Label	% of text fragments
4	very important	25% and above of text fragments
3	important	15% to 24.9% of text fragments
2	slightly important	10% to 14.9% of text fragments
1	not important	9.9% and below of text fragments

As became evident from the interrater analysis, the number of values in Schwartz's framework (56) was too large to reliably differentiate between the values. Adaptations had to be made in order to use this framework as a reliable method for content analysis. The choices we made in narrowing down the number of values are described below.

Revising Schwartz's value list

The interrater analysis made clear that a framework of 56 values is too exhaustive to make a reliable differentiation possible. Also, several of the original 56 values were not expressed at all in the analyses that were conducted. For example, values like *world of beauty* or *unity with nature* are not expressed in (Western European) youth care interventions or youth policy. Researchers who investigated Schwartz's theory concluded that the unequal distribution of values over the 10 domains might be problematic in regard to the validity of the theory (Perrinjacquet, et al., 2007; Schwartz & Boehnke, 2004; Spini, 2003). In revising the framework, an effort was therefore made to distribute the values more equally over the 10 domains.

A total of 14 values were removed from the framework (see Appendix 1b). Not all of the values which were not expressed in the first analyses were removed, as some were thought to still be influential in future documents. Of the 42 values that remained, six values were combined into three pairs of values, because a clear distinction in meaning could not be made: *choosing own goals/freedom*, *loyal/true friendship*, and *humble/moderate*. The framework we use in our investigation thus consists of 39 values. All of the 10 motivational domains were retained and none of the values were placed in another domain. The domains now represent 2 (Hedonism) to 5 values (Achievement, Benevolence, Security, Universalism) instead of the original range of 2 (Hedonism) to 9 values (Universalism). No new values were added to the framework. A complete overview of the value framework, including definitions and removed values, can be found in Appendix 1a.

Instrumental and terminal values

In an earlier cross-cultural study conducted by Rokeach, a division was made between instrumental and terminal values (Rokeach, 1973). Instrumental values are described as modes of behavior and often referred to in adjective-form (e.g. obedient). Terminal values are desired end states and are phrased as nouns (e.g. obedience). Building on Rokeach's theory, the empirical studies conducted by Schwartz and colleagues did not find any evidence for this division (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). Rokeach already stated that all terminal values can be treated as instrumental values (Rokeach, 1973), and Schwartz added that all instrumental values can be conceptualized as terminal values (Schwartz, 1994). Nevertheless, in the analysis of values in youth care interventions and youth policy, such a division can be helpful: Both policies and interventions aim for certain desirable behavior (thereby aiming for certain desirable end states). In describing policies and intervention, however, not only the end states are referred to, but it is also explicitly stated how, or by which means, these end states should be reached. These means reflect instrumental values. A distinction between instrumental and terminal values thus exists in this particular professional field. In contrast to Rokeach's and Schwartz's assumption that values are either inherently instrumental or inherently terminal, we assume that it cannot be postulated beforehand which values will be instrumental or which will be terminal. The results of each separate case study will indicate which values reflect end states and which values represent instrumental values. For example, in a given intervention, the value *obedient* may be emphasized in desiring the value *responsible* as an end state for child development. Yet, this same value (*responsible*) can be sanctioned in another intervention as an instrumental value for the terminal value *social order*.

Based on the results of the interrater agreement analysis and with the adaptations that were made, we concluded that the agreement between researchers was good and that the revised framework of Schwartz can be reliably used as a method for analyzing values in documents. In what follows, we will describe in detail the procedures of our investigation.

Procedure

Design

Our research project is a multiple-case study design, with a total of five different case studies (Yin, 2003). Four different interventions are selected, with each intervention representing one specific case study. An investigation into Dutch youth policy constitutes a fifth case study.

The results of all these cases will be addressed together in the final chapter of this dissertation.

The exploratory nature of this investigation asks for a qualitative research method; it cannot be postulated beforehand if and which values can be found in interventions and policies. Moreover, the focus on implicit values makes it impossible to use a purely quantitative method of content analysis, such as counting specific words (Holsti, 1969). Each case study consists of document analyses and interviews with key informants. Observations are added to case studies investigating youth care interventions. As people do not always do what they claim to do, observations will give additional information on how values may differ between the theory and the execution of the intervention (De Regt & Brinkgreve, 2000; Yin, 2003).

The case studies each start with a description of the intervention, which includes the theoretical background of the intervention, and choices that were made in implementing it (Robson, 2002; Yin, 2003). For the description of the theoretical background, the same sources are used that are referred to in each intervention itself. Other sources only come into play when needed to further explicate a specific element of the intervention (e.g. more details on theories of moral development or on behavioral approaches for treatment). Such an elaborate in-depth study is not possible for the case study of Dutch youth policy, but the social and political context in which the policies were formed is described and is taken into consideration (Miller, 1997).

As with any other methodological analysis, the requirements of objectivity, re-testability, and validity also hold for qualitative analysis (Shapiro & Markoff, 1997). Validation of qualitative analyses can be conducted in a variety of ways, of which the two most common ways are triangulation and member validation. Neither method fully validates the data, but both add to its validation and both are used in this research project (Bloor, 1997; Boeije, 2010). By using three different forms of data collection, our method of research can be defined as data triangulation (Robson, 2002). Using data triangulation can work positively with regard to the validity of our results; however, it may also result in discrepancies between the different data sources (Bloor, 1997; Robson, 2002). These differences can be a result of the use of different sources, but it can also indicate differences in circumstances, and may shed new light on the results (Bloor, 1997). In this investigation, contradicting results might indicate differences in value orientations and should be further explored (Fontaine, et al., 2008), Therefore, specific attention needs to be paid to the results of the different data sources, and possible differences need to be explained.

Member validation means that the results of the analysis are brought back to the community or social group at whom the results are directed (Bloor, 1997; Boeije, 2010). In this study, however, it means that interviews and observations are also used to verify the preliminary findings of the document analyses that were conducted at an earlier stage. Also, interviews are informative but may also cause the interviewees to feel embarrassment, discomfort, or they may feel that they are placed in a compromised position, reconciling their own feelings with their loyalty to their organization. In order to gather reliable data from interviews, the method is preferably combined with other methods of research, such as observations. Also, as documents can be considered "de-contextualized texts," observations can add to the contextualization of the information gathered from documents (Miller, 1997).

Sampling

Since this research project partly follows from the critical approach towards the technical evidence-based focus in the professional field of youth care, we decided to concentrate our case studies on interventions labeled "effective" or "theoretically effective" by the Netherlands Youth Institute (*Nederlands Jeugdinstituut* [NJi]) and chose them from the NJi's database of effective interventions. Limits to the generalizability of our findings are acknowledged, but an effort was made to meet objections to claims that expressed values will only result from a specific theory or client population (e.g. behaviorist approach or juvenile delinquents, respectively). The choice was therefore made to select interventions that would differ in the populations and the problem behavior they target and/or in the theoretical basis of the intervention.

Of each intervention, only articles and books strictly discussing the intervention or key elements of the intervention were included in the analysis. As many articles are analyzed as are available and as are needed to reach the saturation point (Boeije, 2010). For the youth policy case study, documents were selected from a specific governmental period (2007-2010). The policy reports were selected based on the core themes and strategies of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family and includes policies focusing on the family, on child abuse, on youth culture, and on juvenile delinquency. Laws or policies that are still pending were not included, as they may change or be cancelled (Miller, 1997). Unlike youth care interventions, which usually focus on either parents or children, or on the family as a system, policies set out directions for a vast range of actors; besides parents and children, policies can also be aimed at youth care organizations, county officials, scientists, schools, the health care system, et cetera. In analyzing values in these reports, attention therefore also has to be paid

to the specific actors to which text fragments refer. In interpreting the results, the specific social context in which policy measures are developed needs to be taken into account (Miller, 1997).

For each case study, interviews were conducted after document analysis. The interviews were semi-structured. Topic lists were developed from (a) conclusions from the document analyses in order to use the interviews as a way of member validation, and (b) general issues concerning the development and execution of the intervention or policies and issues relating to the effectiveness of interventions (Baarda, De Goede, & Teunissen, 2005; Bloor, 1997). When possible, interviews were recorded and transcribed, although this was not always feasible due to privacy regulations, for example with interviews that are held within a correctional facility. In these cases, notes were taken and were written out immediately after the observation was conducted so as to lose only minimal information (Yin, 2003).

Unobtrusive observations were conducted in the case studies on youth care interventions; the researcher did not take part in any of the interventions that were being executed. The observations are supplementary to the document- and interview analyses and the results of these analyses were used as guidelines during the observation (Baarda, et al., 2005). Notes were taken because privacy regulations did not allow the use of videotape. Notes were written out directly following the observation, again to minimize loss due to retrieval problems, and took the form of a narrative account that could then be analyzed on its content (Robson, 2002). During the observations, specific attention was being paid to (a) the core elements of the intervention (e.g. thinking errors or parenting skills) and (b) to value-based remarks (i.e. statements indicating an important mean or goal by claims like "you ought to…," "you should…," "I believe that…," etc.).

Codes and values

Based on the definition of values as "desirable goals, varying in importance, that serve as guiding principles in human lives" (Devos, et al., 2002, p. 481; Schwartz, 1994), text fragments were labeled by continuous contemplation on what desirable developmental goal was expressed in the text. Text fragments were not selected beforehand, but the analysis also required selecting the ones that were thought to express a value. The selection of text fragments was done concurrently with the labeling process. When possible, text fragments were labeled with one code only. However, in some cases, two values were expressed in one sentence: For example,

> The expressions of care towards I. are fully empathetic, but on the other
> hand it is stated very clearly how he should behave in order to 'be saved'.
> (Observations EQUIP, 2008)

This sentence expresses both *sense of belonging* and *obedient*. In such cases, text
fragments are double coded and then counted twice in the analysis.

Analysis

Text fragments are our unit of analysis and defined as "the shortest possible selection of text,
which is still sensible when read independently of the context." The basic assumption is that
the more important the value, the more often it will be referred to in the documents
(Pennebakker, Mehl, & Niederhoffer, 2003; Rokeach & Ball-Rokeach, 1989; Rokeach, et al.,
1970). In order to define which text fragments expressed a value, specific attention was paid
to (but not limited to) sentences referring to a desirable goal (e.g. sentences stating that "you
should...", "you ought to...,"or "it is important that..."). Some values will not be mentioned at
all, as they play no role. Negative values may be found in the text fragments expressing ideas
that the intervention was not intended to do (e.g. "we do not want...", "it is not our intention
to...," etc.). It was not possible to differentiate otherwise in the endorsement of values through
this research method: a value was either expressed or it was not. For example, the value *sense
of belonging* is expressed in a statement such as:

> […] towards this end, treatment often focuses on facilitating the
> development of enduring social support networks within the parent's
> natural environment (e.g. encouraging rapprochement with extended
> family, engagement in church/community activities). (Henggeler,
> Cunningham, Pickrel, Schoenwald, & Brondino, 1996, p. 56)

A value like *choosing own goals* is referred to explicitly in a statement like:

> There is not one right way to rear children or to be a good parent. In the end
> it is up to you as a parent to decide which values and norms you deem
> important, which skills to teach your child and which behaviour you want
> to promote. (Sanders, Markie-Dadds, & Turner, 2008a, p. ii)

More implicit values and differences in the meaning of individual values can be
deducted from differences in the structure of domains and values (Edel, 1979; Schwartz &
Sagiv, 1995). For example, the Security value *family security*, combined with values from the
Conformity domain, like *obedient*, will differ in meaning from the *family security* value

combined with values from the Benevolence domain, such as the value *helpful*. In both cases, the safety of family life is valued, but in the first case, obedience from children is expected to achieve this goal, whereas in the other case parents are expected to always be helpful and to assist their children. Such differences between combinations of values and value domains imply differences in value orientations and are also found in cross-cultural research (Edel, 1979; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

Documents, transcribed interviews, and transcribed observations were analyzed within Maxqda2007, software for qualitative analysis. Policy reports, articles regarding specific interventions, and transcribed interviews and observations were coded with one of 39 universal values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). Although an existing framework was used as a code system, the coding of text fragments is comparable with common text analyses (Boeije, 2010; Kalis, Van Delden, & Schermer, 2004; Robson, 2002).

Analyses of the texts were conducted twice: In the first analysis the complete text was investigated and fragments were coded with the corresponding values. A second analysis was conducted on the retrieved text fragments only to carefully reconsider the labels or codes of the text fragments. When doubts arose, the text fragment was again analyzed within its context—for instance, the full page or the complete chapter— in order to obtain a final value label. If it remained ambiguous whether the text fragment truly reflected a value, the fragment was left out of the analysis. Domains representing more than 10% of the total of text fragments were considered to be representing important value orientations. If interventions or policies are to be value-neutral, the domains would either reflect 0% of all text fragments, or all 10 domains would reflect 10% of all text fragments equally. The value hierarchy of an intervention is established by the domains that together represented at least 70% of the total of text fragments. As mentioned before, implicit values could be deducted from the combination of values and domains in the value hierarchy: Differences in the structure of domains and values within or between interventions reflected differences in implicit value orientations (Edel, 1979; Schwartz & Sagiv, 1995).

To conclude, the following steps were taken:

1. Selecting the text fragments that expressed a value
2. Labeling the text fragments with corresponding value
3. Calculating the number of labeled text fragments per motivational domain
4. Converting the frequencies into percentage of labeled text fragments per motivational domain
5. Ranking the domains in order of importance

6.   Analyzing the most important values within the most important domains

To summarize, in order to empirically analyze values and to clarify the implicit value hierarchy of youth care interventions and youth policy, we adapted an existing model of values, which was used as a code system for content analysis (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). Schwartz's theory offers opportunities both as a descriptive system to analyze data on a broad range of values, while the specific value hierarchies that come forward are indicative of more implicit value orientations. In this research we decided to combine a qualitative approach to content analysis, which focuses specifically on the intentionality of the text, with a quantitative approach: In the final stages of our analysis, the percentages of text fragments per value domain are calculated, in order to rank them in order of importance. Interrater agreement was established and showed a Cohen's Kappa of 0.59 (values) and 0.63 (domains), which, according to Fleiss (1981) can be considered as "fair to good agreement beyond chance." Given the sometimes-latent content of our analysis and the large number of categories, the agreement reached is sufficient to use this framework reliably for our analysis (Holsti, 1969; Sim & Wright, 2005; Strijbos, et al., 2006).

We will now turn to the five case studies that have been conducted. First, in section A, four case studies of youth care interventions will be presented: EQUIP, MST, Triple P and Master your Mood, respectively. A concluding section will discuss the results and conclusions of these four case studies together. The fifth and last case study, focusing on Dutch youth policy, will be discussed afterwards in Section B. In this case study, Dutch family policy is investigated and discussed separately from Dutch youth policy, because of the influence of important contextual factors. Section B also closes with a discussion in which the results and conclusions of Dutch family- and youth policy are taken together.

Section A

Value Orientations in Youth Care Interventions

4. Introduction

As has been discussed in Chapter 2 of this dissertation, values play an important role in the child rearing practices of parents (Devereux, et al., 1969; Harkness, et al., 2000; Suizzo, 2007). The role of values is also acknowledged within the educational system where it is known as the hidden curriculum (Giroux & Purpel, 1983). Considering the similarities of these two fields with the field of psychosocial youth care and the intrinsically value-ladeness of the concept "development" itself, we expect that values are also expressed in youth care interventions.

However, as has also been discussed, the current dominance of effectiveness and of evidence-based practice within the youth care system has resulted in a marginalized position of this subject. Debates concerning youth care and youth care interventions focus mainly on issues of effectiveness. Likewise, most scientific research of youth care interventions focuses on the measurement of effectiveness in order to resolve behavioral problems of youth and/or parents. But do values indeed play a role in de development and execution of youth care interventions? And if so, what kinds of values are being expressed? In order to investigate the possible role of values within youth care interventions, we have conducted several case studies in which each case represents a specific youth care intervention. In this section, the case studies of EQUIP, Multisystemic Therapy (MST), Triple P and Master your Mood (MyM) are presented, respectively. These case studies reflect different forms of psychosocial youth care, such as preventive interventions (Triple P) and judicial interventions (EQUIP). Also, different kinds of problem behavior are addressed (e.g. internalizing behavior in MyM, externalizing behavior in EQUIP and MST). The case studies also differ in client population—Triple P and MST are mainly for parents, whereas EQUIP and MyM are focused upon adolescents themselves—and are based on different theoretical approaches; Triple P and MyM are based on cognitive-behavioral theories, whereas MST is largely based on social ecology theory. As is mentioned before, we do not claim that this selection of interventions is exhaustive, and we do admit to limits of the generalizability. But this broad spectrum of interventions does prevent the possibility that values are attributed solely to one of these elements, such as theoretical background or client population.

4.1 EQUIP[*]

This chapter will discuss the investigation of EQUIP, an intervention aimed at juvenile delinquents. First, a description of the EQUIP program is given, after which the results will be discussed. The chapter will end with concluding remarks and a discussion of some implications for the development of children and youth enrolled in the program. The central aim of this chapter is to find out if values are being expressed in the EQUIP program and, if so, what kinds of values are being expressed. Before discussing the results of the investigation, we will first more elaborately describe the EQUIP program.

The EQUIP program

EQUIP was designed to "motivate and equip youth to think and act responsibly" (Gibbs, Potter, & Goldstein, 1995). The intervention was originally developed to be used within the juvenile justice system, but has been implemented as a preventive intervention in the educational system as well (Van der Velden, 2010). EQUIP is a peer-group intervention and focuses on the stimulation of moral growth, the correction of cognitive distortions, and the teaching of social skills, or the three D's: *Delay*, *Distortions,* and *Deficiencies* (Nas, 2005).

As a peer group intervention, EQUIP is based on the assumption that adolescents learn better from their peers than they would from adults (Vorrath & Bendtro, 1974). The aim is to turn negative peer cultures into positive ones by replacing the values of the negative peer culture the delinquents were part of, with positive values such as responsibility (Elling, 2004).

Research in the United States has shown positive results on the effectiveness of several elements of the intervention (Barriga & Landau, 2000; Landenberger & Lipsey, 2005; Liau, Barriga, & Gibbs, 1998) and effectiveness research on EQUIP specifically shows positive effects for an improvement in social skills, self-reported misbehavior, and recidivism (Leeman, Gibbs, & Fuller, 1993). Partial support for effectiveness was found in a study concentrating on the relation between treatment process and behavioral outcome (Devlin, 2006). Effectiveness research in the Netherlands is less conclusive; the results show that delinquent youth showed more thinking errors than non-delinquent youth, although intelligence level appears to be a mediator (Nas, 2005; Nas, Brugman, & Koops, 2005a; Nas,

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[*]   An adapted version of this chapter is submitted for publication in *Children & Youth Services Review*.

Orobio de Castro, & Koops, 2005b). A semi-experimental study to the effects of EQUIP showed that there are no differences between delinquent and non-delinquent youth with regards to moral development and social skills (Nas, 2005). Differences were found with regards to cognitive distortions: Delinquent males showed evidence of more cognitive distortions than non-delinquent males. Educational level appears to be of influence though, as non-delinquent males from a lower educational level showed evidence of the same amount of cognitive distortions as their delinquent counterparts. Non-delinquent males from a higher educational level showed less evidence of thinking errors (Nas, 2005). The Netherlands Youth Institute labeled EQUIP to be "theoretically effective" (Elling, 2004).

Theoretical background of EQUIP

Delay

EQUIP is partly based on the notion that juvenile delinquents have a delay in moral development, and rests on a revision of Kohlberg's stage theory of moral development. Since Kohlberg's work on moral development is one of the most widely known theories in the field of social sciences, a brief summary of his main ideas should suffice for the purposes of this chapter: His cognitive stage theory focuses on moral development, each stage representing a structured whole of justice (or moral) reasoning. According to Kohlberg, every individual moves through these stages in an invariant way, neither skipping nor regressing over stages (Power, Higgins, & Kohlberg, 1989; Reed, 1997). The first stage in Kohlberg's theory represents an egocentric point of view, wherein the reason for doing right lies in the avoidance of punishment. Stage 2 represents an individualistic perspective. When moving through to Stages 3 and 4, people acquire a basic sense of the individual in relationships with others and learn to take the point of view of society as a system. In Stage 5, individuals take moral and legal points of view into consideration and are aware that people hold a variety of values and opinions, mostly depending on the group they belong to (Hersh, Paolitto, & Reimer, 1979). The existence of Stage 6 has been widely disputed. Despite the lack of empirical evidence to prove the existence of this stage, Kohlberg was theoretically committed to it. From his point of view, Stage 6 was the ultimate goal of moral development (Reed, 1997).

In the revision of Kohlberg's theory, the original six stages of moral development have been reframed into four stages. Stages 1 and 2 in this model represent an immature or superficial moral development, in which egocentric thinking takes a prominent place. Stages 3 and 4 reflect mature moral reasoning with an emphasis on reciprocity and consideration of

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the social system. This mature or profound moral judgment represents moral values valid in any culture (Gibbs, 2003; Gibbs, Basinger, Grime, & Snarey, 2007; Gibbs, et al., 1995). The existential inquiry and ethical principles—which are the main concepts of Kohlberg's Stages 5 and 6—are not considered to be a construction of a new cognitive phase, but are defined as a personal process for ethical living (Bergman, 2006; Gibbs, et al., 2007). The moral dilemmas which were used by Kohlberg to facilitate moral reasoning are replaced with (moral) problem situations. In contrast to moral dilemmas, these problem situations can be responded to in a correct or incorrect way (Gibbs, 2003; Gibbs, et al., 2007).

Distortions

Distortions refer to thinking errors, defensive processes that influence moral judgment and moral behavior. According to Gibbs (1991), moral delay does not necessarily have to result in criminal behavior unless certain defensive processes (or thinking errors) come into play (Gibbs, 1991; Nas, 2005).

The theory of thinking errors originates from Yochelson and Samenow (1977), who spend 15 years of research on thinking patterns of adult criminals. According to these authors, the young criminal is in search of an adventurous life; criminal acts don't just happen to him by accident, but he actively searches for it. Lying becomes a way of life (Yochelson & Samenow, 1977). Yochelson and Samenow assert that the process of decision-making itself (self-reflection) is most important. The final goal of treatment is that the criminal has thought and reasoned rationally and responsibly about a problem and has come to a solution. Wrong or irresponsible decisions are considered valuable learning moments (Yochelson & Samenow, 1977). Later research about the treatment of thinking errors shows the importance of cognitive therapy or a combination of behavioral- and cognitive therapy (Barriga & Landau, 2000; Barriga, et al., 2001).

Gibbs considers thinking errors as one of the most important factors in the treatment of criminal behavior (Gibbs, 2008). A distinction was made between four categories of thinking errors: Self-Centeredness is the main distortion. Blaming Others, Minimizing/Mislabeling, and Assuming the Worst are the remaining three distortion types (Barriga, Morrison, Liau, & Gibbs, 2001; Nas, 2005). The four-category typology regarding the thinking errors is combined with 12 problem names—such as inconsiderate of self, inconsiderate of others, lying, and authority problems—thereby combining cognitive elements with behavioral elements (Barriga, et al., 2001; Nas, 2005).

Deficiencies

Deficiencies refer to a lack of social skills, and problems in anger management. The Aggression Replacement Training (ART) is included in the EQUIP program and is used to teach the youth with delinquent behavior necessary social skills (Glick & Goldstein, 1987; Goldstein & Glick, 1994). Research has shown that youth with antisocial behavior problems lack competencies in planning, aggression management, and interpersonal relations (Glick & Goldstein, 1987). Although it is acknowledged that aggressive behavior is often a result of the interaction between an individual and his or her immediate surroundings, ART focuses specifically on the individual. With its roots in social learning theory, the developers of ART base their training on the assumption that all behavior is teachable. Clients are responded to in an educational manner in which there is an emphasis on "active and deliberate teaching of desirable behavior" (Glick & Goldstein, 1987, p. 356). Because the developers foresaw that aggressive behavior would actually be rewarded in society, a value-oriented component, Moral Education, was added. A sense of morality and values was needed to reduce the chances of recidivism (Glick & Goldstein, 1987).

Program implementation

Positive Peer Culture

In executing EQUIP, theory and methods of the Positive Peer Culture (PPC) are being used. PPC was developed by Vorrath and Bendtro (1974), who stated that adolescents learn more from their peers than they would from adults. Although adults are in charge, the adolescents have a responsibility of helping each other (Vorrath & Bendtro, 1974). The aim of the PPC method was to grant youth respect and responsibilities, and to be empowering for the juveniles involved (Quigley, 2007). PPC doesn't seek to impose specific rules, but it is aimed at teaching youth basic human values. This would enable youth to make sound decisions even when no clear rules for desirable behavior are available (Vorrath & Bendtro, 1974). Problems are considered as an opportunity for change. PPC makes use of a "universal language" of problems in order to keep communication clear (Vorrath & Bendtro, 1974, p. 38).

The theory of PPC is an important element in the implementation and execution of the EQUIP program. Yet, correctional facilities have different approaches toward implementing EQUIP and how to work with PPC. We will therefore describe the implementation of EQUIP in the two facilities that were visited during this investigation. These facilities exemplify ways in which EQUIP can be implemented and executed.

Implementation of EQUIP in the United States

In the facility in the United States, the EQUIP program is executed in a highly structured way; there are daily meetings and all prisoners are obligated to take part. Within these meetings, which are partly EQUIP Meetings (2 times per week) and partly Mutual-Help Meetings (3 times per week), attention is being paid to moral development, thinking errors, and social skills in an alternate but strict order (Anonymous source, 2008). The EQUIP program is fully integrated into daily life in the facility; every aspect of the facility and of daily life in the facility is organized through EQUIP principles. EQUIP is in this sense not merely a course one can participate in, but is described as a "culture" (Gibbs, et al., 1995).

Group cohesion is an important element in the execution of the program. Group members are encouraging and helpful towards each other, but are also expected to correct and control each other in thinking errors and misbehavior. Staff stimulates offenders to build up a social network outside of the facility (e.g. through AA or NA networks), so that there is some support after being released from the facility. The EQUIP and Mutual Help meetings are largely organized and structured by the group themselves; staff members only introduce and end the sessions. Group leaders develop informally; none of them is appointed by staff members. Offenders are expected to practice the EQUIP skills and competencies with other group members in their "spare time," which is also being checked by staff members. The facility is sometimes jokingly referred to as an EQUIP factory, indicative of the way in which delinquents are molded into responsible adults (Managing Director, personal comment).

As a result of the fully-integrated program culture, a new sort of language is developed, in which EQUIP abbreviations are now being used as verbs, for example: *"you've gotta tee-oh-cee, man!," "you just tee-oh-pee'd me, that's good!"* or *"I want to bring in my cee-el-ai."*[5] The four thinking errors and 12 problem names are also used as a common language. Next to participation in EQUIP, every prisoner is obligated to fulfill 40 hours of community service as a way of repaying society for the harm they caused (Managing Director, personal comment).

Implementation of EQUIP in the Netherlands

The implementation of EQUIP in the Netherlands is very different from the way EQUIP has been implemented in the United States. In the Dutch facility, the program is not fully

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[5]   TOC: Think of Consequences; TOP: Think of Other Person; CLI : Current Life Issue

integrated into daily life, but consists of three EQUIP meetings per week. Within these meetings, the three elements of EQUIP are being discussed (moral delay, cognitive distortions, and social skills). All juveniles have their own EQUIP lists that show what stage of the intervention they are in. Transfers from one stage to the following stage are set at defined times (e.g. after eight weeks), and issues that haven't been resolved yet are taken to the next stage (Staff, personal comment). In cases of misbehavior, the lists of problem names and thinking errors are used when juveniles are send to their cells and need to "think things over" (staff, personal comment).

Group cohesion is not explicitly stressed; Mutual Help Meetings are not included in the implementation of EQUIP. Also, every delinquent has his or her own cell, and group composition differs between meetings, meals, and classes. The facility relies more heavily on the role of the staff member, whose task it is to keep a safe and positive atmosphere within the group, to stimulate (self-)confidence, to install faith and self-esteem in the delinquents, and to give guidance (*EQUIP Manual*, 2006).

Comparable to the American facility, the Dutch facility has come to a "mutually understandable language" in which irresponsible behavior and assumptions can be discussed. Instead of abbreviations, the EQUIP problem names are being used. The Dutch facility holds this use of language in high regard (*EQUIP Manual*, 2006).

To summarize, the EQUIP program consists of several elements that all target to change the individual to a more mature moral person. Interpersonal interaction with peers is an important source for moral growth and for improving social skills. EQUIP is therefore designed as a peer-group intervention. Differences exist in the way EQUIP is implemented within correctional facilities. This investigation is guided by two main questions:

1. Do values play a role in the development and execution of EQUIP?

2. If so, what kinds of values are being expressed?

Before turning to the results of our investigation, we will briefly discuss some relevant methodological issues related to this specific case study.

Methods and Design

As is already discussed elaborately in Chapter 3 of this dissertation, our method of research is based on a well-defined and empirically-tested theory on universal values (Schwartz, 1992). By means of content analysis, we analyzed relevant (scientific) articles and books discussing

the EQUIP program. Also, interviews and observations were conducted and transcribed and are included in the analysis.

Sampling

Only articles and books strictly discussing the intervention or an element of the intervention are included in the analyses and represent the theoretical ideas of EQUIP. The following articles were selected: Brugman & Bink, 2011; Elling, 2004; Gibbs, 1994;[6] Gibbs, 2003; Gibbs, Potter, Barriga, & Liau, 1996; Gibbs, Potter, DiBiase, & Devlin, 2008; Internal Report, 2004; Internal Report, 2007, and Nas, et al., 2005a.

Observations of the intervention took place in a correctional facility in the United States and in a facility in the Netherlands. Interviews with program developers and staff members were conducted within the facility at the time that the observations took place. In November 2008, the main researcher of this research project spent two days in a semi-secured facility in the Northeast of the United States, in which about 200 adult offenders are housed. The facility's population consists of average-intelligent adult criminals who got sentenced for a non-violent crime. Three different groups were observed during both EQUIP- and Mutual Help Meetings. Short conversations with staff members added to the information gathered from the observations. The managing director of the facility was spoken with extensively.

The observations of EQUIP in the Netherlands were spread out over four days in February 2009. The Dutch facility is a fully secured juvenile correctional facility in the Netherlands, which can accommodate 120 boys and girls. For the large part, the juveniles of this facility are diagnosed with a below-average intelligence level. All delinquents follow classes at the school, which is part of the facility. Observations of the EQUIP meetings were conducted in three days; a fourth day was spent on observations within the enclosed school. All observations of EQUIP were conducted with the same group of juveniles. Trainers and staff differed from meeting to meeting. The observations in the school included three different classes that involved three different groups of juveniles and several different teachers. In both the United States and the Netherlands, recordings were not allowed due to

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[6]   Although the EQUIP program is not really discussed in Gibbs' 1994 article, an exception was made. This article was recommended by Gibbs himself after reading preliminary findings, as it would respond to some of the issues. We therefore regarded this article to be a necessary source of information.

privacy regulations. Notes were therefore taken during the interviews and the observations. Notes were written out immediately after the observations so as to prevent a loss of information due to retrieval problems. The transcribed manuscripts were then used for the analysis.

Results

The overall results of the analysis of the EQUIP data shows that the most important value domains of EQUIP are: Benevolence (*helpful*, *responsible*), Achievement (*capable*, *intelligent*), Security (*sense of belonging*, *social order*, *family security*), and Conformity (*self-discipline*, *obedient*, *politeness*).

The value hierarchy of EQUIP is given in Table 4.1.1, but a detailed overview can be found in Appendix 3.

Table 4.1.1: *Overview of value hierarchies in EQUIP*

Rank	EQUIP overall	EQUIP theory	EQUIP US	EQUIP NL
1	BE; 25.7% (helpful, responsible)	BE; 35.1% (helpful, responsible)	CO; 29.4% (self-discipline, obedient)	ACH; 21.3% (capable)
2	ACH; 24.3% (capable, intelligent)	ACH; 28.9% (capable, intelligent)	ACH; 21.1% (capable)	BE; 20.2% (helpful, responsible)
3	SE; 17.4% (sense of belonging, social order)	SE; 14% (sense of belonging, social order)	SE; 20% (sense of belonging, social order)	SE; 19.1% (sense of belonging, family security)
4	CO; 16.3% (self-discipline, obedient)		BE; 18.8% (helpful)	SD; 13.4% (choosing own goals, independent)
5	-	-	-	CO; 12.3% (politeness)
Other domains	16.3%	22%	11%	3.7%

ACH= Achievement, BE= Benevolence, CO= Conformity, SE= Security, SD= Self-Direction

The definitions of the values which emerged in this investigation will be given below when discussing the results in more detail. A full description of the values is also given in Appendix 1a of this dissertation.

Although not part of our initial research question, the findings also show important differences between EQUIP theory, observations in the U.S., and observations in the Netherlands. As shown in Table 4.1.1., values of the domain Conformity play an important role in the American facility. In the Dutch facility, the emphasis is mostly on values of the Achievement domain. Values of the Self-direction domain are part of the value hierarchy of the Dutch facility only.

We will first address the values of the EQUIP program in more detail, taking into account these differences between EQUIP in theory, EQUIP in the American facility, and EQUIP in the Dutch facility. In our concluding paragraph, we will endeavor to explain the differences that are found, and the implications of these differences for the EQUIP program itself and for the experiences of youth participating in the program.

Benevolence

The domain of Benevolence focuses on "a concern for the welfare of close others in everyday interaction" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *helpful*, which refers to "working for the welfare of others," (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) is one of the main aims of the EQUIP program: "The intervention wants to equip youth to help each other and to learn positive behavior from each other" (Elling, 2004, para. 1). This value also comes forth in the emphasis that is placed on the Mutual Help- and EQUIP meetings:

> Once the group is sufficiently motivated to be receptive, "equipment" meetings are initiated in order to equip the group with helping skills; insofar as these equipment meetings promote caring, the meetings in turn facilitate the prosocial motivation of group members and the prosocial development of the group. (Gibbs, et al., 1996, p. 299)

Observations show that offenders can bring in a personal issue to these meetings with which they need help. Other group members help analyze the issue, ask questions, give advice, and correct possible thinking errors. Older members are asked by staff members to share their experiences as they have already dealt with certain issues (e.g. child custody) (Observations U.S., 2008).

The value *responsible* refers to" dependable, reliable" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 62) and appears explicitly in the aims of EQUIP: "[…] to encourage and equip youth to think and act responsibly" (Nas, 2005, p. 47; see also, Gibbs, et al., 1995). Or:

> EQUIP is an intervention in which antisocial or delinquent youth are taught
>
> to take responsibility for their thinking and acting. (Elling, 2004, para. 2)

EQUIP theory shows that the implementation of EQUIP should offer the delinquents the opportunity to learn how to behave like responsible citizens in society. As Gibbs states:

> Hence, the Stage 3 appreciation of mutuality in relationships typically
>
> expands into an appreciation of interdependency in society. Just as mutual
>
> caring and trust are necessary for relationships, certain standards and
>
> complementary rights and responsibilities must be widely accepted if
>
> complex societies are to survive. (Gibbs, 1994, p. 16)

Responsibility is an important issue within the US facility: If a resident is caught misbehaving, both the resident and his group are being confronted—the individual for not behaving responsibly, and his group for failing to help him (Observations U.S., 2008). Another example of the value *responsible* is the obligation to performing community service as payback to society. Offenders from different counties therefore have to do their community service in their own county (Managing Director, personal comment, 2008).

Within the Dutch facility, both the values *helpful* and *responsible* seem to be valued only passively: staff members compliment juveniles who show signs of helping or behaving responsibly, but the Dutch staff does not aim to actively encourage this behavior. Community service is not part of the Dutch facility's curriculum, nor are Mutual Help Meetings part of the implementation of EQUIP. When a delinquent is misbehaving, it is only he himself who is being punished and held responsible for his behavior.

