To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Keith Allen Bailey entitled "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children in Out-of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves." I have examined the final paper copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Human Ecology.

Cheryl Buehler

Cheryl Buehler, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

Vice Provost and Dean of
Graduate Studies

PERCEIVED SENSE OF SAFETY FOR CHILDREN IN OUT-OF-HOME CARE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED MULTIPLE MOVES

A Dissertation

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Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

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Keith Allen Bailey

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the children and youth who must live in out-of-home care, with hopes that improvement in their care will come as a result of listening to them voice their needs and responding accordingly.

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ABSTRACT

This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods to explore the sense of safety held by adolescent males in out-of-home care. The qualitative study used a phenomenological approach to come to understand their perception of their sense of safety, especially as it was related to moving multiple times between placements. Twelve adolescent males between the ages of 13 and 18 years were interviewed and asked how they experienced moving between placements and what made them feel safe or unsafe in the process. Their responses were categorized into major themes that included: relating to caregivers, gaining information, adapting, behavior of other youth, family issues, and types of moves. Implications for practice are discussed related to the youths' responses.

The quantitative portion of the study consisted of establishing the reliability and validity of the Sense of Safety Scale (SOSS), which was developed by the researcher. This scale, designed to assess the physical and psychoemotional sense of safety of youth in out-of-home care, was administered to 90 adolescent males, between the ages of 12 and 18 years, who were in various levels of foster care placement, with the majority being in residential care. The SOSS was found to have a high internal consistency with this sample. It also was found to have significant correlations with established scales that measured self-esteem, locus of control, and internalizing problem behavior, thus establishing construct validity.

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I. Introduction

There are over half a million children residing in out-of-home placements who are in the care of state and private agencies (AFCARS Report, 2001). These children are placed in out-of-home care for a variety of reasons, including abuse and neglect in the home, delinquency and other criminal charges, the death of their parents, the surrendering of parental rights, and for the treatment of emotional, behavioral, and mental health problems. While in care, the child-care system is supposed to provide a safe, nurturing, and therapeutic environment for these children. Such an environment should allow them to heal from any traumas they have experienced and cope with the stresses of being away from their homes. It also is a time when the families of these children can seek resources and guidance with which to create a safe and nurturing home environment to which children can return.

During the last half-century within the United States, a growing body of legislative mandates have required a standard of services provided for children in out-of-home care. One issue that has come to the fore of these legislative standards is permanency planning for children in care. In brief, permanency planning seeks to find stable and long-term placements for children by placing them in foster care, placing them for adoption, or by returning the children to their homes with professional support and resources.

Although the foster care system often is the best alternative for many of these children and families, there are inherent problems. One of these problems is the practice of moving children multiple times between placements. While in out-of-home care for as little as a few days or for as long as several years, children might experience several

placements. This practice could compromise the essential nature of this safe, nurturing, and therapeutic environment that is designed to give children a legal and psychological sense of permanence. Part of feeling a sense of permanence is feeling a sense of safety. In this study, the concept of "sense of safety" for children in out-of-home care is defined as a sense of psychoemotional and physical safety that is held both globally and in relating to specific people, places, and situations while in an out-of-home care setting. This sense of safety in children is necessary for optimal developmental progress and is dependent upon trust in caregivers (Erikson, 1968; Maslow, 1970). It also is necessary for successful therapeutic progress (Rappaport, 1997). Thus meeting the developmental and therapeutic needs of children in out-of-home care by providing for their physical and emotional safety is critical.

Although moving while in care has important development and therapeutic implications, there is little empirical data available that helps us understand the impact of multiple moves on children in care and children's resulting sense of safety (or lack of it). In the field of foster care, it is agreed upon that moving children multiple times is not sound practice, however, moving does occur (sometimes unwanted or unneeded) and yet there is no current research on children's perceptions of moving. Research conducted with children in out-of-home care who have been moved multiple times between placements could provide more insight into the social and psychological significance of the impact of these moves, and more specifically, could explore the sense of safety that children feel when they experience multiple moves.

The greatest implication for more research on this topic is in its application to policy and practice. Staff and Fein (1995) suggested that much of the practice of social

work with children is concerned "with change – preparing children for a move, implementing the change, and dealing with the results of the ensuing placement" (p. 386). An understanding of how such change impacts children and how to train professionals who prepare children, families, caregivers, and agencies for change would ultimately provide a smoother transition between placements and buffer some of the potential negative consequences of such transitions.

This study used both qualitative and quantitative methods to collect information on how adolescent children experience multiple relocations and on their perceived sense of safety while in out-of-home care. A qualitative approach from the phenomenological tradition was used to examine the youth's experiences from their unique perspectives. In addition, a quantitative approach was employed to further establish the reliability and validity of the Sense of Safety Scale (SOSS), which was designed to measure the sense of physical and psychoemotional safety of children who are in out-of-home care. Research on the effects of moving has been hampered by a lack of good measures of children's perceptions of safety when they are moved. Information gained from the qualitative study was used to assess the content validity of the SOSS. Using both qualitative and quantitative methodologies for assessing children's experiences of multiple relocations and their perceived sense of safety allows for a triangulated approach to data collection that strengthens the validity of the findings (Brewer & Hunter, 1989; Denzin, 1978). Using both methodologies gives a greater breadth and depth of information on sense of safety, especially as it relates to safety and moving.

II. Literature Review

Permanency Issues

Definition

To better understand the importance of children remaining in a continuous, stable, and safe environment while in out-of-home care, it is essential to consider the role of permanency planning as a part of that care. Permanency planning has been defined as:

> The systematic process of carrying out, within a brief time-limited period, a set of goal directed activities designed to help children live in families that offer continuity of relationships with nurturing parents or caregivers and the opportunity to establish lifetime relationships.
>
> (Maluccio & Fein, 1985)

The goals of permanency planning are: "(1) [p]rotecting the health and safety of the child, (2) establishing (or reinforcing) a set of stable nurturing relationships between the child and parents or parent surrogates, (3) preserving the biological family, and, (4) enhancing the psychosocial and behavioral adjustment of the child" (Seltzer & Bloksberg, 1987). Furthermore, giving children a sense of continuity of relationships, a sense of belonging and stability, and a definite legal, social, and psychological status in a long-term family setting is the ultimate aim of permanency planning (Maluccio, Fein, Hamilton, Ward & Sutton , 1982; Seltzer & Bloksberg, 1987).

Federal Legislation and Practice

Over the past 30 years, a series of legislative actions propelled the issue of permanency planning into the forefront of both the philosophical foundation and practice of caring for children in out-of home care. Maluccio, Abramczyk, and Thomlinson (1996) summarized some of the major legislative movements in this area. According to these authors, in the 1960's and 1970's, permanency planning was not a major focus of

the planning for children in out-of-home care. Due to the identification of the "battered child syndrome" in 1961, the major focus of social services for children was the investigation of child abuse reports. In 1974, the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) (Public Law (P.L.) 93-247) was passed to aid state programs in the protection of children from abuse and neglect. Because of this, the "child rescue philosophy pervaded the legislation, practice, and public sentiment" of the 1970's (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996, p. 291). Thus more children than ever came into out-of –home care, experienced multiple placements, and lingered in the foster care system (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). This experience of "lingering" in care often has been termed *drift,* which can be conceptualized as children living away from their families, experiencing repeated moves, and having little or no sense of stability or continuity in their living arrangements (Fein & Maluccio, 1984; Jimenez 1990; Maluccio, Fein, et al., 1982).

As a result of seeing too many children adrift in the system of care, another law, the Adoption Assistance and Child Welfare Act (AACWA) (P.L. 96-272) was passed in 1980 to prevent the unnecessary separation of children from families. This legislation, which was based on the importance of attachment to a primary caretaker, focused on children's need for stability and continuity, through permanency planning by emphasizing prevention, reunification with families-of-origin, adoption, and independent living programs (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). Due to this, the numbers of children in out-of-home care dropped by a quarter of a million (from 502,000 to 273,000) by 1982 (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). Some argued, however, that reunification was sometimes done at the expense of children's safety (Wright, 2001)

These two legislative movements created a conflict of policy and practice in child welfare work. CAPTA called for professional intervention in the lives of abused children and troubled families whereas the AACWA protected the children and their families from policies that undermined the authority of parents to care for their own children (Jimenez, 1990; Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). There were other controversies as well. Some outcome studies found that permanency plans created a higher rate of stability for children in adoptive homes than in their homes of origin (Seltzer & Bloksberg, 1987) and that a significant number of children who were reunified with a birth parent re-entered the foster care system (Jimenez, 1990). However, other studies suggested that children who grew up in out-of-home care did not suffer any short- or long-term, adverse effects in "adjustment" by that experience (Maluccio & Fein, 1985).

In the midst of welfare agencies wrestling to find the best plan of care for children in light of these contradictory findings, children and families in America were living in a more complex and difficult social and economic climate, which further complicated policy making. There were increases in the number of people who experienced poverty, homelessness, substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, violence, and teen-age pregnancy, all of which contributed to the number of children in care rising to 442,000 by 1992 (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). Also, more children entering care during this time did so with complex problems: more emotional and behavioral problems were exhibited, more children were medically fragile, more had family histories of substance abuse and HIV/AIDS, and more tended to be either very young or adolescents (see Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). Thus, the length of time in care increased, and it was found

that reunification and permanency issues for children in care were not being reached quickly enough (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996).

The Family Preservation and Support Services Act (FPSSA) (P.L. 103-66) was passed in 1993 to address the challenges facing at-risk children and families and the agencies and programs that were to intervene and provide services. The focus of this act was on family preservation. Its goal was to assist families who were at risk of having their children placed in out-of-home care by creating a safer, more nurturing and stable home environment. It also provided for reunification services to families who had children returning from out-of-home care (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996). Undergirding this act was a greater understanding of the role of the family in child development, the need for life-long connections, and the ecological influences of community support systems available to families (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996).

Keeping families together was the ultimate goal of FPSSA. However, keeping families together at the expense of children's safety was a growing concern. In response to this concern, the Adoption and Safe Families Act (ASFA) (P.L. 105-89) was passed in 1997 as a clear statement that child safety was to be the primary issue addressed in family preservation and reunification planning (Wright, 2001). It also reemphasized permanency planning by setting new timelines for such plans to be put into place. A critique of this act, however, was that parental rights might be terminated too quickly in order to bring about a permanency plan when family reunification is not deemed possible (Wright, 2001). Yet, another Federal Act signed in 2002, Promoting Safe and Stable Families (PSSF) (P.L. 107-133) reified the practices of supporting family preservation, reunifying children in out-of-home care with their families in a timely manner, and

promoting and supporting adoptions when reunification was not feasible (Gerstenzang, 2002).

Lawsuits

Although federal legislation has made great strides in presenting a philosophical foundation and practice guidelines for better meeting the needs of children in out-of-home care, there were many children's rights advocates who believed that the state and local child welfare programs had not responded quickly nor adequately to children's needs. In addition to the federal acts that influenced permanency planning and practice in child welfare work, a rash of lawsuits against state and local child welfare programs recently were filed on behalf of children who lived in the foster care system. The goals of the suits were to change the actual practices of caring for children in out-of-home placements on a state-by-state, suit-by-suit, basis. There have been more than a dozen suits filed against state and local children's welfare programs in the past decade. These include suits in Connecticut (*Juan F. vs. Rowland*), District of Columbia (*LaShawn vs. Williams*), Florida (*Bonnie L. vs. Bush*), Kansas (*Sheila A. vs. Whiteman*), Missouri (*G.L. vs. Stangler*), New Jersey (*Charlie and Nadine H. vs. McGreevey*), New Mexico (*Joseph and Josephine A. vs. New Mexico Children, Youth and Families Department*), New York City (*Marisol vs. Giuliani*, and *Jeremy M. and Joanne M. vs. Giuliani*), Tennessee (*Brian A. vs. Sundquist*), and Wisconsin (*Jeanine B. vs. Thompson*) (see Children's Rights, Case Updates, 2002).

In Tennessee's case of Brian A. et al. vs. Donald Sundquist et al. (Civil Action No. 3-00-0445), a group of children who resided in the care systems provided by Tennessee's Department of Children's Services, with the aid of a child advocacy group,

filed a class action lawsuit against the State and the commissioner of Children's Services alleging abusive situations and the mishandling of their cases. A settlement agreement was reached between the plaintiffs and the State. Several of the fourteen principles of the settlement agreement of this case have to do with permanency issues and safety issues. These include:

1. All children should have the best possible opportunity to grow up within a safe, nurturing family, either their biological family or, if that is not possible, within an adoptive family.
2. The state should make reasonable efforts to avoid foster care placements by providing service to preserve the biological family whenever that is reasonably possible. However, child welfare decision-makers must have the professional capacity to make determinations as to when making efforts to preserve the biological family, or leaving the child with that family, is neither safe for the child nor likely to lead to an appropriate result for the child.
3. After children enter placement, all non-destructive family ties should be maintained and nurtured. Children should be placed with relatives who are able to provide a safe, nurturing home for them, and should be placed with siblings, and relationships with relatives and siblings should be facilitated and maintained by the child welfare agency.
4. Foster care should be as temporary an arrangement as possible, with its goal being to provide a permanent home for the child as quickly as possible. In making the determination about what plans and service will best meet this goal, the child's interests must be paramount.
5. The state has primary responsibility for the care and protection of children who enter the foster care system. ...
7. Children in foster care placement should be in the least restrictive, most family-like setting possible, and the state should make all efforts to avoid the use of non-family settings for children, particularly young children.
8. Children in foster care placement should have stable placements that meet their needs and the service necessary to address both the trauma of foster care placement and the problems surrounding their removal from their family.
9. Children in out-of home placement must have timely decision-making about where and with whom they will spend their childhood, and timely implementation of whatever decisions have been made.
10. Families of children in foster care should be significant participants in the planning and decision-making concerning their children.

> 11. The state should achieve these goals in a family environment whenever possible, separating the child from the child's parents only when necessary for the child's welfare or in the interest of the child's safety, keeping the child as close to home as possible.
>
> (Civil Action No. 3-00-0445)

This settlement incorporated a many of the principles emphasized in the earlier national legislative pieces. Based upon these principles, the settlement agreement set graduated, specific timelines and indicators on placements, planning, caseloads, and outcomes. Although there are several stringent outcome goals related to placement stability and family visitation that are in the best interest of the children, there are no outcomes named that assess child adjustment factors, per se.

Specifically relating to multiple moves between placements, the settlement ultimately calls for 85% of children to be placed in no more than three placements, excluding those that are related to runaways, emergency hospitalization, warranted behavioral assessment, and safety concerns. This will be a radical departure from the current practice of moving children between placements. Background data collected for the current study found that the average number of placements for a group of 90 adolescent males in out-of-home care in Tennessee (the majority of whom were in residential care) was slightly more than nine (see below).

Research on Multiple Moves Between Placements

Number of Moves

Research provides inconsistent estimates regarding the average number of placements children experience while in out-of-home care. One study conducted by Olsen (1982) found that the average number of moves for the children in family foster

care was 3, with a range of 1 to 21. Maluccio and Fein (1985), in a review of 12 studies on the impact of growing up in foster care, found a wide range in reports of the number of placements experienced by the subjects of the respective studies. These ranges included 1-4, 3-6, 1-12, 2 or more, and the average number of placements reported included 3, 5, and 5.6.

Information collected from a focus group conducted by this researcher with 19 adolescent males who were in residential treatment or family foster care indicated that the youth experienced an average of 9.5 moves, with a range of 2 to 35. This follows more closely with Taber and Proch's (1987) study of a sample of 51 youth in out-of-home care who had experienced an average of 9 moves with a range of 1 to 33.

Most of these studies used the children's case histories to determine the average number of placements. However, a study of 447 case histories of children in Child Protective Services in Florida found that some placements that children experienced were not recorded in their case histories (Rittner, 1995). This researcher found the same to be true in a review of 60 case files of adolescent males in various levels of care in Tennessee, with shorter stays in non-treatment related programs less likely to be recorded when compared with the youth self-reports (Bailey, 2001). The moves that children experience while in formalized out-of-home care, however, may not account for all the moves they experience away. Even before being taken into protective custody and placed in care, some children experience multiple moves within kinship networks (Rittner, 1995). The number of placements as reported in the studies cited above, then, may under-represent the actual number of placements that children have had while in care.

Outcomes of Multiple Moves

Several studies have assessed placement stability and placement permanency issues related to children in out-of-home care in order to analyze the factors that contribute to the movement between placements (Fein, Davies, & Knight, 1979; Fein, Maluccio, Hamilton, & Ward, 1983; Lahti, 1982; Olsen, 1982; Palmer, 1979; Pardeck, 1984; Staff & Fein, 1995; Tabor & Proch, 1987). Although information gained from these studies can help us explain why children in out-of-home care might be moved, there is little information on the impact of these moves on children.

Maluccio and Fein (1985) reviewed studies that assessed the overall impact of being in foster care. Three of these studies found that children in foster care were not significantly different in adjustment from children who were not in foster care. These studies concluded that there was no short- nor long-term negative impact caused by being in foster care. However, Maluccio and Fein cautioned that these studies should be examined in the context of the "considerable stability" of the placements of the subjects, who had a degree of stability in out-of-home care that is not typical of children more recently in foster care. In one study, it was indicated that the adult subjects studied had spent most of their time in a stable foster care placement. Another study was with adult subjects who, as children, spent 7-15 years in their final placements with the same foster families. Authors of the third study, qualified their findings by stating, "However, we feel that our measures of adjustment are not without problems, and we are not sure that our procedures have captured the potential feelings of pain and impaired self-image that can be created by impermanent status in foster care" (Maluccio & Fein, 1985, p. 479).

Lahti (1982), in a program evaluation study of services provided to foster children under the age of 12, found that number of placements and time in care did not negatively effect the children's sense of well-being. This study, though, had a limited scope in how "number of placements" was assessed. Although this study did not specify what it meant by "foster care," it appears that the study was conducted with subjects who resided in family foster homes, and the only movement that was tracked during the study was that of changing from one foster home to another and moving from a foster home to a permanent home. Although number of moves did not significantly correlate with well-being, the author found that "a sense of permanency" was related positively to a higher sense of well-being. Bailey (2001) failed to find any statistically significant relationships between the number of moves that adolescent males experienced while in out-of-home care and their self-esteem, locus of control, sense of safety, and behavioral problems. Similar quantitative studies also failed to support the link between the number of moves (or placements) a child experiences while in out-of-home care and indicators of child adjustment. Proch and Tabor's (1985) review of the literature on placement disruption cited four studies in which there were no statistically significant relationships found between number of placements and measures of well-being and social behavior. Two of these studies, however, included qualitative interviews of adults who had been in out-of-home care as children. In these studies, the subjects reflected upon the multiple moves as being painful and unsettling.

Contrary to the findings discussed above, studies of children who have experienced moves because their families' occupations acknowledge that relocations are stressful for children, in general (Donohue & Gullotta, 1983; Newcomb, Huba, &

Bentler, 1981, 1986; Raviv, Keinan, Abazon, & Raviv, 1990; Vernberg, Ewell, Beery, & Abwender, 1994). (It should be noted, however, that unlike children who move due to the occupational changes of their parents, children in out-of-home care do not have their families with them as they move between placements and thus do not have the immediate support of their families to rely upon in this situation.) Other studies of children in out-of-home care have found how multiple moves between placements negatively impact these children in the areas of emotional functioning, mastering developmental tasks, achieving permanency goals, and developing a sense of belonging to their families (Fein, Davies, & Knight, 1979; Fein, Maluccio, et al.,1983; Tabor & Proch, 1987).

Overall, empirical research has found little evidence that multiple moves negatively impact children in care, or the findings are contradictory, at best. Such findings, however, are counter-intuitive for many who work in the field of child foster care. The problem in gaining accurate information on this issue could lie in methodological issues that may impede the process of gaining accurate information on the complexity of moving children while in care and child outcomes. Developmental theory and therapeutic ideologies hold that such a practice can be detrimental to children's development and social adjustment. Information from these disciplines could help to better inform measurement issues when conducting research. The remainder of the review will explore only one issue related to the experience of multiple moves while in out-of-home care, namely, children's sense of safety.

Sense of Safety

Lack of Research on Safety in Permenancy Literature

Although the safety of children has been the focus of the latter permanency planning legislations and the principles of the Brian A. settlement in Tennessee, there are few recent studies that examine the issue of safety in a comprehensive manner. In a review of research available up to 1986, Seltzer and Bloksberg (1987) found that none of the studies they reviewed identified the safety of the child as a primary outcome to be examined. In the recent AFCARS sponsored study, the National Survey of Child and Adolescent Well-Being (NSCAW), 46 state-level administrators who were interviewed stated that the ASFA legislation had helped to create better practices regarding child safety, including an increase in staff awareness of child safety needs and planning based upon safety issues (AFCARS, NSCAW Local Child Welfare Agency Survey Report, 2002). However, what was meant by "child safety" was not defined and specific practices related to safety were not explained.

Often, abuse and neglect rates have been used as indicators of safety and well-being for children, and clearly further physical, sexual, or psychoemotional maltreatment is a central concern. However, national data on the abuse rates of children in foster care are incomplete and not consistent between states (see AFCARS Report, Child Welfare Outcomes, 1999). A review of Barth's examination of the differences between child outcomes in institutions and foster homes indicated conflicted findings about the rate of abuse and neglect while in care. One study showed that the rates were six times higher in institutional care whereas another found that such abuse was about half as common in

institutions and group homes when compared to family foster care (Freundlich & Meyer, 2002).

In one of the few empirical studies to deal with the issue of child safety in foster homes, Berrick (1997), in assessing the quality of kinship and family foster care placements, made a cursory exploration of the safety of the physical environment of 62 homes where children were placed. However, only the foster parents were asked about their own sense of physical safety in the homes in this study.

There are, however, no known studies that examine the concept of psychological and emotional safety in the broader spectrum of safety issues for children. Understanding the safety issues of children in out-of-home care, then, will need to come from general developmental theory and from the literature on therapeutic intervention.

Child Development Theories Related to Safety

Maslow's (1970) theoretical model of human needs and motivation holds that human beings must have physiological needs and then safety needs met, respectively, if they are to progress up the hierarchy of needs to self-actualization. Gnagey (1980), working from Maslow's theory, examined changes in student motivational structure during adolescence and found that the students sampled rated safety needs before those of physiological needs. The focus of this study and of Maslow's theory, however, is primarily based upon examining physical safety. Although the physical safety of children's care environments and their sense of physical safety are important, their sense of psychoemotional safety also is critical. The psychoemotional sense of safety is addressed in Erikson's theory of human development and explicated to a greater degree by Bowlby's attachment theory.

Safety and identity formation. Erikson's (1968) theory of human development asserted that all the tasks and crises of the developmental process are present in all stages of life. However, it is in specific phases that unique development tasks are manifested as the main crises of development to be negotiated in that stage. The first crisis that humans must work through in their development is learning whether or not they can trust their caregivers to meet their basic needs. This development of trust (or lack thereof) can be related to the degree of safety that children feel about their caregivers and their caregiving environment. This sense of trust or mistrust, then is carried with them throughout their developmental process and plays a part in their identity formation.

Erikson held that it was during adolescence that the primary task of development was the search for identity. This search for identity is a combination of adolescents' intra-psychic development and their sorting through the role identifications and perceived role expectations that have been presented to them by the significant people in the surrounding culture. However, the culture can present the developing child with negative role models and expectations rather than with positive ones. Children who have been raised in an environment of abuse and/or neglect can observe and internalize negative messages within their environment and adopt those identifications as they base their individual identities upon them. Such a synthesis of negative identity traits, Erikson believed, could lead to the identity of "delinquency." He explained that the youth who develop along this negative trajectory actually "foreclose" on this negative identity and accept as the essence of their being the identity that their community has given them.

Erikson (1968) further believed that youth who manifest delinquent identity behavior have "a mistrust of themselves, a disbelief in the possibility that they could ever

complete anything of value" (p.185). This relates back to his theory on the earliest stage of human development where infants are developing the capability to "hope" based upon being able to trust their primary caregivers. If their needs are not met adequately, then they do not develop the capacity to trust others or themselves.

Erikson also suggested that children who have suffered trauma during critical stages of development, including early adolescence, who are deemed to have psychopathology, and who are in treatment can develop the negative identity of the "patient." One factor to which Erikson attributes such trauma is being separated from home. Erikson stated that this negative identity is "an identity perversely based on all those identifications and roles which, at critical stages of development, had been presented to them as most undesirable or dangerous and yet also as most real" (p. 174).

In support of Erikson's theory, a qualitative study of the impact of foster care related to adolescent identity development was conducted by Kools (1997), who interviewed 17 youth in foster care. All the youth were of minority racial status who had stayed in foster care between 2 and 11 years ($\underline{m} = 5.7$) and had experienced an average of 2 – 8 placements ($\underline{m} = 4.1$). In the analysis of these interviews, it was found that the youth felt stigmatized for being in foster care and thus devalued, which resulted in them devaluing themselves. They had lower self-esteem, lower self-confidence, a lack of family connection and future orientation, and felt socially isolated.

Erikson (1968) also discussed the need for children to have autonomy and their need to develop their "will" as a crucial aspect of identity formation. This autonomy is important not only in early development (Erikson's second stage of development – *autonomy vs. shame and doubt*) but this need for autonomy also is revisited and

reasserted during adolescence. In relating this to children in out-of-home care, such children often are not in control of the events of their lives and thus can feel no sense of autonomy. Experiencing "repeated unanticipated moves" over which they have no control can add to their sense of feeling that they have little control, autonomy, or security in their lives (McDermott, 1987; Zimmerman, 1988).

Such moves also can create confusion for the children by giving them inconsistent messages about whether they are acceptable and what is expected of them (McDermott, 1987). Coming into care generally is seen as a "negative" by a child. Subsequent moves while in care also are often interpreted by them as "negatives," as well. McDermott explained:

> The lack of consistent, affirming, and confirming messages impacts the sense of identity for a child in care. ...For children who have been placed, the worst fear of childhood has been realized. They have lost a parent and, often alone, with little or no emotional support, they must endure and survive their loss. For many youth who enter care, considerable ambiguity exists about where their family allegiance belongs. They are caught in a cycle of separation and loss that affects they way they view themselves, their family relationships, and their futures. As they enter and move through adolescence, these issues are compounded. When it comes time to do the work of separating from family, in order to achieve both an independent and an interdependent identity, they have no family from whom to separate (p.252 & 245).

Such a lack of trust, autonomy, and consistency, along with the resulting negative identity that can develop, can lead children to believe that their caretakers, their world, and even they themselves are unsafe. Such attributions are potentially detrimental to healthy development for children in out-of-home care.

Attachment theory. This potential lack of trust and subsequent insecurity that Erikson described is further explored in Bowlby's (1969, 1973) theory of the dynamics of attachment and loss. Interpersonal attachment has been described as the primary goal of

development (Florsheim, Henry & Benjamin, 1996). Bowlby (1977) defined attachment as being "the propensity of human beings to make strong affectional bonds to particular others" and as being a way of "explaining the many forms of emotional distress and personality disturbance ... to which unwilling separation and loss give rise" (p.201).

Children develop internalized working models of self and others based upon whether or not attachment figures are "judged to be the sort of person who in general responds to calls for support and protection; [and] whether or not the self is judged to be the sort of person towards whom anyone, and the attachment figure in particular, is likely to respond in a helpful way" (Bowlby, 1973, p. 238). In short, these working models of attachment are based upon children's experiences of being "cared for, responded to, and protected by the primary attachment figure(s)" (Florsheim, Henry, & Benjamin, 1996, p. 82).

Bowlby not only wrote about attachment issues related to infants and young children, but also wrote extensively about adolescent attachment issues. Similar problems that occurred in unattached or anxiously attached infants or young children due to the lack of a consistent caregiver also occurred in adolescents. In reviewing the studies on adolescent and young adult development of his time, Bowlby (1973) found that youth who were deemed as being "amoral" came from families that were "markedly inconsistent" (p. 335).

He also pointed out that during adolescence, attachment behavior is directed to people outside the family and also to groups and institutions. These groups or institutions, Bowlby wrote, "can come to constitute for many people a subordinate attachment figure, and for some people a principal attachment figure" (p.207).

It follows, then, that children and adolescents in out-of-home care can develop an internalized working model of their caregivers and caregiving environments (and institutions) as being unsafe and unpredictable. This can be based upon their lack of attachment to a consistent primary caregiver or to a consistent institution of care. As noted above, this lack of attachment could result in emotional distress and personality disturbance.

Developmental isssues of foster children. Steinhauer (1991) took Erikson's ideas on identity formation and Bowlby's theory of attachment and used them to serve as a basis for describing the developmental issues related to children in foster care and their psychoemtional well-being. He described the arrested development of children in foster care due to attachment issues. He argues that, due to unhealthy attachments and the inability to individuate in a healthy manner, the children and youth in foster care develop unhealthy ways of relating to others, including behaviors such as withdrawing, splitting, and raging. More specifically, in relation to children being separated from their families, he described the discord, abuse, and/or neglect experienced by children in their families-of-origin, when combined with a separation from the family, as producing a risk for psychoemotional disturbance that is cumulatively greater than the sum of its individual stress factors. Furthermore, he described the impact of multiple separations that children experience by being moved between multiple placements: "The child who has had multiple placements will have been exposed to multiple separations and parental figures. With each such separation, the child's sense of lovability, security, and stability will have been further undermined" (p.66).

Steinhauer described the stigma that adolescents in foster care feel as they are searching for their identity and niche in peer groups while at the same time feeling painfully different from others because of being in out-of-home care. He summarized the developmental difficulties that adolescents in foster care face by stating:

> Since they may, by now, be having serious difficulties in several major areas of life, it is not surprising that they feel an increasing sense of failure, which further undermines their self-esteem. The resulting depression further drains energies desperately needed for academic achievement and social growth, again undermining developmental progress and increasing the sense of failure and of having missed out. The failure, over the years, to satisfy exaggerated needs for affection and security now begins to interfere with the foster child's successfully negotiating a major task of adolescence – the completion of individuation (p.69).

When adolescents do not complete the process of individuation, Steinhauer concluded, they are apt to be "used and abused" by others as they seek approval and affection or that they develop "pseudo independent posturing," exaggerating their readiness for independence. Both approaches can further exacerbate already difficult relationships with both peers and authority/parental figures.

However, he cited research which found that children in foster care can overcome these developmental issues and become productive, mature, and individuated people with healthy self-esteem. Factors that contribute to their resiliency and success include: temperament, long-term stays in a single foster family, seeking acceptance rather than rejection from others (the latter of which is done to validate the negative self-fulfilling prophecies about themselves), a long term relationship with a social worker, and therapy.

A sense of safety with others, which is established by child's sense of lovability, security, and stability, as mentioned above, is a critical factor in establishing these relationships with families, peers, social workers, and therapists.

Safety in Therapy

Silin (2000), in writing about conducting therapy with children in out-of-home care, used attachment theory to address how multiple placements and the loss of caregiving adults add to these children's sense of discontinuity and impermanence. She wrote that "[d]eficits in development, restriction of cognitive capacity, and underlying depression may lead to symptomatic behavior that interferes with attachment to new caregivers" (p.299).

Addressing the therapeutic needs of children and youth in more general terms, Shirk (1997) explained that the focus of treatment is to return children to "healthy pathways" of development. However, many treatment interventions have only sought to control the maladaptive behaviors rather than addressing the causes of the behaviors. Shirk argued that only by helping the children develop adaptive competencies at appropriate development levels can they be returned to a "healthy developmental path" (p.68). He pointed out that one of the factors that aid children who have experienced high levels of adversity and who are considered "at-risk" to have better chances of personal and social health is to "receive stable care or maintain a relationship with a competent adult" (p.68).

A more basic need in therapy than returning children to healthy developmental pathways is feeling safe in the therapeutic environment. Rappaport (1997), who wrote on this process in psychotherapy, stated that safety is both a necessary and sufficient

condition for therapeutic progress. He further commented that "the effectiveness of any intervention can be understood in terms of its effect on the patient's sense of safety" (p.251). Rapport explained how patients in therapy test for safety by observing those in the therapeutic environment, by being compliant, and/or by being non-compliant. He further concluded that "[a]ny response to a test which helps the patient to feel safer is therapeutic" (p.256). Indicators of feeling increasingly safe in therapy included greater muscle relaxation, less voice stress, more fluid use of language, less defensiveness, increased self-confidence and/or self-esteem, increased emotional expressiveness, the willingness to introduce new material into therapy, insights into problems, and progression of testing. Rappaport concluded that only when patients begin to feel safe will they be able to gain insights into their problems and the take the risk of giving up maladaptive behavior.

Safety for Children in Care

Overall, the concept of "sense of safety" for children in out-of-home care can be defined as a sense of psychoemotional and physical safety that is held both globally and in relating to specific people, places, and situations while in an out-of-home care setting. Given that many children in out-of-home care come from backgrounds of abuse and neglect, it is crucial that their safety needs be understood and met so that they can make therapeutic progress in dealing with the traumas related to these background factors. Too, many children in out-of-home care will exhibit acting out or delinquent behavior (both forms of maladaptive behavior) due to these background factors. It follows from Rapport's ideas, then, that only when children feel safe enough to change will these behaviors be changed to more socially acceptable (adaptive) behavior.

These therapeutic perspectives, along with the developmental theories of Erikson and Bowlby, have important implications for abused, neglected, and delinquent children and youth in out-of-home care who are continuously relocated. As children and youth are moved between placements, their attachments to the people and to the institutions in which they reside are severed repeatedly while their development capabilities for trusting others, trusting themselves, and maintaining hope are compromised. The practice of moving children between multiple placements not only threatens their sense of identity and their capabilities of maintaining healthy human attachments, but it also is antithetical to a sound, developmentally-based approach to treatment in that it compromises their development of positive coping skills and social competencies.

Research Related to the Unique Sample

Most of the participants in this study are adolescent males who are in residential treatment, group home, or independent living programs (see below). [Nationwide, 19% of children in foster care are in such placements (AFCARS Report, 2001).] All of them will have experienced multiple relocations between out-of home care placements. It should be noted, as well, that these participants come from both juvenile justice and social services (i.e., dependent and neglect) caseloads. The State of Tennessee serves children from both these backgrounds in the same agencies and programs whereas other states have dual tracks of care for children and youth with these respective distinctions. It can be argued, however, that the etiology of their reasons for being in care and resulting behavioral and emotional problems have many commonalities.

Adolescents were chosen to be participants because, first, the researcher has access to conducting research with this population, and second, because most adolescents

have the capability of reflective thought and a greater capability of articulating their thoughts and emotions. This capacity for reflection and articulation is needed for the qualitative portion of the study and is beneficial for the quantitative portion, as well. Although adolescents experience their own unique developmental processes, it can be argued that many of their experiences in out-of-home care can be generalized to pre-adolescents, as well.

However, there are some unique factors about older children in institutional care that should be addressed. In general it has been found that children and youth in institutional care (as opposed to family foster care) are highly vulnerable, tend to be older, have more behavioral and emotional problems, have more handicapping conditions, come from more disorganized families, have fewer or no family-of-origen resources, and have a history of multiple placements (Maluccio, Fein, et al., 1982; Pardeck, 1985). Also, children with more behavioral and emotional problems are half as likely to be reunited with their families as those without such problems (Maluccio, Abramczyk, et al., 1996).

Studies done with children who were not in out-of-home care have found that as they grow in age and maturity they have a greater sense of an internal locus of control (Chubb, Fertman, & Ross, 1997; Friedman, Goodrich, & Fullerton, 1985), which can help them feel more independent and confident in their own capabilities and insights. However, as children in out-of-home care get older, they exhibit more behavioral problems, tend to have shorter stays in placements, move more often, and move to more restrictive placements (Pardeck, 1985; Taber & Proch, 1987). Also, older children in care were found to experience more difficulty in adjusting to placements in permanent

homes (Fein & Maluccio, 1984). Other factors have been correlated with children who have experienced multiple relocations. Fein and Maluccio (1984) found that children with more placements scored lower on measures of functioning than did those with fewer placement (though, they did not indicate what these measures were), and Iglehart (1994) found that youth with more placement disruptions were less likely to be ready to transition into independent living programs.

Although the literature review on the impact of foster care and multiple placements comes from studies of both children in family foster care and children in group care, the findings will be relevant to the participants in this study. Most participants in this study have spent time in both family foster homes and group care settings. In summary, the participants in this study represent some of the more challenging issues that are dealt with in caring for children out-of-home care. A focus on this population is important, however, because, with greater emphasis on policy and practice related to preservation and reunification and on caring for more difficult cases in family foster care, the manifestation of behavioral and emotional problems of children and youth in institutional treatment will likely grow, as will the predominance of older children and youth cared for in institutional treatment (Orme & Buehler, 2001).

III. Qualitative Study

The empirical evidence on the impact of children in out-of-home care moving multiple times is sparse and contradictory. It is quite possible that the use of purely quantitative methods may not get at the depth and complexity of all that is associated with this phenomenon. As mentioned above, two qualitative studies with adults who were in foster care as children found that they had experienced these moves as painful and unsettling (see Tabor & Proch 1987). Kools' (1997) conducted one of the few qualitative studies of youth while they were in care. However, this study examined the impact of being in foster care on adolescent identity development and did not include an exploration of the impact of relocations between placements while in foster care. There is, in fact, no known qualitative study with children currently in care on this topic.

Staff and Fein (1995) suggested that much of the practice of social work with children is concerned "with change – preparing children for a move, implementing the change, and dealing with the results of the ensuing placement" (p.386). An understanding of how such change impacts children and training in how to prepare children, families, caregivers, and agencies for change ultimately would provide a smoother transition between placements and buffer some of the potential negative consequences of such transitions. An understanding of how children experience moving multiple times between placements and their sense of safety related to these moves can be examined through the research tradition of qualitative inquiry.

Paradigmatic Perspective

A qualitative approach is constructivistic in nature and uses an inductive approach to knowledge-building. This approach has its basis in the theory of symbolic

interactionism (Blumer, 1969), a perspective of understanding human interaction whereby individuals give subjective interpretation to the social phenomenon in which they are engaged. More specifically, this study will use a phenomenological approach of qualitative inquiry. Polkinghorne (1989) described the purpose of phenomenological inquiry as being the production of "clear, precise, and systematic descriptions of the meaning" (p. 45) that individuals give to their experiences. Similarly, Moustakas (1994) stated that a "...phenomenological approach involves a return to experience in order to obtain comprehensive descriptions that provide the basis for a reflective structural analysis that portray the essence of the experience" (p. 13). Simply put, "[t]he aim is to determine what an experience means for the persons who have had the experience and are able to provide a comprehensive description of it" (Moustakas, 1994, p. 13). This study, then, will seek to learn of the "lived experiences" (Creswell, 1998) of youth who have experienced multiple relocations while in out-of-home care.

Role of the Researcher

In qualitative research, the researcher becomes the instrument by which data are collected (McCracken, 1988). In this light, it is important to establish the role of the researcher with the participants and to explore the background and biases that the researcher brings to the process. One method of establishing the reliability of the researcher as the instrument is sometimes called the *epoch*. The epoch is the conscious effort of the researcher to set aside his or her own presumptions, assumptions, and judgments about the phenomenon that is being studied so that the phenomenon can be studied with openness to the perspectives of the participants (Moustakas, 1994). A part of the process of the epoch can be a bracketing interview of the researcher or a bracketing

statement by the researcher (Creswell, 1996). Such a bracketing process allows the researcher to explore his or her own experience(s) of the phenomenon being studied and the biases with which he or she brings to the understanding of the phenomenon.

In addition to a bracketing exercise, both Denzin (1989) and Allen (2001) have suggested that the researcher should be aware of his or her own unique background and state the background he or she brings to the research. This is another approach to assess the biases of his or her understanding of the phenomenon under study. Such a statement of background and personal experience can be considered in the subjective analysis of the data by both the researcher and the readers as a way of establishing the reliability of the researcher's interpretation of the data. A statement of the researcher's experience in the field also can help to establish his or her credibility and reliability in understanding the phenomenon being studied. Having experience of the culture within which the participants are a part can help the researcher to have a holistic understanding of the norms, behaviors, and language of the participants (Creswell, 1998). With these goals in mind, I offer a bracketing statement below.

Bracketing Statement

Unlike many of the children whom I am studying, I was raised in a very stable, loving, and nurturing home environment. My parents moved to a different house when I was an infant and then moved again when I was three years old. I was so young that I cannot recall my feelings about the moves at those times. I lived in this same house for the next nineteen years. My parents still live in the same house, which continues to give me a sense of "roots" and stability, both geographically and emotionally. I have moved

several times while in graduate school and between different employment opportunities, however, these moves were always my choice.

I am a staff–person at the child-care agency where the research was conducted. This could have had both positive and negative impacts on the dynamics of this study. I was formerly the Chaplain at this agency and worked directly with some of the potential participants, which could have an impact on the social desirability of the responses given in the interviews and on the instruments used. However, such a relationship can help to establish a level of trust with participants that would be an asset to the process as a whole and to the interview process, in particular. In relation to my former role to the youth as Chaplain, it should be stressed that participation in religious activities on behalf of the youth at the agency was on a strictly voluntary basis. Voluntary participation in religious activities and voluntary participation in this study decreases the likelihood that the participants felt coerced or compelled to participate.

However, the majority of the participants will have not related to me in this role as Chaplain, but will know of me as one of the staff of the agency. I am presently the Staff Development Coordinator, which is a role that does not include direct interaction with the youth on a regular basis. Being a staff person at this agency also could impact the social desirability found in the responses, though it has been my experience that that the youth are quite honest and forthcoming in sharing information about such a topic. The positive aspect about being a staff at the agency is that the participants might feel a certain level of trust with me as a "known person" or "recognized face" on campus. Such a level of trust is very important with children in general and especially with children and youth in out-of-home care settings.

Special attention needs to be given to the power dynamics that exist between researchers and their participants in general, and this is of particular concern when children are the participants (Eder & Fingerson, 2002; Fine & Sandstrom, 1988). By virtue of their status of majority in our society, adults are in "power" positions over children (minors). Such a status of power is exacerbated in the role of a staff person in the child welfare system, where children can perceive the staff as having "control" over them. I am aware of these dynamics and worked to make the children in this study feel as if they are valuable sources of knowledge rather than "subjects" under the control of the researcher.

After working for ten years with children in out-of-home care in an agency that provides residential treatment, group home care, independent living resources, and various levels of foster care, I have developed a great concern for the sense of safety and well-being that the children feel after seeing children moved from agency to agency, treatment program to treatment program, and foster home to foster home as a regular practice of the present children's social services system of care. Beyond mere concern, I am angered by this fact that children are moved so often while in care and by the fact that it often is justified as a "therapeutic necessity" for the children. I believe that such a practice actually hinders therapeutic progress and adds to the children's sense of rejection and poor self-esteem and self-image. In short, the I believe that such a practice of moving children multiple times between placements is detrimental to them, thwarting both their development and therapeutic needs, and adds to the negative emotional issues that they already have. This concern for the therapeutic needs of children in care and the

goal of protecting their human dignity has motivated the author to conduct research on this particular topic.

I understand that I must "set aside" my biases and emotions, as much as possible, while conducting this study so that my biases do not contaminate the presentation of and interpretation of the data provided by the participants. I have sought to represent the data with integrity so that it honestly portrayed the experiences of the participants. The ultimate goal of this research, from my perspective, was to give voice to the experiences of participants as they expressed those experiences in their own ways and to come to understand the meaning they gave those experiences.

