PUBLIC POLICY FOR RUNAWAY, HOMELESS, AND AT-RISK YOUTH: INSTITUTIONS, VALUES, AND ATTITUDES

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In 1995, Washington State passed the "Becca Bill", reversing existing law in Washington State and putting the state in conflict with United States law and the United Nations Children's Rights Convention. These laws and convention prioritized voluntary services for runaways and other so-called status offenders—juveniles committing offenses that would not be considered crimes for adults. But despite the fact that both sides argued in support of protecting the safety and best interests of children, the debate leading to the Becca Bill was highly conflictual.

This research argues that models for serving runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth contain an implicit prioritization of two conflicting values—safety and choice, and that respondent attitudes towards the different models are related to the respondents' own values hierarchies. Comparing the values and attitudes of staff working in youth services in Washington state with those in two adjacent states/provinces with a different configuration of laws related to youth permits examination not only of the relationship between values and attitudes, but also between values and the normative-legal environment. Finally, a comparison of the values and attitudes of staff according to the types of program in which they work offers data regarding the relationship between values and epistemic communities.

Despite the efforts of social scientist researchers over the past 50-100 years, debates continue about the exact meaning of "institution" and "values", the origins of institutions and values, the parameters around them, and what causes them to change. The challenge is not

simply academic, for the very concepts of institutions and values imply entities that have great influence in the daily life of individuals. This research thus provides insight both in the area of policy and that of theory regarding values and institutions.

The results of the research show that staff values are related to a combination of personal experience, the technical considerations of the work, and the epistemic communities within which they operate. No correlation of values and attitudes is found with the normative legal environment. Significant differences are found, however, according to the type of agency in which staff work.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE

The author would like to thank the management and staff of the following organizations which agreed to participate in this research:

1.0 INTRODUCTION

In 1995, Washington State passed E2SSB 5439, commonly known as the "Becca Bill" and named after a 13 year old runaway who was murdered on the streets of Spokane. According to the Becca Bill, a police officer who finds a reported runaway is obligated to take the youth to the parent's home unless the officer believes the youth has been abused. The parents have the option of directing the officer to take the youth to a secure (locked) center for a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of five days detention. The various provisions of the Becca Bill partly reversed almost 20 years of law in Washington State and put the state in conflict not only with the laws of the United States but also with the United Nations Children's Rights Convention. These laws and convention prioritized voluntary services for runaways and other so-called status offenders--juveniles committing offenses that would not be considered crimes for adults.

The debate leading to the Becca Bill was highly conflictual. Both those for and those against the bill passionately advocated for the best interests of the child. Both those for and those against the bill argued that their stance was essential to protect the safety of teens. Participants in this debate came from all walks of life, including families, legal advocates, social service professionals, and the legislators themselves. The parents of runaway teens were most ardent in seeking passage of the bill, and had the support of key legislators. Social service professionals were also active in the debate but their impact was limited, unlike in other debates where they often play a key role in shaping the final legislation. One reason for the limited

impact is that those staff who worked directly with the youth were themselves split in their opinion about the bill, depending on the capacity in which they encountered the youth and whether or not they also worked with the youths' families. Despite some attempts at reconciling the disparate stances, the two sides remained far apart, with only a few limited clauses in the final bill accommodating the concerns of those opposed to its passage.

What factors explain the different positions on this bill among the very staff who worked most directly with the population targeted in that bill: runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth? Fourteen years after passage of the Becca Bill, have the divisions regarding the crux issues of the bill ameliorated among staff in Washington State working with youth?? Are those current attitudes of Washington state staff the same or different from those of staff working with comparable populations in jurisdictions with different laws and norms regarding youth? And, does greater insight into the way in which attitudes evolve among social service professionals offer insight into how attitudes evolve in general and impact the legislative process?

This research looks at this particular respondent group—staff working with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth, using the relationship between institutions and values as an explanatory framework for an individual's attitude towards the crux principles of the Becca Bill. "Institution" and "values" are two words often used in common parlance that the users may not be able to define, but nevertheless "know it when they see it"[1]. Despite the efforts of social scientist researchers over the past 50-100 years to define these two terms, debates still continue not only about the exact meaning of "institution" and "values", but about where institutions and values come from, the parameters around them, and what causes them to change. The challenge

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[1] An expression adapted from Justice Potter Stewart's famous description of pornography in the US Supreme Court decision *Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 378 U.S. 184 (1964).

is not simply academic, for the very concepts of institutions and values imply entities that have great influence in the daily life of individuals.

The various models used to serve runaway, homeless and at-risk youth—including that established through the Becca Bill—contain an implicit relationship between two different values, that of safety and that of self-direction. It is the relationship between these two values which determines the extent to which the model emphasizes voluntary versus involuntary services. Any prioritization of one or the other value contradicts the Children's Rights Convention, which states that all rights in the Convention, including safety and participation[2], have equal weight without such prioritization. This research contends, however, that a failure to recognize and pro-actively manage the conflict between the values of safety and self-direction when designing service continua for youth results in services that do not adequately ensure either the youth's safety or their ability to choose their own path.

If the models for serving youth involve a hierarchy of specific values, is it possible that so also do individuals' attitudes toward those same values? This research explores that question, as well as the question of whether and to what extent the values of those working with the targeted population are somehow related to the institutions within which they work. It considers whether the current attitudes of respondents towards the crux issues of the Becca Bill reflect their normative-legal environment, that is, the configuration of laws, regulations, norms and shared understandings, especially in regards to child welfare. If so, might it then be possible that staff who had been opposed to the Becca Bill at the time it was passed have become more accepting of its provisions after seeing its effects in practice? The research also evaluates whether

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[2] The right of participation in the CRC is conceptually comparable to the value of self-direction as used in this document.

individuals' prioritization of safety versus self-direction is related to the epistemic institution of which they are part, regardless of the normative-legal institution.

To answer those questions, exploratory research is done to examine the values and attitudes of those working with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth in three metropolitan areas within the same geographical region: Seattle WA, Portland OR, and Vancouver BC. The research instrument used consists of two surveys based in different definitional frames of values. The first survey assesses the hierarchy of values of staff have regarding homeless youth, their families, and the programs serving them. The second survey is the Schwartz Values Survey, a personal value survey that has been tested and shown to have consistent results in 60 different countries. A final section of the research instrument asks questions about the respondents' expressed preference for the optimum program model to work with the targeted population of youth.

Although some research exists considering the effectiveness of the bill, there has been none looking at how an individual's perspective on the bill might have been shaped by their values and values hierarchies. In addition, there has been no research regarding the values and values hierarchies of staff working with teens who might be subject to the provisions of this bill. Finally, there has been no research addressing whether and to what extent those values reflect the institutions of which youth-serving staff are members. An examination of such an interaction of values and institutions can contribute insight not only to the way in which policy debates evolve, but also to general theory regarding values and institutions.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The theoretical debates regarding institutions and/or values are many and will be described more fully in the literature review. In terms of institutions, the first question to be answered is: "what are institutions"? Agreement exists that an institution is some over-arching entity perhaps most summarily expressed by Douglas North's (1990) "rules of the game of society" which influences and restrains the behavior of those within. These rules have been variously explained as laws and regulations, norms, the imitation of others in an effort to obtain legitimacy, and/or some type of archetype or "group-think" that shapes the thoughts and actions of the members (Scott 2001, Greenwood and Hinings). Over time the various institutional theories have converged in a way that accepts all of these as potential and viable factors in institutionalism. It remains unclear, however, if one or the other mechanism could be dominant in a specific situation, or if the impact institutions have derives from some combination of all these factors operating at once.

The second set of debates concerns the role of individual agency in either forming or changing institutions. If, in fact, institutions are entities which constrain the behavior of those within, how is it possible for a new institution to arise and replace a current institution? Likewise, how is it possible for change to occur within an institution? It is generally accepted that institutional theory is weakest in this area (Scott). One strand of institutionalism encompassing the rational economics and rational choice branches places a high priority on the actions of individuals and their ability to affect the direction of the institution as a whole (cf, e.g. Olson). Historical institutionalists, on the other hand, look at the interaction between the specific institution and historical events. While institutional change might be catalyzed by an external event such as an international fiscal crisis, the actions of individuals can determine which

specific path that country or entity follows in responding to the crisis (cf. Gourevitch, Hall). The competing power and dominance of different discourses is a central concept in the change theories studied by sociological institutionalists (Seo and Creed). The question then becomes one of what might cause a shift in power and dominance.

A parallel set of questions and debates occur in terms of values. First of all, what exactly are values (Meglino and Ravlin, Rohan)? Agreement is common that values are powerful and somewhat immutable motivators for individuals (Rokeach), affecting how individuals screen and interpret information. One of the larger debates, one that falls largely along disciplinary lines, concerns the length and breadth of values. That is, are there only a limited number of relatively universal values, or a wide variety of values that arise in a variety of individual and public policy situations (Schwartz, Rohan, Aaron, Enz)? As was the case with institutions, a question exists as to the conditions under which someone's values change, and whether it is possible to deliberately and externally catalyze a change in an individual's values (cf. Aaron). Critical to the definition of values is distinguishing it from related concepts, such as attitudes. Values are generally considered to be a trans-situational belief, whereas attitudes are more limited by time, space, or topic (Hofstede, Rohan). Similar definitional debates can occur when considering the extent to which values are similar to or different from norms or rights.

One of the most important questions for social science research is whether and to what extent values impact behavior. Researchers agree that values shape but do not unequivocally determine or dictate behavior. Studies also indicate that it is possible to increase the impact that values have on behavior (Bardi and Schwartz, Maio et. al., Zanna and Olson). One possibility— one not universally subscribed to by researchers--is that an individual's values may be arranged

in a hierarchy which determines the way in which they interpret and respond to specific situations (Inglehart and Baker, Ravlin and Meglino 1989, Rokeach 1973).

The interaction between values and institutions can be seen as a subset of the issue regarding the interaction between individual agency and institutions. Do individual values combine in way that creates group values similar to the way that individuals become part of a greater entity called an institution? What is the particular values fit between an individual and an organization and how can that be influenced? And, ultimately, to what extent do individual values affect institutions, and to what extent do institutional norms and values affect individual values?

Under normal circumstances, the values of both individuals and organizations are resistant to radical change (Rokeach), although some convergence of values is common among individuals or groups having regular interaction with each other (Hinings and Greenwood). Real world situations, however, often involve conflicts among the multiple values which an individual holds (Goodin 1995). Values conflicts are also an inherent part of public policy issues, but often are not made explicit during the policy debate. As a result, policies can be ineffective because they do not reflect the values concerns of the population (Spicer). Within organizations, values conflicts can impact the operations in a number of ways. When they conflict with the institutional environment, they affect the extent to which that organization responds to the environment (Amis et. al). Values conflicts may change the direction of the organization itself or otherwise create dissension and chaos within the organization (Seo and Creed).

This research gave an opportunity to examine a public policy issue and to explore the hypothesis that values conflicts and values hierarchies played a critical role in how the public policy evolved. Further, this research explores the question of whether and to what extent the

values held by individuals in a specific occupational field reflect various and overlapping institutions. The next section will describe the model used to consider this values conflict.

1.2   CASE STUDY AND RESEARCH MODEL

The model established in the Becca Bill must be viewed in context other models that have been used to serve runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth, as well as in the context of the overall services for children and youth in Washington and other states. Prior to the 1970s, youth who ran away from home in most states were considered "status offenders", and were often confined alongside criminal offenders in juvenile or even sometimes adult detention facilities. In the United States, this juvenile justice model began changing in the 1960s, and in 1974 the Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act was passed in the United States[3], specifying that voluntary social services were the most appropriate model to help runaway and homeless youth.

This model was enacted in the laws in various states as part of a continuum of services, generally under the auspices of the child welfare system. Such services are intended for not only runaway and homeless youth, but also abused & neglected children, and teens and families in conflict. Washington State's laws were unusual, however, in that they eliminated any kind of locked options for non-criminal youth except under the most extreme situations. In contrast, other states retained a limited number of locked options for youth for whom voluntary services were unsuccessful. As a result, parents and some social service workers in Washington State

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[3] See section 3.1.

often felt that the state did not provide adequate support or protection for some of the youth of highest need.

In the Becca Bill case study under consideration, the crux issue of the policy debate was whether and to what extent it was necessary to lock up runaway and homeless youth in order to save them from both the consequences of their own bad judgment and the dangers on the street. This question can be framed as a values conflict between safety and choice or self-direction[4]. That is, are voluntary services (with a priority of choice/self-direction) the best way to help youth leave the streets and thus insure their safety? Alternatively, is it necessary to confine runaway and homeless youth against their will even for just a few days in order to get them the assistance they need? How does parental or adult guidance fit into this scheme? Does adult guidance somehow add to or mitigate the fundamental conflict between choice and safety?

Self-direction is prioritized	Safety is prioritized
Variant A **"Ideal" Social Service Model** Self-direction = Parental Guidance = Safety	**Variant C** **Treatment Model (established in the Becca Bill)** Safety ≥ Parental Guidance > Self-direction
Variant B **Social Service Model In Non-Ideal World** Self-direction > Parental Guidance >Safety	**Variant D** **Juvenile Justice Model** Safety > Parental Guidance = Self-direction

Figure 1:   Value Hierarchies in Four Models

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[4] The terms "self-direction" (from the Schwartz Values Survey) and "choice" (used in the Youth Survey) will be used interchangeably, since they describe comparable concepts.

Figure 1 shows the hierarchy model around which this research was organized. The social service model (Variant A) which has been dominant in the United States since the mid-1970s presumed that voluntary (unlocked and/or non-coercive) services are optimum. According to this model, youth are much more likely to get off the streets if they are the ones choosing to seek help from an organization which provides adult guidance and services. If adequate services exist, such as outreach workers to connect with youth on the streets and shelters and transitional living programs for them to stay, there may be little need to actually prioritize the values. The resources to help get kids off the street would be plentiful and effective enough so that no youth would remain on the streets long enough to jeopardize his or her safety. In the real world, however, adequate services often do not exist. Youth who might otherwise get off the streets remain there because they either cannot find or cannot enter the necessary services, causing safety to take a back-seat to choice/self-direction (Variant B—Social Service Model in Non-Ideal World).

When safety is prioritized over self-direction, two different options exist. Prior to the 1970's, the juvenile justice model was the dominant one. Runaways and truants could be locked up in a juvenile detention facility. The detention was designed partly as punishment, but also as a means to identify problems which might be contributing to the youth's behaviors. In general, safety took the priority over self-direction or adult guidance (Variant D—Juvenile Justice Model). The Becca Bill, distinguished its mandatory confinement of runaways from the juvenile justice model by calling it "treatment" rather than detention. In terms of the hierarchy, the model of treatment rather than simply detention raised the priority of adult guidance above self-direction, but still below safety (Variant C—Treatment Model).

In this research, the extent to which the respondents support voluntary versus involuntary options was determined by asking them to rank the four variants according to what they believed was the optimum approach for working with runaway, homeless and at-risk youth. This data is then analyzed in relationship both to the values of the respondents—as determined through two different values instruments—as well as the respondents' institutional membership. These analyses serve to assess whether and to what extent there is a relationship between the respondent preference for voluntary options and either their values or their institutional membership. As was indicated earlier, many aspects of values and institutions remain in need of further elucidation and clarification. One contribution of this research is an examination of the extent to which the values of the respondent group align with either the normative-legal environment or the epistemic community of which they are part. The research also gave an opportunity to examine the competing definitions of values by using two instruments each of which derives from a different definitional construct.

The practical impacts of this research are several. First, better understanding of how the tensions between the values of safety and self-direction manifest themselves in models for serving youth can provide insight into how best to design service continuum for this population. Secondly, uncovering how values hierarchies operated in this policy issue debate may offer opportunities of how best to resolve other policy issues where values conflicts are operating..

1.3   METHODLOGY

1.3.1 Research Sites and Subjects

Research subjects are social service staff in Washington State, Oregon, and British Columbia working directly with the runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth who were the subject of the Becca Bill. Other groups in Washington State, including the Legislators or the parents and youth subject to the bill, had and continue to have considerable involvement with both the policy debate and the policy implications. Choosing, instead, these particular social service staff as research subjects offers several advantages. First, staff working with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth in Washington State are familiar with the bill and either directly or indirectly encounter its provisions in their work. Secondly, staff in the adjoining jurisdictions in Oregon and British Columbia, while less familiar with the Becca Bill, nevertheless face the tension between safety and self-direction underlying models for working with the targeted population of youth. Third, the youth agencies in Washington State demonstrated differing positions during the Becca Bill debate. Assessing their values and attitudes 14 years after the passage of the bill provides an opportunity to determine if a similar range of opinions exist and explore the reasons for any similarities or differences. Finally, these staff are part of two overlapping institutions— the normative-legal environment of their state or province, and the professional or epistemic community in which they work. This allows an examination of the intersection of values and institutions for the specific respondent group.

The three research sites, one each in the state of Washington (Seattle), the state of Oregon (Portland) and the province of British Columbia (Vancouver) were chosen precisely in order to compare the extent to which staff values and attitudes towards the issues of the Becca Bill are

related to the normative-legal institution in which they work. These institutions will be described in more detail in section 3.6. All three cities are located within the same geographical region along the same major transportation route. Washington, Oregon, and British Columbia each has a different set of laws and service configurations related to child welfare in general and runaway/homeless youth in particular. Organizations from each community serving runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth and/or their families serve as data points for the sample.

1.3.2 Research Questions

As will be discussed further in the literature review, the way in which values and the attitudes expressing those values impact public policy and institutions remains a fruitful area of further research. This research addresses three questions. First, what is the relationship between a) the hierarchy of values/values-expressive attitudes held by staff in social service programs serving homeless, runaway, and at-risk youth and their families with b) the attitudes those staff have about the optimum program model? Second, what is the relationship between a) the hierarchy of values/values-expressive attitudes that staff hold regarding youth that they serve and b) the staff members' personal value system? Thirdly, to what extent do the different value priorities converge or diverge among organizations performing the same type of work in different communities?

Each of these research questions is linked with a specific hypothesis, targeting issues related to the Becca Bill policy debate.

1.3.3 Hypotheses

The primary hypothesis is:

▪ Hypothesis 1: Respondents who place safety as the top value/value-expressive attitude in their hierarchy will demonstrate weaker support for the social service model than those who place self-direction in the top position.

Despite the fact that both those for and those against the Becca Bill argued that their stance was essential in protecting the safety of the youth, they arrived at different positions on this bill. This hypothesis considers whether individuals' attitudes towards various models for serving youth (including the one established by the Becca Bill) correlate not only with the extent to which the respondents value safety, but more specifically with the relationship between how they value safety and how they value self-direction.

Two additional hypotheses are considered:

▪ Hypothesis 2: The correlation between the hierarchy of personal value systems and the hierarchy of their values/value-expressive attitudes relative to homeless youth will be stronger for those who prioritize self-direction as the higher value than for those who prioritize safety.

The laws of most countries contain provisions based on the premise that juveniles are developmentally unable to act with the full decision-making capacity of adults and thus require society's protection in a way that is not true for adults[5]. This hypothesis considers the possibility that respondents who prioritize self-direction prioritize it similarly for themselves and for youth, while those who prioritize safety are more likely to prioritize this value differently for

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[5] For example, youth below a certain age are not permitted to vote, sign contracts, purchase alcohol, or drive a motor vehicle.

themselves and youth. From a theoretical standpoint, this hypothesis provides an opportunity to consider the relationship between two different values surveys based on two different ways of defining values.

- Hypothesis 3: Staff in organizations providing similar functions although in different normative-legal environments will also have similar values hierarchies and program preferences.

This hypothesis evaluates whether those professional staff operating within a legal-normative environment that includes the Becca Bill prioritize the values of safety and self-direction in a way commensurate with that bill, and different from those who work within legal-normative environments that do not include the Becca Bill. If so, the possibility exists that the normative-legal institution consisting of laws, regulations, and cognitive understandings related to youth services may be influencing the values and attitudes of those working within that institution. This hypothesis anticipates, instead, that the values hierarchies are more likely related to individuals' professional affiliations and the epistemic institutions of which they are part.

The null hypothesis in each of these is that there is no difference between the test groups.

1.3.4 Survey Instrument

The survey instrument consists of two different survey measures using different values perspective and definitions, along with a section which requests respondents' program preference and some descriptive information. The two surveys are 1) a Youth Survey and 2) the Schwartz Value Survey. Surveys were self-administered, anonymous, and totally voluntary.

The Youth Survey, designed for this research based on differing perceptions respondents might have regarding runaway, homeless and at-risk youth, measures the values hierarchies staff have regarding these youth. This data is used to ascertain respondent attitudes towards the different models and to establish their hierarchy of values/values-expressive attitude. The survey consists of 26 forced choice questions regarding runaway and homeless youth, their families, and the services most likely to help them. In each question, respondents are asked to choose which of two options more closely matches their own beliefs. The scores from individual surveys are aggregated then analyzed according to different organizational and institutional entities.