Achievement

The domain Achievement refers to the achievement of "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *capable* of this domain refers to being "competent, efficient." (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Gibbs (1994) refers to "developmental potentials" in one of his articles as being "a foundation from which to build" (Gibbs, 1994, p. 14). In describing its method, the Dutch facility speaks of behavioral problems that are not solely based in the negative youth culture, but also in "deficiencies within the juveniles themselves" (Internal Report, 2004, p. 1). The assumption is that these (juvenile) offenders are capable of behaving responsibly, but that these potentials

are not fully developed and have to be encouraged in the right way. This value is also reflected in the choice for a social learning approach in which all desirable behavior is teachable (Glick & Goldstein, 1987, p. 356).

The American facility is basically run by the delinquents themselves, reflecting the faith staff has in their ability to build a positive environment by themselves. However, limits to "being capable" seem to be nonexistent: When one prisoner expresses doubt over being able to find a job after his release because of his lack of education or diplomas, his criminal record, his African American background, and the financial crisis, his group members respond to him by telling him he is making a thinking error, that he's "assuming the worst." His troubles are thereby reframed into a thinking error, and obstructions or social structures in society are neglected.

Within the Dutch facility, staff may express the value *capable* in remarks like "you are making yourself of lower intelligence" when a juvenile claims he cannot do something because of his intelligence level (Observations NL, 2009). Also, when a juvenile gets punished for misbehavior, he or she needs to fill out an EQUIP list with thinking errors and problem names, then indicate what he or she can do differently in the future. Because juveniles in the Dutch facility are almost all diagnosed as "of low intelligence," these lists help them to structure their thoughts (Staff NL, personal comment, 2009). On the other hand, as is indicated by staff members taking a guiding role in the EQUIP meetings and not offering opportunities to delinquents to run the meetings themselves, expectations by staff of the juveniles' competencies are somewhat limited (Observations NL, 2009).

The value *intelligent*, which means "logical, thinking," (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) mainly appears in EQUIP theory and reflects the cognitive element of the program and the correcting of juveniles' cognitive distortions specifically. For example:

> Believing in youth's positive moral potential means respecting them and holding them accountable as persons who are capable of thinking and acting responsibly and of helping others to do the same. (Gibbs, 2003, p. 148)

Or:

> The group members reporting (with the group if help is needed) the thinking errors underlying the behavior problem often thereby enhances group insight into the basis for the youth's behavior problems. (Gibbs, et al., 1996, p. 299)

Observational data shows only a minor emphasis on the value *intelligent*. Staff members do, for example, state that;

> In EQUIP it is important to know about the pros and cons and to be able to
>
> weigh these against each other (Observations NL, 2009).

In general, however, the focus is more on specific skills and competencies as discussed with the value *capable*.

Security

The domain of Security captures values that strive for "safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *sense of belonging* refers to a feeling that others care (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60). From its theoretical background, the choice for the Positive Peer Culture, with its emphasis on group cohesion, clearly reflects this value. As for EQUIP, this value is expressed, for example, in a statement like:

> In such a group, social decision-making meetings are needed to stimulate
>
> […] more mature understanding with respect to values such as helping
>
> others, peer or family relationships, resisting drugs and preventing suicide
>
> or saving a life. (Gibbs, 2003, p. 153)

The emphasis on *sense of belonging* is most apparent in the U.S. facility: The group members share all meals together, help each other in practicing skills and with personal issues, and have EQUIP- and Mutual Help Meetings together. Among each other, group members emphasize that "a problem of person X is also a problem of the group" (observations US, 2008). Specific attention is also being paid to finding social support for a peer group when being released, for example through AA meetings (Staff US, 2008).

Within the Dutch facility, the *sense of belonging* value is more closely related to issues of trust and safety, and less with social embeddedness. Safety within the group and between the individual members is an important theme within the facility as the following examples show:

> Boys K, M and X are still fighting a bit, but the EQUIP trainer mentions
>
> that it is important that everyone should feel safe in the group and that the
>
> possibility of not discussing a specific subject applies to everyone. Boy X
>
> mentions that he does feel safe, but that he believes the subject has been
>
> discussed enough. (Observations NL, 2009)

Or:

> Also, there is a short evaluation of what the assignments were meant for,
> namely to install and stimulate trust but also to make clear that some things
> can not be done all by yourself. (Observations NL, 2009)

Within the organization of daily life in the facility, this value is not so strongly emphasized: the group composition differs during EQUIP meetings, classes, and during mealtimes. In their spare time and during breaks in the courtyard, delinquents can choose whom they want to talk to or hang around with.

The value *social order* aims for the stability of society. In EQUIP theory, the need for stability of society comes forth most explicitly when discussing the stages of moral development:

> Non-delinquents generally gave Stage 3 reasons, for example, people's
> mutual expectations of adherence to the law, the selfishness of lawbreaking,
> and the resulting chaos, or lost in trust in the world. In contrast, the
> delinquents' reasoning generally appealed to the risk of getting caught and
> going to jail (Stage 2). (Gibbs, 2003, p. 149)

This value also appears in observational data in the American facility, for example, when child custody issues are discussed. The message from the group is clear: obey the laws and rules as they are defined in society to solve this problem; "do the right thing" (observations U.S., 2008). The fear that an individual might not be treated fairly, due to, for example, having a criminal record, is repudiated. Not adjusting to the societal standards is considered to be making a "thinking error" or a sign of a delayed morality. That normal or mature morality in EQUIP is defined by society specific rules, also occurs in the following remark, which highlights the American right to self-defense:

> Shooting another person is okay when your life or the life of someone else
> is genuinely endangered. Self-defense is a legal defense" (Managing
> Director, 2008)

Within the Dutch facility, the value *social order* is not stressed.

Conformity

The Conformity domain reflects values that imply "restraint of actions, inclinations and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *self-discipline* refers to "self-restraint and resistance to temptation

(Schwartz, 1992, p. 61)." This idea of inhibition of one's impulses, is an explicit goal in the EQUIP intervention.

> Youth are taught that anger in itself does not have to be wrong; it is the
>
> question how they deal with this anger.(Elling, 2004, para. 4.1)

An anger management guideline is: Buy time to create options: TOP (think of other person), TOC (think of consequences) and Self Talk. The abbreviations TOP and TOC are used to get the message across easily, but are also used as verbs in discussions between delinquents, as previously mentioned. In this sense, the value *self-discipline* finds its way in everyday communication within the facility (observations US, 2008). Within the Dutch facility, juveniles are sent to their cell to "think things over." Through these disciplinary actions, staff members seem to strive for an internal motivation to change behavior (observations NL, 2009). The value is positively stimulated by staff, for example when a juvenile expresses;

> When at home, the temptation can be strong, something draws you back [to
>
> the group of friends]; you have to be strong, overlook the consequences,
>
> and decide what's best. (Observations NL, 2009)

The value *obedience* of the same domain means "dutiful, meeting obligations" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). This value hardly shows up in EQUIP theory. However, some remarks in the theory implicitly refer to this value, for example:

> A student who makes a negative decision and justifies it at Stage 1 or 2 may
>
> lose to a more mature challenge and experience the conflict or
>
> "disequilibration" of having to acquiesce to the majority. (Gibbs, 2003, p.
>
> 151)

In the U.S. facility, this value is expressed in the use of a specific EQUIP language, which also has implications for treatment: If residents don't use this language, it is taken as a sign that they are not yet fully involved in the program and that they do not yet own their problems. Non-compliance to the intervention can result in being expelled from the program (observations U.S., 2008). Obedience is also shown in remarks made by offenders, when discussing what decisions to make in handling personal problems, for instance, "play the game, play the rules" or "you're owned property." Such remarks indicate that one should obey the specific rules of either society or of the facility. Group members who refuse to accept the EQUIP rules can be "broken down" by their fellow group members. A follow-up meeting will be used to help this specific group member, in which it is emphasized what the individual member needs to do in order to be helped (observations US, 2008).

Within the Dutch facility, the value *obedient* is hardly stressed. However, daily life in this facility does show some examples of the requirement of delinquents to accept the rules and to behave in the proper manner. When observing a sports class, for example, only two out of the five girls were attending the class because the others ones were sent to their cell for forgetting their sports gear. And in more than one occasion juveniles were not joining the EQUIP meetings because they were spending time apart in their cells for misbehaving.

The value *politeness* means "courtesy, good manners" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). This value is referred to mainly in the Dutch facility. References made to *politeness* reflect basic skills in human interaction, for example, a juvenile raising his voice during an EQUIP meeting and getting reprimanded for it. In correcting this behavior, staff commented with, "People don't listen to you when you speak in this tone of voice" (observations, 2009), which seems to imply adherence to a societal norm of speaking calmly. Within classes, teachers pay attention to the rule that everybody in the class speak Dutch (as opposed to of Antillean Creole or languages from Surinam and quickly respond to those juveniles who try to take away pencils from the classroom. Some remarks in EQUIP theory also implicitly stress *politeness*:

> Within the EQUIP meetings, juveniles need to comply to the rules, that is,
>
> to respect others' opinion, to not interrupt people, to allow the other person
>
> to respond to the criticism that is given. (Elling, 2004, para. 4.1)

Self-Direction

The domain Self-Direction represents "independent thought and action" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). This value domain opposes the domain of Security and Conformity in Schwartz's framework, which indicates that values from these domains tend to conflict. The associated value *choosing own goals* refers to "selecting own purpose" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) and is only found in the Dutch facility, just like the value *independent*. The staff of the Dutch facility offers the juvenile delinquents many opportunities to show what they want to do during the day or within the group meetings. For example:

> The meeting is closed 20 minutes before the expected time and this time is
>
> being used for the juvenile delinquents to bring up their own subjects they
>
> want to discuss. (Observations NL, 2009)

And:

>Two juveniles and a teacher (who is also their mentor) consult with each
>other on what can be arranged for the final school day, before the holiday
>starts. The two juveniles bring in their own ideas on what could be done,
>for example ideas about cooking dinner and about what else would be
>possible. The other juveniles, who are sitting behind the computer, are
>brought into this discussion. (Observations NL, 2009)

The value *independent* means "self-reliant, self-sufficient" (Schwartz, 1992, 61). This value shows up in statements expressing a need to make one's own decisions and to rely on one's own choices and actions. Observations, for example, show:

>The group leaders compliment [boy K] with his insights and continue the
>discussion by emphasizing that you ought to live for yourself and you
>should make your own choices. (Observations NL, 2009)

However, despite the emphasis on this value, there are many ways in which the staff is in control and guide the juveniles, for example, juveniles cannot walk around the facility independently; it is the staff's responsibility to correct misbehavior and to compliment desirable behavior and group meetings are directed by a staff member.

Conclusion

As the results of this case study show, values play an important role the development and implementation of the EQUIP program. In general, the value domains Benevolence, Achievement, Security, and Conformity are stressed within the EQUIP program, indicating the need for stable relationships by being helpful and by obeying rules and laws. Only the Dutch facility also emphasizes values from the Self-Direction domain. There are some differences between EQUIP in theory and EQUIP in practice and there are some distinct differences between the way EQUIP is being implemented in the United States and the way it is implemented in the Netherlands. Because of these differences, there is not one general conclusion that we can draw from the results. What does become apparent is that "EQUIP-ping youth to think and act responsibly" (Gibbs, et al., 1995, p. 1) still leaves much room for interpretation. Both EQUIP theory and the U.S. facility define responsible behavior as "being helpful towards others" and having a "commitment to societal standards," as is indicated by the emphasis on values like *sense of belonging* or *social order*. The Dutch facility, on the other hand, defines responsible behavior as being able to think and act independently, as

follows from the emphasis on values of the Self-direction domain combined with values from the Achievement domain.

EQUIP theory and the American approach both seem to lack a focus on autonomy. Thinking independently might be difficult in the EQUIP program as originally described, since individual thinking can always be taken as a sign of non-compliance or as a thinking error. This lack of focus on autonomy may very well be a result of the reframing of the Kohlbergian stages of moral development, in which Stages 5 and 6 are omitted. Moral maturity in Gibbs's model is characterized by consideration of the social system (Gibbs, 2003; Gibbs, et al., 2007). In contrast, the Dutch approach hardly acknowledges the interdependencies in society.

Also, modern theories on thinking errors take a rather behaviorist approach with predetermined thinking errors and problem names. It no longer stresses reflection and personal deliberation, as put forward by Yochelson and Samenow (1977). This difference may be reflected in the difference in emphases between the American facility (Conformity = learning) and the Dutch facility (Self-direction = reflection).

In this sense, moral maturity is defined differently as well: Both EQUIP theory and the U.S. facility find it morally mature to accept the laws of society and follow societal rules. Delinquents trained in the U.S. facility will learn that it is very important to take care of people around you and to ask for help when needed. They will be able to control themselves and to abide by the laws of society. They will bear responsibility for the community they live in. The focus in the Dutch facility on "independence" leads to the conclusion that it is morally mature to make an independent choice and to define your own path in life. The Dutch delinquents will learn that they have to live and think independently, and they will make their own choices and decisions. They will take responsibility for their own lives, but not necessarily for people within their community. Taking into consideration that the value *social order* is not expressed in the Dutch facility, this may indicate that the Dutch delinquents will learn that it is not necessarily wrong to break the law. The Dutch and American "versions" of EQUIP are thus distinctively different approaches towards morality (Schwartz, 2007). The differences we have found in this investigation resemble research of the World Value Survey, where comparable differences were found on the domains Achievement and Conformity, but also in the related domains of Tradition and Hedonism (World Value Survey, 1981-2008).

One of the implications of these results may be that a difference in value orientation may be related to differences in the effectiveness of an intervention. The Dutch facility sets

different goals for the juveniles than the EQUIP program originally intended. Personal, institutional, or cultural values may have influenced these alterations. Effectiveness research, however, is still framed by the theoretical notions of EQUIP. Consequently, goals are being measured that are not stimulated by the Dutch staff. If a difference between program theory and program implementation is interpreted as a result of a difference in value orientation, one may wonder whether a focus on program integrity—as is currently the dominant way to resolve effectiveness issues—will solve this problem. Explicit discussions about the aims one is trying to reach within a pedagogical setting and with a specific intervention may be more suitable. Also, effectiveness research that is being conducted can take possible alterations in values and goals into account when measuring the effect of an intervention.

Another implication concerns the young people themselves and their parents. As is mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, parents have their own values and beliefs that they want to transmit to their children. They have their own notions of what healthy development or healthy adulthood means. Considering the differences in this case study in the way moral maturity is defined, parents might have a specific preference for a particular version of EQUIP. Explicating the implicit values that guide youth care interventions may help parents and children in making an informed choice about participation in an intervention that may contradict their own value orientations.

4.2 Multisystemic Therapy

In the previous chapter, the case study of EQUIP was presented, and the results have shown that several values are expressed in the development and execution of the EQUIP program. In this chapter, we will focus on another intervention, which is comparable to the EQUIP program, designed to help youth who have been involved with the juvenile criminal justice system in the chapter on Multisystemic Therapy (MST). MST differs from EQUIP on several aspects: First of all, MST handles a broader scope of problematic behavior and is also designed to help youth with severe behavioral problems who risk being placed in residential care. Second, whereas EQUIP is offered in the correctional facilities and targets only the juveniles themselves, MST is aimed at youth who are still living at home and it includes parents in its treatment modules. Third, MST differs in its theoretical orientation in that it takes a social ecological perspective instead of a perspective based on moral development.

In this chapter, a short description of the MST intervention is given first, which is followed by a detailed discussion of the results of the investigation. The method of research will briefly be touched upon, since a detailed description of the methodology can be found in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Again, the main focus of this chapter will be to investigate whether values are expressed in youth care interventions, in this case, MST; and if values are expressed, what kinds of values come forward in the development and execution of MST?

Multisystemic Therapy

Multisystemic Therapy (MST) is developed for youth (12-18 years of age) with serious antisocial and delinquent behavior. The intervention is developed as a response to the existing but inadequate treatment possibilities for these kinds of problems, which usually focus on one of the many causes for juvenile delinquency (Henggeler, Schoenwald, Borduin, Rowland, & Cunningham, 2009). According to Henggeler and colleagues, delinquent behavior is usually the result of multiple causes, so any intervention that wants to be effective should address this multiplicity of causes (Henggeler, et al., 2009). Most commonly, MST is used as a last resort for juveniles who face being placed in a residential or a judicial setting (Boonstra, Jonkman, Soeteman, & Van Busschbach, 2009). The behavioral problems of these juveniles are often complex and frequently result in involvement with the criminal justice system. Substance abuse is not uncommon (Henggeler, et al., 2009; Netherlands Youth Institute (*Nederlands Jeugdinstituut* [NJi]), 2010b). The intervention is primarily aimed at empowering caregivers

with skills and recourses to adequately tackle problems that arise in the upbringing of their children (Schoenwald, Brown, & Henggeler, 2000). Second, MST tries to empower youth in handling difficulties that may arise with family, peers, school, and/or the neighborhood (Schoenwald, et al., 2000).

MST aims at stimulating prosocial behavior and at establishing social support networks for parents and children in order to end criminal behavior and to improve family functioning (NJi, 2010b; MST Nederland, 2011). According to the developers of the intervention, adherence to the values of society is encouraged, and both parents and children are stimulated to behave responsibly: Parents have an obligation to prepare children to become competent members of society; children need to comply with family and societal rules, attend school, help around the house, and not harm others (Henggeler, Schoenwald, Borduin, Rowland, & Cunningham, 1998). In order to achieve those goals, MST focuses on improving the family structure and family cohesion by fostering open communication between parents and children, by stimulating parents to spend time with their children, and by teaching parents and children skills to handle conflict situations (Henggeler, et al., 2009). MST is not directed solely at the juvenile or his or her parents; it also includes the social contexts of the juvenile, like school, peers, probation officer, and sports clubs. At peer level, for example, the focus is on monitoring the whereabouts of the youth, and on stimulating contact between parents and the youth's peers. Another important element is to identify the youth's talents in order to open up new ways to spend their leisure time and to get involved with positive peer relations (Henggeler, et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the family is a necessary component in MST, and the intervention is therefore preferably not executed when the juvenile does not live at home. Parents, or the primary caregivers, are considered to be full collaborators in treatment strategies. Once the effectiveness of their child rearing skills is increased, parents are helped by the therapist to design and implement their own "interventions" (Henggeler, et al., 2009).

MST is an intensive intervention and requires the therapists to be available to their clients 24 hours per day, 7 days per week. The duration of the program is 3 to 5 months on average (NJi, 2010b). Therapy takes place at home and in other social domains of the juvenile (NJi, 2010b).

The MST program is based on nine basic principles: 1. finding the fit between identified problems and social context; 2. an emphasis on the positive and strength-focused; 3. increasing responsibility of parent and child; 4. present-focused, action-oriented and well-defined interventions; 5. targeting sequences of behavior; 6. developmentally appropriate

interventions; 7. continuous effort by family members; 8. evaluation and accountability of intervention and therapists; and 9. generalization of therapeutic change (Henggeler, et al., 2009, p. 15-16). Three important factors characterize MST treatment: Interventions are individualized (fitting the circumstances of the individual), multifaceted (directed at multiple causes of problem behavior), and must be prioritized in a meaningful order. An effort is made to identify the barriers that may hinder successful implementations of change, before specific goals and changes are introduced to the family (Henggeler, et al., 2009; Huey, Henggeler, Brondino, & Pickrel, 2000). Also, the concept of engagement is very important within the MST intervention; without establishing trust between therapist and family members, efforts to induce change will most likely be unsuccessful or may even be detrimental (Huey, et al., 2000).

Several adaptations of the MST program for specific psychosocial problems have been developed. Two of these adapted MST interventions are currently being implemented in the Netherlands: MST-CAN (Child Abuse and Neglect), focusing on families who maltreat their children, and MST- PSB (Problematic Sexual Behavior), of which the client population consists of juvenile sexual offenders (MST Services, 2011; MST Nederland, 2011).

Effectiveness research has shown that that MST has a positive effect on recidivism, family relations, and school attendance. Also, fewer juveniles are placed in residential care (Borduin, Mann, Cone, & Henggeler, 1995; Henggeler, Melton, Smith, Schoenwald, & Hanley, 1993; NJi, 2010b). A long-term follow-up made evident that effects were sustained up to an average of 13.7 years post-treatment (Schaeffer & Borduin, 2005). However, some authors have criticized the reliability of the research, since most of it is conducted under supervision of the program developers themselves, which may have influenced the results (Littell, 2005). Independent research by Timmons-Mitchell and colleagues (2006) partly supports the findings of earlier effectiveness research, but recidivism was substantially higher than reported in other research (Timmons-Mitchell, Bender, Kishna, & Mitchell, 2006). A meta-analysis by Curtis and colleagues concluded that MST was effective in reducing emotional and behavioral problems and that these effects sustained for over 4 years. They also concluded that MST demonstrated larger effect sizes on improvement of family relations than on measures of individual improvement or peer relations (Curtis, Ronan, & Borduin, 2004). Comparable positive findings were found in a New Zealand study (Curtis, Ronan, Heiblum, & Crellin, 2009) and when MST was administered in rural areas (Glisson, et al., 2010). No significant effects were found in independent research in Sweden (Sundell, et al.,

2008). Independent Dutch research on effectiveness of MST is currently being executed, but an earlier study in the Netherlands supports the positive effects found in the abovementioned studies (Boonstra, et al., 2009). MST is labeled as an effective intervention by the Netherlands Youth Institute (Nji, 2010b).

Theoretical background

Within the MST intervention, the reciprocal nature of human relations is emphasized (Henggeler, et al., 2009). This theoretical focus is based on both the theory of social ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) and on the coercion mechanism as explained by Patterson (Patterson, 1982). Next to these core elements of MST, the therapists rely on several different treatment variants in their efforts to resolve specific problem situations. In the following paragraphs we will describe these theories in more detail.

Social ecology theory

Bronfenbrenner's theory of social ecology holds that human behavior is influenced by a multitude of contexts: micro-, meso-, exo- and macrosystems (Bronfenbrenner 1979, 2005; Henggeler, et al., 2009; Schoenwald, et al., 2000). The microsystem represents the close social environment of the developing person, such as the family. The mesosystem refers to interrelations between two or more settings, in which the developing person is an active participant; for example, a troublesome relationship between parents and school may influence the behavior of the juvenile. The exosystem involves one or more settings in which the developing person is not an active participant, but events taking place in these settings can affect him or her, and vice versa; job conditions of the parents, for example, may affect the developing child, and behavioral problems of the child may affect the parents' functioning at work. The macrosystem refers to consistencies in a given culture or subculture and related belief systems and ideologies (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 2005). As all these different systems affect the developing person, all should be taken into consideration in explaining the behavior and development of the individual. When a diagnosis needs to be set and interventions are implemented to improve family functioning and the behavior of the youth involved, MST indeed takes all these different systems into consideration.

In addition, a social ecological approach takes into account the individual's subjective definition and interpretation of circumstances (Henggeler, et al., 1998). According to Bronfenbrenner (1979), a developing person is not a tabula rasa on which environments have an impact, rather, it is a transactional process in which both person and environment

influence each other. Parents are therefore considered to be full collaborators in the MST intervention.

Another theme that is connected to social ecological theory is the emphasis on ecological validity; according to the theory, behavior can only be fully understood when it is observed in its naturally occurring context, or in a real world setting. MST treatment services are therefore offered where the problems occur: at home, in school or at community locations (Henggeler, et al., 2009).

Coercion theory

Coercion theory holds that the role of the family is to model and support the child's learning. School, peers, and society at-large are also considered to be "socializing agents," but the family must prepare the child to profit from these influences (Patterson, 1982). According to this theory, antisocial behavior can develop in children when their coercive behavior is reinforced in daily interactions with family members. Some behavior is reinforced because of a positive reaction by family members, like laughing about the child's behavior. In other cases, the coercive behavior of the child is functional: It is a means to escape the aversive behavior of other family members. Consequently, the coercive behavior gradually escalates (Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989). Patterson's theory is largely based on social learning theories. According to Patterson, children do not outgrow tendencies for antisocial behavior. Parents must teach prosocial behavior to their children and adequately punish antisocial behavior. Parents should possess family management skills, such as rule setting, consequences for noncompliance, monitoring the child on his or her whereabouts, and sharing information (Patterson, 1982). Family life, according to this theory, is considered to be a dynamic process. Within MST the focus is on these processes and not on the individual members of the family. The whole, according to the developers of MST, is more than the sum of its parts (Henggeler, et al., 1998).

The coercion mechanism is used more often in youth care interventions (e.g. Triple P in the next chapter), but it usually focuses on the interfamilial interaction. In MST, however, this mechanism is also used in the interaction between the family and its social context, for example when social support networks need to be established; acts of reciprocity between the parents and the supporting system are required in order to keep social networks and support systems alive (Henggeler, et al., 2009).

Family systems theories and social learning theories

Along with these two major theoretical frameworks, MST makes use of several different interventions—such as behavioral parenting approaches or cognitive behavioral therapy—to tackle specific behavioral problems. Only interventions that are proven to be effective are used (Schoenwald, et al., 2000). It should be noted that these different treatment approaches are not considered to be different elements of MST, but that the interventions are chosen strategically to maximize the interactional effects (Schoenwald, et al., 2000). The MST therapist must master the skills needed to carry out any of the necessary interventions.

Most commonly, the MST therapists use interventions based on family systems theories and ones based on social learning theories (Henggeler, et al., 1993). Interventions based on social learning theories are largely derived from the work of Bandura (1977; 1982; 1995). In these kinds of interventions, self-efficacy plays a crucial role and cognitions are important elements in training and changing behavior (Bandura, 1977). Interventions based on family systems theory include all family members in the treatment of the individual; his or her problem behavior is seen as a symptom of distress of the whole family-system (Hoffman, 1985). MST also relies on Community Reinforcement Approach (for alcohol- and drug-related problems) and pharmaceutical therapies (NJi, 2010b). In general, however, when treating family relations, the MST developers consider the social learning perspective to be most effective for the majority of families they encounter (Henggeler, et al., 2009).

Program implementation

Because of documented correlations between treatment integrity, and youth and family outcomes, MST developers place a lot of emphasis on implementation and quality issues. Treatment adherence has become increasingly important with the dissemination of the MST program within the United States and to other countries (Henggeler, et al., 2009; Huey, et al., 2000; Schoenwald, et al., 2000; Schoenwald, Chapman, & Sheidow, 2009). To ensure quality and program integrity, the MST developers have made a dissemination protocol. Important elements of this protocol include manuals for therapists, supervisors, consultants and organizations; initial training and quarterly booster training for therapists and supervisors; and a web-based implementation tracking and feedback system (Henggeler, et al., 2009). In addition, organizational factors are addressed to support fidelity to the MST intervention. As a result, whereas MST only loosely specifies what kind of intervention is used, it very precisely specifies core intervention procedures (Schoenwald, et al., 2000). The nine basic principles serve to maintain treatment integrity (Henggeler, 1999). Treatment fidelity is based

on evaluation of multiple participants, including therapists, parents, and the juvenile clients themselves (Henggeler, 1999).

The MST developers strongly emphasize the role and importance of the MST therapists. As mentioned before, therapists should be available to the families 24 hours a day and 7 days a week. The MST team also assumes responsibility for the treatment engagement of the clients and the treatment outcomes (Henggeler, 1999; Henggeler, et al., 2009). Because of the intensive nature of the MST program, much attention is being paid to the adequate assistance of and support to MST therapists; there are weekly group intervision and supervision sessions. The meetings are used to discuss both the progression of the clients and are used for feedback on the working methods and routines of the therapists (Schoenwald, et al., 2000; observations 2010).

To conclude, MST is a very intensive and broad-scaled intervention, which not only focuses on the family itself but also includes other important individuals from the social contexts of the juvenile and his or her family. The intervention can be tailored to the specific needs and wishes of the family. Even though MST is flexible in its treatment, the implementation and dissemination of the intervention is well-defined and highly-structured. In this case study of MST we again focus on two main research questions:

1. Do values play a role in MST?

2. If so, what kinds of values are expressed in the development and execution of the
MST intervention?

Before turning to the results of our investigation, we will briefly discuss some relevant aspects of our methodology, regarding this specific case study.

Methods & Design

In Chapter 3, we have already elaborately discussed our method of research and our use of Schwartz's theory on the content and structure of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). By means of content analysis, we analyzed relevant (scientific) articles discussing the MST intervention. Also, interviews and observations were conducted and transcribed, and are included in the analysis.

Sampling

For the analysis, only articles discussing MST in general or discussing specific elements of MST were used. The following articles, representative of MST in theory, were selected for

the analysis: Boonstra, et al., 2009; Cunningham, Henggeler, Brondino, & Pickrel, 1999; Henggeler, 1999; Henggeler, Melton, & Smith, 1992; Henggeler, et al., 1993; Henggeler, Cunningham, Pickrel, Schoenwald, & Brondino, 1996; Henggeler, et al., 1998; Henggeler, et al., 2009; Henggeler, Schoenwald, Borduin, Rowland, & Cunningham, n.d.; NJi, 2010b; Randall, Henggeler, Cunningham, Rowland, & Swenson, 2001; Schoenwald, et al., 2000. Both the 1st and 2nd edition of the books on MST are included, because of relevant differences between the two books in the first chapter (Henggeler, et al., 1998; Henggeler, et al., 2009).

Observations took place in a major city in the Netherlands, conducted in October and November 2010. Observations included an intervision and a supervision meeting at the MST office. Also, two therapy sessions were observed, with two different therapists and two different families. Due to insufficient knowledge of the Dutch language of the mother involved, a translator was present in one of the observations, which may have had some influence on the results. Both therapy sessions took place in the homes of the families. Due to privacy regulations, notes were taken during the observations and later transcribed. Preliminary findings of the observations and of the document analysis were used as topic guidelines for the interviews.

In February 2011, one interview was conducted with an MST supervisor. This interview was audio-taped and later transcribed. Also, one of the main organizers for the implementation of MST in the Netherlands was spoken with in June 2010. Notes were taken during this conversation. Information was also gathered from the two MST therapists before and after the observations.

Results

The results of our analysis show that the most important values of the MST intervention are headed under the domains Achievement (*capable*, *influential*), Benevolence (*helpful*), Security (*sense of belonging*, *family security*) and Self-Direction (*self-respect*, *independent*). Table 4.2.1 shows the value hierarchy of MST in general, and of MST in theory and in practice. A full overview of the values can be found in Appendix 4. The meaning of the values used in this investigation is already given in Chapter 3 of this dissertation and in Appendix 1a. However, definitions will also be described below, when discussing our results in more detail.

Overall, with the emphases on values of the Achievement, Benevolence, and Security domains, MST appears to combine social-focused and protectionist values. However, the emphasis on values of the domain Self-Direction, which is especially strong in MST in

practice, is indicative of the fact that MST also incorporates individualistic- and growth-oriented values.

Table 4.2.1: *Overview of value hierarchies in Multisystemic Therapy (MST)*

Rank	MST overall	MST theory	MST practice
1	ACH (29.4%; capable, influential)	ACH (32.5%; capable, influential)	ACH (25.7%; influential, intelligent)
2	BE (19.9%; helpful)	BE (23.4%; helpful)	SE (20%; sense of belonging, family security)
3	SE (19.9%; sense of belonging, family security)	SE (19.8%; sense of belonging)	SD (17.1%; self-respect)
4	SD (14.3%; self-respect, independent)	SD (11.9%; independent)	BE (16.1%; helpful)
Other domains	16.5%	12.4%	21.1%

ACH= Achievement, BE= Benevolence, SE= Security, SD= Self-Direction

There are some discrepancies between the MST intervention in theory (as is described in the articles and books) and in practice (based on the interviews and observations): First, the value *helpful* is less important in MST in practice. This value refers mostly to the behavior of the professionals involved; most likely, professionals themselves do not often discuss their own commitment to being helpful. Also, the value *capable* is less important in the execution of MST; instead the value *intelligent* is stressed. This difference indicates that the professional, when working with parents, is less concerned with the exact behavior of the parents. Rather, the aim is to clarify certain behavioral processes and to help parents understand their own situation. Third, professionals more strongly emphasize the value *self-respect* of the Self-Direction domain, instead of *independent,* which is emphasized in MST theory. Before we elaborate on the precise interpretation of these differences, we will first describe the results of this investigation more extensively.

Achievement

The Achievement domain refers to "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *capable* of this domain refers to being "competent, efficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Within MST, this value

becomes apparent by references to the need for adequate skills and competencies for both youth and parents. For example:

> A major focus of MST is to empower families by providing them with the
>
> skills and resources needed to deal effectively and independently with
>
> future difficulties. (Henggeler, et al., 1996, p. 56)

These skills and competencies refer most commonly to the child rearing skills of parents, which fits very well with the idea that parents are considered to be a critical element in achieving change (Henggeler, et al., 1998, p. 6; Henggeler, et al., 2009, p. 4). However, this does not mean that adolescents themselves are not involved in the intervention, as we will discuss below. Rather, parents are activated so that they, in their role of parent, can instigate a change in the behaviors of their children. In the words of the MST developers, parents are considered to be "full collaborators" (Henggeler, et al., 2009, p. 13).

In the execution of MST, the value *intelligent* is emphasized more strongly than the value *capable*. *Intelligent* refers to a focus on cognitive abilities, to be able to reflect on situations or on behavior. Within the execution of MST, much is invested in clarifying problem situations for parents and helping them to understand the causes and consequences of their own behavior for the behavior of their child. The value *intelligent* comes out in statements like: "Parents need to learn to think differently" (supervisor MST, 2011), or:

> When a fit is made of a certain problem, all social contexts of the
>
> adolescent (including school, friends, et cetera) are assessed. In this way,
>
> the problem is being clarified, also for parents. (supervisor MST, 2010)

Both MST theory and the MST execution put much emphasis on the value *influential*, indicating that they place high importance on both youth and parents having some control over the intervention and having a say in the goals and means that are used to better their situation: "Commensurate with an empowerment ideology, MST treatment goals are developed in full collaboration with youth and parents" (Henggeler, et al., 1996, p. 50). The objective of having a say in the goals of the treatment is not limited to family members. Teachers, probation officers, and other relevant persons in the context of the family and the juvenile can also be involved in this process: "Members of the family (and also for example teachers and court officials) are vital in setting the treatment goals" (Henggeler, Schoenwald, Borduin, Rowland, & Cunningham, n.d., p. 9).

Benevolence

The domain of Benevolence refers to the "preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *helpful* of this domain specifically refers to "working for the welfare of others" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Considering the fact that youth *care* interventions are being analyzed in this research project, it is not surprising that this value is dominant. MST is, in this aspect, not different from other youth care interventions. Moreover, the characteristics of the MST intervention are designed to be as helpful to parents as possible, for instance, by being available to the family 24 hours a day, or by meeting parents in their own home environment. MST tries to eliminate barriers to service access (Henggeler, 1999). Nevertheless, in some instances it also seems to indicate that the value *helpful* not only concerns the approach of the therapist towards parents, but also their expectations of the parents' behavior towards their children. Within MST supervision, for example, it is stated that;

> […] the therapist should try to label things positively to the father and
> advise father on how to handle things with his son, for example by writing
> things down for him. (Supervisor MST, 2011)

Many of the references for *helpful* reflect what within MST is called "engagement:" therapists' investment into developing and maintaining family commitment to the MST program (Henggeler, et al., 2009). Along with helping parents to better their situation, this value reflects the objective of the therapist to build a trustworthy relationship with parents in order to motivate them to change their behavior to more adequate parenting styles. For example,

> And that again is engagement. If that is what it takes to convince parents to
> act in a certain way in order to change the behavior of their child…. Well,
> so be it! (supervisor MST, 2011).

In this way, the value *helpful* seems to reflect some form of authority, or what the developers of MST call "benevolently demanding" (Cunningham, et al., 1999, p. 446).

Security

"Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self" is what characterizes the Security domain (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *sense of belong* of this domain refers to "feeling that others care" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60). This value reflects the social-ecological background of MST. Social ecology theory states that people are embedded within different social contexts and that behavior is a result of the interaction of the person with these

different contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Two major goals of the MST program are therefore (a) to understand what issues in the juvenile's social contexts can be considered as (partly) a cause for his or her misbehavior, and (b) to associate parents and children with positive social settings:

> Towards this end, treatment often focuses on facilitating the development
>
> of enduring social support networks within the parents' natural environment
>
> (e.g. encouraging rapprochement with extended family, engagement in
>
> church/community activities). (Henggeler, et al., 1996, p. 56)

Despite the focus on *independent*, which will be discussed later on, the MST intervention is built on the assumption that assistance from the social environment of the family is needed in order to help parents cope with difficulties and with the misbehavior of their children.