Method

Sample

The participants for the qualitative portion of the study were selected from the male clients at Holston United Methodist Home for Children (HUMHC) in Greeneville, Tennessee who were between the ages of 12 and 18 years. Participants were asked to take part in the study based upon staff input on the ability of the children to be reflective about their experience of moving while in out-of-home care as well as their ability to verbalize their thoughts and feelings about that experience. They were not selected based on the perceived beliefs regarding moving. Such a sample is considered a theoretical sample (Glaser & Strauss,1967; Strauss, 1987), which is similar to a purposive sample. Participants in a theoretical sample are asked to be a part of a phenomenological study because they have experienced the phenomenon to be studied and can provide descriptions of their experiences (Polkinghorne, 1989).

Thirteen (13) participants were asked to be interviewed, and all consented. However, only 12 of the interviews were used in the final study. One participant lacked the ability to reflect about his experiences and was not able to verbalize adequately his thoughts and feelings about the experience of moving for the purpose of this study, thus his interview was dropped from the study. The participants interviewed were between the ages of 13 and 18 (M = 15.83, SD = 1.85), with ten (10) (83.3%) being White and two (2) (16.7 %) being African American. They had experienced an average of 9.92 moves (SD = 4.1, range = 4-17) and had spent an average of 128.92 days at their present placement (SD = 128.06, range 17-432. Two (2) of the participants were in an independent living program, one (1) was in a community group home (considered a Level 1 placement in the state of Tennessee), and nine (9) were in residential treatment, with four (4) being in a Level 2 program and five (5) in a Level 3 program. All of the participants interviewed also participated in the quantitative study. One of the youth participated in the quantitative pilot study (see below) whereas the remaining 12 participated in the second wave of data collection. (See *Quantitative Study* for a comparison of background variable for the participants interviewed with those who participated in only the quantitative portion of the study.)

Human Subjects Approval

Participation in these interviews was voluntary, as indicated by the participant's signature on an "Informed Assent" form (see Appendix A). Participants who were legal minors were able to participate only if their parents or legal guardians gave permission, as indicated by the appropriate signatures on the "Parent/Guardian Informed Consent" (see Appendix A). Parental/Guardian consent for participation in research is required due

to the agency's status as a contract provider of services with the State of Tennessee and by the accreditation standards of the Council of Accreditation (COA) of Services for Families and Children, Inc. Approval for youth from this agency to participate in this study was granted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, the Human Rights Committee of HUMHC, Art Masker, President/CEO of HUMHC, and the State of Tennessee's Department of Children's Service (see Appendix B).

Interview Methodology

The interviews were conducted in the living facilities and in the campus school of HUMHC in quiet, private areas that were agreed upon mutually by the youth and the researcher. At the end of the interview, the youth were given a two-liter soft-drink as a token of gratitude for their participation. The interviews were recorded on audio-tape and then transcribed.

The face-to-face, long interview methodology was used (McCracken, 1988). McCracken (1988) suggested that a sample of only eight (8) participants be used in the long interview methodology, which can produce interviews that can last several hours. However, youth in out-of-home care, in general, have been found to have lower verbal capacities because of a variety of background factors (Fanshel & Shinn, 1978; see Wekerle & Wolfe, 1996). Also, some youth might have shorter attention spans due to cognitive deficits. Thus, longer, intensive interviews might not have been appropriate for some participants. A shorter interview format, lasting less than an hour, was necessary for some participants to remain comfortable during the process. Because a shorter interview format was more conducive to interviewing this specific population, more

youth were interviewed in order to gain a depth and breadth of understanding of the experience of the phenomenon of moving while in out-of-home care and the sense of safety one has in the process of these relocations. After conducting the twelve (12) interviews used for the study, the researcher deemed that the information gained had met the criteria for saturation (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), in that relatively no new information was being gained about the phenomenon of moving and the experience of safety by the end of the last interview.

A discussion guide (McCracken, 1988), with content based on the author's experience of working with youth in out-of-home care, his prior research on the topic, and a review of literature, was used to give a loose structure to the interviews. The discussion guide contained questions that sought background information, two central or "grand tour" questions, related to the experience of moving and the sense of safety one feels when moving, and other "category" questions that come at the end of the interview (see Appendix C). McCracken (1988) defined a "grand tour" question as being one that is open and non-directive; a "category" question, however, allows the researcher "to account for all the formal characteristics of the topic under discussion" (p.36). Appropriate prompts were used to elicit more information from participants and to clarify their responses (McCracken, 1988).

This methodology, which used an emergent design (McCracken, 1988), was implemented so that the researcher allowed the participants to "lead" the discussion via the content of their responses to the initial questions. It is important for the participants to lead the discussion rather than the researcher. This is done to counter the risk of the researcher offering too much direction that could move the participants to make

commentary on topics that are more important to the researcher than to participants themselves. The design of the discussion guide was emergent, as well, in that the nature of the questions and prompts changed from interview to interview as the researcher gained more understanding of the phenomenon being discussed from the perspective of the participants (Polkinghorne, 1989). This offered a "zig-zag" approach to data gathering based upon the initial analysis of the data that had already been collected (Creswell, 1998).

Data Analysis

Polkinghorne (1989) described the aim of phenomenological data analysis as "teas[ing] out the essential descriptions of the experience under investigation" in order to find the "essential features" of the experience (p.50). It is an analysis in the linguistic realm, rather than in the statistical realm, which seeks to create a synthesis of the collective meanings offered in the individual interviews into a structural description of the phenomenon being studied (Polkinghorne, 1989).

With this as the goal, after the audio tapes of the interviews was transcribed by the researcher, the transcripts were read to get a sense of the "whole" of each interview (Polkinghorne, 1989). (See Appendix D for a copy of the transcripts. In these transcripts, "I" was used to designate the words of the researcher as the "Interviewer" and "P" was used to designate the words of the "participant.") The researcher then highlighted what were considered to be important words, phrases, descriptions, explanations, and interpretations offered by participants in each interview transcript. Such verbal explanations generated by the participants themselves are considered to be "emic" terms (as opposed to "etic" terms, which are the explanations interpreted by the

researcher and then put into the researcher's own terms or language) (Creswell, 1998). Such emic terms also can be considered as "meaning units," which gives a textural description of the experience (Creswell, 1998; Moustakas, 1994). Moustakas (1994) defines the textural description as being the feelings, "senses," and thoughts about the experience that have been expressed by the participants.

The researcher's major professor acted as a second reader of the transcripts and reviewed the highlighted areas in order to establish a sense of agreement on the meaning units that were highlighted. The major professor added only one sentence to those that had been highlighted by the researcher (see note in Appendix E).

The highlighted meaning units were then separated from the remaining text in the transcripts and put in a bulleted format for the purpose of coding. (See Appendix E for the meaning units). The analysis of the interviews then moved from the "the particular to the general" (McCracken, 1988; Polkinghorne, 1989) in that the researcher took these individual meaning units and categorized them into major themes and sub-themes that were conceptualized from the content of the meaning units. Indicators of these themes and sub-themes were established to inform the second coder of the content of these themes (Boyatzis, 1998). These themes, sub-themes, and indicators are listed in Appendix F along with the number of meaning units that were placed in each major theme.

The researcher's major professor independently took a list of these meaning units and placed them in the major theme and sub-theme categories that were defined by the researcher. The inter-rater reliability between the researcher and the second reader was

satisfactory (Cohen's kappa = .75). This form of analytic induction adds to the establishment of the content validity of the major themes (Babbie, 1998).

Finally, these major themes were used to create a structural description of the phenomenon as it had been described by the participants (Moustakas, 1994). (See the structural description below in the "Findings" section.) These structures are concomitant with the "essential meaning" or "essence" of the experience, as stated above. At times, direct quotes were used to expound upon these themes, with identification numbers from the respective transcripts from which they were taken noted at the end of the quotes.

The hermeneutical (or interpretive) analysis of the experience of moving while in out-of-home care and the sense of safety that the youth feel as a part of this experience, was generated out of the words of the youth themselves, as they verbally interpreted their experiences and the meaning they give to those experiences. The youths' expressions of their own experiences contains an inherent content validity, because they are the experts on their own experiences and the meaning that they give to these experiences. This approach to analysis is a departure from the positivistic, deductive approach of statistical analyses of child-assessment instruments, which often have been produced by middle-classed, middle-aged, male academics. However, it must be pointed that this interpretive process is layered, in that the youth have interpreted the experience to the researcher, who in turn interpreted the experience to the readers. The readers, then, act as another check on the reliability of the interpretation offered by the researcher.

Findings

Descriptions of Moving

Before understanding how youth in out-of-home care perceive their sense of safety when they experience moves between placements, it is imperative first to gain an understanding of their experience of moving, in general. The majority of youth interviewed experienced moving as negative. They used the following words and phrases to describe moving: "scared," "surprised," "makes me mad," "it sucks," "don't like it," "gets old," "depressing," "messed up," "confusing," "weird," "disappointed," "upsetting," "hard," "uncomfortable," and "stressful."

However, three of the participants said that they weren't worried and that it didn't bother them. All the participants, though, described negative aspects of moving several times while in care.

Family Issues

One of the most difficult things in the midst of moving for these youth is being away from their families. Ten of the twelve youth interviewed made references about either being away from their family and not having enough contact with them or worrying about their families. One youth stated:

> That was the hardest thing, ...getting used to being away from home, because that meant that I'm away from my parents. So, that makes things a lot harder. (76)

In responding to a question about what was the most difficult thing about moving, a youth said:

> Worrying about your parents. How they're going to find you, or, if they know where you're at. ... When I went to [name of psychiatric hospital] and went to that foster home, they didn't know where I was at for a week. And I had to sneak and call from the foster home. 'Cause I knew my

> Mom didn't know where I was at or she would have called. It makes me feel bad for them as well as for myself. (81)

One youth summed up both the difficulty of not being able to be in contact with his family and of worrying about them:

> ...each placement I got to, they allowed a phone call when I got there to let our parents know where we was. When I got to [name of treatment center], though, I think it was like two months before I called them, because I wasn't on level to have phone calls and stuff. That was real hard. Couldn't send mail or nothing like that. It was hard. Really not knowing if my parents were OK. If one of them had been hurt, if my mama had been hurt or my brother. (76)

Many youth are in care because of difficulties with their family members. No matter what the past history of the relationship, even if it involved abuse or neglect, most children and youth in care want to be with their families. A youth in this study, though, expressed the ambivalence of sometimes wanting to have contact with family and, then, sometimes not wanting to have contact with them:

> I mean, sometimes you get closer to see your family. And there's like other times that, you know, you might be having a hard time dealing with your family. At that point, when you get to move somewhere else, I mean, it's sort of relieving, and then, you know, it could be, like, sort of, ah, stressful because you're away from your family and you're not wanting to be away from them. It could go either way. (92)

In getting background information prior to the taped interviews, some youth talked about moving before they were in out-of-home care. During an interview, one youth talked about moving with his family in contrast to moving while in care, the latter of which he described as "depressing". He said:

> When I was at home I had to move a lot. I was, like, in nine, ten different schools. ...I've lived in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, all over the place. [I: What was that like having to move from place to place even with your family?] It wasn't real bad. Because I was with my family. (81)

"Good" Moves vs. "Bad" Moves

When asked if there was anything "good" about moving, three of the youth mentioned that it was an opportunity to travel and see new things and meet new people, which were opportunities that they wouldn't get otherwise. Three other youth expressed moving as a "change of scenery," getting a "clean slate" from their past behaviors, and a chance for positive changes. In commenting on how moving could be a positive change, this youth said:

> Sometimes you get away from stuff that was kinda holding you down. Like, if you're having a problem with a staff here, or something, or at [name of facility], and you just got tired of it, or there wasn't nothing happening for you and then they moved you, probably it could help you. You feel like you've got a chance to start over, too, from where you were at. (88)

Two youth, however, said that there was nothing good about moving.

Several of the youth, eight of the twelve, made a distinction between what they considered to be a move to a "good" place as opposed to a move to a "bad" place. A "good" place was described as a place where they were helped and where their needs were met, where there are less rules, more freedom, and more privileges; also, it is a place that they like. On the other hand, a "bad" place is more restrictive, a higher level of care, and a place that is not liked. All but one of the participants who had been in a detention center described it in terms as a "bad" place. When asked what staff could say to prepare him for a move to another placement, a youth responded:

> It depends on where I'm going. ... If I'm going somewhere bad, I'm probably going to run. ... That's just about what everybody does. If I'm going somewhere good, ... I don't worry about it. I won't need nobody to

> tell me it will be all right, if I'm going somewhere good, I'll know it, and I'll want to. (86)

Safety

Relationships with and roles of caregivers. Themes related to perception of safety were interwoven in youths' responses both about the experience of moving and about what might make them feel safe or unsafe when they moved to new placements. The largest response set of any of the themes had to do with their relationships to caregivers and the roles they played at the placements in which the youth stayed. This was relevant for staff in treatment facilities and detention centers as well as for foster parents. (Seven of the youth had experienced placements in family foster homes.) Eleven of the youth commented on the importance of these relationships and roles in helping them feel safe.

Positive relationships with caregivers included them making an effort to talk to the youth, introducing themselves, and making an effort to get to know the youth. Mutual trust was important, as was equal treatment with other youth in treatment facilities and with other foster children and biological children in family foster homes. Those caregivers who made an effort to show genuine caring and to help youth were noted as being a positive influence on their sense of safety. When asked what was the most important thing a caretaker could do to help youth feel safe, one youth responded, "Try to actually help them out" (89). Another youth explained,

> "I liked the program and the staff when I first got here with [name of staff]. Me and him, he worked with me real good, and uh, I got along with [him] OK, and they tried to work with me, and stuff" (87).

Another youth said that feeling safe has to just come to you. When asked to explain what that meant, he said,

> "When people start being good to you. Staff, peers. It just comes to you, and you notice what people do that's good for you. And you notice what people are trying to help and what people aren't" (81).

Caregivers developing rapport with youth, even in the first few hours of being at a placement, was expressed as being important to one youth – even more important than learning the rules and expectations of new placement (see below). He explained:

> And then when you get to the other place, then staff just don't straight up and break down all the rules to you and tell you what's going on and how it's going to be and what not to do and not do this. You know, that's like, "Whoa. I mean, don't you even want to know who … what my name is or …?" I mean you don't know what to expect after that, you know. You feel like it's a worse place than it is right off the bat. I mean, you're trying to … you know, you don't know anybody here and as soon as you get in, you know they're like, "Blah, blah, blah. We do this, this, this, this, and this, and you can't do this or this happens, you know. You're like, hold on a minute. Like, "What's your name? What's this place like? Introduce me to some of the people" …I'd ask them about themselves and stuff, … You can tell what a lot of people think about you, and stuff, by what they tell you about theirself. (199)

One essential role that caregivers' play in some of these youths' sense of safety is that of a protector. Protection is from other youth's aggressive and assaultive behavior (see below) or from that of caregivers themselves. One youth declared,

> "I feel safe around staff no matter what. Because I think of them as the Peacekeepers, and stuff. And that's what they are in places, like, keep up

> the peace, and stuff, and keep everybody from going at each other, and stuff" (74).

Expressing what happens when caregivers don't fulfill the role of protectors, a youth said, "...but when staff ain't around, who is going to take up for you. You are on your own, basically, When staff ain't around, you either fight or get beat up" (76). When asked how he felt when other youth in his house hit him (something he disclosed in the interview), he responded,

> "When staff don't do nothing about it, actually, it don't make me feel safe, because if they're not going to do nothing about this, what makes me think that they'll do something about it next time" (82).

Other negative aspects of the relationships with and roles of caregivers that make youth feel unsafe is when caregivers themselves are a physical threat to them, when they are in a bad mood, or when the youth feel that the caregivers provoke them. Four of these youth said that they know which caregivers actually care for them and want to help them and which ones are there for only a paycheck. As one youth asserted, "You can tell, like, if they actually care about working there or if they're just there for a job" (199).

Another limitation of the role of caregivers was seen as their inability to prepare youth to feel safe about moving to another placement. Six of the youth said that caregivers couldn't adequately help them with that process, mainly because the caregivers themselves didn't have adequate knowledge of the other placement. When asked if a caretaker could say anything to help them, one youth stated,

> They could, but, I probably wouldn't take it to heart, because, more than likely, they had never been there. They couldn't ever tell me how to

> handle stuff over there if they had never been there. But if it were coming from another peer, I would take it to heart, because they had been through the situation. They could tell me how it is and what to expect when I get there. (76)

To this same question, another youth responded, "Nothing really. ... If I don't feel safe, I don't feel safe. There's nothing that will help about it" (81)

Needing information. Information is one thing that helped all the youth in this study to feel safe. Alternatively, the lack of information was something that made them feel unsafe. In respect to the latter, six of the youth said they felt unsafe moving to a new placement because, during some transitions, they weren't told where they were moving. Other concerns were expressed about not knowing when they were going home or when they could contact their families (see above), not knowing what the programs and their expectations were, who was going to be there, or when they were going to be moved again. These concerns on the lack of a sense of safety the felt because of the lack of information they received were expressed by the youth in these ways:

> It's stressful not knowing exactly what to expect at your next place or wherever you're going to live. (92)

> It's just hard; hard on people. It's hard on the kids here that are moving ... we don't know nothing that's going on, because the staff don't really tell us much when we get moved. (87)

> I don't feel safe. ...I don't know anybody there or ... I ain't never been there, don't know what it's like. ... Not knowing who I'm going to be around. (81)

On the other hand, seven of the youth explained that they felt safe or safer when they had information about the placement they were moving into and its

rules, routines, and expectations. One youth suggested that it would be helpful for a caregiver to give him information when he moved into a new placement:

> Talk to me and let me know what's going on. Everybody needs to know what's going on ... before they enter a new environment. You just don't put somebody somewhere where they don't know what's going on or what to expect, cause they could end up getting hurt – if they aren't aware of what's going on around them. (76)

Similarly, another youth stated:

> ...explain the rules and stuff to me. In case I'm doing something wrong or something, so I'm staying safe. That way, I know I'm doing something, or what I'm supposed to do. Or if there is some people doing stuff unsafe, I know what I'm doing is right, or just tell someone. That way, I'll be safe. (87)

In talking about the need for information as being something that helped him feel safer about an impending transition to a new placement, a youth discussed getting to visit the place before the move:

> It was a whole lot more helpful, 'cause I was just trying to imagine how staff were, how the place was run. And when I went up there, they gave, you know, just a little tour of, like, where the staff lives. I talked to the staff. ... Staff were real nice. They gave me, like, a packet, and stuff, with the rules and expectations. They gave me the low down on the level system up there. And it made me feel a whole lot more comfortable, because I knew what I was coming into. [I: Does knowing the rules and expectations help?] Yeah. I mean, if at all possible, that would be, like, the biggest thing that anybody could do for somebody leaving for a different place. (92)

When describing arriving at a new placement, two of the youth said that it was helpful to be welcomed in. Having a "group" meeting in which the caregivers and other youth introduced themselves was described as a helpful way to gain information, along with having a peer to orient them to the rules and the physical layout of the place.

Watching and waiting. However, when arriving at a new placement, nine of the youth interviewed talked about gaining information and assessing the safety of the place and the people in it, by watching and waiting to see how others act and react to them. Some said that it just takes time and that you must find out this information on your own. Two of the youth expressed the fear that they felt during this process:

> Well, when you move, the first thing is, fear. Like, you're afraid of what's going to happen, who you're going to meet next, and that person could be you're new be your new best friend for your whole life or be your new worst enemy for the rest of your life, or they could just be a part of your life for just a small time. (86)

> It's a scary experience for me, because you don't know, like, the people there until you're there a month. And you start talking and warm up to them, and then you're, like, going into new surroundings. For me it takes a pretty long time for me to adjust to where I am. ...getting to know the other guys that you're with is kinda the most scariest part than actually being where you are placed. Because you don't know them ... they're kind dangerous until you, like, get to know them, and stuff. (74)

Four of the youth said that they approach this time of watching and waiting by being quiet and reserved. One of these explained this by saying,

> I just walk in, and, well, I'll pretty much be silent, like, for the first, like, couple hours that I'm there. I pretty much check everything out, so, that's about it. I just watch what everybody does and see who's cool and who isn't, you know, who's afraid of who, 'cause that sorta helps out a lot when it comes to, like, you, sorta being neutral in the whole game of things. (92)

This particular youth also expressed the process of how others were going to react to him during the first day or two in the new placement:

> I'd say, "Introduce me to, like, the kids and the rest of the staff. That way, you know, I could see how friendly they are towards me the first day. And, like, so I want to see if gradually, you know, if they get used to having a new kid or whatnot, and then, if they don't, then I'd know exactly who I don't feel safe around, and, you know, who I do. I mean, you could meet somebody that'd be having a bad day and be, like, your

> best friend the next. ... Within the twenty-four, forty-eight hour difference of just being around them, you can tell. (92)

It seems, then, that the youth not only assess the reactions of others for sake of their physical safety, but that they also assess others to see if they are going to be accepted by them as a friend or peer. One youth asserted that this sort of assessment is common to all adolescents. He explained that he looks to see how others are looking at him:

> Like when you get there, what are they going to do – how are they going to look at you. If you're going to fit in or not. Things like that. Things that most teenagers are worried about. They all are looking to fit in. (76)

Friends. Half of the youth interviewed expressed how importantfriendship is among their peers who are in care with them. Two said that they tend to trust peers that they have known from previous placements or those who are from their same hometowns, which helps them to better adjust to coming into a new placement and feel safer. Once friendships are developed, they help to alleviate some of the stress and fear of being in a placement, by providing someone with whom to identify, someone with whom to talk, someone from whom to gain information, and someone who will be a protector. The need for friends were expressed in these ways:

> But all you need is a friend in all the places. That knows and will help you stand up to other people if you need it. That knows what it's like. (93)

> Either you make friend or you're by yourself the whole time you're locked up. And having friends, that's a good thing, because you have somebody to talk to when you need somebody to talk to. (76)

One youth, however, summed up how difficult it is to move from placement to placement and leave friends:

> You don't get to stay and make friends, because all your friends is ... you move from them, and ... people you really care about get moved away ... Moving just makes me depressed because I got to leave everything that I'm used to. And, just, people that really care about me isn't around no more. (86)

Negative behavior of other youth. At the opposite pole of having friends who help to offer a sense of safety and acceptance are the youth who act aggressively toward others who are in the same placement. Ten of the twelve youth interviewed expressed a lack of sense of safety because of the behavior of these aggressive youth. Such behavior included playing mean pranks, physical assault and abuse, threats, and stealing. Two youth who had been in psychiatric hospital talked about being afraid of the other youth there whom they described as being "crazy." Three of the youth told of being assaulted or picked on by older and bigger youth. One stated, "Most places, pretty much, if you're in a place with a lot of older guys it's not really safe ... they're going to whoop you" (82). Another said,

> ...when I went to [name of facility], I got beat up, and stuff like that. ...I didn't really get beat up. This kid was three or four years older than me. And he said something, and I answered his questions, and he smacked me in the face. ...Just having to be around a bunch of older kids. I just didn't like ...I was just scared of getting beat up. (81)

This fear of other youths' behavior is not just something experienced by those who are younger and smaller. A seventeen-year old, who was six feet, five inches tall and weighed over 250 pounds expressed fear of assault, too:

> ...mainly, its, like, if you're new, they [kids] just up and attack you if they don't like the way you look or anything, or the way you talk, or stuff. This petty stuff, like, ... it's just when you get in there you've got the fear

> – who's going to hit you and when they're going to hit, and could it be from behind or in front of you or what. (92)

Adapting

All but one of the youth made comments about ways that they adapt or don't adapt to being moved from placement to placement and about adaptations that help them to feel safe. Six of the youth said that they got used to being moved, yet three of them qualified that it took some time to get used to moving. As stated above, three other youth stated that moving didn't bother or worry them.

One youth described how some youth don't want to leave a placement because they have become comfortable with the rules and routine:

> Like, how I was comfortable there and how I had already learned all the rules there, and how I knew what to do there and knew what they expected of me. I just felt like I was comfortable staying there. (88)

Four of those interviewed said that is was easier (or at least not worse) to move to placements within the same agency or to return to places that they had been before. One said, "Well, like, places that I've already been, I feel safe" (81).

Choices and control. Half of the participants talked about choices and issues of control as related to moving. Three talked of getting to make choices of moving to another placement, which was helpful for them in the process. However, three youth talked about having no choice or control over where they were going as being negative. One youth told of an incident when he was put in shackles and moved to a detention center in the middle of the night. He explained how he awoke in the sally port of the detention center, surrounded by bars, and said that he "felt like animal" (81).

Three youth talked about feeling in control by how they intimidated or acted physically aggressively toward others in order to stay safe:

> Fortunately, I've been big enough and scary enough that they wouldn't mess with me. ...It sorta keeps the kids that mainly try to run the place away from you a little more than it did the rest of them, because they don't know what you're capable of or what you would do to them if they did something to you. If they, like, hit you, would you go psychotic on them or, like, stab them or something. You know, something crazy like that. I mean it pretty much keeps them away from you. (92)

> I was fighting three or four times a week. I didn't have no choice but to fight. 'Cause if you didn't, they would fight you. You know, people would look down on you. Like, "You just let him run his mouth to you, and you didn't do nothing about it." ...Because you ain't supposed to let nobody run over you. That's just how I was. I didn't let nobody run over me. (76)

> Unless I do the hitting first. The kids are afraid of me, because I do most of the hitting. ...when a new kid gets cocky and tries to jump up in my face. Then I've got to show them who's boss. I've got to put them in their place, because they're a new kid, and they don't need to think that they're bigger and better than everybody, because I know I'm not bigger and better than everybody. And if I can show them that I'm bigger and better than them, then that makes them feel small. (86)

This last youth, however, talked about how his choice of hitting others or not would dictate his next placement, which would be to a detention center if he assaulted anyone else.

Ironically, two of these youth who had explained their need for physical force to adapt to the environment, along with one other talked about a mental approach to adapting. They said, basically, that being in a placement is "what you make out it."

One youth who had experienced fifteen placements in eight months also described how he would just begin to get used to a placement and then would be

moved again. He said that he didn't like having to start over. Two other youth said that they didn't feel comfortable at any placement. One stated, "It kinda weird. Can't really get comfortable at any place like that moving so much" (88)

Helping Other Youth Move In and Move Out

When these youth were asked what they would say or do to help other youth who were moving away to a new placement or moving into their placement to feel safe, responses ranged from advice, reassurance, and positive actions. The advice to those leaving came in statements like "stay out of trouble," "do better" and "don't fuck up." Reassurance to that group was more along the lines of telling them that it will be "OK" and to "keep their head up." A youth who had experienced fifteen placements said that he would tell them, "I've been everywhere. It's not really that bad" (82), and to call him when they got there. Some said that they would spend time talking with the youth being moved and tell them about the place if they had been there.

For those who were moving in, the youth offered responses that were similar to the needs for safety they expressed in other parts of the interviews. Three youth said that they would help the new youth to get to know the rules, routines, and expectations of the placement. One said that he would go up and introduce himself and be friendly. (Ironically, this is the same youth who presents himself as being "big and scary" to other youth when he moves into a new placement.)

One Final Statement

At the end of the interview with an eighteen year-old who had experienced seventeen moves between placements, he was asked if there was anything else he could say about the whole experience of moving while in care. His response is an apt summary of what was gained from all the participants:

> I wouldn't recommend it if I was over some of these places. I'd try to give the kids, you know, one place to let them ... feel like it is an actual home instead of, "Well, you're not good," kick them out the door and send them to another place. You know, that don't help the kid at all. He don't establish nothing. (199)

Discussion

In general, the youth in this study described moving while in care as being a difficult and stressful experience. It is an experience that compromises their sense of safety in the process of moving from one placement to another. However, the youth discussed the actions and attitudes of others that can help to ameliorate the fear and anxiety that moving brings and that helps them to more easily adapt to their new environment.

Feelings of distress and fear about moving to new environments are common for children, in general (see Literature Review above). This is related to their developmental need for consistency of environment, routines, and especially caregivers (Bowlby, 1969; Steinhauer, 1991). Although consistency most often is discussed as a need of young children, adolescents have a developmental need for consistency, as well. This is especially important as they are struggling with the developmental crisis of identity formation (Erikson, 1968) and regressing in their behavior as a necessary part of the

process of moving forward in their development (Blos, 1970). The lack of consistency experienced by children in care has a negative impact on the development of a positive identity (McDermott, 1987) and coping skills (Silin, 2000). It can contribute to them experiencing identity confusion, or even worse, identity foreclosure, which is an acceptance of the negative identity message that they have been given by the social structure around them (Erikson, 1968). One difficultly for adolescents in care in developing an identity is that they do not have consistent interactions with parents and thus cannot go through the developmental process of individuating from them (McDermott, 1987; Steinhauer, 1991). Such a delay or cessation in the individuation process can exacerbate already tenuous family systems issues related to the youth's identity. The youths' ability to establish separate (though not disconnected) identities from their parents is a necessary part of the therapeutic process, especially when abuse and neglect have been a part of those relationship.

Many children in out-of-home care endure prolonged absences from their families (Winek & Faulkner, 1994). Being away from family can produce anxiety about loss of attachments to their primary caregivers (Bowlby, 1973) and other family members, and such loss makes children in care especially vulnerable (Kools, 1997). Although children are in care because of difficulties with their families, such as abuse, neglect, and poor parenting, they can still have attachments to their parents and family members albeit a range of insecure attachments (Ainsworth, 1991). Not only do children experience anxiety about the loss of attachments to caregivers, but they lose many other things associated with "home" that can cause a sense of grief and loss (Jewett, 1982) which can include their house, personal belongings, friends, familiar sights, sounds, and smells,

schools, and even pets. Loosing all these things cannot only be unsettling and anxiety producing, but it also compromises the sense of identity that is forming because of identification with these people and things.

Many of the children mentioned having less anxiety and fear related to moving to a "good" place versus a "bad" place. This view supports that argument that Tabor and Proch (1987) made about moves between placements not being the same. It may hold true, then, that it may not necessarily be the number of moves that could have a negative impact on children but rather the number of perceived negative moves that could have a negative impact. However, the perception of whether a place was "good" or "bad" was based upon how strict an environment it was, if it meant being closer to being emancipated, and if there were people there who cared about them.

Finally, some of the youth talked about their ability to adapt to being moved. They used terms like "get used to it" or "don't worry about it" and said that it is "what you make of it." As stated above, three of the youth talked about not worrying about moving or it not bothering them. All three of the youth were either 17 or 18 years of age, and, because of their age, might have a greater internal sense of control when faced with coping with a move. However, all three of these youth, after the initial comment stating that they were not bothered by moving, went on to talk about negative aspects of being moved and feeling unsafe. (See transcripts of Participants #75, #76, and #199 in Appendix D.) Such statements could have been a way for older adolescent boys to feign a sense of invulnerability or nonchalance at something that might be troubling to them.

Children and youth in care have developed resourceful ways to adapt to the situations that they are in. It is a technique that has helped them to survive abuse,

neglect, abandonment, and poor parental care. Most of these adaptations, however, have caused them to develop socially maladaptive ways of behaving and thinking and have lead them down maladaptive developmental pathways (Heard & Lake, 1997; Rappaport, 1997; Shirk, 1999; Steinhaur, 1991). Although they have learned to reframe dealing with the experience of moving in such positive terms, their descriptions of having to adapt to the stresses of moving while in care is a commentary on yet another adaptation to negative experiences in their lives.

Safety

It is difficult to tease out safety issues related specifically to moving and safety issues related to being in care, in general. Some of the responses from the youth may have been a reflection of the total experience of being in out-of-home care even though the questions asked of them were specifically about safety as it related to moving. However, their responses can help us to understand the safety issues which concern them and can help us draw implications for better practice in caring for them while they are away from their homes and while moving between placements.

The role of and relationships with caregivers was the most discussed theme for the youth in this study, and thus appeared to be one of the most important factors contributing to their sense of safety. They felt safer, they said, if they knew that caregivers were going to protect them and care for them. According to Maslow's (1970) theory, this helps to meet their basic needs of having their physiological and safety needs met. It also helps to meet the next level of needs, as well, which is to feel a sense of belonging. In this respect, they feel connected to the people who care for them. Bowlby (1973) asserted that during adolescence, it is common for adolescents to attach to people

outside of the family. Such attachments through positive relationships to caregivers were important to the youth in this study. Along with positive attachments, these relationships with staff denoted the need to trust an adult and to be trusted by an adult, which Erikson (1968) held to be the primary developmental need on which all others are based. Such positive relationships with significant adults outside of the family can help vulnerable and at-risk youth to be more resilient and successful (Masten, 1994; Steinhauer, 1991).

Relationships with friends and earlier acquaintances from hometowns or other placements also helped the youth to feel safer. Identifying with peers is normal developmental behavior for adolescents (Erikson, 1968). As one youth in the study commented, fitting in is something all teens are concerned about. Yet such friendships may play even a larger role for youth in out-of-home care who do not have regular contact with their parents or families. Also, there is a unique identification that takes place in this setting, because not only are these peers similar in age, but they are going through a uniquely similar experience of being in out-of-home care and being away from their homes.

On the other side of the peer relationship is the fear of the others' behavior. Several of the youth spoke of worry about the negative, acting-out behavior of other youth. Again, this is a basic safety need to feel free from the threat of physical harm (Maslow, 1970). Children who have suffered abuse and neglect tend to spend a great deal of their time and energy scanning the environment to pick up on cues of physical threat (Wekerle & Wolfe, 1996). This survival technique is something that they use in all situations and environments. The behavior of others are given attributions by these children based upon their past experience of suffering harm, and their reactions to others

are based upon these attributions. Children who have suffered physical abuse, in particular, tend to have "a negative attributional bias with peers, which increases the likelihood of aggressive responding" (Wekerle & Wolfe, 1996, p. 511).

Need for information. Second to the role of caregivers, the youth expressed the need to have information about the placement to where they were moving as the next most important factor in their sense of safety. They wanted to know about its location, its program rules, routines, and expectations, and they wanted to know what kind of people were going to be there. Such information helped them to feel safer about moving to a new placement. This need for information can be related to the concept of locus of control. Having little or no information would give them a greater sense of an external locus of control in the situation, whereas having information would help them to have a greater sense of an internal locus of control. A more internal locus of control has been found to help people to cope with stressful or adverse situations (Kliewer, & Sandler, 1992; Lefcourt, 1982). (See the Methods section of the Quantitative Study for a fuller explanation of locus of control.)

The need for power or control was one of the basic developmental needs expressed in the theories of both Erikson (1968) and Dreikurs (Dreikurs, Gunwald, & Pepper, 1971). The adage, "Knowledge is power," rings true here. The more the youth know, the more power they have in dealing with the environment they move to and the people in it, and the safer they feel there. The youth expressed the need to gain valuable information from both caregivers and other youth. This can help them to develop what is called "safe beliefs." Heard and Lake (1997) defined safe beliefs as the ability to

> ...make reliable (i.e., trustworthy) predictions about how they will be treated by those on whom they ultimately depend for their well-being and about how to act within other relationships and toward things and events without feeling that it is endangering themselves (p.168).

One unique way that they gained information, however, was through assessing the safety of the environment and the people in it by watching and waiting. They watched the actions of others and waited to see how others would react to them, which relates to the process of scanning the envioronment. This fits with Rappaport's (1997) writing on how patients search for safety in therapeutic settings. He described the process of testing for safety through a variety of methods. One was testing through observation, much like the youth described. Another method was testing by compliance via following the rules and expectations so that no negative consequences will befall them. (Practitioners in the field call this the "honeymoon" period.) Finally, there was testing by non-compliance, a method for assessing the safety of the situation when one is not following the rules and expectations in order to see if others will continue to respond in a safe manner. The youth who talked about being good for a month and then starting to get into trouble is an example of the movement from testing by compliance to testing by non-compliance.

Three of the youth established control and safety for themselves by being aggressive or intimidating toward other youth. Although setting oneself up as the dominating figure in a group can take a sophisticated sequence of steps to gain such a position, it also can be seen as the most primitive response to unsafe situations by choosing to either fight or flee. In the interviews, some participants talked about themselves or others choosing the other alternative, especially when finding they were

moving to a more restrictive, "bad" placement, which was to run away before they could be moved.

Limitations

There are limitations associated with this qualitative portion of the study. One, of which, has to do with the sample. The sample is a very small representation of the number of youth in out-of-home care and comes from a population of children and youth who reside in residential settings. As described above, these youth tend to have been in care longer, and they generally exhibit more mental health issues and behavioral problems as well as have fewer viable family resources. Although seven of the youth interviewed had lived in family foster care placements, this sample is not representative of those who spend all or the majority of their time in family foster care. Also, because those interviewed were males, their statements on the experience of moving and the sense of safety that they feel related to moving cannot be generalized to females. Finally, because the participants were adolescents, their experience of moving and their ability to cope with the safety issues related to moving may not be representative of younger children in care. (However, a qualitative study with an interview format would be more difficult with younger children who could have difficulty being reflective about their experiences.) Finally, there was not a varied representation across racial backgrounds. Thus generalizations from this study can only be made to similar populations. A similar study that included a greater representation of children and adolescents, both male and female, from across a variety of racial backgrounds and foster care settings would give a more heterogeneous perspective on moving while in care and the perceived the sense of safety associated with it.

There also are a multitude of factors that go into the decisions to move a child, which make it a complex phenomenon to understand. For instance, caregivers may chose to move a child for the sake of increased safety and more appropriate services for the child, however, the child may perceive the move in a negative way and feel unsafe in the transition. Even more complex are the factors that contribute to children's sense of safety.

Although there has been a great deal of legislation and writing on children in out-of-home care needing to be safe, there has been little empirical research on what constitutes the construct of sense of safety for children in out-of-home care. More research, both quantitative and qualitative, is needed to understand better the complexity and contributing factors to these children's sense of safety and how it best can be assessed. For example distinguishing the number of perceived positive moves from those perceived as being negative or accounting for differences in temperament could help to refine individual difference in perceptions of safety.

It also should be considered that the youth in care are impacted by the ecological factors of their unique system of care. These systemic influences are impacted by individual state's child-care policies and practices and by those of the individual facilities or homes in which they have resided. Other variables that contribute to the overall ecological impact, such as frequency of contact with parents, total length of stay in foster care, staff and foster parent training and effectiveness, and number of accounts of physical abuse (both before coming into care and while residing in care), and permanency goals, could be considered in assessing sense of safety.

Finally, the issues related to the sense of safety of children in out-of-home care are highly complex. Studies using different perspectives, e.g., medical, social, organizational systems, family systems, ecological influences, etc., must be integrated to get a broader and deeper understanding of the impact of multiple relocations on children in out-of-home care and their resulting sense of safety. Ultimately, longitudinal studies that assess a host of outcome factors would be an ideal way to measure the impact of being in foster care, experiencing multiple relocations, and the resulting sense of safety that children and youth carry with them.

Implications for Practice

Commenting on caring for children in residential placements, Caldwell and Rejino (1993) stated that the first goal of care is to make sure that "the child will reside in a protected, safe environment" (p.50). They listed the critical factors for a safe environment of care as administrative understanding and commitment, environmental (physical, policy, and protocol) factors, staff attitudes, clinical factors, and investigatory and incidental review process. They conclude that "[o]nce each child is safeguarded, the therapeutic program can focus on other goals that enable a true healing process" (p.57). This would hold true for children in any foster care placement, whether family foster care or group care.

There are a number of implications for practice related to what these youth had to say about moving and how safe they feel when they move that would meet the safety goals asserted by Caldwell and Rejino. There remain systemic issues related to the practice of moving children multiple times while in out-of-home care that must be addressed. Although for the past thirty years legislative efforts have sought to bring more

expedient permanency plans for children that reduce the number of placements they experience and the likelihood of being adrift in the system, there are still groups of children, like the ones in this study, who have yet to benefit from effective child welfare practice meeting the standards of legislative ideals. To raise the bar for such practice, child rights advocacy groups have been filing lawsuits to make state and local child welfare systems adhere to these legislative standards or pay large punitive fees when they fail to do so.

The "Brian A." Settlement in Tennessee (Civil Action No. 3-00-0445) is one such case that has put set figures on reducing the number of placements in which children can be placed while in out-of-home care (see above). Contract providers in the state are rearranging their service plans and resources to meet these standards rather than run the risk of losing contracted slots for services to children. Such reallocations include putting greater resources into family preservation programs, in-home services programs, and developing more support of community resources for at-risk children and their families while reducing the length of stay in residential placements. Too, more short-term cognitive-behavioral therapeutic approaches are being used for children and youth in care as opposed to the longer process of traditional psychotherapy techniques.

In addition to these changes, agencies and programs serving children in residential treatment will need to develop programs that will allow children and youth to step-down in the intensity of care within the treatment model of the program rather than sending them to other placements with less intensive treatment programs. The same will be true of dealing with children who exhibit more difficult behavior and emotional problems once they have entered a program by adapting the program to effectively deal with such

challenging issues within its existing structure and resources. Thus highly specialized programming may grow to be a thing of the past as more and more agencies become more adept at caring for a wide range of children with a wide range of therapeutic needs.

The youth in this study also discussed their need to be in contact with family as a way to keep connected to them. Again, the Brian A. Settlement has set standards that children in care only can be placed within a 75 mile radius of their homes. This will help facilitate more visits between children and their families. However, agencies and programs can set treatment standards in place that allow children to be in contact with their families at regular intervals. This contact should not be based upon the behavior of the child nor upon their progress in the treatment program but should be a basic right of each child (unless there are legitimate protective mandates or therapeutic reasons as to why such contact would not be beneficial to the child). Too, if a family has not previously been a part of the decision to move children to another placement or if there is an emergency move made for the therapeutic benefit of the child, the family should be notified within a set few hours of the child's move, and the child should be able to have phone contact with the family upon arrival at the new placement. This practice would alleviate children's worrying about whether their parents know where they are or not, and it will help to connect them to the support of their family system in the midst of the stress of a move.

Ideally, children should be given as much information as possible about an impending move, whether it is perceived by the child as being a positive or a negative move. This will give them time to mentally prepare for a move and give them time to have closure with the caregivers, foster siblings, and peers with whom they have

developed relationships. As importantly, the children should be given as much information as possible about the program to which they will be moved. This could come from caregivers, however, peers who can give a positive and realistic explanation about the new placement may be of more benefit to those who move. Specific information about the location, layout, rules, routines, privileges, and program expectations would help to alleviate fear and anxiety about the unknown aspects of the environment to which the child was moving. It would be an even greater benefit to the youth to have one or more visits to the placement before they move in order to transition more slowly to the new placement instead of having an abrupt transition. Although this seems more feasible for those moves considered to be positive, e.g., a step down in the level of care, such visits also can be beneficial when there is a move to a more structured facility that will better meet the therapeutic needs of the child. However, the child having some part in this decision to move could ease even a difficult transition to a more structured program. Such decision-making adds to the sense of control that they have in the process and could help them to feel safer in the transition. Zimmerman (1988) commented on some of these very practices as a way to give children a sense of control, which can attenuate the development of learned helplessness and depression:

> Preplacement visits and the permitting of older foster children to have an appropriate voice in determining their living arrangement can be viewed as preventing the development of learned helplessness or as mitigating its effects, rather than as simply serving to develop trust and ease separation anxiety. ...Even such seemingly simple social work tasks as listening to and responding to the concerns of foster children by the family and social worker let youngster know that they can by voice affect the people who control major aspects of their lives. (p.45)

As children leave a placement, it would be helpful to have some ritual of closure or transition for them, such as a "good-bye" group, in which the caregivers and peers offer encouragement and may even talk about positive aspects of the child who is leaving. Being invited to keep in contact with caregivers or peers, within set boundaries (and if appropriate), or even to return for a visit could help them to retain a sense of positive connection (attachment) to the placement and the people that they have left. Thus they will feel that they have not been rejected nor abandoned by those people. Giving them an address book to collect telephone numbers, mailing addresses, and e-mail addresses as well as photos of the family, group, or caregivers with whom they have lived could maintain this sense of connection, as well. However, once again, appropriate boundaries would need to be set for making contact by the youth.