The Schwarz Value Survey (SVS) is a 57 item rating instrument designed around the "motivational goal each [of 10 values] embodies" (Rohan, 260) and has been utilized successfully in 60 different countries. This survey has been shown effective in a variety of research in showing significant differences in correlations between respondent values and respondent attitudes on a variety of issues.

1.4   LIMITATIONS

This study is exploratory and has several limitations. The first is that the current values and attitudes of staff are being used as a way to consider not only how the respondents feel currently about issues related to the values conflict of the Becca Bill. It is also being used to consider what possible underlying values and attitudes were in place with those involved in the Becca Bill debate. Although the sample included agencies which participated in that debate, the fact that the survey instrument was anonymous makes it impossible to know if any of the respondents themselves participated in that policy debate. All results are presented with an

awareness that extrapolation to the participants in the debate or to any other parties may not be warranted.

The second limitation is that this research is a snapshot rather than longitudinal. The most effective way to determine whether the current values and attitudes of respondents in Washington State are related to the passage of the Becca Bill would have been to conduct an earlier set of measures shortly after the Bill had passed. Nevertheless, the comparison with two adjoining states/provinces with different norms and laws is believed to mitigate this limitation.

Third, the Youth Survey was designed specifically for this research, and more research needs to be done to determine whether and to what extent this instrument can be useful on issues related to youth, especially runaway and homeless youth. Nevertheless, the findings from the pre-test and the information from the SVS paralleling the results from the youth survey give reasonable assurance that this instrument provides an accurate reflection of the values of respondents, especially in the critical area regarding the safety-choice hierarchy.

Fourth, the study made efforts to find organizations with comparable missions and programs in the three geographic sites. These efforts have been most successful in terms of runaway and homeless youth programs, where two organizations in each location agreed to participate. The efforts have been less successful in recruiting programs in the broader youth and family services. While the response is sufficient to be able to test the hypotheses, it limits the ability to do more extensive analysis of data from these agencies. The reluctance to participate appears to be the perceived limited relevance of the research for those agencies, as well as the desire to minimize conflicting pressures for staff time. Nevertheless, more data from these agencies would be valuable. Perhaps a comparable study with a broader focus would lead to a higher level of participation among those agencies.

1.5   RESULTS

Support is found for each of the three hypotheses. As is indicated in Hypothesis1, those who favor more voluntary options for young people (the social service model)—a stance in opposition to that of the Becca Bill—prioritize self-direction or choice over safety or security, regardless of which method is used to measure the values. Thus, despite the fact that those opposing the Becca Bill argued on the basis of protecting the safety of youth, the way in which respondents prioritized self-direction relative to safety was much more pertinent to respondent attitudes towards voluntary services. Conversely, those favoring non-voluntary program options tend to prioritize safety over choice. Thus, it is hierarchy of values between safety and self-direction that is related to the preferred program option for runaway and homeless teens and, by extrapolation, to respondent attitudes toward the Becca Bill. The data shows that the relationship with the preferred program option is slightly stronger when the SVS value of security is replaced by the aggregate SVS value of conservation, which includes tradition and conformity along with security. The overall results of this research demonstrate that safety is a somewhat lower priority for both those in favor of and those opposed to the involuntary models such as those in the Becca Bill than was expressed by the public stances taken by the participants on both sides during the original debate on the Becca Bill.

The second hypothesis is also supported. As was discussed earlier, hypothesis 2 was crafted based on the assumption that people may have different values (or value differently) the safety of adults and the safety of minors. Specifically, the hypothesis assumes 1) that those who prioritize self-direction/choice for youth view them as capable of making adult-type decisions; and that as a result 2) these same people will evaluate similarly both the personal values as measured by the SVS and the values about youth. By contrast, those prioritizing safety for youth

may consider youth as requiring more protection than the adult respondents consider necessary for themselves. The results do support this explanation.

Those who prioritize choice over safety in the Youth Survey are more likely to have self-direction scores higher than those of security on the SVS. This hypothesis and the results from its evaluation provide several theoretical contributions. First of all, the analysis transforms the SVS data to make it comparable with the Youth Survey safety-choice hierarchy, allowing a closer comparison between the two surveys and showing similar results from different methods. In addition, this analysis compares two methods of measuring values that consider different perspectives. While the SVS asks respondents what is most important to them in their own lives, the Youth Survey asks respondents about third-party groups, specifically youth and their familie*s*.

The third hypothesis is partly supported. Those operating within the normative-legal institution of Washington State demonstrate no differences in preference for voluntary programs than do those operating within either British Columbia or Oregon. A significant relationship is found, however, between the program preference of respondents and the type of program in which they work. When comparing values on either scale, some correlation is found in many categories both in relation to the normative-legal environment and to the type of program in which the respondent worked. When the data is analyzed further, however, it shows that the differences in values among normative-legal environment reflect the distribution of programs within each location. Thus the critical differences once again appear to be between and among program types rather than normative-legal environment. Whatever process occurs to match an individual to a specific agency appears to occur within the context of an epistemic community where certain values predominate.

The results reveal the relationship of individual staff values with the values underlying the Becca Bill legislation, confirming the role of values in the way in which individuals interpret and respond to their environment, as indicated in the literature. The results also show that the values of those working within the normative-legal institution of which the Becca Bill is one part do not differ significantly from those in other normative-legal environments, suggesting that the normative-legal institution is not influencing those within it, at least in relation to the issues relevant in this bill. Finally, the results show that epistemic institutions—as operationalized in this research by the type of programs in which individuals work, has a greater weight than the normative-legal environment for this particular sample.

The remainder of this document will elaborate upon this. Chapter 2 will review the literature on institutions, values, and the interaction between the two. Chapter 3 will provide provide the history and context of the specific case study, while Chapter 4 will detail the methodology used.. Chapter 5 will present the results, followed by a discussion of the findings in Chapter 6 and conclusions in Chapter 7.

2.0   LITERATURE REVIEW

There are several prime debates in the literature regarding institutions, values, and the intersection of the two. None of these debates has been resolved, and in some, scant research has been done to attempt to clarify the issues. These debates are as follows:

- What are institutions?

- To what extent do institutions impact individuals, and to what extent do individuals impact the institutions?

- How does change occur in institutions?

- What are values? How are they measured?

- What role do values serve for individuals?

- What role, if any, do values have for institutions?

The following section will address these issues.

2.1   WHAT ARE INSTITUTIONS?

The definitions and conceptualizations of institutions reflect the academic discipline of the researchers-- e.g. economics, political science, or economics-- and show a progressive, but not always linear trend, as the various disciplines influenced and were influenced by each other.

The specific definition used serves to indicate the type of entities to be included within the term "institutions" and, more importantly, the characteristics of those entities that are a focus of research.

Perhaps the most straightforward definition of an institution is the "rules of the game of society" (North, p. 3) which derive from some combination of laws, social norms, culture, policies, and/or procedures (ibid). North sees an institution with its rules and norms as the overarching framework within which organizations operate and by which they are influenced. Others describe institutions similarly: described an institution as a

> "set of rules of the game or codes of conduct that serve to define social practices, assign role to the participants in these practices, and guide the interactions among occupants of these roles" Young (1994, 3).

> "supra-organizational patterns of human activity by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material substance and organize time and space" Friedland and Alford (1991, 243).

While the phrase "supra-organizational patterns" implies structural elements, the use of the word "patterns" evokes the idea of habits, which may or may not be structurally caused. This emphasis on the habitual or routine aspect of institutions forms a common theme in many definitions.

As will be seen in the next sections, the above definitions reflect the economic and political science disciplines with an emphasis on a combination of rules and structures with "something else", variously expressed as norms or habits. The sociological discipline extended that "something else" and, in so doing, identified a broad range of topics for study. As Richard Scott says,

> "Institutional theory attends to the deeper and more resilient aspects of social structure. It considers the processes by which structures, including schemas, rules, norms, and routines, become established as authoritative guidelines for social behavior. It inquires into how these elements are created, diffused, adopted, and adapted over space and time;

and how they fall into decline and disuse. Although the ostensible subject is stability and order in social life, students of institutions must perforce attend not just to consensus and conformity but to conflict and change in social structures (Scott 2004, 1)."

Thus institutions are driven not just by concerns of efficiency or rational self-interest, nor does the weight of their influence come from the external structure that they place on individuals. Rather, it is the way in which individuals actually internalize a cognitive conceptualization of the institution along with its structure, values and norms. According to Powell and DiMaggio (1991, 15),

> "not norms and values but taken-for-granted scripts, rules, and classifications are the stuff of which institutions are made", making it difficult for individuals to "even conceive of appropriate alternatives (or because they regard as unrealistic the alternatives they can imagine)."

As a result, institutions become

> "both the internalized injunctions that people follow and the actions that others will take to enforce the injunctions or to protect people in the liberties and opportunities that institutions provide" (Neale 1994, 404).

The question arises as to how an institution differs from an organization. Some authors (Powell and DiMaggio 1991; Zucker 1988) consider the terms "organization" and "institution" virtually interchangeable because of the way that their mutual interaction and influence blurs the boundaries between the two. North (1990) argued, however, that these are two distinct types of entities. In order to resolve this issue, as well as methodologically distinguish among the impact of norms, rules, structure, etc., Hollingsworth has attempted to more clearly delineate the level of analysis and boundary conditions, partly through the use of specific terminology (e.g. institutional arrangements) that more narrowly identifies the characteristics to be studied. He placed norms, rules, conventions, habits, and values at level one, followed by institutional arrangements, institutional sectors, organizational structures, and performance indicators.

Although the early research on institutions primarily concerned governments, a variety of entities are now recognized and studied as institutions, partly as a result of the dimension contributed by the sociological perspective. For example, one might be able to consider the configuration of all social service organizations in a specific community to constitute an institution, because they share a specific normative-legal-resource environment which shapes the behavior of those organizations. Alternatively, one might define the institution as only those youth-serving organizations within that same community, under the assumption that the behavior of youth-serving organizations is impacted and constrained by a set of specific parameters that do not apply to adult-serving organizations. The social workers who work in all social service organizations world-wide might also constitute an institution, specifically an "epistemic community"[6]. A comparable institution and epistemic community might be identified as those who work in certain aspects of youth services internationally.

Despite all attempts to the contrary, the definition of institutions retains some ambiguity and imprecision, best summarized in the following statements"

> "An institution is not a 'thing' that once recognized or defined can be then conveniently accounted for as a single variable (or a fixed constraint) in analyses of … change." (Parto, 18)

> "…if we think we know what an institution is we can begin to develop a group of measures to capture the most important aspects of that social reality…On the other hand, beginning to develop and actually use measures of institutions, albeit preliminary and potentially flawed, may be necessary to amplify the meanings of the theories more thoroughly" (Peters, 12).

The quote by Guy Peters remains accurate in terms of the need for added research in the realm of institutionalism.

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[6] Peter M. Haas (1992) lists the characteristics of an epistemic community as a "combination of ….a shared set of causal and principled…beliefs, a consensual knowledge base, and a common policy enterprise

2.2   THEORIES OF INSTITUTIONALISM

2.2.1 Structures vs. Schema, Human Agency vs. Institutions

Guy Peters (2000, 4) identified commonalities in the various approaches to institutionalism. First of all, structures are important, regardless of the definitions used for institutions. Secondly, the structures outlive individuals. Finally, the fact that institutional structures create some regularity in human behavior improves the ability of social sciences to explain and predict human behavior. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the specific conceptualization of institutionalism used by the different academic disciplines, since it has implications in two primary areas: 1) the relative weight of rules and procedures vs. schema and scripts and 2) the role of individual agents within the institution. The following outline of the literature and theories of institutionalism will highlight these features.

2.2.2 The Dominance of Human Agency

Both political science institutionalism and economics institutionalism have their genesis in the 19th century. Since the earliest study of institutions focused primarily on government institutions, political science or its subfield public administration played a crux role in early institutional theory. In general, the theories of Woodrow Wilson and others considered primarily the formal structures within the framework of moral philosophy (Scott 2001). A transition towards a more rational form of political institutionalism began to occur in the 1930s, when writers such as Lasswell (1936) sought to conduct institutional analysis on the basis of the self-interest of individuals.

Two strings of institutionalism—the classical economics that dates back to Adam <u>Smith</u>'s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and the more recent rational choice branch[7] of political science--place human agency in a dominant role. According to these theories, the institution is made up of rational individuals acting in their own self-interest. At first it may seem counter-intuitive to consider such entities institutions, since all definitions of institutions convey the sense of something bigger than and offering constraints to individuals. The concept of supply and demand economics is illustrative. Individuals make purchase decisions based upon their willingness to pay a specific price for an object given the utility of that object to the user. The purchase decisions of many individuals constitute the demand for an object, and that demand affects both the price and the supply, which then impact subsequent purchase decisions by other individuals. It is the supply and demand market as a whole that is the institution in this case. In the same way, rational choice considers how the decisions of individuals in the political sphere can either aggregate into or lead to the creation of an institution. A rational individual will avoid paying for functions or space that are shared by others unless he or she can ensure that all will share the costs (Ostrom). Government thus often must assume responsibility for these common functions.

Both these theories are rooted in the concept of self-interest, but Amartya Sen (1998), for one, has indicated that the concept of self-interest is more complex than the pure economic utility that had normally been considered its foundation. According to Sen, economic utility and thus self-interest will vary for individuals because they evaluate things differently. This points to the role of values even in the most rationally based forms of economics and political science.

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[7] See for example: Downs, A. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper and Brothers; Olson, M. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press

The classical economic and the rational choice forms of institutionalism offer the best description of the role of human agency in institutions. In so doing, however, they minimize the impact that the institution has in constraining human agency. New Institutional Economics and historical institutionalism were developed in an attempt to more explicitly address the role of institutions, sometimes to the point of minimizing the impact of human agency.

2.2.3 Constraints on Human Agency

New Institutional Economics (NIE) is the theoretical recognition that market economics rarely exist in a vacuum, but in fact work more effectively when governments set up laws and procedures that structure and permit individual decisions (Lin and Nugent). A government institution, by its very nature, can reduce so-called transaction costs and thus conduct some tasks more efficiently than individuals. Consider, for example, the inter-state highway system. Even the most ardent of small-government believers tend not to argue in favor of complete privatization of this system. The design of the highway system requires a massive amount of information and coordination across numerous jurisdictional lines, as well as the ability to purchase or seize private property when necessary. Government can contract out to private entities some pieces of the design and implementation of the highway system. Nevertheless, the transaction costs for developing the entire system as a whole are so high that an institution such as the national government is, in this case, considerably more efficient and effective than the private market.

Another application of NIE concerns Arrow's theorem, which indicates that voting decisions in the political realm are highly dependent upon the voting rules and procedures that are set up in advance. Without them, the aggregation of individual decisions may in fact be

contrary to the majority will (Arrow). In all these cases, institutions constrain human agency, but also help make it possible for human agency to more closely achieve the desired effect.

NIE argues that rational actor theories are premised on contingencies that do not exist in the real world such as the availability of perfect information. Individuals often make decisions with limited information and without the ability to see unintended consequences of their decisions (Pierson 2000, Stiglitz). For example, although the most rational decision in a situation might be to borrow an institutional design element from another environment, even minor changes in conditions may produce effects widely disparate from those in the original location (Coram 1996). One major function of institutionalism and an area of research is to identify the institutional constraints limiting human agency, such as for example in the area of economic decision-making (cf e.g. Coase, Stiglitz, North, Williamson). In the economics field, this institutional view was actually a return to an earlier theoretical thread in the 19th and early 20th centuries, one which considered more heavily the social and political framework within which economics operated (Veblen 1899, Schumpeter 1934, 1954 Scott 2001, Parto).

Historical institutionalism exists within the political science disciplines as a counterpart to NIE. Historical institutionalists consider the way that institutions derive from a specific historical setting and how institutions in different settings respond differently or similarly to the same external stimulus, for example, the 1970s worldwide economic crises (cf. Gourevitch). Past actions create a certain pathway for the future. This "path dependency" becomes a type of institutional inertia which is difficult or at least expensive to overcome without some catalytic force (Pierson). Although external historical events can catalyze a change, the individual interpretation of and response to events is often shaped by the pre-existing institutional understandings. Even when individuals take leadership in instituting a change, as did Ronald

Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in steering their respective countries towards a more conservative path (cf. Hall), it is not always clear whether such individuals exerted a truly unique influence, or whether they were merely at the right place and time in a process of change that was already occurring.

In order to address questions like this, some researchers have explored the issue of how ideas and values gain traction and become incorporated within policy and ultimately within the institutions (cf. Sikkink).   In addition, social learning theory, developed by the psychologist Albert Bandura (1997) describes the way in which people learn from others by observing and imitating their behavior has been used by Hall and others to look at one mechanism through which institutions can impact the behaviors of individuals who are part of the institutions.   The process through which ideas and values become exchanged and possibly dominant within institutions holds a more central role within sociological institutionalism, which will be discussed next.

2.2.4 Cognitive Scripts and Sociological Institutionalism

The role of cognitive and social understandings constitute one critical difference between the array of institutionalisms referred to as "old" and those falling under the heading of "new" institutionalism. As was discussed earlier, these labels of old and new do not always neatly fit since the history of institutional theory has not been linear, but rather shows recurrent themes that may or may not be in dominance at any one time. The partial inaccuracy of those labels notwithstanding, Greenwood and Hinings (1996, 1022) described an important conceptual grouping of institutional theories:

"In the old institutionalism, issues of influence, coalitions and competing values were central, along with power and informal structures. ...This focus contrasts with the new institutionalism with its emphasis on legitimacy, the embeddedness of organizational fields and the centrality of classification, routines, scripts, and schema."

The role of cognitive understandings plays the largest role in sociological institutionalism, which is somewhat broader than political and economic institutionalism, and emphasizes cognitive and cultural understandings and interpretations along with rules and procedures. Although these may seem to be merely subjective impressions which may or may not impact individual decision-making, individuals generally react to these cognitive and cultural understandings in the same way that they might react to any concrete event or action. In fact, it is the interpretation of those events rather than the events themselves that are usually responsible for one's reactions and actions (Zucker). As will be seen later, one's interpretation of events is often shaped by one's values.

The term "archetype" is commonly used in sociological institutionalism as a way of distinguishing a specific array of social knowledge. An archetype has been defined as a:

"...set of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape prevailing conceptions of what an organization should be doing, of how it should be doing it, and how it should be judged, combined with structures and processes that serve to implement and reinforce these ideas (Hinings and Greenwood 1988, 295)."

An archetype bears some resemblance to but goes beyond that of "shared mental models", which are "internal representation[s] that individual cognitive systems create to interpret the environment" (Denzau and North, 4). While the emphasis in a mental model is cognitive, however, an archetype incorporates more emotive aspects such as beliefs and values.

An archetype becomes codified into an institution as the result of competition among differing understandings or discourses, one of which ultimately "wins" the competition and becomes dominant. One individual 's understanding and interpretation of a situation is relevant,

but only to the extent that individual's understanding interacts with and relates to others in creating a discourse that ultimately becomes dominant. Often the dominant discourse is the one most connected with the power structure, which is usually synonymous with the institution itself. A dialectical view of this struggle portrays it as not fully resolved, and the contradictions that remain may be the seed for destruction of the dominant discourse (Seo and Creed). A change in the external environment or perhaps a loss of success in the organization may provide the catalyst for shifting the power balance among discourses (Sastry).

This issue of how and to what extent an institution influences the actions and even the thoughts of both the individual organizations and the individuals under its domain is a crux issue within institutional theory. Such "institutional isomorphism"—the tendency of organizations and individuals within an institution to become more similar—is theorized to come about through one of three mechanisms: coercive, mimetic, and normative (DiMaggio and Powell 1983, Meyer and Rowan). DiMaggio and Powell themselves were not convinced that these three mechanisms were totally independent nor could be distinguished empirically (ibid).

An illustration of sociological institutionalism and how these three mechanisms might operate concerns epistemic communities, such as that for social work. At first, individuals operating in isolation may develop a set of beliefs and practices based upon their own experience. At some point, they begin to interact with each other, borrowing ideas from each other and synthesizing them into additional variations. These processes gradually congeal into certain schema or archetypes and, as the process of institutionalization continues, the institution now influences and limits those within. These schema and archetypes are considered "best practices"—the normative mechanism. Those entering the field of social work imitate them— the mimetic mechanism—in the belief that operating within those archetypes is likely to lead to

the best results. Finally, the archetypes are codified through, for example, the Code of Ethics for Social Work, which forms a coercive mechanism to deter deviation from the established norms.

Scott (2001) worked to translate the DiMaggio and Powell mechanisms into three "pillars" of analysis—regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive—that parallel the coercive, normative, and mimetic mechanisms respectively. Rules, laws, and sanctions are indicators of the coercive mechanism within the regulative pillar, and legitimacy is denoted by legally sanctioned behavior. The normative mechanism is driven by a "logic of appropriateness" (March and Olsen) indicated by, for example, certification or accreditation.   Another author emphasized the importance of measuring values in order to establish the existence or prevalence of norms (Peters). Indicators of the cultural-cognitive pillar are common beliefs and shared logic of actions. Legitimacy is recognized by behavior that is understandable, identifiable, and supported by the culture (Scott 2001).