> […] no parent, as is indicated from the analyses and the "fits" of the
>
> problem behavior, is capable of handling their children all by themselves
>
> when he or she is showing this kind of extreme behavior. But what we aim
>
> for then is informal support. (Supervisor MST, 2011)

Within MST, the value *family security*—referring to "safety of loved ones" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61)—represents the need for stability in the home environment. After all, a major goal of the MST intervention is to prevent out of home placements of the juvenile. However, the value *family security* is not stressed in the theory of MST, even though the importance of the family is acknowledged;

> […] even if the home environment is hostile, the relationship with parents
>
> is very important for troubled adolescents, and "home" keeps having
>
> emotional significance. (Boonstra, et al., 2009, p. 102)

In the execution of MST, this value is stressed more strongly. Parents need to find some agreement in their parenting behavior. Observational data show, for example:

> It is important that there is agreement between father and mother, at least
>
> on some points. That would be an improvement. (Observations MST, 2010)

A stable and safe home environment is one of the main goals, especially in the execution of MST, but there is some leverage in how to accomplish this. In order to establish a solid parent-child relationship, parents have a voice in the kind of interventions they take part in (see also *influential*).

Self-Direction

The domain of Self-Direction refers to "independent thought and action, choosing own goals" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Both the values *self-respect*—"belief in one's own worth"—and *independent*—"self-reliant, self-sufficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61)—belong to this value domain and are stressed within the MST intervention. However, the value *self-respect* is stressed only in the execution of MST, whereas the value *independent* is only emphasized in MST theory.

The value *independent* refers to the empowerment of care givers to address the difficulties in their lives. As we have seen above, this does not mean that parents cannot ask for support or assistance within their social networks. Rather, the aim is that parents are not dependent on welfare organizations. However, the focus within MST theory is on the individual strengths and competencies of parents and children mostly:

> The ultimate goal of MST is to empower primary care givers with the skills
> and resources needed to independently address the difficulties that arise in
> rearing youth with behavioral problems and to empower youth to cope with
> family, peer, school and neighborhood difficulties. (Schoenwald, et al.,
> 2000, p. 113)

In the MST intervention the value *self-respect* comes forth in taking parents and children seriously, and in strengthening positive elements of the family and their mutual relations within the treatment sessions. For example,

> The juveniles we meet often only have one goal, and that is that they want
> everybody to "fuck off." But this goal we also take seriously and we build
> our treatment plan from here. (MST supervisor, 2011)

Or, as the observations show:

> The therapist wants to record the conversations of the family, because the
> father speaks a lot and often tells K [his son] what to do. According to the
> therapist it is thus not surprising that K doesn't do it. (Observations MST,
> 2010)

Conclusions

The results of our investigation show that specific values are expressed in the development and execution of the MST intervention. The domains Achievement (*capable*, *influential*, *intelligent*), Benevolence (*helpful*), Security (*sense of belonging*, *family security*) and Self-

Direction (*independent*, *self-respect*) are emphasized most strongly in MST. These values indicate that the goal for MST is to enable parents and children to give form to their own lives. In order to accomplish this, parents are given a voice in the treatment and they are helped to establish social support networks in case assistance is needed.

As previously mentioned, there are some small differences in the value hierarchies of the intervention in theory and in practice. We will first discuss some implications of these values and value domains for MST in general. Hereafter, we will discuss in more detail the meaning of the differences between the value hierarchies.

First, empowerment seems to be an important aim of MST, as can be deduced from the emphasis on the value *influential*; families can "own" the treatment plan and make an active contribution toward defining the aims of the treatment. This is important for keeping parents motivated to change their parenting style and behavior. Also, by involving all persons relevant to the child in the process of goal setting, support networks are established that can assist parents in handling problems with their child (*sense of belonging*). These social support networks can play an important role in the parents' child rearing, for instance, by keeping an eye out when the child is spending time out of the house, or by being in close contact with the parents in order to help them exert more control over what their child is doing. This suits the ideas of social ecology theory, which is the foundation of MST. In contrast to the social orientation, however, emphasis is also placed on the individualistic values—values of the Achievement and Self-Direction domains—most specifically in the execution of MST. On the one hand, this may be due to the fact that despite the social-ecological approach, MST does regard parents to be the main levers of change (Henggeler, et al., 2009). In this sense, the intervention does have an individualistic focus on the parents. It can also be explained by the explicit goals of MST—which are also specifically oriented towards parents and children—like obligation to prepare children to become competent members of society, compliance with family rules, attend school, et cetera (Henggeler, et al., 1998). The main orientation within MST is thus towards the family itself, and less so towards the family's social contexts. In other words, MST does not focus on altering the social context of the child, but on altering family processes instead, and in this way reflects the choice for Patterson's coercion theory. This is not to say that treatment does not sometimes include assisting parents with everyday matters less directly impacting the child's behavior, such as debt restructuring. Also, MST aims for families to be able to live their lives independently. Yet, considering the difficulties these families face, support from their social network is often needed; *independent* in this sense refers to not being dependent upon welfare agencies. This

is different from the way independence is defined in, for example, the Triple P program (see Chapter 4.3), which focuses specifically on the skills and competencies of a parent as an individual, irrespective of his or her social context. The implicit meaning of the value *independent* in MST contrasts with the current dominance of individualism in Western societies.

Second, it should be noted that even though MST targets juvenile delinquents, or adolescents greatly at risk of becoming juvenile delinquents, there doesn't seem to be a focus on the moral behavior of these adolescents or their parents. Moral education is not part of the intervention as it is in the EQUIP intervention, for example. This does not necessarily mean that MST does not concern itself with right or wrong behavior. In the introduction to Multisystemic Therapy it is already mentioned that the MST developers have a clear definition of responsible or moral behavior: parents need to prepare children to become competent members of society, and children need to comply with family and social rules, attend school, and help out around the house (Henggeler, et al., 1998). In the execution of MST in the Netherlands, however, these aims are defined less specifically and MST therapists go to great lengths to respect the cultural or social beliefs of the families, and to engage parents and children in the MST intervention. As the MST therapists themselves remarked during a supervision session:

> [These adolescents] are not going to be sweethearts, but let them at least
>
> finish school and have an improvement in the family situation. Parents may
>
> not even want them to become sweethearts; they wouldn't know how to
>
> deal with it! (Observations MST, 2010)

Nevertheless, despite this tolerance for different family cultures, the authoritarian element in the value *helpful* (what MST calls "benevolently demanding") implicitly indicate that some changes do need to occur.

There are some small but distinct differences between MST in theory and MST in practice. In both cases, the difference is between values of the same domain (*capable* and *intelligent* from the Achievement domain, and *independent* and *self-respect* from the Self-Direction domain, respectively), so the distinctions are subtle. MST's emphasis on the values *capable* and *independent* show that it is theoretically focused on the empowerment of families. Having the skills and resources to independently live one's life is an important aim of the intervention. In the execution of MST, however, more emphasis is placed on the values *intelligent* and *self-respect*, respectively. This difference seems to be related to the specific perspective of the data: MST theory is directed mostly at the aims of the intervention and

expresses so-called terminal values. The execution of MST seems to be directed more at ways to get there. The aims are important guidelines, but therapists have to find ways to achieve those aims with parents. These values can thus be considered instrumental values (Rokeach, 1973; see also Chapter 3). The assumption seems to be that clarifying processes and helping parents understand the situation (*intelligent*) will help them acquire the parenting skills that are needed (*capable*). Likewise, having belief in one's own worth (self-respect) will help in being able to actually rely on oneself (*independent*). These differences between terminal and instrumental values might be a result of MST's flexibility in the treatment of (multi-)problem families. As we have mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, MST only loosely specifies what kind of interventions need to be used when assisting families. Goals of the treatment are set together with the family. As a result, professionals who are attempting to improve family relations and the child's behavior might focus more on methods than on goals.

In the end, a rather paradoxical picture emerges from this investigation: A focus on the social (Benevolence and Security) is combined with a focus on the individual (Achievement and Self-Direction), and an orientation towards protectionist values (Achievement and Security) is combined with an orientation towards growth values (Benevolence and Self-Direction). Benevolence values reflect the attitude of the professional rather than values that are conveyed to parents or children enrolled in MST. Considering the explicit MST goals to embed families in a social context so that they can live without the assistance of professional care (Henggeler, et al., 1998), the social and protectionist values appear to be a means to the individualistic values of the Achievement and Self-Direction domains. This may also explain the difference in the value hierarchy, where instrumental values are more strongly emphasized in MST practice than in MST theory (see Table 4.2.1). The observed MST teams seem to concentrate more on the goals and wishes of parents than on the goals of MST as stated by Henggeler and his colleagues (Henggeler, et al., 1998). This would also explain the stronger emphasis on values of the Self-Direction domain in the analysis of MST practice.

Overall, it should be concluded that values play a role in MST and that different kinds of values are expressed in the development and execution of this intervention. Yet, the values of MST are expressed quite explicitly. The hidden curriculum of MST thus seems to be less hidden than it is, for example, in the case in the previous case study of EQUIP. In general, (multi-)problem families enrolled in the MST intervention will become more confident in being able to tackle their parenting problems and will learn to accept help from friends and

family in order to adequately face these problems. In order to consolidate these support networks, families will also have to provide various forms of support to the people who are helping them.

4.3 Triple P Positive Parenting Program[*]

In the two preceding chapters we presented our studies of EQUIP and MST. The results of both studies have shown that values are expressed in the development and execution of these two youth care interventions. Both MST and EQUIP are designed to assist adolescents and their parents in cases of severe behavioral problems, including being involved in the juvenile criminal justice system. In this chapter we will turn our attention to a well known preventive intervention for parenting problems: the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program (henceforth, "Triple P"). This intervention differs from the previous case studies in that it mostly targets parents of young children. The intervention also differs from EQUIP and MST in its theoretical foundation, as social learning theories play a crucial role in Triple P.

First, a description of Triple P is given, which includes an explanation of its theoretical background. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the results of our investigation. Our method of research will only be briefly discussed since it is already described in detail in Chapter 3. The goal of this chapter is to investigate whether values are expressed in Triple P, and if so, which ones.

Triple P-Positive Parenting Program

Triple P is a multilevel intervention that aims at the prevention of child rearing- or parenting problems (Sanders, Markie-Dadds, & Turner, 2003b). Triple P was created as a response to increasing concerns about the psychosocial development of children, and as a result of studies showing the prevalence of behavioral problems in children (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, et al., 2003b). It is founded on the idea that enhancing the knowledge, skills, and confidence of parents can prevent children to develop severe behavioral, emotional, and developmental problems (Sanders, et al., 2003b). Besides enhancing confidence and satisfaction in parenting, Triple P aims to enhance resilience and self-efficacy in children (Speetjens, De Graaf, & Blokland, 2007). The program is developed for parents of children from birth to age 16, targeting the specific developmental stages of infants, toddlers, and children in preschool, primary school, and high school, respectively (Sanders, et al., 2003b).

The overall goal of Triple P is to enable parents to become independent problem-solvers (Sanders, et al., 2003b). Sanders speaks of a self-regulatory framework for parents that

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[*] An adapted version of this chapter is resubmitted for publication in *British Journal of Social Work*.

includes self-sufficiency, parental self-efficacy, self-management and personal agency (Sanders, 1999; Sanders, 2003; Sanders & Glynn, 1981).

Sanders and colleagues (2003b) acknowledge that the broader socioecological context in which families live cannot be ignored (e.g. poverty, dangerous neighborhoods, and ethnicity), but the program mainly focuses on individuals and individual families. The assumption is that the more self-sufficient parents become, the more resilient they will be in coping with adversity (Sanders, et al., 2003b).

In promoting positive parenting, the program is built on five basic principles (Sanders, 2003; Sanders, et al., 2003b): (a) Ensuring a safe and engaging environment; (b) creating a positive learning environment; (c) using assertive discipline; (d) having realistic expectations, and (e) taking care of oneself as a parent (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, 1999; Sanders, 2003; Sanders, et al, 2003b; Speetjens, et al., 2007).

Triple P is designed as a five-level program starting with a broad media-based information campaign, and becoming increasingly and more intensively focused when moving through the levels. At its final level (Level 5), it is an individually tailored behavioral family intervention. The main idea behind this multilevel approach is that there are different levels of dysfunction and of behavioral problems in children, and that parents have different needs and desires in the type of assistance they may require (Sanders, 1999; Sanders, et al., 2003b). When parents are only motivated to realize a lower, less intensive level, it is considered to be a better option than having no intervention at all. Parents will nevertheless be advised to get involved in a more extensive intervention (De Vries, 2005/2008).

A number of other programs have been derived from standard Triple P to address the specific requirements of parents and children with special conditions or more specific needs (Sanders, et al., 2003b); to name only a few: Pathways Positive Parenting Program was developed for families running the risk of maltreatment; Stepping Stone Triple P is geared towards parents of children with disabilities, and Workplace Triple P is delivered at the workplace (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, et al., 2003b; Speetjens, et al., 2007). Two other Triple P programs are now being developed: Triple P Starting Well is for future parents, and Transition Triple P is for divorced parents or stepparents (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, et al., 2003b).

Triple P also enables parents to receive assistance via several treatment variants. With the exclusion of Level 1, there are opportunities to choose between face-to-face assistance,

group therapy, or self-directed behavioral training (Sanders, Markie-Dadds, Tully, & Bor, 2000). Research on the effectiveness of these different treatment possibilities showed that all three variants are "clinically viable and highly acceptable interventions" (Sanders, 1999; Sanders, et al., 2000).

Worldwide, more than 75 studies have investigated the effectiveness of Triple P, ranging from small-scale case studies to large, randomized control trials (Speetjens, et al., 2007). Several studies have shown evidence of decreasing behavioral problems in children from different social, familial, and economical backgrounds, such as parental depression, children living in rural and remote areas, and children living with stepfamilies (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, et al., 2003b). A meta-analysis of Standard Triple P – Level 4 showed evidence of large effect-sizes with regards to parenting styles and competencies (De Graaf, Speetjens, Smit, & Tavecchio, 2008). Effectiveness research on Triple P in the Netherlands showed positive effects of the program on parental competencies and parental efficacy. The results also showed that Triple P had moderating effects on symptoms of depression, anxiety, and parents' stress levels (De Graaf, 2009). Results of effectiveness research have also shown positive effects, and the program has been labeled as an effective intervention by the Netherlands Youth Institute (*Nederlands Jeugdinstituut* [NJi]; De Vries, 2005/2008).

Theoretical Background

Triple P is mainly based on social learning principles, since these theories have shown to have the strongest empirical support in the treatment and prevention of childhood disorders (Sanders et al., 2000; Sanders et al, 2003b). Overall, the program is based on social information processing models that emphasize the role of parental cognitions (Bandura, 1977; 1995); social learning models of parent-child interactions, which highlight the reciprocal nature of parent-child interaction (Patterson, 1982); research on protective and risk factors, such as that undertaken by Hart & Risley (Hart & Risley, 1995); research on behavior change strategies (Risley, Clarke and Cataldo, 1976); and on developmental research of parenting in everyday context (Hart & Risley, 1995). The ideas and structure for the implementation of Triple P derive from a population-health perspective, which explicitly recognizes the role of the broader ecological context (i.e. normalizing parents' experience, breaking down a sense of social isolation, and encouraging social and emotional support from others in the community) (Biglan, 1995).

In order to get a full grasp of Triple P, we will now turn to a more detailed discussion of these theoretical pillars and on how they come into play in the program. The theory on risk

and protective factors will not be discussed separately, as it emerges when elaborating on the other theoretical foundations.

Social Information Processing

In the most general sense, theories on social information processing target the attributions of people. Interventions based on social information processing theories encourage individuals to find alternative explanations for their behavior. Bandura's social learning theory rests on the observation that people often do not behave optimally even though they know full well what they ought to do. How people judge their own capabilities seems to be a cognitive process that mediates change (Bandura, 1977; Bandura, 1982). When trying to change behavior, the person has to have faith that she or he is capable of performing the necessary activities and feel certain that these actions will result in the desired outcomes (Bandura, 1977). Beliefs on whether or not one can manage a situation influences how people think, feel, self-motivate, and act. Self-efficacy can grow through successful attempts in mastering a situation. In fostering self-efficacy, Triple P uses several methods that stem from social learning theories, including mastery experiences, modeling, social persuasion, and ideas about one's own physiological and emotional state (Bandura, 1982; 1995).

An important element of Triple P is the attention given towards parents' cognitions and attributions. In order for parents to become independent problem solvers, Sanders and colleagues emphasize the self-regulatory framework (Sanders, 1999; Sanders, et al., 2003b), which stems from Bandura's theory on self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997; 1982; 1995). When dealing with parenting difficulties, parents who believe they cannot handle their child's dysfunctional behavior will stop trying to change it. Therefore, parents should not only acquire skills to influence their child's behavior, but they should also have faith in their own competencies.

Social Learning Models

Patterson (1982) focuses specifically on interaction style in families with antisocial children. According to Patterson, aversive events play a dual role in the context of family interaction (Patterson, 1982); they are not only key components in behavior shaping- or changing-processes, but these events also have short-term effects on alterations in mood and affect. Based on Seligman's theory, Patterson states that a lack of control over aversive events may produce conditioned helplessness. Faulty attributions are made by individual family members, especially in ambiguous situations (Patterson, 1982). Basic skills—such as

maintaining house rules, monitoring, providing consequences, and crisis management—are either not used adequately by parents, or parents are not aware of the importance of them (Patterson, 1982). These skills need to be taught to parents and developed in order to overcome the coercive processes in their families. In order to change the behaviors and cognitions of parents, Triple P has defined 17 parenting strategies that are a core element of the program. Even though it is acknowledged that problems arise in interaction, the developers of Triple P, like Patterson, believe that it is the parent who should be taught to take responsibility in the socialization of the child (Patterson, 1982).

Behavior Change Strategies

Risley and colleagues (1976) studied in detail how minor changes in the behavior of caretakers can influence the development of children, toddlers, and adolescents. Much of their research is conducted in the 1970s when, similar to the concerns nowadays, there was an increasing debate on the social and moral development of children. Risley and colleagues focused specifically on how small changes in children's social environments could lead to improvements in their behavior. Environments like day care centers were meant to stimulate the child's behavior as well as be cost-effective. At the same time, they emphasized the importance of parents' own insights and ideas; all children would have an agreement stating parents' specific wishes in how day care center employees need to attend to that specific child (Risley et al., 1976). In line with these ideas, Triple P aims to make minor changes in family interactions. The assumption is that skills and competencies acquired in one situation will expand to other situations, resulting in important changes in family interaction and, thereby, in the behavior of the child.

Parenting in the Everyday Context

In a later study responding to the U.S. "War on Poverty," Hart and Risley (1995) set out to determine the factors that could be responsible for the lack of success for early interventions. An underlying assumption of early interventions is that they will broaden the experiences of children of with a lower socioeconomic status (SES), and thereby make up for their pasts and alter their situations (Hart & Risley, 1995). With a specific focus on language acquisition, Hart and Risley showed that *all* parents, regardless of their SES, were similarly engaged in raising a child by, among other things, nurturing their children, and playing and talking with them, and disciplining them. The parents' language, however, seems to reflect the number, variety, and flexibility of responses they have for coping with their children's behavior. Their

results also showed that well-established patterns in talk already exist by the age of three, those patterns comprising not only the use of words, but also, in language being affirmative (high SES) or negative (families on welfare). It should be noted that families on welfare can be as articulate and stimulating as working class parents, but they seem to spend less time actually engaging in it (Hart & Risley, 1995). Hart and Risley concluded that these patterns in talk may be the most important for acquiring competencies that are needed in advanced education and in the global economy. Interventions must therefore not only address the skills and knowledge of parents, but should also incorporate a general approach to the child rearing experiences of parents and center on existing differences in parental confidence and motivation (Hart & Risley, 1995).

Hart and Risley's theory plays a role in both the cause of and solutions to parenting problems within Triple P. It is founded on the assumption that social and intellectual competence can be traced back to early child-parent relationships. Consequently, child-initiated interactions are considered to be important means to improve parenting skills and to foster the development of the child (Sanders, 1999).

Program implementation

Population Health Perspective

The dissemination of Triple P is inspired by the theory of Anthony Biglan (1995). Biglan concludes that the identification and modification of a multiplicity of variables responsible for behavioral problems has not resulted in a reduction of antisocial behavior (Biglan, 1995). He postulates that social cohesion in the community would contribute significantly to the reduction of this kind of behavior. Community-building and the establishment of interest groups can lead to a sense of connectedness: Interest groups, for example, can help in influencing community leaders and -organizations to adopt changes or policies that are deemed important by the community. One way to influence community leaders and community organizations can be to instigate action—for example to change parenting styles within that specific community—but it can also include the use of media strategies or personal contacts (Biglan, 1995). According to Biglan (1995) community-building is needed to implement and maintain desired strategies or changes. In order to establish social cohesion within the community, it is important to gain insight into how the community is organized: Community organizations need to be adequately addressed and need to be encouraged to get involved in and to collaborate with these strategies and changes. Biglan emphasizes ethical and strategic reasons for keeping the decisions about community interventions in the hands of

the community: If community members have a say in both goals and strategies of the intervention, they will be more likely to devote time and effort into the intervention, and to accomplish change. It is also possible that they would come up with solutions that social workers or scientists may never have thought of (Biglan, 1995; Webster-Stratton, 1997).

Biglan's approach contributed to the development of Triple P (Sanders, 1999). A comprehensive population-based strategy is developed that is geared towards changing the broader social context by normalizing parenting experiences and by seeking involvement of key figures and organizations in the community (Sanders, 1999). For instance, the social recognition of parenting difficulties is a key component of the Level 1 intervention (Sanders, 2003; Sanders, Cann, & Markie-Dadds, 2003a). Also, the intervention has four different treatment modules, which are all based on the same five basic principles and 17 parenting strategies. This opens up opportunities for collaboration between different youth care agencies. The five different levels make it possible for different types of youth care organizations to engage with each other and to collaborate when assisting families in need. However, the emphasis on empowerment in Biglan's population health perspective—in which the participants themselves are actively involved in the development and execution of specific interventions—seems to be less evident in the way Triple P is structured and implemented.

Our investigation of the values of Triple P is guided by the two main questions that are central to this dissertation:

1. Do values play a role in the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program?

2. If so, what kinds of values are expressed in the development and execution of

Triple P?

Considering the results of previous case studies, and considering the caveats mentioned with triangulation, attention is being paid to possible differences between Triple P theory and Triple P practice. Before turning to the results of our investigation, we will briefly discuss some relevant matters concerning the methodology of the case study of Triple P.

Methods and Design

In Chapter 3, our method of research, which is based on Schwartz's theory of universal values, was extensively discussed (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). For this investigation, we analyzed relevant (scientific) articles discussing Triple P by means of content analysis. Also, interviews and observations were conducted and transcribed and are included in the analysis.

Sampling

As with previous analyses, the choice of articles for analyzing Triple P relied largely on saturation; as many articles were read and analyzed as was necessary to reach the point where no new information came forward (Boeije, 2010). The focus of this investigation is on Standard Triple P only. Although there will be some changes depending on the client population the program is targeting, the assumptions are that the main outline of the program will be the same, and differences will be more prominent between the different levels. More importantly, Standard Triple P has already been implemented and researched in the Netherlands, whereas many of the derived programs are still in the process of translation and have not yet been implemented there.

Only articles discussing Triple P in general or specific elements of it are included in the analysis and represent Triple P in theory. The following articles were used for the textual analysis: De Graaf, et al., 2008; De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, 1999, Sanders, 2003, Sanders, Bor, & Morawska, 2007a; Sanders, Turner, & Markie-Dadds, 2002; Sanders, et al., 2003b; Sanders, Turner, & Markie-Dadds, 2003c; Speetjens, et al., 2007; Turner & Sanders, 2006a, and Turner & Sanders, 2006b. Aside from these articles, information was also gathered from Sanders's book on Triple P (Sanders, 2004), the manual for the trainers (Sanders, Markie-Dadds, & Turner, 2007b), a DVD on the program (Sanders, n.d.), and several factsheets and folders on parenting and parenting-related matters (Sanders, Markie-Dadds, & Turner, 2008a; 2008b; 2008c; 2008d; 2008e; 2008f; 2008g).

Four semistructured interviews were conducted between October 2009 and April 2010. Three of these interviews took place at the office of the interviewee: One interview was held with a Triple P coordinator responsible for the nationwide implementation of the program (Triple P coordinator A), a second one was held with a Triple P coordinator responsible for the province-based implementation of the program (Triple P coordinator C), and the third one was conducted with a Triple P supervisor. These interviews were recorded and later transcribed. A fourth interview with a Triple P coordinator for county-based implementation took place over the phone (Triple P coordinator B). Notes were taken during this interview, which were transcribed afterwards. The transcript was then sent to the interviewee for comments or corrections.

Five observations were conducted between June and November 2010. The first observation was of a Level 4 Triple P session in a northern city in the Netherlands . The second observation was of a Level 3 session in a village in the center of the Netherlands. Both these observations took place in the offices of the Triple P therapists. The third, fourth,

and fifth observations took place in the homes of the clients and were all Level 4 sessions, and all three took place in a small city in the center of the country. During all the observations notes were taken which were later transcribed and analyzed. Although the initial goal was to conduct observations over all levels of the Triple P program, we were limited by the number of youth care organizations that was able to cooperate.

Results

The analysis of Triple P showed that the most important values of the program are Achievement (*capable*, *intelligent*), Self-Direction (*choosing own goals*, *independent*), Security (*family security*), and Benevolence (*helpful*). The value hierarchies of the most dominant values, and value domains of Triple P are presented in Table 4.3.1 below. A detailed overview of the value hierarchies can be found in Appendix 5. Chapter 3 and Appendix 1a of this dissertation provide a more detailed overview of the definition of values. However, definitions will also be given below when discussing the results of our analysis in detail.

Table 4.3.1: *Overview of value hierarchies in Triple P*

Rank	Triple P overall	Triple P Theory	Triple P practice
1	ACH (34.3%; capable, intelligent)	ACH (32.5%; capable, intelligent)	ACH (37.3%; intelligent, capable)
2	SD (21.3%; choosing own goals, independent)	SD (24.1%; independent, choosing own goals)	BE (17.8%; helpful)
3	SE (19.3%; family security)	SE (20.7%; family security)	SE (17%; social order, family security)
4	BE (11.4%; helpful)	-	SD (16.2%; choosing own goals, independent)
Other domains	13.7%	22.7%	11.7%

ACH= Achievement, BE= Benevolence, SE= Security, SD= Self-Direction

The value hierarchies of Triple P largely reflect the explicit focus of the program as is claimed by its developers: offering skills and competencies to parents in order to enable them to independently live their lives. The focus on *family security* indicates that family life needs to be stable and harmonious. The results, however, also show some differences between the value hierarchy of Triple P theory and the value hierarchy of Triple P practice. In the

concluding paragraph of this chapter we will discuss the implications of these differences. First, we will describe in more detail the values of Triple P, in which these differences in value hierarchies are taken into account.

Achievement

The Achievement domain refers to "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The associated value *capable* refers to "being competent, efficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Triple P is guided by a need for parents and children to become competent and effective problem solvers; the Triple P manual states, for example:

> Active skills training: rehearsing behavior is the core treatment method in
> learning Triple P strategies. Role playing and practicing hard. But also,
> teaching [parents] to be self managing by emphasizing what went well or
> which mistakes have been made (Sanders, et al., 2007b, p. 95).

The ability to practice parenting skills and tools in the Triple P program is also an important subject in its execution, and the 17 parenting strategies that are taught are a clear example of the emphasis on capable (De Vries, 2005/2008; Sanders, 2003; Sanders et al., 2003b). The Triple P coordinators emphasize these parenting skills, for example, when claiming,

> The essence of the intervention remains the same: you teach 17 parenting
> strategies to parents based on the 5 basic principles of the Triple P program.
> (Triple P coordinator A, 2009)

The observations affirm this: "After having discussed the issue with parents, the social worker again takes parents through the workbook step-by-step" (Observations Triple P, 2010)

The value *intelligent,* literally meaning "logical, thinking" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), refers to the ability to think about and reflect on situations and activities. In Triple P this value is expressed in text fragments emphasizing the need to cultivate parents' abilities to understand and reflect on their own behavior and the behavior of their children:

> Self-management means that parents in a parenting situation can make an
> adequate assessment of their own share [of the problem] and their child's
> share. Parents learn to reflect on their parenting approaches and through
> this gain insight into their own behavior and learn how they can maneuver
> things in the desired direction. (De Vries, 2005/2008, para. 4)

And also:

This involves exploring with parents their expectations, assumptions, and beliefs about the causes of children's behavior and choosing goals developmentally appropriate for the child and realistic for the parent. (Sanders, et al., 2003b)

In the execution of Triple P, attention is paid to parents' cognitions and their interpretation of the family situation:

The social worker states that it is important to pay attention to underlying fears and insecurities and not to focus solely on practicing skills. She claims that Triple P is sometimes aimed too much on behavior and on one problem while reality is much more complex. (Observations, Triple P, 2010)

Self-Direction

The motivational domain of Self-Direction is defined by "independent thought and action, and choosing, creating, exploring" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Of this domain, two values are specifically highlighted in Triple P: *independent* and *choosing own goals/freedom*. The latter refers to opportunities to "select one's own purposes" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) and to be free to act as one believes is right. In Triple P, such a value is reflected in the program's explicit claim that parents can decide for themselves how they want to raise their children:

There is not one right way to rear children or to be a good parent. In the end it is up to you as a parent to decide which values and norms you deem important, which skills to teach your child and which behavior you want to promote. (Sanders, et al., 2008a)

Of the two values mentioned, *choosing own goals* is emphasized most strongly in Triple P theory. But even though the value is less important in the execution of Triple P, some evidence does confirm its presence:

The social worker emphasizes that there is not one right way of parenting, but multiple and that this depends among others on the personality of the child, the personality of parents and issues/values that people regard as important in child rearing. (Observations Triple P, 2010)

The value *independent* refers to being "self-reliant and self-sufficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). The emphasis placed in the Triple P program on the need to become an independent problem solver reflects this value (Sanders, et al., 2003b). After all, one of the main goals of Triple P is "Promoting the independence and health of families by enhancing

the knowledge, skills and confidence of parents" (De Vries, 2005/2008, para. 2). This focus on independence was one of the elements that attracted the Dutch youth care system to the Triple P program. As one of the Triple P coordinator explains:

> Actually, this is the first program in which [a colleague] saw that things are worked out for parents in so much detail and in which parents are taken by the hand and are guided through the parenting skills step by step, so that they have a real chance to internalize these skills and eventually also, yes this is also a basic principle of Triple P, become self-managing. So that based on these skills, parents will also know how to handle problem situations in the future. (Triple P coordinator A, 2009)

This value is not only a goal stressed for parents, but is also an aim in child development, as becomes evident in text fragments like:

> [Children] also need to learn a great many skills that will enable them to become responsible, independent, competent, self-disciplined and well adjusted human beings. (Sanders, 2004, p. 3)

Security

"Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self" are the main goals for the motivational domain of Security (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Within this domain, Triple P focuses specifically on the value *family security*, which refers to "safety for loved ones" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Two claims underscoring this value are: "Children need a warm, loving, safe environment. Children need routine" (Sanders, n.d.) and

> Parent as a team; talk with each other, no conflicts around children (no fighting, but discussions and finding solutions are good to see for children).
> (Sanders, n.d.)

However*, family security* is not restricted to the family, but is also emphasized in relation to other caretakers of the child. The most important element of this value is that children grow up in a stable, clearly defined situation with consistent rules and goals. As Sanders explains in his book:

> When parenting responsibilities are shared, as they so often are today, all those involved should work towards a common approach to raising children. Although children can cope with some differences in the parenting styles of the adults in their lives (such as parents, grand parents, child care staff and teachers), it is much less confusing for children when parents

> agree about basic values, skills and behaviors they wish to encourage and
>
> the methods of parenting to use. (Sanders, 2004, p. 34)

The observations show the same emphasis on stability and agreement within the parenting situation, for instance:

> The social worker underscores that parents should organize and plan the
>
> approach beforehand and that they should make agreements on what to do
>
> and how to do it. Children should be offered clarity. (Observations Triple P,
>
> 2010)

Another value of the Security domain appearing in the data of Triple P practice is *social order*. This value refers to "stability of society" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60) but is also used in this case study as reference to the stability of organizations of the youth care system. In Triple P, this value is stressed because of the clarity the program offers to the youth care system. In Triple P theory, it is not emphasized very strongly, but it does appear subtly when references are made to the adjustment of children. These references implicitly refer to the need for stability within society:

> The fundamental challenge for every parent is to raise healthy, well-
>
> adjusted children who have the necessary skills and resources to enter adult
>
> life. (Sanders, 2004, p. 3)

In all the interviews it was mentioned that the youth care system has much to gain from the Triple P program because of its clear structure and use of a common language between youth care agencies, as illustrated by the claim:

> Triple P is very popular. This is most likely due to the fact that it is a
>
> complete program that offers help to all parents. Moreover, it causes unity
>
> in language, which enhances the collaboration between agencies, but also
>
> between professionals within an agency. (Triple P coordinator B, 2009)

Benevolence

The domain of Benevolence refers to the "preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *helpful* of this domain specifically refers to "working for the welfare of others" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Because of the nature of youth care interventions, in which help and assistance is offered by professionals to parents, it is not surprising that this value is underscored. Within Triple P, this value additionally seems to reflect the need for parents to be helpful

towards their children (as opposed to solely referring to the social worker being helpful towards their clients). This value emerges only in Triple P in practice, however, and is hardly mentioned in Triple P theory. The observations for example show:

> The social worker emphasizes that the mother should not discuss this issue with her son as criticism, but that she should formulate it positively ('you still have to learn that…' or 'you find it hard to…'). (Observations Triple P, 2010).

It also comes out when a social worker explains to a mother:

> This takes time, but it [desired behavior] should also be encouraged [by giving compliments, rewards] and be repeated. In future sections we will practice this with role play. (Observations Triple P, 2010)

Even though this value is not mentioned in Triple P theory, several of the key informants believed the program was also designed to be helpful towards parents. As one interviewee explains;

> […] there are many things in Triple P to help parents with [learning parenting skills]; a DVD, working with role play to practice with parents, parents can also write down in their own words which steps they have taken – if they can write, otherwise you can play it out for them and then they pick it up you know… So there are already many alternatives within the program to help parents. But in the Netherlands this is given more attention. So for example, is it possible to use more images, pictures in tip-sheets for example (Triple P coordinator A, 2009).

This emphasis on being helpful also makes it possible to guide parents in a certain direction regarding the perception and treatment of their children's behavior, which is defined as "being realistic." As one interviewee mentions:

> You'd better ask a social worker this, but in the program this is addressed by having social workers first concern themselves with what parents want. Because of the guidelines in the program parents often start to perceive the problems differently. Indirectly this influence may be there. Moreover, Triple P does not claim that you can't be realistic with parents. (Triple P coordinator B, 2009)

Conclusions

The results of the investigation into the Triple P-Positive Parenting Program have made evident that the program is guided by specific value hierarchies, in which the value domains Achievement (*capable*, *intelligent*), Self-Direction (*choosing own goals*, *independent*), and Security (*family security*, *social order*) are especially important. The program is often regarded to be value-neutral because of its explicit claim that it emphasizes parents' own choices. However, as is also argued in Chapter 2, freedom of choice also reflects a specific outlook on life, and thus also reflects a value-based perspective. Our results show that other—more implicit—values also play an important role in Triple P, which reflect a conflicting notion of good parenting as characterized by harmony and stability. Some differences exist between Triple P in theory and in practice; the domain Self-Direction is less important in Triple P practice;, instead the domain Benevolence is highlighted. Also, the value *social order* plays a specific role in Triple P practice only.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the abovementioned results. First of all, there seems to be a contradiction within the Triple P program regarding its aims. On the one hand, considerable emphasis is placed on the value *choosing own goals*, reflected in Triple P's goal that parents have to decide for themselves which behavior, values, and skills they want to teach their children. On the other hand, values of the Achievement domain predominate the program (*capable*, *intelligent*), which reflect the need to adapt to social standards. Also, the value *family security* is emphasized, revealed by the Triple P principle that family life needs to be stable and harmonious. These values emphasize the program's desire for stability and consistency in children's lives both within the family and within the community. This limits the choices parents can make regarding the skills, behavior, and values they want to teach their children.