When children arrive at a new placement, some kind of welcoming ritual may help them to feel that they were walking into a place of care and hospitality and not a place that seems overtly coercive. Being introduced to the other youth, foster siblings, and caregivers will be important in helping them to feel more comfortable about the new people with whom they will be living and working. A tour of the facility and, as stated above, an initial explanation of the rules, routines, privileges, and program expectations would help to alleviate fear and anxiety about the unknown aspects of the environment to which the child was moving. This could come from a caregiver, however, it may be more beneficial for a youth who is the same age and relative size of the one whom has moved in to offer such a orientation. Ideally, it would come from someone that the child may already know who is in the same placement.

Beyond this initial welcoming and orientation into the new placement, the ethics and structure of the treatment program should be one in which the children are protected, physically and emotionally, from physical assault and abuse both by other children in care and from caregivers. The physical layout of the program should be one in which physical oversight of children is optimal yet which is designed with sensitivity to their physical and psychoemotional privacy (Bailey, 2002). It also should be free from dangerous items and substances that children and youth could use to cause harm to themselves and others as well as from substances that they could use to self-medicate.

The ultimate protective factor that gives children a sense of safety, however, is the caregivers themselves. As stated above in the interview excerpts, the youth were able to detect which caregivers actually care for them and are there to help them and which ones are there only for a job. Initial screening and hiring practices could help to chose caregivers who will best meet the therapeutic needs of the youth through their relationships with them. Once appropriate caregivers are hired or recruited, then they should be well educated on topics including the developmental needs of children (with an emphasis on safety needs), the impact of abuse, neglect, separation and loss in the lives of children, and the role of therapeutic programming for children in care. Also, they should be instructed on how to help children feel safe by setting up the physical and therapeutic environment for safety, supervising youth interactions, communicating with youth, and, most importantly, establishing trusting, therapeutic relationships with youth.

Beyond educating staff, they should be trained in skills that will help them to appropriately meet the developmental needs of children and to enact therapeutic techniques that will ultimately bring health to the lives of these children. As stated

above, the importance of developing appropriate relationships with children within appropriate boundaries should be an integral part of this education and training. Some programs have taken a relational approach to treatment that has shown beneficial outcomes with children in care, higher job satisfaction for staff, and financial savings for the agency (Moore, Moretti, & Holland, 1998). However, education and training is of little use unless there are appropriate systems of support and supervision of caregivers (see Caldwell & Rejino, 1993). These systems must include structures of expectations and accountability surrounding their interactions with the children and youth in there care. Providing safe environments and interactions with others must be one of the hallmarks of this care.

Finally, assessing the safety needs of children in care could help caregivers to best meet their needs. Such qualitative assessments could come through a review of the children's case histories or through therapeutic interviews of children. Unique plans for care based on individual's history of abuse, neglect, abandonment issues, or other events could be enacted with input from the children themselves. Safety plans may need to be developed if self-destructive behavior or abusive behavior from others becomes a threat to the physical and/or psychoemotional safety of the children. For a quantitative approach, a newly developed instrument, the Sense of Safety Scale, could be used as an initial assessment of children's perception of safety when they move into a new placement. (See the Quantitative Study below for an explanation of the Sense of Safety Scale.)

IV. Quantitative Study

The purpose of this section of the study was to establish further the validity and reliability of the Sense of Safety Scale (SOSS), which was designed by the researcher to measure the sense of safety of children and youth in out-of-home care. At the time of this writing, there are no known established instruments that measure children's and youths' sense of safety (see above for the conceptualization of "sense of safety"). Having a high sense of safety is a fundamental developmental need for children in general and is a particular therapeutic need for children in out-of-home care. (See the Qualitative Study above for a discussion of these safety needs.) A pilot study that included the development and initial assessment of the SOSS was conducted by the researcher (Bailey, 2001). A second wave of data were collected in this study to add to that obtained in the pilot study. Also, insights gained from the qualitative study on how youth in care explained safety needs was used to assess the content validity of this scale.

Pilot Study

The pilot study was conducted with a sample of 60 adolescent males who were in the residential treatment programs, group homes, independent living programs, and foster care homes of Holston United Methodist Home for Children (HUMHC) in Greeneville, TN. The purpose of the study was to assess the impact of multiple relocations on child adjustment. Multiple regression analysis was used to analyze the relationship between the number of self-reported moves while in care and the youth's self-esteem, locus of control, behavioral problems, and sense of safety, while controlling for age, race, level of care, and time at present placement. There were no statistically significant findings from

this analysis. However, the SOSS was found to have significant correlations to measures of self-esteem (see below).

Development of the Sense of Safety Scale

Bailey (2001) developed the Sense of Safety Scale (SOSS) because, at the time of the pilot study, there were no known instruments available to measure a child's sense of physical and psychoemotional safety. This scale originally had twenty-two items that assessed physical and psychoemotional safety both globally and in relation to the unique situations and people in an out-of-home care environment, with responses ranging across "always," "most of the time," "some of the time," and "never."

To provide information regarding the content validity of this scale, a question-sort (Q-sort) was conducted with a panel of five experienced service providers in the child-care/mental health care field. They included: a child psychiatrist (MD, Board Certified) with 30 years experience; a therapist (MSW, LCSW) with 10 years experience; a therapist (M.Ed., LPC), with 7 years experience; a therapist/director of community based adolescent group homes (MSW, LCSW) with 12 years experience; and, a director of family service programs (MSW, CMSW) with 9 years experience. There were two males and three females.

Each participant, in an individual session, was given an instruction sheet that directed him/ her to place small index cards, each containing a separate item, under three larger index cards which had the headings "Sense of Safety for Children in Residential Care," "Social Anxiety for Children," and "Other." On the larger card with the heading "Sense of Safety for Children in Residential Care" was a conceptual definition that read: "A sense of psychological and physical safety both globally and in relating to specific

people, places, and situations in a residential care setting." Similarly, on the card with the heading "Social Anxiety for Children" was a conceptual definition that read: "The affective, cognitive, and behavioral aspects of the a child's sense of anxiety over both negative evaluation and social avoidance (one's willingness to approach others)" (Leary, 1991). The items on the small cards were to be placed under the heading and conceptual definition with which they best fit, and if an item did not fit with either "Sense of Safety for Children in Residential Care" or "Social Anxiety for Children" it was to be placed under the card with the heading of "Other." There were 39 items on the individual small cards: the 22 that comprise the Sense of Safety Scale, the 10 that comprise the Social Anxiety Scale for Children (LaGreca, Dandes, Wick, Shaw, & Stone, 1988), and the 7 that comprise the Mastery Scale (Perlin & Schooler, 1978). After each participant completed sorting the items, the author followed up with questions about why items from their respective original scales were placed under different conceptual definitions or under "Other."

Table 1 shows the percent agreement among the participants in placing the items originally from the Sense of Safety Scale with its conceptual definition. Twelve of the original 22 items received 80 percent or above agreement and were kept for the revised Sense of Safety Scale. This Q-sort helped to support content validity for the items that comprise the revised Sense of Safety Scale and also helped to support discriminant validity between the concepts of a child's sense of safety when in out-of-home care and a child's social anxiety.

Table 1. Percent Agreement on Sense of Safety Scale.

Item	Percent agreement
*1. I feel safe when I move to a new place.	80
*2. I feel safe in my bedroom at night.	100
3. I am afraid of my peers.	40
*4. I feel safe in my house/cottage.	100
5. I am afraid of getting my feelings hurt.	0
*6. I feel safe at my school.	100
*7. I am afraid of getting hurt.	100
*8. I feel safe around adults.	100
9. I think that something bad will happen to me.	20
10. I look "over my shoulder".	60
11. I have dreams of bad things happening to me.	40
12. I feel safe when I am by myself.	20
13. I am afraid of dying.	20
14. I get scared easily.	40
*15. I feel safe around staff.[1]	100
16. I won't do anything if there is a risk of getting hurt.	40
*17. I feel safe around my peers in my house/cottage.[2]	100
18. I am afraid of adults.	60
*19. I am afraid of some staff.[3]	100
*20. I feel safe going to sleep at night.	80
*21. I am afraid when I move to a new placement.	80
*22. I don't feel safe when I don't know where I am being moved.	80

* = items with 80% or above agreement used for the revised Sense of Safety Scale.

Note.

[1]For the revised scale, item 15 will read: "I feel safe around staff/my foster parent(s).

[2]For the revised scale, item 17 will read: "I feel safe around my peers/foster brother(s) or sister(s)in my house."

[3]For the revised scale, item 19 will read: " I am afraid of some staff/my foster parent(s).

It should be noted that the original scale and conceptual definition pertained to children who were specifically in residential care. However, the revised scale includes changes in wording to three items, numbers 15, 1 7, and 19, so that they will be applicable to children in family foster care who participated in this study. (See the notation on the bottom of Table 1 for the changes in wording.)

Pilot Study Sample Characteristics

Seventy-four (74) youth, all males, were asked to participate in this study, and 73 of the youth consented. One youth dropped out of the study. Data were collected from 72 youth. However, parental consent was not obtained for all the subjects who were legal minors, thus the final sample for which data were used was 60 (N = 60). Youth ranged in age from 12 through 18 years (M = 15.15, SD = 1.62), with 51 (85%) being European American and 9 (15%) being African American. They had experienced an average of 9.48 moves (SD = 5.78, range = 3-26) and had spent an average of 77.57 days at their present placements (SD = 84.10, range 1-390). One (1) participant was in traditional foster care, two (2) were in therapeutic foster care, three (3) of the participants were in an independent living program, nine (9) were in a community group home (considered a Level 1 placement in the state of Tennessee), 29 were in residential treatment (Level 2), and 16 were in intake and stabilization. One (1) participant from the pilot study was interviewed for the qualitative portion of this study. (See Table 2 for a comparison of the background variables for participants in the pilot study, the second wave, and those interviewed for the qualitative study.)

Table 2. Comparison of Background Variables.

	Wave 1 (n=60)	**Wave 2** (n=30)	**Interviewed** (n=12)	**Overall** (n=90)
	M (SD) [range]			
Age	15.15 (1.62) [12-18]	15.83 (1.82) [12-18]	15.83 (1.85) [13-18]	15.38 (1.71) [12-18]
Moves	9.48 (5.78) [3-26]	8.07 (3.74) [3-17]	9.92 (4.10) [4-17]	9.01 (5.31) [3-26]
Days	77.57 (84.10) [1-390]	94.03 (106.18) [10-432]	128.92 (128.06) [17-432]	83.06 (91.78) [1-432]
	n (%)			
Race				
White	51 (85.0)	26 (86.7)	10 (83.3)	77 (85.6)
African American	9 (15.0)	4 (13.3)	2 (16.7)	13 (14.4)
Level				
Foster Care	1 (1.7)			1 (1.1)
Ther. Foster Care	2 (3.3)			2 (2.2)
Ind. Living	3 (5.0)	3 (10.0)	2 (16.7)	6 (6.7)
Group Home (Lv.1)	9 (15.0)	7 (23.3)	1 (8.3)	16 (17.8)
Res. Treatment (Lv.2)	29 (48.3)	15 (50.0)	4 (33.3)	44 (48.9)
Res. Treatment (Lv.3)		5 (16.7)	5 (41.7)	5 (5.6)
Intake/Stabilization	16 (26.7)			16 (17.8)

Data on SOSS from Pilot Study

In the pilot study, the mean score on the SOSS was 35.93 (SD = 6.52, range = 16-47; N = 59). The SOSS showed a significant correlation of r = .33 ($p < .05$) with the Self-Esteem Inventory (SEI) and of r = .35 ($p < .05$) with the Self-Esteem Scale. The SOSS did not, however, show significant correlations with other instruments used in the study namely, the Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Control Scale for Children (CNSIE), the Mastery Scale, and the Child Behavior Checklist Youth Self Report (YSR) Total Problem Behavior.

Cronbach's alpha for this sample was .83 (n = 60). The instrument was administered again at an interval of one month to 24 of the original participants. Cronbach's alpha for this retest was .86 (n = 24). A correlation for the test-retest scores was .76 ($p < .01$).

Second Wave Data Collection

Method

Human subjects approval. Approval for youth from this agency to participate in this study was granted by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, the Human Rights Committee of HUMHC, Art Masker, President/CEO of HUMHC, and the State of Tennessee's Department of Children's Service (see Appendix B).

Data collection and storage. As in the pilot study, the various assessment instruments were administered and background information was collected at the on-campus school and residential houses of HUMHC. On an individual basis, the subjects were asked to supply background information: age, race, number of moves while in out-

of-home care, time at present placement (in number of days), and level of care (see below).

Each instrument was marked with a number to identify each participant so as to protect the identity of the participants, and a master list of the names of the participants and their respective identification numbers was kept by the researcher. After completing the instruments, the participants placed them in manila envelopes and returned them to the researcher.

The completed instruments, the recorded background information, and the master list with the subjects' names and identification numbers will be kept in the researcher's home, under lock and key. The master list is kept separately from the completed instruments and background information. The data will be stored for up to eight years, in case such research could be used for further research that might be published, and then destroyed in the year 2011.

Sample characteristics. Thirty (30) new cases were sought to add to the 60 cases of the pilot study. The sample in the second wave, like that of the pilot study, was a purposive sample of adolescent males who are in out-of-home care in the family foster care, residential, group home, and independent living programs of HUMHC. The participants were between the ages of 12 and 18 (M = 15.83, SD = 1.82), with 26 (86.7%) being White and four (4) (13.3 %) being African American. They had experienced an average of 8.07 moves (SD = 3.74, range = 3-17) and had spent an average of 94.03 days at their present placements (SD = 106.18, range 10-432. Three (3) of the participants were in an independent living program, 7 were in a community group home (considered a Level 1 placement in the state of Tennessee), 15 were in Level 2 residential treatment,

and 5 in Level 3 residential treatment. All of the participants interviewed participated in the quantitative study, as well. Eleven (11) participants from this second wave were interviewed for the qualitative portion of the study (see Table 2).

Participation in this study was voluntary, as indicated by the participant's signature on an "Informed Assent" form (see Appendix A). Participants who were legal minors were able to participate only if their parents or legal guardians give permission, as indicated by the appropriate signatures on the "Parent/Guardian Informed Consent" (see Appendix A). Parental/Guardian consent for participation in research is required by the agency's status as a contract provider for services with the State of Tennessee and by the accreditation standards of the Council of Accreditation (COA) of Services for Families and Children, Inc. Participants who completed all the instruments were given a gift of a two-liter soft drink as a gift for their participation.

Overall Sample Characteristics

The overall sample used in ascertaining the reliability and validity of the SOSS is a combination of the sample from the pilot study ($n = 60$) and that from the second wave of data collection ($n = 30$). The overall sample size is 90 ($N = 90$). Youth ranged in age from 12 through 18 years ($M = 15.38$, $SD = 1.71$), with 77 (85.6%) being European American and 13 (14.4%) being African American. They had experienced an average of 9.01 moves ($SD = 5.31$, $Mdn = 7.50$, range = 3-26) and had spent an average of 83.06 days at their present placements ($SD = 91.78$, range 1-432). One (1) participant was in traditional foster care, two (2) were in therapeutic foster care, six (6) of the participants were in an independent living program, 16 were in a community group home (considered a Level 1 placement in the state of Tennessee), 44 were in Level 2 residential treatment,

five (5) were in Level 3 residential treatment, and 16 were in intake and stabilization. Twelve (12) participants were interviewed for the qualitative portion of the study (see Table 2).

Scales

Three of the measurement scales selected to correlate with the SOSS are well-established instruments used in research with both clinical and non-clinical populations of children and youth. The other measure, the semantic differential, was developed by the researcher from information gained in the qualitative portion of the study. The instruments represent the constructs of self-esteem, locus of control, internalized and externalized behavior problems, and perceptions of moving while in care. (See Appendix G for a copy of the respective instruments.)

Self-esteem. Chubb and Fertman (1997) used Harter's definition of self-esteem as being "'how much a person likes, accepts, and respects himself [sic] overall as a person'" (p.114). In their review of the literature, they cited studies on adolescents that formed a correspondence between adolescent low self-esteem and low life-satisfaction, loneliness, anxiety, resentment, irritability, and depression. High self-esteem correlated positively with academic success, internal locus of control, and a positive sense of self-attractiveness.

In looking at the impact of group psychotherapy as a therapeutic technique in treating children and adolescents in residential treatment, Winek and Faulkner (1994) stated that in addition to the children and adolescents being labeled with psychopathologies ranging from borderline personality, depression, and hyperactive to antisocial and psychotic, all share an impairment to their ego development and low self-

esteem. Gardner (1971) believed that all psychopathological symptomology "contain attempts to compensate for low self-esteem" (p. 516) and went so far to say that "'one of the purposes of treatment is to enhance the patient's self esteem because low self-esteem is at the root of practically every psychogenic problem'" (in Winek & Faulkner, 1994, p. 119).

Kazdin, Mosure, Colbus, and Bell (1985) found that physically-abused children showed more depression and lower self-esteem than did non-abused children. Other studies showed that children in out-of-home care have lower self-esteem than do children in comparative groups (Kools, 1997; Maxwell, 1992; Simmons & Weinman, 1991).

At the time of this writing, there are no known studies that relate self-esteem to sense of safety for children in out-of-home care. However, using Maslow's (1970) theory of the hierarchical motives for human behavior and development as a basis, it would follow that a higher sense of safety would allow for the development of a higher sense of self-esteem. It was hypothesized, then, that the level of sense of safety for adolescents in care would have a positive relationship to their level of self-esteem.

Self-esteem was measured by using the Rosenberg's Self-Esteem Scale (SES) (see Appendix D). [The Self-Esteem Inventory was dropped from the second wave of data collection because the SES had a higher correlation in the pilot study and because it would reduce the number of instruments that the participants had to complete.] Blascovich and Tomaka (1991) described the Self-Esteem Scale (SES), developed by Rosenberg (1965) as a measure that assesses adolescents' global feelings of self-worth or self-acceptance. It is a ten-item scale that uses a four-point response format, ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." Scores range from 10 to 40, with higher

scores representing higher self-esteem. It originally was developed using 5024 high school juniors and seniors from ten New York State high schools.

The reliability for this scale was moderately high, with Cronbach alpha ranging from .77 to .88. Test-retest correlations were .85 for 28 subjects after two weeks and .82 for 259 males and females after one week. Convergent validity has been established at a correlation of .65 with confidence, of .72 with the Lerner Self-Esteem Scale, of .55 with the Coopersmith SEI, and of .78 with general self-regard. Inverse relationships have been found with anxiety at -.64 and with depression at -.54. Discriminant validity was established by finding no significant correlations with grade point averages (.10), locus of control (-.04), gender (.10) and age (.01). Blaskovich and Tomaka commented that the SES has had widespread use as a unidimensional measure of self-esteem and often is used to evaluate other measures. However, one drawback is that social desirability might bias scores.

In this study Cronbach's alpha was .79, indicating good internal consistency. (See *Findings* for means scores, distribution statistics, and reliabilities for the scales).

Locus of control. Chubb and Fertman (1992) defined locus of control as:

> ... the generalized expectance of reinforcement as either internal or external to the self. Internal locus of control is defined as the expectation that reinforcement will be the result of one's own effort, ability, characteristics, or behavior. External locus of control is the expectation that reinforcement will be the result of chance, fate, luck, or powerful others (p. 389).

They cited studies showing that an internal locus of control correlates with such outcomes as staying in high school, taking responsibility for one's own actions, being more independent, exhibiting greater self-control, reduced anxiety, the ability to defer

gratification, and positive adjustment in relationships. Lefcourt (1982) examined numerous empirical studies and field observations that showed how an internal locus of control, whether real or perceived, moderated the effects of various stressful and adverse experiences by giving people a sense of control over or power within the stressful and adverse situations.

McIntyre (1991) found that adolescents in foster care had a more external locus of control than did those raised in their own homes, when controlling for verbal IQ. One study of adolescents in a youth emergency shelter found that they have a more external locus of control when compared to other groups (Simmons & Weinman, 1991). In looking at the relation between peer rejection and internalizing problem behaviors for children in foster care, McIntyre, Lounsbury, Berntson, and Steel (1988) suggested that such behaviors "may be an emotional manifestation of vulnerability to events beyond one's (felt) control" (p. 135). An earlier study of adolescents in a psychiatric residential treatment program showed that internal locus of control and severity of psychiatric illness are negatively correlated, controlling for age and length of treatment (Friedman, Goodrich, & Fullerton, 1985).

At the time of this writing, there are no known studies linking sense of safety and locus of control for children in out-of-home care. However, it was postulated that if adolescents in care have a greater sense of control (i.e., internal locus of control) that brings about reduced anxiety and a positive adjustment in relationships, then they will feel a greater sense of safety when moving between placements. Therefore, it was hypothesized that there would be a positive relationship between internal locus of control and a higher sense of safety.

Locus of control was measured by administering the Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Control Scale for Children (CNSIE) (see Appendix G). (The Mastery Scale was dropped from the second wave of data collection to reduce the number of instruments that the participants had to complete.) The CNSIE is a 40-item test having a "Yes-No" response to measure a child's sense of internal versus external control. A higher score indicates a more external sense of control and a lower score indicates a more internal sense of control.

Lefcourt (1991) stated that internal consistency using the Spearman-Brown split-half reliability correlation ranged from .63 to .81, whereas Cronbach's alpha for various samples ranged from .64 to .91. Test-retest reliabilities ranged from .76 at five weeks and .63 at nine months to .52 over a year. Convergent validity was found by moderate correlation with the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire in the I+ category, with the Bailer-Cromwell Scale, and with achievement, measured by the SAT, CTEB, CAT, and grade point average. Nonsignificant relationships have been found with IQ scores and other measure of intelligence. The CNSIE has been used in several studies of children in out-of-home care and would allow for comparisons with these studies of this population.

Cronbach's alpha was .69 in this study, indicating adequate internal consistency. (See *Findings*).

Behavioral problems. Children placed in out-of-home care often exhibit behavioral problems and have significant mental health issues. A study by Heflinger, Simpkins, and Combs-Orme (2000) on the use of the Child Behavior Checklist to assess the clinical status of children in state custody found that an estimated 34 percent of

children in Tennessee state custody had significant behavior problems. However, they write that these results likely under- represent the amount of mental health problems in the population of children in state custody. In their review of the literature on the rate of mental health problems for children in out-of-home care, they conclude that "... a number of studies have confirmed that foster children have more mental health problems than the general population based on indications in agency records and clinical judgment and interviews ... service utilization data ... and various standardized measures" (p.56).

Such mental health and behavioral problems can result from family instability, trauma of separation from birth parents, abuse, neglect, reaction to being in out-of –home care, genetic causes, or any combination of these factors (Cantos, Gries, & Slis, 1996; Pugh et al., 1997). Those placed in psychiatric hospitals, residential treatment facilities, and therapeutic foster homes are placed there primarily for the management and treatment of such behavioral problems, including aggression, violence, disruptive and bizarre actions, delinquency, drug abuse, school problems, run-aways, social withdrawal, depression, and other mental health issues (Cantos et al, 1996; Davis & Boster, 1993; Forand, 1999; Larson, Calamari, West, & Frevert, 1998; Pugh, et al, 1997; Seelow, 1993; Zimmerman, 1990). In short, these children are labeled as having emotional and behavior disturbances (Reddy & Pfeiffer, 1997). Such disturbances also can be the result of trauma caused by the experiences in out-of-home care placement settings, including multiple placements (Cantos et al., 1996).

At the time of this writing, there are no known studies linking sense of safety and internalizing and externalizing behavior problems for children in out-of-home care. However, it is postulated that behavior problems in children in out-of-home care could be

related to their lack of feeling safe. Externalizing problem behavior could be a mode of self-protection in a maladaptive way. Similarly, internalizing problems could be a form of self-preservation through withdrawal or could be related to the anxiety of not feeling safe. Therefore, it was hypothesized that children who have more internalizing and externalizing behavior problems will have a lower sense of safety.

Present internalizing and externalizing behavior problems were measured with Achenbach's (1991) Youth Self Report (YSR) (see Appendix G), which is compatible with the Child Behavioral Check List (CBCL). Although the entire YSR was used in the pilot study, only the Internalizing and Externalizing domains of the YSR was used in the second wave of data collection and in the final data analysis. (This was done to reduce the number of items that the participants had to complete.)

These Internalizing and Externalizing domains are comprised of 61 of the original 112 items from the YSR. The Internalizing domain is comprised of the Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, and the Anxious/Depressed syndrome scales, and the Externalizing domain is comprised of the Delinquent Behavior and Aggressive Behavior syndrome scales. [Item #103 is used in both the Withdrawn and Anxious/Depressed syndromes. However, since it is to be counted only once in the Internalizing score, it will be used only in the Withdrawn syndrome (Achenbach, 1991).]

Achenbach (1991) described the YSR as an instrument that is designed to obtain 11- to 18- year-old's self reports of their own competencies and problems. The instrument begins with some open-ended questions about the youth's interests and self assessments. These are followed by 112 statements with a response scale of "Not True," "Somewhat or Sometimes True," and "Very True or Often True." Some of these

statements also ask for additional information to be written in by the respondent. The YSR assesses problem syndromes, such as Withdrawn, Somatic Complaints, Anxious/Depressed, Social Problems, Thought Problems, Attention Problems, Aggressive Behavior, Delinquent Behavior, and scores other issues such as Internalizing behavioral/emotional problems, Externalizing behavioral/emotional problems, Total Problems as well as assesses competencies for Activities, Social competencies, and Total Competence.

Achenbach (1991) stated that test-retest reliability over seven days for the competence scales was r = .68 for 11- to 14-year-olds and r = .82 for 15- to 18-year-olds (n = 50). Over seven days, the comparison of the problem scales was r = .65 for 11- to 14-year-olds and r = .83 for 15- to 18-year-olds. On the Total Problems scores, reliability was found to be r = .70 for 11- to 14-year-olds and r = .91 for 15- to 18-year-olds. Over seven months, mean stability was found to be r = .50 for competence scales, r = .49 for problem scales, r = .62 for total competence, and r = .56 for total problems in a non-clinical sample of 11- to 14-year-olds. In a clinical samples of 12- to 17-year olds, over six months r = .69 for total problem scores. The alpha for mean scale scores of matched samples of clinically referred and non-referred boys (n = 536) was .95 on Total Problems.

Commenting on the validity of the CBCL, Furlong and Wood (1998) stated that it has been correlated with other related instruments, such as the Conners' Parent Rating Scale and the Quay Problem Behavior Checklist. Discriminant validity has been shown in correctly classifying clinically "referred" and "non-referred" groups by using the Total Problems and Social Competence scores 95 percent of the time when Total Problems T-scores are above 75.

Furlong and Wood went on to say that the CBCL scale is one of the most used in the world for assessing children's and adolescents' problem behaviors and is the standard by which other similar scales are compared. However, they cautioned that the Social Competence portion needs some work because it measures low competencies more accurately than high competencies.

In this study, internal consistency was high on the domains and the syndrome scales. The Internalizing Domain had a Cronbach's alpha of .91. The Withdrawn sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha was .69. The Somatic Complaints sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .79. The Anxious/Depressed sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .87. The Externalizing Domain had a Cronbach's alpha of .93. The Delinquent Behavior sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .82. The Aggressive Behavior sub-scale had a Cronbach's alpha of .91. All Cronbach's alphas were higher for this study than those reported by Achenbach (1991) for 536 clinically referred adolescent boys. (See *Discussion* for a comparison of raw score means and reliabilites between these two studies.)

Semantic differential. A semantic differential was developed by the researcher based upon the themes constructed from the analysis of the qualitative interviews related to multiple relocations and safety (see above). (See Appendix G.) It was composed of twelve (12) items of opposite phrases related to moving while in out-of-home care and sense of safety. Although traditional semantic differentials are composed of items containing a set of opposite words, this semantic differential used short phrases to better meet the understanding and readability level of the participants instead of using more complex single-word sets. The scores on this semantic differential could range from a

low of 12 to a high of 84. A lower score would indicate that the participant felt more worried or anxious about moving and/or less safe and a higher score would indicate the participant felt less worried or anxious about moving and/or safer.

A semantic differential, originally developed by Osgood (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957), asks respondents to choose between two opposite semantic positions (or dimensions) by selecting Likert-type response indicators between the opposites (Babbie, 1998). Instead of using verbal indicators, such as a range between "strongly agree" and "strongly disagree," the semantic differential had a series of seven indicator circles between the opposing terms of a given dimension or semantic space. This allows for a more spatial/kinesthetic response to the opposing terms rather than a more cognitive response. Put differently, the respondent was able to respond on how closely he felt to one term over another.

Because the semantic differential was based upon the experiences of those interviewed about moving while in out-of-home care and their resulting sense of safety, it will hold an inherent content validity. It also could establish a link of construct validity between the content of the interviews and the SOSS and other scales, because it establishes the measurability of the concepts and traits of the participants related to the issues of moving and safety that have been gained by the interviews (Brewer & Hunter, 1989).

The internal consistency of this scale was low, with a Cronbach's alpha of .48.

Background Variables

The participants' age, race, self-reported number of moves, number of days at present placement, and present level of care were recorded as background data for this

study in order to see if there were any differences in perceived sense of safety based upon any of these variables.

Age. Each subject's age was be obtained by asking the subjects for this information and recorded in number of years.

Race. The subjects were categorized as either African American or White. These categories reflect the racial demographics of the population available for this study.

Number of moves. "Number of moves" signified the number of times that a youth has moved to different placements while in out-of-home care. This denotes moves to foster homes (regular, therapeutic, emergency, and state recognized kin care), residential treatment facilities, group homes, psychiatric hospitals, wilderness programs, emergency shelters, run-away shelters, assessment centers, and detention centers. Moves to placements that are considered to be short term and more custodial than treatment oriented in nature, such as emergency shelters, run-away shelters, assessment centers, and detention centers were included because a stay in such a placement for even a day or a week can have an impact on a child's adjustment while in out-of-home care and beyond. (In some treatment facilities, children are moved to different rooms or different wings of a building; however, these "moves" were not counted. Moves for respite care were not counted, as well.) This number was obtained by asking the subjects how many different placements they had moved to while in out-of-home care.

Days at present placement. The variable "days at present placement" was based upon the subject's date of entry for care in the specific programs of HUMHC (as recorded in the subject's case history) and was recorded in number of days. For example, although a subject may have been in the care of HUMHC for one year, but moved from

residential care to a group home only 60 days ago, this latter number of days was recorded as the "days at present placement." Most of the youth could not recall the exact day of entry to their present placement, so this information was obtained from their case histories.

Present level of care. The present placement level was gained by asking the youth in which program they resided. The following levels of care have been denoted: family foster care, therapeutic family foster care, independent living, group home care (Level 1), residential treatment (Level 2 and Level 3), and intake/stabilization.

Findings

Scale Distributions

The distributions for the scales can be found in Table 3. All but two of the mean scores on the individual syndrome scales and the two larger domains were higher than those reported by Achenbach (1991) for 536 clinically referred adolescent boys. (See *Discussion.*)

SOSS. Pearson's product-moment correlations (r) (two-tailed) were used to analyze the relationship between the SOSS and the scale-level background variables and the other instruments. (See below for correlations among background variables and scales.) There were no significant correlations between the SOSS and the background variables of number of moves, age, and days at present placement. One-way ANOVAs found that there were no significant differences of mean test scores on the SOSS based upon either race (F [1,88] = 1.00, p = .32) or level of care (F [6,83] = 1.00, p = .43).

There were significant correlations with the SOSS and four of the established scales. There was a moderate, positive relationship with the SES, r = .40 ($p < .001$).

Table 3. Scale Means, Distributions, and Reliabilities. (N=90)*

Scale	M	Mdn	Mode	SD	Range	α
Sense of Safety Scale	35.88	36.5	39	6.71	32 [16-48]	.84
Self-esteem Scale	29.81	30.0	30	4.63	25 [15-40]	.79
Nowick-Strickland	15.20	15.0	15	5.08	26 [2-28]	.69
YSR						
Internalizing	17.13	15.0	13^	10.54	50 [0-50]	.91
Withdrawn	4.69	4.5	5	2.77	12 [0-12]	.69
Somatic	4.46	4.0	1	3.48	12 [0-12]	.79
Anxious/Depressed	7.99	7.0	5	5.95	30 [0-30]	.87
Externalizing	22.63	20.5	26	11.82	54 [4-58]	.93
Delinquent Behavior	8.27	8.0	8	4.65	19 [1-20]	.82
Aggressive Behavior	14.37	13.5	8^	8.10	37 [1-38]	.91
Semantic Differential*	45.11	44.0	49^	7.86	25 [33-58]	.48

^ Multiple modes. Smallest number represented.

Note: * N = 90 for all the scales except for the Semantic Differential, where n = 28.

There also was an inverse relationship with the CNSIE, $r = -.24$ ($p < .05$). For the domains and syndrome scales of the YSR, there was an inverse relationship with the Internalizing domain, $r = -.27$ ($p < .05$), and there was a moderate, inverse relationship with the Anxious/Depressed syndrome scale of that domain, $r = -.33$ ($p < .01$). (See Table 4.)

Other variables and scales. As expected, there were significant correlations found between all the established scales (see Table 4). Other significant correlations to note include a moderate, positive relationship between number of moves and age, $r = .35$ ($p < .01$). Age also was found to be inversely related to both the CNSIE, $r = -.30$ ($p < .01$), and the Somatic syndrome scale, $r = -.22$ ($p < .05$). The Semantic Differential was correlated with age, $r = .38$ ($p < .05$). Finally, days at present placement was found to have a positive relationship with the Withdrawn syndrome scale, $r = .21$ ($p < .05$).

Missing data. Raw scores from the instruments used to assess child adjustment indicators were used for all the analyses of data. In Wave 1, there were little missing data, and there appeared to be no systematic bias in the items that were left blank. For items left blank on the YSR, the value of "0" was given, which would give a more conservative representation of the presence of behavior problems. Missing data on the other instruments consisted of two (2) items left blank on one participant's SOSS and a total of 5 items left blank on the CNSIE among the 60 participants. Because these seven items accounted for only .2% of the total items on these two instruments, the means for each item where data were missing were used to replace the missing answers. In Wave 2,

Table 4 . Correlations Among Background Variables and Scales.

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1. Moves	--													
2. Age	.35**	--												
3. Days	.02	.31**	--											
4. Sense of Safety Scale	.01	.03	.00	--										
5. Self-esteem Scale	-.05	-.03	-.12	.40**	--									
6. Nowicki-Strickland	-.17	-.30**	.06	-.24*	-.36**	--								
7. Internalizing	.05	-.08	.17	-.27*	-.50**	.46**	--							
8. Withdrawn	.01	.09	.21*	-.18	-.41**	.42**	.80**	--						
9. Somatic Complaints	.12	-.22*	.10	-.10	-.25*	.42**	.79**	.48**	--					
10. Anxious/Depressed	.01	-.05	.15	-.33**	-.54**	.38**	.94**	.67**	.59**	--				
11. Externalizing	.08	.02	.08	-.03	-.29**	.37**	.71**	.61**	.54**	.67**	--			
12. Delinquent Behavior	.14	.12	-.01	.11	-.22*	.26*	.51**	.52**	.35**	.46**	.87**	--		
13. Aggressive Behavior	.03	-.04	.12	-.11	-.30**	.39**	.75**	.59**	.58**	.71**	.96**	.70**	--	
14. Semantic Differential	.15	.38*	.04	.13	-.20	.02	-.21	.16	-.33	-.19	.05	.34	-.11	--

$p<.05$ $**p<.01$

there were no missing data.

Only 28 of the 30 participants in Wave 2 completed the Semantic Differential. One participant moved and could not be located in order to administer the scale, and another participant failed to return a completed scale (even after repeated requests).

Discussion

Comparison to Other Studies Using The Established Instruments

Overall, the mean scores in this study were comparable to scores found in other studies that used the same established scales with similar populations.

SES. Mean scores on the SES was found to be comparable to another study using this scale with adolescents in residential treatment. A quasi-experimental study conducted by Lindsey (1975) of adolescents in a mental hospital (n = 24) (50% males), found SES mean scores of 28.67 (SD = 2.64) and 27.67 (SD = 4.21) on pre-tests for a experimental and control group, respectively. Post-test mean scores for these groups, after the experimental group attended groups on self-reflective inquiry, were 33.17 (SD = 3.54) for the experimental group and 26.17 (SD = 4.06) for the control group.

CNSIE. The study in which the CNSIE was developed (see Lefcourt, 1991) reported means for a non-clinical sample of males in each grade from 6 through 12. The average of the mean scores for those combined grades was 13.20 (n = 372), which, as expected, showed a greater sense of internal locus of control for that sample than was found for this sample. In a study conducted with youth in an emergency shelter, boys age 9-17 years (n = 45) scored a mean of 19.34 (SD = 7.16) on the CNSIE (Simmons & Weinman, 1991). Another study of at-risk African-American adolescents (n = 64) showed a means score of 15.64 (SD = 4.53) on the CNSIE (Wood, Hillman, &

Sawilowsky, 1996). This latter study showed comparable score to those found in this sample.

YSR- Internalizing and externalizing domains. Scores on the Internalizing and Externalizing Domains of the YSR and their respective syndrome scales were generally comparable, though slightly higher, with those reported by Achenbach (1991) for the referred group of adolescent males used in his study. Table 5 shows a comparison of mean scores from this sample and those from Achenbach's study.

Reliability and Validity

The high score on the Cronbach's alpha for the SOSS for this overall sample shows that it has a high reliability. Moderate and high alphas on the other scales used in

Table 5. Comparison of Means on Raw Scores and Relaibilities Between this Sudy and Achenbach's.

	This Study (N=90)			Achenbach (N=536)		
	M	SD	α	M	SD	α
Internalizing	17.13	10.54	.91	16.1	9.9	.89
Withdrawn	4.69	2.77	.69	4.8	2.7	.59
Somatic	4.46	3.48	.78	3.6	3.4	.77
Anxious/Depressed	7.99	5.95	.87	8.2	6.1	.86
Externalizing	22.63	11.82	.93	17.3	9.6	.89
Delinquent Behavior	8.27	4.65	.82	5.4	3.7	.76
Aggressive Behavior	14.37	8.10	.91	11.8	6.9	.86

this study shows that there was a high degree of consistency in the responses across all the scales, which adds to the robustness of the reliability measure of the SOSS.

Because no significant correlations were found between the mean scores on the SOSS and the background variables of age, number of reported moves, and number of days at present placement, the measure was found to be consistent across the different age groups, those with higher and lower numbers of moves, and the length of time youth had been at their present placement. Non-significant findings for ANOVA's on the mean scores and the SOSS for race and level of care also showed that there were no group difference on these scores for White and African-American youth nor for those in different levels of care. Thus this measure was stable across all background variables that were identified in this study, which adds to the potential utility of this scale.

The positive correlations found between the SOSS and the established scales helped to establish the construct validity of the SOSS. The correlation with the SES showed that there is a positive relationship between higher levels of self-esteem and higher levels of sense of safety. This helped to establish construct validity with self-esteem. Although Maslow's (1970) theory holds that safety needs must be met before belonging and self-esteem needs can be met, no causal relationships can be drawn from this study.

The negative correlation between the SOSS and the CNSIE showed that those participants with a more internal locus of control had a higher sense of safety. This helped to establish construct validity between sense of safety and locus of control. Again, no causal relationships can be determined from this finding.

Similarly, the negative correlation between the SOSS and the overall score on the Internalizing domain of the YSR and with the Anxious/Depressed syndrome scale within that domain showed that there inverse relationship between sense of safety and internalizing problems, and in particular being anxious and depressed. Such a relationship indicated that those participants who had fewer internalizing problems, and in particular, who felt less anxious and depressed, had a higher sense of safety. This helped to establish construct validity between sense of safety and internalizing problems in general and the syndrome of anxiety and depression, more specifically. Overall, the SOSS was found to be both a reliable and valid measure of adolescent males' sense of physical and psychoemotional safety for the sample studied.

However, information gained from the qualitative study of youth's perceptions of safety relating to moving between placements indicates that the SOSS scale, as it stands, is not specific enough in some areas and lacking in others. More items could be added to the scale to encompass more fully the safety concerns of children and youth in care. For example, based upon youth stating that they were sometimes afraid of the negative behavior of other youth, item 5 of the SOSS, which presently states, "I am afraid of getting hurt," could be expanded to read, "I am afraid of getting hurt by my peers" [supplemental item A]. Along these lines, item 9, which presently states, "I am afraid of my staff/my foster parent(s)," could be worded to specifically explore youths' feelings about their physical safety with caregivers; it could be amended to state, "I am afraid of getting hurt by my staff/my foster parent(s)" [supplemental item B].

An item that assesses youths' need for information about the program rules and expectations could be added to the scale based upon the youth interviewed stating that

they feel safer when they know what to expect about the placement rules and routines. This new item could be worded, "I feel safe when I know the rules and routine of the house/unit/foster home" [supplemental item C].

Finally, based upon youths' responses to being separated from their families as being a difficulty of being in care, an item could explore how safe youth feel when they are away from their families. A new item could be worded, "I feel afraid when I am away from my family" [supplemental item D].

Use of the SOSS

The SOSS is the only known instrument that specifically assesses the sense of safety for youth in out-of-home care. As stated above, helping youth to feel safe is crucial to their developmental and therapeutic progress. This scale, then, could be used along with other instruments to assess youth upon entering a new placement. The initial assessment could indicate specific areas in which youth feel unsafe, such as in the physical environment (e.g., items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11), with caregivers (e.g., items 5, 6, 7, 9, supplemental item B), with peers (e.g., item 8, supplemental item A), not having information (e.g., items 1, 12, supplemental item C), and being away from family (e.g., supplemental item D). Items which have low scores could be used as points of information with a treatment team and caregivers in order to give them specific areas in which to bolster a sense of safety for the youth. On the other hand, consistently high scores across the items could indicate that either the youth feel safe or they could be defensive and posturing pseudo-maturity or pseudo-independence. This scale, however, should not be used alone as a sole indicator of youths' issues regarding safety. Only in conjunction with other established instruments and therapeutic interviews can such

determinations be made with accuracy. Finally, this scale could be used as a pre-test/post-test to see if a sense of safety has increased with the youth as a result of the therapeutic efforts of the caregivers.

The better use of this scale, however, might be to facilitate a therapeutic interview with the youth. After the youth fills out the scale, a therapist or experienced, well-trained caregiver could go over each item with the youth and ask them to elaborate on their answers. This could be a springboard to gaining more detailed information about both their histories and what they need, on an individual basis, to feel safe in that placement.

Limitations

The limitations of this study must be considered, especially those having to do with the sample. Because only adolescent males were being used in this study, any generalizations about scores on the SOSS can be made only to other adolescent males in out-of-home care. Also, the level of care of these participants is another concern. Most were in a higher level of foster care, namely, residential facilities, when they took part in this study. Thus any comparisons can only be made with populations in a similar level of care. The small number of participants in the study ($N = 90$) is another limitation. A fuller exploration of the reliability and validity of this scale would need to be made with pre-adolescents, females, and a greater number of subjects, particularly those who reside in family foster care. Such expansions to the sample would give more robust findings on the reliability and validity of this scale.

Although it would be tempting to draw causal relationships between children's sense of safety and other constructs with which it correlated, no such relationships can be

determined from this study. A longitudinal study would be the most effective means of establishing such causal relationships.