Legitimacy is thus a distinguishing characteristic of institutions and is one way of expressing the impact and influence that it has on individuals. One definition of legitimacy is almost synonymous with that of institutional isomorphism:

> "congruence between social values associated with or implied by [organizational] activities and the norms of acceptable behavior in the larger social system" (Dowling and Pfeffer 1975, 122).

Legitimacy has also been defined at the organizational level to refer to a type of internal organizational congruency, although it is an organization's need to justify its existence in terms that are acceptable to the institutional environment that can lead to isomorphism.

It is important to emphasize that "legitimacy" and "isomorphism" may have little relationship to criteria of organizational effectiveness or efficiency. For example, organizations often jump on the proverbial bandwagon and continue to adopt strategies that have been shown

to be ineffective (Abrahamson and Rosenkopf, O'Neill, Pouder and Buckholz). Despite theoretical frameworks such as that by Scott, the issue of when and under what conditions organizations become isomorphic or institutionalized, remains a largely unanswered question in the field(s) of institutional theory.

Related to the concept of legitimacy and perhaps one tangible expression of institutionalism is the concept of resource dependence. According to resource dependency theory (Pfeffer and Salancik), organizations conform themselves to the expectations of their various stakeholders. The resources thus can either be a reflection of the norms within the institution or a vehicle for coercion. At the same time, the receipt of resources both provides and acknowledges the legitimacy of the recipient organization.

As can be seen from the above discussion, the definitions and explanations for the existence of institutions are diverse, although they center around some key points as well as some key disputes. The view of institutions as incorporating not only structure but also norms, values, and cognitive scripts has become more prevalent, yet remains in competition with the rational choice perspective. The issue of the respective roles of human agency vs. the institution remains a largely unanswered question, highlighting the need for greater research into the area of institutions as a whole, as well as for greater research in elucidating the factors that are critical in the behavior of institutions. One area highlighting the difference in theories and the need for greater research is that of institutional change.

2.3   HOW DO INSTITUTIONS CHANGE?

Given the pressures for conformity that institutions exert upon their constituent parts, how is it possible for institutions to change? It is in fact an area in which institutional theory is most often weakest. As was seen above, individual agency clearly has a place in the change process, but its role has not been adequately elucidated. What limited theory and research exist seem to indicate that the change process can originate at any one of several levels—individual, organizational, and/or institutional.

One important consideration both from a theoretical and an empirical perspective is the extent to which institutions interact with each other. Individuals usually are members of different institutions, each with different structures, norms, and cultures which can create cross-cutting influences and constraints on individuals (Powell). Institutions can interact in a variety of ways. They may have similar or overlapping functions or political jurisdictions such as the interplay between local and federal systems of government. Institutions may have overlapping membership, such as members of a professional discipline with national or international standards who work within institutional settings whose practice and principles may or may not be exactly aligned. Interplay may be vertical or horizontal (King 1997, Young et. al. 2008).

Institutional interplay is a fairly recent area of theory and research, occurring largely in relation to international organizations and especially in relation to environmental or trade issues. The goal is to better understand and improve the operations of the specific institutions as well as international relations in general (Chambers et. al.). The way that such interplay might impact change in institutions has not yet been an area of study. Nor has the role of values in such interplay, although differing values are implicit in the distinct perspectives of the interacting institutions studied (cf. e.g. the case studies in Young).

Each of the institutional theories has an explicit or implicit theory of change which usually leads to as many questions as answers. For example, if institutions are characterized by rules, laws, and norms, a different institution is likely to emerge when the laws change. Yet what motivates an individual or individuals who are constrained by the institution to seek new laws? A parallel question could be asked in each of the institutionalisms. One clearly identified source of change involves external events that were not adequately anticipated by the institution. The theories of Hall and Gourevitch derived precisely from studies of the response of nations to specific historical events. At the same time, much research still needs to be done to explain why the institutional change takes whatever form it does when those events occur.

Others (e.g. DiMaggio, Leblebici et. al.) suggest that change is the result of shifting power and interests, without fully addressing the question of how interests could change or be different within an institutionalized environment. Seo and Creed's dialectical approach offered one answer to this. In any structure there are always "have-nots", whether in terms of power or a non-dominant discourse. Alternatively, any institutional arrangement has imperfections that do not address all contingencies. In either case, "contradictions" emerge which form the basis for change.

The process for incremental change seems to be different from that for radical change. Using the terminology of the sociological institutionalists, radical change in this context involves moving from one archetype to another (Kikulis, Slack and Hinings). This is comparable to the concept of punctuated equilibrium, where the equilibrium could be considered to represent an archetype (Tushman and Romanelli). Incremental change does not disrupt the archetype and thus may not really be considered a change to the institution itself. An assumption is made that any institution has human imperfections existing alongside structures, values and scripts that

contribute to optimum performance. These imperfections can be improved without necessarily changing the institution itself. Institutions also contain some vehicle for learning and improving without threatening the structure, schema, or boundaries of the institution itself (Lant and Mezias). Sufficient incremental change could however eventually undermine the institution and create a change to a new structure and/or value system (Hodgson).

Despite the emphasis on stability as a distinguishing characteristic of institutions, change is in fact a characteristic of all open, complex open systems, whether biological or organizational (Nicolis and Prigogine). The exchange of energy and information with the environment inevitably create different stresses on the system which can ultimately disrupt the system. Whether or not the disruption leads to incremental or radical change will depend upon the ability of the existing systems within the entity to absorb and diffuse the input in non-destructive ways.

Critical to any discussion of institutional change is an assessment of the role of human agency within the institution. As was seen earlier, each of the branches of institutional theory assesses the balance between the two differently. Most of the theories recognize that the two factors are interactive (Granovetter; Peters; Ranson, Hinings and Greenwood), yet research continues in an attempt to better ascertain the respective role of each under what conditions.

For example, Holm suggested a nested system to distinguish between the effects of the institution and the effects of agency. By careful analysis of a change process it can be possible to clarify the extent to which each level contributes to the overall change. Using an organizational learning model, Lant and Mezias saw the genesis of the change process as a discrepancy between desired and perceived performance level. The extent to which organizational, and potentially institutional change, would occur was dependent upon the extent to which current rules and schema provided a reasonable path to improved performance.

Kikulis, Slack and Hinings suggested that certain systems within an organization are high-impact systems, most in congruence with the organizational values. Change that occurs in this system is more likely to have a greater affect on the organization as a whole. Finally, the strategic decisions of management cannot be ignored (Oliver). Faced with a change or condition in the institutional environment that affects an organization, a manager of that organization can respond in a variety of ways.

Clearly the debate on this issue remains unresolved, and the theories regarding institutional change range from those emphasize elements such as power and resources to those incorporating more cultural and interpretative elements. Values constitute one factor that has been explored regarding institutional change and is usually considered to fall into the latter, more interpretive category of explanations. Before discussing the research regarding how conflicts and convergences in values can impede or facilitate organizational and perhaps institutional change, it is necessary to review the literature more generally regarding values.

2.4   VALUES

2.4.1 What are Values?

The values research has been criticized for a lack of clarity of definitions (Rohan). The difficulty, as stated by Hofstede (1998b), is that values "do not 'exist' in an absolute sense; we have defined them into existence". Schwartz and Bilsky (1987, 519) identify five features common to most definitions of values: "1) concepts or beliefs 2) about desirable end states or behavior, 3) that transcend specific situations, 4) are ordered by relative importance, and 5) guide

selection or evaluation of behavior or events".   They are thought to be relatively immutable and constitute one lens through which an individual interprets and responds to situations (Rokeach 1968; Ball-Rokeach et. al.).   At the same time, values can change through one's lifetime as a result of interaction with others such as in a job or social circle, although the research in this area is limited (Hitlin and Piliavin, Maio and Olson 1998, Rohan). Values seem to be cognitive in nature, as indicated by the use of the term "concepts" in the Schwartz and Bilsky definition, but also seem to have an emotive element. Early research on values by Rokeach described two different types of values, terminal and instrumental, depending upon whether values constitute a goal that individuals seek to attain (terminal), or a means by which they move towards some goal (instrumental).   Schwartz, however, was unable to substantiate this division, finding instead that values can serve either purpose (Rohan).

There are at least three different perspectives on defining values and, as was true for institutionalism, the perspectives seem to reflect the discipline of the researcher involved. The first is most common in the field of psychology, which views values as something that is important in the individual's own life.   Its emphasis on the transcendent or trans-situational aspect of values results in schema in which all value-based judgments can be reduced to a relatively small number of values and may in fact be universal across all cultures and persons (Schwartz and Bilsky 1990). Currently, the most prominent embodiment of this perspective is the Schwartz Value System, an array of 10 different values organized in a circumplex form that has been shown to be very consistent in research in over 60 countries. An example of the circumplex form can be found in Appendix A, Figure 7. These values motivate human behavior and are derived from three basic human categories of human needs: individual survival or biological needs, group survival and operational needs, and social needs (Schwartz and Bardi

2001). Meglino and Ravlin's (p. 354) definition of values parallels this emphasis on human

needs: "internalized interpretations about socially desirable ways to fulfill [an individual's]

needs". The 10 different values in the SVS can be grouped into two primary values conflicts: 1)

self-enhancement versus self-transcendence, and 2) openness to change versus conservation

(Schwartz 1992).

A second perspective on defining values is typified by the work of Ronald Inglehart.

Inglehart's work is based on the World Values Survey, which has been used in 80 different

countries in four different "waves" since 1981. The World Values Survey and thus also

Inglehart inquire not only about one's view of what is important for oneself (as did the SVS), but

also about what is important for children or for one's country. Inglehart's research indicates that

the different societies studied reflected two primary values dichotomies or conflicts: 1)

traditional vs. secular-rational orientation, and 2) survival vs. self-expression (p. 23). These can

be seen to parallel the dichotomies in the SVS.

A third way of defining values, one used more commonly in organizational, management,

or public policy research, is much broader than the "psychology" school epitomized by

Schwartz. This perspective can be illustrated by the following definitions:

> "a broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others" (Hofstede 1980,19)

> "the beliefs held by an individual or group regarding means and ends organizations
> 'ought to' or 'should' identify in the running of enterprise (Enz 1988, 287)."

These definitions broaden the concept of values, often by applying the term values to a more

specific situation rather than only to trans-situational beliefs.

Is there common ground in these definitions? In general, the three perspectives agree on

four characteristics of the Schwartz and Bilsky definition, but probably differ on the fifth,

depending upon how one defines "trans-situational".   The less universal the construct being

called "values", the more likely that it would be considered to be "attitudes" by the psychology school. The concept of attitudes is also a construct "defined into existence" which shares some similarities with values and thus can often be confused with them (cf. Rohan). Attitudes are beliefs that are applicable to a specific situation (Hitlin and Piliavin), and are therefore an example of an "evaluation of behavior and events" influenced by values in the Schwartz and Bilsky definition above. Attitudes can be a manifestation of a single value, in which case they may be called "value-expressive attitudes" (Maio and Olson, Schwartz and Bilsky). Schwartz and Bilsky have found that value-expressive attitudes form a system with a circumplex structure comparable to the one which they found for values. Attitudes may also be the manifestation of several different values, in which case no direct correlation to the value system structure can be derived. One important distinction between values and attitudes is that people can have both negative and positive attitudes, whereas values represent something desirable and thus are always positive (Hitlin and Piliavin).

The more rigid definitions of values and attitudes certainly contribute a clarity and rigor to analysis and discussion. However, Hofstede (1998) found that both researchers and respondents are able to clearly distinguish between the two, even with a fairly basic conceptualization of attitudes as "how one feels about a situation" and values as "what state of affairs one would prefer". In addition, the more rigid definition of "attitudes" does not seem to fully represent powerful belief structures motivating people's actions in various situations in daily life. It is perhaps for this reason that the broader definition is more commonly used in public policy and organizational research, since it better reflects common usage.

Although values are most often considered an individual construct (cf. Meglino and Ravlin), at least three different terms are used to refer to values held by groups of individuals. It

is not always clear to what extent these are simply an aggregate of the personal value systems of group members, or a distinct entity that transcends the value systems of individual members (Rohan). Extrapolating the *idea* of group values from that of institutions as entities that are more than simply aggregates of the parts, it is reasonable that those in the organizational and public administration fields might consider that groups might have values that are not necessarily the same as those of the members.

Both the term "social values" and "ideological values" have been used to refer to group phenomenon. Rohan recommends that the latter term be used when the values are openly discussed among group members. "Social values" would then be used to describe the perception a group member has of the values of the group. Based on Rohan's overall perspective, it appears that the "values" being discussed here are the trans-situational values used in the narrow definition rather than social, group, and/or ideological values comparable to the use of "values" terminology by organizational or public policy researchers. The term "organizational values" is commonly used by researchers in these latter disciplines. Organizational values have variously been defined as a set of values that govern the behavior of the organization and its members the values of the leaders of the organization that then become actualized within the organization or simply values that one acquires from a work setting rather than from the family or community (Paarlberg). The values studied in these studies often concern work attributes, e.g. diligence, desire to work in teams, etc.

To the extent that these organizational values constrain organizational behavior, they then become similar to some conceptualizations of "norms". Hitler and Piliavin discuss norms in a way that seems indistinct from Enz's definition of values quoted above. Others use a more expansive definition of normative framework as "taken-for-granted assumptions about values,

attitudes, identities, and other "collectively shared expectations" (Campbell 2002, Katzenstein 1996, 7), suggesting some common ground between norms and the way "social values" is used by Rohan.   In general, however, the emphasis of "norms" is on behavior as opposed to beliefs (Finnemore and Sikkink, Glisson and James).   An individual may therefore comply with behavioral norms despite the fact that those norms are inconsistent with the individual's personal values. Norms may even exert a stronger pressure on individuals than their values (Hitlin and Piliavin).

One final definitional issue concerns that of "rights", which share with "values" the quality of "oughtness" (cf. Meglino and Ravlin). It shares features with one of the Schwartz values—universalism, defined as "understanding, appreciation, tolerance, and protection for the welfare of all people and for nature. (Schwartz, Sagiv, Boehnke, 316)". Rights, however, are an entitlement bequeathed upon an individual as an inherent part of membership in a specific group, whether that group is the human race, the citizen of a country, or individuals with a specific characteristic.   Thus rights are defined more in terms of the group to which they apply, whereas the value "universalism" is defined in terms of the perspective of an individual *towards* the target group.

During the Becca Bill debate, the policy issue which serves as a basis for this research, the stances of the parties were often presented in terms of value-laden "oughts" and "shoulds", leading to this research focus on values. Because the parties on either side of the debate were usually members of rather discernible groups, it begs the question as to the relationship between those values and groups, as well as the overall institutions of which those groups were a part. As part of addressing these questions, this research examines whether the values under consideration

are personal values or one of the variations of group values, and the implications that may have for the overall theory of values and institutions.

2.4.2 Methodologies for Determining Values

Two different methodologies—rating and ranking[8]-- have been used to determine values (McCarty and Shrum). The rating method measures values independently of each other, making it possible for a respondent's measure of several different values all to be equally high or low. This provides useful data when determining, for example, the values that make up an individual's thought structure. The ranking method, on the other hand, is more useful when evaluating the way that a respondent prioritizes his or her values in response to a choice situation. It is this method that assesses the hierarchy of an individual. Data analysis is usually simpler when using rating rather than ranking. Research has shown that the two methods can produce different and even contradictory data (Cattell, Rokeach). One problem is that respondents may invest little effort in differentiating between different values in a rating format, giving the same response to each. Several methods have been developed to reduce this problem and increase the correlation of results from ranking vs. rating methodology (McCarty and Shrum, Krosnick and Alwin).

Because values conflicts are an inherent part of public policy (Spicer), the ranking method is an important tool to consider when conducting research on public policy issues. Methodologically, using a ranking procedure in these types of situations reduces the risk that respondents will simply verbalize the socially desirable answers. This method also helps assess

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[8] The terms "normative" and "ipsative" (cf. Meglino & Ravlin 359-363) have also been used instead of rating and ranking.

value hierarchies for those many individuals who are not fully conscious of their own values and values hierarchies (Meglino and Ravlin).

Little research exists regarding how value hierarchies affect the interactive process between individuals and organizations. Research has shown that individual values can shape the direction of the agency or its response to specific policies under certain conditions as above. There is limited research, however, on whether there is a correlation between values hierarchy and attitudes regarding a specific policy issue. The proposed research is designed to address that theoretical gap, as well as clarifying the relationship between personal values in general, and the values held by respondents regarding children's issues in specific.

2.4.3 What Role Do Values Serve For Individuals?

The power of values comes from the fact that they serve to motivate individuals, but through what mechanism and to what purpose has been an issue of debate and research. Values are part of the relatively stable (Rokeach 1989) "mental map" (Denzau and North) that helps individuals interpret their environment and which they bring into organizations with which they are affiliated. Values serve as a way to screen and interpret information (Verplanken and Holland). Individuals are more likely to pay attention to issues that reflect their value priorities. They might also interpret a situation based upon the way that they prioritize their values.

Individuals tend not to undergo a radical change in values unless confronted with such strongly contradictory evidence from the environment so as to make it difficult for them to act in way they consider moral (Rokeach 1989). Individual values can and do undergo incremental change through the normal interactive process that occurs in group settings such as organizations. Earlier research suggested that his is especially true for "instrumental" values

which are focused on means as opposed to "terminal" values which are focused on ends (Rokeach 1973). As was mentioned earlier, however, not all researchers have been able to validate the separate existence of terminal and instrumental values.

One critical issue is the extent to which values impact behavior, since values may have little relevance in social science research if in fact they do not translate into behavior. Although values may motivate individuals, people do not always act in accord with their values. Values are believed to be just one component of a linkage among values, attitudes, and behaviors, using the more stringent definitions discussed above (Homer and Kahle). The attitudes that individuals have towards specific topics or issues would be influenced by the values that are more universal and, as discussed above, trans-situational. Behaviors then derive from the attitudes. Attitudes, however, are often expressive of more than one value (Bardi and Schwartz 2003, Maio and Olson). If values conflict or are arranged in a hierarchy, action expressive of a value may depend upon how that specific value stands in relation to others and how individuals order their different values.

In addition, values often operate as "truisms" (Maio and Olson). That is, people acquire values without consciously choosing them, often at a young age from their family or culture. Research has shown an improved values-behavior correlation when individuals develop cognitive support for their personal values (Maio and Olson, Bernard et. al.), although not all researchers have shown similar outcomes (Zanna and Olson). Cognitive support takes the value out of the realm of the emotive and creates a rational defense for it that helps to withstand challenge (Maio et. al.). It is hypothesized that individuals have such cognitive support for only a few central values (Bernard et. al.). Verplanken and Holland, in fact, define "value-centrality" as those values that play such a critical role for a person that they do motivate them to act. This

implies a type of values hierarchy, where certain values become central in relationship to other values.

A final factor in terms of the role values play for individuals is what one researcher describes as "situational" (E. Scott). Elizabeth Scott argues that the individual situational interpretation of values is one factor making the study of values so difficult. She gives the example of several individuals who might think it wrong to steal, yet who nevertheless differ as to whether stealing includes taking pens home from the office. A person's application of values to a particular situation depends not only upon where the value is located on the person's value hierarchy, but upon the extent to which he or she is acting voluntarily, the relationship he or she has to the object of the action, their intentions, and the final effect. Bardi and Schwartz also believe that situational and social pressures can affect the values—behavior link. Since Scott, however, comes from a business perspective and training, her framework of values is best viewed in the context of the broader conceptualization of values. From that perspective, it is not clear that her "situational" quality of values is an exact match for the way that situational pressures operate for Bardi and Schwartz.

2.4.4 Value Conflicts

According to Meglino and Ravlin, an individual experiences values conflicts in most real life situations. This is partly because of the nature of values, which are by definition about "desirable end states or behavior" (cf. Schwartz and Bilsky). Thus all the alternatives in any given situation are likely to offer some desirable end state. In addition, certain values are inherently conflictual. For example, the Schwartz Value System is based upon data showing that personal values have a predictable relationship to each other in which all values offer some

level of conflict with certain others in the system. As was mentioned earlier, all the values in the Schwartz Value System can be subsumed into two general conflicts: 1) self-enhancement versus self-transcendence, and 2) openness to change versus conservation (Schwartz 1992). Within this schema, the value of self-direction is conflictual to that for security.

The research by Inglehart and Baker defined the relationship hierarchically rather than specifically conflictual. Basing their work on Maslow's hierarchy of needs, Inglehart and Baker distinguished between survival needs and self-expression needs. Safety needs are under the purview of survival needs that would need to be satisfied first before self-expression needs such as self-direction could be addressed. Other researchers also emphasize hierarchy rather than conflict among values although this perspective is not universal (Meglino and Ravlin).