In the use of Triple P's 17 parenting strategies and in the way that parents are guided through the program, it becomes evident that the program is founded on specific notions of "good parenting." As claimed by Triple P coordinator A, parents are taken by the hand and guided through specific steps in order to internalize these parenting skills. Thus, we believe that the conclusion that must be drawn that the Triple P program is not as free and flexible as it is presented; the standardization of the Triple P program results in the same skills being taught to all the parents on each level. After all, despite the statement that strategies depend on parents' desires and needs, and children's behavior, the same strategies and principles are used for a variety of parents, children, and problems, and in all treatment modules. These parenting skills thereby form a template of the "ideal parent," which leads to the conclusion

that the Triple P program reflects a "uniformization" of parenting and parent-child interaction: even though parents are explicitly told they have to make their own choices in the upbringing of their children, implicitly they are taught a framework of parenting that will result in adjustment and independence (Sanders, 2004). In line with this matter is the influence of the value *helpful* in the execution of Triple P. As previously mentioned, this value is inherent to the social work vocation and may be hard to suppress by its professionals. But this value also reflects situations in which social workers' efforts to help parents result in a situation them telling parents what to do, according to Triple P principles, which not only conflicts with values of the Self-Direction domain, but also with the empowerment approach of Biglan's population health perspective.

Second, and also in contrast to what one would expect from Biglan's health perspective, Triple P is a highly individualized program. Both values of the Achievement and Self-Direction domains, respectively, are what Schwartz would call "person-oriented" (or individualistic) values, serving the enhancement of the individual rather than the group (Schwartz, 1992). In the case of Triple P, the focus is exclusively on parents. Although some references are made to the possibility of finding support within one's social network, it is also explicitly stated that all caregivers should agree on the parenting styles and goals. Consequently, parents are expected to teach other caregivers the details of their parenting styles and strategies, which again places parents in a central position. Triple P does not aim to have parents develop their own interventions or to work together as a community in discussing and overcoming parenting problems. A value like *sense of belonging*, referring to a feeling that others care, also hardly comes forward in the program. This highly individualized approach contrasts with notions of parenting as a social endeavor. In a country like Ghana, for example, it is believed that extended family members do a more adequate job than parents raising their children, which is rationalized by their not being so intimately related to the child, and are thus doing a better job of judging and correcting his or her behavior (Coe, 2008; Schans, 2011, personal communication). The fact that Triple P is also effective in more conformist countries such as Japan and Iran does not refute this conclusion; despite the highly individualized approach, the Triple P program, as we have concluded before, aims for adjustment to social norms. This aim suits more conformist cultures well, and may explain the popularity and effectiveness of the program in such countries. However, for ethnically diverse groups within Dutch society, the situation may differ: They are expected to adjust to the norms of Dutch society, which does not necessarily coincide with

their own cultural beliefs. A highly individualized intervention like Triple P may only add to feelings of having to rely on one's own.

The last two conclusions that we can draw are related more to the structure and dissemination of the Triple P program rather than to its content. As has become clear from the results of our investigation, the popularity and success of Triple P is a direct consequence of the way the program is structured (the value *social order*): Implementation of Triple P means that the professionals and the agencies involved think and act in the same way and speak the same language. Disagreements and conflicts between professionals or between agencies are thereby prevented. This undoubtedly pleases the parties involved as it enables and facilitates collaboration between agencies and professionals. However, it can be questioned whether all professionals and agencies agree with the implicit normativity of Triple P, as has been unraveled in this chapter. Also, it reflects a certain outlook on youth care in which collaboration and cooperation take precedence over debates about the pedagogical aims of the youth care sector.

The Triple P developers have managed to develop and to disseminate a multifaceted program that offers parenting assistance to all kinds of parenting problems (sleeping, crying, anxiety, alcohol abuse, obesity, relationship problems, et cetera) in all kinds of forms (self-help, individual, group training, or even workplace training). Combined with the emphasis on evidence-based practice within the field of youth care, this has resulted in a big demand for what could be called Triple P merchandise such as workbooks and DVDs. This seems to show a commercialization of youth care interventions. The ever-increasing focus on evidence and effectiveness may blind youth care agencies to the commercial aspects of effective interventions. This however, is most likely an important but neglected side effect of the dominance of evidence-based practice within the field of professional youth care, rather than being a strict characteristic of the Triple P Program.

4.4 Master Your Mood

The following chapter will describe our investigation of Master your Mood (MyM), a preventive psychosocial intervention for adolescents with (sub)clinical depression. The central point in this chapter will be to investigate whether values are expressed in the development and execution of Master your Mood and if so, which ones. Before discussing the intervention, we briefly explain the history of this intervention, since it is known by many names.

Master your Mood (*Grip op je Dip*) is an intervention for adolescents and young adults, ages 16 to 25. The intervention consists of weekly face-to-face group-meetings. There is also an online version of MyM (Master your Mood Online), in which the meetings take place in a chat room. For younger children aged 13 to 17 years, the same intervention exists, but is called Head Up. There are only minor differences between MyM and Head Up which are mainly due to the age difference of the children involved.

Both MyM and Head Up are derived from the American intervention "(Adolescent) Coping with Depression Course," developed by Clarke and colleagues (Clarke & Lewinsohn, 1984; Clarke, Lewinsohn, & Hops, 1990b). This course has also been the source for two other interventions in the Netherlands: One also aimed at adolescents, is called Mood Maker (*Stemmingmakerij*). The other course, for adults, is called Down-Hearted, Up-Hearted (*In de put, uit de put*) (Bool, 2008; De Gee, 2008; Voordouw, Cuijpers, Wilschut, & Van Der Zanden, 2010). In the Netherlands the choice has been made to come to a nationwide implementation of MyM and Head Up, in order to ensure that a similar approach is taken towards all youth with depressive symptoms in Dutch society (De Gee, 2008). This notion, and the similarities between MyM and Head Up, have led us to the decision to focus solely on MyM in this chapter.

As it is acknowledged that these interventions are basically the same intervention as the Coping with Depression Course for adolescents (CWD-A) from the U.S., the analysis will also include information of this "original" version of the intervention. Both Mood Maker and Down-Hearted, Up-Hearted will be excluded from this analysis. Mood Maker is not being implemented nationwide and its use is less exhaustive. Down-Hearted, Up-Hearted, as a course for adults, is beyond the scope of our investigation and is thus excluded from the analysis.

Master your Mood

Master your Mood (MyM) has been developed in order to prevent depression among young people and to help decrease depressive symptoms (Van Der Zanden, Conijn, Visscher, & Gerrits, 2005). MyM is a group-based course, which exists of eight weekly meetings. Groups consist of eight to 12 adolescents, ages 16 to 25, and two group trainers (De Gee, 2008). Each meeting is structured around a specific topic for discussion and skills that adolescents need to acquire. The first few meetings focus on negative thinking patterns and on pleasant activities. In later meetings, the focus is on assertiveness training, conflict management, and on planning for the future. Halfway through the course parents come in for an information session to learn more about depressive disorders and about the course their children are enrolled in. Parents are not included in the treatment (De Gee, 2008).

Because many interventions only attract a small number of people, an effort was made to reach a larger population through the web-based version of MyM: Master your Mood Online (Van Der Zanden, et al., 2005). MyM Online consists of group sessions in a secured chat room. The content of this online intervention is for the large part the same as for the face-to-face meetings. Some minor adaptations made the intervention suitable for a web-based approach (Van Der Zanden, et al., 2005).

MyM is a cognitive-behaviorist intervention, as this has shown to be the most effective theoretical approach in the treatment of behavior problems (Lewinsohn, Clarke, & Hoberman, 1989; see also Sanders, et al., 2000; Sanders, et al., 2003b). The core element of MyM is to provide insight into the relationship between thoughts, feelings, and behavior. Thinking patterns are critically analyzed and negative irrational thoughts (i.e. thinking errors) are changed into constructive helpful thoughts (De Gee, 2008; Gerrits, Van Der Zanden, Visscher, & Conijn, 2007; Van Der Zanden, et al., 2005). Other important elements of the MyM course are undertaking pleasant activities, assertiveness training and conflict management. Participants need to "measure" their mood on a daily basis with a "mood-survey" or "thermometer" (Van Der Zanden, et al., 2005). This "mood-survey" is used to clarify relations between the pleasant activities the adolescents have engaged in and the way they feel afterwards. Each session, adolescents are invited to tell "positive news;" they tell about something that went well, so that the positive things are recognized instead of only negative things (De Gee, 2008; Trimbos Institute [*Trimbos Instituut*], 2007). At the end of every meeting a "boost of the week" is given to each adolescent (a small pep talk on paper), a group reflection is held, and homework is given for the next meeting.

Theoretical Background

As mentioned above, MyM is based on the Adolescent Coping with Depression Course (Clarke, et al., 1990b). The general assumption behind the MyM course and the CWD-A is that depression is a result of a complex interplay of biological, social, and psychological causes (Bool, 2008; De Gee, 2008). Individuals who are depressed experience what Lewinsohn calls "state-dependent and state-maintaining moods, actions, and thoughts" (Lewinsohn, et al., 1989, p. 473). In order to tackle this interplay of causes, the meetings and activities of MyM are based on cognitive therapy (Beck, 1979), the pleasant activities approach (Lewinsohn & Libet, 1972), problem-solving therapy (Nezu, 1986), self-control therapy (Rehm, 1984), and elements of social skill training.

Cognitive Therapy

The cognitive model of depression is the main foundation of the MyM course. The theory is supported by extensive research and some even claim its superiority to other therapies (including drug therapy) (Beck, 1991). According to Beck, cognitions are thoughts that arise quickly and automatically and are not subject to conscious control. These thoughts affect what people say to themselves. Beck states that there is a variety of errors in depressive thinking such as overgeneralizations and exaggeration (Beck, 1991). These beliefs are formed earlier in life but have become embedded in a structure, so-called "cognitive schema." These schemas explain the development of the depression, but are not the cause of depression. Within this theory, psychopathology is considered to be an exaggeration of normal adaptive processes (Beck, 1991).

  Within MyM there is a focus on this relationship between events, thoughts, and feelings and participants of the MyM course are taught to scrutinize their own cognitive schema in relation to events happening in their lives. The other elements of MyM (pleasant activities approach, problem-solving therapy, self-control therapy, and social skills training) are incorporated in the course in order to alter these cognitive schema or thinking errors.

Pleasant Activities Approach

The assumption of the pleasant activities approach (Lewinsohn & Libet, 1972) is that a low rate of positive reinforcement constitutes a critical precondition for the occurrence of depressive behaviors. The intensity of the depression can covary with the rate of positive reinforcement (Lewinsohn & Libet, 1972). The goal of the pleasant activities approach is to establish an adequate schedule of positive reinforcement by changing the level, quality, and

range of activities and of interpersonal interactions. This hypothesis has been supported in several studies (Lewinsohn & Libet, 1972; Lewinsohn & Graf, 1973) but the causal relationship needs further exploration. Findings, however, show that depressed persons do not only have a smaller number of activities but they also repeat these activities less often (Lewinsohn & Graf, 1973). According to Lewinsohn and Graf, the activities that are associated with (changes in) mood are activities involving social interaction, activities that incite affects presumed to be incompatible with depression (e.g. laughing) and ego-supportive activities (e.g. fostering feelings of adequacy, competence) (Lewinsohn & Graf, 1973). This finding is put to use explicitly in the list of pleasant activities the juveniles in MyM have to complete every day during the course. Also, the "positive news" sections in the MyM meetings highlight the role of pleasant activities.

Problem-Solving Therapy

Social problem-solving, according to Nezu and Perri (1989) is a process by which people discover, create or identify effective means of coping with stressful events encountered in living. Deficits in problem-solving skills may account for depression. According to the authors, a problem situation evokes a set of beliefs, assumptions, and expectations (cognitive element), but also brings about behavioral elements or skills (Nezu & Perri, 1989). Within problem-solving therapy, the focus is specifically on four of these skills: problem definition, generation of alternative solutions, decision-making, and solution implementation. These tasks enable a person to solve a stressful problem. In this kind of therapy, the motivation of individuals to address a specific problem-situation is emphasized (Nezu & Perri 1989). Results support the notion that not only problem-solving skills are important, but that the appraisal of the stressful event (problem-orientation) is also an important factor. The therapy in this sense resembles Bandura's social learning theory (Bandura, 1977; Nezu & Perri, 1989). To facilitate a person's motivation to actually apply the four problem-solving skills and to feel self-efficacious in doing so is a crucial element in problem orientation training (Nezu & Perri, 1989). Research by Nezu has supported the notion that the degree in which individuals effectively cope with problems is a result of their problem-solving ability. It also showed that effective problem-solving decreases the likelihood of experiencing depressive symptoms (Nezu, 1986).

Within the MyM course, the participating juveniles are taught to untangle and define the sets of beliefs and assumptions that underlie their own experiences and the events that

happen in their lives. Also, in the final stages of the MyM course, there is a strong emphasis on developing problem-solving skills such as conflict resolution.

Self-Control Therapy

Within self-control therapy, affective elements such as sadness are related to cognitive elements such as guilt, low self-esteem, and helplessness. In this therapy, the aforementioned theories of Lewinsohn and Beck are combined, and the therapy is also influenced by Seligman's model of learned helplessness (Rehm, 1977). Self-control according to Rehm is the process by which individuals learn to adapt or change their responses to events happening in their lives, in the absence of external support (Rehm, 1977). The feedback loop that supports this self-control consists of self-monitoring, self-evaluation and self-reinforcement.

Depression and self-monitoring are related in the sense that depressed persons are drawn selectively to negative events, and they do so almost to the exclusion of positive events. The notion of self-monitoring can also be found in Beck's notion of cognitive distortions and in Lewinsohn's idea of inattentiveness to positive events (Rehm, 1977).

Self-evaluation and depression are related in that depressed persons often fail to make an accurate internal attribution of causality; they either express an external locus of control or they express an internal locus of control with a lack of feeling competent. They also tend to set very high, or stringent, criteria for self-evaluation. Again, this notion of self-evaluation is comparable to Beck's cognitive distortions (Rehm, 1977). The relation between self-reinforcement and depression manifests in the fact that depressive persons exhibit low rates of self-reward and high rates of self-punishment.

Overall, Rehm claims that there are six deficits in self-control in depressive persons: First, depressed persons selectively monitor negative events; second, they selectively monitor immediate—as opposed to delayed—consequences of behavior. Third, they have stringent self-evaluative criteria; fourth, they show evidence of inaccurate attributions of responsibility; finally, insufficient self-reward and excessive self-punishment are the fifth and sixth deficits in self-control (Rehm, 1977). MyM incorporates the self-control therapy of Rehm by both focusing more specifically on positive and pleasant activities and events, and by teaching the adolescents skills to gain insight into their cognitive schemas.

Program implementation

The Master your Mood course can be executed in a range of psychosocial youth care institutions. In the Netherlands, the course is most commonly executed in the Institutions for

Child and Youth Mental Health Care (*Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg – Jeugd* [GGZ-jeugd]). The online version of MyM is also the responsibility of these mental health care institutions.

In the face-to-face course, 10 to 12 juveniles take part; for the online version of MyM six to eight take part. The face-to-face MyM course is given by two therapists, as opposed to one guiding the online group. It is important to note that therapists take on the role of trainers when executing MyM, and these trainers need to not only focus on the individual needs of the participants, but also on the needs of the group as a whole. They need to ensure that every adolescent can participate equally (De Gee, 2008). Every course consists of eight meetings of 1½ hours (De Gee, 2008). For the online version of MyM, the number of meetings has been narrowed down to six sessions of 1½ hours (Van der Linden & Van Der Zanden, 2009). In contrast, the original Adolescent Coping with Stress Course consists of 16 meetings of 2 hours (Clarke, et al., 1990b).

An important, yet also problematic part of the course is the homework the adolescents are required to do. Every day during the course, the adolescents are required to fill in their "mood thermometer" and to keep up-to-date with their pleasant activities schedule. Also, some more specific homework assignments need to be completed, which are related to the themes discussed in the meetings (De Gee, 2008). For the depressed juveniles participating in MyM, this element is very demanding and they often fail to get all the homework done (observations, 2011).

Special courses and intervision meetings are organized annually for the therapists executing the MyM course in order to uphold the quality of the course (Van Der Linden & Van Der Zanden, 2009).

In summary, MyM is a group-based preventive intervention, developed for the treatment of (sub)clinical depression in adolescents. The course is based largely on a cognitive-behavioral approach. By gaining insight into their irrational, negative thoughts, adolescents learn to turn these thoughts into more positive realistic thoughts. Pleasant activities are an important element to change the behavior of the adolescents and thereby to change their thoughts, resulting in a more upward swing of mood and activities.

Two main questions are central to this investigation:

1. Do values play a role in the Master your Mood course?

2. If so, what kinds of values are being expressed in the development and execution of MyM?

Before turning to the results of our investigation, we first briefly need to attend to some methodological issues relevant to this specific case study.

Methods and Design

In Chapter 3 of this dissertation, the methodology of this research project is already discussed in detail. Relying on Schwartz's theory on the content and structure of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994), we analyzed scientific articles and other relevant documents and articles discussing the Master your Mood course by means of content analysis. Interviews and observations have also been conducted and have been transcribed in order to include them in our analysis.

Regarding the results of the previous case studies presented in this dissertation, and taking into consideration the stipulations for triangulating data, we examined possible differences between MyM in theory (articles and books) and in practice (interviews and observations). Moreover, taking into account that MyM is based on the American Adolescent Coping with Depression Course (Clarke et al., 1990b), possible differences between MyM and the American course are also studied.

Sampling

The analysis of MyM included not only information of the course itself, but also of its original version, the CWD-A. For the analysis, the following articles and manuals have been used: Clarke, et al., 1990b; Clarke, Hops, Lewinsohn, Andrews, Seeley, & Williams 1992; Clarke, Hawkins, Murphy, Sheeber, Lewinsohn, & Seeley 1995; Clarke, Hops, & Andrews 1990a; Cuijpers, Munoz, Clarke, & Lewinsohn 2009; Coordination group Master your Mood online, n.d. (*Coordinatiegroep Grip op je dip online*); De Gee, 2008; Gerrits, et al., 2007; Van Der Linden & Van Der Zanden, 2009 and Van Der Zanden, Kramer, & Cuijpers, 2011.

Aside from these articles and course manuals, semistructured interviews were conducted with a MyM therapist (November, 2010) and course developer (February 2011). Both interviews took place at the offices of these key informants. Due to technical problems, the first interview was not recorded. Instead, notes were taken, which were written out immediately after the interview in order to prevent a loss of information due to retrieval problems. The second interview was recorded and then transcribed.

A total of five observations were conducted between December 2010 and April 2011. The observations took place in a mental health institution in a big city in the south of the Netherlands. Four observations were conducted of MyM meetings with adolescents. Groups

consisted of six adolescents. Sessions 3, 4, 5, and the final session of the training were observed. One other observation was conducted of the meeting for parents. With the exception of the final session and the meeting with parents, observations took place through a one-way screen. Adolescents were notified of the attendance of the researcher, and in the second meeting, the researcher was also introduced to the group. In the final session and in the session with parents, the researcher was part of the face-to-face meeting, which also offered an opportunity to ask some additional questions to the adolescents and to their parents. Notes were taken during the observations, which were described after the meetings to prevent any loss due to retrieval problems. The transcribed observations are included in the analysis.

Results

The analysis of MyM showed that the most important value domains are Achievement (*intelligent*, *capable*), Security (*sense of belonging*), and Hedonism (*enjoying life*). With regard to these values, it should be noted that they fully capture the main elements of the MyM course: a cognitive-behaviorist approach (*intelligent* and *capable*), the emphasis on Lewisohn's pleasant activities approach (*enjoying life*) and a group-based intervention (*sense of belonging*). However, important differences are found between MyM in theory and the its actual execution, as can be seen in Table 4.1.1 below. Most obviously, Hedonism is not stressed so strongly in MyM practice. Instead, values from the Security and Tradition domains are stressed. This indicates that in the execution of MyM, the approach towards the participating adolescents is moderating rather than stimulating. A full overview of the value hierarchies of MyM is given in Appendix 6a.

Also, a comparison of the results of the Dutch version (MyM) with the American version (CWD-A) made evident that there is an important difference between these two countries: Whereas the Dutch emphasize the value *intelligent* more strongly in the development and the course, the value *capable* is emphasized more strongly in the American version (see also Appendix 6b). We will return to this matter in the concluding sections of this dissertation.

Before turning to the overall implications of the results, we will first discuss the values of MyM in more detail below, thereby taking into account the differences between MyM in theory and in practice. The definitions of the values included in this research project have previously been presented in Chapter 3, and can also be found in Appendix 1a.

However, definitions will also be given below, when discussing the results of this investigation in more detail.

Table 4.4.1: *Overview of the value hierarchy of the Master your Mood course*

Rank	MyM overall	MyM theory	MyM practice
1	ACH (38.2%; intelligent, capable)	ACH (46.4%; intelligent, capable)	ACH (28.3%; intelligent)
2	SE (12%; sense of belonging)	HE (12.3%; enjoying life')	SE (15%; sense of belonging)
3	HE (11.5%; enjoying life)	-	TR (13.3%; accepting portion in life, humble/moderate)
4	-	-	BE (11.5%; honest, loyal, helpful, responsible)
5	-	-	HE (10.6%; enjoying life)
Other domains	38.3%	41.3%	21.3%

ACH= Achievement, Be= Benevolence, HE= Hedonism, SE= Security, TR= Tradition

Achievement

The Achievement domain refers to "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *intelligent* refers to "logical, thinking" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), or the ability to think about and reflect on situations and activities. Within MyM, this value comes forward in assertions like:

> The core focus [of MyM] is the cognitive restructuring of thinking patterns. Course participants are encouraged to detect their own unproductive, unrealistic thoughts, and they are then taught to transform these into realistic, helpful thoughts. (Van Der Zanden, et al., 2011, p. 199).

This value reflects the cognitive approach of MyM, and can also be found, for example, in the descriptions of the Netherlands Youth Institute (*Nederlands Jeugdinstituut* [NJi]) and of the original Adolescent Coping with Stress course, respectively:

> First, [with this method] the juveniles learn to analyze the moments in which their mood deteriorated. By using the schema the recognition of thought preceding the sad feelings is being practiced. After this, the schema is used to change negative and irrational thoughts of the juvenile into constructive thoughts. (De Gee, 2008, para. 4.1.3)

And:

> At-risk adolescents were taught cognitive techniques to identify and challenge negative or irrational thoughts that may contribute to the development of future affective disorder. (Clarke, et al., 1995, p. 315)

In executing the course, the value *intelligent* also emerges in several course elements and in the way the therapists communicate with the adolescents, for example:

> Communication takes place via the instructors, who ask with every step: "What do you think?," "What do you feel?," and "Does this have advantages?." The instructors also help with reflecting on which thinking errors might play a role [in these thoughts] and with considering possible opposing [helpful] thoughts. (observations MyM, 2010/2011)

The value *capable* refers to being "competent, efficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), and reflects the behavioral component of the cognitive-behavioral approach of Master your Mood. This value is reflected in statements like:

> The goal of the course is not to change the social context (e.g. the parents), but to teach adolescents the skills with which they will know how to positively interact with and exert influence on their social context. (De Gee, 2008, para. 4.1.3)

Or, as it is described in the original CDW-A:

> The course is presented as an opportunity for adolescents to learn new skills which will help them to gain control over their moods and deal with situations that contribute to their depression. (Clarke et al., 1990b, p. 3)

In the execution of MyM, the emphasis is placed on the value *intelligent* rather than *capable*.

Security

"Safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self" are the main goals for the motivational domain of Security (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Of this domain, the value *sense of belonging* is stressed above others. This value reflects the group-based approach of MyM and refers to a "feeling that others care" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60). For MyM in theory, this value is reflected in the comment:

> The perceived advantages of online group sessions as compared to individual approaches are social support and mutual recognition by group

members (though they remain anonymous to one another). (Van Der
Zanden, et al., 2011, p. 198)

The need to feel cared for by others is stressed in overcoming depressive episodes or moods.
For example, one of the developers of the MyM course claims:

Well, when the social support network is strong, we also believe more
strongly in the positive effects of a course like MyM. If someone says "I
have nobody to talk to," we advise him to at least contact their family
practitioner. Because no one…, to be all alone in your depression, that is
absolutely detrimental. (Developer MyM, 2011)

Within the execution of MyM, this value is also considered when fostering interaction
between the individual group members. For example:

The instructor addresses the fact that K in previous meetings had mentioned
the need to talk to someone about [her mood], and offers the possibility that
maybe someone from the MyM course could help her with this. K admits
that this is true, but that she still doesn't know whether she will keep in
touch with people from the course. (Observations MyM, 2010/2011)

Hedonism

The value domain Hedonism refers to "pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself"
(Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Of this domain, the value *enjoying life* refers specifically to a focus
on "enjoying food, sex, leisure, and the like" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61)), but has been expanded
for this research to a more general focus on having pleasure, joy, and fun. In MyM, this value
comes out in statements like: "Having positive experiences is important. Even if these are just
small things, pleasant activities help you to feel better" (Coordination group MyM online,
Session 5).

Also, in the original CWD-A course, this value is emphasized:

The CWD is aimed at changing this downward spiral into an upward spiral.
By focusing on positive interactions with the environment and changing
negative cognitions, the depression improves somewhat, which in turn
stimulates the depressed individual to have more positive interactions with
the environment and think more positively. (Cuijpers, et al., 2009, p. 452)

Within the execution of MyM, this value is emphasized by focusing specifically on the
positive and fun experiences of the adolescents:

The instructors specifically ask for fun things. When the adolescents sum
up what they will be doing during the Christmas holiday, the instructors
explicitly inquire if the juveniles also like the things they will be doing.
(observations MyM, 2010/2011)

Tradition

The value domain Tradition reflects values that refer to "respect, commitment, and
acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide" (Schwartz,
1994, p. 22). Of this domain the values *accepting portion in life* and *humble* are stressed in
MyM. The value *accepting portion in life* refers to "submitting to life circumstances"
(Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), to accepting what happens in life. The value *humble/moderate* refers
to "modesty" and to "avoiding extremes of feeling and action" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). In
MyM, this value appears only in practice. One of the MyM developers, for example, states:

That, we cannot change at this moment, that experience. But you might
start to think about how you can start to deal with it in order for you to
move on with your life. (Developer MyM, 2011)

This value is also incorporated in the course itself, as expressed during this moment of a
course: "At certain moments in your life, you will feel down, because ups and downs are part
of life." (Coordination group MyM online, Session 6)

The value *humble/moderate* is stressed in reference to the moods and feelings of the
adolescents and in their perception of the experiences they have. This value is reflected in one
developer's acknowledgement that:

[When] you start doing things, you will also start to feel better. And it
doesn't have to be major things. You don't have to go bungee-jumping all
day long, but walk outside a while, walk along the beach, tease you dog, I
don't know, just do something that helps." (MyM developer, 2011)

In the course, a comment such as "Don't make it too big, also write down small stuff, for
example minor successes" (Coordination group MyM online, session 1), also expresses this
value.

Benevolence

The domain of Benevolence focuses on "a concern for the welfare of close others in everyday
interaction" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Of this domain the value *helpful*, meaning "working for

the welfare of others" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) is stressed most strongly. This value is related to the attitudes and behaviors of the course instructors, comparable to findings in the previous case studies. It often refers to the need therapists and social workers have to be as accessible as possible for children and parents in need. For MyM specifically, it often refers to the online version of this intervention, which should make it easier for adolescents to enroll in an intervention that will help them with their depressive mood. Previous studies conclude:

> Internet-based approaches may offer a solution for the stigmatisation problem, in that they provide anonymity and the opportunity to undergo the intervention in the privacy of home" (Van Der Zanden, et al., 2011, p. 198).

Also, with regard to the development of the MyM course it is stated:

> By spreading out the course material and content over six meetings instead of eight meetings, the developers hope that more adolescents will be inclined to participate in all of the course's meetings. (Van der Linden & Van der Zanden, 2009, p. 291)

Conclusion

The results of the present investigation make evident that different values are being expressed within the Master your Mood course. The most important value domains of the MyM course are Achievement (*intelligent*, *capable*), Security (*sense of belonging*) and Hedonism (*enjoying life*). As is also stated above, the values of these domains fully capture the most important elements of the Master your Mood course: The cognitive-behavioral element is reflected by the values *intelligent* and *capable*, both of the Achievement domain; the pleasant activity approach is reflected in the Hedonism domain (*enjoying life*); and the group-based approach is reflected in the value *sense of belonging* of the Security domain. Although these values can be directly traced back to important elements of MyM, the fact that these elements convey these kinds of values to young people participating in the program does not become explicit in discussions about MyM. Besides this, our analysis and the use of our framework of values also makes implicit values explicit: Considering the emphases that are placed on the value domains Achievement and Hedonism, the approach of MyM can be defined as highly individualized, with a strict focus on personal skills and competencies to achieve a more joyful life. In addition, however, the value *sense of belonging* reflects the need for social support in overcoming depression. This social-oriented value contrasts with the individualistic values of Achievement and Hedonism. It seems that, in an effort to overcome

a fully individualized notion of the treatment of depression, some attention is also being paid to finding social support.

Important discrepancies were also found between theoretical MyM and the execution of MyM. The most obvious ones are happening (or found lacking) in practice: the inclusion of the more conservative value domain Tradition, the increased emphasis on the value domain Security, and the decreased emphasis on the value domain Hedonism in the execution of MyM. These findings indicate that in the execution of MyM, more social-oriented values are being stressed (as opposed to those associated with the more individualistic Hedonism domain). It also seems indicative of the fact that the therapists try to avoid any extremes, whether reflected in adolescents' actions or feelings, as opposed to emphasizing stimulating, growth-oriented values such as *enjoying life*. In this sense, the way MyM is being executed in the Netherlands is more protectionist than how it is presented in theory. This may reflect a value difference that is culturally based. However, findings of the World Value Survey, a world wide investigation of people's basic values and beliefs, contradict this idea: With regard to the domain Hedonism, the Dutch score highest on the "like me" option, whereas the Americans score highest on the "not like me" option of this survey. Also, the Dutch identify themselves less with the Tradition domain that the Americans do (World Value Survey, 1981-2008). Both the World Value Survey and research by Ester and colleagues show that Dutch people also tend to score lower on the Achievement domain than Americans do (Ester, Halman, & De Moor, 1993; World Value Survey, 1981-2008). This may indicate that Tradition values are included in the execution of MyM to somewhat counter the limitless expectations of the growth-oriented values of the Hedonism domain.

Another important difference manifested when comparing the theories of the Dutch course Master your Mood with its American counterpart, the Adolescent Coping with Depression course. This comparison shows that there appears to be a difference in the way cognitive-behavioral therapies are being defined: In the MyM course the emphasis is placed most strongly on the value *intelligent*. In the CWD-A, however, the value *capable* is more strongly underlined. CWD-A thus seems to focus more on behavior change and the behaviorist elements of the intervention, whereas MyM stresses the cognitive elements more strongly and focuses specifically on the negative thoughts of depressed adolescents. In other words, the American developers stress behavioral changes as a goal for their clients more strongly than the capacity to understand cognitive and emotional processes. The Dutch developers on the other hand place more value on the comprehension of exactly these processes over and above specific behavioral changes.

Taken together, we can conclude that although MyM is a highly individualized intervention in theory. Yet, in the execution of MyM in the Netherlands, social and protectionist values are also being expressed. The values of the Achievement and Hedonism domains reflect the core elements of MyM as they are described by the developers. In the execution of MyM, a more implicit value orientation becomes apparent in which the social and protectionist values of the domains Security and Tradition are also being emphasized.

For the Dutch adolescents enrolled in Master your Mood, this value perspective of MyM means that they will explicitly learn to concentrate on their own interpretation of the world and to change their own thinking about the world. Besides correcting their negative, irrational thoughts, they will also learn to be moderate about the positive aspects of life. Comparable to EQUIP and MST, adolescents enrolled in MyM will learn to ask for and accept help from others when needed. In contrast to EQUIP and MST, though, the adolescents enrolled in MyM are not encouraged to offer help to others (EQUIP) or to build in some form of reciprocity (MST) to consolidate their support networks. In this sense, even the social-oriented values endorse the individualistic approach of MyM.

4.5 General Conclusions

The case studies presented in this dissertation have shown that youth care interventions are not neutral responses to the problematic behavior of children and youth and/or the parenting problems of parents, but that different kinds of values are being expressed in the development and execution of the interventions we have studied. The value hierarchies that have become apparent in these case studies reflect both explicit and implicit expressions of values: The value hierarchies of MST and MyM, for example, quite clearly reflect the explicit goals of the intervention itself. The case studies of EQUIP and Triple P, on the other hand, are examples of cases in which a more implicit value hierarchy becomes apparent. In general, Security values and Achievement values are stressed, which reflect the need for (individual) skills and competencies and for stability and safety, both within the family and in the wider social context. Through the differences in the value hierarchies of these cases, different interpretations of individual values become evident. In the execution of EQUIP in the United States for example, responsible behavior is related to the social-oriented values of the Conformity domain, whereas in the execution of EQUIP in the Netherlands, responsible behavior is related to the individualistic values of the Self-Direction domain. In the case of Triple P, a different picture emerges: the program explicitly expresses individualistic values and emphasizes the need for parents to become independent problem-solvers, who can make their own choices. The analysis, however, shows that this independence is limited by the norms and standards of society, and that the intervention is framed by specific notions of "good parenting" and "childhood." Also, all case studies of youth care interventions show that different values are expressed in the development and execution of the interventions we have studied.

Below, we have placed these value hierarchies in the circumplex of values as described by Schwartz (1992; 1994). What becomes immediately apparent is that the value hierarchies of the interventions consist of some value domains that tend to conflict with each other, for example Achievement and Benevolence, or Security and Self-Direction. The implications of these conflicting value combinations will be discussed later in this chapter. First, we will discuss in more detail the possible causes and implications of the value hierarchies within the interventions we have investigated.

In general, we found that interventions focus on competencies and skills (Achievement values) and on values directed towards safety and security, such as *family*

security, and *sense of belonging*. MST and Triple P both focus on the empowerment of families, but as our results have shown, these interventions each attach a different meaning to the concept of empowerment: In MST, the concept is related to families' establishing external networks for support and to assist with parenting problems (*sense of belonging*). Triple P, on the other hand, has an individualistic approach to empowerment, and focuses specifically on the skills and competencies of parents (*capable*).
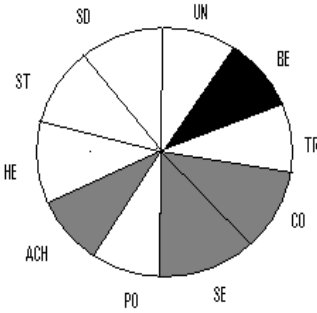
Figure 4.5.1: *Value hierarchy of EQUIP*
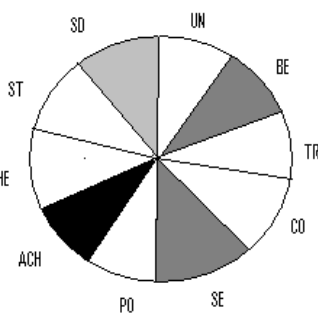
Figure 4.5.2: *Value hierarchy of Multisystemic Therapy*
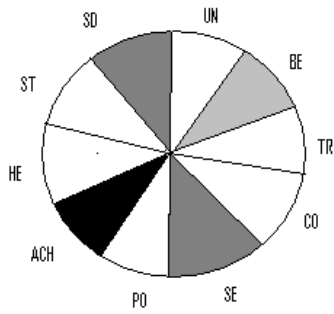
Figure 4.5.3: *Value hierarchy of Triple P*
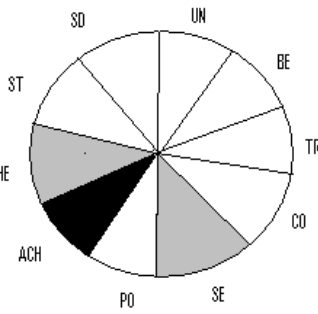
Figure 4.5.4: *Value hierarchy of Master your Mood*

More than 25%	15%-24.9%	10%-14.9%	Less than 10%

Both the Achievement and Security domains are protectionist value domains, and we must conclude that the youth care interventions we have studied mainly reflect protectionist-oriented values (Fontaine, et al., 2008; Schwartz, 1992). Although in some of our case studies, these domains are combined with growth-oriented values, like values from the Self-Direction domain; in other cases these domains are combined with other protectionist values, such as ones associated with the Conformity domain. Also, even though the Achievement domain is considered by Schwartz to be an individualistic domain, by defining Achievement

as "personal success through demonstrating competence, according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22), he does implicate a need to conform to social norms and standards. Moreover, some have argued that the domain Achievement consists of a "pole," with individualistic characteristics on one end, and social-oriented ones on the other (Ester, et al.,, 1993). These different poles may be reflected in a discrepancy in the meaning of the values associated with this domain: Achievement values of Triple P and MyM seem to indicate the more individualistic approach, whereas these same values in EQUIP and MST reflect a more social-oriented approach. With the findings taken together, our interpretation of the case studies presented in this dissertation is that they are essentially oriented towards social norms and stability. The fact that the values of the Achievement domain are predominantly combined with the conservative values of the Security and/or Conformity domain—both of which reflect self-restraint, stability, and social order—strengthens this observation.