Need for More Research

To reiterate comments made in the Qualitative Discussion Section (see above), more research, both quantitative and qualitative is needed to fully understand the complexity and contributing factors, both individual and ecological, to these children's sense of safety and how it best can be assessed. Using both these methods of research will give a broader, deeper, and more valid understanding of the experiences and perceptions of children and youth in care. Future research using this scale could help foster care staff and foster parents better understand and meet the safety needs of children and youth in their care. Also, future research using the original SOSS as a base could add the supplemental items named above in order to assess a broader range of safety issues for these children and youth. Ultimately, however, the goal is not only to assess their experiences and perceptions, but it is to use these assessments to achieve more developmentally appropriate and therapeutically successful methods of care for them while they are in out-of-home care.

V. Summary

In this study, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used to assess the sense of safety that youth feel when they are moved between placements while in out-of home care in order to gain a greater breadth and depth of information about these safety needs than could be gained by using one method alone. Although this is a specific scope in looking at safety, broader implications for understanding the safety needs of children and youth in out-of-home care, in general, and not just related to moving, can be drawn.

The conceptualization of safety used in this study was state that it is a sense of psychoemotional and physical safety that is held both globally and in relating to specific people, places, and situations while in an out-of-home care setting. This study found that there are several indicator areas within this conceptualization in which safety can be assessed more specifically: relationships to caregivers, information as a source of gaining understanding and having control, relationships with their peers, and adapting and coping when feeling unsafe. A stronger sense of safety for youth in care also was associated with self-esteem, an internal locus of control, and fewer internalizing problems, especially anxiety and depression.

The findings of this study have many implications for the practice of caring for children and youth in out-of-home care and in training caregivers. Meeting the safety needs for these children and youth must be a primary focus of providing care. Addressing these safety needs becomes of ultimate importance, however, when preparing children and youth to move to a new placement. Meeting such primary developmental needs is imperative to their future healthy development and their therapeutic progress.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INFORMED ASSENT REQUEST

The research project in which you have been asked to participate is being conducted by Keith Bailey for credit toward earning a Ph.D. in Human Ecology. The purpose of this study is to find out how moving several times while in out-of-home care is related to your self-esteem, your sense of "who is in control" (called locus of control), how safe you feel, and your behavior. This could help people to see how moving several times while in out-of-home care can make you and your peers feel about yourselves.

You will be asked to fill out five questionnaires that describe how you feel about yourself, which will take about 45 minutes to one hour. You may be selected at random to participate in an interview about what it is like to move while in out-of-home care. The interview could last up to 45 minutes or longer and will be audio taped. Some of these questions might make you feel uncomfortable or could bring up bad memories. If you would like to talk about any of these feelings or memories, you can talk to your therapist or another staff person whom you choose.

You will also be asked your age, how long you have been in out-of-home care, how many times you have been moved while in care, where you live now, and how long you have been at your present placement. This information will be looked up in your case-history files. This information will help to determine how moving while in out-of-home care effects different people.

If you complete all five of the questionnaires, you will be given a two-liter soft drink. If you are asked to participate in the interview and complete it, you will be given another two-liter soft drink.

You can withdraw from participating in this research at any time with no negative consequences. If you choose not to participate in this study, it will not change the services you receive from Holston Home. If you chose to withdraw, the questionnaires you filled out will be destroyed immediately. If you chose to withdraw from the interview, the tape will be destroyed immediately.

Your name will not be on any of the questionnaires. All this information will be kept confidential and your name will not be used in this study. The questionnaires and audio tapes will be kept in a locked file cabinet in the Mr. Bailey's home. Only he will see these questionnaires and listen to the tapes. This information will be kept for up to eight years and might possibly be used for other research. This data will be destroyed in the year 2010.

If you would like to ask any more questions about this study or your rights as a participant, you can contact Dr. Cheryl Buehler at the University of Tennessee at 423-974-6271.

INFORMED ASSENT

I have been given an explanation of this research project and have been allowed to ask any questions about it. I understand that I can drop out of the study at any time with no negative consequences. I understand that this information will be kept confidential and that my participation in this study is totally voluntary.

I agree to participate in this study.

_____

Name Date

_____

Witness Date

PARENTAL/GUARDIAN CONSENT
FOR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH

Your child may be asked to volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by Keith Bailey, the Staff Development Coordinator at Holston Home. The research is on how moving to several different places while in out-of-home care effects children. The project consists of your child filling out five questionnaires: one is about self-esteem, one is about how much in control he feels, one is about how safe he feels while in care, one is about how he feels about moving, and the other one is a general questionnaire about his feelings and actions. He also may be asked to participate in an interview that will be audio taped; the interview will be about what it is like for him to move to different placements while he is in out-of-home care. Also, he will be asked his birth date, where he is in care now, how long he has been in his present placement, how long he has been in out-of-home care, and how many places he has been moved to while in out-of-home care. This information will also been looked up in his case history file. He will receive a soft drink for participating. Attached is a copy of the form that will be provided for your child, which explains the project and asks for his consent to voluntarily participate. **These questionnaires and the interview will not influence his treatment plan at Holston Home and will not affect his quality or length of care here. Only Mr. Bailey will see these questionnaires or listen to the tape. He will not discuss the information about your child with any other staff.**

I agree that my child may participate in this project if he volunteers to do so.

_____ _____
Parent's Signature Date

_____ _____
or Guardian's Signature Date

Approval was gained by verbal consent over the phone.

Received by:_____ _____
Signature Date

_____ _____
Witness's Signature Date

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Institutional Review Board
Office of Research
404 Andy Holt Tower
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0140
865-974-3466
Fax: 865-974-2805

03/17/2003

IRB#: 5777B

TITLE: "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children In Out-Of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves"

Bailey, Keith
Child & Family Studies
P.O. Box 188
Greeneville, TN 37744

Buehler, Dr. Cheryl
Child & Family Studies
420 Jessie Harris Bldg.
Campus

This is to inform you that your Form D request for modification in the above protocol has been approved. This approval does not affect the original approval date.

Responsibilities of the investigator during the conduct of this project include the following:

1. To obtain prior approval from the Committee before instituting any changes in the project.
2. To retain signed consent forms from subjects for at least three years following completion of the project.
3. To submit a Form D to report changes in the project or to report termination at 12-month or less intervals.

We wish you continued success in your research endeavor.

Sincerely,

Brenda Lawson
Compliances

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE

Institutional Review Board
Office of Research
404 Andy Holt Tower
Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0140
865-974-3466
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04/12/02

IRB#: 5777B

TITLE: "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children In Out-Of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves"

Bailey, Keith
Child & Family Studies
PO Box 188
Greeneville, TN 37744

Buehler, Dr. Cheryl
Child & Family Studies
420 Jessie Harris Bldg.
Campus

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2. To retain signed consent forms from subjects for at least three years following completion of the project.
3. To submit a Form D to report changes in the project or to report termination at 12-month or less intervals.

We wish you continued success in your research endeavor.

Sincerely,

Brenda Lawson

Brenda Lawson
Compliances

THE UNIVERSITY OF TENNESSEE
KNOXVILLE

12/10/1999

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Knoxville, Tennessee 37996-0140
PHONE: (865) 974-3466
FAX: (865) 974-2805
URL:http://www.ra.utk.edu/ora

IRB#: 5777B

TITLE: Multiple Relocations, The Therapeutic Environment, and Adolescents in Out-of-Home Care

Bailey, Keith
Child & Family Studies
420 Holston Dr.
Greeneville, TN 37743

Buehler, Dr. Cheryl
Child & Family Studies
420 Jessie Harris Bldg.
Campus

The points of clarification you submitted to this office regarding the above-captioned project, satisfied the concerns of the reviewers, thus your project has been approved.

This approval is for a period ending one year from the date of this letter. Please make timely submission of renewal or prompt notification of project termination (see item #3 below).

Responsibilities of the investigator during the conduct of this project include the following:

1. To obtain prior approval from the Committee before instituting any changes in the project.
2. To retain signed consent forms from subjects for at least three years following completion of the project.
3. To submit a Form D to report changes in the project or to report termination at 12-month or less intervals.

The Committee wishes you every success in your research endeavor. This office will send you a renewal notice on the anniversary of your approval date.

Sincerely,

Brenda Lawson

Brenda Lawson
Compliances

cc: Ernest Brewer

State of Tennessee
Department of Children's Services
Policy, Planning and Research Division
9th Floor, Cordell Hull Building
436 Sixth Avenue North
Nashville, Tennessee 37243-1290

July 24, 2002

Keith A. Bailey
Holston United Methodist Home for Children
P.O. Box 188
Greeneville, TN 37744

Dear Mr. Bailey:

We are pleased to inform you that your research proposal entitled "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children in Out-of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves" has been approved by the Department of Children's Services. Your two-part study is to be conducted through interviews with approximately 20-24 adolescent females and males and through instrument validation with 40 adolescent males who are currently placed in treatment programs and foster homes of Holston Home. All previously agreed-upon conditions (informed consent and assent, confidentiality, etc.) and protocols must be strictly adhered to, and any changes to the research affecting agreed-upon terms must first be approved by the Department.

As required by ACA standards, we would appreciate receiving a copy of any final results or reports prior to their publication or dissemination. This does not mean you need DCS permission to publish or disseminate your results, or that we would attempt to censor any findings. The standard only states that the affected administrators have an opportunity to first review and comment on the results.

Please feel free to contact me if you have any questions or require additional assistance.

Sincerely,

Jules M. Marquart

Jules M. Marquart, Ph.D.
Director, Policy, Planning and Research
Chair, Research Review Committee

Holston United Methodist Home for Children, Inc.
PO Box 188 ★Greeneville, TN 37744
404 Holston Drive ★ Greeneville, TN 37743
Phone: 423-638-4171
Fax 423-638-7171

Memo

To: Keith Bailey

From: Art Masker, President/CEO

CC: Gayle Mrock, Bradley Williams

Date: June 17, 2002

Re: Proposed Research Project: "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children in Out-of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves"

I have reviewed your proposal for the above-referenced research project, and have discussed same with you. Your proposal:

- Follows the agency's policy and procedure for conducting research at HUMH
- Your procedures appear to respect the dignity, feeling, and confidentiality of the children who may be involved voluntarily in this project
- The research appears to be timely given the DCS Brian A. Settlement Agreement and other important issues impacting the child welfare field in Tennessee
- Your proposal has been approved by our agency's Human Rights Committee

We discussed my request for a copy of the signed client "assent form" to be included in the client record for each youth involved in this project, and for you to brief staff in advance of involving the youth.

You are herewith granted the agency's approval to conduct this research. We wish you well and we look forward to your sharing of the results with our staff.

Holston Home for Children, Inc.

Memo

To: Art Masker, President/CEO

From: Gayle Mrock, Administrator of Treatment Services GM

Date: 5/21/02

Re: Research Approval

Human Rights Committee unanimously approved the research project proposed by Keith Bailey at the May, 2002 meeting. The project entitled, "Perceived Sense of Safety for Children in Out-of-Home Care Who Have Experienced Multiple Moves," was approved by the committee based upon the following:

1. The proposal follows policy and procedure for conducting research.
2. The outcome of this research will be presented to Holston Home.
3. The research respects the dignity and feelings of the client.
4. The research is timely with the emerging Treatment Model and Brian A. changes.
5. Any changes to the research will be brought to this committee for approval.

Holston United Methodist Home for Children
For Children For Families Forever

Memo

To: Institutional Review Board, University of Tennessee

From: Arthur S. Masker, Chief Program Officer

CC: Keith A. Bailey

Date: November 21, 1999

Re: Proposed Research Project (IRB #5777 8)

Keith Bailey has reviewed with me his proposal to conduct a research project, using Holston Home clients, with said project entitled: "Multiple Relocations, the Therapeutic Environment, and Adolescents in Out-of-Home Care".

It is our understanding the research will include:

- Giving clients, on a voluntary basis, 5 instruments to measure client self-esteem, locus of control, sense of physical and psychological safety; additionally the Child Behavior Checklist-Youth Report Form to measure present levels of psychopathology
- Providing a summary of research findings in a manner that does not violate client confidentiality
- Correlating with other client data such as OSM-IC diagnoses, level of care at Holston Home, and the number of moves while in custody

The agency has given its approval for this research project with conditions as outlined in the proposal. We have requested an opportunity to review the final research report.

If additional information is needed, you may contact me at 423-787-8702.

P.O. Box [illegible] • Greeneville, Tennessee [illegible] • Phone [illegible] FAX [illegible]
Email: Holston@pop.usit.net • http://www.usit.net/Children

Holston Home for Children
For Boys For Girls Forever

August 30, 1999

From: Don Batson, Human Rights Committee, Interim Chair
To: University of Tennessee Human Subjects Committee
Re: Research Approval

Keith Bailey, who is employed as the Chaplain at Holston United Methodist Home for Children, submitted a request for research approval to a called meeting of the Human Rights Committee. A quorum committee, consisting of three agency members and one community member, has granted approval for Mr. Bailey to conduct this research with the clients of Holston Home using the methods and standards that were described in his Human Subjects Form B Application. Any changes to these methods must be brought back before the Human Rights Committee for further approval.

We ask that Mr. Bailey make available his research findings to this agency upon completion of this study.

Donald R. Batson 8-30-99

Don Batson, HRC Interim Chair Date

cc: Keith Bailey, Chaplain
Art Masker, Chief Program Officer
J.C. Dollar, President/CEO
Human Rights Committee Minutes

Discussion Guide

- Questions that review the biographical information from the qualitative study, e.g., age, number of moves, and how long the participant has been at the agency. Other biographical questions, that seek to find where the participant is from, etc., will be used set the participant at ease.
- "Grand Tour Questions"
    - **"What is it like to move from one placement to another?"**
    - **"Is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you move to a new placement?"**
        - Prompts and follow-up questions will be asked as the participant responds and "leads" the path of the discussion.
- "Categorical Questions"
    - **"If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, what would you say to him (her)?"**
    - **"If a new kid came to this placement, what would you say to help him (her) feel better about being there?"**
    - **If you were leaving to go to a new placement, what could the staff do to help you feel safe?**
    - **If you had just arrived at a new placement, what could the staff do to help you feel safe?**
    - **Is there anything good about moving between placements?**
- Thanks will be offered to each participant for his willingness to share this information.

Interview with #74

Age: 18

Race: White

Moves: 8

Placement: Independent Living

I: First of all, let me get your date of birth and your age.

P: August 14th, 1984.

I: So you are 18?

P: Yes.

I: (Filling out other information on background information sheet.) You are presently at Brumit Center?

P: Yes.

I: And, how long have you been at PAL [another name for this center]?

P: Over a year.

I: The first thing that I want to ask you is to think back to all the different places that you've been while in care. That could be places like Holston, it could be hospitals – like psychiatric hospitals – detention, runaway shelters, I mean anything like that.

P: Detention centers, too?

I: [Nods yes]. If you think back to the very first one, you can tell me the order of the different places and even if you went home and came back.

P: OK, the first placement I've been to is Knox County Detention Center. And that was on October 6th, 1999. [I: OK {While documenting the placements.}] I thought that

place was the most scariest place I'd ever been to. [I: OK] And two days later, I like, went to court. And then they sent me to Brookhaven, which is in Seymour. [I: OK.] And I stayed there for three months. [I: OK.] And like on December 3rd of that year, I moved here to Holston. [I: OK.] And the problem is that they didn't tell me that I was coming up here. They never told me where I was going. All they did was, like, pack up all my stuff and, like, take me up here. [I: OK.] And the next thing I know, I found myself on the upper end of the state. [I: OK.]

I: When you got here to Holston, where did you start out?

P: I started out at Smith Cottage.

I: And then after Smith?

P: I went to Brown, and stayed there for seven months.

I: OK. And then after Brown?

P: And then after Brown, I went home for a five month period. [I: OK.] And then like, problems aroused at home, and so I moved back to the Wiley Center.

I: OK. Where at at Wiley?

P: Smith.

I: OK. And after Smith, where did you go?

P: Then I went back to Brown. But then I stayed there until June of 2000.

I: And then after Brown, where did you go?

P: After Brown, I went to the Boy's Group Home. I stayed there for three months, and then I went to Brumit Center, and that's where I am right now.

I: OK. So you've been at Brumit ever since.

P: Yes.

I: So, it looks like altogether, you've been at eight different places. Six of them at Holston Home. And only two before that?

P: Yes.

I: While you were at Holston did you ever have to go to a hospital or anywhere like that?

P: No.

I: Tell me what it's like to move from one place to another like this.

P: It's a scary experience for me, because you don't know, like, the people there until you're there a month. And you start talking and warm up to them, and then your, like, going into new surroundings. For me it takes me a pretty long time for me to adjust to where I am.

I: So it takes a while to adjust? [He nods yes.] Are there things that help you to adjust any better than other things?

P: Staff usually help me get, like, suited up at the place.

I: OK. So staff do?

P: Yeah. They try to make it the best that they can.

I: Is there anything that they do in particular that they do that helps?

P: Not really. They just talk to me and try to get to know me and stuff.

I: OK. Now when you were telling me about the places you have been, you said that the Knox County Detention Centers was one of the scariest places. Tell me more about that.

P: Well, I'm not going to say what brought me there, but ... but like there was only one staff that I actually trusted there, and that was the one that I met when I first came in. [I: OK.] And he talked to me, and we sorta like had sorta like a great raport. [I: OK.] We started talking, and basically, and he didn't want to put me with like with all the other,

like, hard core criminals. [I: OK.] So, he put me in a cell by myself ... because he thought that it would be safer. [I: OK.] And like, for the two days that I was there, he came in there and checked on me, like, every so many hours. I ... I just really trusted that guy. [I: OK.] And there was this one other staff there, though ... we were like talking on the basketball court, and then he said they'll do anything they can to keep me safe there. Even though it was pretty rough there.

I: OK. So, when they said that, did that make you feel more safe?

P: Yes.

I: OK. And being in a cell by yourself made you feel safer?

P: Yes. I remember, like, when I first came in there, they kept yelling out my cell number. And then that made me so scared?

I: Who kept yelling that out?

P: All the other, like, inmates and stuff. They kept on, like ... all I did was stay quiet since they would, like, ah, like, ah, not like, continue on. Because I was, like, curled up into a little ball scared to death.

I: (Pause). About another placement, you said that when they were brining you up to Holston Home, you said that they didn't tell you where they were taking you.

P: No.

I: How did that make you feel?

P: I was just surprised. It was, like, very early in the morning, they told me I was leaving. It was, like, when I was, like at their school. I was doing my work and then, like, one of the staff came in and asked me if I was leaving, and I told them, "No." And I said, "I don't think so." So, she went to double check and she said I was. And then that

kinda surprised me, 'cause I didn't have any warning about it. And then I went back up to the [can't make this out], that's like where we stayed, and packed all my stuff, and put it in the DCS van. Then we, ah, and we drove up here in Greeneville. And I had no idea where this places was, because I've never been up on this end of the state until then. And, ah, it was like, I tried to ask them, I asked them like three or four times where I was going. And they wouldn't answer me. So, I decide that it can't be any worse than the place I was at at the time. So, like, I sat back and enjoyed the ride, and then they, like, pulled in there. I had never heard of this place ... I had never heard of Holston before. So they, like, drove me around the circle, and I was wondering what all those buildings were. And the I saw the Wiley Center, and they took me in there. And then I met, [name of staff], and she talked with me, and then I met [name of staff], and then I met [name of staff].

I: OK. And you said that when you asked them about where you were going, and they didn't say anything, how did that make you feel?

P: I just thought that they were being plain old rude. [I: OK.] I think that I have a right to know where I'm going. [I: OK.] I mean ... I mean, my mom didn't even know that I was coming up here until they called her like five hours after I'd been up here. "Cause she thought that I was still at Brookhaven.

I: Is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe when you move to a new placement or to a new house?

P: It's ...What makes me feel unsafe is, a lot of like, threats. Like threatening talk and stuff like that. Like, most of the guys threaten you just because they play with you, I

think. Just because they are trying to like .....[someone walked into the room and interrupted – tape was stopped]

I: You were talking about guys and making threats because they were just playing with you.

P: I learned after being a couple months in State's custody, that like, guys ...just like .. .just like ... sort of play with you like that. Sort of try to be your friend, and you know like, [can't make this out] and play basketball, and something like that. And then, I didn't get used to that until I was a couple months in custody.

I: Anything else you can tell me about feeling safe or unsafe when you move to a new placements?

P: It's just like getting to know the other guys that you're with is kinda the most scariest part than actually being where you are placed.

I: OK. How's that scary?

P: Because you don't know them. And, right now .... And when you get there, if you're like me, they're kinda dangerous until you like get to know them, and stuff. Like ... like ... I would keep my mouth quiet and listen to what was going on and stuff. [I: OK.] People like press you into things, and stuff.

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel safe when you move to a new placements? You've told me about some things that make you feel unsafe.

P: I feel safe around staff no matter what. [I: OK.] Because I think of them as the Peacekeepers, and stuff. And that's what they are in places like keep up the peaces and stuff and keep everybody from going at each other and stuff. And sort of being mentorey, and stuff.

I: OK. So, they're peacekeepers, but they are also mentors?

P: Yeah.

I: Anything else you can tell me about feeling safe or unsafe. This is all good stuff.

P: [Pause.] No.

I: OK. [Pause.] If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, what you would you say to him or her?

P: I would say, "Don't screw up." [I: OK.] Don't screw up or make any bad decisions, because it can knock you back down in the food chain.

I: What do you mean by the food chain?

P: Like it could knock you down to like a level four. Like, you know, like extremely locked down ... where you can't even go out of your cell, almost.

I: OK. What if there was new kid who came over to the PAL program, what would you say to him or her about being there that you think would help them?

P: Don't come in here talking gang stuff or something ... or like making threats or acting like they're all that, and stuff, because staff will call them down on an incident and put them on a multiple day restriction.

I: OK. [Pause.] Is there anything good about moving to a new place?

P: It's a change of scenery.

I: What do you mean by a change of scenery.

P: It's like, once you get tired of the same old place all the time then when you move it's sort of like gets you, like, a new surrounding. You get something new to look at and stuff, and you got .... Like, taking the same walk around the same pond and trail and stuff, like that. Instead, you get a whole new place to, like, explore, and stuff.

I: OK. A whole new place to explore. [Pause.] Now, you moved to two places before you came to Holston, and then you moved six times within Holston – within our agency. Was it any easier or harder to make those moves within Holston than the two before that?

P: Holston has the same staff that I've known, for like, the couple of years that I've been here. Like, when I moved to the group home, [name of staff], who was, like, when I first came to Holston, was staff in Smith. So, I've had, like, I've gotten to, like, know her, like, better than anyone else there. And the other staff that was at the group home, they were, like, brand new couples who just started working at Holston. So, I didn't really, like, get to know them.

I: OK. So, you said that it was helpful to get to know [name of staff], and she's been there all along through your moves.

P: Yes.

I: What's been helpful about getting to know here and having her there this whole time?

P: Well, when I come … when I have a problem, she says come talk directly to her, and she'll solve the problem. And, so, like if I have a complaint or feel unsafe, I go her, and then she usually takes care of it immediately. Sort of like, instead of going through certain steps or like a command structure, you can go straight to the head person of the program instead of going though channels, and stuff. "Cause going through channels takes a while.

I: OK. Is there anything else you can tell me about moving or feeling safe or unsafe that we haven't talked about, yet?

P: Like I said, it just depends on if the same guys I've known for a couple of weeks or who was at my previous placement, then I can trust them, and stuff like that. I'm used to them, but any other people that I've never seen before, then I get all nervous, and stuff.

I: When you're talking about the same guys you're talking about peers?

P: Yes.

I: So, if you know the peers you feel like you can trust them.

P: Yes. I feel that I'm used to, like, talking to them, or chatting, and stuff like that.

I: OK. Anything else at all?

P: No.

I: I want to thank you for doing this. This is a lot of good information you've given me to help me understand this. I'm going to go ahead and turn off the tape.

[After the tape was turned off, the participant stated: "This was fun. Finally, someone listens to my whole story."]

After conducting another interview, the researcher thought of two more questions to ask this participant. The following interview was conducted days after the primary interview.

[Conducted 6 weeks later.]

[Briefly reviewed some of our discussion from the primary interview.]

I: If you had to leave a place and go to another place, is there anything that staff can say to you that makes you feel safer about the place your going? Or feel better about the place your going?

P: No.

I: No? Why not?

P: Because they don't know anything about the program where I'm possibly going to or not, and they might, like, lie about something, but they didn't mean, like, do it on purpose. They might be a little wrong about it.

I: So, there is nothing that they can do that helps you prepare to go to a place.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. When you get to a new placement, is there anything that staff can do when you get there that helps you feel safer about being there?

P: Just knowing that I can talk to them when I need to and stuff.

I: OK. Anything else other than them offering to talk to you?

P: No.

I: That's it? [P: Nods yes.] All right.

Interview with #75

Age: 18

Race: White

Moves: 7

Placement: Level 2

I: First of all, I've got your age, your level of care, and how long you've been here. What I'd like for you to do is tell me all the different places you've been in while you've been in care. That could be hospitals, detention centers, places like this. If you'll think back to the very first one, and go through …

P: Since I've been in State's custody?

I: Yeah. Were you ever in a place before you were in State's custody?

P: I was in a place before State's custody.

I: OK. What place was that?

P: I was down in Lakeshore. [I: OK [while documenting the placements}.] I was in Knox County Juvenile. [I: OK.] I was in Peninsula Lighthouse for drug rehab. I was in the Sholtz Center for drug rehab, too.

I: What's the name of it?

P: The Sholtz Center.

I: OK. In any of these placements did you go home? Like, after Lakeshore, did you go home or did you go straight to …

P: I went home.

I: OK. After Knox County Juvenile?

P: I went home.

I: What about Peninsula?

P: That was an outpatient.

I: Oh, it was an outpatient. So you didn't actually live there?

P: No.

I: OK. And then you went to the Sholts Center. Did you live there?

P: Yes.

I: Did you go home after that?

P: No.

I: Where did you go after the Sholts center?

P: I went to Hamilton County Juvenile.

I: OK. And where from there?

P: Jackson Academy.

I: OK. And where from there?

P: No. I went to Scott County Juvenile after that.

I: From Hamilton County you went to Scott County Juvenile?

P: [Nods yes.] [I: OK.] Then I went to Jackson Academy.

I: OK. And where after Jackson Academy>

P: Here.

I: Did you come straight to Jones House?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. So you've been seven different placements. When did you go to Lakeshore, do you remember when that was?

P: I spent 22 days, and then I went to Juvenile for about 7 days or a week.

I: Did your parents place you in Lakeshore or these other places, or how did that happen?

P: I'm not for sure how I got in there. They just came and got me from school. [I: OK.] I think it was the court, I'm not for sure.

I: So, you've got seven different placements down here. The main question that I want to ask you is, what's it like to have to move from one place to another as many times as you have? And you can be just real honest with me, real open. You can say whatever you want.

P: It sucks.

I: It sucks. Tell me what sucks about it.

P: The reason why it sucks with me is because I can't go home. I can't get passes like some people can. [I: OK.] That's the reason why is sucks for me, cause all I can do is stay here or stay in that placement and do what they do there, whatever.

I: OK. What's it like when they tell you you're moving to a new place. Like, when you were in the Shots center, and they said, "We're going to move you to Juvenile? Or from Juvenile, we're going to move you to Jackson Academy? Or Jackson Academy, we're going to move you to Holston Home?" How does that make you feel finding that out?

P: Whenever I came from Jackson Academy here, I thought it would be allright, but whenever I got here, I was good for about a month or so. Then I started getting in trouble. [Pause.] Now, I want to move back, because it was better up there for me than here. So, uh ..

I: What's better about it?

P: Staff here is all up in your business, and stuff. There, they didn't take everything as a joke. They took everything serious up there, and stuff like that. And like, you can get away with things here, but up there, you couldn't. You couldn't get away with anything there. They're strict on the rules, and that taught me how to do good, and stuff like that. And now, here, I'm just worse than I was.

I: OK. When you were at these other places, did they tell you you were moving to the new places, or how did that come about?

P: Shots center, I got in a fight and that's the reason why I went to Juvenile, and stuff, because I got in a fight. So, I knew I would be going somewhere – to Juvenile or something. I really wasn't worried about that one. Then, I didn't know that I was going to Juvenile after I went to Lakeshore. And, I didn't want to go, 'cause I didn't like it. That was the first time I went to Juvenile.

I: So, how did it make you feel to find out you were going to Juvenile that first time?

P: Mad.

I: Mad? What about it made you mad?

P: [Can't make this out.] Why did I have to go to Juvenile after I had got out of somewhere I had served some time for, for whatever I did. [Can't make this out.]

I: Anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move to different places? How you feel about it? How it is when you leave a place or show up to a new place?

P: I was happy whenever I left Hamilton County because I didn't like it.

I: So, you were glad to move from there, huh?

P: Yeah. Then I went to Scott County. Scott County wasn't that bad. I liked it up there, too, because I got along with workers up there, and everything. I was pretty glad to leave

there, too. [I: OK.] Then, I went to Jackson Academy. Whenever, I got up there to Jackson Academy, I didn't like it at first, and then I started getting used to it, and stuff.

I: So, it makes you feel better once you get used to it?

P: Yeah.

I: Is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe [phone rings – tape is stopped so the voice mail will pick up]. I'm going to ask you that again. Is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you move to a new place? [Pause.]

Or when you first get there?

P: No. Because I really ain't worried about it.

I: You're not worried about it.

P: It just don't bother me, because I'm so used it. Being … Now, I'm used to being locked up right now, cause it don't bother me being locked up no more.

I: So, you're kinda used to it by now?

P: I don't like it, but I'm used to it.

I: [Pause.] If there was one of your peers who was moving to a new placement, what would you say to him that would make him feel better about going?

P: I'd be happy for him, but … I don't know. I'd be happy for him. I'd tell him, "Be good, stay out of trouble."

I: OK. What if you had a new kid who came to this cottage, what would you say to him to make him feel better about being here, and help him out?

P: Just do what they say, cause, if you don't do what they say you'll get in trouble and stuff like that. [Pause.] Just do what they say, be honest. If you give them respect, they'll respect you back.

I: OK. If you left this place for some other place, what do think staff here could say to you that would make you feel safe about going to another place? You've told me that you really don't worry about it, but is there anything that they could say that could make you feel better about moving to a new place or make you feel that it was going to be a safe place?

P: I really don't know what they would say. Just do good, and don't get in no more trouble. [Can't make this out.]

I: OK. If you got to a new place, is there anything that the staff could say to you to you when you first got there that would help you feel safe about being in that place?

P: Not really.

I: No?

P: I'd have to find out for myself.

I: What sort of things would you have to find out for yourself to make you feel safe about being there?

P: See how the other clients act, and stuff like that.

I: OK. What do you mean by that? What do you mean by how they act?

P: What I mean is, how they act around you, the way they talk to you, and just how they are.

I: OK. So, you'd have to kind of sit back and watch that for a little while?

P: Yeah.

I: Have you ever been to a place where how people has made you feel uncomfortable?

P: That's one of the reasons that I didn't go to the Group Home. I had the chance to go to the group home, and I chose not to, because, I didn't like the way the clients were over

there. One of clients started messing with me whenever I first stepped in there. And I didn't like it. [I: OK.] I told him to quit, but he wouldn't, so I chose ... I told them I didn't want to go over there. So, that's the reason why I'm still here.

I: OK. Is there anything else that you can tell me about moving to these different places that was good or bad? That made you feel safe or unsafe?

P: The place where I felt most safe was at Jackson Academy.

I: At Jackson Academy? [P: Yeah.] What made you feel safe at Jackson Academy?

P: I had ... I had almost all the staff on my side, 'cause I was there for so long. They .... If I told them something that happen that really did happen, they'd believe me if someone else tried to lie about it. [I: OK.] And, I liked the staff a lot up there, and they liked me, too. [I: OK.] And, feel safe around there.

I: OK. So, you felt like they would listen to you, believe you. So that was important. And you said that they were on your side. Can you give me an example of them being on your side.

P: Like, if one of the residents or clients went and told one of the staff something that I totally did, which I didn't, and I told them that I didn't, I'd tell them that I didn't, and they would believe me.

I: OK. So, them trusting you was important to you.

P: [Nods yes.}

I: Is there anything else you can tell me about Jackson Academy that made feel safe?

P: They taught you how to respect people, and stuff like that, adults and stuff.

I: OK. Anything else you can tell me at all about this or about moving?

P: No.

I: Is there anything good about moving from place to place?

P: I don't think there is. But it is probably good for, because if you move from … if you're like in a level three, or something like that, it's good to move to a level two, or something.

I: OK. So you're saying if you step down in care [P: Yeah.] that's positive.

P: Yeah.

I: Anything else that would be good about it.

P: It means your working the program, and stuff like that, I guess.

I: OK. So, if you move out of a program, it means you've worked the program – you've been successful there.

P: If you did it right.

I: If you did it right. [P: Yeah.] OK.

P: Not the wrong way.

I: What if you went the wrong way?

P: It means that's not good. It means you're not improving your attitude. It means you're just making it worse. It shows you how you'll probably act when you get older.

I: Is there any advised you can give to staff to make things safer when you get to places or when you leave places? Anything you need to know?

P: I don't know, though. I don't know.

I: Well, I'm going to go ahead and cut the tape off.

[The participant was thanked for sharing the information with the researcher.]

Interview with #76

Age: 17

Race: African-American

Moves: 5

Placement: Level 2

[Before the tape was turned on, the background information was documented on the background information sheet.]

I: First of all, I want to ask you to tell me all the different placements that you've been in since you've been in State care, even before that. That can include placements like Holston Home, if you've ever been in a hospital – like a psych. Hospital – detention, runaway shelter, foster, anything like that. So if you'll think back to the very first one and just go down the list.

P: I was in a foster home in Chattanooga. I lived there for about a week.

I: OK. That was your very first placement? [As I was documenting these moves.]

P: My first placement. [I: OK.] Then they moved me to Morristown, to YES. [I: OK.] for a couple of weeks. Then I moved to Holston, for assessment. Then they sent me from here to CCS in Kingsport. [I: OK.] Then I got disrupted and they moved me back to Holston.

I: When you came back to Holston, did you come back here to Hennen Cottage?

P: Yes, sir.

I: OK. So, you've had a total of five different placements.

P: Yeah.

I: No time in detention or runaway, other than YES.

P: That's the only one.

I: No time in a hospital? [P: Nods no.] So, only these five. OK. The first thing that I want to ask you is to tell me what it's like to have to move into once of these placements or what it's like to have to move the five different times that you've moved.

P: At first it's kinda hard because you don't know nobody, and you're not used to the surroundings and all the different people. But after a while you kinda get used to it after you meet friends. [I: OK.] and get to know people … and get used to being away from home. [I: OK.] That was my hardest thing, being … getting used to being away from home, because that meant that I'm away from my parents. [I: OK.] So that makes things a lot harder. [I: OK.] And then being moved from place to place, after a while it gets hard, because being locked up for nothing. You're time ain't counting. It ain't doing nothing but make me mad. More mad at the system. [I: OK.] It makes you not want to work the program, because you don't know whey you're going to be moved again, for no reason, or whatever.

I: So, overall, you've said that it's kinda hard. [P: Yeah.] You gave lots of reasons, there. You said, at first, its hard being away from home. [P: Yeah.] Did your family know where you were – where you moved to?

P: Yeah, they did. I called them when I got there – the day after I got to Chattanooga. Like, each placement I got to, they allowed a phone call when I got there to let our parents know where we was. When I got to CCS, though, I think it was like two months before I called them, because I wasn't on level to have phone calls and stuff. That was real hard.

I: Waiting two months to call your family was real hard?

P: Couldn't send mail, or nothing like that. It was hard.

I: What was the hardest thing about that?

P: Really not know if my parents were OK. If one of them had been hurt, if my mama had been hurt or my brother.

I: OK. It's just not having that contact or knowing what was going on? [P: Nods yes.] Did you get any visits with them when you are at these placements?

P: No. Well, for the first six months, I never seen my parents, because I didn't want them to come and see me while I was locked up.

I: Why was that?

P: Because, it's hard. It's hard enough being away from home. Then when they come and visit you; I thought that it would make things a lot harder, because when they left I would want to go with them, and I wouldn't be able to. So, I just told them to not bother and come see me.

I: So, you just avoided that so it would make it easier [P: Yeah.] to deal with being in there. [P: Nods yes.] OK.

P: When I got moved back to Holston, I think it was my first or second week here, my mom called and told me that they was in Bull's Gap, they was on their way here.

I: How did that make you feel?

P: It was good, 'cause I was starting to get my home passes and stuff. That made everything a lot easier. That made me want to get out a lot more.

I: OK. That's good. Good stuff. You talked about getting used to the people. Tell me more about that.

P: The people … you know you got … when you first get locked up you don't know nobody. Unless its people from your home county that you've met before or some of your friends that are locked up. And you don't know how people are going to act when you approach them and try to be their friend. Either you make friends or you're by yourself the whole time you're locked up. And having friends, that's a good thing, because you have somebody to talk to when you need somebody to talk to. You won't just have to let all your anger build up and then end up just going off for no reason – get put in a mental hospital or something.

I: OK. So it's important for you to make friends?

P: Yeah.

I: Anything else you can tell me about having to move from one place to another?

P: After a while it gets old.

I: How does it get old?

P: You don't know where they're going to move you to. If where you're going to go to, if people are going to abuse you. Or staff or whoever might try to molest you or whatever.

I: Staff or staff and other kids?

P: Staff or other kids or whatever.

I: In any of these placements that you've had, did you know where you were going to? Did they tell you the next one you were going to be moved to?

P: No, not really. When, I first got sent off, me and two of my friends got sent of together – two of my other friends. And I asked to be moved where they were. And there wasn't a bed a Holston at the time, there was only two openings in Brown, so they

moved me to these other two places, just until they could get me here. And my case worker called me the day before they moved me and told me that I was coming to Holston, where my friends were at. I come for assessment. They said that I needed a drug rehab or whatever, so they moved me to CCS. Then I got disrupted from there, I knew … I had a feeling that I would get disrupted. But I figured that I would go to a level three or higher because of the things that I was doing.

I: Did it make you feel better that your friends were here coming here?

P: Yeah, because I was locked up with people that I knew that were from the same type of environment that I was from.

I: OK. Was it easier for you coming back to Holston the second time since you had already been here once?

P: Yeah. It made everything a lot easier. When I moved to CCS, I didn't even want to work the program. I[I: OK.] And then, when I got back here, they were telling me that that was the only way that I was going to be able to get out, if I do work the program. So, I got it in my mind that I was going to have to work the program to get out. So, that's what I've been doing, and I'm about to get out.

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel safer or unsafe when you move to a new placement?

P: In a way, well, when I got sent off, I was kinda happy. In a way, that way I knew that people on the street that I was into it with, they wouldn't be able to hurt me. If I was locked up, and I was locked up and people was try to hurt me, that they would always be somebody around at some point in time to stop it from happening. I was just pretty much fed up with the violence and stuff.

I: OK. So you actually felt safe going into care so that nobody could get to you.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. What about when you moved from one of these places to the other and you find out you're going there or you get to the place, is there anything that helps you to feel safe? Or is there anything that makes you feel unsafe at these different places you've been?

P: Moving? I think that all the facilities are safe; all of them could be safer. It ain't really that bad. This moving from place to place, you know, when you find out that your moving your just wondering in your mind what's this place going to be. Are they going to like me when I get there, or whatever. I really wasn't worried about it.

I: You weren't worried about it. Why didn't it worry you/

P: It did, in a way, but in a way it didn't. But I usually don't talk to people that I don't know. [I: OK.] I really didn't have any problem with it.

I: So, if you didn't know them, you just weren't going to talk to them?

P: Yeah.

I: Did that make you feel better, or ...I'm trying to understand ...

P: How it feels good and in a way it didn't? [I: Yeah.] Well, I don't know. In some point in time everybody needs somebody to talk to, so you're not going to have no choice but to talk to somebody. [I: OK.] And, when I ....well, at the first three place that I was at, it was only a few kids there. So, it wasn't really nothing major. Then I get moved to CCS, and there is almost close to 80 people there. So, and I had to talk to somebody. So, I started hanging around people that was closest to my place – closest to [name of

hometown] where I was from. [I: OK.] Like people from Knoxville and Chattanooga. I started hanging around them, talking to them, and then we became friends.

I: OK. So it made you feel better to find somebody who was close to your home?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. [Pause.] If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, what could you say to him to help him feel better and safer about where he was going?

P: I would just tell him to keep your head up, you know. Don't let the small things bother you. Just do what you gotta do to get out, so you can get out.

I: OK. What if there was a new kid coming into this house, what would you say to that kid to help him feel better about being here – make him feel safe about being in Hennen House?

P: The main thing about here is, just don't feed into negativity and everything will go smooth. [I: OK.] That's the big thing at Holston – negativity. If you stay away from that, then everything will go all right - you'll be fine.

I: OK. What sort of negativity do they need to stay away from?

P: Just, people, you know, get you to go off on staff, and to just, like, throwing food behind the couch. Pouring all the food out on the couch. Stuff like that. Cause, eventually, they're going to get caught, you know. That's some of the big things that's going on in this cottage. I would make people aware of it when they get here. Just stay away from all the food stuff.

I: OK. If you had to leave Holston to go to a new placement, is there anything that the staff could say or do to help you feel safer about moving or where you were moving to?

P: They could, but, I probably wouldn't take it to heart, because, more than likely, they had never been there. They couldn't even tell me how to handle stuff over there if they had never been there. But if were coming from another peer, I would take it to heart, because they had been through the situation. [I: OK.] They could tell me how it is and what to expect when I get there.

I: OK. So you would feel more comfortable hearing that from a peer.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. And you talked about what to expect when you get there. What's important for you to know about what to expect?

P: Like, the behavior from the other clients. Like when you get there, what are they going to do – how are they going to look at you. If you're going to fit in or not. Things like that. [I: OK.] Things that most teenagers are worried about.

I: OK. So you say that most teenagers are going to worry about this... [P: Yeah] anyway. [P: Yeah.]

P: They all are looking to fit in. [I: OK.] So, just do, basically don't do anything, just anything to fit it. But whatever you feel to do to fit in with the other kids, if it fits you, then just do it.

I: So fitting in is an important thing?

P: Yeah.

I: Earlier you had something about wondering if you were going to get abused at a place. Tell me more about that.

P: I don't .... My whole life I've been into fights. I like to fight, and stuff. So, my cousin got sent off, and he told me, "When you get locked up, you're going to have to fight regardless of if you want to or not. You're going to have no choice but to fight." So when I moved to Holston, you know, I didn't get into arguments with nobody, so I'm thinking, he's just lying. It ain't as bad as he said it was. Then I moved to CCS, and I was fighting three or four times a week. I didn't have not choice but to fight. And staff, we had staff up there who was just smacking clients and stuff like that. So ...

I: Why did you feel like you had to fight?

P: Cause if you didn't, they would fight you. You know, people would look down on you. Like, you just let him run his mouth to you, and you didn't do nothing about it. After a while, that gets old. It relieves a lot of stress, too. It takes things off your mind for a while.

I: OK. So fighting relieves stress, you said, and the other part of it is, you've got to show people that you can take up for yourself. Is that it?

P: Yeah. Because you ain't supposed to let nobody run over you. That's just how I was. I didn't let nobody run over me. That's why I got disrupted. For fighting, and stuff.

I: OK. So, that's how you've got to protect yourself? Fighting and standing up to people?

P: Yeah. Well, you could tell staff, though, but when staff ain't around, who is going to take up for you. You are on your own, basically. When staff ain't around, you either fight or get beat up.

I: OK. Is it important to you to have staff around? Does that help?