The way that individuals resolve these conflictual or hierarchical relationships among values can become one factor impacting the role that values play in any specific situations, and has been a subject of research and debate. Arguments have been offered that individuals resolve conflicts by rationally weighing the competing values (Rokeach and Ball-Rokeach), that individuals have certain values that out-rank others in terms of importance (Ravlin and Meglino, Rokeach 1973), or that each value operates independently in a situation (Kluckhohn). The implication of these conflicts will be discussed further in the following sections.

2.4.5 What Role Do Values Play in Institutions?

In considering the role of values in institutions, it is useful to start with the role values play in organizations since, as the earlier discussion indicated, both the interplay between individuals and institutions as well as the interplay between organizations and institutions can contribute to institutional change. Because values are defined largely as an individual construct,

especially by those whose theoretical orientation comes from psychology, the role of values in organizations and public policy can be even more difficult to conceptualize than the role for individuals. At the same time, values are one element along with attitudes, identities, and other "collectively shared expectations" that make up the normative frameworks (Katzenstein 1996, Campbell 2002) within which individuals operate. Values as an entity of itself echoes the crux debate in institutional theory between the ways in which institutions affect individuals as opposed to individuals affecting institutions. Organizational values are considered to be strong when the members of the organization share values regarding appropriate behaviors, although the emphasis on behavior brings this closer to the definition used for norms. Organizational values often are considered those values espoused by management, values into which efforts are made to socialize employees (Paarlberg).

One major practical application of the concept of group values concerns the person-organization fit. Different researchers agree that the fit is determined by some shared attributes between the person and the organization, but do not always agree what those attributes might be (Hoffman and Woehr). The fit can be either supplementary (with shared attributes between the person and the organization) or complementary (where the person provides attributes different than those within the organization) (DeClerq). Shared values seem to be one important factor in the supplementary person-organizational fit, although it appears that it is the *perception* of shared values rather than the reality thereof which is most important (Carless). Further, the values often researched involve specific work-related values, such as an employee's belief in teamwork or conscientiousness in attendance (cf. DeClerq, Paarlberg). Some might consider these attitudes rather than values, but DeClerq has found that the work values can be reconciled within the Schwartz Value System. Paarlberg utilized the concept of functional vs. instrumental values to

distinguish between those focusing more generally on work habits (functional), and those involving the purpose and mission of the organization (instrumental).

Regardless of whether the shared quality between the person and the organization is that of values or attitudes, the end result can be a higher level of organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB).[9] OCB include behaviors contributing to the well-being of the organization, such as helping out one's co-workers either informally or as part of a work team, having constructive relationships with management, and representing the organization well in the community. Not only values but personality traits, considered relatively immutable characteristics of one's personality, can affect OCB (Barrick and Mount).

Organizational values appear to be part of a broader construct called "organizational culture" although, once again, this is dependent upon the definition used by the researcher. Organizational culture can more narrowly refer to work related values and organizational citizenship behaviors, but often can refer to more diverse aspects of the organization. Glisson and James (2002) define culture as "normative beliefs and shared behavioral expectations in an organizational unit". Hofstede et. al. acknowledge that there is no single definition for culture, but believes that the following would be commonly acceptable to researchers. Organizational culture is "1) holistic, 2) historically determined, 3) related to anthropological concepts, 4) socially constructed, 5) soft, and 6) difficult to change (1990, 286)." They considers values the "core of culture" (1990, 291). Hemmelgarn, Glisson and Dukes similarly consider values an important part of organizational culture.

Organizations attempt to socialize employees into the organizational values and organizational culture beginning with the hiring process (cf e.g. Hart). But this is often an

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[9] See Podsakoff for a review of the OCB literature.

imperfect process and individuals may experience conflicts between their personal values and those of the organizations.   These conflicts can add a layer of complexity to the values conflicts that individuals already experience between and among their personal values (Paarlberg). When there is a conflict, individuals appear more likely to act in accord with their personal value systems than with group value systems (Rohan). Yet Hitlin and Piliavin found that norms— which may equate to a group value system depending upon the definition used by the researcher—can have a greater impact on behavior than personal values systems.

Individuals who share at least some values are more likely to have better communication and higher quality relationships than those with less values similarity (Dose*).* Values are in fact one aspect contributing to homophily, the process of "like attracting like" (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, and Cook). Homophily is likely to underlie many of the phenomena described above. For example, an employer is likely to hire someone who appears to share the values of the organization, and the employees with shared values can contribute to a more powerful normative structure that becomes a characteristic of the organizational culture.

Figure 2 is a conceptual map of these various concepts, with the recognition that the lack of universal agreement on terminology or the definitions makes these hypothesized relationships open to debate.   Group values are one element within both normative frameworks and organizational culture. Social values, ideological values, and organizational values are all types of group values, and may or may not represent similar concepts dependent upon the situation and the user. The personal traits and values which an individual brings to an organization contribute to the personal-organizational fit, which then contributes to the organizational citizenship behaviors   that   individual   displays   in   the   organization.

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                          Institutions

        Organizational                      Normative
           Culture                          Framework

                        Group Values

      Social values

      Ideological
        values                      Personal Traits and
                                          Values

      Organizational
         values                          Person-
                                      Organizational
                                           Fit

              Organizational
               citizenship
                behaviors
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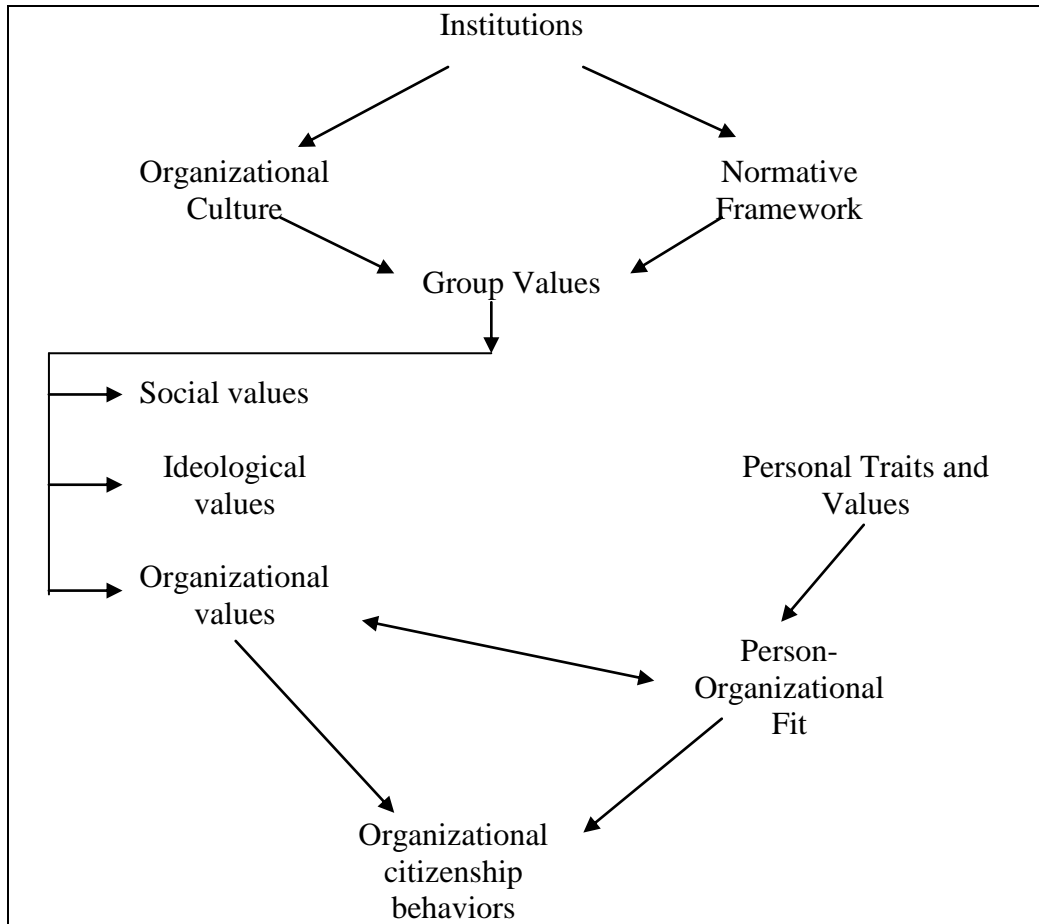
Figure 2:   Conceptual Map of Values-Related Terminology

In general, a similarity in values can affect the internal cohesion of an organization, as well as its response to the institutional environment. In some cases, values convergence results when those with non-mainstream values leave the organization because they find the organizational climate uncomfortable (Glisson and Hammelgarn). Alternatively, the organization itself may undergo a change as a result of a dialectical process between those with the dominant or "core" values and those with "peripheral" values (Pant and Lachman, Seo and Creed). Unresolved values differences can also manifest themselves in more subtle ways. In a field such as the social services where staff are required to make professional, but nevertheless

subjective judgments of client situations (cf. Huxtable), staff values may shade the way in which staff interpret the behavior and situation of a client in a way inconsistent with the overall values orientation of the organization. Research also suggests that values conflicts in the social services can result in poor client outcomes, since good client outcomes are more likely when staff agree on their roles—a result less likely when staff interpret their work according to differing values (Glisson and Himmelsgarn).

Values and values conflicts can be one factor in determining how an organization responds to its institutional environment, especially when changes occur in that environment. Nevertheless, the research in this area remains limited. An organization whose values are aligned with the environment is more likely to be successful (Amis) because the values alignment can contribute to the perception of legitimacy which, according to institutional theory, is essential for the continuation of the organization (Baum and Oliver). Organizations will be more likely to align themselves with an imposed change if their values already have some congruence with that change (Amis). If, however, an organization's values are firmly entrenched in its current operations or if adaptability is not part of the organization's values, the organization will resist the change (Paarlberg). The result is path dependence--a type of institutional inertia (Pierson). A public policy change that involves substantial regulatory or financial impact can provide a strong stimulus that overcomes organizational conflict with the imposed values, but the effect may not last once the pressure is removed (Amis). As is true in institutional theory, however, one cannot exclude the role of individual agency. The leaders of an organization can play a key role in determining what direction an organization will take in response to value conflicts with the external environment, and whether the organization will modify its archetype

and values, or maintain them in the face of outside pressure (Oliver). The strategy the leaders take, however, may in fact be influenced by their own values (cf. Pant and Lachman).

Public policy is often a manifestation of institutional norms, values, and practice. The public policy field has reflected the changing definitions of institutions and the tension between rational incentives and more normative and value-based motivations. One strand of public policy looks at how to manipulate incentives to appeal to individual's economic self-interest (Lasswell, Ostrom). Other researchers however consider the ways in which public policy can not only reflect societal and institutional norms, but can also be used to deliberately change societal values (Mills xiv-xvi, Aaron et. al. p. 11-12). The assumption that values can be changed through policy intervention highlights the stark contrast between the public policy perspective and that of those who focus on the intra-psychic dimensions of individuals.

For example, research from the latter perspective has found correlations between individual values and both attitudes and "worries" related to public policy issues (cf. Schwartz, Sagiv, Boehnke). "Worries" represent emotional disruptions resulting when one is concerned that something will be less than ideal or desirable. The extent to which one "worries" about events external to one's personal sphere is determined by which values are dominant in the personal value structure. From this view, public policy concerns or worries are simply a manifestation of one's internal value structure.

From a public policy perspective, however, values are one element in the construction of normative frameworks (Campbell 2002). The normative frameworks operate similar to the way that values do in helping to define the issues that the policy maker attends to, as well as to the choice of policy options he or she pursues. Normative frameworks and cognitive frameworks are the two major ways in which ideas, rather than interests, contribute to public policy (Beland,

Campbell). Campbell established a typology showing the effect of norms in policy debate. Norms contribute to the formation of "frames" which is the symbolic or archetypic representation of a policy idea that gives some justification for the idea. The available frames are limited by "public sentiment"--the norms perceived by the community as being legitimate. The most brilliant "framing" of an idea is likely to have little success in convincing the community of its value if it strays outside of community norms. Campbell counterposes frames and public sentiments against programs and paradigms, which operate more at a cognitive than normative level (Campbell 1998).

Depending upon how one defines norms and their relationship to values, this dichotomy between the cognitive and normative may be contradicted by other research. For example, the research by Maio and collaborators would suggest a strong interactive factor between the emotive and the cognitive, since values supported with cognitive values are more likely to lead to action than those based largely on emotive factors.

If Campbell and Beland speak to the role of values in constructing public policy, some of the literature cited above regarding values and organizations can be applied to the interaction of values with a public policy that has already been established. As the earlier discussion on institutions suggested, institutionalization appears to arise once values and the archetypes founded on them have become established in public policy. At the same time, organizations and individuals may develop opposing archetypes based either on different values or a different interpretation of values that may challenge the dominance of the current policy and archetype. One author has suggested that values conflicts are inevitable in the modern world, because of the "post-modern condition" in which diversity allows different values structures to all be accepted

as valid. (Spicer). Values conflicts in society can mirror those within organizations, in terms of a conflict between a majority and minority position (Aaron et. al., cf. Seo and Creed).

2.5   CONCLUSION

The literature indicates general agreement in several areas. Despite some lack of agreement about the precise definition of institutions, researchers generally seem to "know it when they see it" and to accept the North definition even when preferring another that expands upon it. Likewise, although there are at least three different threads of institutionalism, each has increasingly borrowed from the others, gradually reducing the differences or outright conflicts between and among them.   Despite that, empirical studies that would help resolve these issues, while not scarce, are also not abundant. The lack of definitional and theoretical resolution makes creating the boundary conditions for study a challenge, as does no doubt the immensity of the object to be examined. The single greatest gap in institutional theory involves how an institution which by definition is relatively immutable--change and develop.

The unresolved issues regarding institutions pale in comparison with those regarding values. In values research, serious disagreement remains about the nature, definitions, and effects of values. The growing focus in recent years on the inter-psychic dimension of values and their impact on an individual's attitudes and behavior seems to be creating more not less distance from those whose main focus is on the public policy implications of values. The crux issue or conflict appears to be how values operate in group situations; are they simply an aggregate of individual values, or does the group as an entity acquire its own values. Finally, the issue of change is equally relevant in values theory as in institutional theory. Like institutions,

values are considered to be largely immutable. How then to explain apparent shifts in values either within individuals or within groups?

This current research is designed to contribute to the areas of research in which the literature is limited or where considerable debate still exists. First of all, there appears to be no research exploring the specific values and attitudes of the subject group of this research. Secondly, two different values surveys coming from different perspective and different methodology are used in an attempt to reconcile two different conceptualizations of values. Finally, this research provides data and analysis to address the interface between values and institutions including under conditions of change.

3.0   THE CASE STUDY: THE BECCA BILL AND BEYOND

In 1995 Washington State passed E2SSB 5439, commonly known as the Becca Bill[10], named after Rebecca Hedman, a young runaway murdered on the streets of Spokane. According to the Becca Bill, a police officer who finds a reported runaway is obligated to take the youth to the parent's home unless the officer believes that the youth had been abused. The parents have the option of directing the officer to take the youth to a secure (locked) crisis residential center (SCRC) for a minimum of 24 hours and a maximum of five days detention. The debate leading up to this bill was extremely contentious, pitting the parents of runaway children on one side with those providing services to runaway and homeless youth on the other. The social service community was divided as well on this bill, with those organizations providing services to both youth and families supporting the bill partially or in full. Those agencies which chose to engage in contracts with the state of Washington to provide SCRC services under the provisions of the Becca Bill continued to encounter opprobrium from other youth providers in the state up until the very time that the Legislature suspended those services in the spring of 2009 due to budgetary constraints.

This research takes the perspective that there are inherent values conflicts involved in models for serving runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth, and that these values conflicts contributed to the contentious nature of the Becca Bill debate both then and now. To understand

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[10] This proposal will use the term "Becca Bill" throughout, in accord with common usage in Washington State.

the context not only of those divisions, but also of the current research, it is necessary to understand the local, federal, and international values and policies that led to the passage of the Becca Bill.

3.1   A BRIEF HISTORY OF MODELS FOR RUNAWAY AND HOMELESS YOUTH.

Incarcerating runaway and homeless youth in juvenile or adult detention centers had been a common form of intervention prior to the late 20th century. These youth were commonly referred to as "status offenders"—youth confined for actions that would not be considered an offense for an adult. Such incarceration kept youth off the streets, protecting both them and the community. The safety and protection of youth was the primary emphasis, however, since any threats that the youth presented to the community would usually be criminal offenses for which they could be prosecuted, regardless of whether they were "status offenders". Status offender youth were often incarcerated alongside youth who had committed much more serious offenses, exposing them to criminal influences which they may not have experienced when on the street. Studies done in the 1970s also indicated that many of the youth on the streets had run away from homes in which there were abuse (Bergeson et. al., 5). In fact, the term "thrown-away" became used to refer to youth either who had left home because their caretakers threw them out or who left with the tacit or overt acquiescence of the caretaker (Hammer et. al.). As greater awareness developed of the complexity of problems of both the families and the youth, incarceration became recognized as an inappropriate and even abusive option (Wurzbacher and Rudnicki).

In 1974, Congress passed the Juvenile Justice Delinquency and Prevention Act (JJDPA) which included provisions to de-institutionalize status offenses and to replace that strategy with

one emphasizing voluntary services to assist youth in leaving the streets. Towards that end, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (Title III of the JJDPA) authorized funding for runaway youth shelters throughout the country. Whereas the juvenile justice model had prioritized the safety of youth at the expense of their ability to voluntarily choose their own fate (e.g. self-direction), the JJDPA elevated self-direction as a major value. No compromise to safety would occur, as youth would choose to leave the streets as long as voluntary services were readily available.

All states in the United States, including Washington State, gradually brought their laws into compliance with federal law. The Washington State Juvenile Justice Act of 1977 was passed in the last days of the legislature with the expectation that funding to support the act would be passed in the next legislative session. In 1978, however, the Legislature did not meet, and much of the funding necessary to meet the intent of that legislation continued to be unmet in subsequent years (Bergeson et. al., 5). Before discussing the implications of those decisions, it is useful to briefly review the international perspective on the issues of child and youth protection.

3.2   THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

In the international realm, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) reflects a similar perspective to that of the JJDPA regarding the prioritization of voluntary services over coercive or involuntary options. The CRC was adopted in 1989; since then all member nations have ratified the document except for Somalia and the United States, which have however signed the document. For the most part, the laws and policies of the United States coincide with the principles contained in the CRC. Since it is not a signatory nation, however,

the United States is not subject to the regular monitoring regarding compliance with CRC provisions.

As its name and origin indicates, the CRC is a convention about human rights. It contains provisions in a broad range of areas related to the best interest of children, including survival and development, child protection, care for children deprived of family environment and for children who are poor or needy, protection from exploitation, and the rights for participation in the determination of their own lives. The last provision is the focus of CRC's emphasis on voluntary over involuntary services. All rights in the CRC are to be considered "interconnected and of equal importance"[11]. This is a typical and appropriate stance for a rights document, since a hierarchy signals that one right is less important that another, undermining the concept of a human right as an entitlement inherent in one's status as a human being.

It is in the implementation process of the CRC where tensions between rights can begin to emerge. While the goal of protecting all of children' rights with equal vigor is important, this research offers the viewpoint that conflicts and hierarchy do in fact occur when attempting to implement the values and rights contained in the CRC. Failure to recognize this conflict and address it explicitly can result in unintended consequences—for example, signatory nations wasting valuable time and resources attempting strategies of child protection that are unable to achieve the intended goals.

The CRC process addresses the needs of homeless and street children in the various signatory nations. In most countries and especially in lesser developed countries, those commonly referred to as "street children" are often pre-teens who have a good relationship with their parents but who are forced onto the streets to beg or to live because of family poverty (Bar-

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[11] http://www.unicef.org/crc/index_understanding.html (13 August 2007).

On). The issue of runaway and homeless youth, on the other hand, is one found more typically

in developed countries. While poverty may be a contributing factor to these youth's entry onto

the streets, a bigger factor is that:

> "…homeless youth often come from disturbing and troubling childhood backgrounds, and by adolescence, they are frequently disturbed and troubled themselves" (Cauce et.al., 230).

These youth may run from unsafe homes only to live in danger on the streets. The fact

that they are "frequently disturbed and troubled" makes it difficult to create social services to

meet their needs. The combined effect of the youth's problems and those of their families can

make these youth reluctant to seek whatever social services do exist (Boyer).

The prioritization of voluntary services and thus participation by the youth became the

norm or dominant archetype not only in the United States through the JJDPA but internationally

through the CRC. The specific type of services established to help runaway and homeless youth

would depend upon local needs, local innovations, and local priorities, although certain service

models became promulgated nationally and internationally through epistemic communities. It

was the choices that Washington State regarding services for youth that helped create the

environment where passage of a Becca Bill could occur.