The emphasis in the Achievement domain is mostly on skills and competencies (*capable*) and on understanding and reasoning (*intelligent*). In some cases, the value *influential* is also highlighted, referring to having a say in or exerting influence over matters that are important in one's life. The emphasis on competencies and skills reflects the "activation through self-regulation" tendency as described by Matthijs and Vincken (1997): Parents and children should themselves be able to find socially adequate solutions to problems they encounter. This way of thinking seems to be based on the conception that competencies or capabilities will add to the well-being of the individual. Capabilities, however, come in many forms and although capabilities in general do have a positive effect on well-being, not all capabilities have the same effect; some have a stronger positive correlation with well-being than others (Anand, Hunter, & Smith, 2005).

The Security domain combines values that focus on stable and harmonious relationships in family life and in the community. Considering the fact that youth care interventions are often introduced when problems arise in family situations or for individual family members, this focus on harmony and stability is expected. One of the values most often highlighted in youth care interventions is *family security*. Recent history of the youth care system in the Netherlands has known serious cases of unnoticed child abuse in which children have died while under the care of youth care institutions. This history may have had consequences for the way in which professionals execute their work and for the values their professional work triggers. Surprisingly, this value is not highlighted when children do not live at home (in the case of EQUIP), or in regard to internalizing behavior problems (in the

case of MyM). In this sense, the value *family security* reflects a somewhat short-sighted vision of problems. After all, children can return to their homes after having been institutionalized, and the stability and harmony of family life (or lack thereof) can help in (or worsen) overcoming depressive symptoms.

Another important value of the Security domain is the value *sense of belonging*. This value reflects a more socially oriented outlook on tackling problem behavior, which is most obvious in the case of MST. Being able to rely on extended family, friends, and neighbors can help in overcoming problems. However, when extended family and other adults take over the (institutionalized) care that used to be offered by professionals, this approach also suits the decreasing responsibility of the government in assisting families in need.

Also, as mentioned before, there are distinct differences in the way the value *sense of belonging* is being defined among the interventions we have investigated: EQUIP emphasizes both the need to offer help and to ask for help; in MST, reciprocity of support and assistance is incorporated in order to develop sustainable support networks; both Triple P and MyM take a more individualistic approach and regards the social support group mainly as a means for an individual to overcome his or her own problems.

Surprisingly, the value *healthy* hardly dominates the case studies of youth care interventions. One would expect health to be a relatively important issue for interventions with the goal of the prevention and treatment of unhealthy development. Possibly, health is considered to be such an inherent value of the youth care profession that it is hardly mentioned anymore. This would imply that there also is hardly any discussion about what constitutes healthy behavior or healthy development. Another reason for its relative lack of emphasis may be that healthy behavior and development are perceived as behavior that accords with the norms and standards of society. Such a society-based definition of health contrasts with an approach in which a differentiated and individualized perspective on health is taken. In both instances, though, healthy behavior or a healthy development is presumed to be a shared understanding (Woodhead, 1997).

In MST and Triple P, values of the Security domain are expressed together with values from the Self-Direction domain. As discussed in the concluding paragraphs of the chapters discussing MST (Chapter 4.2) and Triple P (Chapter 4.3), the interventions each have a different explanation for combining these two conflicting domains: MST defines independence as being self-sufficient with the help of others. MST regards people not as individuals but as persons connected to a broader social context and it is within this social context and with the help that comes from being within it, that people can independently life

their lives. In this case, the domain of Security and its associated values are considered to be instrumental. Triple P, on the other hand, does have an individualized definition of independence. However, as the analysis indicates, independence is not the aim of Triple P. Rather; the aim seems to be to have stable, harmonious relationships with family members. As claimed by Sanders and colleagues, "the quality of family life is fundamental to the wellbeing of children," (Sanders, et al., 2003b, p. 1) and they emphasize that disturbances in family functioning are linked to mental health, social, and economic problems, and that child development is influenced by issues such as poor parenting and family conflict (Sanders, et al., 2003b). In the case of Triple P, the values of the Security domain are thus perceived as terminal values.

The combination of growth-oriented values—such as those from the Self-Direction and Hedonism domains—with the aforementioned protectionist values may reflect a balance that developers of these interventions and the professionals are trying to find. On the one hand, they are charged with giving shape to the demands of current society in which people are expected to take responsibility for their own life. On the other hand, they need to give form to their professional values of a healthy and safe upbringing for all children, which have become increasingly important in the last decennium given the recent history of the youth care field.

Besides the values of the Achievement, Security, and Self-Direction domains, values of the Benevolence domain play an important role in the interventions we have researched. The Benevolence values (*helpful*, *responsible*) are often highlighted in concurrence with values from the Achievement domain and mainly refer to the behavior and attitudes of the therapists, counselors, and professionals working with families and young people. This means that these values reflect a desired goal for being a "good professional" rather than being conveyed to families participating in the intervention as a desired goal for being a "good parent" or "good child."

The findings of the four case studies made evident that the values *capable* and *intelligent* in and of themselves lack content; they do not clarify what people should be capable of, or what should be logical to them. Rather, their meaning is constructed when combined with other values within the value hierarchy, either by program developers or by professional executing the intervention. Also, teaching skills and competencies to children and parents indicates that the professional knows what constitutes a "good childhood" and a "good parent." From this point of view, professionals are considered to be people who can

educate parents and children to become as much (Biesta, 2011a). This does not take into consideration the many ways in which childhood and parenthood can be interpreted, as we have elaborately discussed in Chapter 2 (see also Biesta, 2011a; Vandenbroeck, Roets, & Snoeck, 2009).

In the professional field of youth care, individuals are expected to learn to become independent and responsible, and to make their own choices. On the one hand this indicates that the Dutch youth care system has becomes more individualized. Responsibilities of the government in the care of youth are being handed over to the individual. Yet, as we have described before, this individuality and freedom of choice is restrained by the social norms and standards of Dutch society. People are motivated and encouraged to take charge of their own life and responsibilities, but only in such a way that suits the norms and standards of society. This means that those labeled as "the good parent" or "the good child," in the eyes of the professional field of youth care, are those parents and children who conform to rules and norms.

Although this was not an initial aim of our investigation, the case studies we have conducted also showed that many of the interventions are concentrated on cognitive distortions or thinking errors. In EQUIP, these thinking errors are Self-Centered, Minimizing/Mislabeling, Assuming the Worst, and Blaming Others (Gibbs, et al., 1995). Triple P has a long list of thinking errors by parents, among which are Black-and-White Thinking, Jumping to Conclusions, Exaggerating/Minimizing, and Taking Things Personally (Sanders, et al., 2003c). In Master your Mood, these thinking errors are Black-and-White Thinking, Drawing Wrong Conclusions, Normative Thinking (having to) and Personalizing (Trimbos Instituut, 2007). This might be due to the theoretical basis of the interventions as all of them—Triple P and MyM most explicitly—incorporate cognitive-behavioral theories. MST, which is based on the social-ecological theory of Bronfenbrenner (1979), is an exception and does not speak of "thinking errors." Either way, such a focus on thinking errors implies that problem behavior is a result of an individual's dysfunction, that is, that she or he thinks wrongly. According to this perspective, there is a right way to think, but the parent or child still needs to learn it. This approach excludes any explanation for causes of problematic behavior originating outside the individual. In contrast, these thinking errors could also be defined as a logical response to societal structures and demands. For example, Vorrath and Bendtro, in describing the Positive Peer Culture, define "distrust" not as a "sick defense," but as "an appropriate response to a world that has not always been safe" (Vorrath & Bendtro, 1974, p. 16).

In our final chapter (Chapter 6), we will discuss in more detail the possible underlying processes of these differences and similarities in value hierarchies among the interventions studied. We will also examine possible implications for the development of children and for the field of professional youth care. Before this final discussion, however, we will first describe our case study of Dutch youth policy, another way in which the government tries to alter and guide the behavior of children and their families.

SECTION B

Value Orientations in Youth Policy

5. Youth and Family Policies – A Dutch Example

In Chapter 2 of this dissertation it has been argued that the development of youth and family policy is an interactive, dynamic process, in which a vast range of actors and stakeholders (citizens, professionals, media) are involved, and in which empirical evidence as well as the values and beliefs of policy makers play a guiding role (Davies, et al., 2000; Tilbury, 2004). Policy strategies are not a one-to-one translation of political ideology (Maynard-Moody *&* Stull, 1987; Rigby, et al., 2007). Consequently, governments in liberal democratic societies are placed in a contradictory position, in which they are expected to take a neutral stance and to respect the liberties and privacy of its citizens, as well as to ensure a safe and healthy society. This latter aim inevitably requires a certain amount of control over the behavior of its citizens in society. Consequently, so-called "value-free" youth policy also reflects political and ideological notions of the good society and the good citizen.

Because of the influences of multiple actors and stakeholders, youth policies are a radically different field of research than the field of youth care interventions, which we have discussed earlier: More people are involved who endeavor to exert influence on the policy-making process and it is also often not a process with a clear cut-off point. Rather, the process of policy development is an ongoing, continuously assessed process, and policy measures can always be questioned and adjusted. Because of the close relationship between policy development and political party ideology, it is also harder to distinguish between explicit ideological arguments and implicit value orientations. Political parties do not present themselves as neutral—as is the case in youth care interventions—and they are often keen on presenting measures that reflect their own political ideology. For this section, we therefore took a somewhat different approach than we did in Section A: The results of the investigation of Dutch family- and youth policy need to be interpreted in light of the political ideological values of the governmental coalition. Sociopolitical context factors need to be taken into account. In order to identify a specific sociopolitical period, we focus solely on the years 2007-2010, when the Netherlands was governed by a Social-Christian coalition, and during which period a specific Ministry for Youth and Family *(Ministerie voor Jeugd en Gezin* [J&G]) was established.

In order to clarify the context in which the policy measures were developed, we will first briefly describe some general characteristics of the Ministry of Youth and Family, after which we will turn to the investigations of both Dutch family- and youth policy.

Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family

In the years 2007 to 2010, the Netherlands was governed by a Social-Christian coalition, comprised of the Christian Democrats (CD), the Dutch Labour Party (DLP) and the Christian Union (CU). The Ministry of Youth and Family was headed by a Minster of Christian ideology (CU).

The establishment of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family is a result of a working party called Operation Young [*Operatie Jong*], which was set up 2004. The major goal of Operation Young was to find ways to minimize fragmentation within the professional field of youth care. This fragmentation was thought to be the root cause for a lack of quality of youth care interventions and the lack of cooperation between youth care agencies (Van Eijck, 2006). According to Operation Young, cooperation between youth care agencies could be established by means of electronic databases. Additionally, these agencies needed to be reorganized in order to improve collaboration in the field of youth care. Another recommendation of Operation Young was a stronger focus on the outcomes (effects) of youth policy measures, which would result in more effective child and family policies. Many of the policies set out by the Ministry of Youth and Family, such as the electronic databases and the implementation of county-based Child and Family Centers are inspired by this advice. The recommendations of Operation Young were also mirrored in the Ministry itself: The Ministry of Youth and Family is a so-called provisional ministry that aims to create more cohesion between the different departments involved with the care of youth (J&G, 2007a). Its main partners are the Ministry of Justice (*Ministerie van Justitie* [MvJ]), the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (*Ministerie van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap* [OCW]), and the Ministry of Health, Welfare and Sport (*Ministerie voor Volksgezondheid, Welzijn en Sport* [VWS]).

Comparable to, for example, the British child welfare reforms, one of the main goals of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family was to reorganize the youth care system. In both countries, disturbing deaths of children in care of the youth care system, and the media attention that went with it, resulted in a revision of the system (Department for Education and Skills [DfES], 2003; Vink, 2007). Ideas that are expressed in the Dutch youth policy reports also show much resemblance to the British youth policy report "Every Child Matters." For example, the identification and tracking of youth are core elements in youth policy in both the UK and in the Netherlands (Munro, 1999; 2004).

The Dutch Ministry also specified five "basic conditions" of what a full and healthy development for children contains, and which are still claimed to be shared throughout Dutch society:

1. Develop and grow up healthy: physically healthy, mentally healthy, healthy lifestyle, and continuity in upbringing and care.

2. Develop and grow up safely: protection, unconditional love, respect, attention, limits, structure, and order.

3. Contribute one's part to society: active involvement in society, thinking and acting cooperatively, active involvement within the community, positive behavior, and citizenship.

4. Develop one's talents and enjoy oneself: having an education, opportunities for hobbies/past-time, sport, culture, entertainment, and freedom to play.

5. Being well-prepared for the future: getting a diploma, finding a job, being able to support oneself, stimulating living environment. (J&G, 2007a)

These five developmental goals, or preconditions as they are named by the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family, are very similar to the five developmental goals in the English *Every Child Matters* policy (DfES, 2003; Vink, 2007).

Within its policies, the Ministry of Youth and Family emphasizes three themes: the role of the family, a focus on prevention and early intervention, and a strategy called "binding commitments," reflecting the need for everyone in society to take responsibility in the healthy development of children (J&G, 2007a). These three themes are important guidelines for the development of policy strategies in more specific policy areas, for example child abuse or juvenile delinquency.

For the intelligibility of this section and for the reliability of our analyses, we have made a distinction between policies directed primarily at parents (family policies), and those directed mainly at youth (youth policies). We will first discuss our investigation into Dutch family policies, which will be followed by our study of Dutch youth policy. In the concluding chapter, the results of both investigations will be taken together to be discussed in detail. In this last chapter we will also concentrate on the implications of the results for Dutch families and children.

5.1 Ministry of Youth and Family – Policies for families (at risk)[*†]

Policy Strategies and Tools

The Ministry of Youth and Family considers the family to be a safe and caring environment in which individuals can be themselves, take care of each other, and learn to live independently and responsibly. The family also has a social function that influences the involvement and participation in society, and the transmission of basic, fundamental norms and values (J&G, 2008). When problems occur, a first response should be to invest in the existing strengths and resilience of the family or of wider family networks. In county-based Youth and Family Centers which are established nationwide, youth care professionals advise and assist parents on child rearing matters. Child rearing in the social context is a central point of the Ministry's policy. Parents, professionals, governmental institutions, and other adults are all considered to be responsible for the safe and healthy development of children.

According to the Ministry, children are and remain the first responsibility of their parents, but this also means that parents should accept advice and interventions if and when necessary. The safety of children and stability in their upbringing takes precedence over parental rights (J&G, 2007a). The prevention of and early intervention in possible cases of child abuse is another core aim of the Ministry. It is, as they state, "unacceptable to turn a blind eye on undesirable situations" and to let them continue (J&G, 2007a, p. 11). The objective of the Ministry's policy measures is to compel all adults, not merely professionals, to pay attention to signs indicating child abuse, and to act when serious doubts arise. A way to generate awareness of child abuse among professionals is the implementation of a "reporting code" (*meldcode*) for everyone working with children (J&G, 2007b).

According to the Ministry of Youth and Family, social changes have resulted in a decrease of accessible options for parents in getting assistance for child rearing. One of the consequences is that people often struggle to combine their careers and family life. The Ministry therefore sees it as one of its aims to set out conditions that will make it possible to balance careers and family life. As parents are themselves primarily responsible for organizing their family life and the upbringing of their children, the responsibilities and tasks of the Ministry are, first of all, to respect the private life of the family. All families should be

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[*]   An adapted version of this chapter is accepted for publication in: *Youth & Society.*

[†]   A translated and adapted version of this chapter is accepted for publication in: *Orthopedagogiek: Onderzoek en Praktijk.*

at liberty to develop and function independently and to make their own choices. Second, however, the Ministry considers it one of its goals to create and conceptualize the conditions under which it is possible for parents to be the primary caregivers of their children and to be able to give form to this responsibility. Youth and Family Centers have been established to address to this goal. In these centers, professionals from different youth care organizations work together, thereby offering opportunities for collaboration and cooperation between different child and youth care services, and are available to parents for consultation and assistance. Finally, when the safety and health of a child is endangered, and when parents don't accept child rearing assistance, it is the responsibility and obligation of the government to step in and take over parental authority, either partially or fully (J&G, 2008). A "one family, one plan" approach has been developed to structure and organize the care and assistance within families when multiple health care organizations are involved. Another way to motivate collaboration within the professional field of youth care is through the use of the Electronic Child Database (ECD). This database consists of individual records of all children from the prenatal period onwards and is used to observe the development of all children and to closely monitor the development of children growing up in multi-problem families. Its use also makes it possible to detect early signs of a problematic development. Alongside ECD, another database has been developed, which is used within institutions of youth care, of education, and in employment offices and the juvenile criminal justice system: the Register for Youth at Risk (RYaR). Future plans entail combining the Electronic Child Database with the Register for Youth at Risk.

With regard to prevention and early intervention, the Ministry has developed policy measures like a "parenting plan," which counsels parents on the negative consequences of divorce for their children. Also, early childhood education programs are developed to prevent delays in language acquisition in young children, which may interfere with a child's educational development (J&G, 2007a).

In general, parents and the family are held in high regard in the policy measures of the Dutch Ministry for Youth and Family, as is the safety and health of children. The Ministry tries to keep a facilitative role towards families in Dutch society. The specific policy measures that are taken by the Ministry will be discussed in more detail in the results section of this investigation.

Similar to the case studies presented in Section A, the case study of Dutch family policy is guided by two main questions:

1. Do values play a role in Dutch family policy?

2. If so, what kinds of values are expressed the policy strategies of this Ministry?

Before discussing the results, however, we first want to outline some details concerning the data that are used.

Methods and Design

In this chapter we will investigate the hidden curriculum of Dutch family policy measures. As described in Chapter 3, for our analysis we use a framework of values which is based on an empirically tested theory of values (Schwartz, 1992, 1994). Definitions of the value domains and of the values which are used are described in Chapter 3, but will also be given in the results paragraph of this chapter.

Sampling

Our selection of policy reports is primarily based on the focus of the reports: Only reports were selected which explicitly focused on Dutch families and family life. In addition, the reports that were selected had to be written and published during the ruling years of this specific government and Ministry (2007-2010). Moreover, only reports which were final were included; governmental letters and updates were excluded from the selection in order to avoid the inclusion of ideas and suggestions which may never go into practice.

A total of seven data sources were selected for this investigation: In a first general report, the Ministry of Youth and Family defined the direction of the policy strategies for the years 2007 to 2011 (J&G, 2007a). A second report focuses strictly on policy strategies regarding families in general (J&G, 2008), and a third report expressed the Ministry's plans for the future (J&G, 2010). A fourth report (J&G, 2007b), a brochure on the rules of conduct in cases of abuse (*meldcode*) ([VWS, 2009), and two factsheets of the Ministry (J&G, n.d. a; n.d. b) reflect policy measures that are taken to tackle and prevent child abuse. Two semistructured interviews with four key informants from the Ministry were conducted in April and May of 2010. Each of the two interviews was held with two informants: The first interview was conducted with two senior policy advisors, who are associated with the general family policies (Key Informants A and B). The second interview was held with a project manager and a policy advisor who are involved with policies on child abuse (Key Informants C and D). Interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Results

The results of the analysis show that the most important values that are expressed in Dutch family policy are values of the domains Security (*family security*, *healthy*, *sense of belonging*), Benevolence (*helpful*, *responsible*), and Achievement (*capable*, *influential*). In some instances, values of the Conformity domain also play an important role (*honoring parents*, *obedient*). In general, these results indicate that safety and security are important themes for the Dutch Ministry and that families need to be enabled to ensure a safe and healthy upbringing for children.

Although this was initially not the objective of this research project, the results also make evident that there are minor but important value differences between family policies in general and policies directed at child abuse; the values *healthy*, *responsible*, *influence,* and *honoring parents* are not emphasized in policy measures regarding child abuse. How these differences in values may affect the experiences of children and of parents will be discussed in the concluding paragraph of this chapter. Table 5.1.1 shows the value hierarchies of the policy reports. A complete overview of the value hierarchies is given in Appendix 7a.

Table 5.1.1: *Overview of value hierarchies of policy reports overall and per theme*

Rank	All documents	General policy	Child Abuse
1	SE (28.9%; family security, sense of belonging, healthy)	SE (27.5%; family security, sense of belonging, healthy)	SE (33%; family security, sense of belonging)
2	BE (24.1%; helpful, responsible)	BE (24.4%; helpful, responsible)	ACH (24.3%; capable)
3	ACH (21.6%; capable, influential)	ACH (20.7%; capable, influential)	BE (23.5; helpful)
4	-	CO (10.9%; honoring parents, obedient)	-
Other domains	25.4%	16.8%	19.2%

ACH= Achievement, BE= Benevolence, SE= Security, CO= Conformity

The results also seem to indicate a slight change in attitude towards children and parents during the Ministry's existence (2001-2010); whereas the value *obedient* is emphasized in the Ministry's first report only, the value *influence* is increasingly stressed in later reports. This indicates that policy strategies tend to become more empowering for their

target groups. Implications of these results will be discussed in more detail in the concluding paragraph of this chapter. First, we will present our findings in more detail, taking into account differences that were found between these two "groups" of families.

Security Values

The domain of Security captures values that strive for "safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *family security*, reflecting the need for safety in intimate relations (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), is stressed in all reports which were selected for this investigation. As is mentioned before, the Ministry of Youth and Family was realized after the deaths of children who were in the care of youth care organizations (Van Eijck, 2006), and these deaths were extensively reported on in the media. A focus on *family security,* especially in reports on child abuse, is in this light not very surprising:

> Children need to be able to grow up safely, in an environment without
>
> violence and aggression. This is what children are entitled to, no child
>
> excluded. (J&G, 2007b, p. 9)

Another important value of the Security domain is *sense of belonging,* meaning a feeling that others care (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60). This value reflects the need of the Ministry for children to be able to trust all those around them in ensuring their safety. The Ministry thereby also relies on the responsibility of every citizen to confront child abuse.

> Tackling child abuse can never be the sole responsibility of the Centers for
>
> Youth and Family or the youth care system. Other societal welfare
>
> institutions (like day care nurseries, the educational system, sport
>
> organizations, welfare organizations and volunteer services) also play an
>
> important role. It also demands alertness from society: paying attention to
>
> what happens to children down the street, feeling responsible for children in
>
> need. This is not meddling in other people's affairs; this is an example of
>
> what it means to be a responsible citizen. (J&G, 2007b, p. 16)

Reports of the Ministry's general policy also refer to the need for healthy development, represented by the value *healthy*. This value means "not being sick, physically or mentally" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) and is stressed, for example, in divorce issues (J&G, 2008, p. 65) and in issues stressing the quickest possible care in order to prevent problems

from worsening, for example, in issues regarding the waiting lists within, or structure of the youth care system (J&G, 2007a, p. 35). Even though in most references health is considered to be a personal issue, there is some relevance for society as well, as becomes clear in the following example:

> Adults who were abused as children suffer more often from psychological disorders and behavioral disorders, homelessness, domestic violence, criminality, addictions, and they abuse their own children more often. The harmful effects on an individual level can therefore be translated to social harm and social costs. (J&G, 2007b, p. 5)

Surprisingly, however, the value *healthy* is hardly expressed in reports on child abuse.

Benevolence Values

The Benevolence domain focuses on "a concern for the welfare of close others in everyday interaction" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). In the policy reports, the value *helpful*, which means "working for the welfare of others" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), seems to be a guiding principle for a vast range of professional actors, but not necessarily for parents or children themselves (J&G, 2007a; 2007b). When expressed in reports on child abuse, the value *helpful* is explicitly directed toward the adults in the close environment of children, and reflects the need to be aware of the well-being of children and offer help to them when necessary:

> What abused children in any case need, are adults around them who acknowledge their anxieties and hardships. Adults who care about them and act upon it. For example by sharing their concerns with other people in the proximity of the child or by expressing their concerns to the parents. (J&G, 2007b, p. 6)

The value *responsible*, or "being reliable, dependable" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 62), is best reflected in statements referring to a responsible attitude for all citizens. Children and families cannot stand alone in overcoming their problems:

> Undesirable situations cannot continue. Everyone needs to take their responsibility when there are signs that a child or family is having a difficult time. It should not be the case that the situation continues or that people turn a blind eye. We are all accountable and we can hold others accountable. We moved beyond tolerance. (J&G, 2007a, p. 11)

The government does not want to take sole responsibility but asks of professionals and citizens to be aware of families with difficulties and to take up their civic responsibility in helping them. In the words of a key informant from the Ministry:

> It is a sharing of responsibilities. It is only in the end stages that the government comes in, before that you try to stay as close as possible to the social context of the child, thus with the parent or parents, depending on the family situation. You try to emphasize (their) responsibility, in a positive sense… (Key Informant A, 2010)

Yet, despite the underlying aim of this value for a safe development, the value *responsible* is hardly emphasized in policy reports on child abuse.

Achievement Values

The domain Achievement refers to gaining "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Within this domain, the value *capable* refers to the importance of being "competent and efficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). Examples of this value are references to children's preparation for the future, to being able to participate in society (J&G, 2007a, p. 9, 14, 39) and to teaching children how to function in their social context (Key Informant B, 2010). For parents, references to knowing how to combine work and the care for children, or knowing how to handle a divorce, reflect the value *capable* (J&G, 2008, p. 13, 51). In contrast, in policy reports on child abuse, this value is predominantly related to the knowledge of professionals and other adults on the signs of child abuse, to their skills to intervene in the child's life, and to cooperate with each other:

> Every professional organization that works with children and the professional organizations that work with adults who are not only client/patient but also parent, need to be better equipped to recognize the signs and to know how to react (rules of conduct for child abuse). This is not restricted to professionals. Also, others who are in the proximity of a child, like family, friends and neighbors, need to be aware of the well-being of the child. (J&G, 2007b, p. 10)

As noted earlier, the value *influential*, meaning "having an impact on people and events" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61) only emerges in the general policy reports and is hardly stressed in reports on child abuse. The value is mostly expressed in relation to children, and

refers to involving them in society, asking them to participate, and asking municipalities to let children have a voice in policy measures that involve them. For example:

> In the Netherlands, independently of their cultural background or handicaps, youth ought to be able to think about, make decisions in and most importantly participate [in societal issues concerning them]. (J&G, 2007a, p. 29)

Although participation is hard to achieve, it remains an essential point for the Ministry:

> But youth participation also is [hard to achieve]. In municipalities et cetera, there are all these initiatives - which often do not work that well - to involve children and youth in policy strategies that are developed within the local community. And we as the national government do encourage this… (Key Informant A, 2010).

Conformity Values

The Conformity domain reflects values that imply "restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). The value *honoring parents* reflects the need to "show respect to parents or adults" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). In contrast to the value *family security*, *honoring parents* is not necessarily related to safety, but instead emphasizes the importance of the role of parents in general, both for the development of children and for society. This value is only emphasized in reports discussing general policy strategies. Ideas about the importance of families lie at the heart of the Ministry's reports, for instance in statements like; "First and foremost, we put the family in the important place it has in the upbringing of children" (J&G, 2007a, p. 9), and; "The family is of great value" (J&G, 2007a, p. 10). Other examples of how this value is expressed can be found in remarks which refer to the role of the family in transmitting norms and values to children (J&G, 2007a, p. 10, 17, 52). It also becomes apparent in the Ministry's preference for foster care in cases when it is necessary to (temporarily) remove the child from his or her family.

The value *honoring parents* may in some way reflect the Christian background of this government and of this Ministry specifically. Yet, this reason does not explain why this value is not expressed in reports on child abuse. This difference seems to indicate a distinction between groups of families, in which respect for the position of parents only concerns well-functioning parents. Parents which are either abusive or are considered to be "at risk" are not perceived of in this way.

The value *obedient* from the Conformity domain refers to the need to be "dutiful and to meet obligations" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). This value is expressed mostly in relation to older youth who seem to stray and who do not conform to social norms, for example:

> Youth who causes trouble or behaves antisocially will be addressed stringently. Interventions will aim for the complete social environment of the juvenile, including the family, the school, and his/her friends. These interventions are not voluntary or easy and can be made compulsory. (J&G, 2007a, p. 13)

It should be noted though that this value is only stressed in the first report of the Ministry (J&G, 2007a). Also, the Ministry itself regards some of these measures as empowering rather than repressive:

> I believe, the work-or-school obligation is another example, I don't think this is repressive, I think this is an example of activation…of activating labor market policy, only specifically aimed at youth. (Key Informant A, 2010)

Conclusion

The results of our investigation show that policy strategies not only reflect the political ideology of the Dutch government, but that the development and execution of policy strategies also expresses a curriculum of hidden values: The Ministry of Youth and Family explicitly characterizes its policies as family-friendly and supportive, for example, as reflected in the three core themes guiding the Ministry's policy development. The results of our research, however, make evident that the policy reports reflect a rather conservative approach in which protection is an important issue, and in which values from the domains Security (*family security*, *sense of belonging*, *healthy*), Benevolence (*helpful*, *responsible*), and Achievement (*capable*, *influential*) play an important role. Of some importance are also values from the Conformity domain (*honoring parents*, *obedient*). Considering the reasons for establishing a Ministry of Youth and Family, an emphasis on the protectionist values of the Security and Achievement domains seems logical. It confirms the notion that when anxieties arise in a society, the tendency grows to take more repressive measures (Carney, 1999; Sharland, 2006). Based on the results of our investigation, two conclusions can be drawn.

First, the values *helpful*, *responsible*, and *sense of belonging* are important in the Ministry's strategies. On the one hand, this reflects the Ministry's caring and supportive

approach—which it calls "binding commitments"—towards families. The Ministry claims to have a facilitative role regarding the welfare of children and families (Duyvendak, Knijn, & Kremer, 2006). Yet, it is also motivated by the need to ensure the safety and health of children in society. Policy strategies, which are developed and which explicitly reflect the supportive role of this Ministry, are also a necessary tool in exerting some control over parents and over the development of children. This dual positioning of the government is resolved by emphasizing the responsibility of professionals and other adults in the care for children. This care strategy is thus also a control mechanism (i.e. Donzelot, 1979; Foucault, 1981).

Second, there are salient differences between the Ministry's general policy reports and policy reports aimed at tackling child abuse. For families in general, policy strategies attempt to empower families, holding them in high regard (reflecting the value *honoring parents*). The focus on the role of the family in general is spotlighted against the Christian background of both the minister himself and the governmental coalition. Emphasis is placed on the skills of parents and their opportunities for having a say, represented by the values *capable*, *influence*, and *honoring parents*. However, for families at risk, this empowering approach is not stressed at all. Rather, values of the Security domain are more often expressed towards these families and repressive measures, such as the use of risk assessments and the gathering and exchange of information about children and families, characterize the policy strategies directed at them. Electronic databases, such as the ECD and the RYaR, are explicitly presented as tools for professionals in being able to adequately assist parents and to improve collaboration between different agencies involved. Yet, these databases can also be used as a control mechanism, in which "risk" is no longer defined by professionals and/or families, but is partly determined by the standards and norms of such databases, which are themselves not as value-neutral as they appear to be (Monasso, 2008; Tilbury, 2004; Schinkel, 2007).

It should be noted, though, that in order to identify families at risk, information on all families in society needs to be available. By consequence, this governmental need for control is not limited to a specific social group, but is more or less dominant for all families in Dutch society. Additionally, values that would strengthen the empowering attitude, such as *choosing own goals* or *independent*, are not expressed at all in the Ministry's reports, for neither group of families.

The repressiveness of these policy measures may be more salient in the lived experiences of Dutch parents and youth than the much acclaimed, but only scantily executed empowering strategies. The policy measures of this Ministry may have the intention to be

activating and empowering, as evidenced by the remark mentioned in the results section about the school-work obligation. Yet, these empowering strategies are restrictive in that they express a need to conform to social norms. Going to school and getting an education can be defined as empowering within a social system that places great emphasis on education and diplomas. The possibility to not go to school but to start working as an apprentice is not available in a society valuing higher education, even though such an option may benefit (part of) the young people in Dutch society.

Before drawing any final conclusions, we will first turn to the Ministry's policies specifically directed towards youth. The results and implications of this investigation will be addressed again in the final chapter of this section.

5.2 Ministry of Youth and Family – Policies for youth

Policy Strategies and Tools

In this chapter we will investigate the hidden curriculum of youth policy of the Dutch government. The objective of the Ministry of Youth and Family is for every child in Dutch society to have every opportunity for a full and healthy development and upbringing (J&G, 2007a). Participation in society is considered to be an important element of such a full and healthy development; all children are expected to participate in and contribute to society, for example, by doing community service or by being included in governmental decision-making when the government deals with child-related issues. Therefore, counties and provinces are encouraged to allow for more influence from children in decision-making processes. Counties and provinces are also expected to develop child-friendly public spaces that offer opportunities for outdoor activities, and that make it possible for children to walk around safely without hazards from traffic. Schools are encouraged to invest in citizenship education and in health education. In order to enhance social cohesion in society, the Ministry is trying to foster community service and apprenticeships for youth to take part in (J&G, 2007a, 2009). At the same time, interventions are drastic and strict for children and youth that are causing trouble to society (J&G, 2007a).

In its report "Our Youth of Today" (*Onze Jeugd van Tegenwoordig;* J&G, 2009), the Ministry of Youth and Family elaborates on specific youth policy themes. The Ministry explicitly postulates that it wants to generate a more positive outlook on youth and it wants to refute all the negative attention for youth, for example on issues like binge drinking or sexual excesses. Another objective of the Ministry is to compel adults to be more sympathetic towards youth; the report emphasizes intergenerational interaction, in which both adults and children can learn from each other. Intergenerational interaction will also counterbalance the overall negative media attention towards youth (J&G, 2009). Another method through which the Ministry of Youth and Family wants to stimulate healthy development for youth and ensure young people's chances in life, are the so-called "boot camps." These camps are developed for youth who are considered to be at serious risk for dropping out (i.e. they do not go to school, do not have a job, and often experience personal problems). Evaluation research of these boot camps, however, has shown that both the targeted population of youth and the aims of these camps do not differ very much from the interventions that are already being offered within the regular youth care system (Bieleman & Boendemakers, 2010). Also, no

significant improvements were found in these young people when they are compared with a control group (Bielemans & Boendemakers, 2010). As a result, even though the boot camps were stressed in the first plans and objectives of the Ministry of Youth and Family, attention towards and interest in these camps has slowly faded (J&G, 2007a).

Regarding the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency, the Ministry of Youth and Families has been collaborating with the Ministry of Justice (MvJ). The emphasis in policy strategies for juveniles with antisocial behavior problems is mainly on prevention and early intervention. Prevention in this specific field means prevention of recidivism, and includes giving proper and suitable care to juveniles who are already incarcerated. The Ministry of Justice wants to come to a consistent and equal approach towards juvenile delinquency, in which specific evidence-based interventions are used nationwide. Five central aims guide the policy development of the Ministry of Justice: (a) early intervention, (b) individualized treatment plans, (c) a rapid and consistent treatment approach, (d) suitable aftercare, and (e) decreasing recidivism (MvJ, 2010b).