P: Yeah. It does a lot. Most ain't going to fight, because the fight for a certain period of time. Nobody's wanting to fight for two seconds and it be over. They want to fight and get you somewhere where they can fight you until they are through with you, or whatever. [I: OK.] If staff's around, they ain't going to do that. Unless, they just got problems.

I: OK. You talked about staff at that place smacking people. How did that make you feel seeing that go on or knowing that that went on?

P: I... It was kinda hard, you know, just to sit there and let another peer get smacked for no reason. But, you couldn't do nothing about it. They take staffs' word over clients' regardless of who saw it. You just had to sit back and hope that it didn't happen to you.

I: What was that like sitting back and hoping it didn't happen to you?

P: It was kinda hard, because you never know what to expect. Cause if a staff is in a bad mood, you're going to have different reactions to things.

I: OK. So, knowing what staff is going to do is helpful?

P: Yeah. You've got to get used to being around a staff. Find a staff to be buddy-buddy with. Get on their good side, so you won't have to worry about nothing like that happening to you. They'll help you out while you're there. They'll help you get through the program.

I: OK. So they'll help you out, but they'll keep you from having to deal with the negative stuff?

P: Yeah. As a client, they'll keep you from trouble and, you know, help you get your passes. Help you get out quicker. [I: OK.] [Can't make this out.] ...talk to people, like

talk to the case manager and let them know that you are going good. That you don't need to be here, and all this, you know. So, they help you out.

I: OK. If you walked into a new placement – just got off the van and stepped right in, what could a staff person do at that new placement to help you feel like it was going to be a safe place and things were going to be OK there?

P: Talk to me and let me know what's going on. [I: OK.] Everybody needs to know what's going in [can't make this out] before they enter a new environment. [I: OK.] You just don't put somebody somewhere where they don't know what's going on or what to expect, cause they could end up getting hurt. [I: OK.] If they aren't aware of what's going on around them.

I: And you talked earlier about expecting behaviors from other clients or peers there. Is there anything else that you need to know that is going to help you – about what's going on?

P: Not really. [Can't make this out] just sit back and watch. [I: OK.] Take notes. Get in mind what people's reactions is to certain things. Like, [can't make this out] curse with them, just to see what their reaction is. And then, so that way you'll know not to do it, just to piss somebody off and get them angry. You know ahead of time that you don't want to do that, and you could end up getting into a fight with that person, if you don't want to fight them [can't make this out].

I: Is there anything else you can tell me about this whole experience of moving different places or feeling safe or unsafe at places?

P: Well, it really, it's what you make out of it. Being locked up, you don't ever get your way. You're not here to get your way. A lot of times, you've just got to live with what happens.

I: OK. Just make the best out it?

P: Yeah. Getting mad ain't going to do nothing but make things worse.

I: Is there anything good about moving to a new places?

P: Yeah.

I: What's good?

P: I met, I know I met at least over 300 new people, cause I've been locked up. And it's kinda good, you know, you meet new people – see where they're coming from, how they [can't make this out], and how they got there, and you know, when you do get out and get another chance, you're gonna look back on that and say, "Well, if John got locked up for this, then I don't want to do that. And so that help out a lot, too.

I: So you learn from the experiences [P: Yeah.] of all the other people [P: Yeah.]

[Interruption – cut tape off.]

I: So, we were talking about learning from the experiences of other people. Anything else good about moving?

P: Get to travel.

I: Get to travel.

P: Yeah. Something you'd probably never do if you were still at home. [I: OK.] Most people don't ever, have never been out of their home county. In a way it's good. Get out and see things.

I: OK. Anything else you want to tell me – think I need to know about this?

P: No.

I: Well, this has been a lot of great information. I'm going to go ahead and turn the tape off.

[The participant was thanked for sharing the information in this interview.]

Interview with #81

Age: 15

Race: White

Moves: 11

Placement: Level 3

I: The first thing that I want to ask you is to start at the beginning and tell me all the different places that you've been to, in order, while you've been in out-of-home care.

P: The first place I went to was Freewill group home here in Greeneville. [I: OK.] And then I went back home from Freewill. [I: OK.] I went to juvenile and stayed for one night. Went to juvenile and stayed for one night, and went home. Went to juvenile again, and stayed until I had a court date, and then they took me up here to Holston, and I was in Brown. [I: OK.] And I ran from Brown and went to juvenile – the one that I went to before I went to Brown. And then from there, they sent me to Blount Co. Detention. [I: OK.] And, then I went back to Brown, and I went to Peninsula, then I went to a foster home than I went to Smith.

I: [Looking over his background information sheet that had been filled out earlier.] You went to Brown again, and then Peninsula before coming back to Brown again.

P: To a foster home, and then to Smith, and I've been here for five, five-and-a half months.

I: OK. It looks like, altogether, you've been in 11 placements. Some of them you've been in a couple of times, but you've been moved that many times. All right. What I'd

like to ask you is, what's it like to have to move from place to place and live in all these places?

P: It's pretty depressing, sometimes.

I: OK. What do you mean by depressing? Tell me more about that.

P: Ah .... It kinda makes you feel ... I don't know, like you don't know where you're going. [I: OK.] It makes you down and out. [I: OK.] I know when I went, when I ran from Brown and went to the juvenile in my home town, they didn't even tell me where I was going. They just woke me up at four o'clock in the morning, told me to come on. I was in shackles, and they sent me to Blount County Detention. Ah, it just ... makes your parents depressed, 'cause they don't know where you're at.

I: OK. Tell me more about your parents being depressed and not knowing where you're at.

P: When I went to Peninsula and went to that foster home, they didn't know where I was at for a week. [I: OK.] And I had to sneak and call from the foster home. 'Cause I knew my Mom didn't know where I was at, or she would have called.

I: OK. How does that make you feel about what your parents are going through?

P: It makes feel bad for them as well as for myself.

I: OK. You mentioned that in one place they woke you up at four in the morning ... [P: Yeah.] They put shackles on you?

P: I had to sleep in shackles.

I: Oh, you had to sleep in shackles.

P: Yeah.

I: Why did you have to sleep in shackles?

P: I don't know.

I: You don't know. [He nods no.] So, they woke you up at four in the morning and moved you to another place right then.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: Tell me more about that move and how that felt – being woken up at four in the morning and being moved.

P: I don't know. I really didn't feel nothing because I went back to sleep.

I: Oh, you went back to sleep.

P: Then I woke up, in like a gate, called sally port.

I: OK. The sally port in a jail? [P: Yeah.] Or in a detention center?

P: Yes. [Pause.] I remember getting out of the car, and they was bars all around, and stuff.

I: How did that make you feel when you woke up and saw all that?

P: I felt like an animal.

I: Felt like an animal?

P: Yeah.

I: How come it made you feel like an animal?

P: It .... I guess thinking about everybody else being able to go to the mall, go shopping, go to the movies. And you had to sit there and eat liquid egg and nasty food and ...[pause].

I: Did you feel like you were caged up?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: Any thing else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move from place to place? You talked a lot about being depressed and down and out. Anything else come to mind?

P: Mad.

I: Mad. What makes you mad about it?

P: Them moving me so much.

I: OK. What's the thing about moving you so much that makes you mad?

P: When I was at home I had to move a lot. I was, like, in nine, ten different schools.

I: So even before you got taken into care, you moved a lot?

P: I've lived in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, all over the place.

I: What was that like having to move from place to place even with your family?

P: It wasn't real bad. [I: OK.] Because I was with my family. [I: OK.] Well, the first time I got put in State's custody, when I went to Freewill, I was just .... I wanted to kill the judge. 'Cause it wasn't even my mom's fault. It was my dad's fault. It wasn't my fault, either.

I: So you got real angry at the judge for making that decision?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. It sounds like ... you mentioned being depressed and down and out, but also, mad and angry. Any other feelings you can think of?

P: [Nods no.]

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe when you move to a new placement?

P: No, not really. Just who's going to be there, or whatever.

I: OK. Who's going to be there. Tell me more about who's going to be there. Does that make you feel safe or unsafe, or what do you think about that?

P: Kinda unsafe. [I: OK.] Not knowing who I'm going to be around.

I: You don't know who you're going to be around?

P: Well, if I know somebody there, or something, I'll feel more safer. [I: OK.] I don't know, I guess because I have somebody to talk to.

I: OK. So that's important to you? [Nods yes.] Talking to somebody?

P: Yeah.

I: Tell me how that helps, to talk to somebody.

P: Um...

I: Or knowing somebody there.

P: Only reason, I was lonely.

I: OK. You're lonely, and you know somebody, and can talk to somebody. That helps?

P: Yeah. Helps a lot.

I: OK. Is there anything else that makes you either safe or unsafe when moving? You said that if you know people, that helps. If you don't know them, it doesn't.

P: [Nods no.]

I: OK. If one of your peers were going to move a new placement, what would you say to him that would help him when he moves?

P: Good luck. Try and do better. [I: OK.] [Can't make this out.]

I: If a new kid came to this placement and got put in your cottage, what would you say to him to make him feel better – make him feel safer – about being here.

P: I don't.

I: You don't? What do you mean?

P: We peed in one kids shoes and were just mean to new kids.

I: How come you're mean to new kids?

P: I don't know. I guess because everybody was mean to us when we were new.

I: In all the places or in this places or what – they were mean to you?

P: I don't know. When I went to Blount County detention, every body was nice to me.

[I: OK.] I just talked to them and played cards and watched Discovery Channel all day.

I: OK. You said that at other places they were mean to you? Or was it just here?

P: Mostly here. Or, when I went to Freewill, I got beat up, and stuff like that.

I: Tell me about being at Freewill and getting beat up. How'd that make you …

P: I didn't really get beat up. This kid was three of four years older than me. And he said something, and I answered his questions, and he smacked me in the face. So, ….

I: How did you feel after that?

P: Bad.

I: What made you feel bad about getting smacked?

P: Just having to be around a bunch of older kids.

I: OK. So that wasn't a good thing, to be around older kids?

P: [Nods no.]

I: What worried you about that?

P: I just didn't like … I was just scared of getting beat up.

I: Oh, OK. And you said that there was new kid here and y'all peed in his shoes and did some other things like that. Why do you think that you and other guys did that?

P: [Embarrassed smile.] I don't know.

I: You don't know?

P: No.

I: OK. [Pause.] If you were leaving to go to a new placement, what could the staff here say or do for you that would help you to feel safe in moving to a new place.

P: Nothing, really.

I: Nothing. [P: Nods no.] How come?

P: I .... I don't know .... I just ... If I don't feel safe, I don't feel safe. There's nothing that will help about it.

I: OK. Do you usually feel safe when you move .... If you find you're going to a new place, or do you feel unsafe?

P: Sometimes I feel safe, sometimes I don't.

I: OK. What makes the difference in feeling safe or unsafe?

P: Uh .....hm.... [pause]. Well, like, places that I've already been, I feel safe.

I: So if you go back to a place, you feel safer?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. What about the other places – if you don't know where you're going, never been there.

P: I don't feel safe.

I: OK. What makes you feel unsafe about those places.

P: I don't know anybody there, or..... I ain't never been there, don't know what it's like.

I: OK. If you just arrived at a new placement, what's things that staff can do for you that can make you feel safer about being there?

P: Nothing.

I: Nothing?

P: [Nods no.}

I: Is there anything that anybody can do to help you feel safe at a new placement?

P: [Can't make this out.] My peers did, and I felt safer.

I: Your peers did? [P: Yeah.] What's some of the things they did that helped you to feel safe?

P: Just tell me that this was a good place. [I: OK.] Stuff like that. [I: All right.] Just positive peership.

I: Being positive peers just helps a lot?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Well, anything else you can tell me at all about having to move different places or feeling safe or unsafe?

P: [Nods no.]

I: You've told me a lot of good stuff here. This is really helping me. Is there anything good about moving to different places?

P: No.

I: No?

P: [Nods no.]

I: Nothing good. Tell me the worst thing about all this moving stuff.

P: [Pause.] Worrying about your parents.

I: Worrying about your parents. What sort of things do you worry about?

P: How they're going to find you, or, if they know where you're at.

I: If you had to choose a best thing about moving, is there a best thing? Can you find a best thing?

P: [Nods no.]

I: No. OK. Well, anything else you can tell me that would help me to understand what it's like to move places or help me to understand what it's like to help kids feel safe? Anything that staff can do?

P: [Nods no.]

I: All right. Well, I appreciate you talking to me. [P: You're welcome.] You've given me a lot of good information.

[Tape was turned off. We continued talking.]

I: We just started talking a little bit more. What did you just say to me?

P: Ah ..... I mean, you just... I don't remember now.

I: You said that there is nothing that anybody can say ..

P: There is nothing that anybody can really or do to make you feel better about moving. [I: OK.] You just have to try to do it on your own. [I: OK.] Find out for your own.

I: What sort of things do you find out ...what sort of things do you look for?

P: You don't really look for nothing, it just comes to you.

I: OK. Is there anything in particular that just comes to you, and you figure out, "Hey, this is going to be OK?" Is there something ....

P: Yeah.

I: What is it?

P: When people start being good to you.

I: OK. [P: Like that.] What people? Staff? Kids?

P: Staff, peers.

I: What are some of the things that they do that you show you that they are being good to you? [Pause.] Can you think of anything that has ever happened and you thought, "This is OK? This is good?"

P: No, not really. [I: OK.] You must have to....It just comes to you, and you notice what you people do that's good for you. And you notice what people are trying to help and what people aren't.

I: OK. Anything else?

P: No.

Interview with #82

Age: 13

Race: White

Moves: 15

Placement: Level 2

I: First of all, I'd like for you to tell me all the places you've been while you've been in care. So, if you would, just go through the list and tell me where you lived and where you moved to.

P: In Morristown, it started in Morristown, [I: OK.], then we moved to White Pine. White Pine is when I went to Peninsula for the first time. [I: OK.]

I: So, you....I'm sorry to interrupt. When you were in Morristown and moved to White Pine, that was with your family?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Alright.

P: That's when all the problems started, when we moved to White Pine.

I: OK. And then when you got to White Pine, where did you end up going?

P: Peninsula.

I: OK. Then after Peninsula.

P: Valley. Like three months later was Valley. [I: OK.] Then I went into State Custody. [I: OK.] And then a foster home in Scott County. [I: OK.] Then they got closed down. So, I went to one in Newport.

I: So, another foster home.

P: Then, back to Peninsula after I left that foster home. [I: OK.] Then when I got back out of Peninsula, I went to YES and stayed for about a week. [I: OK.] I came to Holston after I left YES. Then I lived here about a month, and then I went to Woodridge. [I: OK.] And when I got back out of there, I went back to YES for about four days. [I: OK.] (Pause.)

I: Earlier [reflecting back to the list we had previously made of all his placements] you said that after YES, did you go home?

P: Yeah. [I: OK.]

I: Then after you went home where did you go to? Is that the Hamblem County jail? (Showing him the list of placements.)

P: Yeah. [I: OK.] I was there overnight until my mom got back.

I: OK. So you were there overnight. And then from there where did you go?

P: Back to YES.

I: Then after YES.

P: To a foster home in Morristown. [I: OK.] Then, came back to Holston.

I: You told me earlier after YES, you went to JCDC for a while?

P: Yeah.

I: And then you went to Clinton Detention Center?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Then after the detention center? You went back to the foster home?

P: Yeah.

I: And then to Holston.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. All right. So, all together it looks like you've been fifteen places? Is that about right?

P: [Nods yes.] In eight months.

I: You did all this in eight months? So you didn't go into custody until you were – were you fourteen or fifteen? [I mistakenly looked at the number of relocations on his data sheet and took that to be his age.]

P: Hm?

I: Oh, did you go into custody when you were thirteen?

P: When I was twelve.

I: When you were twelve.

P: My birthday was like two weeks ago today.

I: OK. So you just turned thirteen. So you went to fifteen placements in eight months.

P: Yeah.

I: Well, the first thing that I want to ask you is what's it like to have to move from one place to another …

P: Most of the time, you really don't know where I'm going to go. [I: OK.] But when I get there, most of the time the let me call. [I: OK.] But some place hadn't let me call my mom. When I first came into custody, that foster home, in Scott county, I didn't talk to her the whole time I was there. They wouldn't let me call.

I: You didn't get to talk to your mom. [P: Nods no.] How did that make you feel?

P: I got mad, because you know, I'm supposed to be able to contact my mom once a week.

I: [I asked the participant to move his hands from in front of his mouth so that we can hear him on the tape recorder.] So you got mad at that?

P: Then, when I went back to Newport, that was closer to home, so. [I: OK.] And they let me go home, or go spend time with my family a lot. [I: OK.] When I went there, you know, it was crazy there in Newport.

I: What was crazy about it?

P: Like, there was bugs everywhere.

I: Bugs in this, was it a foster home?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Tell me what else it's like when you move from place to place. [Pause.] You talked about not being able to contact your family.

P: You're never going to know when you're going to go home. [I: OK.] Until you have a staffing. Then, if you get moved from that place then you have to have another staffing.

I: So you just don't know, huh? [Pause.] Anything else you can tell me about having to move all these times?

P: It's hard. You just get settled in, then you got to get all your stuff back together, go to another place. Get used to it, and they'll move you again.

I: So, when you get used to things, you have to go again, huh?

P: Yeah.

I: What's it feel like when they tell you that you have to move somewhere?

P: It's, just, you know, here we go again. Like, I'll be at one place for a month and then they'll move me. And see, if I'm doing good where I'm at, I don't see why they just

don't leave me there? 'Cause, if I get to talk to my mom and everything, they why don't they just leave me there?

I: So, if you're doing good you think that you ought to get to stay at a place?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: And it helps to talk to your mom when you're at a place?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe when you move to a new place?

P: There was, for the last two night, somebody's been playing with the smoke detectors. They've been pushing them for the past two nights. I almost lost my home pass last night, because somebody was doing it and they didn't know it was, so they was going to take everybody's home pass.

I: So, how did that make you feel when they were playing it and threatening to take home passes?

P: I was just saying, if I find out, if I end up losing my home pass, and I find out who done it, they're going to be sorry.

I: OK. So, did that incident make you feel safe or unsafe?

P: Unsafe, because, you know, what if there really is a fire somewhere, and you think that, well, somebody's just playing with it; ignore it.

I: OK. So, you wanted to know if it was real or not, huh?

P: Cause you can't jump up and down every time they do it.

I: OK. [Pause.] What about some of the other places that you've stayed, is there anything that's made you feel safe or unsafe when you got there.

P: That foster home in Morristown, I's at, I was staying in the very back room. Like, it was behind the door. It looked like it was supposed to be a storage closet.

I: Really? How did that make you feel staying in there?

P: Like they didn't even care, you know. Like they were just in it for the money.

I: So, you had to stay in this tiny little room and you wondered if they cared about you?

P: Yeah. Pretty soon, her and my mom was good friends, but then pretty soon, she was saying, "Well, you're not calling your mom no more." And, you know, I'd have to sneak getting out and call my mom or she would never let me call. So, and then, one of her little boys hit me with a bat, a plastic bat, so I took it and threw it down across the road. And she goes and calls the police on me and tells them that I'm out of control.

I: So, what did …

P: It makes me have to start my thing over. Start somewhere else.

I: So you had to move from that place when it happened?

P: Luckily, my case worker was nice, and she let me stay home until I went back to court.

I: So you stayed at your home after that? [P: Yeah.] For a little while? [P: Nods yes.] Is there anything else that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you move to these places or you find out that you are moving to a new place?

P: Well, what goes through my head first is, is my mom going to be able to come and see me? Am I going to be able to call my family? That's pretty much it.

I: So that's the most important thing is just being able to stay in contact with your family?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: What worries when you can't contact your family?

P: I just makes me mad, you know, because I don't know if they're OK. They don't know if I'm OK. [I: OK.] Stuff like that.

I: Anything else you can tell me about moving or how you feel safe or unsafe in places?

P: It's just that, they put you states custody for the stupid things. [I: OK.] If they're going to put you and then stick you in a foster home and give you in-home services, why can't you do it at home? [I: OK.] That's what my case worker said, and they let me stay home a little while a while back, and then they put me back in state custody again.

I: So you think that's how it ought to be done and it would be better?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: If one of your peers were going to move to a new placement, what would you say to him to help him feel better about moving or make him feel safe about where he was going?

P: Tell him to call me whenever he gets there. [I: OK.] You, talk to him before he leaves.

I: What would you say if you talked to him before he left? Other than "call me."

P: Well, right now, I could say, I've been everywhere. It's not really that bad. Most places let you call, so.

I: OK. So that helps, knowing you can call?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: If a new kid came to Holston and was put in Hennen House, what would you say to him to make him better and make him feel safer about being here?

P: Well, if wasn't like [name of client], you know, I'd hang out with him and talk to him.

I: OK. So, you'd hang out with him and talk to him.

P: That's what I did with the two new guys, [names of clients].

I: OK. So you think that helps them out?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: You said, if he wasn't like [name of client]. What do you mean by that?

P: [Name of client], I've already pressed an assault charge on him because he hit me.

I: OK. How does that make you feel when one of your peers in your house is hitting on you?

P: When staff don't do nothing about it, actually, it don't make me feel safe, because if they're not going to do nothing about this, what makes me think that they'll do something about it next time.

I: OK. So, you need to know that staff are going to be there?

P: Yeah. Before, I went on a .... before I go, I've already counted and seen every single little thing [can't make this out] in my room. I've wrote it down on paper where I know what, cause I know [name of client] will go in there and he'll steal something from me. I wrote it down on paper and I'm taking it home with me, and when I come back, I'm going to I'm going to see what stuff [can't make this out].

I: OK. So, is that something that worries you, that he is going to come in and steal ... or how does it make you feel?

P: It's just like, if I don't steal from somebody else, when why are going to steal from me?

I: So, you want him to treat you the same – like you try to treat other people.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: If you were leaving to go to a new placement, what could staff say to you to make you feel that it was going to be OK or that it was going to be safe there?

P: Really, I'd just be mad, because I've already started a new program here, and I'm already almost … well, I've got two-and-a-half months left through it. I don't really feel like starting over again.

I: OK. So, if they told you that you were moving, you'd just be mad?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. [Pause.] Sounds like you've had to do that a lot.

P: 'Cuase [name of client], he picks on all of us. He picks on [name of client], he's 13. He picks on me, I'm 13. He picks on [name of client], he's 13. He picks on [name of client], he's 12. [I: OK.] But he don't pick on none of the older guys. [Name of therapist], said that that was how [name of client] was raised up, to pick on littler kids.

I: How does that make you feel when [name of therapist] says that?

P: It just, you know, I wish somebody older than him would pick on him, then he'd know what it feels like. [I: OK.] We're just sitting there, playing a game or something, and he comes up and yanks the controls away from me [can't make this out].

I: OK. [Pause.] So, if you were going to a new place, there's nothing staff could say; it' would just make you mad.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: If you came to a new place … if you just arrived at a new place, what could staff do or say to help you feel safe about being there?

P: It would take me a while to get used to it. Then, I'd start talking to people.

I: OK. What do you mean that it would take you a while to get used to it?

P: I mean, if I'm in a new place I've never been and don't know nothing about. It's going to take me a while to get used to it. I ain't going to tell nobody nothing unless I have to. I don't talk to them.

I: OK. How come you don't talk to people?

P: Well, when I first get there, I don't because, you know, they're going to think he's just, from the way he talks, he's stupid or something. What they talk about, stuff like that.

I: OK. So you want to see what they talk about before you start talking – and see how people are?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Anything else that would make you feel safe?

P: [Pause.] Most places, pretty much, if you're in a place with a lot of older guys it's not really safe, because, a place like that, if they know that they're not going to get to go home, if you start with them, they're going to whoop you. Because, if they don't get to go home, they're going to say, "What the heck." You know.

I: So, you're saying if they don't get their privilege, they're just going to take it out on other people?

P: Pretty much.

I: Does that worry you?

P: [Nods yes.}

I: What worries you about it?

P: It's just, you know, I'm in the same place as him. What if he takes it out on me?

I: OK. Is there anything that staff could do?

P: Well, really, I don't like the staff up here. I mean, they don't care about us. [I: OK.] Like when I was up here, like, say if you're going to run, they'll say, "Go ahead." They won't try to stop you; they won't do nothing.

I: How does that make you feel about them or make you think about them?

P: They don't care if you run, what else is going to make me think that they'll stop somebody from beating me up.

I: OK. I see. Anything else you want to tell me about that?

P: [Nods no.}

I: Anything good about moving to all these places?

P: Huh uh. (Smiling).

I: You're shaking your head no.

P: No.

I: Nothing at all?

P: [Shakes his head no.]

I: OK. [Pause.] Well, is there anything else you can say to me that helps me to understand what it's like to move 15 times in eight months?

P: It's not like they tell you about it.

I: OK. Well, you've done a very good job and I appreciate this information you've given me. You've helped me to understand this. I'm going to go ahead and turn the tape off.

[The participant began talking some more while he was filling out the instruments, so the tape was turned on again, and he was asked to repeat what was said.]

I: I asked you, what do you think what help kids? And you were getting ready to tell me.

P: Well, if they really knew what it would be like when they got in state custody, then, I don't think they would do what they do. [I: OK.] I don't. If somebody likes state custody, they need help.

I: OK. Anything else you can tell me?

P: That's it.

I: OK.

Interview with #86

Age: 15

Race: White

Moves: 13

Placement: Level 3

I: First of all, I'd like for you to tell me all the different places you've been in while you've

been in out-of-home care, starting with the very first one.

P: I was five years old, I went to this to this red-headed lady's house. [I: OK.] I went to this lady named [first name of foster parent] no [first name of foster parent] first, no ...yeah. Then I went to [first name of foster parent], and she was mean to me.

I: She was mean.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: Now, all of these were foster homes?

P: Foster homes. And then I went to a group home, where they wouldn't let me see my little sister.

I: OK. And this all happened when you were about five.

P: Yeah.

I: And then after the group home, where did you go?

P: I went back home.

I: OK. Then, you brought back into care when you were 14. (This prompt was based upon gathering background information before the interview.)

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Tell me all the different place you've been in since then.

P: First, I went to a foster home for a day. [I: OK.] And then, they found that there was a charge on me, so, they sent me to Knox County detention center. [I: OK.] Then, they moved me to YES after about a week. Um, then, ah, I came here. I've been here for about ten months.

I: While you were here, you told me you were in Brown House.

P: Yeah. I went to Brown House, and then I went to Smith. [I: OK.] And then I got sent to Peninsula. Then I come back here, and then I got sent back to Peninsula, and came back.

I: And that's all, the different places. [P: Yeah.] It looks like there are thirteen all together counting when you were five and then starting again when you were fourteen. What I'd like for you to tell me is, what's it like to have to move to all these different places.

P: Depressing.

I: Tell me more about what you mean by depressing.

P: You don't get to stay and make mends, because all your mends is ... you move from them, and, ah, and people you really care about get moved away, and... Moving just makes me depressed because I got to leave everything that I'm used to. And, just, people that really care about me isn't around no more.

I: So the biggest thing is friends, leaving friends, leaving the people who care.

P: [Nods yes.] And anyhow, I couldn't see my little sister, because most of this stuff is my brothers and sisters. So, that was kind of depressing. I got pretty.... That's where I

think that I got most of my anger from.

I: OK. So it made you angry, too. [p: Yeah.] Angry and depressed. Anything else?

P: Um..... Well, when I was in Knox County, I was kind of disappointed in myself (Here I asked the participant to move his hands from in front of his mouth so that the tape recorder could pick up his voice.) I mean, I was in Knox County, I was kind of disappointed at myself and my family, because I was in there a week before Christmas in state care Christmas, and only my brother and sister come visit me. My mom didn't. And my mom never comes up to visit me, and she only came up once for family therapy.

I: So, how do you feel about your mom.

P: Just, kind of resentment, because you're in here and your parents ain't trying to get you back, and it makes you feel bad.

I: OK. When you were telling me about being in one of the foster homes when you were five you said one lady was mean.

P: Yeah. We couldn't drink our juice until after we ate dinner, so we was kind of thirsty through dinner. Ah, we couldn't watch no TV for, except for Little House on the Prairie. If we didn't watch that we had to go to bed. We stayed in our rooms, just like twenty four/seven, uh ... We only got to go outside once a week, into the back yard. My little sister fell off a balance beam about five feet high and hit her head, and they just told her to..... she's all right, and took her into the house. And they spent the money that my mom sent them to spend on us for Christmas, they spent it on their kids.

1: So you and your sister were at this foster home. [p: Nods yes.] And then, were there any more foster kids?

P: Yeah.

I: How many?

P: [Name of foster child] and [name of foster child] and two little girls.

I: So, there were six foster kids?

P: Yeah.

I: And then they had their own kids?

P: No. The other kids were their kids. We was the only two foster kids.

I: Oh, OK. So, you were the two foster kids, and they had four of their own children.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. And you remember all that from way back when you were five, huh?

P: Yeah. I mean, that stuff kind of gets caught in your head.

I: What do you mean my gets caught in your head.

P: Like, you don't forget highlights of your life. And that was one of the lowest points in my life.

I: One of the lowest points. [pause.] Is there anything else that you can tell me about moving when you were that age? You were at three foster homes and then a group home. Any other memories stick out?

P: My banana seat bicycle (he said with a smile). [1: (Laughs).] And my big wheels.

I: You've got a smile on your face. Were those good things?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Where did you have those - that bicycle and the big wheel?

P: Uh, [name of foster parent], I think. [I: OK.] And then this other place, something that sticks out in my mind, is the first time I saw that Michael Jackson music video

"Thriller." [I: OK] 1 got scared, and, a dude brought out a crab and 1 thought it was a spider. [I: (Laughs).]

I: So, Michael Jackson and a crab kind of scared you.

P: Yeah.

I: Anything you can tell me about when you were older, moving between these places. You talked about kind of being depressed.

P: I thought I'd never get out. And, uh, so just gave up trying. Then, I thought my family was trying to help me get out, so I started trying again. And, I was good for the longest time, then they moved away and didn't call me for four months, and their excuse was, ah, "We thought our rights to you was terminated." They still could of called. But. the best part about being here is people like me and, uh, my step-dad. He's the one who keeps me in my seat and keeps me good, and he likes to take me to NA, and uh, and likes to take me to movies and stuff. I'm going to spend the weekend with him. [Can't make this out.] So, I'm psyched about that.

I: So, you've got some good things happening here. [p: Yeah.] You say that people like you, and your stepfather's staying active with you. [p: Yeah.]

P: And he's my ex-stepfather. He don't even have to be around no more. But he wants to.

I: How's that make you feel because he's wanting to do that.

P: It makes me feel bad, because I sort of want to go home with my parents, but I want to stay here. Because, in go there then I can't see my step-dad ever again, and I can't go to NA.

I: So it sounds like your kind of torn.

P: Yeah.

I: Is there anything you can tell me about having to move to all these different places. You've given me a lot of good stuff.

P: When I was in Peninsula, I was scared, because, man, there's crazy people there. And it's like, woo..

I: What scared you about the crazy people?

P: Man, they come in clucking like chickens and stuff: man, and all this. And they was so drugged, man, and I was thinking that maybe they was going give me some Thorazine and make me go to sleep, and I wasn't liking that. But they kept me for five days. The maximum was thirteen days, and I came back here. Both times it was only five days.

I: And you were scared of them popping you with Thorazine?

P: Yeah. And there was two staff I didn't like because they would try to make me mad so I would stay longer. They even told me that, so that I would have to stay longer, and I wouldn't get to come back here. They said, "That was just a test. I don't think you're ready to go out into the world yet" [spoken in a deep, gruff voice].

1: So, you didn't like that at all?

P: [Nods no.]

I: What worried you about the people who were coming in there that you said were crazy? What... you said you were kind of scared - what were you scared of?

P: Well, I was afraid they would hurt me.

I: OK. [pause.] Anything else you can tell me about all this?

P: Ah... YES, I like that a lot. One memory sticks out. And I want to do this again. I want to buy a Nintendo 64 and play the "Legend of Zelda"

I: You like that video game.

P: That's my favorite video game in the whole world. [1: OK] And they had it.

I: Well, you're already spoken about some of the things I'm wanting to ask you about. One was, if there is anything that makes you feel or unsafe when you have to move to all these places?

P: Yeah. Uh..... Going into states custody, they ain't nobody going to try to kidnap you, because you're a blocked off person. Unsafe is, there's people here with attitudes, they're bad people. But then there's some nice people here. People who will look out for you.

I: So one of the good things is people who will look to for you - be nice to you. [P: Yeah.] And you said that there was people with bad attitudes.

P: Yeah. And people like to steal my video games and hide them in the woods. They even stole my NA chips and tokens that my step-dad gave me and NA gave me, and they threw them out into the woods down by the school. [I: OK.] So, every time they get mad at me they take something of mine and throw it in the woods.

I: Are you talking about kids or staff?

P: Kids.

I: OK. So that is some of the attitude that you're talking about? [P: Nods yes.] And then the first thing you said was about somebody would kidnap you. [P: Yeah.] Is that something that you've been worried about?

P: No. [pause.] They take me to see some scary movies and I get a little bit scared. [I: OK] I've got an overactive imagination, so when I'm in bed at night, I've got to have a

roommate. [1: OK] I'm not scared of the dark. It's just, I'm scared of what's in the dark.

I: Scared of what's in the dark.

P: Yeah. And I'm scared of my head. My head's crazy.

I: Your head's crazy. [P: Yeah.] What do you mean by that?

P: I'll just be standing there, man, and I'll be hearing creepy noises, and I'll be like, monsters are going to come get me and they're [can't make this out] and stuff I just keep thinking about it and I don't stop thinking about it, so.

I: Is that when you're most scared, at night?

P: Yeah. Yeah.

I: Anything else that scares you?

P: Uh... [paused.] Not knowing the right choices to make.

I: OK. Tell me more about that.

P: I went..... I got the choice whether to go home or whether I'm going to stay down here. And I just made a choice not to go to that foster home, so, uh, I don't know if that was the right choice or not.

I: So you had a tough choice, and you're wondering if you made the right one?

P: Yeah.

I: I can understand how that would worry you. So, anything else that makes you feel safe? [pause.] You told me a few things.

P: Uh.....Knowing that I can just come in my room without getting hit, and stuff

I: Without getting hit.

P: Yeah, at the house I got hit a lot.

I: OK. So here you feel like you're not going to get hit.

P: Yeah. Unless I do the hitting first.

I: Who are you maid of that would hit you?

P: Here?

I: Yeah.

P: Nobody.

I: Nobody, staff or kids?

P: No. [I: OK.] The kids are afraid of me, because I do most of the hitting.

I: Oh, OK.

P: I guess that's the way it happens, if you get grown up that way.

I: So you're saying that if you grow up that way, you just keep doing that?

P: Yeah. It's hard to stop, because it's [can't make this out] but I haven't hit nobody for a long time.

I: Well, that's good. That's good. Anything else you want to tell me about any of this? Anything else that comes to mind.

P: [pause.] This place is funny.

I: How is it funny?

P: There's lots of funny people here.

I: What do you mean by funny?

P: They make funny jokes.

I: Oh, OK.

P: And they do stupid stuff here that's funny.

I: So, is that a good thing?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. So you're seeing that as a good thing - people who have sense of humor.

P: It's a relief

I: OK. It's a relief. A relief from what?

P: Stress.

I: Tell me about the stress.

P: Like, you don't know what's going to happen next and you're on the edge of your seat and your stressed, and somebody comes out with a funny joke or accidentally trips and falls into a box. Like earlier, he said, and fell into a box on accident, and I sort of laughed at that.

I: OK. What makes you stressed and on the edge of your seat? You said you don't know what's going to happen next. [P: Yeah.] Is there anything in particular?

P: Yeah. If a whole bunch of bad stuff's happening at once.

I: What worries you about that?

P: It's just that the next that I hit somebody, I'm going to Mountain View [a youth detention center]. I got to make the right choices. If a whole bunch of stuff starts happening, and then I get pissed off and hit somebody, then I'll go to Mountain View.

I: So, it worries you if you're going to have the right behavior and make the right decisions.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Let me ask you another question here. If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, and found out they were leaving here, is there anything that you could

say to him to make him feel better or safer about where they're moving to?

P: In my opinion, not really. About all you can do is have fun while you're here - while you're still here, or whatever, until you go. [I: OK.] Because, you know, if you're going to go somewhere bad, then there's nothing you can say to make them feel better about it; they'll just be pissed off. And try to make them laugh and forget about it. If they're going somewhere good, and they're really not sure about it, you can go, "It's going to be all right, and stuff, you know, these people are going to take care of you, and it's better than here. And that always gets them.

I: So that helps them?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. What if a new kid came into this house. Is there anything that you can to that new kid to help them feel safe about being here?

P: Yeah. I can just tell them the rules and help keep them out of trouble. [I: OK.] Like I always do.

I: So that's something you usually try to do?

P: Yeah. Unless when a new kids gets cocky and tries to jump up in my face.

I: What happens then?

P: Then I've got to show them who's boss. I've got to put them in their place, because they're a new kid, and they don't need to think that they're bigger and better than everybody, because, I know I'm not bigger and better than everybody. And if I can show them that I'm bigger and better than them, then that makes them feel small.

I: OK. [pause.] If you found out that your were going to a new placement, is there

anything that staff could say to you to make you feel safe about where you were going?

P: It depends on where I'm going.

I: OK. What do you mean by that, it depends on where you're going?

P: If I'm going somewhere bad, I'm probably going to run.

I: Probably going to run?

P: Yeah. That's just about what everybody does. If I'm going somewhere good, I'm ... I don't worry about. I won't need nobody to tell me it will be all right, because, if I'm going somewhere good, I'll know it, and I'll want to go.

I: What makes the places good or bad?

P: Uh, the people, and uh, the level, and how you're treated. Like, being locked up twenty-four/seven just about in a room is not a good place. [I: OK.] Being in a padded room is not a good place. Being in a nice foster home with people who care, that's a good place.

I: OK. If you just got to a new placement, and just got out of the van, and you got met by a staff person. . .

P: Go what?

I: If you just got out of a van at a new place and you got met by a staff [P: Oh.], what's something they could say to you to help you feel safe about being at that place?

P: [Name of staff], he, [name of staff), he joked around with us and made us happy, and he just said, "You know, at five o'clock our staff leave and you're here by yourself" And I think, yeah. And were like, "Really?" He's like, "No."

I: So, having a sense of humor [P: Yeah.] helps you feel more comfortable. [P: Yeah.] Is there anything else staff could do?

P: No really.

I: OK. [Pause.] Is there anything good about moving to all these different places you've moved to? Has there been anything good about the whole process?

P: Yeah.

I: What's that.

P: You get to see different places. [I: OK.] But the bad thing is, you ... I can't remember my way around anywhere. We've been to Wal Mart about a hundred time, up there in Johnson City, and I don't even know my way there. [I: OK] I didn't even remember my way to my house when we went on a home pass. Stuff like that. Because you see so many things that look alike.

I: OK Well, that's all the questions I have for you. Is there anything else you want to tell me that you think would help me to understand what it's like to move or about feeling safe or anything?

P: Oh. Well, when you move, the first thing is, fear. Like, you're afraid of what's going to happen, who you're going to meet next, and that person could be you're new best friend for your whole life or be your new worst enemy for the rest of your life, or they could just be a part of your life for just a small time. Me, myself, I've never seen somebody die, and I don't want to. And, uh, ... I hear a lot of people with depressing stories about how people died when they moved. Like, some, I know depend on me, because they say that if I move, then they'll commit suicide and that kind of depresses me a lot, and makes me scared, and uh..... I you got a girlfriend, man, and she's like, "Don't move." Because, I can't stop it. And then you've got to end the relationship like that, too. But after you move, you can either like it and make the best of it or not like it and

make the worst of it and get in trouble all the time, and get sent somewhere bad, worse. It's really what you make of it. Like, I was in Knox County and I didn't think that it was all that bad, and I was locked up twenty-three hours a day. I got watch TV. I got to sleep. I got to do whatever I wanted, as long as I was in my room. See, I made it out to be a good place. Everybody else, was like, "It sucks." 1 didn't try to pick fights or nothing. But if you try to pick fights, you get to stay there longer, and stuff like that. [I: OK] Over Christmas is the most depressing time being in a home, because you're away from you're family, and uh... But if you're like me and never had a really good, it's not all that bad. But when your family don't come to visit you, then it makes you want to hurt yourself

I: That's a hard thing when your family doesn't want to come and visit.

P: Yeah. When your family don't put forth no effort. You're like, "It ain't working no more." You want to hurt yourself or somebody else. A lot of pent up anger, and you like to beat people up, or try to.

I: So that has more to do with your family not visiting than being in custody.

P: Well, it got all of it to do with both.

I: OK

P: That's just about it.

1: All right. You gave me a lot of good information. I'm going to go ahead and turn this off.

[While the participant was filling out the instruments, he thought of one more thing that he wanted to add. The tape recorder was turned back on.]

P: The depression that follows when moving and being in custody, it kind of makes you want to do drugs. That's when I started doing drugs, and I thought it would make me feel better.

I: So you started doing drugs when you got taken into care [P: Yeah.] as a way to deal with the depression.

P: Yeah.

I: Anything else you want to tell me about that?

P: Yeah. Then after I went to NA, it tried to make me not want to even do the drugs that the doctor gave me for my depression, and uh, and it kind of makes you feel bad that you did it, and it brings on more depression.

I: OK. Anything else.

P: No, that's it.

I: OK. Thanks.

Interview with #87

Age: 16

Race: White

Moves: 7

Placement: Level 2

I: The first thing that I want to ask you is to tell me all the different places you've been in while you've been in out-of-home care.

P: I've been in Scott County Detention. [I: OK.] There for two-and-a-half months. [I: OK.] After I got out of there, I was sent to YES. And then I was sent back to Scott County. [I: OK.] And, I got sent to Holston Home for assessment.

I: OK. So after Scott County you went to Holston Home.

P: Then I went to Brown Cottage for treatment. [I: OK.] And then after I had my treatment, I went to a foster home. And then, I went to, all right .... The foster home wasn't working out, because I was having problems with my, ah, drug issues. So, they sent me back here for respite. So, I came back here for respite and they kept me here, because they thought their NA program could help me here. [I: OK.] So, they sent me .... I came back here for.... I came back here and they kept me here for permanent, so. [I: OK.] I'm back here at Holston in Brown Cottage. [I: OK.] Or, Smith Cottage.

I: OK. So, that's seven placements all together. I'd like to ask you what's it like to have to move from one place to another? You've moved to seven different places, so what's that like?

P: It's messed up. Confusing. It's .... You get used to one, or, you get used to one place and you get moved again. It's weird.

I: OK. You said it's confusing. What's confusing about it.

P: I thought that I was going to stay at the foster home, and they told me I was going .... When I went to the foster home, they told me I was going for respite, and when I got off to Knoxville for respite, I got there and they told me that I was going back to Holston, and they lied to me, and I got there, and I was very disappointed, because they sent me back here. And, it's, like, it's very confusing to get sent different places. It's upsetting, that you get sent to so many different places. It's hard.

I: So, you were saying that they told you one thing, that it was going to be respite, but they, when you got there ...

P: Yeah. They lied to me and sent me here.

I: How did you feel about being lied to?

P: I didn't like it. It made me mad.

I: [Pause.] Anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move to all these different places? You've given me a lot of good descriptions of your feelings.

P: It's just hard; it's hard on people. It's hard on the kids here that are moving, and, but, we don't know nothing that's going on, because the staff don't really tell us much when we get moved. One staff tells you one thing and another staff tells another one. The staff really don't know much around here. It's the higher staff that know the stuff around here, and it's hard when you get moved.

I: Does that add to the confusion, you think [P: Yeah.] when staff are telling you different things?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Now, you said that after this foster home, you got moved back to Holston, and you were told something different. Did you get told where you were going with these other placements you were in?