3.3   SERVICES FOR YOUTH: LOCKED OR UNLOCKED?

Neither JDDPA nor the CRC totally forbids locked options for youth. The community

can place youth in locked treatment programs for emotional or behavioral problems or in

juvenile justice programs when they commit crimes. Parents have some legal authority to

commit into a mental health facility a child who has emotional problems but not at imminent risk

of danger to themselves or others. In addition, the child welfare systems in many states have some type of locked group home for the highest needs youths (Ryan, Mitchell). The criteria used for each of these can vary according to the local jurisdiction and these group homes are generally used only after less coercive options had been tried. Family courts or legal petitions are usually required to allow for a judicial review that protects the civil rights of the youth.

Washington State was distinctive in that it eliminated involuntary options except under the most extreme circumstances. For example, while parents of children 12 years old or younger could sign their youth into mental health treatment, the law required youth 13 years old or older to give their own consent for treatment. As a result of these types of laws, many parents believed that the state did not support their legitimate and well-intentioned efforts to parent their adolescent children. As one parent said, "…when I say no, the state or city says yes" (Seattle Commission on Children and Youth p. 13). Parents of runaway children became so desperate to get their child some form of treatment that would deter the youth from engaging in dangerous activities, that some of them "kidnapped" their own child and forcibly transported them to a locked treatment center to another state with less lenient laws[12].

Not only did Washington State limit involuntary options for youth, but it lacked some of the same voluntary options that other states had for high risk youth. For example, the number of group home beds for youth decreased from 1300 in 1980 to 400 in 1994 (Seattle Commission on Children and Youth, 8). The reasons for this were varied. Fiscal considerations were a major consideration, dating back to the failure of the Washington State legislature to meet in 1978 and the resultant lack of funding for services (see section 3.1). Group home services with around-the-clock professional staffing are considerably more expensive than "mom-and-pop" foster

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[12] Related to this author by parent who had taken such action.

homes. From a therapeutic view, foster homes are often considered preferable to group homes because foster homes can more closely replicate the normal family developmental experience.

On the other hand, group homes offer advantages that foster homes do not. A group home setting can be a better match for teenagers who, at that age, are developmentally beginning to seek support and role models outside the family. The 24-hour professional staffing in a group home can provide an optimum therapeutic program for teens with emotional or behavioral problems in a way difficult to do in a foster home.

The combined lack of a full range of adequate services for teens as well as a legal structure that was perceived as giving more rights to children than to parents led parents of runaway children to begin pressing for passage of what would become the Becca Bill. It is useful to now look at that bill and the debate that led up to it.

3.4   THE BECCA BILL

The various provisions of the Becca Bill have the intent of increasing parental and state authority over children committing what used to be known as status offenses, such as running away or truancy. The ability of parents to sign their teen into locked mental health treatment was increased. Habitual truants became subject to a family court procedure which could result in brief incarceration for a youth who failed to return to school. And, most notably in respect to this current research, reported runaways found on the streets were subject to a five day detention. The judicial review procedures were limited in the initial version of the bill, but strengthened in later years as a result of court challenges.

Each of the provisions of the Becca Bill elevated the value of safety above that of self-direction. Unlike the juvenile justice model common prior to the 1970s, however, the locked facilities were considered "treatment" rather than juvenile justice facilities. Although runaway and homeless youth did sometime engage in criminal behavior on the streets, especially activities such as shop-lifting or prostitution which might provide income, the potential criminal activity and threat to the community were not an emphasis either in the policy debate or final bill. Instead, the concerns were about defiant behavior, mental health issues, and substance abuse, all of which presumably might be remedied through treatment. A five-day stay in the locked facilities did not allow much time to conduct "treatment", but the intent was for counseling and assessment to occur and for youth to be referred to other treatment facilities as needed.

In several counties, the locked facilities or "secure crisis residential centers" (SCRC) were located in juvenile detention facilities, with the SCRC section physically separated from that housing youth who committed or are charged with criminal offenses. Despite the use of the "treatment" language, legislators knew in 1995 that the state would be subject to a loss of federal funding if they passed this bill. But they made a deliberate choice to sacrifice that funding because they believed the Becca Bill was essential to protect the safety of the children.   The reduction in funding amounted to $2 million dollars during the period from 2000 to 2006 (Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee, 10).

The policy debate culminating in passage of the Becca Bill was quite intense. Most vocal among those favoring passage were of course the parents of runaways. Most vocal in opposing it were the runaway and homeless youth providers. Other providers of youth services, especially those services which involved family participation, tended to be more accepting of the Becca Bill provisions.

Those on both sides of the issue argued on the basis of the best interests of the child in general and of the safety of children in particular[13]. Those in favor believed that it is almost always dangerous for an adolescent to be on the street and that the best way to help these youth is to return them quickly to a safe place. Those opposed to the bill argued instead that, while the streets are dangerous, so also were the abusive homes from which these youth ran. Furthermore, the existence of locked services would make these youth less likely to seek help and thus increase the risks to their safety[14]. Such a stance spoke to their belief that the youth were capable of making reasonable choices in their own best interest. Although the conflict of the rights and the values underpinning it were implicit in the debate, the debate rarely made them explicit, especially in terms of their prioritization of safety vis-à-vis self-direction.

One final note regarding the Becca Bill concerns the recent decision by Washington State to close all the SCRCs in the near future as a result of the current economic downturn and the anticipated resultant budget shortfall. The five SCRCs located in juvenile detention facilities will close on 15 February 2009, with the remaining four due to close 30 June 2009. Those in favor of the SCRCs have already been publicizing their concerns about the upcoming loss of these programs, and a petition is circulating on-line to request that the SCRCs be maintained[1516]. The decision of whether or not to reinstate the SCRC funding in the upcoming fiscal year has not yet been made as of spring 2009.

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[13] See Bill Report E2SSB 5439, available through the Research Division of Washington State Secretary of State, Olympia WA.
[14] The runaway and homeless youth providers were also concerned because the Becca Bill required them to contact the parents or legal guardians of the youth within eight hours, as opposed to the previous time-limit of 16 hours.
[15] John Iwasaki, "Center Gives Runaways Peace, But Now Finds Itself in Need," *Seattle Post Intelligencer,* 27 January 2009, http://seattlepi.nwsource.com/local/397555_sprucestreet27.html, accessed 27 January 2009
[16]The petition to "Save Secure Crisis Residential Centers in Washington State" can be found at http://www.thepetitionsite.com/1/save-secure-crisis-residential-centers-in-washington-state?page=2, accessed 27 January 2009.

3.5 NEIGHBORING JURISDICTIONS: OREGON AND BRITISH COLUMBIA

In contrast to Washington State, other states constructed their legal and child welfare systems in a way that makes it possible to place youth in locked facilities under certain conditions. Oregon was one such example. Parents were able to sign their teenagers into treatment in a way that was not legal in Washington State. Prior to the passage of the Becca Bill, Washington State parents who "kidnapped" their children for the purpose of placing them in locked treatment often took them to a treatment center in Portland OR.

Canada ratified the CRC in 1991 and is thus subject to regular compliance monitoring. Canada is generally in compliance with the provisions of the CRC, although the CRC has expressed concern about the high number of street children in Canada. The CRC also criticized Canada because it is legal in some places to detain adults and juveniles in the same facilities. Although "the number of youths in custody [in Canada] is among the highest in the industrialized world" (UNCRC 2003), however, youth are not incarcerated for status offenses.

3.6 INSTITUTIONS: NORMATIVE-LEGAL

As was discussed in chapter 2, an institution or "the rules of the game" influences and shapes the behavior, thinking, and possibly even the values of those who operate within that institution. Governmental entities serve as one dominant institution in the lives of individuals. Governments influence not only through formal structures such as laws and regulations, but through the norms leading to and resultant from those laws and regulations.

Public and private organizations providing services to youth in general, and runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth in particular, operate within the complex web of laws, regulations, funding support, and shared understandings that constitute the normative-legal institution. Because services for runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth are related to child welfare functions, and because child welfare functions are normally a function of the state or province, the most relevant normative-legal environment for the issues of this research is at the state or provincial level. As will be discussed below, this institution may impact the activities of the social service providers and their staff in a variety of ways. First of all, it determines the parameters of how the organization may serve youth. Secondly, the type and extent of services funded by the state play a large role in the extent to which youth end up on the streets and the resources available to help them return home or to some other safe place. Third, the contract allocation and contract monitoring processes create standards which become normative for organizations providing services through that funding stream. Finally, networks among private service providers both in conjunction with the state and in response to them communicate a set of standards and behavioral norms.

While the laws and regulations governing youth-serving agencies fall primarily under those pertaining to child welfare, they may also be found in statutes relating to juvenile justice, public health, mental health, or the protection of vulnerable individuals such as the developmentally delayed. All these laws and regulations outline the conditions under which organizations are permitted to (or must) serve children and youth, and the parameters of the services which they provide. In most cases, social service agencies must be licensed by the state to provide services; these licenses are based upon a review of the condition of the facility, the

credentials of the staff, and the policies and protocols used to serve clients and to document services.

More broadly, the laws and the funding allocated for them determine to a large extent the range of service available within the jurisdiction. Non-profit agencies often receive funding from a variety of public sources including federal, state, and local funds. Each of these jurisdictions and each funding stream has laws, regulations, or policies which define and limit the services provided. Additional funding from private sources such as foundations or United Way can supplement the public funding and allow an agency to provide services not funded by government sources. Even an agency totally funded by private sources, however, still must follow many of the same regulations as those funded by government entities. For example, youth shelters are generally required to be licensed by the state and follow state laws and regulations regarding staffing patterns, parental notification, or mandatory reporting of abuse, regardless of whether those shelters are funded by public or private sources.

Since the state (or province) normally becomes in some capacity the legal guardian of children and youth who are unable to live at home because of abuse or neglect, the resources of the state to serve these youth can play a large role in the number of youth on the streets. While some youth run away from home because of abuse, others do so because of parent-youth conflicts. These may be the result of fairly normal parent-adolescent struggles or because of substance abuse or emotional problems of either parent or youth. Even in these cases, the resources of the state to provide prevention and early intervention services can determine if these youth end up on the street.

The existence of certain types of contracts and certain types of services create natural coalitions and alliances. For example, the state agencies in Washington convene regular

meetings of all organizations providing certain types of services both at the regional level and the state level. Private organizations often meet separately from the state as a way of sharing information and also to increase their ability to advocate with the state for certain policy and procedural changes.

For all of these reasons, this research uses the state or provincial government as the primary normative-legal institution within which the respondent group operates. In addition, there is some overlap and interplay with the normative-legal environment of other levels of government. For example, funding and contracts obtained under provisions of the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (see section 3.1) create a set of requirements, policies, and procedures which shape and define the way that organizations receiving that funding must operate. A major role of this latter funding, however, has been the creation of an epistemic community devoted to services for runaway and homeless youth. This discussion will next turn to epistemic institutions.

3.7   INSTITUTIONS: EPISTEMIC COMMUNITIES

In a normative-legal institution as discussed above, formal structures play a key role. Formal structures may also play a role in epistemic institutions, but the larger role is played by shared understandings as described in sociological institutionalism.

For the purpose of this research, one key epistemic institution involves that which has arisen in regards to services for runaway and homeless youth. As was discussed earlier, the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (RHYA) was passed largely in response to research and to the shared experiences of service providers about the needs and characteristics of runaway and

homeless youth. The RHYA, in turn, created a legal basis along with a funding and contracting mechanism to promulgate that understanding about these youth throughout the country, and to support further research into the needs of youth. This has further institutionalized certain norms and standards of practice. The RHYA also helps fund the National Network for Youth, which is an organization providing information exchange and technical assistance for those working with youth. The overall result is a commonality in values and norms related to the provision of services to runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth.

Other providers of services to youth are part of different epistemic communities, depending upon the types of services offered. For example, those organizations whose primary mission involves group home or residential treatment services to youth will be part of epistemic communities which share values and practices based upon a structured support of the normal developmental stages of youth combined with some targeted behavioral interventions.

Thus epistemic communities for organizations serving youth exist largely in relation to the type of organization it is and the nature of services it provides. As a result, this research will analyze data according to the type of organization, using those categories as a proxy for epistemic community.

3.8   SUMMARY

As can be seen by the above discussion, the tension between the values of safety and self-direction as related to services for runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth has manifested itself in the way that various models for serving this population prioritize the two values. One primary purpose of this research is to consider whether the attitudes towards voluntary versus involuntary

services held by staff who work most directly with these youth is related to the way in which their own personal hierarchy of values matches the prioritization of values implicit in the various models.

Additionally, this research explores whether the values hierarchies of those staff somehow correlate with the institutions of which they are part. It asks the question as to whether, 14 years after the passage of the Becca Bill, staff working within the Washington State normative-legal institution prioritize the safety of youth in a way different from those in adjoining jurisdictions. If so, the possibility is raised that the values of these staff have been shaped and influenced by the Washington state normative-legal institution. Alternatively, do the values of staff correlate with their professional affiliations and epistemic communities? If so, this may offer an explanation for the divisions that occurred during the Becca Bill policy debate and might suggest an avenue for finding a a way to reconcile differing positions in future policy debates.

The fact that the laws of Washington State are at variance with federal laws of the US and with international conventions provides an excellent opportunity to examine not only the specifics of this policy issue, but also various aspects of the relationship between values and institutions. The next section will address the methodology used to explore these issues.

4.0   METHODOLOGY

This research explores the interaction between values and institutions as a framework to explain the intense clashes in viewpoints regarding the Becca Bill. These differing viewpoints existed despite the fact that participants in the Becca Bill debate all claimed to seek the same thing—the safety and best interests of the youth. This chapter will describe the methodology used, beginning with a general overview as well as a review of the research questions and hypotheses to be tested. Next will be the research model derived from the public policy issue under consideration. The specific research methods will be discussed, followed by the data analysis techniques employed.

4.1   RESEARCH OVERVIEW

Safety and the best interest of youth were the stated goals of the parties on both sides of the Becca Bill debate, including those staff who worked directly with the population targeted by the bill. Why then were there such radically different viewpoints on the bill? Why were the parties unable to find common ground and reconcile their differences? Fourteen years after passage of the Becca bill, do those same divisions towards its crux issues still exist among staff in Washington State currently working with runaway, homeless and at-risk youth, and are those attitudes the same or different from those working with comparable populations in neighboring

jurisdictions with different laws and regulations? And would a better understanding of these attitudes provide some insight into the way in which the Becca Bill debate evolved and, more generally, into the way in which professional groups contribute to the policy process?

This research is an exploratory descriptive study considering whether the values hierarchy of participants, in interaction with the institutions of which they are part, can explain attitudes towards the crux issues of the Becca Bill. Although ample research and theory exist in the literature on either institutions or value alone, there is little regarding the interaction of the two. This research employs an interdisciplinary approach, seeking interrelations among different theories and methodologies to determine if some unifying principles can be determined. Likewise, the data will be considered from the perspective of different units of analysis, in keeping with the different disciplinary perspectives contributing to this research.

There is no assumption that the relationships studied in this research are the only possible existing ones to be studied. The intent instead was to determine whether certain relationships do or do not exist; hence the "exploratory" nature of this study. Should relationships be found, the ground for further analysis and theory regarding further relationships was presumed to be a fertile one.

The research addresses three questions. First, what is the relationship between a) the hierarchy of values held by staff in social service programs serving homeless, runaway, and at-risk youth and their families with b) the attitudes those staff have about the optimum program model? Second, what is the relationship between a) the hierarchy of values that staff hold regarding youth that they serve and b) the staff members' personal value system? Thirdly, to what extent do value priorities converge or diverge among organizations performing the same type of work in different communities?

Each of these questions was designed to target a specific issue germane to this policy debate, as well as to provide insight into the theoretical debates regarding values and institutions. The first question has its basis in the argument that both those and against the Becca Bill argued on the basis of both the safety and the best interests of the youth. As indicated earlier, one debate regarding values is whether or not values are arranged in a hierarchy that impacts one's choices. The first research question considers whether it is in fact differing values hierarchies that can explain individuals' differing attitudes towards the crux issues of the Becca Bill.

The second question likewise has both practical, case-specific implications as well as theoretical ones. From a practical standpoint, it offers an opportunity to better understand the differing positions on the Becca Bill and the relationship between respondents' personal value systems and their values regarding adolescents. In addition, it allows comparison of two different values concepts and measurement methodologies: 1) one using the narrower definition of values with one using the broader definition, and 2) one using a ranking methodology and the other a rating methodology. The final question examines whether values are shared within certain organizational or institutional grouping. It is an opportunity to consider which institution—normative-legal environment or epistemic community—may have shaped or been shaped by the respondent values.

4.1.1 Hypotheses

- Hypothesis 1: Respondents who place safety as the top value/value-expressive attitude in their hierarchy will demonstrate weaker support for the social service model than those who place self-direction in the top position.

74

This hypothesis tests the theory that models for serving runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth are based upon different prioritization of the values of self-direction and safety, and that it is thus the way that respondents prioritize these two values that determines which model they support.

- Hypothesis 2: The correlation between the hierarchy of personal value systems and the hierarchy of their value/value-expressive attitudes relative to homeless youth will be stronger for those who prioritize self-direction as the higher value than for those who prioritize safety.

    Two assumptions are made in this hypothesis: 1) that those who prioritize self-direction for youth view them as capable of making adult-type decisions; and that as a result 2) these same people will evaluate both their own values and the value-expressive attitudes towards youth similarly.

- Hypothesis 3: Staff in organizations providing similar functions although in different normative-legal environments will also have similar values hierarchies and program preferences.

    This hypothesis predicts that convergence within professional-epistemic communities is stronger than that within normative-legal environments or institutional sector. Specifically, it evaluates whether those professional staff operating within an legal-normative environment that includes the Becca Bill prioritize the values of safety and self-direction in a way commensurate with that bill, and different from those who work within legal-normative environments that do not include the Becca Bill. Alternatively, it considers the fact that the respondent values align with the epistemic communities of which they are part.

    The null hypothesis in each of these is that there is no difference between the test groups.

4.2   THEORETICAL MODEL: THE HIERARCHY OF VALUES

Both the juvenile justice model in place prior to the 1970's and the social service model which followed it are based upon different prioritization of several values which constitute the concept of the "best interest of the child" and which is foundational for the Children's Rights Convention (CRC) as well as federal and local laws in the signatory nations. The values of safety and self-direction are especially pertinent here and form the basis for the research model. An added category—that of "parental guidance"--will also be utilized. These values are conceptually comparable to rights that are part of the CRC. The values of safety is reasonably related to the CRC rights of 1) survival and development rights and 2) protection rights, while the value of self-direction is related to the CRC right of participation[17].

The value of self-direction recognizes that a child has autonomy as an individual, and can and should make choices about his or her life situation. The values and rights of survival and protection—referred to in this document as "safety"-- obviously refers to keeping a child safe from harm. "Parental guidance" describes a value that a child should receive parenting, mentoring, or counseling appropriate to help that child mature into a healthy adult. The fundamental conflict in these different values is between safety and self-direction. The more a specific model gives a homeless youth the choice of whether to enter into services which might facilitate an exit from the streets, the greater the possibility that a youth may choose to remain on the streets and thus jeopardize safety. The specific way in which the value of parental guidance is joined with those of safety and self-direction provides additional variations in model.

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[17] <http://www.unicef.org/crc/index_30177.html> (13 August 2007).

Figure 1 (repeated here from Section 1) illustrates the different prioritization of these three values in the Corrective and the Social Service models, with an emphasis on the values conflict between self-direction and safety. The earlier juvenile justice model (Variant D in Figure 1) has a value hierarchy of Safety > (Parental Guidance = Self-direction). Runaway and homeless youth had limited choice in their housing situation because incarceration was a common response to these youth. Incarceration under the juvenile justice model, however, protected not only the safety of the community but also of the youth themselves, assuming the detention facilities themselves were free of abuse. Parental guidance was not the purpose of these facilities, although staff may have provided it.

Self-direction is prioritized	**Safety is prioritized**
Variant A **"Ideal" Social Service Model** Self-direction = Parental Guidance= Safety	**Variant C** **Treatment Model** Safety ≥ Parental Guidance > Self-direction
Variant B **Social Service Model In Non-Ideal World** Self-direction > Parental Guidance > Safety	**Variant D** **Juvenile Justice Model** Safety > Parental Guidance = Self-direction

Value Hierarchies in the Different Models or "Archetypes" (Figure 1)

Social Service Model—Ideal (Variant A): The ideal form of the social service model has a value hierarchy of Self-direction = Parental guidance = Safety. Services for homeless youth are generally voluntary. As a result, the youth may choose whether or not to participate. The services are designed to provide the counseling and mentoring to allow the youth to mature

into healthy adults. If an adequate supply of services exists to meet all the demand *and* if youth choose to accept the services rather than stay on the streets, then this model can satisfy all three values simultaneously with little need to prioritize among them. This model reflects not only the provisions of the CRC, but also standards for international social work.

Social Service Model—Non-Ideal (Variant B): In a non-ideal world, however, Variant A [Ideal Social-Service Model] can easily become Variant B [Social Service Model: Non-Ideal World] with a value hierarchy of Self-direction > Parental guidance > Safety. This was one motivation for the Becca Bill supporters. Adequate services often do not exist to meet all the demand. In addition, the laws of most countries recognize that youth under the age of 18 are too developmentally immature to make critical decisions involving, for example, voting, drinking, and signing contracts. Even if adequate services were to exist, the question remains as to whether adolescents have the developmental maturity to choose the safest and healthiest option for themselves. The problem is compounded if those adolescents have mental health issues or are engaged in substance abuse.