In collaboration with the police, a database has been developed for the registration of juveniles under 12 years of age who have had contact with the police either as victims or offenders. This database, called ProKid, exists in addition to the Register for Youth at Risk and is a tool for the police to "grade" children with different colors (white, yellow, orange, and red), depending on the frequency of their encounters with the police and on which neighborhood they live in. Yellow, orange, and red cases of children are sent to the Dutch National Organization for Youth Care (*Bureau Jeugdzorg,* author's translation), who will make the final decision in what kind of care or assistance the child needs (Abraham, Buyse, Loef, & Van Dijk, 2011).

To summarize, the Ministry of Youth and Family wants to take a positive stance towards youth in Dutch society. It emphasizes issues like participation and health, and endeavors to refute any negative media attention. For young people who are causing trouble, however, policy measures are stricter, for instance, when they end up in databases like ProKid. More detailed information on the policy measures of the Ministry of Youth and Family will be presented in the results section of this chapter.

This chapter describes the investigation of Dutch youth policy and is guided by two main questions:

1. Are values being expressed in Dutch youth policy measures?
2. If so, what kinds of values are being expressed in these policy strategies?

Comparable to the previous chapters, we will first briefly outline some details of our research method relevant for this specific investigation. The findings and their implications for Dutch youth are described in a concluding paragraph.

Methods and Design

As is already elaborately discussed in Chapter 3, a well-defined and empirically tested theory of values is used as a framework for the content analysis of policy reports and interviews. Definitions of the values that are used in this research project are described in Chapter 3, but will also be given when discussing the results in more detail. (Schwartz, 1992, 1994).

Sampling

The selection of policy reports is primarily based on their focus: only reports which were explicitly targeted youth were selected. Besides this, reports had to be written and published during the ruling years of this specific government and Ministry (2007-2010). Also, in order to avoid including ideas that never went into practice, reports had to describe finalized policy measures. Governmental letters and updates are therefore excluded from this investigation. Five reports were selected as relevant data sources: In its first report the Ministry of Youth and Family defined the direction of the policy strategies for the years 2007 to 2011 (J&G, 2007a). This report is included in this analysis as well as in the analysis of family policy (see Chapter 5.1). The second report focuses strictly on policy strategies regarding youth and the healthy development of youth (J&G, 2009), and a third report expressed the Ministry's plans for handling cultural diversity within youth policy strategies (J&G, 2010a). A fourth and fifth report of the Ministry of Justice describe the juvenile justice system (MvJ, 2008) and the correctional interventions that are used within correctional facilities for youth (MvJ, 2007).

Two semistructured interviews with three key informants of the Ministry were conducted in April and December of 2010. The first interview was held with two senior policy advisors of the Ministry of Youth and Family, who are associated with the general family policies (Key Informants A and B). The second interview was held with a policy advisor of Operation Juvenile Delinquency of the Ministry of Justice (Key Informant E). Interviews were recorded and transcribed and included in the analysis.

Analysis and Results

The results of our investigation show that the most important values in the Ministry's policy are of the domain Security (*social order*, *sense of belonging*, *healthy*, and *family security*),

Benevolence (*helpful, responsible*), Achievement (*capable, influential, successful*), and Conformity (*obedient, self-discipline*). Except for the domain Benevolence, these values are protectionist and indicate that the safety of children and their embeddedness in family and society are important themes for the Ministry of Youth and Family.

Comparable to our investigation of Dutch family policy, the findings show a different value hierarchy, depending on which social group is targeted: Policy measures directed at the general youth population express different values than those directed at juvenile delinquents. Table 5.2.1 gives an overview of these different value hierarchies and of the values that are most often expressed within the Ministry's policy measures. A full overview can be found in Appendix 7b.

Table 5.2.1: *Overview of value hierarchies of youth policy reports*

Rank	Youth Policy overall	Youth policy general	Juvenile delinquency
1	SE (24.7%; social order, sense of belonging, healthy, family security)	SE (28. 7%; sense of belonging, healthy, social order, family security)	ACH (27.8%; successful, capable)
2	BE (23.4%; helpful, responsible)	BE (22%, helpful, responsible)	BE (26.9%; helpful)
3	ACH (22.7%; capable, influential, successful)	ACH (20.6%; capable, influential)	CO (16.5%; obedient, self discipline)
4	CO (13.2%; obedient, self discipline)	CO (11.9%; obedient)	SE (14.7%; social order)
Other domains	26%	16.8%	14.1%

ACH= Achievement, BE= Benevolence, SE= Security, CO= Conformity

Considering the Ministry's goals, as they are described in the beginning of this chapter, we would expect a difference in value orientations between policies directed at these two youth groups, with a positive approach towards the general youth population, but more strict measures in cases of delinquency or serious behavioral problems. Surprisingly, values of the Security domain are expressed more often in the Ministry's general policy reports, though we would expect that these would be stressed in policy reports concerning juvenile delinquency. In contrast to our expectations, values of the Security domain play a relatively

minor role in policy measures for juvenile delinquents. With the focus on a positive outlook towards youth, we would also expect general-youth policy measures to reflect values of the Achievement domain most strongly, but the opposite seems to be the case: Achievement values play an important role in policy measures concerning delinquency.

Before discussing the conclusions and implications of these findings, we will first discuss these domains and their corresponding values more elaborately, taking into account these differences in value hierarchies.

Security

The domain of Security comprises values that strive for "safety, harmony, and stability of society, of relationships, and of self" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Four values of this domain are expressed in youth policy reports, namely *social order*, *sense of belonging*, *healthy*, and *family security*. The value *social order* refers to the stability of society (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60). This value is important in both youth policies in general and in those concerning juvenile delinquency. The expression of this value indicates that youth policy is not only geared towards the well-being of youth, but that it also to a large extent focuses on the stability and order of society. For example, the Ministry claims: "Not to participate, for whatever reason, can be a threat to the (cohesion of) society (J&G, 2009, p. 37)." Or, per the response of a key informant from the Ministry of Justice when asked about the pedagogical ideals guiding policy:

> Societal needs such as public order and safety are put into first place in the
> criminal justice system. For juveniles, however, the effort is also to use
> their sanction as a way to have him or her fulfill a positive role in society
> again. Therefore, the effort is to come to a highly pedagogical sanction.
> (Key Informant E, 2010).

Such a statement makes evident that besides improving the juvenile's situation, the order of society is an important goal for the Ministry.

The value *sense of belonging* is another important value, but in general youth policies only. This value, reflecting a need that "others care about you" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 60), is present in the Ministry's aims to encourage involvement of adults in the lives of children and youth, and to concern themselves with these children's well-being. A statement like the following clearly reflects this value:

> I want to encourage people to be involved with the upbringing and
> development of youth—within their local communities like neighborhoods,
> regions, or other local communities in which they take part, like churches,
> mosques, community centers, sport organizations, et cetera—so that parents
> feel that they are not on their own. (J&G, 2009, p. 6)

This value not only reflects the need for parents to feel supported in the upbringing of their children, but also the need for children to become part of society, notions also supported by one of the Ministry's basic conditions:

> To contribute to society; to be actively involved in society, think
> cooperatively and participate, participation in the direct environment,
> positive behavior and citizenship. (J&G, 2007a, p. 9)

The value *healthy* of the Security domain reflects a need for physical and mental health (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). The Ministry's report, "Our Youth of Today," focuses to a large extent on the healthy behavior of juveniles and on the prevention of illnesses later in life. For example:

> Healthy food, not smoking, not using drugs, not drinking alcohol, being
> physically active, and knowing how to handle problems or disappointments
> are important for the health of children and juveniles. (J&G, 2009, p. 7)

However, there also is a societal interest in the expression of the value *healthy*:

> It is important that youth are being stimulated to live healthily, but if it is
> necessary, they also need to be called on behaviors that are damaging for
> themselves, people around them or others. (J&G, 2009, p. 35)

The value *family security* refers to "safety in intimate relations" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). On the one hand, this value expresses the need for the enhancement of children's well-being. But, comparable to the value *healthy*, this value is not just directed at the well-being of youth, but also at what is needed for society as a whole, to its structure and stability:

> A well-functioning family does not only offer a stable foundation for the
> developing child, but it also positively contributes to society, the school,
> [and] the neighborhood. (J&G, 2007a, p. 10)

However, the value *family security* only plays an important role in the Ministry's first report, "Every Opportunity for Every Child" (J&G, 2007a), and has not resulted in specific policy

strategies for youth. Since policy measures regarding the family are already extensively discussed in the previous chapter, we will not further discuss this value in this chapter.

Benevolence

The Benevolence domain focuses on "a concern for the welfare of close others in everyday interaction" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). In the policy reports, the value *helpful*, which means "working for the welfare of others" and the value *responsible*, meaning "reliable, dependable," are most strongly emphasized (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61-62). The value *helpful* refers to the adults' attitude towards youth and towards the need to offer assistance to youth so that they can develop in a healthy manner.

> This means that we cannot abandon children but we confront them with
> their conduct and show them the right direction. (J&G, 2009, p. 6)

The value also reflects the Ministry's expectations of youth care interventions, most prominently in policy reports concerning juvenile delinquents. In these reports, the value comes out in both the pedagogical aims of the Ministry of Justice and the need for suitable effective interventions. For example:

> A penal intervention in regard to youth is only legitimate and viable if it
> also targets the education of the young. (MvJ, 2008, p. 8)

Or in a statement like: "The assignments and presentation need to be adapted to the age, developmental stage, and the responsiveness of the participants" (MvJ, 2007, p. 7). These statements make evident that the enhancement of the well-being of children and youth is an important objective for the Ministry.

> The value *responsible* mostly refers to the attitude of adults and professionals about
taking responsibility in the upbringing of youth, and is closely related to the value *helpful*:

> Adults bear the responsibility to help young people advance, to encourage
> them to develop themselves and to guide them on their path to adulthood
> and full citizenship. (J&G, 2009, p. 6)

The value *responsible* is mainly emphasized in general youth policies. In reports on juvenile delinquency, the value refers to the behavior of the juvenile him- or herself (i.e. showing prosocial behavior), but its role in policy reports on delinquency is surprisingly relatively small.

Achievement

The domain Achievement refers to the achievement of "personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). Of this domain, the value *capable*, which refers to the importance of being "competent and efficient" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), plays a role both for youth overall and juvenile delinquents. This value appears in one of the basic conditions of the Ministry of Youth and Family, and is largely related to the children's ability to function well in society:

> To be prepared for the future: getting a diploma, finding a job, being able to support oneself, living in a stimulating environment. (J&G, 2007, p. 9)

A Ministry key informant adds:

> […] so try to raise him in that way, to teach him in order to enable him to function in the social context in which he lives and grows up. (Key Informant A, 2010).

For juvenile delinquents, the value most often refers to more specific behavioral skills:

> The delinquent should develop the necessary skills to achieve important social and personal goals and assets in an acceptable and prosocial manner, as opposed to focusing on decreasing risk factors. (MvJ, 2007, p. 20)

Also important is the value *influential* of this same domain, which means "having a say" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). This value is only expressed in general youth policy reports. For example, when it is stated by the Ministry: "To participate, but also to think [collaboratively] and have a say, in whatever form, is the maxim" (J&G, 2009, p. 36). Also:

> In municipal assemblies for example, in some decisions young people can have a say; or on a higher level in the Dutch Youth Council (*Nederlandse Jeugdraad*), which is involved in many decisions and meetings. So, in this way [having] a say in, participation, or involvement is supported more and more. (Key Informant A, 2010)

The value *successful*, referring to "achieving goals" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 63), arises mostly in reference to matters of effectiveness, and is mentioned only in reports on juvenile delinquency, for example:

> The aim for both a just and effective response also follows from the International Convention on the Rights of the Child: the juvenile has a right

> to an intervention that fits his criminal behavior and the problems in his background, so that real effects can be expected. (MvJ, 2008, p. 8)

A key informant elaborates:

> The point is that we try to find this interactivity, that we can exchange information. So that we can say, "well, this is the problem," after which everyone can respond with ideas and other input, so that in the end you can come to a good final product. And I also believe that if everyone would have this opportunity, this would only improve the product. (Key Informant E, 2010)

As becomes evident from these statements, this value is not targeted towards young people directly, but rather at the interventions and therapies used in the treatment of antisocial behavior problems. The value *successful* seems to reflect the emphasis in this field on evidence-based practice and the related obligation to ensure that problems are being solved, and on not starting interventions of which the outcome is unknown.

Conformity

The Conformity domain reflects values that imply "restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms" (Schwartz, 1994, p. 22). In the Ministry's general policy, this domain's value *obedient*, which means "being dutiful, meeting obligations" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61), refers mostly to measures taken to prevent problems or misbehavior. For example, policy measures that are taken against excessive drinking, against causing annoyance, or against school drop-outs reflect this value (J&G, 2007a). The value *obedient* also develops as a means of compelling parents to accept assistance when this is deemed necessary:

> In 2010 a new law is being implemented which allows for more "customization" in the policy measures that are needed for children and families. As a result it will not only be possible to get an under-supervision order more quickly, but it will also be possible to obligate parents to accept assistance in the upbringing of their children. (J&G, 2007a, p. 35)

Within the policy reports on juvenile delinquency, document excerpts referring to the value *obedient* also often refer to the value *helpful*. This seems to indicate that the need for a healthy development has such urgency that it becomes an obligation rather than an offer for help; for example:

> Especially for juveniles with behavioral problems it should be possible to already intervene in the phase of pre-trial detention (among others by sentencing compulsory attendance in learning projects). (MvJ, 2008, p. 5)

The value *self-discipline* of this domain refers to "self restraint and resistance to temptation" (Schwartz, 1992, p. 61). This value is stressed in reports on juvenile delinquency only and often represents the goals of the interventions for delinquents. The interventions are often based on the assumption that thinking errors, or the inability to oversee consequences, has caused criminal behavior. Interventions therefore often target these causes and teach delinquents to control their own behavior:

> Effective interventions are therefore often interventions that, with some elements of cognitive behavioral therapy, target cognitions, thinking errors, impulse control, thinking of consequences, and learning an alternative behavior repertoire. (MvJ, 2007, p. 27)

Conclusions

The results of this investigation show that youth policy measures of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family are guided by four important value domains: Security (*social order*, *sense of belonging*, *healthy*, *family security*), Benevolence (*helpful*, *responsible*), Achievement (*capable*, *influential*, *successful*), and Conformity (*obedient*, *self-discipline*). This value hierarchy indicates that societal safety and stability, as well as safety and stability in the child's life, are important goals for the Ministry. The results also show the perception that children should be able to participate in society and should adjust to social norms. In addition to reflecting some of the explicit concerns of the Ministry of Youth and Family, the value hierarchy also shows a more implicit value orientation: Although the Ministry clearly states that it wants to take a positive approach towards youth, and wants to emphasize the positive behaviors, policy measures are often directed towards negative behaviors and acts. This becomes apparent from the role of values like *healthy* and *social order*. In some instances, rather repressive measures can be taken to enforce healthy behavior (see also the value *obedient*). Even though the Ministry explicitly claims to take a positive angle, the policy measures that are taken reflect a focus on the "deficiencies" of youth regarding healthy citizenship and healthy development.

The results also indicate that there are some differences in the value hierarchy between general policy reports and reports aimed at juvenile delinquents specifically. The

most important difference is that the value domain Security is not as important for juvenile delinquents as it is in more general youth policy measures. Also, within the Security domain, policy measures for juvenile delinquents are predominantly related to the stability of society (*social order*), whereas for youth in general, the individual development of the juvenile also plays an important role, as reflected in the values *family security*, *sense of belonging*, and *healthy*. Another important difference is that the value *influential* is not stressed at all in reports on juvenile delinquency, which indicates that in cases of delinquency, it is considered less important for that youth group to have a say in matters and to participate. Instead, specific skills and competencies are seen as important elements in the treatment and prevention of juvenile delinquency.

With regard to the Ministry's general youth policy reports, two conclusions can be drawn: First of all, the participation of youth in society is an important issue for the Ministry, as is evident from the emphasis on the value *influential*. This value indicates that youth should be able to participate and to have a say in matters that concern them. However, the values of the domain Security predominate the value hierarchy, which indicates that safety and stability are more important issues for the Ministry. Also, the Achievement domain, to which the value *influential* belongs, refers to the social norms of society. This indicates that youth are encouraged to participate, but only when agreeing with the norms and standards as set by adults. In this sense, it can be questioned how much influence young people actually have in decision-making processes.

Second, the expression of values of the domain Benevolence indicates that adults should guide and direct the young people in Dutch society; they should be attentive to youth and guide them in "the right direction." This means that the main angle of the Ministry is on what youth can learn from adults, which contradicts the explicit aim of the Ministry to enhance intergenerational interaction and to stimulate situations in which both parties can learn from each other. Moreover, youth are often referred to as "citizens of tomorrow," indicating that they are not considered to be full citizens and participants of society today (Biesta, 2011a; J&G, 2009, p. 5, 36). Again, this seems to point to a need for the young to conform to adults' points of view.

With regard to policies directed at juvenile delinquents, it should be noted that much attention is being paid to way the juvenile criminal justice system is organized and towards the interventions that are used in correctional facilities. Juvenile delinquents should be assisted and helped in changing their behavior, but this help and assistance coincides with a need to be effective (*successful*), to achieve the goals that are set. This need for effectiveness

seems to derive from a moral obligation to act responsibly and not to "casually" intervene in a juvenile's life. In this sense, delinquency policies are indicative of a certain respect for the juvenile. However, document excerpts reflecting the value *helpful* also often represent the value *obedient*. This double coding of values reflects the notion that concern for the development of juvenile delinquents may be so strong that assistance is imposed rather than offered.

Additionally, juvenile delinquents are not encouraged to participate and to voice their concerns or opinions. This strengthens the notion that only youth who adopt the values of (adult) society are allowed to participate. The combination of values of the Achievement domain with values of the domains Security and Conformity indicate the need to accept and to conform to the norms and values of society and to integrate in society. For both the general youth population and for youth with antisocial behavior problems, the stability of society is one of the most important goals of Dutch youth policy. However, the means to achieve this goal differs between these two groups of young people: In general for youth policies, the idea is that adults guide and socialize youth to become competent members of society; juvenile delinquents, however, are expected to "repatriate" into society by working on individual competencies such as self-discipline.

These differences in value hierarchies, and the different approaches that are taken towards both groups of young people, may be indicative of a different perspective on childhood: Youth in general seem to be considered Apollonian; they need to be protected and their "innate goodness" should not be disrupted by negative influences of society, as indicated by the strong emphasis on values of the Security domain. Juvenile delinquents, on the other hand, are seen as already corrupted and are thus perceived as Dionysian. The perception seems to be that they are less in need of protection, and that in fact, society should be protected from them (*social order*). The emphasis is therefore on teaching them the necessary skills (*capable, obedient, self-discipline*) so that they can live up to the rules and regulations of society.

In the following chapter, we will take the conclusions of these two investigations on Dutch youth- and family policy together. We will interpret the results in light of the sociopolitical context of the Netherlands during the 2007-2010 timeframe and will discuss some of the implications for Dutch children and their families.

5.3 General Conclusions

As has been discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation, the process of policy-making is a dynamic one in which many actors and stakeholders try to exert their influence. Besides these influences, political parties have their own ideologies that also partly determine the choices made in policy development. In analyzing policy measures, both these influences need to be taken into account, as well as the sociopolitical context in which the policies were developed. Consequently, it is often hard to untangle the exact causes and origins of the policy choices that are made. In the previous two chapters, we have analyzed Dutch family- and youth policy and policy reports, respectively, and have identified several value hierarchies expressed in the reports and policy measures by the Dutch government. A general overview of these value hierarchies is given below, where they are placed in Schwartz's circumplex of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994).
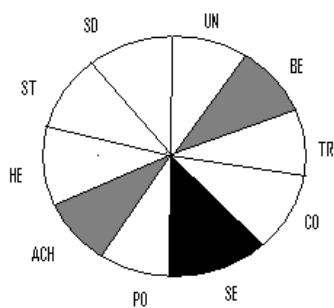
Figure 5.3.1: *Value hierarchy of Dutch family policy*   **Figure 5.3.2:** *Value hierarchy of Dutch youth policy*
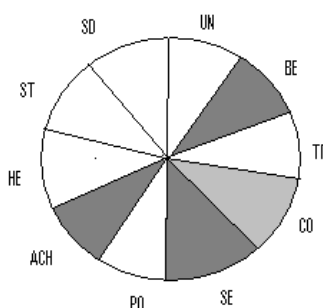
| More than 25% | 15%-24.9% | 10%-14.9% | Less than 10% |

From the results, some general conclusions can be drawn that allow for some speculation on the origin of these policy choices and on the possible effects of the policy measures on the experiences of Dutch youth and their families.

First, the results of the investigations show that values of the Security domain, most notably *family security* and *sense of belonging*, play an important role in all of the policy reports. This indicates that the family is considered of great importance for the healthy development of children and that the role of other adults within the community or close environment of the child is to take responsibility in the care for children. In this light, it is important to note that the policies derive from a Social-Christian coalition government. The central role of the family, as the "cornerstone of society," can be partly interpreted from this religious (Christian) perspective. Additionally, this governmental coalition had to operate in a

time in which the neoliberal ideology predominated Europe and the Netherlands. The central role of the family, as it has emerged in this investigation, may also reflect some elements of this neoliberal ideology, which—for other reasons than the Christian religion—considers the family to be the core institute for the social sphere (Parton, 1994). However, whereas the Christian belief system tends to take a familialist perspective, in which the family is seen as an individualized institution, and in which the responsibilities of each individual family member are highlighted, neoliberals tends to take a natalist perspective and considers the family as an institute in and of itself (Mätzke & Oser, 2010). Thus, the central role that the family has in a Christian perspective may very well contrast with the perceived role of the family in a neoliberal perspective. Yet, even though the role of the family is a core element in two ideologies that conflict in many other regards, they may have strengthened each other in this respect.

Second, our findings also show that a communitarian approach — in which professionals and other adults bear responsibility in the caretaking of children in society — is stimulated by the Ministry. Again, however, even though communitarianism and neo-liberalism have distinctively different worldviews, the tendency to place more responsibility in the hands of individuals and volunteer organizations is in keeping with both ideologies (Parton, 1994). However, our results do not clarify to what extent these tendencies in policy development are indeed an effect of a neoliberal context, or if the Ministry itself is aware of this influence of (or at least the commonalities with) neoliberal ideals. Related to this matter is the fact that historically, the Netherlands is not a nation that welcomes state interference in the private life of the family (Mätzke & Ostner, 2010). The way the Ministry explicitly claims to be purely facilitative and to respect the private lives of its citizens reflects this historical perspective.

A third important finding is that the definition of care, in which professionals take a central role, is closely related to mechanisms of control (James & James, 2001). In this sense, it reflects a specific form of governance which Foucault has called *governmentality* (Foucault, 1981). As has been argued by both Donzelot (1979) and Foucault (1981), this "governance at a distance" (Parton, 1994, p. 19) puts professionals in a key role in the state-family relationship. Professionals enable a situation in which people (parents) can be autonomous and free while these professionals simultaneously support the governance over these people (Parton, 1994). In this same vein, Foucault has coined the phrase governmentality to explain the "ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics, which allow the exercise of this specific albeit

complex form of power" (Foucault, 1997 as cited in Parton, 1994, p. 11). Power in this perspective is not merely the controlling power of the state but is part and parcel of the ever-changing alliances between government and professionals. It is also closely related to technological developments and possibilities. While aiming for a facilitative role (Duyvendak, et al., 2006), governments find other ways to ensure stability and social order. Databases are then important elements in the collecting and sharing of information of children (Schinkel, 2009). As we have seen in the policy strategies and - tools of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Families, technological tools such as the Electronic Child Database, the Register for Youth at Risk, and ProKid are important ways to gather information on and interfere in the lives of children and families. Thus, although the Ministry claims a helpful and benevolent attitude towards Dutch children and parents, the aim for other adults to care about and feel responsible for children, as well as the increasing use of databases to register a variety of information about children, are important ways to govern Dutch families "from a distance"—or, what Donzelot calles "tutelage" (Donzelot, 1979; Parton, 1994; Schinkel, 2009).

Fourth, it should also be noted that the value *sense of belonging* is not emphasized in documents relating to specific social groups like juvenile delinquents and families at risk. These populations seem to be excluded from this need of belongingness or embeddedness. This exclusion mechanism has been explained by James and James (2001) with regard to British child policies. They argue that a communitarian approach offers opportunities for children to participate in their community, and may empower both children and parents. However, shared values and a shared history are necessary components for communitarianism to work. In a socially diverse society this is often not the case; people do not necessarily share history, and children, by sake of being children, do not share history. They are expected to live up to the norms and values set by adult society. Those who do not share these values can be seen as deviant or at risk, and run the risk of being excluded (Dyson & Robson, 1999 in: James & James, 2001). Our results may reflect this mechanism of exclusion as people who do not endorse those same values that are generally endorsed in Dutch society (families at risk, juvenile delinquents) also tend to be excluded in the Ministry's communitarian approach of youth care.

Finally, the analysis of policies directed at youth has made clear that the aims and objectives of the Ministry as they are pointed out in their reports are not reflected in the policy strategies that are being implemented. The Ministry explicitly claims a focus on the positive behavior of youth and on the intergenerational relationship. However, the policy

measures that are taken emphasize issues such as safety, security, and social order, and there is an explicit emphasis on developmental issues that are generally considered to be problematic, such as the lifestyle of young people or possible delinquent conduct. Also, the positive and empowering outlook of the Ministry seems to be restricted by the social norms of Dutch society. This appears to mirror the point mentioned above; the general tendency to enhance civil society and to empower people also bears with it the implication that children's rights and sense of agency tends to be restricted, as children have not actively committed themselves to the values of the community (James & James, 2001).

The results of these two investigations do not clarify how these policy measures may influence the experiences and the development of children and youth. However, by relating these values with theories on the development of citizenship and citizenship education, some speculations can be made: The emphasis on protectionist values, and the implicit requirement for young people to share the values of the society they grow up in, indicates that these policy measures may produce what some call role-oriented or rule-oriented citizens (Kelman, 2006 in Passini & Morselli, 2011). Rule-oriented citizens are people who are guided by a need to follow the rules and to respect authority. In general, rule-oriented people support policies that support a sense of security. Role-oriented people actively support their role obligations and obey demands of authority. They tend to support policies that will enhance their sense of status (Kelman & Hamilton, 1989, in Passini & Morselli, 2011). In the same vein, Westheimer and Kahne refer to personally responsible citizens and participatory citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). They define personally responsible citizens as citizens who act responsibly and obey the law. This kind of citizen often advocates for character-building experiences. Participatory citizens actively engage with the community and in civic affairs (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). However, what all these authors argue is that democracy implies a duty to question and oppose (illegitimate) authority demands, to be disobedient and/or to criticize the existing order (value-oriented citizens and social justice-oriented citizens, respectively). The current policy approach of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family, with its emphasis on security, stability, and conformity, does not sanction this kind of citizenship. If the Ministry of Youth and Family were to underscore themes such as democratic citizenship or citizenship education, values like *social justice*, *equality*, and maybe also *curious* and *choosing own goals*, would have been expressed more often in its policy reports and policy measures. In this sense, the policy measures do not suffice if the Ministry wants to stimulate democratic citizenship in children and youth (Passini & Morselli, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Comparably, research by Schwartz and Sagie (2000) has

shown that democratic political systems tend to emphasize values from the domains Self-Direction, Stimulation, Benevolence, and Hedonism, and that there is a negative correlation between democracy and value consensus (Schwartz & Sagie, 2000; see also Chapter 2). Their findings confirm that the values expressed in Dutch family- and youth policy do not enhance democratic skills and ideals in Dutch youth.

We have now studied a selection of Dutch youth care interventions (Section A) and Dutch family- and youth policies of a specific governmental period (Section B). The findings of these investigations have been discussed separately in the concluding chapters of each section. In Chapter 6, we will take the results of the case studies of both youth care interventions and youth policy together, and we will describe in more detail the underlying processes that may explain our findings. We will also describe the implications of our findings for the professional field of youth care as well as for the development of children and youth enrolled in these interventions or experiencing these policy measures.

Section C

Unraveling the Hidden Curriculum: Discussion

6. General Discussion and Future Directions

The aim in this dissertation has been to clarify whether or not youth care interventions and youth and family policy measures are merely a neutral response to the particular behavior of parents and children. Since youth care interventions and youth policy are directed towards a healthy upbringing and development of children and youth, we expected values and beliefs about child development and childhood to play an important role in the development and execution of these youth care interventions and policy measures. Currently, the focus within this field of professional youth care is primarily on empirical evidence and effectiveness. However, research has shown that societal factors such as media broadcasts and economic issues also play an important part in choices that are made within the professional field of youth care (Davies, et al., 2000; Maynard-Moody & Stull, 1987; Rigby, et al., 2007; Tilbury, 2004). The main argument in this dissertation however has been to show that in addition to the abovementioned factors, the expression and transmission of values is an essential part in this professional field, and that these values are—implicitly or explicitly—expressed in the development and execution of youth care interventions and youth policy measures.

In the theoretical chapter of this dissertation (Chapter 2), we have shown that values play an important role in both parental child rearing and in the educational system. In the latter field, the transmission of values is often referred to as "the hidden curriculum" (Jackson, 1983). Values can also be seen as being inherent to children's development itself (Bruner, 1986; Tappen & Brown, 1992). Values can be expressed explicitly, but may also form an implicit part of the upbringing of children. Through the use of an elaborate framework of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994), we have been able to clarify the implicit and explicit value hierarchies of both youth care interventions and (Dutch) youth policy.

The case studies presented in this dissertation do indeed show that several values are expressed in the development and execution of youth care interventions and in the development of youth policy. Based on our findings, we must conclude that, in contrast to the claim for neutrality and objectivity, values do indeed play an important role in the professional field of youth care. As the concluding chapters of both Section A and Section B have shown both interventions and policies tend to be dominated by protectionist values, especially values of the domains of Achievement (*capable*, *intelligent*) and Security (*sense of belonging*, *family security, social order*). Although some interventions combine these values with a more growth-oriented focus (the Self-Direction domain for Triple and MST,

Hedonism for Master your Mood), others tend to substantiate the conservatism approach by combining the value domains Achievement and Security with values from the Conformity domain (EQUIP, youth policy). In the concluding chapters of Sections A and B, we have placed our findings in the value circumplex of Schwartz's theory. We present them here as well, as an overview of the findings of this research project:
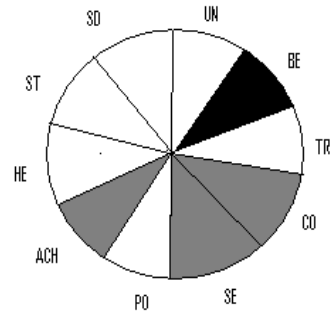
Figure 6.1: *Value hierarchy of EQUIP*
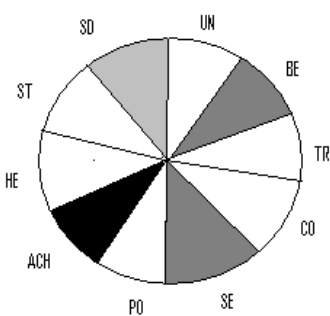
Figure 6.2: *Value hierarchy of MST*
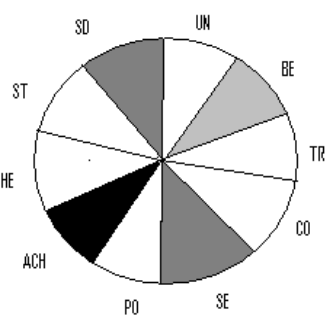
Figure 6.3: *Value hierarchy of Triple P*
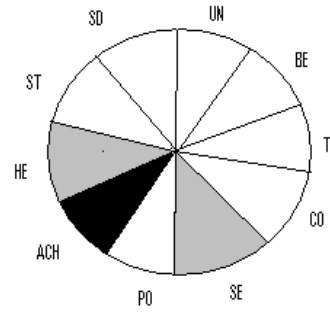
Figure 6.4: *Value hierarchy of MyM*
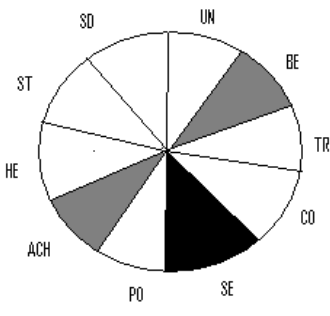
Figure 6.5: *Value hierarchy of Dutch family policy*
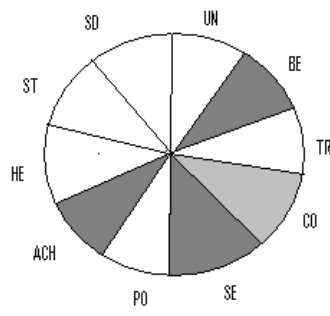
Figure 6.6: *Value hierarchy of Dutch youth policy*

More than 25%	15%-24.9%	10%-14.9%	Less than 10%

In general, these findings indicate that both youth care interventions and youth policies seem mainly to be focused on the integration of youth in existing social structures. The acquisition of skills and competencies are needed in order to be able to maintain oneself in society and to behave to the appropriate norms and standards of society: First, Achievement values are related to a sense of an individual's well-being (Anand, et al., 2005). It may be evident that the acquisition of a broad range of skills and competencies may be valuable resources in organizing one's life and in tackling problems that may occur in this life. In addition, Achievement values can establish a sense of agency and be a source of

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power and a protective factor. Assuming that interventions are directed towards those who experience a lack of agency and may feel powerless, an emphasis on this value domain seems logical (Suizzo, 2007). However, both children and parents are considered to be rather homogenous groups; the prevailing assumption seems to be that there are specific competencies and skills that are valuable for all people in all sorts of circumstances (i.e. Biesta, 2011b). Differences in ethnicity, socioeconomic background, and gender are neglected, and as a result, specific groups run the risk of being marginalized (Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2006). The values of the Achievement domain, such as *capable*, seem to be without content: A value like *capable* is not self-explanatory regarding in or for what one needs to be "competent" or "efficient." Values like *capable* or *intelligent* derive their content from other values in an intervention's or policy's value hierarchy. They are in this sense instrumental values rather than terminal values (Rokeach, 1973).

Alongside the Achievement domain, Security is one of the domains this research project has found to be most prevalent in youth care interventions and youth policies. The emphasis on the Security domain's values implicitly highlights a perception of youth as a risky phase and may in this sense reflect a form of institutionalized mistrust in youth (Kelly, 2003; Wyn & White, 1997; 2000). These values implicate that young people need to be protected against the dangers and hardships of life, as this would otherwise result in an unhealthy development, full of risks. Thereby, they also indicate a lack of trust in the skills, competencies, and strengths of young people, and do not yield an endorsement for fostering their skills and possibilities.

In addition, for youth care interventions specifically, the protectionist values of the Achievement and Security domains are often combined with an individualistic approach (see Triple P, MyM, and EQUIP as executed in the Netherlands). As has been discussed in Chapter 2, this individualistic approach to youth care may sit well with current neoliberal tendencies, in which people are expected to take charge of their own lives. This individualized approach, however, may result in what Furlong and Cartmel refer to as th*e epistemological fallacy* (1997), referring to the notion that increasing individualization tends to obscure the social and economical causes of some problems and problem behaviors, even though they may still play an important role. In trying to deal with the problems, people tend to attribute the causes and solutions to themselves. A focus on the individual, as comes forward in the results of this research project only strengthens this fallacy (Furlong & Cartmel, 1997; Wyn & White, 2000). In the same vein, the use of concepts like child-centeredness implicates that a child is seen as being autonomous, as opposed to being

embedded in social relations. The possible beneficial impact these social relations may have on the child's development are consequently disregarded (Coe, 2008; Moss, et al., 2000). It should be noted that from the interventions we have investigated, those interventions with an orientation towards cognitive-behaviorist theories indeed also demonstrate such an individualistic approach in the care of youth. In this sense, the individualization of the youth care system is reflected in the theoretical choices that are made when developing youth care interventions.