P: Yeah, they sort of told me. I wasn't for sure of it when I first came into Holston for assessment; I wasn't for sure if I was going to stay here. I wanted to stay here, 'cause , in a way I didn't really want to stay here because it was so far away from home. [I: Uh huh.] And then in a way I did, because it seemed like it was going to be .... I liked the program and the staff when I first got here with [name of staff]. [I: Uh huh.] Me and him, he worked with me real good, and, uh, I got along with [name of staff] OK, and he tried to work with me, and stuff. And ... that... I wanted to work the program here when I first got here. [I: Uh huh.] And, I wanted to work the program when I first got here. The second time when I came back, [name of staff], they moved him to another cottage, [I: Oh, OK.] And, I've been here a year and four months, now, in State's Custody, and my parents have to do all this stuff before I can go home, and I'm getting to the point where I'm not wanting to work the program anymore. And I'm tired of having to do that ... put the effort forth on my part to where I'm tired of having to do all the work and my parents not doing their stuff to where I can go home. I don't see .... I've tried foster homes, and it didn't work out. [I: OK.] And, I don't want to go to group homes or I don't want to get adopted, and my DCS worker wants me to go to a, like, an independent living, and I don't want to do that yet. [I: No?] Because, I'm fixing to be seventeen, and she said that I could go to that, but I don't want to do that yet.

I: Why do you not want to do that?

P: I just don't want to do that. I want to try to return home.

I: Oh, OK. So, you're wanting to go home, but you said you're wanting your parents to do their part.

P: Yeah. [I: OK.] Which, my parents were, ah, my mom started doing her stuff while my dad was incarcerated. And, uh, she was getting all this stuff done. She was work..... not getting it done, but in the process of doing her stuff. And my dad got out, and he won't do his stuff. He says he will, and he just stopped, or, it just, like, hurt me that when he got out, but I wanted him out, because he's my dad and I love him, and it hurt me because it stopped me from returning home. [I: I see.] And, that just like put me back down, and so now I .... I don't know what I want to do, because I'm sorta wanting to return to foster care until my mom .... My DCS worker says I might be able to return home without my dad doing his stuff. [I: Uh huh.] 'Cause my dad might be going back to jail. [I: I see.] So, I'm not sure.

I: I see. I appreciate you telling me that.

P: It's been really hard on me here, to [can't make this word out] with this stuff.

I: I see. When you get to a placement is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe, when you get there? Or finding out you're moving there?

P: Placements like this?

I: Yeah, or any of the placements you've been - YES or the detention center or the foster home.

P: Not really. I went to one placement, and I didn't feel right, because I had problem when I was in a foster home. [I: Uh huh.] I got caught huffing gas, and I went to a foster home for respite, and when I went out on the back porch to smoke a cigarette,

'cause I'm allowed to smoke, and .... and, uh, as long as the foster parents doesn't see me, and I didn't do it in front of them, and stuff, and I didn't steal the cigarettes. And there was like gas cans everywhere, everywhere I looked. And I called my foster mom, and I was like, I wasn't getting along with foster kids and the parents didn't like me for some reason. And called her up was like, "[Name of foster parent], can you come get me?" She was doing something, and she wouldn't come get me, and I kept getting in arguments and wasn't getting along with the foster parents. And, uh, the daughter of the foster mom told me she would smack me if I did something again, in my face. And I told the foster mom and my DCS worker, or my case manager that in the Knoxville office, and they wouldn't get me, come get me. And I told them that, that I felt unsafe, and that I didn't feel right there. That, uh, I feel like I was going to relapse in NA, with the gas cans everywhere. They just told me to go away, to go isolate myself in the house. And I said, "How, when everywhere I like there is someone bothering me and everywhere I go there is a gas can." And the still wouldn't come get me, and they made me stay there. And I felt unsafe, and I felt wrong with the gas cans everywhere. And they made me stay there for another two days.

I: So, this was just during respite [P: Yeah.] that this happened? OK. So, you were afraid that with the gas cans, you were going to start huffing again? [P: Yeah.] And that's what made you feel unsafe. And then this girl who was in the foster home ....

P: The foster mom were being rude, or , she had told me .... She said to me .... I was being rude to her and her mom .... She was saying .... She told me to kiss her butt, or something. She said.... And I said something to her, I was being rude back to her, and she said, "I'll just turn my head, and I don't have to hit, I'll just turn my head and let one

of my sons or my daughter get a hold of you." And she threatened me with one of her kids. And she was .... And I felt unsafe because she was threatening me with her kids, and stuff.

I: So, was she the one who said that she would smack you, or the daughter?

P: She said she would have her older daughter smack me. [I: I see.] And her daughter said she would smack me. [I: OK.] And her sons threatened me, too. And I told the foster, or my DCS, or my case manager that that was in Holston. [I: Uh huh.] I called her, and called my foster mom, and she would never come get me.

I: How did that make you feel when nobody would respond and come get you.

P: It made me upset. They told me if .... My foster mom told me if I felt uncomfortable anywhere, they'd come get me. And when I told her that, she said, "Oh, when I was at home, I told you I'd come get you." It should be the same way anywhere. If I feel uncomfortable, they should come get you.

I: Are there any other things that make you feel either safe or unsafe at a placement?

P: Um ....[Pause.] Not really.

I: OK. If one of your peers here found out that they were moving to a new placement, is there anything that you could say to him to help him feel safer for where he was going?

P: Usually, when someone goes to a new placements, if they say that they're going to run, we try to talk to them not to. And we talk them down. We tell them it's not worth it, and stuff like that.

I: Why do they threaten to run?

P: Because the either think that it's going to be worse or sometime they won't run, or sometime they think it's going to be a Level 3 or Level 4 or something like that, and want to run, or something like that.

I: OK. If a new kid came into Smith House, what would you say to him to make him feel safer about being in Smith house?

P: "How you doing?" "Um, welcome to Smith," I guess.

I: OK. Just start talking to them?

P: Yeah. We usually have a group, and we introduce ourselves. [Name of staff] makes us, or not makes us, we just have a group. We just all say our name and how old we are and what level we're on, and stuff.

I: OK. Do the think that helps new kids coming in?

P: Yeah, so they can learn our name and what phase we're on. He gives them peer buddies [can't make this out] and they get with their peer buddies so that they can learn the rules, and stuff.

I: OK. Do you think learning the rules helps them?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. If you found out you were leaving here to go to a different placement, is there anything that the staff could say or do to help you feel safer about the new placement?

P: I'm not sure.

I: Not sure.

P: Probably let me go talk to [name of staff mentioned at the beginning of the interview] about it, if he was here.

I: So that relationship you have with [name of staff] would help you feel better? [P: Yeah.] Just talking. [Pause.] If you just arrived at a new placement, what could a staff do when you first got there to help you feel that it was going to be a safe place for you?

P: Which one?

I: A staff or foster parent.

P: If there's, like people, a bunch of people there, introduce me to the people. Welcome me in, I guess.

I: OK. Anything else that would help me?

P: Um … explain the rules and stuff to me.

I: How do the rules, understanding the rules, help you to feel safe?

P: In case I did something wrong, or …. I would like to know, in case …..[participant stumbled and stammered through this and became quite nervous] …. Let me think.

I: OK. You're going fine. You're telling me good stuff.

P: [Pause.] In case I'm going something wrong or something, so I'm staying safe. That way I know I'm doing something, or what I'm supposed to do. Or if there is some people doing stuff unsafe, I know what I'm doing is right, or just tell someone. That way, I'll be safe.

I: OK. Good. Is there anything good about moving to all these different places?

P: Some there is, yeah. When you get to go home or go to a foster home to get away from here.

I: OK. So, if you're going to a foster home, that's better …

P: Or a group home or something like that.

I: OK. So, you're saying that's better than being in residential treatement?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. What's better about it?

P: You get more freedom. You get to go to public school or something. You get to spend time with your friends outside of here. You get to see your family more, I guess.

I: OK. Is there anything else you can tell me about any of this – about what it's like to move or things that can help you feel safe or things that make you feel unsafe? Anything else come to mind?

P: One thing about the move out here is that it's so far away from your family. I live a hundred .... A round trip for me, a round trip is 239 miles. So, I don't get to see .... I haven't had one visit since I've been in State's Custody, besides one, when I was in foster care, and that was when I was in the hospital, when I had surgery. And I ain't had one visit since I've been in Holston. And I've been in Holston months, for nine months, and this time for four months, and I ain't had a visit up here once. So, it's been real hard seeing all the other kids having visits and then never having a visit.

I: So, being that far away from family [P: Yeah.] is hard.

P: To move. Move placements way up here.

I: Tell me what it's like to be so far away from them. What do think about or how do you feel?

P: [Pause.] It makes you miss them when you can't be around them.

I: Anything else you want to tell me?

P: That's it.

I: OK. Thanks.

Interview with # 88

Age: 16

Race: African American

Moves: 9

Placement: Group Home

I: The first thing I want to ask you is to tell me all the different places you've been while you've been in out-of-home-care.

P: I was in Juvenile in Blount County. [I: OK.] Then I was in Knox County Juvenile. Back to Blount County Juvenile. And then I went to Miller Town Group Home. I left from there, so I went back to Blount County again. Then I came here to Holston Homes, and I was in Brown Cottage, and then I moved to Hennen Cottage. And now I'm the group home.

I: OK. And you told me that you went to Blount County twice in a row, there first, before you went to Knox County. Is that right?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. All right, so that looks like its nine placements altogether there. I just want to ask you, what's it like to have to move in and out of all these placements? You've been to nine different places counting detention a few times. What's that like moving back and forth?

P: It's kinda weird. Can't really get comfortable at any places like that moving so much. But it really depends, 'cause it helps you sometimes to move. [I: OK.] Like if you step down or step up or something.

I: OK. So, if you step down it helps?

P: Yeah, it meets your needs more.

I: OK. All right. Then you said, first of all, that it's kinda weird because you can't get comfortable. [P: Yeah.] What makes it uncomfortable or feel like you can't get comfortable?

P: Like, you miss the other place that you were at. You, just are used to all these other's rules, and stuff, and then when they move you, it's a whole new story. It's like, basically, you're a slave. You got no say-so in it. And then they're just going to move you again after that. [I: OK.] Basically, you're just there.

I: So, you've got to get used to a whole new set of rules.

P: Yeah. You said, you missed the old place you were. What are some of the things you miss about it?

I: Like, how I was comfortable there and how I had already learned all the rules there, and how I knew what to do there and knew what they expected of me. I just felt like I was comfortable staying there.

I: OK. Once you got used to things…

P: Yeah, once I got used to things.

I: OK. You used and interesting word; you said you're kinda like a slave at a place. What do you mean by that?

P: Like, when you move to a new place, they just tell you what to do. When you don't know what to do, so you just whatever they say to do, 'cause you don't want to get in trouble. [I: OK.] And then when you do get in trouble, you get madder because you

don't know what to do. [I: OK.] They don't really make it clear to you what to do anyway when they first assess you in any of them.

I: So things aren't clear when you go in.

P: Yeah. I don't think they do their job enough, like making things clear when they first … when a kid is first assessed in any new placement. I think they expect you to learn off the other kids.

I: OK. What do you think they could do better, instead of having to learn off the other kids?

P: Let you know everything when you first come in.

I: OK. What do you think would be the best way to do that?

P: Mmm….. Maybe the other could explain all the steps and the rules and everything else that needed to be gone over with you.

I: OK. Anything else you can tell me about moving from one place to another – what it feels like, what you think?

P: I don't know. Like, some people worry, 'cause they don't know what they about to go into.

I: OK. What do they worry about?

P: I don't know [laughs]. Probably worry, like, who's all going to be over here and is there anybody I know or …. I wonder if the staff are going to treat me different over here.

I: Worried about where they' re going. You said, some people wonder if they're going to know anybody. Does that help – to get to a placement and you know somebody?

P: You can feel a little bit more comfortable, because that person can help you learn things fater.

I: OK. So, you've kinda got an inside person there to help you to get things done. You talked about how people are going to treat you. Tell me more about that. What do people worry about about how people are going to treat them?

P: Whether or not if there is racist staff or if there is staff that just come in with a bad day everyday, or if there's staff that's happy and staff that like to do things for the kids – like to go out of their way, a little bit, in their job to do things for the kids. Or if there's just staff that's just there because they have to be there to make their money.

I: You don't want staff who are just there for a job, huh?

P: Yeah. You usually don't get along with them well.

I: OK. [Pause.] Is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you go to a new placement or finding out you're moving to a new placement?

P: [Pause.] I guess it would make me feel safe if somebody welcomes me there.

I: OK. Give me an example of how somebody could welcome you in.

P: Like, how everybody has a group, sometimes, for the new kids there, and says, "Hey," and their name, and all that stuff. [I: OK.] And let somebody show them where their room is and stuff like that.

I: OK. Anything else that makes you feel safe?

P: [Pause.] Nah.

I: OK. What about unsafe? You mentioned a few things, like being uncomfortable. Is there anything else that makes you feel safe when get somewhere – when you find out you're moving somewhere?

P: Just say like you're going to a placement where they won't meet your needs. Like, if you're a level two kid and they send you to a level three placement, or something, just to test you to see if that's you need to be, you could feel unsafe.

I: OK. What are some of those needs that you want to have met when you go somewhere?

P: Like, I don't want stricter rules, because I'm a level two kid. [I: OK.] And, I don't want to be around a whole bunch of level three kids that just running around crazy and stuff, 'cause I'm not like that.

I: OK. Tell me about those kids running around crazy. What would you not like....

P: Like, doing level three things.

I: Tell me some of those things.

P: [Said with a smile.] I don't really know because I've never been [I: (Laughs.)] assessed for [can't make this out]. I wasn't assessed for a level three.

I: OK. What have you heard about level three kids and what they do.

P: They do level three things. (Laughs.)

I: Level three things. OK.

P: They disrespect the staff, and disrespect everybody, and some of them try to do good, I guess. Some of them really shouldn't be level three material. But the ones who are just don't care. They kinda like it there, I guess, so they want to stay there. [I: OK.] So, they're going to pull anybody else into it that they can.

I: So, you're saying you don't want to be around that – that stuff, huh?

P: Yeah. I think they should schedule like a [can't make out this word] meeting where they could assess the kids there at such a high level if they didn't really know them, like

first impression, or anything. [I: OK.] 'Cause after, like, the first fifteen days of my assessment, they assessed me for a level two. I really didn't need level two. My therapist told me I really didn't need level two. 'Cause when I went to Hennen, everybody was just cussing and throwing things and flipping TV's over and stuff and throwing apples at the staff. So, I was just sitting back, and stuff, not getting in trouble. They said that I needed to be in level one. So, they hurried up and moved me over here.

I: How did that make you feel when you say all that going on – flipping TV's and cussing, and throwing stuff at staff.

P: (Laughs.) I just laughed at 'em. (Laughs.) Tried to help them, but none of them would listen. [I: OK.] So, I just let them do what they do. 'Cause, they were having [can't make this out], so there was nothing I could do about it.

I: OK. Anything else you can think of that makes you feel safe or unsafe in a placement?

P: It makes you feel unsafe if you come in the first day you get there and the staff that's there is just there for their job, like we were talking about before. If there's one of those kind of staff there, their just like, "Here's your stuff. Yeah. You go there. Blah, blah. Blah, Blah." And you don't really see them for the rest of the day, or whatever, and then they come back the next week and talk, whatever. It just doesn't seem like anything's going with them. 'Cause anything you do half way out of the rules, you get in trouble for, so …

I: So, you want a staff who does their job? [P: Nods yes.] Anything else?

P: I guess that about it.

I: OK. [Pause.] If one of your peers from here found out they were moving to a new placement, is there anything you could say to any of to help them feel that like it was going to be safe where he was going?

P: (Laughs.) I would tell them just to go down there with a good attitude. Don't go in there thinking that it going to be what it's not going to be. It's going to be whatever you make out of it.

I: OK. Tell me more about "whatever you make out of it." What do you mean by that?

P: It's going to be good if you go in with a good attitude and accept it for whatever it is and try to make it a good experience. [I: OK.] Usually, everybody that leaves from here and goes to other places, they don't want to leave.

I: Why not?

P: I don't know. I guess they got too attached to stuff here and the rules and everything. Nobody really liked it when they first came over here, 'cause they were attached to the Wiley Center's rules and everything.

I: So, once you get attached to a place, it's hard to leave?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. If a new kid came into the Boy's Group Home, what would you say to him to help him to feel safe about being here?

P: I'd help him know what really goes on here, and stuff, and what they expect, from the staff, and what they expect from the clients.

I: OK. So, just tell them what to expect and …

P: It could help them a lot.

I: OK.

P: We did get a new kid yesterday, though.

I: From?

P: Wiley Center.

I: If you were going to a new placement is there anything that staff can say to you to help you fell better of feel safer about where you were going?

P: [Pause.] I don't really think so.

I: OK. Why not?

P: 'Cause I don't think that staff has ever told me anything moving to a new placement that, like, made me feel better about going there.

I: Oh, OK. You've already told me some of this, but I'm going to ask this question again. When you arrive at a new placement, what can staff do, what can they do to help you feel safe? You talked about letting you know what the rules are, expectations, doing a group. Anything else?

P: [Pause.] I can't think of anything other than making you feel welcome.

I: OK. Make you fell welcome. [Pause.] Is there anything good about moving?

P: Sometimes you get away from stuff that was kinda holding you down. [I: OK.] Like, if you're having a problem with a staff here, or something, or at Wiley, and you just got tired of it, or there wasn't nothing happening for you and then they moved you, probably it could help you.

I: OK. Anything else good about moving?

P: [Pause.] You could kinda already know what to expect before you go there.

I: If you know what to expect, [P: Yeah.] that helps.

I: Alright.

P: You feel like you've got a chance to start over, too, from where you were at.

I: So, starting over I is helpful. [P: Nods yes.] OK. Is there anything else at all you can tell me about this experience – about moving from place to place or feeling safe or unsafe?

P: Nay, that's it.

I: Let me ask you something about your time in detention. You went back to Blount County, probably three or four times. Did it ever get any easier to go back there, or was it about the same each time you went back.

P: It was about the same each time. Blount County is pretty rough.

I: Is it? What's rough about it?

P: I don't know. They just lock you in your rooms. You got .... when you first get there, you gotta have 24 hours in just the cell, and then you get to come out to the day room, which is about as big as this [motioning to the room we were sitting in]. And your cell's in it, and that's all you've got. You can play cards, and they're always late with your food.

I: So, you don't eat on time.

P: Yeah (laughs).

I: OK. What about when you got at Holston, because you were at Brown and then moved to Hennen and then the Boy's Group Home. Was that easier or harder because you were at the same agency?

P: I think that it was a little bit easier, 'cause when I moved form assessment to Hennen, there was a lot stricter rules at assessment, 'cause that's level three. And then they have to assess you to level one, or two, or three from there. And they had all level three rules ,

and stuff. And I thought I learned all those rules and felt comfortable, and it was kinda a relief going to Hennen, 'cause they had lesser rules [I: OK.] and a lot more privileges.

I: OK. What was it like, then, to come over to the Boy's Group Homes?

P: Can't really say (laughs). It was supposed to be a relief, and a lot more privileges and lesser rules, but there's not really. I don't know, I feel like I'm in assessment, kinda.

I: So, it feels like this is just as strict as assessment.

P: Yeah (laughs). It's not supposed to be, but it .....[I: OK.] But if you ask any of the other kids, they'd probably say worse than what I'm saying.

I: OK. This is good stuff. Anything else you can tell about any of these questions I've asked you about moving or what makes you feel safe or unsafe.

P: Nah, that's it.

I: OK. All right. Good.

Interview with #89

Age: 14

Race: White

Moves: 4 *(see note below)

Placement: Level 3

I: The first thing that I want you to tell me is all the different places you've lived in while you've been in care.

P: Lakeshore. Haslam. And, ah, Holston Home – Smith Cottage.

I: OK. You started out at Smith Cottage, here. That's just three placements all together. Is that right?

P: Yeah.

*[When the participant filled out instruments and gave me background information a few days before, he stated that he had been to another placement, Mt. View (a detention center). So, he actually has experienced four moves.]

I: OK. What's it like to have to move from one place to another? Like, moving to Lakeshore, and moving to Haslam, and moving to Holston Home?

P: It sucks.

I: What sucks about it?

P: I don't know. I mean, I, I had.... I don't know, I was, like, starting to have a pretty good relationship with the therapist at Haslam. [I: Uh huh.] And, you know, that's just a three-month program there. And, like, when I got here, they said I was staying here for, like, six to eight months, or something. [I: OK.] And they said, uh, that, like, plus this is

like a hundred and something miles away from my family, and stuff. [I: OK.] I don't like that.

I: You don't like that. [P: Nods no.] Tell me about the relationship you were making with your therapist at Haslam and having to leave that. What was that like for you?

P: It pissed me off. [I: OK.] I don't really know what else to tell you. [I: OK.] It just pissed me off.

I: And you said that you were over a hundred miles away from your family now. What's that like being so far away from them?

P: Hate it, 'cause I love my parents [I: OK.] ...a whole lot. So...

I: What's the hardest part about having to be away from them?

P: [Pause.] Not getting any home passes for a long time.

I: OK. So, just not seeing them for a long time? [P: Nods yes.] OK. Anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move between placements?

P: [Pause.] Yeah. Um, when .... like, from what the State's doing, we have no control over it. [I: OK.] We have no say-so. [I: OK.] It pisses me off.

I: What pisses you off about having no control and having to just go where they tell you?

P: That, uh, that they don't even know the placement people, you know. [I: OK.] They just place us wherever. They just like say, "Hey, you're going here." And we don't even know why or why not.

I: OK. Anything else you can think of about what it's like to have to move?

P: No.

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe when you get to a new place?

P: [Pause.] Not really.

I: Not really?

P: I'm just, I'm uncomfortable at any placement. I don't know.

I: What makes you uncomfortable at any place?

P: I don't know.

I: [Pause.] Are there certain things you see or people or …

P: [Nods no.]

I: OK.

P: I get a weird vibe every time I go to a new place.

I: OK. Any idea what gives you that weird vibe?

P: Um, no.

I: OK. If one of your peers in Smith House were moving to a new placement is there anything you could say or do for him to help him feel safe about where he was going?

P: Yeah. "Good luck, and don't fuck up."

I: OK. What do you mean by don't fuck up?

P: Keep your head on straight and don't get into trouble.

I: OK. Tell him to stay out of trouble. That would keep him safe?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: If a new kid came here to Smith House, is there anything you could say to him to make him feel safe about being in Smith? Is there anything you could do for him?

P: No.

I: Why not?

P: It sucks there. If I told him it would be all right, then I'd be lying.

I: OK. So, you don't like it there, and if you told him any different, you'd feel like you'd be lying to him?

P: Uh huh.

I: OK. If you found out you had to leave and go to a new placement somewhere else, is there anything that staff could do to help you fell safe about where you were going? Anything they could say? [Pause.] Anything you'd want to know?

P: No.

I: OK. Let's say you just arrived at a new placement, what could the staff the do for you the first day to you as soon as you walked in to make you feel safe? [Pause.] At the end of the first day or at the end of the first week?

P: I don't know. Say, "It ain't so bad here," or something.

I: So, just tell you that it ain't so bad here.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Anything else you'd want to know about the place?

P: Tell me my privileges.

I: OK. Anything else you'd want to know?

P: [Nods no.]

I: So, just tell you it's not so bad and let you know what your privileges are. That would help?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Is there anything good about moving to all these different places?

P: Well, if it's like, say, a level two foster home or something or level one. That'd be good. Definitely good.

I: OK. So, a foster home is going to be better than a residential …

P: A group home.

I: A group home. [P: Yeah.] OK. What's better about a foster home?

P: I don't know. I just heard that it's way better. [I: OK.] You can go to public school most of the time. [I: OK.] And, uh, and you, like, you can talk on the phone a whole lot more. [I: OK.] We only get five minutes for a phone call a day. [I: OK.] So, that's pretty straight, I've heard.

I: So, you've heard from others that in foster homes you get more privileges and that would be better?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: Anything else good about moving? Has there been anything good about the places you've moved?

P: Yeah. It was good to move from Lakeshore to Haslam.

I: What was good about that?

P: Lakeshore was weird. It was freaky (laughs).

I: Yeah? What was weird and freaky about it?

P: Some of these crazy people.

I: OK. How did it make you feel being around those crazy people?

P: I was starting to that I was really crazy. I was like, "Am I really crazy?," and all that.

I: OK. So being around them, you started to think, "Am I like them?"

P: Yeah.

I: OK. And so, getting out of there was good.

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. Anything good about moving from Haslam to Holston?

P: [Pause.] No.

I: OK. Is there anything else at all you can tell me about what it's like to move or what makes you or other kids feel safe or unsafe?

P: [Nods no.]

I: For most kids that live at places like this – at Haslam and Lakeshore – what's the number one thing staff can do for them to help to feel that their safe – that their OK?

P: Try to actually help them out.

I: OK. What do meant by help them out? Give me some examples.

P: Their heartless (smirks.)

I: What do you mean by their heartless?

P: They don't care about nobody. [I: OK.] Like, ah, this one dude he was laying on the ground crying, and, ah, a guy at Haslam, he wouldn't let go of his neck. So, I mean it was right here or whatever (placed his hand at the base of his neck near his shoulder), and he wouldn't let him go.

I: Did you see that happen?

P: Yeah.

I: How did it make you feel seeing that happen to that kid?

P: I thought that was sick.

I: Any other examples you can give me about what staff can do? You said, "Help them out." [Pause.] What can staff do to help kids feel safe?

P: [Pause.] I don't know.

I: Don't know? OK. Anything else you want to tell me before I turn the tape recorder off?

P: [Pause.] (Leans down and yells in tape recorder) Halls High football rules! (Laughs.)

Interview with #92

Age: 17

Race: White

Moves: 9

Placement: Level 3

I: The first thing I want to ask you is to tell me all the different places you've been in while you've been in out-of-home care.

P: I've been to Blount County juvenile, Scott County juvenile, Lakeshore, Peninsula Village, Jackson Academy. I've been to two foster homes. I went to Cherokee Park, and then I came her to Holston Homes.

I: So you had two foster homes?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. So that would be nine different placements. Does that sound about right?

P: Uh huh.

I: OK. I just want to know from you, what's it like to move from one placement to another? You've had to do this nine different times. What's it like?

P: It's stressful not knowing exactly what to expect at your next place or wherever you're going to live.

I: OK. Can you tell me more about the stress and not knowing?

P: There's like, I mean if you go to the residential, in-house kinda deal, you're, like, not knowing how you're staff's going to react to you or, you know, it's, like, you're peers- if they're going to like you or not; how much of their crap of their crap you're having to

put up with. That's like .... I don't know, not knowing, basically, how the program's going to be run. [I: OK.] I mean, it could be run real easy to almost, like, jail and it not being jail.

I: OK. You were talking about crap you had to put up with with other kids and some of their stuff. Tell me some of the things that concerns you.

P: Uh, mainly, it's, like, if you're new, they just up and attack you if they don't like they way you look or anything [I: OK.] or the way you talk, or stuff.... This petty stuff, like, ...it's just when you get in there you've got the fear – who's going to hit you and when they're going to hit, and could it be from behind or in front of you or what.

I: Has that ever happened to you in some of these places?

P: Ah, it's happened to a bunch of people there. [I: OK.] Fortunately, I've been big enough and scary enough that they wouldn't mess with me. [The participant is 6'5 and weighs approximately 270 pounds. He wear long side burns, a goatee shaped into horns at the bottom and paints his fingernails black. See follow-up question at the end of the interview.]

I: OK. So, being big and scary kinda helps.

P: Yeah.

I: Yeah. OK. Tell me more about staff and how staff treat you. You said you wonder about that.

P: It's like some staff want to treat you like you're their best friend, and then some, will just .... They don't really care. They don't care, you know, about the kids there. They don't care about anything but getting a pay check. I mean, like, as long as they're getting

their pay check, they're going to do what they want to with you, and you can't do nothing about it, 'cause it's always staff's word against ours when we file grievances, and stuff. Half the time, they believe staff. There's not any, like, physical proof.

I: OK. Anything else about having to move places that you can tell me about?

P: Just being away from family, not knowing when you're going to see them again.

I: OK. Tell me more about that. How does that stress you or worry you?

P: It's, I don't know, it's just, with, like, passes and stuff. It's like, if you don't if your parents are going to be able come up there and get you, or if you're not going to get passes at all, or if the, the ah ....your ah placement will work out a way to take you down there or meet them half way or something. You just don't know, exactly, what's going to go up with that.

I: OK. Anything else come to mind about having to move?

P: [Pause.] No, not really.

I: Is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you move to a new placement? You talked about some of those things. When you find out you're moving or you get to a new placement, is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe?

P: It .... The first staff member that I meet. If they're, like, really nice and, like, and you know, "My name is," and then they'll, like, have some of the other staff come in, and, you know, you'll end up being introduced to them. I mean, you can tell half the time whether or not you're going to like them or not [I: OK.] 'cause of how friendly they are. And if, you know, if they are busy or not and real hateful with you. If they'll come up to you and tell them that they didn't mean to be that way to you, or whatever.

I: OK. So, how staff treat you right off the bat [P: Yeah.] let's you know if it's going to be a safe place.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Anything that makes you feel unsafe?

P: Uh .... No, not really. I've pretty much grown up in a really rough neighborhood, so ... I mean, I, I can pretty much watch my back.

I: OK. So you don't worry about that whey you go into places?

P: Nah. Most people just go and, you know, they can't sleep for the first night or two 'cause they don't know what's going to happen. [I: OK.] They have to get used to it. I go in and I'm, I'm most of the time comfortable with it. [I: OK.] 'Cause I've been around .... I've been pushed around so much around DCS, and stuff, it's pretty much, come to be, come to be my life. [I: OK.] I'm used to it.

I: So, you're used to moving around and having to deal with this stuff?

P: Uh huh.

I: OK. [Pause.] If one of your peers were going to move to a new placement what would you say to him when he was leaving to help him feel that he was going to be safe or OK?

P: Uh, mainly, just ask him a bunch of questions on how it was run? [I: OK.] And, try to get in good with some of the staff members, where they'll, like, believe you if something, like, actually is going on. They don't lie on some of the people.

I: OK. If a new kid came to this house, is there anything that you can say to him to help him feel safer about being here in Smith house?

P: I'd just go up and introduce myself. I mean its, pretty much not what you think with

most people. It may be in some cases, but [I: OK.], it's like, it may be, you know, whether or not they like being around many people or [I: OK.] people they don't know. I mean, I just go up there and try to make myself seem as friendly as possible.

I: OK. So, be friendly, you think, just helps them to feel…

P: It makes you relax more.

I: OK. Friendly staff and friendly kids. [P: Nods yes.] If you were leaving to go to a new placement, is there anything that staff could do to help you feel safer about where you were going to?

P: Uh …. I am really getting ready to go to, hopefully go to PAL (Preparation for Adult Living). [I: OK.] But, its …. They took me up there today, and, I didn't exactly expect the kind of people up there that worked there. You know, I mean, they were real nice. [I: OK.] It's like, I don't know, it's …. I really don't worry or anything.

I: You just don't worry?

P: I do a little bit, but not to the extent where I totally freak out. I

I: OK. Was it helpful for you to go over and see the place?

P: Yeah. It was a whole lot more helpful, 'cause I was just trying to imagine it on my own, and imagine how staff were, how the place was run. And when I went up there, they gave, you know, just a little tour of, like, where they staff lives. I talked to the staff. I was like ….. Staff were real nice. They gave me, like, a packet, and stuff, with the rules and expectations. They gave me the low down on the level system up there. And it made me feel a whole lot more comfortable, because I knew what I was coming into.

I: OK. Does knowing the rules and expectations help?

P: Yeah. I mean, if at all possible, that would be, like, the biggest thing that anybody could do for somebody leaving to a different place.

I: OK. If you left and got to your new placement, what's something the staff could do right off the bat to make you feel safe?

P: I'd say, introduce me to, like, the kids and the rest of the staff. [I: OK.] That way, you know, I could see how friendly they are towards me the first day. And, like, so want to see if gradually, you know, if they get used to having a new kid or whatnot, and then, if they don't, then I'd know exactly who I don't feel safe around, and, you know, who I do. I mean, you could meet somebody that'd be having a bad day and be, like, your best friend the next. [I: OK.] So, it just ..... Within the twenty-four hour, forty-eight hour difference of just being around them, you can tell.

I: OK. You said, you don't worry a whole lot, that you worry a little bit when you move to new places. What's the number one thing you worry about?

P: Mainly the rules and expectations and how hard they enforce their consequences, and stuff.

I: OK. All right. Good. Is there anything good about moving?

P: I mean, sometimes you get closer to see your family. And there's like other times that, you know, you might be having a hard time dealing with your family. At that point, when you get to move somewhere else, I mean, it's sort of relieving, and then, you know, it could be, like, sort of, ah, stressful because you're away from your family and your not wanting to be away from them. It could go either way.

I: OK. So, if things are good with your family, you want to be close to them, but if it [P: Yeah.] But if its ...

P: If it's rocky, you don't want .... I don't want to see my family if it's, like, really, really rocky. I don't even want contact with them.

I: OK. Anything else good about moving?

P: You get to see more of the state.

I: You get to see different places, huh?

P: Yeah, and different ways to different places. Now I know .... I know a back road way to Nashville from here. [I: OK.] I'm pretty .... It pretty much teaches me ways to go on the interstate. That way I know how to take a trip when I get out.

I: OK. So you get to know how to travel.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Is there anything else at all you can tell me about moving or feeling safe or unsafe when you're in care?

P: Nah, that's basically it. I mean, mainly, it's, like, the first experience of people with, like ... I usually get some .... What gets me is, like, the first twenty-four hours; you can usually tell.

I: OK. So, the first twenty-four hours makes a big difference.

P: Yeah.

I: OK. Good.

[While the participant was filling out the instruments, I thought of a statement he made that I wanted to explore with him. After he complete the instruments, I turned on the tape recorder again and proceeded.]

I: Earlier, you had talked about being, kinda big and scary looking, and I asked you if that helps, and you said, "Yeah." I just want you to tell me more about that.

P: It sorta keeps the kids that mainly try to run the place away from you a little more than it did the rest of them, because they don't know what you're capable of or what you would do to them if they did something to you. It they, like, hit you, would you go psychotic on them or like stab them or something. You know, something crazy like that. I mean, it pretty much keeps them away from you. I mean, until you, like, go up to them. But if they want to test you, they're going to test you. You have to prove what you try to be or act like.

I: OK. How tall are you and how much do you weigh, by the way?

P: Um .... Six-, say about six-five, and last time I was weighed I weighed 250. I probably gained a lot more than that being here at Holston.

I: Anything else you do to try to have that image?

P: No, not really. I just walk in and, well, I'll pretty much be silent, like, for the first, like, a couple hours that I'm there. [I: OK.] I pretty much check everything out, so, that's about it.

I: Tell me more about checking things out.

P: I just watch what everybody does and see who's cool and who isn't, you know, who's afraid of who, 'cause that sorta helps out a lot when it comes to, like, you know, sorta being neutral in the whole game of things. [I: OK.] That's what you want to be. You don't want to be on side, always causing the trouble. And you don't want to be on the other side, be a goody two-shoes, getting picked on. [I: OK.] You want to sorta stand up for, like, morals and values, I guess.

I: OK. Anything else you can think of to tell me?

P: No.

Interview with #93

Age: 13

Race: White

Moves: 14

Placement: Level 3

I: The first thing that I want you to do is tell me all the different places that you've lived in while you've been in out-of-home care.

P: First place I went was a foster home. Then I went to holding facility, level three. [I: OK.] Then I went to a foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. Another foster home. [I: OK.] Then, I went to Greeneville Cottage here at Holston. [I: OK.] And then I went to Jones Cottage. [At this point, I asked the participant to move forward and bit and keep his hands from in front of his face so that the tape recorder would pick up his voice.]

I: And, you told me that before you went to the first foster home that you were in the hospital at Vanderbilt for a little while.

P: I was in the hospital.

I: OK. And, so, that's a total of fourteen different placements. Is that about right?

P: [Long pause.] Yeah, about fourteen.

I: OK. What I want to ask you is, what's it like to have to move to all these different places?

P: Well, the worst part is whether you think you're safe or not. [I got the impression that this participant was tell me what he thought I wanted to hear, at this point, in response to my explanation of the purpose of this interview. However, I do believe that he became more "real" in his responses afterwards.] [I: OK.] If you feel like, am I going to be safe in this bed. Is someone going to try to abuse me, hurt me, or anything else. [I: OK.] Then, it's like, just, am I going to do OK. Am I going to have to run? Hurt myself? What am I going to do to get away from my problems? It ain't fun to move.

I: It's not fun to have to move? [P: Nods no.] Why would you run or hurt yourself?

P: To get away from my problems. But all you need is a friend in all the places.

I: You just need a friend.

P: That knows and will help you stand up to other people if you need it. [I: OK.] That knows what it's like.

I: OK. Can you tell me anything about what it's like to have to move to these different places?

P: Well, you get farther and farther away from your family (said in a sarcastic tone.)

I: OK. What's that like?

P: That's the hard part. I've got a little brother (can't make this out). That's what hurts. Got your whole family messed up. That'll make it hurt worse. [I felt that this participant was being a bit melodramatic here. So I chose to move on with other questions.]

I: Anything else you can tell me about moving and having to live in all these places?

P: Not really.

I: OK. What are some things that make you feel safe or unsafe when you move to these places?

P: That I have a door. And, I have a lock on the shower. [I: OK.] And, bullet proof windows [pause] if you live out in the projects or something.

I: OK. Anything else?

P: No.

I: So those things make you feel safe?

P: A lot safe.

I: OK. Is there anything that makes you feel unsafe when you go into these places?

P: Going out when you don't know the neighborhood. [I: OK.] Going to a school you don't know; what are they going to do?

I: [Pause.] Tell me more about going to a school you don't know, what they're going to do.

P: Well, there's a bunch of kids, they could mug you, take your money, stuff like that.

I: OK. Anything else?

P: No.

I: OK. If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, is there anything you could say to him …

P: Good luck.

I: … or do for him that would help him feel safer about where he was going?

P: Good luck. If you know about the place, tell them they're going to be safe or not.

I: OK. So, if you knew about the place you could tell them about it?

P: [Nods yes.]

I: OK. If a new kid came to this placement – came into this house – is there anything you can say or do to help …

P: Help him with his boundaries.

I: What do you mean by help him with his boundaries?

P: Tell them where their boundaries are, where you need to say, "Cross." What you don't need to do: touch other people's stuff; go in other people's rooms.

I: OK. So helping them with the rules.

P: Rules, routine.

I: OK. [Pause.] Anything else you can think of?

P: Probably nothing else you can do? Hope they have a wonderful time here (said in a sarcastic tone). And, if they're not here for something they didn't do, tell their case worker they want to go to foster care.

I: OK. Is foster care a better place [P: Yeah.] than being in a group home?

P: Yeah, because people can leave you alone, and you can get away from people. [I: OK.] You can't lock the door here and say, "I'm taking five in my room." [I: OK.] In foster care, you can lock your door and it'll be like, "Oh, I'm safe. [Here again, the participant was telling me what he thought I wanted to hear.] I needed to take a five."

I: OK. Why do you need to get away from people sometimes?

P: 'Cause they make you mad. [I: OK.] And you're like, "Hey, you know what? Just leave me alone." And they're like, "(Makes a sarcastic laughing sound.) Who wants to leave you alone?" And, just, makes you mad.

I: OK. If you found out you were leaving to go to a new placement, is there anything ...

P: I'd probably be mad, unless I went to a foster home or home or something.

I: You'd be mad? What would make you mad?

P: If I went to a lock-down.

I: OK. Why would that make you mad going to a lock-down?

P: 'Cause there are bigger and meaner people in there for a lot serious, more serious stuff.

I: So, how would you feel about having to deal with that?

P: Not very well. [I: OK.] Then I would run.

I: OK. [Pause.] If you found out you were going somewhere, is there anything that staff could say or do to help you feel better about where you were going?

P: I don't know.

I: You don't know. OK.

P: Staff could say a lot of things at times. Some might be true. Some might be false.

I: OK. So you don't know whether to believe them?

P: There's only a few staff that I do believe here. [I: OK.] Other people, they say it. They hardly do it.

I: OK. If you just arrived at a new place, what's something that the staff could do or say to help you feel ...

P: Tell me the rules, routines. Help me, um, get situated, feel at home. [I: OK.] Things like that.

I: What would make you feel at home?

P: Me being with somebody my age or younger, because I don't pick on people like some kids do. To me, they're human beings like you. You have the same rights as they do. [I: OK.] Maybe an extra right more. [I: OK.] Because you always have the same right, so.

I: Is that something you worry about, getting picked on by older guys?

P: Yeah.

I: How does it make you feel …

P: They love to do that.

I: How does it make you feel when they start picking on you?

P: Pretty bad.

I: OK. [Pause.] Is there anything good about moving?

P: If you didn't like that place, you've got a better place to (can't make out this word), hopefully. If you had a person that sits on their butt all day, like I have. Don't do nothing. Don't go nowhere. Goes to a drug dealer – a crack house.

I: What are you talking about, a person who sit on their butt and goes to a crack house?

P: One of my foster parents.

I: Oh.

P: But I didn't say nothing. I didn't care. If she gets busted, it's her fault. [I: OK.] (Can't make out this phrase.) She set on her butt. If I wanted to go somewhere, I'd have to run to do it. Sometimes, I'd run. I'd go to where I wanted to go. [I: OK.] If it was to my friends house to go jet skiing, I'd do it. [I: OK.] And here, coming here, you get to go swimming. You get to go off all these places.

I: Is that a good thing?

P: That's a very good thing.

I: OK. Is there anymore good things about moving to different places?

P: No, not really.

I: No? OK. Is there anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move or feeling safe or unsafe?

P: No.

I: No? OK. Thanks.

Interview with #199

Age: 18

Race: White

Moves: 17

Placement: Independent Living

I: The first thing that I want to ask you is to name for me all the different places you've lived in while you've been in care, and that can start with the very beginning and we'll just work our way …

P: I went to the Johnson City Detention Center. [I: OK.] Then I went to the O and A, Observation and Assessment. Then back to JCDC. [I: OK.] Then to the Elizabethton Emergency Shelter. Then to East Tennessee Christian Home. [I: OK.] Then to Woodridge. [I: OK.] Then back to the Elizabethton Emergency Shelter. [I: OK.] Then to Wiley Center.

I: What house were you in at Wiley Center?

P: I was in Smith, Hennen, and Hardwick.

I: So, you started out at Smith.

P: Yeah, and then I moved to Hennen. [I: OK.] And then we moved to Hardwick, when Hardwick got done being remodeled. [I: OK.] Then I went to the group home. [I: OK.] And then, let's see, I went home. And then I come back into State's Custody and went to a foster home. [I: OK.] Then another foster home. Then another foster home. And then to PAL. And then I got moved back to the group home. And then back at PAL.

I: So, it looks like seventeen all together. Is that about right. [P: Yeah.] Is there anything whatsoever before JCDC?

P: No.

I: So you were at home the whole time. [P: Nods yes.] OK. Seventeen different placements. The next questions that I want to ask you is, what is it like to move from one place to another? You've done that seventeen different times. What's it like to have to do that?

P: Well, back and forth at Wiley Center [houses on one small campus] and stuff wasn't no big deal, you know, from house to house, but, when I moved to the group home it was a different setting and a different program. But it never really bothered me to move from place to place. The only place it really bothered me to go to was the detention center. Then, I went to the O and A, and then back to the Elizabethton Emergency Shelter. I liked that place.

I: You like it.

P: Yeah.