Thus someone who values the three principles of self-direction, safety, and parental guidance equally or sees safety as a necessary prerequisite for the other two could face a dilemma under laws built around an ideal social service model. The social service model can offer an improvement over the corrective model in terms of prioritizing self-direction as well as parental guidance. Someone may prefer the social service model over the corrective model for precisely those reasons. But providing a child with self-direction and parental guidance may be moot if (s)he is killed on the streets, either because the law does not provide sufficient protections for a child against his or her own bad choices or because adequate voluntary services do not exist to keep a child safe.

Treatment Model (Variant C): Rather than advocate for a return to the corrective model, a worker or policy makers might prefer another alternative. For example, they might seek to expand the use of locked treatment facilities as an option for homeless youth whose safety is at risk in unlocked treatment facilities This option is represented as Variant C with a value hierarchy of Safety ≥ Parental guidance > Self-direction in Figure 1. As is the case in the corrective model, self-direction is considered of lesser value than the other two values in this model. However, parental guidance is raised on the hierarchy so that it is prioritized alongside safety. The Becca Bill described the model it created in exactly these terms and contained provisions to encourage the creation of locked facilities that would be located with some physical separation from juvenile detention centers.

One final way that workers might resolve the dilemma of the lack of congruence between the existing models and their personal values hierarchy is through selective compliance. This could be overt and conscious, or covert or even unconscious. Several components contribute to a worker's decision regarding the disposition of a child's status (e.g. return home, placement in a children's home, etc.). Among these are an assessment of the child, an assessment of the family, and an assessment of which of the available services are most likely to benefit the child and family. The values hierarchy of staff can color the way that they make those assessments, resulting in a range of case disposition decisions which may push the limits of the intent of the law, either the social service model or the Becca Bill model (cf. Huxtable).

There is no assumption in this research that the values hierarchy is the *only* significant independent value in a respondent's choice of models, only that it *is* significant in a way that may not have been recognized during the original Becca Bill debate. It is also recognized that the values hierarchy of staff may be the result of different processes. As was mentioned earlier,

values are often developed early in life and are considered relatively immutable. At the same time, life experiences can change them. Any congruence or dissonance between staff values and the above models could thus originate in the staff's personal history outside the agency and/or be shaped by the experience of working with youth or within a specific program model or professional discipline. The research methodology includes measures and analyses that were included in an attempt to discern some of the potential paths for influence related to respondent values.

4.3   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.3.1 Definitional Issues, Values

As was discussed in the literature review, much debate exists about the correct terminology to be used regarding values and attitudes. One perspective, most strongly advocated by researchers in the field of psychology, limits the term "values" to a fairly limited number of universal values that transcend any one situation. The term "attitudes" applies more to beliefs connected with a specific topic, and a "values-expressive attitude" an attitude that is a reflection of a single value. At the opposite end of the definitional spectrum are those most often in the public policy field who use the term values to refer more generally to something akin to "tastes or utility functions" [Aaron et. al. p.2].

This research started with working definitions more in accord with the narrow viewpoint, but, in keeping with the inter-disciplinary perspective, also used the research to examine how the different approaches are related.   Thus the starting definition for "values" referred only to more

universal beliefs. The term "values-expressive attitudes" was the working terminology for the measurement of those qualities that were measured in relation to youth, reflecting the fact that it denotes something less than universal. The use of "values-expressive" reflects an assumption that the qualities measured are reflective of specific universal personal values. As will be seen in the discussion, the term values-expressive attitude was replaced by the generic term values as the research progressed, based on the results and the conclusion that the attributes measured could reasonably fit into the definition of values.

4.3.2 Definition and Designation of Institutions

Using the definition of institutions as "the rules of the game" (North), two primary sets of institutions are studied as part of this research. An assumption is made that these institutions ae overlapping, and that research participants are members of both groups.

The first institution involves the normative-legal environment in three metropolitan areas: Vancouver BC, Seattle WA, and Portland OR. As was discussed in section 3.6, the normative-legal institution encompasses the laws, policies, norms, and shared understandings within the state or province, especially as they relate to child welfare issues.

The second institution is the epistemic community of those working in a specific aspect of social services, whether it be youth and family services, runaway and homeless youth programs, or some further subset of these programs. As discussed in section 3.7, the epistemic institutions consist of values, norms, and standards of practice shared by those working in a certain type of social service program with a particular youth population.

4.3.3 Definition, Runaway, Homeless and At-Risk Youth

Runaway and homeless youth are defined here as youth who are either temporarily or permanently residing outside the supervision of a legal guardian. Included in this definition are so-called "thrown-away youth", youth whose exit from their home appears voluntary but may have been the result of neglect or abuse (Hammer et. al.). The term "at-risk" in this proposal refers to youth who have the potential of running away or becoming homeless, including youth from families in conflict, neglected or abused. The sample includes not only agencies working specifically with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth, but also a broader group of youth and family agencies in order to best reflect divergent viewpoints regarding this population of youth.

4.3.4 Research participants

The research subjects are employees of organizations working with runaway, homeless or at-risk youth in three metropolitan areas: Seattle WA, Portland OR, and Vancouver BC. The majority of the sample consists of direct service workers, along with a smaller group of supervisory staff. In the type of organizations surveyed, supervisory personnel do have some client contact as well.

The argument might be made that it would have been more appropriate to design the research around other groups in Washington State, such as the Legislators or the parents and youth subject to the bill. Choosing the staff working with youth who are the subject of the Bill offers several advantages, however. First, those staff in Washington State are very familiar with the bill and encounter directly or indirectly the provisions of the Becca Bill in their work. Secondly, staff in the adjoining jurisdictions in Oregon and British Columbia, while less familiar

with the Becca Bill, nevertheless encounter a comparable population and face the tension between safety and self-direction underlying the Becca Bill and other models. Fourth, , since the youth agencies in Washington state demonstrated differing positions during the Becca Bill debate, it is anticipated that current staff from those same agencies might also offer a range of positions on the crux values issues being considered. Finally, the presumed dual participation of research participants in more than one institution permits an examination of whether and to what extent institutional pressures, separately or in combination with values, are relevant to attitudes.

As will be discussed in more detail below where this group is described in greater detail, agreement to participate was made with the organizations, and surveys were distributed through normal organization distribution procedures. Because the surveys were designed to be self-administrated, the researcher did not directly interact with subjects. The surveys were made available to direct service staff without any attempt to select any specific sub-group based on age, gender, ethnicity, etc. The only exclusion was that respondents needed to be age 18 or older.

The choice to distribute questionnaires through agency channels was based on several considerations. First and foremost, it eliminated the possibility that the researcher could inadvertently bias the results of the research by interactions with the participants. Secondly, it allowed total anonymity of participants rather than confidentiality. Had the research protocol involved direct researcher interaction with respondents, the Guidelines of the Institutional Review Board would require a signed informed consent document from each participant, thus eliminating anonymity. Finally, using a survey with a self-administered script and allowing it to be distributed through agency channels reduced the time burden on and increased flexibility for staff and organizations.

The risks of distributing questionnaires through agency channels were also considered. The primary one is that respondents might perceive or actually experience coercion by their supervisors or agency management to complete the survey. This risk was considered negligible for several reasons. First, the respondents in this research, as members of the social service profession, are fully acquainted with and regularly utilize with clients procedures for informed consent. As such, it was expected that they would similarly recognize their own rights not to participate in the research. Secondly, any respondent uncomfortable with completing the survey could answer the questions half-heartedly. While this would be detrimental to the research, it minimizes any coercive impact on the respondent. It should be noted that there was a sample of returned questionnaires that were not able to be included in the final analysis, because of either omitted responses or overly consistent ones required to be rejected by the screening protocol for the Schwartz Values Survey. This seems to support the perspective that respondents felt no coercion against completing the survey.

4.3.5 Unit of Analysis

This research involved multiple units of analysis. The primary unit of analysis was at the institutional level. As was discussed in the literature review, however, one individual can belong to multiple and overlapping institutions. In order to clarify exactly which institution was involved, three variables were used as proxies for institutions in the analysis. The first was the location of the program as a proxy for normative-legal environment. The second concerned the type/function of the organization, on the assumption that organizations serving somewhat different functions within the overall continuum of youth services could conceivably be part of different epistemic communities. For the same reason, analysis was also done based upon the

professional training of staff since, for example, someone trained as a social worker would be influenced by national and international social work standards.

A final note concerns the specific nature of values research. As was discussed earlier, values are normally considered a characteristic of individuals rather than groups. At the same time, there is some argument that individual values do aggregate within an organization in a way, according to some theorists, that can become an attribute that goes beyond the simple addition of individual values. This research reports data on the aggregate basis in relation to the specific program, organization, or institution without necessarily presuming one or the other approach.

4.4   THE SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The research consisted of a self-administered survey instrument distributed to staff working with runaway, homeless, or at-risk youth in three different metropolitan areas. The first page of the survey was the explanatory script which met the informed consent requirements. The survey instrument itself consisted of three parts. The first was a Youth Survey designed by the researcher. The second was the Schwartz Values Survey (SVS), which has had broad utilization and validation. The third section contained several biographical questions about the respondent, as well as a section requesting the respondent to rank order four program preferences corresponding to the four variants in the Hierarchy of Values model.

In order to reduce any potential effect due to the length of the survey (Herzog and Bachman), two versions of the survey were utilized, one with the SVS first, and the others with the Youth Attitudes survey first. The two versions were alternated in the packets given to the

organizations for distribution to respondents. The survey was designed to take about 30 minutes to complete.

4.4.1 The Youth Survey

As was discussed in the literature review, debate exists regarding the best methodology for studying values, based upon assumptions about the way in which individuals make values-based decisions. Some theoreticians argue that values must be measured on a rating scale, since values are by nature a positive concept, and any one of a number of values may be operative in any one situation. Others argue that most real life situations require evaluating the situation according to one's own personal value hierarchy. Thus, the best way to measure values is also to ask individuals to rank their values.

Since the research questions and hypotheses involved a values and attitude hierarchy, specifically that of safety versus choice, it was necessary to utilize an instrument that employed a ranking methodology. The researcher designed one for the purpose of this study which served as one part of the survey instrument distributed to subjects.

This survey consists of 26 pairs of forced choice questions. These questions are designed to elicit the respondent's values/value-expressive attitudes in several different areas regarding the targeted youth population. A respondent's score in each of these areas consists of an aggregate of his or her answers to all the questions targeting a specific topic. For example, for questions addressing the conflict between safety and choice, an answer would be scored "1" if the respondent chose the answer prioritizing safety, and "0" if he or she chose the one prioritizing choice. The sum of all the "1" answers for the safety-choice questions is divided by the total number of questions in that category

The primary area and the focus of the largest number of questions concerned the tension between safety and choice for these youth. For example,

o   a child [children] can not mature unless kept safe until old enough to make good decisions.

o   a child can not mature unless he has a lot of practice in making decisions, both good and bad.

A second group of questions has the aim of eliciting respondent opinions regarding whether or not the fact that the youth was on the street was the result of good or bad choices. This is believed to be an important complement to the first set of questions regarding safety and choice. Because research and program statistics indicates that many youth on the streets come from dysfunctional and/or abusive homes, this set of questions is considered essential to determine if respondents believe it possible for youth on the streets to be safer than if they had remained at home.

o   No matter how abusive a parent is, the streets are almost always more dangerous.

o   The parents of runaway and homeless youth are so dangerous that living on the streets may be safer.

Two series of questions are designed to focus on the dynamic between 1) safety and parenting, and 2) between parenting and choice. These are used in order to determine the extent to which healthy parenting could, in respondent belief systems, mitigate the impact of either safety or choice.

o   Runaway and homeless youth grow up quickly on the streets; the best way to help them is to give them support so they can live independently.

o   The best way to help runaway and homeless youth is to give them the adult guidance that they did not receive at home.

Additional questions are intended to elicit the respondent's attitudes regarding additional areas which did not address specifically the hypotheses, but are included in the hope that the

answers would help illuminate the respondent's attitudes towards safety-choice tension. These include (with sample questions following each):

1)   questions regarding to what extent the developmental maturity (or lack thereof) of kids

        on the street impacts the safety-choice dynamic:

   o   The difficulties that runaway and homeless youth have encountered at home or on the streets have made them more mature than ordinary (non-runaway and homeless youth) of comparable age.

   o   The lack of parenting that runaway and homeless youth have received at home makes them less mature than ordinary youth of comparable age, and

2)   questions regarding the availability and accessibility of services:

   o   No matter how much runaway and homeless youth want to leave the streets, it is difficult for them to find the necessary services to help them do that.

   o   There are adequate services to help runaway and homeless youth leave the street.

        The questions from all the various categories are inter-mingled within the Youth Survey.

4.4.2 Schwartz Values Survey (SVS)

The second part of the survey instrument is the Schwartz Value Survey (SVS), which has been used among 60 different countries as a measure of personal values. This survey uses a rating methodology, and is used to measure the relative importance of a relatively small number—usually 10—universal values. Because the SVS asks the respondent about which "values are important to [respondent] as guiding principles in [respondent's] life", its emphasis is different from the survey regarding runaway and homeless youth.

The ten values examined as part of the SVS are: power, achievement, hedonism, stimulation, self-direction, benevolence, universalism, tradition, conformity, security. The two

most relevant for this research are self-direction and security. The SVS has also been used to examine more or less values either by expanding or collapsing categories. For example, as was mentioned earlier, the Schwartz Values Theory can be organized into or under two over-arching conflicts: conservation versus openness to change, and self-enhancement versus self-transcendence. Self-Enhancement includes achievement and power, as opposed to Self-Transcendence, which encompasses universalism and benevolence. Conservation includes security along with tradition and conformity, while Openness to Change includes self-direction along with hedonism and stimulation. Because of that, these two latter umbrella categories were included in the analysis.

The use of the SVS for this research was dictated by several considerations. First and foremost, two of the value areas measured by the SVS parallel those of safety and choice as measured in the Youth Survey. In keeping with the SVS emphasis on universality of values, these two values are broader than the corresponding conceptualization in the Youth Survey. Nevertheless, the SVS value self-direction reflects that of choice (Youth Survey) or participation (CRC), and the SVS value security contains the essential element represented by the Youth Survey value of safety. A working assumption of this research is that the beliefs respondents had about youth were expressive of the parallel SVS personal values, the basis for the starting terminology "values-expressive attitudes". Secondly, use of the SVS provides an opportunity to determine if there is any relationship between individuals' values as "guiding principles in [their] life" and those about youth in general and runaway/homeless youth in particular. An interesting question in this research and the substance of the second hypothesis was an evaluation of whether people who want self-direction for themselves might also want that for their own or society's children. The pairing of the SVS and the Youth Survey provided an opportunity to consider that question. Third,

the scores of respondents on the ten values areas in the SVS can provide some additional information regarding the similarities and differences of the test populations that may contribute additional information regarding the interaction between values and institutions. Finally, a high correlation between the SVS and the Youth Survey would support construct validity for the Youth Survey.

4.4.3 Biographical/Descriptive Section

One additional section in the survey asks the respondents to prioritize four program options which correspond to the four variants in the Hierarchy of Values model. A final group of questions ask for descriptive information from respondents, including their job position, their degree or certification, their gender, whether or not they were parents, whether or not they knew someone in their personal life who had run away from home, and whether or not they knew a youth who had died on the street. The questions regarding their jobs and certification are included in order to determine the impact of epistemic communities on values and attitudes. Gender is included because previous research with the SVS has shown it to be related to personal values. These questions are all designed to rule-out or rule-in any factors which might distort the results obtained from the values and attitudes surveys.

4.5   RESEARCH VARIABLES

It is important to note first that all hypotheses consider correlation rather than causation, despite the designation of "dependent" vs. "independent" variable.   For the primary

hypothesis,the dependent variable is the attitude respondents had regarding the optimum program model to work with runaway and homeless youth. This variable—"volpriority"—is computed based upon whether respondents had listed the two voluntary program options as their first and second priority for the preferred program option for runaway and homeless youth. The primary independent variables involve first of all, the values of respondents according to each of the two instruments that contribute to the survey, and the institution to which respondents belonged. The normative-legal institutional environment is represented by the geographic location of the program. The epistemic institution was represented by the specific type of organizations in which individuals worked and their job and/or professional certification.

The second hypothesis utilizes the safety-choice hierarchy as the dependent variable. The independent variable is computed as the difference between the SVS values of security and self-direction. Analysis to evaluate the third hypothesis involves different comparisons of the means of variables in both the Youth Survey and the SVS survey according to the various institutional settings as described above.

4.6 PRE-TEST OF THE YOUTH SURVEY

The Youth Survey was pre-tested in two different organizations known to the researcher and whose organizational missions make it likely that the employees would have different values and attitudes regarding the safety-choice tension. The first organization was a secure crisis residential center for runaway youth that is part of the county juvenile detention facility. The second group consisted of child and family therapists who are part of a mental health organization.

91

Three goals were set for the pre-test. The first was to determine if the survey was user-friendly. Respondents were encouraged to leave unanswered or otherwise notate questions which they found difficult or confusing. The second goal was to establish that the survey was able to discern differences in attitudes and values regarding the safety-choice tension. The third goal was to discover if there would be a range of answers to the questions not only between groups but within groups. The pre-test indicated that the survey was sufficient to reflect different attitudes on safety and choice both within and between groups. For several questions, responses indicated that a few questions were excessively predictable. That is, respondents all tended to answer the same way. These questions were either modified or deleted. Questions for which respondents indicated lack of clarity or difficulty in answering were also either changed or eliminated.

Although it was reasonable to expect that staff in these two organizations would have notably different views regarding the safety-choice dynamic, the same could not be anticipated regarding the other areas, e.g. safety-parenting, choice-parenting, accessibility and availability of services, etc. The pre-test provided the opportunity to evaluate the clarity and to some extent the predictability of these questions, but not to determine if there were clear differences between response groups.

4.7   SELECTION OF ORGANIZATIONS AND DISBURSAL OF SURVEYS

4.7.1 Research Sites and Subjects

The research subjects are employees of youth-serving organizations working with runaway, homeless and/or at-risk youth in three metropolitan areas: Seattle WA, Portland OR, and Vancouver BC. As was discussed above, the largest segment of the sample consist of direct service workers, along with a smaller group of supervisory staff who also would have some direct service responsibilities.

The choice of communities was based upon the public policy that was the focal point of the research, the Washington State Becca Bill. The choice of an adjoining state (Oregon) and an adjoining Canadian province (British Columbia) was based upon the following considerations. Each of the three entities has a different overall normative-legal environment and different laws regarding youth in specific. At the same time, the three states/provinces and the three urban areas chosen within them are part of the Pacific Northwest region (using United States terminology), with a large degree of communication as well as both economic and social exchange among them. Each of the three urban areas is generally considered politically and socially progressive. Although the populations of the three urban areas are not identical, they are nevertheless comparable.

Data from various sources, including public reports, statistics and other information provided by individual agencies suggests that the three communities face similar challenges regarding their runaway and homeless youth populations. At the more extreme end, the youth are often products of abuse and neglect, demonstrate a range of emotional and behavioral problems, and engage in a variety of survival mechanisms such as panhandling, petty theft, or survival sex.

At the opposite end of the spectrum are those youth perhaps still at home but in conflict with their family, either because of dysfunction in the family, emotional and behavior issues by the youth, and/or other stressors on the family such as poverty or unemployment.

An interesting opportunity presented itself because of the fact that two programs that are part of one of the Portland runaway and homeless agencies are located within the Portland metropolitan area, but across the Columbia River in Vancouver, Washington. These provided interesting data points in the sample. One of these programs is also a secure crisis residential center, permitting some opportunity to compare and contrast values and attitudes with staff in that type of organization compared to those in totally voluntary programs.

Organizations were selected from public records such as social service directories. Two categories of organizations were sought. The first consisted of those organizations whose mission explicitly targets runaway and homeless youth. Two organizations working with runaway and homeless youth from each location agreed to participate in the research. These organizations provide a large percentage of the services to the target population in each of the communities. One organization in each of the three locations had multiple programs, such as a non-residential outreach program and a shelter program.

The second group of organizations invited to participate involve those working more broadly with youth and specifically at-risk youth, such as substance abuse organizations, youth and family counseling organizations, or residential treatment programs. For these organizations, runaway and homeless youth are a smaller percentage of the youth they serve. Unfortunately, fewer organizations in this group agreed to participate. Based upon feedback from several of the organizations, it appeared that the reason was because the research specifically targeted issues related to runaway and homeless youth. As a result, the organizations were reluctant to use the

scant resources of staff time to participate in the research. Although the limited participation did not impact the ability to evaluate the hypotheses, there were not sufficient numbers to do extensive analysis on this sub-group of the overall population.