Although this was not the objective of this research project, a quick study of the database of effective interventions of the Netherlands Youth Institute shows that 70% of the youth care interventions directed at psychosocial problem behavior is either behavioral (n=30) or cognitive-behavioral (n=19) in its theoretical orientation. A few others, like MST or EMDR (Eye Movement Desensitization and Reprocessing therapy), take different theoretical angles (n=21; NJi, 2010a). Individualization processes in society thus also seem to be revealed in the theoretical choices that are made in developing youth care interventions. This individualized approach, which is focused on skills and competencies, may not only marginalize certain groups in society, but may also indicate a process of socialization of which the outcome is known – "the good parent" or "the good child" (Biesta, 2011a). It can be questioned whether such a context-free definition of good parenting and good childhood is adequate or whether it should be equally important to pay attention to the parent-in-context and the child-in-context, in which people have different perspectives, interpretations, and definitions of their problems and of their lives (Biesta, 2011a; De Winter, 2011; Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2009).

The choice for a (cognitive) behavioral foundation of interventions precedes more specific choices that are made while developing or executing a youth care intervention. This specific moment of choice in the development of interventions has not been the focus of this current investigation, but it does raise some questions concerning the relationship between (cognitive) behavioral therapies, evidence-based practice, and societal individualization processes: Could it be that the effectiveness of cognitive-behavioral theory is well established and that it is therefore more likely to be used? Or could it be that, within the limits of effectiveness research, these therapies are easiest to measure and their influence on behavior change easiest to explain? It might be harder to prove a possible correlation between the changes of a neighborhood and those in problem behavior than it is to prove a correlation between parental behavior and child development. Moreover, it may be hard to try to change negative effects of deprived neighborhoods on child development into positive effects during

the time of the child's growing years. On a macrolevel, this tendency to opt for cognitive-behavioral interventions may also be explained by the sociocultural dominance of both neoliberal and democratic ideologies (Suizzo, 2007), which both emphasize values such as individual freedom, self-direction, and acceptance of differences. The goal of cognitive-behavioral therapies is to empower people and to offer them competencies to give form to their own lives, which matches the liberal and democratic aims of autonomy and independence. As mentioned, it reaches beyond the scope of this research project to draw any conclusions on this subject, but it may be an issue well worth exploring in future research.

As well, the results of the case studies described in this dissertation are indicative of an expectation of all children to conform to the norms and values of current society. Both MST and Triple P explicitly state this aim for adjustment (Henggeler, et al., 2009; Sanders, 2004); in EQUIP, this expectation is implicitly assumed in its moral educational approach where having mature morality is understood to mean having consideration of the social system (Gibbs, et al., 1995). For youth policy, it becomes evident in the approach taken towards youth: Increasingly, preventive and early interventions, as well as electronic databases and risk inventories, are being used to prevent risky behavior such as dropping out of school, drinking, smoking, and committing minor delinquent acts. In the effort to tackle problems as soon as possible, combined with gaining more and more detailed knowledge about possible risk factors, the definition and perception of deviant behavior has become more and more strict. Young people's explorative behavior, together with the related possibilities of error and deviance seem to be condoned less and less (Hart, 2009; Munro, 1999). Similarly, differences in parenting styles and family cultures are more critically assessed. This strict definition of normal or healthy behavior resonates with a notion that careful guiding of each single individual is a means for the "bond and cement" of society (Heyting, et al., 2002, p. 383).

As we have described in Chapter 2, performance indicators and risk inventories are often presented as objective, but political and value-based choices made in the development of these indicators and inventories remain undiscussed (Tilbury, 2004; Monasso, 2008). Questions that could arise concerning the use of performance indicators or risk inventories are: What kind of moral and political choices are made in defining problem behavior and in defining solutions to these problems? Who decides what constitutes risk, and how is the decision of the most appropriate way of tackling it made? As has been argued before, using concepts like the "needs" of children obscures implicit underlying goals and values of child development (Parton, 2010; Woodhead, 1997). From this investigation it can be deduced that

underlying goals and values in youth care interventions and in youth policy not only reflect concerns about children's individual development, but that it also reflects concerns about the stability and future of society, for example, concerns about the labor market potential and possible future criminal careers of young people (Moss, et al., 2000; Parton, 1999).

A theme that has been discussed in the introductory chapters of this dissertation, but which was not the principal focus of our research, is the difference in perception of childhood. This theme has not been investigated directly, but the results of the case studies, especially of youth- and family policy, are indicative of a specific notion of childhood, and of a shift in this notion depending on the age of children (Jenks, 2005; Suizzo, 2007; White, 2008): The protectionist approach and the need to ensure a safe and healthy environment for children to grow up in is indicative of an image of children as tabula rasa (Grusec, 1997; Yolton, 1998). The assumption seems to be that children's negative development can only be averted by preventing any negative influences or factors that would affect their development. The lack of emphasis on more positive growth-oriented values, such as *curious* (Self-Direction) or *exciting life* (Stimulation), indicates that children are not necessarily perceived of as being inherently good, and policy measures and youth care interventions do not foster potential strengths and possibilities. Also, the cognitive-behavioral approach that is generally taken suits this idea of children as blank slates (Grusec, 1997; Yolton, 1998). However, a change seems to occur when children grow older. Overall, when referring to adolescents, Conformity values such as *obedient* come into play, indicative of a Dionysian notion of childhood (Jenks, 2005). This more repressive approach seems to indicate that (some) adolescents are perceived as already "corrupted," and strict measures are necessary in order to redirect them to the perceived right path. This difference in perspective related to age is also found in other research on perceptions of childhood (White, 2008).

Although we are limited in generalizing our findings to all youth care interventions or to policy measures beyond the Dutch setting and beyond the specific governmental period of 2007 to 2010, our findings do show that values are an important element in the development and execution of youth care interventions and youth policy. Also, the findings of our case studies indicate that the values that are transmitted through interventions and policy measures are quite similar. Accepting the idea that values do play a role in this professional field of youth care implicates that we should also discuss and further investigate how these values may affect the development of children and youth enrolled in these interventions or

experiencing the policy measures. In the following section we want to initiate such a discussion and base it on questions like what the implications may be of such a protectionist approach towards children and what is to gain and what is to lose by young people. A focus on specific problem behavior and an effective solution for this behavior seems to result in a blind spot concerning more general processes in the development and well-being of children and youth. What are, for example, the consequences of the behaviorist interventions on processes like identity formation and moral development? Other questions that emerged are what implications our findings have for the general field of professional youth care. For example, what impact does the focus on values have for effectiveness research? Or how may it influence client-professional relationships?

Before turning to the limitations of this research project, we first want to discuss the implications for both the development of children and for the professional field of youth care in more detail. With regard to the implications for child development, two specific developmental processes will be highlighted: identity formation (Erikson, 1963; Marcia, 1980) and the construction of citizenship (e.g. Kahne & Westheimer, 2003; Timmerman, 2009; Veugelers & Oser, 2008; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Implications for the youth care system will be addressed mainly from the perspective of effectiveness research and the related focus on program integrity. We will also consider the implications for client-professional relationship.

Implications for child development

Theories of child development generally hold that the developmental stages of childhood need to simultaneously result both in one's own sense of self (independence) and one's identification with the larger social context in which they live (interdependence). In theories on identity formation, processes of exploration and commitment are considered to be key elements developing such senses of self and identity (e.g. Damon, Menon, & Bronk, 2003; Erikson, 1963; Marcia, 1980). The protectionist approach that emerges in the results of our research project, might establish a sense of commitment, which aims for conformation and agreement with the norms of society. However, from this protectionist perspective, exploration processes are more challenging; an emphasis on social norms and standards limits the exploration of other values and beliefs. Opportunities to explore other social norms and values and other behavior can be limited since this can be regarded as "risky" behavior. This limits the possibilities for youth to develop their own perspectives and identities. Yet, considering the dynamics of society, social norms may not be as fixed as they are often

presented. Competencies in the ability to adapt to such changing circumstances might be more functional in such a society than the strict conformation to prescribed rules and norms. Moreover, children are often considered as "citizens in the making," who need to be socialized for integration in society. This strengthens the idea that exploration into other norms, belief systems, and ways of living is not considered normal or desirable behavior (Biesta, 2011a; Hart, 2009; Vandenbroeck & Bouverne-De Bie, 2002; J&G, 2009).

Overall, the results indicate that children, and maybe even more strongly, adolescents, are expected to behave like adults; they are expected to conform to the norms of (adult) society and to fully understand the consequences of their behavior and the choices they make. Any behavior not following the norm, such as the ones described above, is reacted upon with preventive and early interventions. What is considered deviant behavior is thereby defined more and more strictly. In the following section, we will discuss possible implications for developmental processes of children and youth, both from an individual and a social perspective, exploring how children learn to see themselves (identity formations) and how they perceive their own position in society (citizenship).

The individual – a psychological perspective

In general, the main purpose of youth care interventions is the enhancement of the well-being of children. In the interventions studied in this research project, this enhancement is fostered by teaching children and parents the necessary skills and competencies to cope with behavioral and emotional problems or with adversities in life. Structures in the social context of children are most often not targeted in youth care interventions. Rather, the individual child or the child's parents are taught the necessary skills to cope with hindrances to or the breakdown of structures in their social context. Research concerning the professional field of youth care focuses mainly on finding effective solutions for problem behavior. Although no one will argue that knowledge about the effects of interventions on problems encountered by children and families is not important, the limited focus on effectiveness may lead to a blind spot with regard to broader developmental processes. These processes, however, may be equally important in a youth's sense of well-being and satisfaction with life. Interpreting our findings in light of the seminal work of both Erikson (1963; 1974) and Marcia (1966; 1980), we believe that the current way in which youth care interventions try to assist young people with behavioral and emotional problems, falls short in helping the youth work through larger developmental processes such as the process of identity formation.

According to both Erikson (1963; 1974) and Marcia (1966; 1980), identity formation is a necessary component of adolescence in order to become a healthy adult. They define identity as the ability to establish a mutual relationship with society, while also having a sense of continuity within oneself (Marcia, 1966). Building on the work of Erikson and his notion of exploration- and commitment processes in the formation of identity, Marcia identified four identity statuses: *Identity achievement* is characterized by strong commitments after a long period of exploration. *Identity moratorium* refers to individuals who are still in crisis and have established only vague commitments. *Identity foreclosure* individuals are committed, but did not experience crisis; they have often committed to the values of their parents. Finally, individuals having the *identity diffusion* status may or may not have experienced crisis, but they are not committed. They are still in doubt over the goals they aspire to (Marcia, 1966; Orlofsky, Marcia, & Lesser, 1973). In general, the identity achievement status appears to be most beneficial for young people; individuals in the identity achievement status group are relatively stable persons, who have realistic aspirations and are able to cope with change. Compared to the other identity statuses, they are less vulnerable to authoritarianism and to negative information about themselves. In contrast, individuals in the identity foreclosure status group have the most negative associations, as they are vulnerable to authoritarianism, have unrealistic aspirations, have a hard time coping with change, and their self-esteem is fragile (Marcia, 1980). Both the identity achievement and identity moratorium statuses are also positively related to postconventional moral reasoning—as identified in Kohlberg's theory on moral development (Power, et al., 1989)—whereas identity foreclosure and identity diffusion statuses are related to preconventional and conventional reasoning (Marcia, 1980). Within a democratic society like the Netherlands, the identity achievement status seems to be the most "functional" of the four identity statuses (Orlofsky, et al., 1973). Yet, the values that are expressed in the youth care interventions we have investigated do not seem to stimulate the process of identity formation towards identity achievement, likewise for the policy measures in Dutch youth policy. Rather, it appears that identity foreclosure is the status that is most closely related to our findings: Youth care interventions are attempts toward the transmission of and conformation to dominant social norms and standards with an emphasis on values of the Security, Achievement, and Conformity domains. Values that would stress exploration, such as those from the domains Stimulation, Universalism, or Hedonism, are hardly emphasized. Also, youth care interventions, most specifically Triple P, emphasize child-centeredness and the need for parents to be accepting and encouraging. This kind of parenting style is mostly associated

with the identity foreclosure status. Children in this foreclosure status tend to describe their parents as accepting and encouraging, and their parents often define their own parenting behavior as child-centered and protective (Marcia, 1980). Although it should be noted that both identity foreclosure and identity achievement individuals usually show low levels of problem behavior, research indicates that more thorough exploration activities are necessary to reach the identity achieved status, which is still considered to be the most desirable status (Klimstra, 2010). Self-defining activities and possibilities to discover and explore one identity are positively related to well-being (Coatsworth, Palen & Sharp, 2006). Along the same line, openness to experience, flexibility, and the possibility to decrease commitments can help in positively changing one's behavior during treatment or in an intervention (Ferrer-Wreder, et al., 2002; Forthun & Montgomery, 2009).

Based on the findings of our research project alone, it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions regarding the influence of interventions on developmental processes such as identity formation. However, considering the possible implications youth care interventions may have on the social-emotional development of children "at risk," it may be well worth the effort to broaden the scope on effectiveness research by including investigations on the possible effects of youth care interventions on developmental processes that are not directly related to problem behavior (Montgomery, Hernandez, & Ferrer-Wreder, 2008).

Society – a sociological perspective.

As our findings have shown, the Dutch government considers youth to be citizens in the making; they are not really part of society yet but they are in the process of becoming citizens and thus need to acquire the necessary skills for socialization and integration into society. The Dutch government does acknowledge the social diversity of Dutch society (J&G, 2010b), yet its policy measures seem to be focused on finding a "common ground" in shared values (Hart, 2009; Heyting, et al., 2002). Emphases that are placed on value domains like Achievement and Security—reflecting the need for harmony and stability, and concentrating on societal standards—express this focus on shared values. As governments are expected to ensure a stable and well-ordered society, this emphasis is not entirely surprising. However, the question is whether policies for children and youth coalesce with the acclaimed need expressed by this same government to educate young people to become democratic citizens. Democracy entails, or may even require, a sense of opposition and disobedience (Passini & Morselli, 2011). In this light, the question arises of whether the objective of shared values is a

realistic or desirable approach (Heyting, et al., 2002). An approach towards citizenship and citizenship education based on diversity may be more befitting in fostering democratic citizenship, as it acknowledges the differences in norms, values, and social contexts that characterize today's Dutch society. An alternative theory of democratic citizenship is offered in the political philosophy of Chantal Mouffe (Mouffe, 2005a, 2005b, 2005c, 2009). According to Mouffe, democratic citizenship is in essence characterized by a conflict of values between different social groups, and on affective dimensions of citizenship and participation, as opposed to a more rational approach focusing on competencies, skills, and reasoning that we find in the researched youth care interventions and policy measures. Mouffe's theory is based on the notion that power relations play an important role in society (Mouffe, 2005a). According to Mouffe, every order is a specific and temporal formation of power relations, and can always change to a different constitution or order (Mouffe, 2009). In addition, every constitution exists because of the exclusion of other options. Thus, every order exists through its difference from other orders (Mouffe here refers to the phrase "constitutive outside"). For political identities (group identities), this means that for every "us," there is also a "them." An "us" without a "them" is impossible. This us/them relationship is not necessarily aversive, but it can become so when "us" is threatened in its existence and in its identity. According to Mouffe, democracy is the acknowledgement and legitimacy of this conflict, and the us/them distinction should not be denied. It is important, however, that the us/them distinction does not become a friend/enemy distinction. What should be strived for is that "them" is considered to be an opponent who can be fought, a so-called "friendly enemy" (Mouffe, 2009). So, while in conflict, people need to see themselves as belonging to the same political association. In this sense, they share a common "symbolic space" within which the conflict takes place (Mouffe, 2005a).

Another important theme for Mouffe is the rational approach that is generally taken when discussing the liberal-democratic ideology. Such a focus on rationalism is not sufficient and may even be detrimental to the democratic process. According to Mouffe, one of the consequences of the emphasis on rationalism is that political conflicts are fought out in a moral register (right vs. wrong, good vs. evil). Mouffe stresses the importance of affective dimensions in politics, and according to her, democratic politics should have the capacity to mobilize people around distinct political projects and its aim should be to mobilize these passions through legitimate political channels (Mouffe, 2005a; 2005b).

It seems to be a far stretch from the political philosophy of Mouffe to the practices of the professional field of youth care. However, both Biesta (2011a, 2011b) and Ruitenberg

(2009) have been able to adequately translate Mouffe's theory to the educational system: Following Mouffe's political philosophy, Ruitenberg claims that emotions should be given a place in education, which would also require that students learn to make a distinction between emotions on behalf of themselves, and emotions on behalf of a political collective; that is, they need to distinguish defensive anger from moral anger. In addition, students need to learn to understand that a political adversary is not the same as a moral enemy or a competitor, and they should get insight into the power relations that structure society. Ruitenberg also claims that students would need to develop an understanding of contemporary political constitutions and their histories (Ruitenberg, 2009).

Biesta (2011b) in his article opposes current models of democratic citizenship because of its assumption to know what a good citizen is, and because of its production of this good citizen within the educational system. Biesta shares Mouffe's belief that the border of a democratic order is not natural, but that it masks a political us/them distinction. It therein forecloses the possibility to question these borders. According to Biesta, the democratic citizen does not have a predefined identity which can be taught, but which emerges from engagement with democratic politics. Biesta thus argues for an education in which civic learning is an inherent dimension, and which entails exposure to and engagement with democratic processes that make up everyday lives of children and young people (Biesta, 2011a, 2011b). Both Biesta and Ruitenberg offer reference points for a translation of Mouffe's theory within youth care interventions and youth policy. Comparable to such an approach within the educational system, the professional field of youth care could, for example, focus on enhancing the knowledge about emotions and about distinctions between emotions such as described by Ruitenberg (2009). Also, youth care interventions and youth policy measures could help young people in finding their place within the (political) groups in society, thereby offering opportunities for young people to explore their norms and values, and to experience and engage with the democratic process and democratic institutions.

It would reach beyond the scope of this chapter and this dissertation to discuss the possibilities in detail and to come to any final conclusions regarding this subject. Nevertheless, future research should include this citizenship element of youth care interventions and of youth policy, and could explore ways in which this professional field might stimulate the engagement of young people with political issues that concern them. Notwithstanding the importance of further investigations into the effects and opportunities within this professional field for the development of children and youth, the original reasons for starting this research project lie not with the implications for children per se, but rather

with the implications possible findings may have for the professional field of youth care. To this we shall therefore turn next.

Implications for the professional field of youth care

As has been described elaborately in Chapter 2, both the youth care system and policies targeted at children and families are dominated by a focus on effectiveness and evidence-based practice. This explicit focus reflects a rather technical perspective on child development, in which problems can be solved in a neutral and objective manner. In this respect it disregards the normativity of child rearing. Considering the role of values in and the normativity of parental child rearing, we questioned this explicit claim of objectivity and neutrality. The findings of the case studies presented in this dissertation do indeed show that the professional field of youth care is not as objective and neutral as is claimed, but that values are being expressed and transmitted both in youth care interventions and in youth policy measures. Moreover, our results also show that differences exist between the theory and the practice of a youth care intervention. As for policy measures, the results show a difference in values depending on the target population of the policy measures. These findings have several implications for research and for practice in this professional field.

First, the differences our results show between the development and execution of interventions is not a new or surprising finding. This issue is also addressed in current effectiveness research, when it focuses on program integrity. A lack of program integrity, meaning a discrepancy between the theory and execution of an intervention, most often results in the stricter use of program protocols and -guidelines. From a value-based perspective, however, these differences can be interpreted and resolved in a different way: Program developers, youth care organizations and youth care professionals may all implicitly or explicitly express values regarding childhood and child development, and these values may differ between them. Professionals may struggle with the implicit value orientations of a youth care intervention and may make minor adaptations to the intervention so that it better suits their own values and beliefs. Likewise, organizations may adopt a youth care intervention because of its proven effectiveness, but may struggle with the values that are expressed in this intervention. This may lead them to change the intervention without becoming explicit about the reasons for implementing these changes. As a result, interventions may lose their effectiveness. By explicating and discussing people's values, these differences can be brought to light, which may result in more cohesive and theoretically founded changes in implementing an intervention within a specific organization, or within a

specific culture. When these changes are made explicit, they can also be taken into account in the effectiveness research that is conducted. Comparably, cooperation and collaboration between different youth care organizations may be hindered by a difference in these organizations' respective values. By explicating the implicit values and beliefs that guide the choices organizations and professionals make, and by discussing the different notions of "healthy childhood" and "healthy development," collaboration can be improved. In the same vein, in developing youth care interventions or policy measures, program developers and policy advisors can think about and discuss what values they deem important for children and youth, and they can be more explicit about the value-based elements of the interventions and policy measures.

Second, differences may also exist between the values of youth care interventions and the values of youth care clients (i.e. parents and children). Part of the fall-out of clients during treatment can be a result of implicit, unspoken differences in beliefs about developmental aims and ideals and of different perspectives on childhood. Parents or children may not want to participate in an intervention that may be defined as effective, but which conflicts with their own values and beliefs. By clarifying the values, professionals and their clients can discuss other ways in which clients can be helped in overcoming their problems, while at the same time acknowledging the clients' values and beliefs. Discussing values may also result in a more context-based approach of the youth care system, as opposed to the socialization approach that currently dominates the field (i.e. Biesta, 2011a).

Finally, attention to value orientations and differences in values may contribute to a debate about the role of youth care professionals and the youth care system within society. How do they want to position themselves in society, and between the families they are helping and the demands and control that is asked of them by the government? What position do they want to take in the power relation between governments and citizens (i.e. Donzelot, 1979; Foucault, 1981)? What kind of ideals do they envision for children in society, and in what way do they believe they can strengthen and encourage the general development of children? Discussions between professionals can also concentrate on issues like why, and how, some behavior is defined as dysfunctional: What is the value base of problem behavior? Questions like these cannot be answered with this research project but the results of this research project may foster such a debate, and may thereby open up opportunities for the empowerment of the youth care system as a whole.

Limitations

The research that has been conducted in this dissertation has shown that, although presented as value-neutral and objective, youth care interventions and youth policy also express (different kinds of) values regarding childhood and child development. Besides the implications our results may have for the professional field of youth care, an important contribution of our research project is the framework of values we have used, and which offers a new, reliable, and objective method for the content analysis of values. This framework makes it possible to analyze values without having to take a specific focus beforehand. By providing the option to investigate both individual values and value domains, and the possibility to combine these values in specific value hierarchies, this framework makes it possible deduce both explicit and implicit values from documents, thereby clarifying the hidden curriculum of—in this case—youth care interventions and of youth policy. Also, as the value domains of Schwartz's theory are also included in the World Value Survey, results of investigations using this framework can be compared with international findings of value research. It thereby opens up opportunities for cross-cultural comparison (www.worldvaluesurvey.org). The use of this framework is not limited to investigations of the youth care system, but also offers opportunities for value research in other fields of interest (e.g. the media, as suggested by Pascual and Samaniego (2007)) or from a historical perspective (e.g. Rokeach et al., 1970). It is thus a significant contribution to common value research, which usually focuses on individuals or specific social groups and mainly makes use of surveys and interviews. Some other methods have been developed for value research through content analysis (see e.g. Bardi and colleagues, 2008), but these do not offer opportunities for an analysis on the level of individual values (as opposed to value domains) and it often lacks the option of clarifying implicit values. Despite these strengths however, there are also some limitations to our research project.

A first limitation to the use of this framework is related to the content of the values within this framework. We have been able to label text fragments reflecting a value with one or two of the 39 values that constitute the framework. In some instances, however, it was a complicated process to do so in a way that would fully capture the value's meaning. For example, "empathy" is not a value in the framework we used. It can be covered by combining the values *helpful* and *social justice*, but it can be questioned whether this fully captures the meaning of the concept "empathy." Considering the reliability of Schwartz's value list, we had to refrain from adding new values to the list. Moreover, research has shown that selecting specific values from the value domains, and excluding other values, can influence

correlations between the value domains in a negative way (e.g. through cross-loadings between the domains Universalism and Benevolence or Achievement and Power) (Knoppen & Saris, 2009). Taking into account that we have excluded 14 values from the 56-item value list, and extracted three pairs of values from individual six values, the problem of cross-loadings may have had some impact on our findings. For this research project we took a pragmatic approach in our choice for values and did not asses these possible cross-loadings. This issue should be addressed, however, in future studies using this framework in order to enhance the reliability of this method.

Second, Schwartz's framework is helpful in that it clarifies the important values within an intervention or policy report, but it does not in itself explain how the values of the value hierarchies come together and operate together. It does show that certain choices are made, but it does not clarify why these choices are made or who made them. These questions cannot be answered by using this framework of values, but require a more in-depth study of the processes of policy- and intervention development.

Third, our analysis is based on the assumption that values that were considered most important would be expressed most often (Pennebakker, et al., 2003). Based on this assumption, we decided to focus solely on value domains reflecting 10% or more of the text fragments. However, in some instances, values that were claimed to be important were not mentioned often. Such is the case in the study of MST, for example, in which the value *helpful*, although explicitly claimed to be important for MST therapists and being one of the core elements of the MST intervention, did not come forth as such in the analysis of MST in practice. Part of this is due to the fact that elements of the intervention's context are not included in the analysis; for example the fact that professionals visit their clients at home instead of asking clients to visit the MST office, which is a sign of being helpful, cannot be included in the research method we used. An effort was made to pay specific attention to these kinds of value expressions during interviews and observations, but this does not guarantee that these are all included in the investigation.

Fourth, our decision to design this research project as a multiple case study was based on the notion that multiple case studies would make comparison between interventions possible, which would allow us to draw more general conclusions. As a result, the investigations per case study are limited; for example, more interviews and observations could have been conducted. This would have allowed for a more in-depth investigation, which could have given more detailed information about the processes of and choices in developing and executing youth care interventions or youth policy. The methodological

choice we have made to conduct a multiple case study is based primarily on the fact that this kind of research has not—to our knowledge—been conducted before. Future studies could, however, concentrate on such an in-depth study to clarify the specific choices and processes within this field of youth care. For youth policy specifically, no observations were conducted, for example, of meetings with policy advisors discussing a specific policy measure. As a result, we lack data on other possible factors which, in addition to values, may have influenced the choice for a specific policy measure. Similarly, by not including interviews with policy advisors in counties and provinces in the Netherlands, we did not gather information on how policy measures are implemented in society. Also, in order to interpret differences between an intervention in theory and in practice, it could have been useful to have professionals answer either the SVS or the PVQ. In this way, information concerning the personal values of professionals could have helped in understanding the differences between theory and practice.

Fifth, an effort was made to gather a solid collection of articles and books on the researched intervention and of policy reports so that it would adequately represent the viewpoints and strategies of the intervention's developers and of the Ministry of Youth and Family. Nevertheless, due to the sheer volume of articles, reports, and other documents, we may have overlooked some relevant sources. Also, we selected our informants at random, meaning we interviewed the person who was suitable, willing, and available. An interview with another informant might have yielded somewhat different responses. Considering the amount of text reviewed, however, and the data gathered from it, it can be questioned whether adding one or two documents would have significantly altered the results. The saturation principle does, after all, imply that nothing new will come forward from adding more documents (Boeije, 2010; Robson, 2002). Moreover, interviews were also used as a means for member validation, thereby offering the interviewees a way to respond to the preliminary findings of the study.

Finally, the agreement established in this investigation can be considered to be fair to good agreement (Fleiss, 1981), and the analyses also showed high congruence between the researchers with regard to the specific value hierarchies per case study. We therefore believe that the analyses we have conducted are sufficiently reliable, especially when taking into consideration that this has been the first research project making use of Schwartz's theory in such a way. Nevertheless, future studies should try to come to a higher and more reliable agreement measure.

Overall, we hope that this research project has made evident that youth care interventions and youth policy are not merely neutral interventions based on the particular conduct of children and parents, but that values do play an important role in the development and execution of interventions and of policy measures. Choices are made within this professional field of youth care that are based on value preferences of program developers, youth care organizations, and youth care professionals. These choices may also reflect cultural values. The expression and transmission of these values through interventions and policy measures means that these values indirectly affect the experiences and lives of children and parents. Also, attention to values as they are expressed in interventions and in policy measures may benefit the field of youth care both with regard to research that is being conducted and with regard to client-professional interaction. Therefore, we believe that it is imperative that the youth care system not be guided solely by technical issues, such as effectiveness, but that one should also be aware of political and moral issues regarding child rearing and child development.

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Summary

Discussions about the professional care for youth, and debates within the youth care system are increasingly dominated by phrases such as "evidence-based," "what works," and "effectiveness." Youth care organizations are more and more oriented towards the use of interventions which are so-called evidence-based and which are defined as effective. Conversely, effective interventions are guaranteed to be purchased and to be implemented (worldwide). Within the field of youth policy, the focus is mainly on the development of effective policy measures, and pilot studies are conducted to assess the effectiveness of youth policy measures before implementing them nationwide.

This focus on effectiveness is founded on the (moral) argument that one should not intervene in the lives of young people and/or their parents when the results of such an intervention are unknown or if it does not solve the problems of these families. Both clients and professionals need to be able to rely on the fact that the intervention does indeed offer a solution to the problems children and parents encounter. From this point of view it is a moral obligation for everyone working with children and families to know exactly what problems they are treating and which underlying causes they are tackling. Consequently, the theme of effectiveness is welcomed with great enthusiasm both in the professional field of youth care and in the social scientific world in which much of the effectiveness research is conducted.

However, this focus on effectiveness is not immune to criticism. The main point of criticism seems to be that working with children and families entails much more than a clear-cut diagnosis-treatment relation: Influences within the social context of families affect the results of treatment, and organizational structures of youth care institutions affect the ways in which professionals can execute their work (Davies, et al., 2000; Webb, 2001). In response to the criticism of focusing too narrowly and too theoretically on effectiveness, more attention is now being paid to information and evidence from practice, including the professionals' and clients' perception (Veerman & Van Yperen, 2007). Also, the once golden standard of Randomized Controlled Trials (RCTs) is not as strictly applied as before, and attention is being paid to a broader spectrum of research possibilities (e.g. qualitative research).

Another point of critique is that the focus on effectiveness does not leave much room for a discussion about the goals and ideals of child development or the normativity of child rearing (De Winter, 2004; Koops, 2000, 2003). This critique is based on the assumption that child rearing entails more than correcting behavior, and that ideals and beliefs about what constitutes childhood, as well as what kind of adults children need to become, play an equally

important role in the choices that are made in the parental and professional upbringing of children: What are important aims in the upbringing of children? What kinds of conceptions of adulthood and citizenship underlie the interventions and policy measures? Childrearing in this perspective is not only based on facts but is also influenced by specific values. For youth care interventions and youth policy specifically this means that attention is not only paid to the measurable goals as they are stated in care plans, and which are most often related to specific problem behavior, but that the values and ideals of professionals and clients also need to be explicated.

The research presented in this dissertation is based on this latter point of critique and this dissertation shows that a variety of values plays an important role in the development and execution of youth care interventions and youth policy. Based on five case studies, the so-called hidden curriculum of youth care interventions and of youth policy is unraveled and value orientations are made explicit. The first four case studies each describe a specific youth care intervention; the fifth case study describes the Dutch youth policy during the governing years of the Dutch Ministry of Youth and Family (2007-2010). The selection of youth care interventions reflects different forms of youth care (preventive, judicial) for different kinds of problems (externalizing, internalizing) for different groups of people (juveniles, parents) and are based on different theoretical approaches (cognitive-behavioral, social-ecological). Although it is not assumed that this selection of youth care interventions is exhaustive, this broad spectrum does prevent the possibility that values are attributed solely to one of the abovementioned elements.

In order to analyze values from documents, interviews, and observations, we made use of an existing and empirically tested theory on the content and structure of values (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). The survey that was originally used in Schwartz's research was adapted to make it a reliable instrument for content analysis. For our analysis, we combined a qualitative approach to content analysis—which focuses specifically on the intentionality of the text—with a quantitative approach: In the final stages of our analysis, the percentages of text fragments per value domain are calculated, in order to rank them in order of importance. Interrater agreement was established and showed a Cohen's Kappa of 0.59 (values) and 0.63 (domains), which, according to Fleiss can be considered as "fair to good agreement beyond chance," especially given the sometimes-latent content of our analysis (Fleiss, 1981; Holsti, 1969).

From the results of these case studies several conclusions can be drawn: The first is that different though specific values are expressed in all five of the case studies. All case studies show an emphasis on values motivated by security issues (e.g. *family security*, *sense of belonging*, *social order*), both in the development and in the execution of youth care interventions and youth policy. Besides this, it is shown that achievement-based values such as capability or intelligence are also considered important. In this regard, it should also be mentioned that these values seem to be aimed mainly at the individual competencies of juveniles and/or their parents.

The case studies show that the value hierarchies of the individual cases differ both in the combination of the values that make up the value hierarchy and in the emphases that are placed on each of the values. For example; in some cases security values are combined with individualistic values like hedonistic values. In other cases these same values are combined with more socially-oriented values, like conformity.

The results of this research project also show that there can be discrepancies in the way an intervention is developed and described in theory, and in the way it is executed in practice. This conclusion in itself is not very unexpected; within common effectiveness research, program integrity is also being addressed. The use of protocols and guidelines is stressed in order to execute an intervention according to the way it is described in theory. From a value-based perspective, however, discrepancy between program theory and execution can be interpreted another way: It may indicate that the values of the involved professionals or of the involved youth care institution may affect the way in which the intervention is executed. Professionals may struggle with the implicit and unspoken values of youth care interventions and may execute the intervention according to their own values and beliefs. However, the specific focus of this research project is on the values of some youth care interventions and of youth policy. The personal values of the professional or the values of the youth care institutions are not included in this research, therefore, no definite conclusions can be drawn from the discrepancies in values between program theory and program execution.

In this same vein, cultural differences also seem to play a role in the value hierarchies of youth care interventions. As our research shows, important differences in value hierarchies are found when comparisons are made between the country in which a program has been developed and the country in which this same program is executed. Both developmental ideals expressed in an intervention and the way children are being defined and perceived can vary between these countries and this variance is expressed in the development and in the

execution of an intervention. This difference may indicate that the acquisition and implementation of a foreign intervention does not only require a literal translation, but that differences in cultural values should be taken into account. Within our research project no specific attention has been paid to cross-cultural differences, and the values of the countries in which the intervention is developed or executed were not included in our data collection. Therefore, despite the results indicating the presence of a variety of cultural values regarding child rearing and child development, no definitive conclusion can be drawn.

In general, it should be concluded that, despite the significance of evidence-based practice and research for the institutionalized care of youth, this strict focus on evidence neglects to take important elements of societal child rearing into account. This research project demonstrates that values play an equally important role in youth care interventions and youth policy. The significance of this conclusion lies mainly in its implication for discussions about and the structure of the Dutch youth care system. First of all, this conclusion may prompt a societal debate on the aims and structure of institutionalized youth care, and on the positioning of the youth care system within Dutch society. Questions which may arise are: What kind of values does this professional field want to transmit? Which values do professionals consider important for the (healthy) development of youth, and how are these values related to values and beliefs about children and youth in society itself? Second, exposing this hidden curriculum can acknowledge and therefore take into account the experiences of juveniles and parents who participate in an intervention. The value orientations may affect the (moral) messages which are transmitted to children and parents and may possible affect more general developmental processes such as identity formation or citizenship construction. Third and last of all, explicating and discussing these values is relevant to making clients informed decision-makers. Issues such as fall out during treatment may be explained by the notion that parents do not want to be enrolled in an intervention which is considered effective by professionals, but which does not match with their own values and beliefs.

Next to these implications for parents and children themselves, the results of the research described in this dissertation also have implications for both the youth care system itself and the effectiveness research currently being conducted. As is described above, the discrepancy between program theory and execution may be due to a difference in values between the intervention and the professional. Explicating these values may thus offer a significant contribution to research on effectiveness and program integrity, and in translating program theory to the actual youth care practice. In the acquisition of youth care

interventions, considering possible cultural differences between the countries of origin and the Netherlands can contribute to a more adequate translation to the youth care practice. Moreover, effectiveness research often results in an increasing and stricter use of protocols and guidelines. Instead, research into values focuses on the perceptions and interpretations of professionals and clients, who both thereby regain a central role in the process of social work and assistance.