I: What did you like about it?

P: Just the staff and the people in general. [I: OK.] And then, I went to the Tennessee Christian Home, and I didn't get along there. [I: OK.] I got kicked out and then put in Woodridge. [I: OK.] And then I went from Woodridge back to the Elizabethton Shelter, and I come to Wiley Center, to Smith. I didn't like Smith. [I: OK.] It was too structured.

I: Too structured?

P: Yeah. Hennen Cottage and stuff was cool. [I: OK.] Boy's group home was cool. All my foster homes was cool, except for the second one.

I: What did you not like about the second one?

P: They was, like, too strict. They didn't want you in the kitchen without them being in the kitchen. It was like, you know, you wasn't part of their family. They treated you different. [I: OK.] And that's what I didn't like about it. [I: OK.] At PAL, I love PAL. [I: OK.].

I: So you said you didn't like being in detention at JCDC, what didn't you like about it?

P: Being locked up. [I: OK.] I was scared.

I: What were you scared of?

P: 'Cause I had never been in trouble or nothing before, and I had never been in a room locked in.

I: OK. So, that being your first one, or you went there your first placement [P: Yeah.} and third placement. Was it still scary after the O and A Center going back?

P: Not really.

I: No.

P: I was in it for thirty days [I: OK.], and then I went to the O and A center for sixty-five days. It's just an assessment place. And then I went back to it for three days until they got me into the Elizabethton Emergency Shelter.

I: OK. How do you feel when they tell you you're moving to a new placement?

P: You know, you kinda know, I mean, if they're going to kick you out of a place, you know, you know before you leave. So, it ain't like they spring it on you. [I: OK.] Now at JCDC, I didn't really know I was going back to JCDC. I didn't know I was going back

from the O and A Center. They just come and picked me up one day. [I: OK.] And took me back there, but I was told I was going to Elizabethton Shelter in so many days. And then, I was at the Elizabethton Shelter for like three or four months. I had been the longest kid they ever had there. And then, [name of staff], the Case Manager there, she was the residential case manager at the East Tennessee Christian Home, too. So, she got me in up there. [I: OK.]

I: And you said that when you were at Wiley Center that it wasn't bad just moving from house to house. [P: No.] Why? What made that ....?

P: You're still around the same people. I mean, you're not really.... I mean, at Wiley Center, when you go outside and associate and play basketball and stuff, you meet everybody. And then when you go to another house, you just see the same people you've already met.

I: OK. So that's helpful?

P: Yeah.

I: OK. What about when you had to go off campus to some of these other places like the Boy's group home and PAL?

P: I wanted to go to the Boy's Group Home, and I visited out there, like, five or six times before I moved over there. [I: OK.] So, I kinda new the people before I had to stay there. But the foster homes, I met the first parents and got to choose whether I wanted to got there or not. You know [name of staff], she said, "We got," she was like, you know, "just a new family. They never had a foster kid before." You know, or "We're coming to meet you in the morning, if you like them you can go home with them. If not, we'll look for another place." And I liked them. And then the second foster home, I didn't get

along at the first foster home that well after I was there about a year. But then we started arguing, and stuff. And I didn't get to meet the other foster parents, and they was like too strict and stuff. You didn't fell like you was actually in a home; you felt like you was, like, separated from the other people in the house. And the third family, I got along with them good.

I: The first family, you said you had a choice [P: Yeah.] of going with them. What about the other two foster families?

P: I didn't really have a choice.

I: Did that make it different?

P: Yeah. It kinda did, and the other thing is, I didn't meet the second parents. [I: Oh.] I mean we met them at, we went from my foster family and loaded all the stuff up in a truck and went and met them up here at Wiley Center in the lot and loaded all my stuff in their truck and left with them.

I: What's that like having to go live with a family and just meeting them when you're loading your stuff into their vehicle?

P: I didn't like it. I didn't talk to them for, like, three weeks. I didn't say not a word to them.

I: Why did you do that?

P: 'Cause, I mean, they was just too strict, it was like they didn't want to get to know you. They just wanted you to do what you was supposed to do. [I: OK.] You got up in the morning, they fixed your breakfast, they put it out on the table. They wouldn't let you go in the kitchen.

I: OK. Anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move from place to place?

P: You don't really know what to expect.

I: OK. Tell me more about that?

P: I mean, like, from Wiley Center, at Wiley Center you know what to expect. But when I went to JCDC, I didn't know what to expect out of JCDC. I didn't know what to expect at the O and A Center. I'm just threw in a place and you have to get used to it or go with it.

I: How does that make you feel going in and not knowing what to expect?

P: I don't feel safe. [I: OK.] You just, always looking behind your back. You don't know what's going on.

I: Since you brought up feeling safe, are there things that make you feel safe or, like you were talking about, unsafe at places? Anything in particular?

P: Yeah, the people, the staff there, you know. You can tell, like, if they actually care about working there or if they're just there for a job. I think that most of the people at the O and A Center were just there for a job. Except for [name of staff]. Now [name of staff] was at the O and A Center when I was there, [name of staff]. [I: Yeah.] And I knowed him before, down here. His wife used to baby sit me when I was a baby. [I: OK.] But, I mean, they didn't really care. They didn't even try to get to know you or nothing.

I: So, staff actually caring about you [P: Yeah.] makes you fell better and safer. Anything else that makes you feel safe or unsafe …

P: Those foster homes, I mean, you're scared 'cause you're with a family you hardly ever met, and you don't know what their routine is or nothing. But that first foster family, they just, well they was [can't make this word out] for me. They treated me just like their kid. I mean, exactly like their kid.

I: And that made it better for you?

P: Yeah. You don't feel like your excluded. [I: OK.] Like the first foster home, they had a guy, a kid they adopted from Holston Homes and another foster kid, and they treated them different. You know, they got more stuff than me, and everything that I got that she bought me come out of my allowance. I didn't get an allowance for like three months because she bought me something and would take it out of my allowance. She would go to yard sells and buy her other two kids, you know, Play Station games and stuff, and they still got their allowance and stuff. You're like, what's different about them instead of me?

I: So that was hard feeling [P: Yeah.] like you were made to feel different. [Pause.] Anything that makes you feel safe going into a place?

P: Just in that.... I mean you can tell .... Like that first foster family, they was real, real nice people. They didn't, you know, as soon as I come down, they didn't just tell me to go to my room and unpack my stuff. She come in there and helped me to unpack my stuff and showed me where everything is and introduced me to everybody. It was like she wanted you there. [I: OK.]

I: Anything else you can tell me about these places you've been and ever feeling safe or unsafe?

P: [Nods no.]

I: OK. If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, what would you say to him or her to help that person feel safer about where they were going?

P: Tell them that it's going to be OK, and just tell them, you know, don't talk too much and just observe and see what is going on before you start talking.

I: OK. Why is that important?

P: 'Cause you don't want to go in a place and just start being yourself when you don't know how people is going to react. You don't know how people behave, you know. Like, when I come over here, I didn't really associate with people I didn't know. 'Cause I didn't know who they was, how they acted. [I: OK.] Just kinda set back and observed.

I: OK. So that would be good advice for them [P: Yeah.] to find out what was going on before you interact. What if a new kid came here to PAL. What would you say to him or her to help that person feel safe about being here?

P: Tell them that all the staff here care about you. You know, they try to get to know you. They do ... [name of staff] and them and [name of staff] and all them do a lot for you to make sure you get what you need, and that it's a good program. I recommend this program to anybody.

I: OK. So the staff are nice they care about you and meet your needs. OK. If you found out that you were going to a new placement, what could the staff do to help you feel safe?

P: At the new place or here?

I: Either or both. You can tell me about both of them. If you were leaving here, what could staff say to you?

P: You know, they could tell you that it was going to be OK, and like they do most everybody, they throw them a party and make you leave .... you know try to get you to

know that you're leaving on a good note. [I: OK.] And then when you get to the other place, then staff just don't, straight up, break down all the rules to you and tell you what's going on and how it's going to be and what not to do and not do this. You know, that's like, woah, I mean, " Don't you even want to know who ... what my name is or ...?"

I: So its helpful if they get to know you first [P: Yes.] a little bit? OK. You said when they start naming off all the rule and that sort of stuff, you said, kinda woah, how does that feel to you?

P: I mean you don't know what to expect after that, you know. You feel like it's a worse place than it is right off the bat.

I: So just hitting you with the rules [P: Yeah.], is that overwhelming or ...?

P: I mean you're trying to ...you know, you don't know anybody here and as soon as you get in, you know, they're like "Blah, blah, blah. We do this, this, this, this, and this, and you can't do this or this happens, you know. Your like, hold on a minute like. "What's your name? What's this place like? Introduce me to some of the people."

I: What are some things you'd like to know about the place? You said, "What's this place like?" What are some things that are helpful for you to know?

P: Like, I ask the people at the Emergency Shelter, they was all nice people, you know, I'd ask them about themselves and stuff, 'cause you can tell a lot of people .... You can tell what a lot of people think about you, and stuff, by what they tell you about theirself. [I: OK.] You know, if say your married, and they say, "Yeah, I'm married," and they don't day anything else like, like [name of staff], I asked him if he was married when I got to Wiley Center, and was like, "No, I'm divorced, but I have three kids," and he was all up front like he really wanted to carry on a conversation with you.

I: So, getting to know people [P: Yeah.] is real helpful. OK. [Pause.] Is there anything good about moving?

P: A clean slate, kinda.

I: Really? OK. Tell me more about that, having a clean slate.

P: I mean, like, if I mess up a lot at Wiley Center, and stuff, and got in trouble and some of the staff knew me and then when I went to the group home, the staff knew but they didn't really know how I acted. They didn't .... They didn't know what to expect, so they didn't judge me right off the bat.

I: OK. So each place you go to is, kind of, a clean slate [P: Yeah.] – a new start. OK. Anything else good about moving?

P: Not really.

I: No? [Pause.] Well, is there anything else you can tell about this whole experience of moving when you're in care? Either good or bad?

P: I wouldn't recommend it if I was over some of these places. I'd try to give the kids, you know, one place to let them get ... feel like it is an actual home instead of, well, you're not good, kick them out the door and send them to another place. You know, that don't help the kid at all. He don't establish nothing.

I: OK. Why do you think it's better to stay in one place?

P: 'Cause you get to know the people and you begin to show your true self.

I: OK. Anything else at all you can tell me about this?

P: Not really.

I: This is good. I appreciate it.

APPENDIX E

Meaning Units

Interview with #74

- I thought that place was the most scariest place I'd ever been to.
- And the problem is that they didn't tell me that I was coming up here. They never told me where I was going. All they did was, like, pack up all my stuff and, like, take me up here. [I: OK.] And the next thing I know, I found myself on the upper end of the state.
- It's a scary experience for me, because you don't know, like, the people there until you're there a month. And you start talking and warm up to them, and then you're, like, going into new surroundings. For me it takes me a pretty long time for me to adjust to where I am.
- Staff usually help me get, like, suited up at the place. They try to make it the best that they can. They just talk to me and try to get to know me and stuff.
- ...but like there was only one staff that I actually trusted there, And he talked to me, and we sorta like had sorta like a great raport. [I: OK.] We started talking,
- and basically, and he didn't want to put me with like with all the other, like, hard core criminals. [I: OK.] So, he put me in a cell by myself ...because he thought that it would be safer. [I: OK.] And like, for the two days that I was there, he came in there and checked on me, like, every so many hours. I ... I just really trusted that guy.

- And there was this one other staff there, though … we were like talking on the basketball court, and then he said they'll do anything they can to keep me safe there.
- I remember, like, when I first came in there, they kept yelling out my cell number. And then that made me so scared. [All the other, like, inmates and stuff.]
- …all I did was stay quiet since they would, like, not like, continue on. Because I was, like, curled up into a little ball scared to death.
- I was just surprised. And then that kinda surprised me, 'cause I didn't have any warning about it [moving].
- And I had no idea where this place was, because I've never been up on this end of the state until then. I tried to ask them. I asked them like three or four times where I was going. And they wouldn't answer me. So, I decide that it can't be any worse than the place I was at at the time. So, like, I sat back and enjoyed the ride, and then they, like, pulled in there. I had never heard of this place … I had never heard of Holston before. So they, like, drove me around the circle, and I was wondering what all those buildings were. I just thought that they were being plain old rude. [I: OK.] I think that I have a right to know where I'm going.
- …my mom didn't even know that I was coming up here until they called her like five hours after I'd been up here. 'Cause she thought that I was still at Brookhaven.

- What makes me feel unsafe is, a lot of, like, threats. Like threatening talk and stuff like that. Like, most of the guys threaten you just because they play with you.
- …guys … sort of play with you like that. Sort of try to be your friend, and you know like, [can't make this out] and play basketball, and something like that.
- And then, I didn't get used to that until I was a couple months in custody.
- …getting to know the other guys that you're with is kinda the most scariest part than actually being where you are placed. Because you don't know them. …they're kinda dangerous until you like get to know them, and stuff.
- I feel safe around staff no matter what. Because I think of them as the Peacekeepers, and stuff. And that's what they are in places, like, keep up the peace and stuff and keep everybody from going at each other and stuff.
- And sort of being mentory, and stuff.
- I would say, "Don't screw up." [I: OK.] Don't screw up or make any bad decisions, because it can knock you back down in the food chain. Like it could knock you down to, like, a level four. Like, you know, like, extremely locked down … where you can't even go out of your cell, almost.
- It's a change of scenery. …once you get tired of the same old place all the time then when you move it's sort of, like, gets you, like, a new surrounding. You get something new to look at and stuff, Instead, you get a whole new place to, like, explore, and stuff.

- Holston has the same staff that I've known for, like, the couple of years that I've been here. So, I've had, like, I've gotten to, like, know her, like, better than anyone else there. ...when I have a problem, she says come talk directly to her, and she'll solve the problem. And, so, like, if I have a complaint or feel unsafe, I go her, and then she usually takes care of it immediately. You can go straight to the head person of the program instead of going though channels, and stuff. "Cause going through channels takes a while.
- ...it just depends on if the same guys I've known for a couple of weeks or who was at my previous placement, then I can trust them, and stuff like that. I'm used to them...
- ...but any other people that I've never seen before, then I get all nervous, and stuff.
- [I: So, if you know the peers you feel like you can trust them.] P: Yes. I feel that I'm used to, like, talking to them, or chatting, and stuff like that.
- [I: If you had to leave a place and go to another place, is there anything that staff can say to you that makes you feel safer about the place your going? Or feel better about the place you're going?] P: No. Because they don't know anything about the program where I'm possibly going to or not, and they might, like, lie about something, but they didn't mean, like, do it on purpose. They might be a little wrong about it.
- Just knowing that I can talk to them [staff] when I need to and stuff.

Interview with #75

- It sucks. The reason why it sucks with me is because I can't go home. I can't get passes like some people can. [I: OK.] That's the reason why it sucks for me, cause all I can do is stay here or stay in that placement and do what they do there.
- *...whenever I got here, I was good for about a month or so. Then I started getting in trouble. (*statement added by major professor)
- Staff here is all up in your business, and stuff. There, they didn't take everything as a joke. They took everything serious up there, and stuff like that. And like, you can get away with things here, but up there, you couldn't. You couldn't get away with anything there. They're strict on the rules,
- ...and that taught me how to do good, and stuff like that.
- And now, here, I'm just worse than I was.
- ...because I got in a fight. So, I knew I would be going somewhere – to Juvenile or something. I really wasn't worried about that one.
- Then, I didn't know that I was going to Juvenile after I went to Lakeshore.
- And, I didn't want to go, 'cause I didn't like it. That was the first time I went to Juvenile.
- Mad. Why did I have to go to Juvenile after I had got out of somewhere I had served some time for, for whatever I did.
- I was happy whenever I left Hamilton County because I didn't like it.
- Scott County wasn't that bad. I liked it up there, too, because I got along with workers up there...

- I was pretty glad to leave there, too.
- Then, I went to Jackson Academy. Whenever, I got up there to Jackson Academy, I didn't like it at first, and then I started getting used to it, and stuff.
- No. Because I really ain't worried about it. It just don't bother me, because I'm so used it. Being ... Now, I'm used to being locked up right now, cause it don't bother me being locked up no more. I don't like it, but I'm used to it.
- I'd tell him, "Be good; stay out of trouble."
- Just do what they say, cause, if you don't do what they say you'll get in trouble and stuff like that. [Pause.] Just do what they say, be honest. If you give them respect, they'll respect you back.
- I really don't know what they [staff] would say. Just do good, and don't get in no more trouble.
- I'd have to find out for myself. See how the other clients act, and stuff like that. What I mean is, how they act around you, the way they talk to you, and just how they are.
- I had the chance to go to the group home, and I chose not to, because, I didn't like the way the clients were over there. One of clients started messing with me whenever I first stepped in there. And I didn't like it. [I: OK.] I told him to quit, but he wouldn't, so I chose ... I told them I didn't want to go over there. So, that's the reason why I'm still here.
- I had almost all the staff on my side, 'cause I was there for so long. They .... If I told them something that happen that really did happen, they'd believe me if

someone else tried to lie about it. [I: OK.] And, I liked the staff a lot up there, and they liked me, too. [I: OK.] And, feel safe around there. ...and they would believe me.

- They taught you how to respect people, and stuff like that, adults and stuff.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving from place to place?] P: I don't think there is. But it is probably good for, because if you move from ... if you're like in a level three, or something like that, it's good to move to a level two, or something. It means your working the program, and stuff like that, I guess. If you did it right. Not the wrong way. It means that's not good. It means you're not improving your attitude. It means you're just making it worse. It shows you how you'll probably act when you get older.

Interview with #76

- Then I got disrupted and they moved me back to Holston.
- At first it's kinda hard because you don't know nobody, and you're not used to the surroundings and all the different people. But after a while you kinda get used to it after you meet friends [I: OK.] and get to know people.
- ... and get used to being away from home. [I: OK.] That was my hardest thing, being ... getting used to being away from home, because that meant that I'm away from my parents. [I: OK.] So that makes things a lot harder.
- And then being moved from place to place, after a while it gets hard, because being locked up for nothing. You're time ain't counting. It ain't doing nothing but make me mad. More mad at the system.

- It makes you not want to work the program, because you don't know when you're going to be moved again, for no reason, or whatever.
- ...each placement I got to, they allowed a phone call when I got there to let our parents know where we was. When I got to CCS, though, I think it was like two months before I called them, because I wasn't on level to have phone calls and stuff. That was real hard. Couldn't send mail, or nothing like that. It was hard. Really not knowing if my parents were OK. If one of them had been hurt, if my mama had been hurt or my brother. Well, for the first six months, I never seen my parents, because I didn't want them to come and see me while I was locked up. Because, it's hard. It's hard enough being away from home. Then when they come and visit you; I thought that it would make things a lot harder, because when they left I would want to go with them, and I wouldn't be able to. So, I just told them to not bother and come see me. ...my mom called and told me that they was in Bull's Gap, they was on their way here. It was good, 'cause I was starting to get my home passes and stuff. That made everything a lot easier. That made me want to get out a lot more.
- The people ... you know you got ... when you first get locked up you don't know nobody. Unless its people from your home county that you've met before or some of your friends that are locked up. And you don't know how people are going to act when you approach them and try to be their friend. Either you make friends or you're by yourself the whole time you're locked up. And having friends, that's a good thing, because you have somebody to talk to when you need

somebody to talk to. You won't just have to let all your anger build up and then end up just going off for no reason – get put in a mental hospital or something.

- After a while it gets old.
- You don't know where they're going to move you to.
- If where you're going to go to, if people are going to abuse you. Or staff or whoever might try to molest you or whatever. … Staff or other kids or whatever.
- [I: Did they tell you the next one you were going to be moved to] P: No, not really. When, I first got sent off, me and two of my friends got sent of together – two of my other friends. And I asked to be moved where they were. …so they moved me to these other two places, just until they could get me here. And my case worker called me the day before they moved me and told me that I was coming to Holston, where my friends were at [I: Did it make you feel better that your friends were here coming here?]P: Yeah, because I was locked up with people that I knew that were from the same type of environment that I was from.
- Then I got disrupted from there, I knew … I had a feeling that I would get disrupted. But I figured that I would go to a level three or higher because of the things that I was doing.
- [I: OK. Was it easier for you coming back to Holston the second time since you had already been here once?] P: Yeah. It made everything a lot easier. When I moved to CCS, I didn't even want to work the program. [I: OK.] And then, when I got back here, they were telling me that that was the only way that I was going to be able to get out, if I do work the program. So, I got it in my mind that I

was going to have to work the program to get out. So, that's what I've been doing, and I'm about to get out.

- In a way, well, when I got sent off, I was kinda happy. In a way, that way I knew that people on the street that I was into it with, they wouldn't be able to hurt me. If I was locked up, and I was locked up and people was trying to hurt me, that they would always be somebody around at some point in time to stop it from happening. I was just pretty much fed up with the violence and stuff.
- Moving? I think that all the facilities are safe; all of them could be safer. It ain't really that bad.
- This moving from place to place, you know, when you find out that your moving your just wondering in your mind what's this place going to be.
- Are they going to like me when I get there, or whatever.
- I really wasn't worried about it. It did, in a way, but in a way it didn't. I really didn't have any problem with it.
- But I usually don't talk to people that I don't know.
- Well, I don't know. In some point in time everybody needs somebody to talk to, so you're not going to have no choice but to talk to somebody. [I: OK.] And, when I ... well, at the first three place that I was at, it was only a few kids there. So, it wasn't really nothing major. Then I get moved to CCS, and there is almost close to 80 people there. So, and I had to talk to somebody. So, I started hanging around people that was closest to my place – closest to [name of hometown]

where I was from. [I: OK.] Like people from Knoxville and Chattanooga. I started hanging around them, talking to them, and then we became friends.

- I would just tell him to keep your head up, you know. Don't let the small things bother you. Just do what you gotta do to get out, so you can get out.
- The main thing about here is, just don't feed into negativity and everything will go smooth. [I: OK.] That's the big thing at Holston – negativity. If you stay away from that, then everything will go all right - you'll be fine. …
- get you to go off on staff, and to just, like, throwing food behind the couch. Pouring all the food out on the couch. …I would make people aware of it when they get here. Just stay away from all the food stuff.
- They [staff] could, but, I probably wouldn't take it to heart, because, more than likely, they had never been there. They couldn't even tell me how to handle stuff over there if they had never been there.
- But if it were coming from another peer, I would take it to heart, because they had been through the situation. [I: OK.] They could tell me how it is and what to expect when I get there.
- Like, the behavior from the other clients. Like. when you get there, what are they going to do – how are they going to look at you. If you're going to fit in or not. Things like that. [I: OK.] Things that most teenagers are worried about. … They all are looking to fit in. [I: OK.] So, just do, basically don't do anything, just anything to fit it. But whatever you feel to do to fit in with the other kids, if it fits you, then just do it.

- My whole life I've been into fights. I like to fight, and stuff. So, my cousin got sent off, and he told me, "When you get locked up, you're going to have to fight regardless of if you want to or not. You're going to have no choice but to fight." So when I moved to Holston, you know, I didn't get into arguments with nobody, so I'm thinking, he's just lying. It ain't as bad as he said it was. Then I moved to CCS, and I was fighting three or four times a week. I didn't have no choice but to fight. ...Cause if you didn't, they would fight you. You know, people would look down on you. Like, you just let him run his mouth to you, and you didn't do nothing about it. After a while, that gets old. It relieves a lot of stress, too. It takes things off your mind for a while. ...Yeah. Because you ain't supposed to let nobody run over you. That's just how I was. I didn't let nobody run over me. That's why I got disrupted. For fighting, and stuff.
- And staff, we had staff up there who was just smacking clients and stuff like that.
- Well, you could tell staff, though, but when staff ain't around, who is going to take up for you? You are on your own, basically. When staff ain't around, you either fight or get beat up. ...If staff's around, they ain't going to do that. Unless, they just got problems.
- It was kinda hard, you know, just to sit there and let another peer get smacked for no reason. But, you couldn't do nothing about it. They take staffs' word over clients' regardless of who saw it. You just had to sit back and hope that it didn't happen to you.
- It was kinda hard, because you never know what to expect. Cause if a staff is in a bad mood, you're going to have different reactions to things.

- Yeah. You've got to get used to being around a staff. Find a staff to be buddy-buddy with. Get on their good side, so you won't have to worry about nothing like that happening to you. They'll help you out while you're there. They'll help you get through the program. Yeah. As a client, they'll keep you from trouble and, you know, help you get your passes. Help you get out quicker. [I: OK.] [Can't make this out.] ...talk to people, like talk to the case manager and let them know that you are going good. That you don't need to be here, and all this, you know. So, they help you out.
- [I: ...what could a staff person do at that new placement to help you feel like it was going to be a safe place and things were going to be OK there?] P: Talk to me and let me know what's going on. [I: OK.] Everybody needs to know what's going on [can't make this out] before they enter a new environment. [I: OK.] You just don't put somebody somewhere where they don't know what's going on or what to expect, cause they could end up getting hurt. [I: OK.] If they aren't aware of what's going on around them.
- ...just sit back and watch. [I: OK.] Take notes. Get in mind what people's reactions is to certain things. Like, [can't make this out] curse with them, just to see what their reaction is. And then, so that way you'll know not to do it, just to piss somebody off and get them angry. You know ahead of time that you don't want to do that, and you could end up getting into a fight with that person, if you don't want to fight them [can't make this out].

- Well, it really, it's what you make out of it. Being locked up, you don't ever get your way. You're not here to get your way. A lot of times, you've just got to live with what happens. Getting mad ain't going to do nothing but make things worse.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving to new places?] P: I met, I know I met at least over 300 new people, cause I've been locked up. And it's kinda good, you know, you meet new people – see where they're coming from, how they [can't make this out], and how they got there, and you know, when you do get out and get another chance, you're gonna look back on that and say, "Well, if John got locked up for this, then I don't want to do that." And so that helps out a lot, too.
- Get to travel. …Something you'd probably never do if you were still at home. [I: OK.] Most people don't ever, have never been out of their home county. In a way it's good. Get out and see things.

Interview with #81

- It's pretty depressing, sometimes. …Ah …. It kinda makes you feel … I don't know, like you don't know where you're going. [I: OK.] It makes you down and out.
- I know when I went, when I ran from Brown and went to the juvenile in my home town, they didn't even tell me where I was going. They just woke me up at four o'clock in the morning, told me to come on. I was in shackles, and they sent me to Blount County Detention. I had to sleep in shackles
- …it just … makes your parents depressed, 'cause they don't know where you're at. When I went to Peninsula and went to that foster home, they didn't know where I was at for a week. [I: OK.] And I had to sneak and call from the foster

home. 'Cause I knew my Mom didn't know where I was at, or she would have called. It makes me feel bad for them as well as for myself.

- I remember getting out of the car, and they was bars all around, and stuff. [I: How did that make you feel when you woke up and saw all that?] I felt like an animal. ...It .... I guess thinking about everybody else being able to go to the mall, go shopping, go to the movies. And you had to sit there and eat liquid egg and nasty food and ...[pause].
- Mad. ...Them moving me so much. I wanted to kill the judge. 'Cause it wasn't even my mom's fault. It was my dad's fault. It wasn't my fault, either.
- When I was at home I had to move a lot. I was, like, in nine, ten different schools. ...I've lived in Florida, Georgia, Illinois, all over the place. [I: What was that like having to move from place to place even with your family?] It wasn't real bad. [I: OK.] Because I was with my family.
- No, not really. Just who's going to be there, or whatever. [I: Does that make you feel safe or unsafe, or what do you think about that?] Kinda unsafe. [I: OK.] Not knowing who I'm going to be around.
- Well, if I know somebody there, or something, I'll feel more safer. [I: OK.] I don't know, I guess because I have somebody to talk to. ...Only reason, I was lonely. [I: OK. You're lonely, and you know somebody, and can talk to somebody. That helps?] Yeah. Helps a lot.
- Good luck. Try and do better.

- [I: If a new kid came to this placement and got put in your cottage, what would you say to him to make him feel better – make him feel safer – about being here.] I don't. …We peed in one kids shoes and were just mean to new kids. [I: How come you're mean to new kids?] I don't know. I guess because everybody was mean to us when we were new.
- [I: OK. You said that at other places they were mean to you? Or was it just here?] Mostly here. Or, when I went to Freewill, I got beat up, and stuff like that. …I didn't really get beat up. This kid was three of four years older than me. And he said something, and I answered his questions, and he smacked me in the face. So, … [I: How did you feel after that?] Bad. [I: What made you feel bad about getting smacked?] Just having to be around a bunch of older kids. [I: What worried you about that?] I just didn't like …. I was just scared of getting beat up.
- [I: If you were leaving to go to a new placement, what could the staff here say or do for you that would help you to feel safe in moving to a new place.] Nothing, really. [I: Nothing. [P: Nods no.] [I: How come?] I …. I don't know …. I just … If I don't feel safe, I don't feel safe. There's nothing that will help about it.
- [I: OK. Do you usually feel safe when you move …. If you find you're going to a new place, or do you feel unsafe?] Sometimes I feel safe, sometimes I don't.
- Well, like, places that I've already been, I feel safe.
- [I: OK. What about the other places – if you don't know where you're going, never been there.] I don't feel safe. [I: OK. What makes you feel unsafe about those places.] I don't know anybody there, or….. I ain't never been there, don't know what it's like.

- [I: OK. If you just arrived at a new placement, what's things that staff can do for you that can make you feel safer about being there?] P: Nothing.
- [I: Is there anything that anybody can do to help you feel safe at a new placement?] [Can't make this out.] My peers did, and I felt safer. Just tell me that this was a good place. [I: OK.] Stuff like that. [I: All right.] Just positive peership.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving to different places?] No.
- [I: Tell me the worst thing about all this moving stuff.] [Pause.] Worrying about your parents.... How they're going to find you, or, if they know where you're at.
- There is nothing that anybody can really do to make you feel better about moving. [I: OK.] You just have to try to do it on your own. [I: OK.] Find out for your own. [I: What sort of things do you find out ...what sort of things do you look for?] You don't really look for nothing, it just comes to you.
- [I: What is it?] When people start being good to you. Staff, peers. It just comes to you, and you notice what people do that's good for you. And you notice what people are trying to help and what people aren't.

Interview with #82

- [I: OK. All right. So, all together it looks like you've been fifteen places? Is that about right?] [Nods yes.] In eight months.
- Most of the time, you really don't know where I'm going to go.

- But when I get there, most of the time the let me call. [I: OK.] But some place hadn't let me call my mom. When I first came into custody, that foster home, in Scott county, I didn't talk to her the whole time I was there. They wouldn't let me call. ...I got mad, because, you know, I'm supposed to be able to contact my mom once a week.
- Then, when I went back to Newport, that was closer to home, so. [I: OK.] And they let me go home, or go spend time with my family a lot.
- When I went there, you know, it was crazy there in Newport. ...Like, there was bugs everywhere.
- You're never going to know when you're going to go home. [I: OK.] Until you have a staffing.
- Then, if you get moved from that place then you have to have another staffing. ... It's hard. You just get settled in, then you got to get all your stuff back together, go to another place. Get used to it, and they'll move you again. It's, just, you know, here we go again. Like, I'll be at one place for a month and then they'll move me. And see, if I'm doing good where I'm at, I don't see why they just don't leave me there?
- 'Cause, if I get to talk to my mom and everything, then why don't they just leave me there?
- I almost lost my home pass last night, because somebody was doing it [playing with fire alarm] and they didn't know it was, so they was going to take

everybody's home pass. I was just saying, if I find out, if I end up losing my home pass, and I find out who done it, they're going to be sorry.

- [I: OK. So, did that incident make you feel safe or unsafe?] P: Unsafe, because, you know, what if there really is a fire somewhere, and you think that, well, somebody's just playing with it; ignore it.
- That foster home in Morristown I's at, I was staying in the very back room. Like, it was behind the door. It looked like it was supposed to be a storage closet. Like they didn't even care, you know. Like they were just in it for the money.
- ...but then pretty soon, she was saying, "Well, you're not calling your mom no more." And, you know, I'd have to sneak getting out and call my mom or she would never let me call.
- It [moving] makes me have to start my thing over. Start somewhere else.
- [Is there anything else that makes you feel safe or unsafe when you move to these places or you find out that you are moving to a new place?] Well, what goes through my head first is, is my mom going to be able to come and see me? Am I going to be able to call my family? That's pretty much it.
- [I: What worries when you can't contact your family?] I just makes me mad, you know, because I don't know if they're OK. They don't know if I'm OK. [I: OK.] Stuff like that.
- If they're going to put you and then stick you in a foster home and give you in-home services, why can't you do it at home?

- [I: If one of your peers were going to move to a new placement, what would you say to him to help him feel better about moving or make him feel safe about where he was going?] Tell him to call me whenever he gets there. [I: OK.] You, talk to him before he leaves. …I'd hang out with him and talk to him.
- Well, right now, I could say, I've been everywhere. It's not really that bad. Most places let you call, so.
- I've already pressed an assault charge on him because he hit me.
- [I: OK. How does that make you feel when one of your peers in your house is hitting on you?] P: When staff don't do nothing about it, actually, it don't make me feel safe, because if they're not going to do nothing about this, what makes me think that they'll do something about it next time.
- …'cause I know [name of client] will go in there and he'll steal something from me. It's just like, if I don't steal from somebody else, then why are they going to steal from me?
- Really, I'd just be mad, because I've already started a new program here, and I'm already almost … well, I've got two-and-a-half months left through it. I don't really feel like starting over again.
- …he picks on all of us. He picks on [name of client], he's 13. He picks on me, I'm 13. He picks on [name of client], he's 13. He picks on [name of client], he's 12. [I: OK.] But he don't pick on none of the older guys. …I wish somebody older than him would pick on him, then he'd know what it feels like. [I: OK.]

We're just sitting there, playing a game or something, and he comes up and yanks the controls away from me [can't make this out].

- It would take me a while to get used to it. Then, I'd start talking to people. ...I mean, if I'm in a new place I've never been and don't know nothing about. It's going to take me a while to get used to it. I ain't going to tell nobody nothing unless I have to. I don't talk to them. [I: OK. How come you don't talk to people?] Well, when I first get there, I don't because, you know, they're going to think he's just, from the way he talks, he's stupid or something. What they talk about, stuff like that.
- Most places, pretty much, if you're in a place with a lot of older guys it's not really safe, ...they're going to whoop you. Because, if they don't get to go home, they're going to say, "What the heck." You know. ...It's just, you know, I'm in the same place as him. What if he takes it out on me?
- Well, really, I don't like the staff up here. I mean, they don't care about us. [I: OK.] Like when I was up here, like, say if you're going to run, they'll say, "Go ahead." They won't try to stop you; they won't do nothing. [I: How does that make you feel about them or make you think about them?] P: They don't care if you run, what else is going to make me think that they'll stop somebody from beating me up.
- [I: Anything good about moving to all these places?] P: No.
- [I: Well, is there anything else you can say to me that helps me to understand what it's like to move 15 times in eight months?] P: It's not like they tell you about it.

Interview with #86

- Then I went to [first name of foster parent], and she was mean to me.
- Depressing.
- You don't get to stay and make friends, because all your friends is ... you move from them, and, ah, and people you really care about get moved away, and... Moving just makes me depressed because I got to leave everything that I'm used to. And, just, people that really care about me isn't around no more.
- And anyhow, I couldn't see my little sister, because most of this stuff is my brothers and sisters. So, that was kind of depressing. I got pretty.... That's where I think that I got most of my anger from.
- I was kind of disappointed in myself.
- I mean, I was in Knox County, I was kind of disappointed at myself and my family, because I was in there a week before Christmas in state care Christmas, and only my brother and sister come visit me. My mom didn't. And my mom never comes up to visit me, and she only came up once for family therapy.
- Yeah. I mean, that stuff kind of gets caught in your head. [I: What do you mean my gets caught in your head?] Like, you don't forget highlights of your life. And that was one of the lowest points in my life.
- P: My banana seat bicycle (he said with a smile). [1: (Laughs).] And my big wheels. [I: You've got a smile on your face. Were those good things?] P: Yeah.
- [I: You talked about kind of being depressed.] I thought I'd never get out. And,

uh, so just gave up trying. Then, I thought my family was trying to help me get out, so I started trying again. And, I was good for the longest time, then they moved away and didn't call me for four months, and their excuse was, ah, "We thought our rights to you was terminated." They still could of called. But the best part about being here is people like me and, uh, my step-dad. He's the one who keeps me in my seat and keeps me good, and he likes to take me to NA, and uh, and likes to take me to movies and stuff. I'm going to spend the weekend with him. [Can't make this out.] So, I'm psyched about that. And he's my ex-stepfather. He don't even have to be around no more. But he wants to.

- [I: How's that make you feel because he's wanting to do that.] P: It makes me feel bad, because I sort of want to go home with my parents, but I want to stay here. Because, if I go there then I can't see my step-dad ever again, and I can't go to NA.
- When I was in Peninsula, I was scared, because, man, there's crazy people there. And it's like, woo. [I: What scared you about the crazy people?] Man, they come in clucking like chickens and stuff, man, and all this. And they was so drugged, man, and I was thinking that maybe they was going give me some Thorazine and make me go to sleep, and I wasn't liking that. ...Well, I was afraid they would hurt me.
- Yeah. And there was two staff I didn't like because they would try to make me mad so I would stay longer. They even told me that, so that I would have to stay longer, and I wouldn't get to come back here. They said, "That was just a test. I don't think you're ready to go out into the world yet" [spoken in a deep, gruff

voice].

- Ah... YES, I like that a lot. One memory sticks out. And I want to do this again. I want to buy a Nintendo 64 and play the "Legend of Zelda." ...That's my favorite video game in the whole world. [1: OK] And they had it.
- Going into states custody, they ain't nobody going to try to kidnap you, because you're a blocked off person.
- Unsafe is, there's people here with attitudes, they're bad people.
- But then there's some nice people here. People who will look out for you.
- Yeah. And people like to steal my video games and hide them in the woods. They even stole my NA chips and tokens that my step-dad gave me and NA gave me, and they threw them out into the woods down by the school. [I: OK.] So, every time they get mad at me they take something of mine and throw it in the woods.
- I've got an overactive imagination, so when I'm in bed at night, I've got to have a roommate. [1: OK] I'm not scared of the dark. It's just, I'm scared of what's in the dark.
- Yeah. And I'm scared of my head. My head's crazy. ...I'll just be standing there, man, and I'll be hearing creepy noises, and I'll be like, monsters are going to come get me and they're [can't make this out] and stuff I just keep thinking about it and I don't stop thinking about it, so.
- [I: Anything else that scares you?] Uh... [paused.] Not knowing the right choices to make. ...I got the choice whether to go home or whether I'm going to stay down here. And I just made a choice not to go to that foster home, so, uh, I don't know

if that was the right choice or not.

- Uh. Knowing that I can just come in my room without getting hit, and stuff. Yeah, at the house I got hit a lot.
- Yeah. Unless I do the hitting first. The kids are afraid of me, because I do most of the hitting.
- This place is funny. ...There's lots of funny people here. ...They make funny jokes. ...And they do stupid stuff here that's funny. [I: So, is that a good thing?] Yeah. ... It's a relief. [I: OK. It's a relief. A relief from what?] Stress. Like, you don't know what's going to happen next and you're on the edge of your seat and your stressed, and somebody comes out with a funny joke or accidentally trips and falls into a box. Like earlier, he said, and fell into a box on accident, and I sort of laughed at that.
- [I: OK. What makes you stressed and on the edge of your seat? You said you don't know what's going to happen next. Is there anything in particular?] Yeah. If a whole bunch of bad stuff's happening at once. ...It's just that the next that I hit somebody, I'm going to Mountain View [a youth detention center]. I got to make the right choices. If a whole bunch of stuff starts happening, and then I get pissed off and hit somebody, then I'll go to Mountain View.
- [I: ...is there anything that you could say to him to make him feel better or safer about where they're moving to?] In my opinion, not really. Because, you know, if you're going to go somewhere bad, then there's nothing you can say to make them feel better about it; they'll just be pissed off. And try to make them laugh and forget about it.

- If they're going somewhere good, and they're really not sure about it, you can go, "It's going to be all right, and stuff, you know, these people are going to take care of you, and it's better than here." And that always gets them.
- Yeah. I can just tell them the rules and help keep them out of trouble. [I: OK.] Like I always do.
- Yeah. Unless when a new kids gets cocky and tries to jump up in my face. [I: What happens then?] Then I've got to show them who's boss. I've got to put them in their place, because they're a new kid, and they don't need to think that they're bigger and better than everybody, because, I know I'm not bigger and better than everybody. And if I can show them that I'm bigger and better than them, then that makes them feel small.
- It depends on where I'm going. ...If I'm going somewhere bad, I'm probably going to run. ... Yeah. That's just about what everybody does.
- If I'm going somewhere good, I'm ... I don't worry about. I won't need nobody to tell me it will be all right, because, if I'm going somewhere good, I'll know it, and I'll want to go.
- [I: What makes the places good or bad?] P: Uh, the people, and uh, the level, and how you're treated. Like, being locked up twenty-four/seven, just about, in a room is not a good place. [I: OK.] Being in a padded room is not a good place.
- Being in a nice foster home with people who care, that's a good place.
- ...he [staff] joked around with us and made us happy,
- [I: Has there been anything good about the whole process?] P: You get to see

different places. [I: OK.] But the bad thing is, you ... I can't remember my way around anywhere. We've been to Wal Mart about a hundred times, up there in Johnson City, and I don't even know my way there. [I: OK] I didn't even remember my way to my house when we went on a home pass. Stuff like that. Because you see so many things that look alike.

- Well, when you move, the first thing is, fear. Like, you're afraid of what's going to happen, who you're going to meet next, and that person could be you're new best friend for your whole life or be your new worst enemy for the rest of your life, or they could just be a part of your life for just a small time.
- Me, myself, I've never seen somebody die, and I don't want to. And, uh, ... I hear a lot of people with depressing stories about how people died when they moved. Like, some, I know depend on me, because they say that if I move, then they'll commit suicide and that kind of depresses me a lot, and makes me scared
- I got a girlfriend, man, and she's like, "Don't move." Because, I can't stop it. And then you've got to end the relationship like that, too.
- But after you move, you can either like it and make the best of it or not like it and make the worst of it and get in trouble all the time, and get sent somewhere bad, worse. It's really what you make of it. Like, I was in Knox County and I didn't think that it was all that bad, and I was locked up twenty-three hours a day. I got watch TV. I got to sleep. I got to do whatever I wanted, as long as I was in my room. See, I made it out to be a good place.
- Over Christmas is the most depressing time being in a home, because you're away from you're family, and uh... But if you're like me and never had a really good, it's

not all that bad. But when your family don't come to visit you, then it makes you want to hurt yourself. ...Yeah. When your family don't put forth no effort. You're like, "It ain't working no more." You want to hurt yourself or somebody else. A lot of pent up anger, and you like to beat people up, or try to.

- The depression that follows when moving and being in custody, it kind of makes you want to do drugs. That's when I started doing drugs, and I thought it would make me feel better. ...Yeah. Then after I went to NA, it tried to make me not want to even do the drugs that the doctor gave me for my depression, and uh, and it kind of makes you feel bad that you did it, and it brings on more depression.

Interview with #87

- It's messed up. Confusing. It's .... You get used to one, or, you get used to one place and you get moved again. It's weird.
- I got there and they told me that I was going back to Holston, and they lied to me, and I got there, and I was very disappointed, because they sent me back here. And, it's, like, it's very confusing to get sent different places. It's upsetting, that you get sent to so many different places. It's hard. Yeah. They lied to me and sent me here. ... I didn't like it. It made me mad.
- It's just hard; it's hard on people. It's hard on the kids here that are moving, and, but, we don't know nothing that's going on, because the staff don't really tell us much when we get moved. One staff tells you one thing and another staff tells

another one. The staff really don't know much around here. It's the higher staff that know the stuff around here, and it's hard when you get moved.