In order to solicit participation, the researcher made an initial contact by telephone, followed by an e-mail letter explaining the research. In most cases, the researcher and the organization contact would talk further to answer any questions. Organizations which agreed to participate were then asked for a letter to that effect which could be submitted to the Institutional Review Board.

After the Institutional Review Board granted approval for the research, the organizations were contacted to arrange delivery of surveys. Since the surveys contained a self-explanatory script that met informed consent requirements, no personal contact with respondents was necessary. Surveys were delivered to the organizations and then distributed through their usual distribution channels. A tentative pick-up date three weeks later was arranged, and the organizations contacted at that time. In all but one case, organizations requested additional time because competing demands had delayed distribution or completion of surveys.

The surveys were made available to direct service staff, without any attempt to select any specific sub-group based on age, gender, ethnicity, etc. The only exclusion was that respondents needed to be age 18 or older. Although two of the organizations did have "peer educators" who worked directly with clients, the organizations required that these youth be at least 18 years old. Thus this criterion did not exclude anybody. Female respondents were more common (62% of the sample). Since women staff are more prevalent in these types of organizations, this was not an unanticipated occurrence.

The intent was to have balanced participation by respondents from organizations in each of the two categories. The intended "n" was 240 overall, half from each category. Although the response rate of surveys for the pre-test had been nearly 100%, the rate for the final surveys was in most cases much lower. The response rates in three organizations were 50% or higher, but for the majority the response rate was closer to 20-25%. Several possibilities exist for the difference in response rate between the pre-test and the final survey. First, the pre-test was shorter, since it contained only the Youth Survey rather than both the Youth Survey and the Schwartz Value survey. Second, the researcher had been a professional colleague with the organization supervisors and some of the people involved in the pre-tests, which might have encouraged higher participation. At the same time, the researcher had also been a professional colleague with some of the organization directors and supervisors in the test group. Since none of those were among the ones with high response rates, the researcher's professional acquaintance with those agencies appears not to be related to the response rates. The final number of respondents was 197, 75% of which were from organizations whose mission directly involved runaway and homeless youth. As was said earlier, this did not affect the ability to evaluate the three hypotheses. It did, however, limit the ability to do more detailed analysis with the second category of organizations, since the planned "n" was based upon the requirements of the statistical methodology utilized and the need to pair comparable programs in different locations.

Several respondents contacted the researcher via the information listed on the explanatory script to make comments. Although there is no way to know definitively, questions and comments by respondents all appear to have been done after completion of the survey but before submission. The comments included criticism that the "gender" category omitted trans-gendered individuals or sexual minorities, as well as comments about the difficulty of the questions for

either the Youth Survey or the SVS. Two respondents expressed concerns that the presence of certain choices in the Youth Survey reflects a bias by the researcher against runaway and homeless youth. Two respondents reported enjoying the survey and encouraging their colleagues to complete it.

4.8   DATA ANALYSIS

Data was entered into SPSS version 16 for the purpose of analysis. The SPSS file was exported into HUDAP in order to perform Small Space Analysis on the Schwartz Values Survey data. This step was necessary in order to confirm that the data collected fit the circumplex structure typical for the Schwartz Values.

All Schwartz Values Survey was cleaned according to procedures established by the creators of that survey. These cleaning procedures involved excluding any surveys whose answers were not adequately distributed through the Likert scale used, and norming response values so that all surveys were analyzed along a comparable scale. The combined survey data was cleaned through standard SPSS procedures, using Mahalanobis distance to eliminate outliers, checking normality, and running collinearity diagnostics.

Because this was exploratory research, all analysis was done using the liberal significance value of 0.1 although in only a few cases were the results significant at a level between 0.1 and the more standard 0.05. The results section will highlight any cases where significance fell into that range.

Three analytical techniques were used: logistic regression for the first hypothesis, simple regression for the second, and ANOVA for the third. Variables were analyzed separately and

then entered sequentially into the logistic regression in order to reduce the risk of inadequate cell count which would undermine the analysis.

The analyses provided a wealth of interesting findings which shed light on the topics of values, institutions, and public policy which were the focus of this study. In the next chapter will be a step-by-step presentation of the findings.

5.0   RESULTS

Each of the three primary hypotheses was shaped around a particular aspect of the crux issues related to the Becca Bill debate in the context of the research model and the explanatory framework regarding values and institutions. This chapter will describe the series of analyses that were conducted in order to evaluate the hypotheses and the results of them, to be followed by further discussion in the next chapter. First will be a review of the logistic regression analyses done to evaluate Hypothesis 1, followed by the results of the regression analysis used to evaluate Hypothesis 2. The chapter will conclude with results from logistic regression and ANOVA analyses used to evaluate Hypothesis 3.

5.1   DATA SCREENING

The usual tests were performed in order to screen the data, in addition to those that are specific to the protocol for using the Schwartz Values Survey. Results from the data screening are found in the Appendix A.

5.2   DATA RELATED TO THE EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESIS 1.

The first hypothesis was designed to gain further insight into the fact that both those for and opposed to the Becca Bill argued on the same basis: the safety and best interest of the youth. This hypothesis is founded on the premise that it is the way that respondents prioritize the two values of safety and self-direction that is related to their position on the core issues of this bill. While few if any would argue against keeping children and youth safe, individuals might hold dear other values which could cause them to prefer a social service model, even in cases where such a voluntary model might increase the risks to the youth potentially served by them.

Hypothesis 1 states that "respondents who place safety in the top position in their hierarchy will demonstrate weaker support for the social service model than those who place self-direction in the top position." Based upon logistic regression analysis, Hypothesis 1 is accepted. As was discussed in the methodology section, a variable "volpriority" was created, with a value "1" assigned to all respondents who placed the two voluntary options in the top two choice positions, and "0" assigned to the others. "Volpriority" serves as the dependent variable and represents support for the social service model.

The variables from the two different surveys were analyzed separately and then together. Each of the surveys contributed a separate, but hypothesized-to-be related values perspective that may correlate differently with a person's belief in the importance of voluntary services. By examining each of these values separately in relationship to "volpriority", it was possible to show which of these values is not only significant, but contributes to the strongest model. Analyzing the different variables separately first minimized the risk that any analytical "cell" would be so small as to render the analysis unreliable.

Each of the following analyses utilizes forward logistic regression as the analytical technique with "volpriority" as the dependent variable. The first independent variable to be evaluated is "safechcsafe", the respondent score for the safety-choice hierarchy from the perspective of those who placed safety in the top position. The next set of independent variables includes the two Schwartz values of self-direction and security, and the final set the Schwartz aggregate values of conservation and openness to change. As was discussed in the earlier sections, conservation is an aggregate value that includes security, conformity and tradition, while openness to change is an aggregate value of self-direction, hedonism, and stimulation. These three sets of analyses can be found in Tables 20 to 22 in Appendix B.

With the exception of security, all of these values are shown to have a significant relationship with "volpriority". None of the relationships are strong which, as will be discussed in the next chapter, is not a surprising finding. Based upon the results of the independent analyses, the strongest model is constructed when "safechcsafe", conservation, and openness to change are the independent variables (Table 1). As can be seen, safechcsafe, conservation, and openness to change all have a significant relationship with the dependent variable. The relatively weak model fit is indicated by a -2 log likelihood = 143.594 and Nagelkerke R square = 0.268.

Because the model fit is relatively weak, it is clear that factors other than the values tested here are related to an individual's preference for the social service model. While it was beyond the scope of this research to examine every possible variable, those variables that were considered most relevant to the Becca Bill policy issue were included in both the survey instrument and the analysis. This was done to offer additional information for interpreting the results as well as rule out factors which could heavily bias the research.

101

Table 1: Support for Social Service Model versus Respondent Values

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step	31.279	3	.000
Block	31.279	3	.000
Model	31.279	3	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox and Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	143.594	.179	.268

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	Safechcsafe	-3.711	.992	14.003	1	.000	.024
	Cons	-.523	.163	10.328	1	.001	.592
	Optochg	-.361	.155	5.430	1	.020	.697
	Constant	2.897	.532	29.658	1	.000	18.111

First of all, research with the Schwartz Values Survey has found gender differences in the way individuals respond to the survey, requiring that this current research rule-in or rule-out gender as a factor that could perhaps skew the results. Gender is found not to have any significant relationship to the program priority (Table 23, Appendix B).

Table 2: Voluntary Preference vs. Parenting, Child-Death, and Runaway Experience

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step		9.536	3	.023
Block		9.536	3	.023
Model		9.536	3	.023

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	192.327[a]	.052	.077

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 Parent	-1.000	.383	6.824	1	.009	.368
Runaway	.466	.392	1.412	1	.235	1.594
Childdeath	.604	.369	2.683	1	.101	1.829
Constant	.760	.357	4.530	1	.033	2.139

Three independent variables were included in this research because of the possibility that they might affect not only the program preferences, but possibly the underlying values and attitudes as well. These variables were: 1) whether or not the respondent was a parent, 2) whether or not the respondent had personal acquaintance or experience with runaways, and 3) whether or not the respondent had known a child who had died on the street. The only factor which shows a significant relationship with the respondent's voluntary program prioritization

103

was being a parent (Table 2). When added to the logistic regression equation, however it does not improve the overall model. Parenting will be shown to have a much greater role in the analyses related to Hypothesis 3.

The overall results of this analysis thus support the hypothesis—that there is a relationship between the way that respondents order their value hierarchy and their preference for voluntary program options. Thus, although the participants in the original Becca Bill debate argued that their stance on the bill was motivated primarily by the safety of the youth, and although most participants in this research supported the value of safety, it is how the value of safety relates to that of self-direction that is related to their preference for voluntary programs.

This result holds true regardless of whether the values hierarchy is determined by the safety-choice hierarchy as measured in the Youth Survey or by the independently rated scores of self-determination and security from the SVS. Because the SVS defines the values of self-determination and security as part of a values tension between openness to change and conservatism, respectively, these two latter variables are also used to assess the relationship between values hierarchy and voluntary program preference. When combined with the safety-choice hierarchy, they produced the best model fit. Other factors which were considered to potentially skew or otherwise affect individual's voluntary program preferences are not found to significantly affect the model.

5.3   EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESIS 2

Hypothesis 2 states that "the correlation between the hierarchy of personal value systems and the hierarchy of their value-expressive attitudes relative to homeless youth will be stronger for those who prioritize self-direction as the higher value than for those who prioritize safety." This hypothesis served two purposes: one related to the policy issue, and another more broadly to values theory. In terms of the policy issue, it considers whether people who prioritize self-direction view youth differently than those who prioritize safety. In terms of values theory, this hypothesis allows for a more direct comparison between two values measures derived from different theoretical frames in an effort to determine the relationship between them.

Table 3: Analysis Supporting Hypothesis 2

Model Summary

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of Estimate	R Sq. Δ	F Δ	Df1	Df2	Sig. F Δ
	.353[a]	.124	.119	.226910	.124	22.576	1	159	.000

a. Predictors: (Constant), difference, self and sec

Coefficients

Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	T	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	Constant	.419	.018		22.867	000
	difference, self2 and sec2	-.064	.014	-.353	-4.751	000

a.   Dependent Variable: safechcsafe

105

Hypothesis 2 is also supported by the data. It was tested by first computing the difference between self-direction and security. Although the SVS data was obtained by a rating methodology, this data transformation allowed the results to be more easily compared to the safety-choice hierarchy which was obtained through a ranking methodology. A regression analysis with this computed variable as the independent variable and the safety-choice hierarchy as the dependent variable shows a significant relationship between these variables, with a standardized coefficient of -0.353 (Table 3).

5.4   EVALUATION OF HYPOTHESIS 3

In seeking explanations as to why respondents might have the stance that they do relative to the crux issues of the Becca Bill, this research proposed two factors: the underlying values hierarchy of the respondents, and the institutions of which they are part. Hypothesis 1 considered the role of values. Hypothesis 3 looks at how those values correlate with the institutions of which respondents are part. It seeks to identify which institutions are most relevant when considering respondent preference for social services. If, for example, significant differences exist in Washington State versus the other locations 14 years after passage of the Becca Bill, it may suggest that this bill has become institutionalized within the normative-legal environment of Washington State and thus somehow is influencingthe values of those operating within that institution. If respondent values and/or respondent attitudes correlate with epistemic communities, the results can provide insight into how the divisions may have evolved in this specific policy debate.

Hypothesis 3 states that "staff in organizations providing similar functions although in different normative-legal environments will also have similar values hierarchies and program preferences." This hypothesis is generally supported. A significant relationship is found between the respondent's values and program preference with the program type in which the respondent work. A similar relationship with the normative-legal environment is not found.

5.4.1 Relationship between Institution and Support for the Social Service Model.

The relationship with the program preference (as dependent variable) is evaluated first using normative-legal environment as the independent variable. The three research sites are part of larger normative-legal environments, each of which has a differing configuration of laws, policies, norms, and understandings regarding children and youth in general, and runaway and homeless youth in particular. This provides an excellent opportunity to determine the relationship between normative-legal environment and values and/or attitudes.

The respondent preference for voluntary services is again considered a proxy for their support for the social service model. Normative-legal environment is operationalized by the program location; that is, the geographic area in which the program is located. Logistic regression is performed using only the runaway and homeless programs in each location, ensuring that the comparisons are "apples to apples".

As was discussed earlier, two interesting opportunities had arisen during the agency recruitment stage. The first was that of a runaway and homeless youth program that is part of both the Portland metropolitan area and a larger organization based in Portland, but is actually located within Washington State. Staff in this program could conceivably be influenced either

by the values and attitudes of their parent organization (and thus be aligned with the values and attitudes of the other Portland programs), or by the values and attitudes of the state in which their program operates and through which it is partly funded. Analyses done according to normative-legal environment are repeated twice with this program categorized once with the Portland group and again with the Seattle group, in order to test and rule-out the possibility that this program is more influenced by one or the other environment. The second categorization issue concerns a another program within the same agency and also located within Washington State. This program is a secure crisis residential center (SCRC) which, because of its unique character, presents the possibility of being an outlier and biasing the analysis. When comparing runaway and homeless youth programs with the youth and family programs, the analysis is also done twice, once as part of the runaway group and once omitted from the analysis. The SCRC is omitted from all other analyses.

The first analysis analyzed the support for the social service model among staff in runaway and homeless youth agencies according to normative-legal environment. The SCRC is omitted from this analysis altogether. The analysis is done twice, with the other program in question analyzed first as part of the Portland group (Table 4), and then as part of the Seattle group (Table 5). In neither case are significant differences found according to normative-legal environment.

Table 4: Support for Social Service Model vs. Normative-Legal Environment,

Program Categorized in Portland group

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step	3.589	2	0.166
Block	3.589	2	0.166
Model	3.589	2	0.166

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox and Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	116.794[a]	0.026	0.044

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 runprogloc			3.532	2	0.171	
runprogloc(1)	0.986	0.530	3.467	1	0.063	2.681
runprogloc(2)	0.576	0.645	0.799	1	0.371	1.779
Constant	1.128	0.347	10.584	1	0.001	3.091

Table 5: Support for Social Service Model versus Location

Program Categorized in Seattle Group

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step	4.379	2	.112
Block	4.379	2	.112
Model	4.379	2	.112

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox and Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	116.004[a]	.032	.054

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 Runprogloc2			4.066	2	.131	
Runprogloc2(1)	1.174	.583	4.051	1	.044	3.235
Runprogloc2(2)	.481	.566	.722	1	.395	1.618
Constant	1.128	.347	10.584	1	.001	3.091

The next step in evaluating this hypothesis is to compare program types, which is the operationalization of the "program function" referenced in the hypothesis. The first comparison is between all runaway and homeless youth programs across locations and all youth and family programs across location. As may be recalled from the earlier discussion, the youth and family programs might have some involvement with runaway and homeless youth, but work more generally with youth in need. They also are more likely to have on-going work with the parents of the youth than the runaway and homeless youth programs.

Table 6: Support for Social Service Model vs. Program Type

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	20.341	1	.000
	Block	20.341	1	.000
	Model	20.341	1	.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox and Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	171.432	.111	.166

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	progtype	-1.808	.404	20.041	1	.000	.164
	Constant	1.645	.233	49.912	1	.000	5.182

Logistic regression is performed, using volpriority (program preference for voluntary programs) as the dependent variable, and the program type as an independent variable. The type

111

of program is found to have a significant relationship with the respondents' program preference. This analysis is also performed twice, once with the SCRC included with the runaway and homeless youth programs, and once omitted totally from the analysis. The relationship is significant in both cases. The model fit in both was rather weak, although somewhat better when the SCRC was omitted from the analysis. The results above show those obtained when the SCRC was included as part of the runaway and homeless youth group (Table 6). As can be seen, the Wald statistic is significant at 0.000 with an odds ratio of 5.182, -2 log likelihood = 171.432 and Nagelkerke R square = 0.166).

Table 7: Support for Social Service Model vs. Sub-Type RHYP

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	0.141	1	0.708
	Block	0.141	1	0.708
	Model	0.141	1	0.708

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	120.242[a]	.001	.002

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	typerhyp	.185	.498	.139	1	.710	1.204
	Constant	1.397	.699	3.994	1	.046	4.044

112

By contrast, no significant differences are found among the two different sub-types of runaway and homeless youth programs in terms of support for the social service model (Table 7).

One final consideration is whether or to what extent there is a relationship between the professional credentials or specific job of the respondent and the respondent's voluntary program preference. These two factors are used as proxy measures to represent epistemic communities of which the staff might be part. Neither of these factors is found to have a significant relationship (Table 19, Appendix B).

Thus according to this series of analyses, neither normative-legal environment, professional credentials, nor job function is a significant factor in a respondent's voluntary program prioritization, but the type of program in which the respondent works is significant. The relevant program distinction in this sample is between runaway and homeless youth programs versus youth and family programs, regardless of where those programs were located.

5.4.2 Relationship between values and normative-legal environment

If a respondent's preference for the social service model correlates with program type but not with either professional certification or normative-legal environment, do the respondent's values also show the same pattern? The assumption in this research based on existing literature is that the respondent preference reflects underlying values, but that values are only one contributory factor. In the next series of analyses, ANOVA is utilized to evaluate the relationship between values and relevant institution, either the normative-legal environment or the program type. The means are compared according to program location (e.g. normative-legal

environment) for the following variables: safechcsafe (the safety-choice hierarchy), self-direction, security, openness to change and conservation.

Once again the analysis is performed twice because of the one program located in the Portland metropolitan area but inside the State of Washington. When this program is categorized as part of the Portland group, the results show that there is a significant difference (0.056) among locations only for openness to change, which is significant, however, only at the liberal standard of 0.1 used in this research (Table 21). The data is then analyzed with this same program as part of the Seattle group in recognition of the fact that it operates under Washington State's laws. In this case, the results are quite different.   Significant differences are found for all tested variables except "conservation" (Table 8).

In examining the data more closely, however, it is noted that changing the categorization of this program changes both the distribution of outreach versus residential RHYP programs, but also the percentage of parents included in each group. For example, when the one program is categorized as part of the Portland group, the percentage of outreach programs is Portland 66% and Seattle 50%; when categorized as part of the Seattle group, these percentages are Portland 77% and Seattle 36%.