Samenvatting

In de afgelopen jaren worden discussies over de professionele zorg voor jeugd en over de jeugdzorgsector steeds meer gedomineerd door termen als "evidence", "what works", en "effectiviteit", oftewel "evidence-based practice". Interventies die door jeugdzorginstellingen gebruikt worden, moeten bewezen effectief zijn. Andersom zijn interventies die hun effectiviteit bewezen hebben gegarandeerd van (wereldwijde) afname en implementatie. Ook op het gebied van jeugdbeleid ligt de focus vooral op het inzetten van beleid dat effectief is of worden pilots opgezet om eerst de effectiviteit van het beleid aan te tonen voordat het landelijk geïmplementeerd wordt.

Deze focus op effectiviteit wordt onderbouwd met het (morele) argument, dat niet geïntervenieerd zou moeten worden in het leven van jongeren en/of diens ouders als het resultaat van die interventie onbekend is of als het geen verbetering oplevert van de probleemsituatie. Zowel cliënten als professionals moeten er op kunnen bouwen dat de ingezette behandeling ook daadwerkelijk een oplossing biedt voor de problemen die kinderen en ouders ervaren. Het is in dit opzicht een morele verplichting voor iedereen die met kinderen en gezinnen werkt, om te weten wat ze doen tijdens een behandeling en welke onderliggende oorzaken ze aanpakken. Het thema "evidence-based practice" is dan ook met groot enthousiasme ontvangen zowel in de jeugdzorgpraktijk als in de wetenschappelijke wereld alwaar het effectiviteitsonderzoek grotendeels wordt uitgevoerd.

Echter, de focus op effectiviteit is niet gevrijwaard van kritiek. Het grootste kritiekpunt lijkt te zijn dat het werken met kinderen en gezinnen meer behelst dan een 'eenvoudige' diagnose-behandelrelatie: Invloeden in de sociale context van gezinnen hebben effect op de resultaten van de behandeling en de structuren van jeugdhulpverleningsorganisaties hebben invloed op de manier waarop professionals hun werk kunnen uitvoeren (Davies, et al., 2000; Webb, 2001). Als reactie op deze kritiek zijn er verschillende veranderingsprocessen gaande waarbij de focus niet alleen meer ligt op evidence-based practice, maar ook aandacht is voor "practice-based evidence" (Veerman & Van Yperen, 2007). Dit wil zeggen dat er binnen het effectiviteitonderzoek meer oog is voor de beleving van cliënten en professionals. Ook wordt de gouden standaard van Randomized Controlled Trials (RCT's) losgelaten en is er meer ruimte voor de bijdrage van andersoortig onderzoek (bijvoorbeeld kwalitatief onderzoek).

Een ander belangrijk kritiekpunt is dat de focus op effectiviteit weinig tot geen ruimte laat voor een discussie over opvoedingsdoelen en -idealen en de normativiteit van opvoeding

(De Winter, 2004; Koops, 2000, 2003). Dit kritiekpunt is gestoeld op de aanname dat opvoeding meer is dan alleen het corrigeren van feitelijk gedrag, maar dat idealen over wat de kindertijd en jeugd zouden moeten inhouden en wat voor soort volwassenen kinderen zouden moeten worden eveneens een rol spelen in de keuzes die gemaakt worden: Wat vindt men belangrijk in de opvoeding van kinderen en jongeren? Welke concepties over de gewenste volwassenheid en de gewenste burger liggen ten grondslag aan de interventies en beleidsmaatregelen? Opvoeding is in dit perspectief niet alleen gebaseerd op feitelijkheden, maar waardeoriëntaties spelen hierin ook een belangrijke rol. Voor jeugdzorginterventies en jeugdbeleid betekent dit dat er niet alleen aandacht is voor de SMART-geformuleerde doelen zoals ze in hulpverleningsplannen worden beschreven, en die veelal gelieerd zijn aan het specifieke probleemgedrag, maar dat waarden en idealen van zowel cliënten als professionals geëxpliciteerd worden.

Het onderzoek in deze dissertatie is gestoeld op dit tweede kritiekpunt en in de dissertatie wordt aangetoond dat verschillende waarden een belangrijk element vormen in de ontwikkeling en uitvoering van jeugdzorginterventies en jeugdbeleid. Aan de hand van vijf case studies wordt het zogenaamde verborgen curriculum van jeugdzorginterventies en van jeugdbeleid ontrafeld en worden waardeoriëntaties zichtbaar gemaakt. De eerste vier case studies richten zich op ieder op een specifieke jeugdzorginterventie, de vijfde case study richt zich op het Nederlandse jeugdbeleid tijdens de jaren van het Ministerie voor Jeugd en Gezin (2007-2010). De selectie van jeugdzorginterventies representeert verschillende vormen van hulpverlening (preventief, justitieel) voor verschillende vormen van problematiek (externaliserend, internaliserend) voor verschillende doelgroepen (adolescenten, ouders) en op basis van verschillende theoretische achtergronden (cognitief-gedragsmatig, sociaal-ecologisch). Hoewel op geen enkele wijze wordt aangenomen dat deze selectie representatief is voor alle jeugdzorginterventies, wordt hiermee wel voorkomen dat gevonden waardeoriëntaties enkel en alleen toe te schrijven zijn aan een van de hierboven genoemde elementen.

Om waarden te kunnen abstraheren uit documenten, interviews en observaties, hebben we gebruik gemaakt van een bestaand en empirisch geteste theorie over de inhoud en structuur van waarden (Schwartz, 1992; 1994). De vragenlijst die oorspronkelijk gebruikt werd in het onderzoek van Schwartz is aangepast om het een betrouwbaar instrument te maken voor de uivoer van een inhoudsanalyse.

In ons onderzoek hebben we een kwalitatieve benadering van inhoudsanalyses – waarbij de focus vooral gericht is op de intentionaliteit van de tekst – gecombineerd met een

kwantitatieve benadering: In de eindfases van onze analyses, worden de percentages tekstfragmenten per waardedomein berekend. Op basis van deze percentages ontstaat een waardenhiërarchie van de belangrijkste waardendomeinen. De interbeoordelaars-betrouwbaarheid is berekend, wat geresulteerd heeft in een Cohen's Kappa van 0,59 (waarden) en 0,63 (domeinen), wat – op basis van de indeling van Fleiss – beoordeeld wordt als redelijk tot goede overeenstemming, zeker gezien de veelal latente inhoud van onze analyses (Fleiss, 1981; Holsti, 1969).

Uit de resultaten van deze case studies kunnen enkele conclusies getrokken worden: Allereerst moet geconcludeerd worden dat verschillende doch specifieke waarden gevonden worden in alle vijf de case studies. Zo wordt uit alle case studies duidelijk dat waarden op het gebied van veiligheid (*gezinsveiligheid*, *sociale inbedding*, *sociale orde*) een belangrijke rol spelen in de ontwikkeling en uitvoer van jeugdzorginterventies en jeugdbeleid. Daarnaast blijkt dat waarden op het gebied van prestaties benadrukt worden (waarden zoals *competent* en *intelligent*), waarbij vooral ingezet lijkt te worden op de individuele competenties van de jongeren en/of diens ouders. De resultaten van de case studies laten ook verschillen zien in de combinatie van waarden die de waardenhiërarchie vormen, en in de nadruk die gelegd wordt op elk van deze waarden: In sommige gevallen worden de veiligheids- en prestatiewaarden gecombineerd met meer individualistische waarden (bijvoorbeeld hedonistische waarden) terwijl in andere gevallen meer de nadruk wordt gelegd op sociaal georiënteerde waarden zoals conformiteitwaarden.

Daarnaast blijkt uit de resultaten van dit onderzoek dat er verschillen kunnen bestaan tussen de manier waarop een interventie ontwikkeld en beschreven is en de manier waarop de interventie in de praktijk wordt vormgegeven. Deze conclusie is op zich niet nieuw: ook binnen het reguliere effectiviteitsonderzoek is veel aandacht voor programma-integriteit en ligt er een nadruk op het gebruik van protocollen en regels om de interventie zo uit te kunnen voeren als dat in theorie omschreven is. Binnen het kader van het onderzoek naar waardeoriëntaties kan uit dit resultaat echter ook een andere conclusie getrokken worden. Het verschil tussen theorie en praktijk kan er op wijzen dat waardeoriëntaties van de betrokken professionals of van de betrokken instelling invloed hebben op de manier waarop de interventie uitgevoerd wordt. Professionals lijken in sommige gevallen moeite te hebben met de impliciete maar onuitgesproken waarden van een interventie en geven op hun eigen manier invulling aan de uitvoering ervan. Binnen dit onderzoek is echter specifiek gericht op de waarden van enkele jeugdzorginterventies en beleidsmaatregelen. Daarbij zijn bijvoorbeeld de persoonlijke waarden van de professional of de waarden van de

jeugdzorgorganisatie niet meegenomen. Doordat deze waarden in dit onderzoek niet onderzocht zijn kunnen er geen eenduidige conclusies getrokken worden uit dit verschil tussen theorie en uitvoer van jeugdzorginterventies.

In het verlengde hiervan lijken ook culturele verschillen mee te spelen in de waardeoriëntaties van jeugdzorginterventies. Uit het onderzoek blijkt dat, wanneer rekening gehouden wordt met het land waarin de interventie ontwikkeld is, er belangrijke verschillen in waardenhiërarchie gevonden worden tussen Nederland en 'het land van herkomst'. Verschillen kunnen bestaan in de opvoedingsidealen die in de interventie naar voren komen of in de manier waarop kinderen gedefinieerd en waargenomen worden. Dit resultaat kan er op duiden dat bij de aanschaf en implementatie van een buitenlandse interventie naar de Nederlandse situatie er niet alleen een letterlijke vertaling gemaakt moet worden, maar dat er ook rekening gehouden moet worden met de cultureel bepaalde waarden van de interventie zelf en het land waarin de interventie uitgevoerd wordt. Binnen het onderzoek is niet specifiek gekeken naar crossculturele verschillen en zijn de waarden van de landen waarin de interventies ontwikkeld dan wel uitgevoerd worden ook niet meegenomen in de analyse. Hoewel de resultaten lijken te duiden op culturele waardeverschillen ten aanzien van opvoeden en opgroeien, kunnen we ook hierover geen eenduidige conclusies trekken.

Over het algemeen moet geconcludeerd worden dat, ondanks de belangrijke bijdrage die evidence-based practice kunnen leveren aan de zorg voor de jeugd in Nederland, de specifieke gerichtheid op deze "evidence" belangrijke elementen van de maatschappelijke opvoeding van jongeren buiten beschouwing laat. Het onderzoek in deze dissertatie laat zien dat waarden evenzeer een belangrijke spelen in jeugdzorginterventies en in jeugdbeleid. Dit is een belangrijke conclusie omdat dit voor de discussies over en de vormgeving van de jeugdzorgsector in Nederland belangrijke implicaties kan hebben. Ten eerste kan dit resultaat voeding geven aan een maatschappelijke discussie over de gewenste richting van de jeugdzorg en kan het een rol spelen in de positionering van de jeugdzorg in de Nederlandse samenleving. Vragen die hierin een rol kunnen spelen zijn bijvoorbeeld: Welke belangrijke waarden wil de sector overdragen? Welke waarden vindt zij belangrijk voor de ontwikkeling van jongeren en hoe verhoudt zich dit tot assumpties en overtuigingen die in de samenleving spelen ten aanzien van kinderen en jeugd? In de tweede plaats biedt deze explicitering van het verborgen curriculum inzicht in de ervaringen van jongeren en ouders wanneer zij deelnemen aan een jeugdzorginterventie. Waarden kunnen van invloed kunnen zijn op de (morele) lessen die kinderen en ouders leren bij deelname aan deze interventies en zijn mogelijk van invloed op meer algemene ontwikkelingsprocessen zoals identiteitsvorming of

burgerschapsvorming. Ten derde en tot slot is het zichtbaar en bespreekbaar maken van belang voor de keuzen die cliënten kunnen maken Zo zou uitval bij interventies verklaard kunnen worden doordat ouders niet mee willen doen aan een cursus die weliswaar bewezen effectief is, maar waarin opvoedingswaarden een rol spelen die niet overeenkomen met hun eigen opvoedingswaarden.

Naast de implicaties voor ouders en kinderen zelf, kunnen de resultaten van het hier beschreven onderzoek ook implicaties hebben voor de jeugdzorgpraktijk zelf en het effectiviteitonderzoek dat daarin plaatsvindt. Zoals hierboven al is aangegeven kan het verschil tussen de theorie en de uitvoer van een interventie gerelateerd zijn aan verschillen in waarden tussen interventie en uitvoerder. Explicitering van waarden kan dan een belangrijk element zijn binnen onderzoek naar effectiviteit en programma-integriteit en bij de vertaling van de theorie van interventies naar de jeugdzorgpraktijk. Ook kan bij de aanschaf van bewezen effectieve interventies aandacht geschonken worden aan mogelijke culturele verschillen tussen Nederland en het land waarin de interventie ontwikkeld is. Op die manier kan het bijdragen aan een meer adequate "vertaling" van de interventie naar de praktijk. Daarnaast geldt dat waar effectiviteitonderzoek vaak de aandacht richt op meer en strenger gebruik van protocollen en richtlijnen, onderzoek naar waarden juist de focus legt op de percepties en interpretaties van professionals en ouders. Deze krijgen daarmee weer een belangrijke rol in het hulpverleningsproces.

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Curriculum Vitae

Marit Hopman was born on the 4th of February 1975 in Nijmegen, the Netherlands. After completing high school (Atheneaum, Canisius College Mater Dei), Marit started her studies in developmental psychology in 1994, at Utrecht University. In 1997, Marit spend part of her study at California State University Bakersfield (Bakersfield, California, USA). She graduated from Utrecht University in 2000 on a thesis relating non-verbal communication to the development of depression in children and adolescents. Marit started working as a social worker for the Dutch National Agency for Youth Care (*Bureau Jeugdzorg*) in 2004. In 2006, she combined this job with a master's program in social issues and youth policy, at Utrecht University. Marit graduated in 2007 on a thesis describing the process-evaluation of a youth care intervention called "Reaching Out" (*Outreachend Handelen*). In January 2008, Marit started as a PhD-student at Utrecht University, writing her dissertation on the implicit and explicit value orientations in youth care interventions and Dutch youth policy. During her time as a PhD-student, Marit gained teaching experience as a lecturer in a course focusing on cultural diversity within the professional fields of education and youth care, and as a lecturer for the introductory course in the master's program social issues and youth policy. From 2009 until 2010, she also was the PhD-representative for the PhD-students of the Langeveld Institute at Utrecht University. Next to writing her dissertation, Marit wrote several articles about her research and presented her research on several national and international conferences. Marit will continue her research on youth care interventions—more specifically on parenting support programs—as a postdoctoral researcher at the department of interdisciplinary social sciences at Utrecht University, with Prof. dr. Trudie Knijn.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1a: *Values and value domains of Schwartz's theory.*[10]

	Value	Definitions used in analysis	Definitions in original Schwartz Value Survey
		The desirable goal that guides this fragment is…	*As a guiding principle in my life, this value is…*
	UNIVERSALISM	*Understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature*	
1	Broad-minded		*Tolerant of different ideas/beliefs*
2	Equality	*Equal opportunity for all, preventing inequality*	*Equal opportunity for all*
3	Inner harmony		*At peace with myself*
4	Social justice		*Correcting injustice, care for the weak*
5	Wisdom		*A mature understanding of life*
	BENEVOLENCE	*Preservation and enhancement of the welfare of people with whom one is in frequent personal contact*	
6	Forgiving		*Willing to pardon others*
7	Helpful	*Working for the welfare of others, offering support*	*Working for the welfare of others*
8	Honest	*Speak the truth, be sincere*	*Genuine, sincere*
9	Loyal/ True friendship	*Trustworthy to established relations, be someone's true friend*	*Faithful to my friends, group, close, supportive friends*
10	Responsible	*Dependable, reliable*	*Dependable, reliable*
	TRADITION	*Respect, commitment, and acceptance of the customs and ideas that traditional culture or religion provide*	
11	Accepting portion in life	*Accept what happens in life*	*Submitting to life's circumstances*
12	Humble		*Modest, self-effacing*
13	Respect for tradition	*Preservation of time-honored customs, respect for cultural differences*	*Preservation of time-honored customs*

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[10] **Source:** Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the Content and Structure of Values: Theoretical Advances and Empirical Tests in 20 Countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology,* 25, 1-65.

	CONFORMITY	*Restraint of actions, inclinations, and impulses likely to upset or harm others and violate social expectations or norms*	
14	Honoring of parents/elders	*Respect role of parents/care takers, showing respect for parents, role of parents, emphasis on parenthood in general*	*Showing respect*
15	Obedient	*Dutiful, meeting obligations – emphasis on "demand" or "have to"*	*Dutiful, meeting obligations*
16	Politeness		*Courtesy, good manners*
17	Self discipline	*Self-restraint, resistance to temptation – emphasis on "demand" or "have to"*	*Self-restraint, resistance to temptation*
	SECURITY	*Safety, harmony and stability of society, of relationships and of self*	
18	Family security	*Safety within family setting or setting in which one lives, stability and safety in family relationships*	*Safety for loved ones*
19	Healthy	*Not being sick, physically or mentally, wellbeing*	*Not being sick, physically or mentally*
20	Reciprocity of favors		*Avoidance of indebtedness*
21	Sense of belonging	*Feeling that others care about me, care from social environment*	*Feeling that others care about me*
22	Social order	*Stability of society or institution, regulated, orderly*	*Stability of society*
	POWER	*Social status and prestige, control, or dominance over people and resources*	
23	Authority	*Exert authority over*	*The right to lead or command*
24	Social power	*Control resources including knowledge and information*	*Control over others, dominance*
25	Social recognition	*Respect, approval by others, acknowledgement*	*Respect, approval by others*

	ACHIEVEMENT	*Personal success through demonstrating competence according to social standards*	
26	Ambitious	*Do your best even though you don't know the results*	*Hard-working, aspiring*
27	Capable	*Competent, effective, focus on behavior, knowing how to…*	*Competent, effective, efficient*
28	Influential	*Youth has a voice in…, can influence*	*Having an impact on people and events*
29	Intelligent	*Logical, thinking, focus on cognitive abilities, knowing why…*	*Logical, thinking*
30	Successful	*Achieving goals*	*Achieving goals*

	HEDONISM	*Pleasure and sensuous gratification for oneself*	
31	Enjoying life	*Focus on pleasure and joy, enjoying life, having fun*	*Enjoying food, sex, leisure, etc.*
32	Pleasure	*Wishes or desires need to be satisfied*	*Gratification of desires*

	STIMULATION	*Excitement, novelty, and challenge in life*	
33	Daring	*Push limits, find new directions*	*Seeking adventure, risk*
34	Exciting life	*Stimulating experiences, pushing to a higher level*	*Stimulating experiences*
35	Varied life		*Filled with challenge, novelty, and change*

	SELF DIRECTION	*Independent thought and action, choosing own goals*	
36	Choosing own goals /freedom	*Know what you want, which way to direct your life or life of child, having options*	*Selecting own purposes* *Freedom of action and thought*
37	Curious	*Wanting to learn new things*	*Interested in everything, exploring*
38	Independent	*Be self-sufficient, not depend on others*	*Self reliant, self sufficient*
39	Self-respect [11]	*Have faith in one's self sufficiency and competencies*	*Belief in one's own worth*

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[11]   The value *self-respect* has a double positioning as it is a value of both the Achievement- and the Self Direction domain. Research by Schwartz and Sagiv (1995) has shown that in most Western, capitalistic countries, *self-respect* is headed under the Self-Direction domain. In Eastern European countries, however, *self-respect* is headed under the Achievement domain. The positioning of this value seems to reflect a cultural difference. Based on the knowledge that most interventions are designed in Western countries, we decided to place the value *self-respect* only under the Self Direction domain.

Appendix 1b: *Values not included in analysis*

Value	Definition Schwartz
Mature love (BE)	*Deep emotional & spiritual intimacy*
Spiritual life (BE)	*Emphasis on spiritual not material matters*
Meaning in life (BE)	*A purpose in life*
Wealth (PO)	*Material possessions, money*
Preserving public image (PO)	*Protecting my 'face'*
Clean (SE)	*Neat, tidy*
National security (SE)	*Protection of my nation from enemies*
Creativity (SD)	*Uniqueness, imagination*
Devout (TR)	*Holding to religious faith and belief*
Detachment (TR)	*From worldly concerns*
World at peace (UN)	*Free of war and conflict*
Protecting environment (UN)	*Preserving nature*
Unity with nature (UN)	*Fitting into nature*
World of beauty (UN)	*Beauty of nature and the arts*

Appendix 2: *Agreement in value hierarchy*

Table 1: *Value hierarchies in interrater agreement*

Case	Rank	Researcher 1	Researcher 2
I	1	BE (helpful) – 25.8%	ACH (intelligent, capable) – 30%
	2	ACH (capable, intelligent) – 24.5%	BE (helpful, responsible) – 26.5%
	3	CO (self-discipline., obedient, polite)- 19.5%	SE (sense of belonging) – 10.6%
	4	SE (sense of belonging) – 15.3% -	
II	1	SE (family security, healthy, sense of belonging) – 44.3%	SE (healthy, family security, sense of belonging) – 32.8%
	2	BE (helpful, responsible) – 23.5%	BE (helpful, responsible)- 20%
	3	ACH (influential, capable) – 18.8%	SD (choosing own goals) – 16.8%
	4	-	ACH (influential) – 10.4%
	5	-	PO (social recognition) – 10.4%
III	1	ACH (capable, intelligent) – 41%	ACH (capable, intelligent) – 33.9%
	2	SD (independent, own goals) – 25.5%	SD (own goals, independent) – 32%
	3	SE (family security, sense of belonging) – 17%	SE (healthy, family security) – 21.5%

Table 2: *Value hierarchies, ranked*

Case	I		II		III	
Researcher	Res. 1	Res. 2	Res. 1	Res. 2	Res. 1	Res. 2
ACH	3	4	3	2	4	4
BE	4	4	3	3	1	1
CO	3	1	1	1	1	1
HE	1	1	1	1	1	1
PO	1	1	1	2	1	1
SE	3	2	4	4	3	3
SD	1	1	1	3	4	4
ST	1	1	1	1	1	1
TR	1	1	1	1	1	1
UN	1	1	1	1	1	1
% agreement	70%		70%		100%	

Appendix 3: *Value hierarchies of EQUIP*

Values	EQUIP overall		EQUIP theory		EQUIP US		EQUIP NL	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	9	3.1%	4	3.5%	0	0	5	5.6%
broad-minded	0		0		0		0	
equality	2		1		0		1	
inner harmony	0		0		0		0	
social justice	7		3		0		4	
wisdom	0		0		0		0	
Benevolence	**74**	**25.7%**	**40**	**35.1%**	**16**	**18.8%**	**18**	**20.2%**
forgiving	1		0		0		1	
helpful	39		22		10		7	
honest	7		1		3		3	
loyal/true friendship	3		2		0		1	
responsible	24		15		3		6	
Tradition	2	0.7%	0	0%	1	1.1%	1	1.1%
accepting portion in life	2		0		1		1	
humble/moderate	0		0		0		0	
respect for tradition	0		0		0		0	
Conformity	**47**	**16.3%**	11	9.6%	**25**	**29.4%**	11	12.3%
honoring of parents	0		0		0		0	
obedient	19		6		11		2	
politeness	8		1		0		7	
self discipline	20		4		14		2	
Security	**50**	**17.4%**	**16**	**14%**	**17**	**20%**	**17**	**19.1%**
family security	2		1		0		1	
healthy	1		1		0		0	
reciprocity of favors	4		1		2		1	
sense of belonging	29		7		9		13	
social order	14		6		6		2	
Power	10	3.5%	1	0.9%	3	3.5%	6	6.7%
authority	5		0		2		3	
social power	2		0		0		2	
social recognition	3		1		1		1	

Achievement	**70**	**24.3%**	**33**	**28.9%**	**18**	**21.1%**	**19**	**21.3%**
ambitious	3		0		2		1	
capable	35		18		9		8	
influential	4		0		1		3	
intelligent	26		15		5		6	
successful	2		0		1		1	
Hedonism	**1**	**0.3%**	**1**	**0.9%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
enjoying life	0		0		0		0	
pleasure	1		1		0		0	
Stimulation	**4**	**1.4%**	**4**	**3.5%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
daring	0		0		0		0	
exciting life	4		4		0		0	
varied life	0		0		0		0	
Self-direction	**21**	**7.2%**	**4**	**3.5%**	**5**	**5.8%**	**12**	**13.4%**
choosing own goals/freedom	6		1		0		5	
curious	0		0		0		0	
independent	9		0		4		5	
self respect	6		3		1		2	
Total	288		114		85		89	

Appendix 4*: Value hierarchies of Multisystemic Therapy (MST)*

Values	MST Overall		MST Theory		MST in Practice	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	10	4.3%	4	3.1%	6	5.7%
broad-minded	10		4		6	
equality	0		0		0	
inner harmony	0		0		0	
social justice	0		0		0	
wisdom	0		0		0	
Benevolence	46	19.9%	29	23%	17	16.1%
forgiving	0		0		0	
helpful	31		19		12	
honest	1		0		1	
loyal/true friendship	7		5		2	
responsible	7		5		2	
Tradition	0	0%	0	0.%	0	0%
humble/moderate	0		0		0	
accepting portion in life	0		0		0	
respect for tradition	0		0		0	
Conformity	18	7.8%	8	6.3%	10	9.5%
honoring of parents/elders	17		7		10	
obedient	0		0		0	
politeness	0		0		0	
self discipline	1		1		0	
Security	46	19.9%	25	19.8%	21	20.0%
family security	12		6		6	
healthy	3		3		0	
reciprocity of favors	3		0		3	
sense of belonging	22		12		10	
social order	6		4		2	
Power	10	4.3%	4	3.1%	6	5.7%
authority	10		4		6	
social power	0		0		0	
social recognition	0		0		0	

Achievement	**68**	**29.4%**	**41**	**32.5%**	**27**	**25.7%**
ambitious	6		6		0	
capable	26		20		6	
influential	18		9		9	
intelligent	9		1		8	
successful	9		5		4	
Hedonism	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
enjoying life	0		0		0	
pleasure	0		0		0	
Stimulation	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
daring	0		0		0	
exciting life	0		0		0	
varied life	0		0		0	
Self-Direction	**33**	**14.3%**	**15**	**11.9%**	**18**	**17.1%**
choosing own goals/freedom	0		0		0	
curious	0		0		0	
independent	14		10		4	
self respect	19		5		14	
Total	213		126		105	

Appendix 5: *Value hierarchies Triple P*

Values	Triple P Overall		Triple P Theory		Triple P Practice	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	9	1.7%	6	1.9%	3	1.6%
broad-minded	0		0		0	
equality	2		2		0	
inner harmony	7		4		3	
social justice	0		0		0	
wisdom	0		0		0	
Benevolence	**58**	**11.4%**	25	7.7%	**33**	**17.8%**
forgiving	0		0		0	
helpful	32		11		21	
honest	1		0		1	
loyal/true friendship	11		9		2	
responsible	14		5		9	
Tradition	6	1.2%	4	1.2%	2	1%
accepting portion in life	1		0		1	
humble/moderate	1		1		0	
respect for tradition	4		3		1	
Conformity	27	5.3%	16	4.9%	11	6%
honoring of parents/elders	3		1		2	
obedient	7		5		2	
politeness	0		0		0	
self discipline	17		10		7	
Security	**98**	**19.3%**	**67**	**20.7%**	**31**	**17%**
family security	43		34		9	
healthy	16		16		0	
reciprocity of favors	0		0		0	
sense of belonging	20		15		5	
social order	19		2		17	
Power	23	4.5%	18	5.6%	5	2.7%
authority	0		0		0	
social power	0		0		0	
social recognition	23		18		5	

Achievement	**174**	**34.3%**	**105**	**32.5%**	**69**	**37.3%**
ambitious	0		0		0	
capable	88		65		23	
influential	12		2		10	
intelligent	59		33		26	
successful	15		5		10	
Hedonism	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**	**0**	**0%**
enjoying life	0		0		0	
pleasure	0		0		0	
Stimulation	**5**	**0.9%**	**4**	**1.2%**	**1**	**0.5%**
daring	0		0		0	
exciting life	5		4		1	
varied life	0		0		0	
Self-Direction	**108**	**21.3%**	**78**	**24.1%**	**30**	**16.2%**
choosing own goals/freedom	46		30		16	
curious	0		0		0	
independent	44		33		11	
self respect	18		15		3	
Total	508		323		185	

Appendix 6a: *Value hierarchies of Master your Mood*

Values	MyM Complete		MyM Theory		MyM practice	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	9	3.5%	4	2.8%	5	4.4%
broad-minded	3		0		3	
equality	0		0		0	
inner harmony	5		4		1	
social justice	0		0		0	
wisdom	1		0		1	
Benevolence	23	9.1%	10	7.2%	**13**	**11.5%**
forgiving	0		0		0	
helpful	10		7		3	
honest	4		1		3	
loyal/true friendship	5		2		3	
responsible	2		0		2	
Tradition	23	9.1%	8	5.7%	**15**	**13.3%**
accepting portion in life	12		3		9	
humble/moderate	11		5		6	
respect for tradition	0		0		0	
Conformity	3	1.2%	1	0.7%	2	1.7%
honoring of parents/elders	0		0		0	
obedient	0		0		0	
politeness	0		0		0	
self discipline	3		1		2	
Security	**30**	**12.0%**	13	9.4%	**17**	**15.0%**
family security	4		2		2	
healthy	7		7		0	
reciprocity of favors	0		0		0	
sense of belonging	16		2		14	
social order	2		2		0	
Power	13	5.1%	9	6.5%	4	3.5%
authority	0		0		0	
social power	0		0		0	
social recognition	13		9		4	

Achievement	**96**	**38.2%**	**64**	**46.4%**	**32**	**28.3%**
ambitious	3		1		2	
capable	28		23		5	
influential	3		3		0	
intelligent	58		36		22	
successful	4		1		3	
Hedonism	**29**	**11.5%**	**17**	**12.3%**	**12**	**10.6%**
enjoying life	29		17		12	
pleasure	0		0		0	
Stimulation	**14**	**5.6%**	**4**	**2.9%**	**10**	**8.8%**
daring	0		0		0	
exciting life	13		3		10	
varied life	1		1		0	
Self-Direction	**11**	**4.3%**	**8**	**5.8%**	**3**	**2.6%**
choosing own goals/freedom	2		1		1	
curious	0		0		0	
independent	2		2		0	
self respect	7		5		2	
Total	251		138		113	

Appendix 6b: *Value hierarchies of MyM and CWD-A compared*

Values	MyM		CWD-A	
	N	%	N	%
Universalism	3	3.1%	1	2.3%
broad-minded	0		0	
equality	0		0	
inner harmony	3		1	
social justice	0		0	
wisdom	0		0	
Benevolence	7	7.3%	3	7.0%
forgiving	0		0	
helpful	5		2	
honest	1		0	
loyal/true friendship	1		1	
responsible	0		0	
Tradition	8	8.4%	0	0%
accepting portion in life	3		0	
humble/moderate	5		0	
respect for tradition	0		0	
Conformity	**3**	3.1%	**1**	2.3%
honoring of parents/elders	0		0	
obedient	0		0	
politeness	0		0	
self discipline	1		0	
Security	9	9.5%	4	9.3%
family security	1		1	
healthy	4		3	
reciprocity of favors	0		0	
sense of belonging	2		0	
social order	2		0	
Power	8	8.4%	1	2.3%
authority	0		0	
social power	0		0	
social recognition	8		1	

Achievement	41	43.1%	23	53.4%
ambitious	1		0	
capable	10		13	
influential	3		0	
intelligent	26		10	
successful	1		0	
Hedonism	10	10.5%	7	16.2%
enjoying life	10		7	
pleasure	0		0	
Stimulation	4	4.2%	0	0%
daring	0		0	
exciting life	3		0	
varied life	1		0	
Self-Direction	4	4.2%	4	9.3%
independent	0		2	
choosing own goals/freedom	1		0	
curious	0		0	
self respect	3		2	
Total	97		44	

Appendix 7a: *Value hierarchies of Dutch Family Policy*

Values	Family policy overall		Family Policy general		Family policy –at risk	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	9	1.7%	8	2.0%	1	0.7%
broad-minded	0		0		0	
equality	9		8		1	
inner harmony	0		0		0	
social justice	0		0		0	
wisdom	0		0		0	
Benevolence	**126**	**24.1%**	**94**	**24.4%**	**32**	**23.5%**
forgiving	0		0		0	
helpful	78		59		19	
honest	4		0		4	
loyal/true friendship	4		2		2	
responsible	40		33		7	
Tradition	2	0.3%	1	0.2%	1	0.7%
accepting portion in life	2		1		1	
humble/moderate	0		0		0	
respect for tradition	0		0		0	
Conformity	48	9.2%	**42**	**10.9%**	6	4.4%
honoring of parents/elders	20		19		1	
obedient	24		19		5	
politeness	0		0		0	
self discipline	4		4		0	
Security	**151**	**28.9%**	**106**	**27.5%**	**45**	**33.0%**
family security	60		36		24	
healthy	31		25		6	
reciprocity of favors	0		0		0	
sense of belonging	40		28		12	
social order	20		17		3	
Power	27	5.1%	16	4.2%	11	8.0%
authority	6		3		3	
social power	13		8		5	
social recognition	8		5		3	

Achievement	**113**	**21.6%**	**80**	**20.7%**	**33**	**24.3%**
ambitious	2		2		0	
capable	59		41		18	
influential	34		28		6	
intelligent	13		4		9	
successful	5		5		0	
Hedonism	9	1.7%	9	2.3%	0	0%
enjoying life	9		9		0	
pleasure	0		0		0	
Stimulation	2	0.3%	2	0.5%	0	0%
daring	0		0		0	
exciting life	2		2		0	
varied life	0		0		0	
Self-Direction	34	6.5%	27	7.0%	7	5.1%
choosing own goals/freedom	8		5		3	
curious	0		0		0	
independent	22		18		4	
self respect	4		4		0	
Total	521		385		136	

Appendix 7b: *Value hierarchies of Dutch Youth Policy*

Values	Youth Policy overall		Youth Policy general		Youth Policy delinquency	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Universalism	18	4.5%	11	3.8%	7	6.1%
broad-minded	0		0		0	
equality	15		11		4	
inner harmony	0		0		0	
social justice	3		0		3	
wisdom	0		0		0	
Benevolence	94	23.4%	63	22%	31	26.9%
forgiving	0		0		0	
helpful	64		38		26	
honest	1		0		1	
loyal/true friendship	29		25		4	
responsible	0		0		0	
Tradition	2	0.5%	0	0%	2	1.7%
humble/moderate	0		0		0	
accepting portion in life	2		0		2	
respect for tradition	0		0		0	
Conformity	53	13.2%	34	11.9%	19	16.5%
honoring of parents/elders	9		9		0	
obedient	29		18		11	
politeness	2		2		0	
self discipline	13		5		8	
Security	99	24.7%	82	28.7%	17	14.7%
family security	15		15		0	
healthy	26		25		1	
reciprocity of favors	1		1		0	
sense of belonging	28		26		2	
social order	29		15		14	
Power	20	5%	16	5.6%	4	3.4%
authority	4		3		1	
social power	10		8		2	
social recognition	6		5		1	

Achievement	**91**	**22.7%**	**59**	**20.6%**	**32**	**27.8%**
ambitious	2		2		0	
capable	39		28		11	
influential	24		20		4	
intelligent	9		4		5	
successful	17		5		12	
Hedonism	**9**	**2.2%**	**9**	**3.1%**	**0**	**0%**
enjoying life	9		9		0	
pleasure	0		0		0	
Stimulation	**1**	**0.2%**	**1**	**0.3%**	**0**	**0%**
daring	0		0		0	
exciting life	0		0		0	
varied life	1		1		0	
Self-Direction	**14**	**3.5%**	**11**	**3.8%**	**3**	**2.6%**
choosing own goals/freedom	3		2		1	
curious	0		0		0	
independent	10		8		2	
self respect	1		1		0	
Total	401		286		115	