- Yeah, they sort of told me. I wasn't for sure of it when I first came into Holston for assessment; I wasn't for sure if I was going to stay here. I wanted to stay here, 'cause , in a way, I didn't really want to stay here because it was so far away from home.
- And then in a way I did, because it seemed like it was going to be .... I liked the program and the staff when I first got here with [name of staff]. [I: Uh huh.] Me and him, he worked with me real good, and, uh, I got along with [name of staff] OK, and he tried to work with me, and stuff. And ... that... I wanted to work the program here when I first got here. [I: Uh huh.] And, I wanted to work the program when I first got here.
- And, I've been here a year and four months, now, in State's Custody, and my parents have to do all this stuff before I can go home, and I'm getting to the point where I'm not wanting to work the program anymore. And I'm tired of having to do that ... put the effort forth on my part to where I'm tired of having to do all the work and my parents not doing their stuff to where I can go home. I don't see .... I've tried foster homes, and it didn't work out. [I: OK.] And, I don't want to go to group homes or I don't want to get adopted, and my DCS worker wants me to go to a, like, an independent living, and I don't want to do that yet. [I: No?] Because, I'm fixing to be seventeen, and she said that I could go to that, but I don't want to do that yet.... I just don't want to do that. I want to try to return home.

- P: It's been really hard on me here, to [can't make this word out] with this stuff.
- [I: When you get to a placement is there anything that makes you feel safe or unsafe, when you get there?] P: Not really. I went to one placement, and I didn't feel right, because I had a problem when I was in a foster home. [I: Uh huh.] I got caught huffing gas..... That, uh, I feel like I was going to relapse in NA, with the gas cans everywhere. They just told me to go away, to go isolate myself in the house. And I said, "How, when everywhere I like there is someone bothering me and everywhere I go there is a gas can." And they still wouldn't come get me, and they made me stay there. And I felt unsafe, and I felt wrong with the gas cans everywhere. And they made me stay there for another two days. And there was like gas cans everywhere, everywhere I looked.
- And I called my foster mom, and I was like, I wasn't getting along with foster kids and the parents didn't like me for some reason. And called her up was like, "[Name of foster parent], can you come get me?" She was doing something, and she wouldn't come get me, and I kept getting in arguments and wasn't getting along with the foster parents. And, uh, the daughter of the foster mom told me she would smack me if I did something again, in my face. And I told the foster mom and my DCS worker, or my case manager that in the Knoxville office, and they wouldn't get me, come get me. And I told them that, that I felt unsafe, and that I didn't feel right there.
- The foster mom was being rude. She told me to kiss her butt, or something. She said.... And I said something to her, I was being rude back to her, and she said, "I'll just turn my head, and I don't have to hit, I'll just turn my head and let one of

my sons or my daughter get a hold of you." And she threatened me with one of her kids. And she was .... And I felt unsafe because she was threatening me with her kids, and stuff. She said she would have her older daughter smack me. [I: I see.] And her daughter said she would smack me. [I: OK.] And her sons threatened me, too. And I told the foster, or my DCS, or my case manager that that was in Holston. [I: Uh huh.] I called her, and called my foster mom, and she would never come get me. ... It made me upset. They told me if .... My foster mom told me if I felt uncomfortable anywhere, they'd come get me. And when I told her that, she said, "Oh, when I was at home, I told you I'd come get you." It should be the same way anywhere. If I feel uncomfortable, they should come get you.

- Usually, when someone goes to a new placements, if they say that they're going to run, we try to talk to them not to. And we talk them down. We tell them it's not worth it, and stuff like that.
- [I: Why do they threaten to run?] Because the either think that it's going to be worse or sometime they won't run, or sometime they think it's going to be a Level 3 or Level 4 or something like that, and want to run, or something like that.
- [I: ...what would you say to him to make him feel safer about being in Smith house?] P: "How you doing?" "Um, welcome to Smith," I guess. ... Yeah. We usually have a group, and we introduce ourselves. [Name of staff] makes us, or not makes us, we just have a group. We just all say our name and how old we are and what level we're on, and stuff. ...Yeah, so they can learn our name and what

phase we're on. He gives them peer buddies [can't make this out] and they get with their peer buddies so that they can learn the rules, and stuff.

- Probably let me go talk to [name of staff mentioned at the beginning of the interview] about it, if he was here.
- P: If there's, like people, a bunch of people there, introduce me to the people. Welcome me in, I guess.
- [I: OK. Anything else that would help me?] P: Um ... explain the rules and stuff to me. [I: How do the rules, understanding the rules, help you to feel safe?] In case I'm going something wrong or something, so I'm staying safe. That way I know I'm doing something, or what I'm supposed to do. Or if there is some people doing stuff unsafe, I know what I'm doing is right, or just tell someone. That way, I'll be safe.
- [I: OK. Good. Is there anything good about moving to all these different places?] P: Some there is, yeah. When you get to go home or go to a foster home to get away from here. ... Or a group home or something like that. ... You get more freedom. You get to go to public school or something. You get to spend time with your friends outside of here. You get to see your family more, I guess.
- One thing about the move out here is that it's so far away from your family. I live a hundred .... A round trip for me, a round trip is 239 miles. So, I don't get to see .... I haven't had one visit since I've been in State's Custody, besides one, when I was in foster care, and that was when I was in the hospital, when I had surgery. And I ain't had one visit since I've been in Holston. And I've been in Holston

months, for nine months, and this time for four months, and I ain't had a visit up here once. So, it's been real hard seeing all the other kids having visits and then never having a visit. To move. Move placements way up here.

Interview with # 88

- It's kinda weird. Can't really get comfortable at any places like that moving so much.
- But it really depends, 'cause it helps you sometimes to move. [I: OK.] Like if you step down or step up or something. [I: OK. So, if you step down it helps?] Yeah, it meets your needs more.
- Like, you miss the other place that you were at. You, just are used to all these other's rules, and stuff,
- ...and then when they move you, it's a whole new story. It's like, basically, you're a slave. You got no say-so in it. And then they're just going to move you again after that. [I: OK.] Basically, you're just there.
- Like, how I was comfortable there and how I had already learned all the rules there, and how I knew what to do there and knew what they expected of me. I just felt like I was comfortable staying there.
- [I: OK. You used and interesting word; you said you're kinda like a slave at a place. What do you mean by that?] Like, when you move to a new place, they just tell you what to do. When you don't know what to do, so you just do whatever they say to do, 'cause you don't want to get in trouble. [I: OK.] And

then when you do get in trouble, you get madder because you don't know what to do. [I: OK.] They don't really make it clear to you what to do anyway when they first assess you in any of them. …I don't think they do their job enough, like making things clear when they first … when a kid is first assessed in any new placement. I think they expect you to learn off the other kids.

- [I: OK. What do you think they could do better, instead of having to learn off the other kids?] P: Let you know everything when you first come in.
- [I: OK. What do you think would be the best way to do that?] Mmm….. Maybe the others [youth] could explain all the steps and the rules and everything else that needed to be gone over with you.
- I don't know. Like, some people worry, 'cause they don't know what they about to go into. …I don't know [laughs]. Probably worry, like, who's all going to be over here and is there anybody I know or …. I wonder if the staff are going to treat me different over here.
- [I: You said, some people wonder if they're going to know anybody. Does that help – to get to a placement and you know somebody?] You can feel a little bit more comfortable, because that person can help you learn things faster.
- [I: What do people worry about how people are going to treat them?] Whether or not if there is racist staff or if there is staff that just come in with a bad day everyday, or if there's staff that's happy and staff that like to do things for the kids – like to go out of their way, a little bit, in their job to do things for the kids. Or if there's just staff that's just there because they have to be there to make their money.

- I guess it would make me feel safe if somebody welcomes me there. Like, how everybody has a group, sometimes, for the new kids there, and says, "Hey," and their name, and all that stuff. [I: OK.] And let somebody show them where their room is and stuff like that.
- Just say like you're going to a placement where they won't meet your needs. Like, if you're a level two kid and they send you to a level three placement, or something, just to test you to see if that's where you need to be, you could feel unsafe.
- Like, I don't want stricter rules, because I'm a level two kid. [I: OK.] And, I don't want to be around a whole bunch of level three kids that's just running around crazy and stuff, 'cause I'm not like that. Like, doing level three things. They do level three things. (Laughs.) They disrespect the staff, and disrespect everybody, and some of them try to do good, I guess. Some of them really shouldn't be level three material. But the ones who are just don't care. They kinda like it there, I guess, so they want to stay there. [I: OK.] So, they're going to pull anybody else into it that they can. I really didn't need level two. My therapist told me I really didn't need level two. 'Cause when I went to Hennen, everybody was just cussing and throwing things and flipping TV's over and stuff and throwing apples at the staff. So, I was just sitting back, and stuff, not getting in trouble. They said that I needed to be in level one. So, they hurried up and moved me over here.
- It makes you feel unsafe if you come in the first day you get there and the staff that's there is just there for their job, like we were talking about before. If there's

one of those kind of staff there, their just like, "Here's your stuff. Yeah. You go there. Blah, blah. Blah, blah." And you don't really see them for the rest of the day, or whatever, and then they come back the next week and talk, whatever. It just doesn't seem like anything's going with them. 'Cause anything you do half way out of the rules, you get in trouble for, so ...

- I would tell them just to go down there with a good attitude. Don't go in there thinking that it's going to be what it's not going to be. It's going to be whatever you make out of it. ...It's going to be good if you go in with a good attitude and accept it for whatever it is and try to make it a good experience.
- Usually, everybody that leaves from here and goes to other places, they don't want to leave. ...I don't know. I guess they got too attached to stuff here and the rules and everything. Nobody really liked it when they first came over here, 'cause they were attached to the Wiley Center's rules and everything.
- I'd help him know what really goes on here, and stuff, and what they expect, from the staff, and what they expect from the clients.
- [I: If you were going to a new placement is there anything that staff can say to you to help you fell better of feel safer about where you were going?] [Pause.] I don't really think so. [I: OK. Why not?] 'Cause I don't think that staff has ever told me anything moving to a new placement that, like, made me feel better about going there.
- I can't think of anything other than making you feel welcome.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving?] P: Sometimes you get away from stuff that was kinda holding you down. [I: OK.] Like, if you're having a problem

with a staff here, or something, or at Wiley, and you just got tired of it, or there wasn't nothing happening for you and then they moved you, probably it could help you. P: You feel like you've got a chance to start over, too, from where you were at.

- [I: OK. Anything else good about moving? [Pause.] You could kinda already know what to expect before you go there.
- [I: You went back to Blount County, probably three or four times. Did it ever get any easier to go back there, or was it about the same each time you went back.] It was about the same each time. Blount County is pretty rough.
- [I: OK. What about when you got at Holston, because you were at Brown and then moved to Hennen and then the Boy's Group Home. Was that easier or harder because you were at the same agency?] P: I think that it was a little bit easier...
- And I thought I learned all those rules and felt comfortable, and it was kinda a relief going to Hennen, 'cause they had lesser rules [I: OK.] and a lot more privileges. ...It was supposed to be a relief, and a lot more privileges and lesser rules, but there's not really.

Interview with #89

- [I: OK. What's it like to have to move from one place to another? Like, moving to Lakeshore, and moving to Haslam, and moving to Holston Home?] It sucks. [I: What sucks about it?] I don't know. I mean, I, I had.... I don't know, I was, like, starting to have a pretty good relationship with the therapist at Haslam. [I:

Tell me about the relationship you were making with your therapist at Haslam and having to leave that. What was that like for you?] It pissed me off. [I: OK.] I don't really know what else to tell you. [I: OK.] It just pissed me off.

- …plus this is like a hundred and something miles away from my family, and stuff. [I: OK.] I don't like that. [I: What's that like being so far away from them?] Hate it, 'cause I love my parents [I: OK.] …a whole lot. So… [I: What's the hardest part about having to be away from them?] [Pause.] Not getting any home passes for a long time.
- [I: Anything else you can tell me about what it's like to have to move between placements?] [Pause.] Yeah. Um, when …. like, from what the State's doing, we have no control over it. [I: OK.] We have no say-so. [I: OK.] It pisses me off. …That, uh, that they don't even know the placement people, you know. [I: OK.] They just place us wherever. They just like say, "Hey, you're going here." And we don't even know why or why not.
- I'm just, I'm uncomfortable at any placement. I don't know. I get a weird vibe every time I go to a new place.
- [I: OK. If one of your peers in Smith House were moving to a new placement is there anything you could say or do for him to help him feel safe about where he was going?] Yeah. "Good luck, and don't fuck up." [I: OK. What do you mean by don't fuck up?] Keep your head on straight and don't get into trouble.
- [I: If a new kid came here to Smith House, is there anything you could say to him to make him feel safe about being in Smith] No. [I: Why not?] It sucks there. If I told him it would be all right, then I'd be lying.

- [I: OK. Let's say you just arrived at a new placement, what could the staff the do for you the first day to you as soon as you walked in to make you feel safe? [Pause.] At the end of the first day or at the end of the first week?] I don't know. Say, "It ain't so bad here," or something.
- Tell me my privileges.
- [I: OK. Is there anything good about moving to all these different places?] Well, if it's like, say, a level two foster home or something or level one. That'd be good. Definitely good. [I: OK. So, a foster home is going to be better than a residential …] A group home. [I: A group home. [P: Yeah.] OK. What's better about a foster home?] I don't know. I just heard that it's way better. [I: OK.] You can go to public school most of the time. [I: OK.] And, uh, and you, like, you can talk on the phone a whole lot more. [I: OK.] We only get five minutes for a phone call a day. [I: OK.] So, that's pretty straight, I've heard.
- Yeah. It was good to move from Lakeshore to Haslam. [I: What was good about that?] Lakeshore was weird. It was freaky (laughs). [I: Yeah? What was weird and freaky about it?] Some of these crazy people. [I: OK. How did it make you feel being around those crazy people?] I was starting to that I was really crazy. I was like, "Am I really crazy?," and all that.
- [I: For most kids that live at places like this – at Haslam and Lakeshore – what's the number one thing staff can do for them to help to feel that they're safe – that they're OK?] Try to actually help them out. [I: OK. What do meant by help them out? Give me some examples.] They're heartless (smirks.) … They don't care about nobody. [I: OK.] Like, ah, this one dude he was laying on the ground

crying, and, ah, a guy at Haslam, he wouldn't let go of his neck. So, I mean it was right here or whatever (placed his hand at the base of his neck near his shoulder), and he wouldn't let him go. …I thought that was sick.

Interview with #92

- It's stressful not knowing exactly what to expect at your next place or wherever you're going to live.
- There's like, I mean if you go to the residential, in-house kinda deal, you're, like, not knowing how you're staff's going to react to you or, you know, it's, like, you're peers - if they're going to like you or not; how much of their crap you're having to put up with.
- That's like …. I don't know, not knowing, basically, how the program's going to be run. [I: OK.] I mean, it could be run real easy to almost, like, jail and it not being jail.
- Uh, mainly, it's, like, if you're new, they [kids] just up and attack you if they don't like they way you look or anything [I: OK.] or the way you talk, or stuff…. This petty stuff, like, ….it's just when you get in there you've got the fear – who's going to hit you and when they're going to hit, and could it be from behind or in front of you or what.
- [I: Has that ever happened to you in some of these places?] Ah, it's happened to a bunch of people there. [I: OK.] Fortunately, I've been big enough and scary enough that they wouldn't mess with me.

- It's like some staff want to treat you like you're their best friend, and then some, will just .... They don't really care. They don't care, you know, about the kids there. They don't care about anything but getting a pay-check. I mean, like, as long as they're getting their pay check, they're going to do what they want to with you, and you can't do nothing about it, 'cause it's always staff's word against ours when we file grievances, and stuff. Half the time, they believe staff. There's not any, like, physical proof.
- Just being away from family, not knowing when you're going to see them again. ...It's, I don't know, it's just, with, like, passes and stuff. It's like, if you don't... if your parents are going to be able come up there and get you, or if you're not going to get passes at all, or if the, the ah ....your, ah, placement will work out a way to take you down there or meet them half way or something. You just don't know, exactly, what's going to go up with that.
- [I: When you find out you're moving or you get to a new placement, is there anything that makes you feel either safe or unsafe?] It .... The first staff member that I meet. If they're, like, really nice and, like, and you know, "My name is," and then they'll, like, have some of the other staff come in, and, you know, you'll end up being introduced to them. I mean, you can tell half the time whether or not you're going to like them or not [I: OK.] 'cause of how friendly they are. And if, you know, if they are busy or not and real hateful with you. If they'll come up to you and tell them that they didn't mean to be that way to you, or whatever.

- [I: OK. Anything that makes you feel unsafe?] Uh .... No, not really. I've pretty much grown up in a really rough neighborhood, so ... I mean, I, I can pretty much watch my back. .... I go in and I'm, I'm most of the time comfortable with it. [I: OK.] 'Cause I've been around .... I've been pushed around so much around DCS, and stuff, it's pretty much, come to be, come to be my life. [I: OK.] I'm used to it.
- Nah. Most people just go and, you know, they can't sleep for the first night or two 'cause they don't know what's going to happen. [I: OK.]
- They have to get used to it
- [I: If one of your peers were going to move to a new placement what would you say to him when he was leaving to help him feel that he was going to be safe or OK?] Uh, mainly, just ask him a bunch of questions on how it was run? [I: OK.]
- And, try to get in good with some of the staff members, where they'll, like, believe you if something, like, actually is going on. They don't lie on some of the people.
- [I: ...anything that you can say to him to help him feel safer about being here in Smith house?] I'd just go up and introduce myself. I mean its, pretty much not what you think with most people. It may be in some cases, but [I: OK.], it's like, it may be, you know, whether or not they like being around many people or [I: OK.] people they don't know. I mean, I just go up there and try to make myself seem as friendly as possible. [I: OK. So, be friendly, you think, just helps them to feel...] It makes you relax more.

- Uh .... I am really getting ready to go to, hopefully go to PAL (Preparation for Adult Living). [I: OK.] But, its .... They took me up there today, and, I didn't exactly expect the kind of people up there that worked there. You know, I mean, they were real nice. [I: OK.] I really don't worry or anything. [I: You just don't worry?] I do a little bit, but not to the extent where I totally freak out. [I: OK. Was it helpful for you to go over and see the place?] Yeah. It was a whole lot more helpful, 'cause I was just trying to imagine it on my own, and imagine how staff were, how the place was run. And when I went up there, they gave, you know, just a little tour of, like, where the staff lives. I talked to the staff. I was like ... Staff were real nice. They gave me, like, a packet, and stuff, with the rules and expectations. They gave me the low down on the level system up there. And it made me feel a whole lot more comfortable, because I knew what I was coming into. [I: OK. Does knowing the rules and expectations help?] Yeah. I mean, if at all possible, that would be, like, the biggest thing that anybody could do for somebody leaving to a different place.
- [I: ...what's something the staff could do right off the bat to make you feel safe?] I'd say, introduce me to, like, the kids and the rest of the staff. [I: OK.] That way, you know, I could see how friendly they are towards me the first day. And, like, so want to see if gradually, you know, if they get used to having a new kid or whatnot, and then, if they don't, then I'd know exactly who I don't feel safe around, and, you know, who I do. I mean, you could meet somebody that'd be having a bad day and be, like, your best friend the next. [I: OK.] So, it just...

Within the twenty-four hour, forty-eight hour difference of just being around them, you can tell.

- [I: What's the number one thing you worry about?] Mainly the rules and expectations and how hard they enforce their consequences, and stuff.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving?] I mean, sometimes you get closer to see your family. And there's like other times that, you know, you might be having a hard time dealing with your family. At that point, when you get to move somewhere else, I mean, it's sort of relieving, and then, you know, it could be, like, sort of, ah, stressful because you're away from your family and you're not wanting to be away from them. It could go either way. ...If it's rocky, you don't want... I don't want to see my family if it's, like, really, really rocky. I don't even want contact with them.
- [I: OK. Anything else good about moving?] You get to see more of the state. ... Yeah, and different ways to different places. ...It pretty much teaches me ways to go on the interstate. That way I know how to take a trip when I get out.
- Nah, that's basically it. I mean, mainly, it's, like, the first experience of people with, like ... I usually get some .... What gets me is, like, the first twenty-four hours; you can usually tell.
- [I: Earlier, you had talked about being, kinda big and scary looking, and I asked you if that helps, and you said, "Yeah." I just want you to tell me more about that.] It sorta keeps the kids that mainly try to run the place away from you a little more than it did the rest of them, because they don't know what you're capable of or what you would do to them if they did something to you. It they, like, hit you,

would you go psychotic on them or like stab them or something. You know, something crazy like that. I mean, it pretty much keeps them away from you. I mean, until you, like, go up to them. But if they want to test you, they're going to test you. You have to prove what you try to be or act like.

- No, not really. I just walk in and, well, I'll pretty much be silent, like, for the first, like, a couple hours that I'm there. [I: OK.] I pretty much check everything out, so, that's about it. ...I just watch what everybody does and see who's cool and who isn't, you know, who's afraid of who, 'cause that sorta helps out a lot when it comes to, like, you know, sorta being neutral in the whole game of things. [I: OK.] That's what you want to be. You don't want to be on one side, always causing the trouble. And you don't want to be on the other side, be a goody two-shoes, getting picked on. [I: OK.] You want to sorta stand up for, like, morals and values, I guess.

Interview with #93

- If you feel like, am I going to be safe in this bed. Is someone going to try to abuse me, hurt me, or anything else. [I: OK.] Then, it's like, just, am I going to do OK? Am I going to have to run? Hurt myself? What am I going to do to get away from my problems? It ain't fun to move. [I: Why would you run or hurt yourself?] To get away from my problems.
- But all you need is a friend in all the places. ...That knows and will help you stand up to other people if you need it. [I: OK.] That knows what it's like.

- Well, you get farther and farther away from your family (said in a sarcastic tone.) …That's the hard part. I've got a little brother (can't make this out). That's what hurts. Got your whole family messed up. That'll make it hurt worse. [I felt that this participant was being a bit melodramatic here. So I chose to move on with other questions.]
- [I: that make you feel safe or unsafe when you move to these places?] That I have a door. And, I have a lock on the shower. [I: OK.] And, bullet proof windows [pause] if you live out in the projects or something.
- [I: makes you feel unsafe when you go into these places?] Going out when you don't know the neighborhood. [I: OK.] Going to a school you don't know; what are they going to do? …Well, there's a bunch of kids, they could mug you, take your money, stuff like that.
- [I: If one of your peers were moving to a new placement, is there anything you could say to him …] Good luck… Good luck. If you know about the place, tell them they're going to be safe or not.
- Help him with his boundaries. …Tell them where their boundaries are, where you need to say, "Cross." What you don't need to do: touch other people's stuff; go in other people's rooms. [I: OK. So helping them with the rules.] Rules, routine.
- And, if they're not here for something they didn't do, tell their case worker they want to go to foster care. [I: OK. Is foster care a better place [P: Yeah.] than being in a group home?] Yeah, because people can leave you alone, and you can get away from people. [I: OK.] You can't lock the door here and say, "I'm

taking five in my room. I needed to take a five." [I: OK. Why do you need to get away from people sometimes?] 'Cause they make you mad. [I: OK.] And you're like, "Hey, you know what? Just leave me alone." And they're like, "(Makes a sarcastic laughing sound.) Who wants to leave you alone?" And, just, makes you mad.

- I'd probably be mad, unless I went to a foster home or home or something. [I: You'd be mad? What would make you mad?] If I went to a lock-down....
- 'Cause there are bigger and meaner people in there for a lot serious, more serious stuff. ... Then I would run.
- Staff could say a lot of things at times. Some might be true. Some might be false. ...There's only a few staff that I do believe here. [I: OK.] Other people, they say it. They hardly do it.
- Tell me the rules, routines. Help me, um, get situated, feel at home. [I: OK.] Things like that.
- [I: What would make you feel at home?] Me being with somebody my age or younger, because I don't pick on people like some kids do [I: Is that something you worry about, getting picked on by older guys?] Yeah. ...They love to do that. [I: How does that make you feel?] Pretty bad.
- [I: Is there anything good about moving?] If you didn't like that place, you've got a better place to (can't make out this word), hopefully. If you had a person that sits on their butt all day, like I have. Don't do nothing. Don't go nowhere. She set on her butt. If I wanted to go somewhere, I'd have to run to do it. Sometimes, I'd run. I'd go to where I wanted to go.

Interview with #199

- Well, back and forth at Wiley Center [houses on one small campus] and stuff wasn't no big deal, you know, from house to house, but, when I moved to the group home it was a different setting and a different program. But it never really bothered me to move from place to place.
- The only place it really bothered me to go to was the detention center.
- Then, I went to the O and A, and then back to the Elizabethton Emergency Shelter. I liked that place.
- [I: What did you like about it?] Just the staff and the people in general.
- I didn't like Smith. [I: OK.] It was too structured.
- ...Yeah. Hennen Cottage and stuff was cool. [I: OK.] Boy's group home was cool.
- All my foster homes was cool, except for the second one. ...They was, like, too strict. They didn't want you in the kitchen without them being in the kitchen. It was like, you know, you wasn't part of their family. They treated you different.
- Being locked up. [I: OK.] I was scared. ...'Cause I had never been in trouble or nothing before, and I had never been in a room locked in.
- [I: Was it still scary after the O and A Center going back?] Not really.
- You know, you kinda know, I mean, if they're going to kick you out of a place, you know, you know, before you leave. So, it ain't like they spring it on you.

- [I: And you said that when you were at Wiley Center that it wasn't bad just moving from house to house. [P: No.] Why? What made that ...?] You're still around the same people .... I mean, at Wiley Center, when you go outside and associate and play basketball and stuff, you meet everybody. And then when you go to another house, you just see the same people you've already met.
- I wanted to go to the Boy's Group Home, and I visited out there, like, five or six times before I moved over there. [I: OK.] So, I kinda new the people before I had to stay there. But the foster homes, I met the first parents and got to choose whether I wanted to got there or not. ..."We're coming to meet you in the morning, if you like them you can go home with them. If not, we'll look for another place." And I didn't get to meet the other foster parents, and they was like too strict and stuff. [I: The first family, you said you had a choice [P: Yeah.] of going with them. What about the other two foster families?] I didn't really have a choice. [I: Did that make it different?] Yeah. It kinda did, and the other thing is, I didn't meet the second parents. [I: Oh.] I mean we met them at, we went from my foster family and loaded all the stuff up in a truck and went and met them up here at Wiley Center in the lot and loaded all my stuff in their truck and left with them.
- You didn't feel like you was actually in a home; you felt like you was, like, separated from the other people in the house. ...I didn't like it. I didn't talk to them for, like, three weeks. I didn't say not a word to them. ...'Cause, I mean, they was just too strict, it was like they didn't want to get to know you. They just wanted you to do what you was supposed to do.

- You don't really know what to expect. [I: How does that make you feel going in and not knowing what to expect?] I don't feel safe. [I: OK.] You just, always looking behind your back. You don't know what's going on.
- I'm just threw in a place and you have to get used to it or go with it.
- Yeah, the people, the staff there, you know. You can tell, like, if they actually care about working there or if they're just there for a job. I think that most of the people at the O and A Center were just there for a job. Except for [name of staff]. Now [name of staff] was at the O and A Center when I was there, [name of staff]. [I: Yeah.] And I knowed him before, down here. His wife used to baby sit me when I was a baby. [I: OK.] But, I mean, they didn't really care. They didn't even try to get to know you or nothing.
- Those foster homes, I mean, you're scared 'cause you're with a family you hardly ever met, and you don't know what their routine is or nothing.
- But that first foster family, they just, well they was [can't make this word out] for me. They treated me just like their kid. I mean, exactly like their kid. ...Yeah. You don't feel like your excluded. [I: OK.] Like the first foster home, they had a guy, a kid they adopted from Holston Homes and another foster kid, and they treated them different. You know, they got more stuff than me, and everything that I got that she bought me come out of my allowance. I didn't get an allowance for like three months because she bought me something and would take it out of my allowance. She would go to yard sells and buy her other two kids, you know, Play Station games and stuff, and they still got their allowance and stuff. You're like, "What's different about them instead of me?"

- Just in that.... I mean you can tell .... Like that first foster family, they was real, real nice people. They didn't, you know, as soon as I come down, they didn't just tell me to go to my room and unpack my stuff. She come in there and helped me to unpack my stuff and showed me where everything is and introduced me to everybody. It was like she wanted you there. [I: OK.]
- [I: ...what would you say to him or her to help that person feel safer about where they were going?] Tell them that it's going to be OK,
- ...and just tell them, you know, don't talk too much and just observe and see what is going on before you start talking. ...'Cause you don't want to go in a place and just start being yourself when you don't know how people is going to react. You don't know how people behave, you know. Like, when I come over here, I didn't really associate with people I didn't know. 'Cause I didn't know who they was, how they acted. [I: OK.] Just kinda set back and observed.
- [I: What would you say to him or her to help that person feel safe about being here?] Tell them that all the staff here care about you. You know, they try to get to know you. They do ... [name of staff] and them and [name of staff] and all them do a lot for you to make sure you get what you need, and that it's a good program. I recommend this program to anybody.
- You know, they could tell you that it was going to be OK, and like they do most everybody, they throw them a party and make you leave .... you know try to get you to know that you're leaving on a good note. [I: OK.] And then when you get to the other place, then staff just don't, straight up, break down all the rules to you and tell you what's going on and how it's going to be and what not to do and not

do this. You know, that's like, woah, I mean, " Don't you even want to know who ... what my name is or ...?" ...I mean you don't know what to expect after that, you know. You feel like it's a worse place than it is right off the bat. ...I mean you're trying to ...you know, you don't know anybody here and as soon as you get in, you know, they're like "Blah, blah, blah. We do this, this, this, this, and this, and you can't do this or this happens, you know." Your like, hold on a minute like. "What's your name? What's this place like? Introduce me to some of the people." ...I'd ask them about themselves and stuff , 'cause you can tell a lot of people .... You can tell what a lot of people think about you, and stuff, by what they tell you about theirself. [I: OK.] You know, if say your married, and they say, "Yeah, I'm married," and they don't say anything else like, like [name of staff], I asked him if he was married when I got to Wiley Center, and was like, "No, I'm divorced, but I have three kids," and he was all up front like he really wanted to carry on a conversation with you.

- [I: Is there anything good about moving?] A clean slate, kinda. ...I mean, like, if I mess up a lot at Wiley Center, and stuff, and got in trouble and some of the staff knew me and then when I went to the group home, the staff knew me but they didn't really know how I acted. They didn't .... They didn't know what to expect, so they didn't judge me right off the bat.
- [I: Well, is there anything else you can tell about this whole experience of moving when you're in care?] I wouldn't recommend it if I was over some of these places. I'd try to give the kids, you know, one place to let them get ... feel like it is an actual home instead of, well, you're not good, kick them out the door

and send them to another place. You know, that don't help the kid at all. He don't establish nothing.

THEMES

- **Themes**
  - ***sub-themes*, (codes), indicators**

- **Relating to Staff /Foster Parents (R)**
  - ***Positive Interactions* (+R)** – help, talk to, introductions, trust, mentor/teach, trust, like, humor, care for, equal treatment, protection
  - ***Negative Interactions* (-R)** – mean, don't care, just a job, won't protect, bad mood, unequal treatment provoke, don't help
  - ***Can't help with moves* (R no)**– can do nothing, had never been there, don't know, might be wrong

- **Information (I)**
  - ***Lack of Information* (-I)** - didn't know they were moving, don't know when going home, don't know what it's like, don't know what's going on, don't know when moving again, don't know who is going to be there
  - ***Need information* (nI)** - want to know about expectations, rules, routines, programs
  - ***Watching and Waiting* (Iww)** – watch how people act, reactions, anxiety over who you meet, don't talk, find out on your own, takes time, can't sleep, good for a while before getting in trouble.
  - ***Welcoming* (Iwel)** – group introductions, welcoming

- **Adapting (A)**
  - ***Get used to it (or not)*(A-used)**)– get used to it, comfortable, takes time, get attached, don't want to start over, uncomfortable, don't establish anything
  - ***Having Control / Choices* (A-con)** – no 'say-so', no control, choosing homes, not to hit others, choice of going home
  - ***What you make of it* (A-what)**– what you make of it, best or worst
  - ***Easier moving within agency* (A-easy)**– same people, about the same, not scared to go back, feel safe going back
  - ***Not worried* (A-nw)** – not that bad, wasn't worried, didn't bother me
  - ***Finding good in moving* (A-good)**– nothing, toys, travel, new people, clean slate, start over, change of scenery
  - ***Intimidating / Aggressive* (A-int/agg)** – hit others, intimidate, scaring others, fighting

- **Negative Behavior of Other Youth (-Beh)**
  picked on boy older youth, mean, dangerous, negativity, abuse, assault, threats, stealing, threats, being crazy

- **Contact with / Concern for Family (Fam)**

want to go home, being away from home, talk with parent, far away from home, no home passes, family doesn't know wherabouts, can't visit with family, family doesn't make contact, being with family during moves

- **Positive vs. Negative Moves (Mov)**
  - ***Positive moves*** **(+Mov)**– helps, meets needs, move to less intensive treatment, more freedom, more privileges, less rules, liked it, happy to leave, better place
  - ***Negative moves*** **(-Mov)**– not meet need, worse place, going to detention, didn't like it, more intensive treatment, being disrupted, get kicked out

- **Friendships / Identifying with Peers (F)**

ending relationships, trusting peers, friends, positive peers, talk to them, roommate, learn from peers, knowing someone

- **Categorical: Helping other kids when they move in / move out (Help)**

give advice (e.g. be good, don't get into trouble, etc.), tell them it will be ok, tell them what you know about a place, helping them with rules & routines, be friendly, talk to them

- **Miscellaneous Topics:**
  - ***Feelings / Descriptors*** **(Feel)**– depressing, gets old, disappointed, scared, hard
  - ***Unjust moves*** **(UM)**= self explanatory
  - ***Physical environment*** **(PE)**= physical aspects that make them feel safe
  - ***Scared of own thoughts*** **(scared)** – self explanatory

Total Meaning Units = 291

Major Themes:

- Relating to Caregivers = 59
  - Positive Interactions
  - Negative Interactions
  - Can't help with moves
- Information = 55
  - Lack of information
  - Need information
  - Watching and Waiting
  - Welcoming
- Adapting = 56
  - Get used to it (or not)
  - Having Control / Choices
  - What you make of it
  - Easier moving within agency
  - Not worried
  - Finding good in moving
  - Intimidating / Aggressive
- Negative Behavior of Other Youth = 24
- Contact with / Concern for Family = 24
- Positive vs. Negative Moves = 27
- Friendships / Identifying with Peers = 14
- Categorical: Helping other kids when they move in / out = 17

Miscellaneous Topics:

- Feelings / Descriptors = 9
- Unjust moves = 3
- Physical environment = 2
- Scared of own thoughts = 1

APPENDIX G

SENSE OF SAFETY SCALE

Please mark the answer that best describes how often these things or feelings happen.

1. I feel safe when I move to a new place.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

2. I feel safe in my bedroom at night.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

3. I feel safe in my house/cottage.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

4. I feel safe at my school.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

5. I am afraid of getting hurt.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

6. I feel safe around adults.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

7. I feel safe around staff/my foster parent(s).

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

8. I feel safe around my peers/foster brother(s) or sister(s) in my house.

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

9. I am afraid of some staff/my foster parent(s).

   Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

10. I feel safe going to sleep at night.

Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

11. I am afraid when I move to a new placement.

Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

12. I don't feel safe when I don't know where I am being moved.

Always Most of the time Some of the time Never

SELF-ESTEEM SCALE

Mark how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements.

1. I feel that I am a person of worth, at least on an equal basis with others.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

2. I feel that I have a number of good qualities.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

3. All in all, I am inclined to feel that I am a failure.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

4. I am able to do things as well as most other people.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

5. I feel I do not have much to be proud of.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

6. I take a positive attitude toward myself.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

7. On the whole, I am satisfied with myself.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

8. I wish I could have more respect for myself.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

9. I certainly feel useless at times.

   STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

10. At times I think I am no good at all.

    STRONGLY AGREE AGREE DISAGREE STRONGLY DISAGREE

The Nowicki-Strickland Internal-External Control Scale for Children

1. Do you believe that most problems will solve themselves if you just don't fool with them?
   Yes No

2. Do you believe that you can stop yourself from catching a cold?
   Yes No

3. Are some kids just born lucky?
   Yes No

4. Most of the time do you feel that getting good grades means a great deal to you?
   Yes No

5. Are you often blamed for things that just aren't your fault?
   Yes No

6. Do you believe that if somebody studies hard enough he or she can pass any subject?
   Yes No

7. Do you feel that most of the time it doesn't pay to try hard because things never turn out right anyway?
   Yes No

8. Do you feel that if things start out well in the morning that it's going to be a good day no matter what you do?
   Yes No

9. Do you feel that most of the time parents listen to what their children have to say?
   Yes No

10. Do you believe that wishing can make good things happen?
    Yes No

11. When you get punished does it usually seem it's for no good reason at all?

Yes No

12. Most of the time do you find it hard to change a friend's mind (opinion)?

Yes No

13. Do you think that cheering more than luck helps a team to win?

Yes No

14. Do you feel that it's nearly impossible to change your parent's mind about anything?

Yes No

15. Do you believe that your parents should allow you to make most of your own decisions?

Yes No

16. Do you feel that when you do something wrong there's very little you can do to make it right?

Yes No

17. Do you believe that most kids are just born good at sports?

Yes No

18. Are most of the other kids your age stronger than you are?

Yes No

19. Do you feel that one of the best ways to handle most problems is just not to think about them?

Yes No

20. Do you feel that you have a lot of choice in deciding who your friends are?

Yes No

21. If you find a four leaf clover do you believe that it might bring you good luck?

Yes No

22. Do you often feel that whether you do your homework has much to do with what kind of grades you get?

Yes No

23. Do you feel that when a kid your age decides to hit you, there's little you can do to stop him or her?

Yes No

24. Have you ever had a good luck charm?

Yes No

25. Do you believe that whether or not people like you depends on how you act?

Yes No

26. Will your parents usually help you if you ask them to?

Yes No

27. Have you felt that when people were mean to you it was usually for no reason at all?

Yes No

28. Most of the time, do you feel that you can change what might happen tomorrow by what you do today?

Yes No

29. Do you believe that when bad things are going to happen they just are going to happen no matter what you try to do to stop them?

Yes No

30. Do you think that kids can get their own way if they just keep trying?

Yes No

31. Most of the time do you find it useless to try to get your own way at home?

Yes No

32. Do you feel that when good things happen they happen because of hard work?

Yes No

33. Do you feel that when somebody your age wants to be your enemy there's little you can do to change matters?

Yes No

34. Do you feel that it's easy to get friends to do what you want them to?

Yes No

35. Do you usually feel that you have little to say about what you get to eat at home?

Yes No

36. Do you feel that when someone doesn't like you there's little you can do about it?

Yes No

37. Do you usually feel that it's almost useless to try in school because most other children are just plain smarter than you are?

Yes No

38. Are you the kind of person who believes that planning ahead makes things turn out better?

Yes No

39. Most of the time, do you feel that you have little to say about what your family decides to do?

Yes No

40. Do you think it's better to be smart than to be lucky?

Yes No

Youth Self-Report

*Below is a list of items that describe kids. For each item that describes you now or within the past 6 months, please circle **2** if the item is **often true** of you. Circle **1** if the item is **sometimes true** of you. If the item is **not true** of you, circle the **0**.*

	not true	**sometimes true**	**often true**
I would rather be alone than with others	0	1	2
I refuse to talk	0	1	2
I am secretive or keep things to myself	0	1	2
I am shy	0	1	2
I don't have much energy	0	1	2
I am unhappy, sad, or depressed	0	1	2
I keep from getting involved with others	0	1	2
I feel dizzy	0	1	2
I feel overtired	0	1	2
I have aches and pains (not stomach or headaches)	0	1	2
I have headaches	0	1	2
I have nausea or feel sick	0	1	2
I have problems with my eyes (not corrected by glasses)	0	1	2
I have rashes or other skin problems	0	1	2
I have stomach aches or cramps	0	1	2
I vomit or throw up	0	1	2

	not true	sometimes true	often true
I feel lonely	0	1	2
I cry a lot	0	1	2
I deliberately try to hurt or kill myself	0	1	2
I am afraid I might think or do something bad	0	1	2
I feel that I have to be perfect	0	1	2
I feel that no one loves me	0	1	2
I feel that others are out to get me	0	1	2
I feel worthless or inferior	0	1	2
I am nervous or tense	0	1	2
I am too fearful or anxious	0	1	2
I feel too guilty	0	1	2
I am self-conscious or easily embarrassed	0	1	2
I am suspicious	0	1	2
I think about killing myself	0	1	2
I worry a lot	0	1	2

	not true	sometimes true	often true
I don't feel guilty after doing something I shouldn't	0	1	2
I hang around with kids who get in trouble	0	1	2
I lie or cheat	0	1	2
I would rather be with older kids than with kids my own age	0	1	2
I run away from home	0	1	2
I set fires	0	1	2
I steal at home	0	1	2
I steal from places other than home	0	1	2
I swear or use dirty language	0	1	2
I cut classes or skip school	0	1	2
I use alcohol or drugs for nonmedical purposes	0	1	2

	not true	**sometimes true**	**often true**
I argue a lot	0	1	2
I brag	0	1	2
I am mean to others	0	1	2
I try to get a lot of attention	0	1	2
I destroy my own things	0	1	2
I destroy things belonging to others	0	1	2
I disobey at school	0	1	2
I am jealous of others	0	1	2
I get in many fights	0	1	2
I physically attack people	0	1	2
I scream a lot	0	1	2
I show off or clown	0	1	2
I am stubborn	0	1	2
My moods or feelings change suddenly	0	1	2
I talk too much	0	1	2
I tease others a lot	0	1	2
I have a hot temper	0	1	2
I threaten to hurt people	0	1	2
I am louder than other kids	0	1	2

SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL

Fill in the circle that best describes how closely you agree with either of the phrases on the same line.

When I move to a new placement, I ...

feel stressed ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ feel comfortable

am excited to be in a new place ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ miss the old place

don't worry about my family ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ worry about my family

feel glad ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ feel mad

need staff's help ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ don't need staff's help

worry ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ don't worry

am outgoing ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ stay to myself

feel like my life is getting better ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ feel like my life is getting worse

don't make friends ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ make friends

worry what other kids will do ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ don't worry what other kids will do

feel safe ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ feel unsafe

need to know the routine ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ don't worry about the routine

VITA

Keith A. Bailey has worked professionally with children and youth for over fifteen years, including two years in Scotland. He has spent the past ten years working with children and youth in out-of-home care through the programs of Holston United Methodist Home for Children in Greeneville, TN. Keith is presently the Staff Development Coordinator at Holston Home. In addition to overseeing the training of new and existing staff, he has conducted workshops and given presentations at local, state, regional, and national conferences on topics related to the care of children in foster care.

Keith earned a B.A. in Psychology from Tennessee Wesleyan College, a M.Div. (Theology) from Duke University, and a M.S. in Child and Family Studies, with a concentration in Child Development, from the College of Human Ecology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He recently had an article published in *Residential Treatment for Children & Youth* entitled, "The Impact of the Physical Environment for Children in Residential Care."

Keith is married to Angela, and they have a daughter, Kaitlyn, and a son, Taylor. He enjoys playing the guitar, playing soccer and other sports, rock climbing, and camping.

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