Table 8: Values Comparison vs. Local Normative-Legal Environment

Program Categorized as Part of Seattle Group

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
Security2	Portland	51	.27171	.187910	.026313	.21886	.32456	.000	.714
	Seattle	33	.41991	.211106	.036749	.34506	.49477	.000	.857
	Vancouver	43	.38538	.248484	.037893	.30891	.46185	.000	.857
	Total	127	.34871	.223827	.019861	.30940	.38801	.000	.857
Conservation	Portland	52	.1025	.71900	.09971	-.0977	.3027	-1.54	1.69
	Seattle	33	.3707	.77393	.13472	.0962	.6451	-1.87	1.71
	Vancouver	45	.3355	.81409	.12136	.0910	.5801	-1.79	1.94
	Total	130	.2512	.77075	.06760	.1175	.3850	-1.87	1.94
Openness to change	Portland	52	.8801	.68329	.09476	.6898	1.0703	-.38	3.45
	Seattle	33	.4770	.77536	.13497	.2020	.7519	-1.19	2.24
	Vancouver	45	.7284	.68983	.10283	.5212	.9357	-.67	2.56
	Total	130	.7252	.72213	.06333	.5999	.8506	-1.19	3.45
Self-direction2	Portland	52	-.9812	1.58404	.21967	-1.4222	-.5402	-4.82	2.24
	Seattle	33	.6569	1.96906	.34277	-.0413	1.3551	-3.67	3.79
	Vancouver	45	-.1913	1.79692	.26787	-.7311	.3486	-3.04	3.97
	Total	130	-.2920	1.86560	.16362	-.6157	.0318	-4.82	3.97
safechcsafe	Portland	52	.6171	1.72875	.23973	.1359	1.0984	-1.95	6.22
	Seattle	33	-1.0611	1.83119	.31877	-1.7104	-.4117	-4.44	2.31
	Vancouver	45	.3742	1.93151	.28793	-.2061	.9545	-3.92	5.54
	Total	130	.1070	1.94028	.17017	-.2297	.4437	-4.44	6.22

Table 8 Continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Security2	Between Groups	.528		.264	5.654	.004
	Within Groups	5.785	124	.047		
	Total	6.312	126			
Conservation	Between Groups	1.940		.970	1.650	.196
	Within Groups	74.693	127	.588		
	Total	76.633	129			
Openness to change	Between Groups	3.281		1.641	3.256	.042
	Within Groups	63.988	127	.504		
	Total	67.269	129			
Self-direction	Between Groups	54.870		27.435	8.841	.000
	Within Groups	394.111	127	3.103		
	Total	448.982	129			
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	61.769		30.884	9.253	.000
	Within Groups	423.874	127	3.338		
	Total	485.643	129			

Table 9: Values versus Parent Status

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Security2	no	124	.1579	.79051	.07099	.0174	.2984	-1.93	1.99
	yes	46	.7443	.66310	.09777	.5474	.9412	-.99	1.94
	Total	170	.3166	.80011	.06137	.1954	.4377	-1.93	1.99
Conservation	no	124	-.4813	1.84780	.16594	-.8097	-.1528	-4.82	3.79
	yes	46	.8235	1.96879	.29028	.2388	1.4081	-4.38	5.05
	Total	170	-.1282	1.96344	.15059	-.4255	.1691	-4.82	5.05
Openness to change	no	124	.1148	2.06324	.18528	-.2519	.4816	-4.44	6.22
	yes	46	-.5309	2.02281	.29825	-1.1316	.0698	-6.49	3.49
	Total	170	-.0599	2.06654	.15850	-.3728	.2530	-6.49	6.22
Self-direction2	no	124	.7149	.73208	.06574	.5848	.8450	-1.19	3.45
	yes	46	.4597	.73059	.10772	.2428	.6767	-1.39	2.56
	Total	170	.6458	.73832	.05663	.5341	.7576	-1.39	3.45
safechcsafe	no	119	.36735	.239856	.021988	.32381	.41089	.000	1.000
	yes	54	.47310	.245703	.033436	.40604	.54017	.000	1.000
	Total	173	.40036	.245940	.018698	.36345	.43727	.000	1.000

Table 9 continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Security2	Between Groups	11.538		11.538	20.056	.000
	Within Groups	96.650	168	.575		
	Total	108.189	169			
Conservation	Between Groups	57.117		57.117	16.144	.000
	Within Groups	594.392	168	3.538		
	Total	651.509	169			
Openness to change	Between Groups	13.991		13.991	3.321	.070
	Within Groups	707.737	168	4.213		
	Total	721.728	169			
Self-direction	Between Groups	2.184		2.184	4.080	.045
	Within Groups	89.941	168	.535		
	Total	92.125	169			
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	.415		.415	7.112	.008
	Within Groups	9.988	171	.058		
	Total	10.404	172			

Likewise, when the program is categorized as part of the Portland group, the percentage of parents in each locale was Portland 27% and Seattle 28%. When the program is reclassified as part of the Seattle group, the percentages are now Portland 21% and Seattle 36%. As can be seen in Table 9, there are significant differences between parents and non-parents in all value categories, although the differences for openness to change would not have been significant at the 0.5 level. Thus, it is not surprising that the findings shift depending upon the overall distribution of parents in the sample. As will be addressed further in the Discussion section, it appears that something other than normative-legal environment is responsible for the observed results.

As was mentioned in the methodology section, one respondent had expressed concern that some of the forced choice questions indicate an ignorant or biased attitude toward street youth on the part of the researcher. The respondent, from a Vancouver program, suggested that Americans (and thus an American researcher) might have different opinions on these issues than Canadians. The question raises a valid consideration for analysis. Is it possible that the significant differences in values exist between those staff in Canadian programs and those in American ones?

In order to answer these questions, ANOVA is conducted comparing the Canadian runaway and homeless youth programs with the United States ones (SCRC omitted). Table 22 (Appendix B) shows the results of this analysis. No significant value differences are found between the Canadian respondents and the American ones. Research by, for example, Geert Hofstede, validates that cultural differences do exist between different nation-states. Likewise, the extensive international and intercultural research done by Schwartz and his colleagues confirms values differences between those in different countries, although those found between

respondent groups in the US and in Canada were relatively small. In the specific groups of respondents in this research, however, national differences are not significant.

5.4.3 Relationship between values and program type

The next series of ANOVAs uses these same values, but factored according to the type of program. The first analysis compares the values of staff in runaway and homeless youth programs versus those in youth and family programs. As before, the analysis is done twice, first with the secure crisis residential center (SCRC) included as part of the runaway and homeless youth group and then omitted from the analysis. With the SCRC included, significant differences are found according to program type for the safety-choice hierarchy, self-direction, and security, although security was significant only at the 0.1 standard used in this research (Table 10). When the SCRC is omitted, the same values are significant. In this case, however, security was significant at the 0.05 level (Table 23).

These same 5 variables are then analyzed according to ANOVA using the two sub-types of runaway and homeless youth program as the factor, with SCRC omitted (Table 12). In this comparison, significant differences exist between groups for all tested variables, although the variable security would not have been significant at the 0.05 level. Based on this analysis, significant differences in values exist between and among respondents working in different types of programs regardless of normative-legal environment. Somewhat surprisingly, those differences are greater when comparing staff working in different types of runaway and homeless programs rather than between runaway and homeless youth providers and youth and family service provides. A possible reason for these results will be discussed in the next chapter.

Table 10:   Values Comparison vs. Program Type

Descriptives

			Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Minim um	Maxi mum
safechcsafe	Youth & family	37	.53990	.244043	.040120	.45853	.62127	.000	1.000
	Run/homeless	137	.36496	.234303	.020018	.32538	.40455	.000	1.000
	Total	174	.40216	.246380	.018678	.36530	.43903	.000	1.000
Self-direction2	Youth & family	34	.3867	.78178	.13407	.1139	.6594	-1.39	1.91
	Run/homeless	140	.7103	.70651	.05971	.5922	.8283	-1.19	3.45
	Total	174	.6471	.73089	.05541	.5377	.7564	-1.39	3.45
Security2	Youth & family	34	.5642	.93632	.16058	.2375	.8909	-1.93	1.99
	Run/homeless	140	.2713	.75502	.06381	.1452	.3975	-1.87	.94
	Total	174	.3286	.79926	.06059	.2090	.4482	-1.93	1.99
Conserva-tion	Youth & family	34	.2088	2.29844	.39418	-.5932	1.0107	-3.83	5.05
	Run/homeless	140	-.1967	1.85947	.15715	-.5075	.1140	-4.82	3.97
	Total	174	-.1175	1.95239	.14801	-.4096	.1746	-4.82	5.05
Openness to change	Youth & family	34	-.3645	2.35562	.40399	-1.1864	.4574	-6.49	3.78
	Run/homeless	140	.0052	1.96939	.16644	-.3239	.3342	-5.93	6.22
	Total	174	-.0671	2.04849	.15530	-.3736	.2394	-6.49	6.22

Table 10 Continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	.891	1	.891	15.956	.000
	Within Groups	9.610	172	.056		
	Total	10.502	173			
Self-direction2	Between Groups	2.865	1	2.865	5.503	.020
	Within Groups	89.552	172	.521		
	Total	92.417	173			
Security2	Between Groups	2.347	1	2.347	3.732	.055
	Within Groups	108.169	172	.629		
	Total	110.516	173			
Conservation	Between Groups	4.498	1	4.498	1.181	.279
	Within Groups	654.947	172	3.808		
	Total	659.445	173			
Openness to change	Between Groups	3.739	1	3.739	.890	.347
	Within Groups	722.224	172	4.199		
	Total	725.962	173			

Table 11:   Values Comparison Factored vs. Sub-Type RHYP

Descriptives

				Std.	Std.	Lower	Upper		
			Mean	Deviation	Error	Bound	Bound	Minimum	Maximum
Safechcsafe	Outreach	81	.31041	.217582	.024176	.26229	.35852	.000	.857
	Residential	46	.41615	.220957	.032578	.35053	.48177	.000	.857
	Total	127	.34871	.223827	.019861	.30940	.38801	.000	.857
Self-direction2	Outreach	84	.8568	74186	.08094	.6958	1.0178	-1.19	3.45
	Residential	46	.4850	.62326	.09189	.2999	.6701	-.82	2.24
	Total	130	.7252	.72213	.06333	.5999	.8506	-1.19	3.45
Security2	Outreach	84	.1674	.71971	.07853	.0112	.3235	-1.79	1.69
	Residential	46	.4044	.84288	.12428	.1541	.6547	-1.87	1.94
	Total	130	.2512	.77075	.06760	.1175	.3850	-1.87	1.94
Conservation	Outreach	84	-.6523	1.73224	.18900	-1.0282	-.2764	-4.82	3.20
	Residential	46	.3660	1.93855	.28582	-.2097	.9417	-3.67	3.97
	Total	130	-.2920	1.86560	.16362	-.6157	.0318	-4.82	3.97
Openness to change	Outreach	84	.4736	1.88548	.20572	.0645	.8828	-4.44	6.22
	Residential	46	-.5624	1.87777	.27686	-1.1200	-.0048	-3.92	2.39
	Total	130	.1070	1.94028	.17017	-.2297	.4437	-4.44	6.22

123

Table 11 continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean-Square	F	Sig.
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	.328	1	.328	6.852	.010
	Within Groups	5.984	125	.048		
	Total	6.312	126			
Self-direction2	Between Groups	4.109	1	4.109	8.328	.005
	Within Groups	63.160	128	.493		
	Total	67.269	129			
Security2	Between Groups	1.670	1	1.670	2.852	.094
	Within Groups	74.963	128	.586		
	Total	76.633	129			
Conservation	Between Groups	30.820	1	30.820	9.434	.003
	Within Groups	418.162	128	3.267		
	Total	448.982	129			
Openness to change	Between Groups	31.905	1	31.905	9.000	.003
	Within Groups	453.738	128	3.545		
	Total	485.643	129	3.545		

5.4.4 Other Attitudes and Values Hierarchies

As was discussed in the methodology, the questionnaire contained questions that, while not directly in response to the hypotheses, could perhaps shed some light on respondent answers relative to the hypotheses. These included questions about 1) whether respondents thought runaways and homeless youth made good choices, especially as it related to being on the streets ("choiceg"); 2) questions about whether or not one needs to take into consideration a youth's

124

developmental level in regards to the safety-choice tension ("develno"); 3) respondent hierarchies related to tension between parenting and safety; and 4) respondent hierarchies related to the tension between parenting and choice ("parchcchc").

Table 24 (Appendix B) shows results from ANOVA on these questions. The first group compares scores from runaway and homeless youth programs with more general youth and family programs (SCRC omitted). There are significant differences found between these groups in all categories except for the safety-parenting hierarchy:

- Youth make good choices $\sigma = 0.023$

- Development issues are relevant to safety-choice hierarchy $\sigma = 0.039$

- Choice is higher than parenting in the hierarchy: $\sigma = 0.000$

- Safety is more important than parenting in the hierarchy $\sigma = 0.775$

As can be seen from the means in Table 14, the workers in runaway and homeless youth programs are more likely to believe that the youth make good choices, that developmental level is more important in evaluating safety vs. choice, and that youth choice is more important than parenting.

When comparing the different types of runaway and homeless youth programs on these same variables (SCRC omitted), the significant differences are fewer and less pronounced (Table 25, Appendix B). For example,

- Youth make good choices $\sigma = 0.042$

- Development issues are relevant to safety-choice hierarchy $\sigma = 0.401$

- Choice is higher than parenting in the hierarchy: $\sigma = 0.003$

- Safety is more important than parenting in the hierarchy $\sigma = 0.627$

As can be seen, significant differences are found between these groups only in regards to the question of whether or not youth make good choices, and whether choice is higher than parenting in the hierarchy. The outreach workers are more likely to think that youth made good choices and that choice was more important than parenting.

5.4.5 Program Level Analysis

A final question concerns whether the observed differences are at the program level. That is, are the differences between and among individual programs rather than the *type* of program or its *normative-legal environment?* ANOVA is run using the individual runaway and homeless youth programs. Significant differences are found for all the primary variables except the variables indicating the safety-parent hierarchy (safeparsafe) and whether or not youth make good choices (choiceg). Security would not have been significant at the 0.5 level.

Table 12: Program Level Analysis

	Significance Levels				
	All RHY Programs	type RHYP	Portland RHYP	Seattle RHYP	Vancouver RHYP
Tables	26	11 & 25	27	28	29
Safechcsafe	0.044	0.010	0.142	0.948	0.132
Parchcchc	0.036	0.401	0.421	0.733	0.005
Safeparsafe	0.106	0.627	0.694	0.688	0.402
Choiceg	0.413	0.042	0.708	0.872	0.230
Develono	0.020	0.401	0.126	0.230	0.008
Self-Direction2	0.009	0.005	0.064	0.213	0.010
Security	0.059	0.094	0.047	0.822	0.581
Conservation	0.000	0.003	0.031	0.062	0.023
Open to Chg.	0.001	0.003	0.062	0.911	0.150

In order to examine more carefully whether the differences were at the program level or at the program type and/or normative-legal environment, ANOVAs run at the program level for each of the geographic sites were then compared with those done on the program types and type of runaway and homeless youth programs. Table 12 summarizes and compares the significance results from five different ANOVAs: the program level analysis (Table 26), the analysis according to the type of RHYP (Tables 11 and 25), and the analysis for programs within each location (Tables 27 – 29). The significant differences found at the program level of the group at large almost totally mirror those of the type of runaway and homeless youth programs. That is, where there were significant differences for a value when doing program level analysis of all programs, similar differences also existed for those same values for sub-types RHYP. The significance varied found between these two levels of analysis only for the variables representing 1) the respondent hierarchy between parenting and choice, 2) the assessment of whether youth made good choices, and 3) the impact of development issues on the safety-choice hierarchy. Thus the program level differences appear to be simply an indicator of the program type differences.

5.4.6 Summary: Analysis Related to Hypothesis 3

The analysis related to hypothesis 3 has provided rich results regarding the interaction between values and institutions. First and foremost it must be noted that there is no correlation between respondent values and the normative-legal institution of which respondents are part. Thus, although institutions are generally considered to mold not only the behavior but also the

thinking of those operating within them, the results show that, 14 years after the Becca Bill was passed, those working with youth subject to the provisions of the bill did not manifest values and attitudes different from those working in normative-legal institutions with different laws. On the other hand, respondent values did demonstrate a relationship with the epistemic communities of which they are part. That is, people who work in similar settings regardless of location tend to share values. Thus differing values between those working in different types of programs parallels the divisions that occurred during the original Becca Bill debate.

5.5 JUVENILE DETENTION VERSUS LOCKED TREATMENT

An unanticipated finding arose during the data-entry phase, which was that almost half (49.5) of respondents expressed that it is preferable for runaway and homeless youth to be placed in juvenile detention rather than in a locked treatment program. Further analysis is done to ascertain whether and to what extent this finding sheds further light on the issue of values and institutions. A logical assumption might be that those who prioritized juvenile detention over treatment might also have less of a preference for the social service model or voluntary option. Logistic regression demonstrates that there is a significant but extremely weak relationship between those who prefer for voluntary options between those who prioritized juvenile detention over locked treatment models (Table 30).

Table 13:   Preference for Juvenile Detention versus Program Type

Descriptives

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Youth & family	37	.43	1.519	.250	-.07	.94	-3	3
Runaway homeless	137	-.09	1.222	.104	-.29	.12	-3	3
Total	174	.02	1.303	.099	-.17	.22	-3	3

ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	7.878	1	7.878	4.737	.031
Within Groups	286.030	172	1.663		
Total	293.908	173			

In order to determine if this preference for juvenile detention correlates with one of the other factors that is utilized in this study, ANOVA is performed according to type of program, type of runaway and homeless youth program, and the normative-legal environment. Significant differences are found only when comparing the runaway and homeless youth programs and the youth and family programs (Table 17; additional analyses contained in Tables 31and 32). It should be noted, however, that 42% of those from the runaway and homeless youth programs (compared to 62% of staff in youth & family programs) did in fact also prefer the juvenile detention options. (The SCRC was omitted from this analysis). While not a majority, it is a large enough percentage to raise some interesting questions that will be discussed further in the next chapter.

5.6   CONCLUSION

The data analysis provides an abundance of data regarding the relationship between values and attitudes in relation to the crux issues of the Becca Bill, as well as the extent to which the values and attitudes of the respondent group do or do not align according to normative-legal environment, epistemic community, and organization. Differences either in preference for the social service model or for underlying values and values-hierarchies are found at the level of program type, rather than at the level of either the normative-legal environment or the professional certification or job function. The next chapter will discuss the implications of this data and make recommendations about potential areas for further research.

6.0   DISCUSSION

--------A simple Child

…What should it know of death?[18]

The passion that motivated the passage of the Becca Bill and made the legislative debate so contentious was driven by the commonly held belief in modern developed society that a child or teen "should [not] know of death". The specific provisions of the Becca Bill were based on a presumption that teens in general and runaway and homeless teens in specific are too rebellious, troubled, or immature to make rational and healthy decisions about their lives. When faced with the grief of parents whose runaway teens had been murdered on the streets, professionals, public policy advocates, and legislators were all limited in their ability to offer counter-proposals or policy arguments without seeming cruel or disrespectful. All agreed, however, that they wanted policies to protect the safety of youth who, like all youth, "should [not] know of death."

Despite the fact that staff in agencies working with runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth often know youth who have been murdered on the streets, these same agencies were the most vocal in speaking out against passage of the Bill. Other agencies did however share the concerns of the parents' groups and advocated for the remedies offered by the Becca Bill. As can be seen

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[18] William Wordsworth, "We Are Seven", in *Selected Poetry of William Wordsworth* ed. Mark van Doren (New York: Modern Library, 2002), 54-8.

in the current research, this division among professionals in the youth-serving field continues to the present day.

This research takes the perspective that not only the model established by the Becca Bill, but the juvenile justice and social service models which have also been used for this population, are founded on an attempt to reconcile two conflicting values and rights relative to youth: safety and self-direction. How safety and choice are prioritized determines the extent to which the model is voluntary or involuntary for youth. Because a prime characteristic of values is that they are desirable, individuals face a tension in trying to reconcile these two values, and their support for a specific model is likely to match the way they have established their own values hierarchy. One aspect of this research was to determine if values hierarchies can explain any similarities or variations in the perspectives of workers towards the core issues of the Becca Bill. The current values and attitudes of workers may offer some insights as to those of the original participants in the Becca Bill debate and perhaps explain the conflicting views on the bill.

This research explores whether respondent attitudes towards the Becca Bill are related not only to respondent values, but also to the institutions of which they are part. Such a relationship between attitudes and institutions or values and institutions can offer insights regarding the extent to which institutions can influence the behavior and thinking of individuals within their purview. Previous research has shown the relationship between values and institutions on one side, and public policy on the other. The relationships are interactive and at times complex. Public policy can be the result, for example, of an idea or value whose time has come. The value may have already become institutionalized within the norms of society and the public policy serves to encode these norms into law.

On the other hand, a policy may result from the ardent efforts of a group with strong values not yet commonly held in the wider society. In that case, implementation of the policy has the potential of institutionalizing those values into both the laws and the norms of the culture. Strong resistance to the policy may continue to exist, however, perhaps because of the cross-influences of other institutions or groups with strong values. As the result, the new policy is unable to become fully institutionalized, but remains a contrasting discourse along with the others. Thus a relationship between the respondent values and attitudes related to the crux issue of the Becca Bill and the institutions of which they are part not only might offer explanations regarding the way in which the divisions regarding the Bill evolved. They might also offer a better understanding of the way in which institutions and values interact in general.

As the previous chapter indicated, this research provided a complex array of data regarding values and institutions as they pertain to a particular case study. This chapter will discuss the implications of that data including the questions both answered and raised by the data. First will be a discussion of the role of values in attitudes and policy preferences, both theoretically and in relationship to the Becca Bill debate. Next will be a review of the Hierarchy of Values model, and the extent to which the research supported that model. The specific policy implications of this research relative to the Children's Rights Convention will be discussed. Next will be a consideration of the interaction among institutions, individuals, and organizations suggested by the findings. The discussion with then consider the theoretical issues regarding the values definition and research methodology, before concluding with a summation of the limitations of this study and recommendations for further research.

6.1　VALUES, ATTITUDES, POLICY PREFERNCES AND THE BECCA BILL

All the participants in the Becca Bill debate emphasized that their positions were motivated by the best interest and safety of the youth. Nevertheless they arrived at radically different positions on the Bill and the role of voluntary services for runaway and homeless youth. Earlier research has documented the relationship either between values and attitudes or between values and preferences (cf. e.g. Meglino and Ravlin). This is because of the very nature and role of values, which form a lens through which individuals attend to and interpret information. Theoretically, it presents an intriguing scenario when a single value such as safety leads to diametrically opposed attitudes and preferences such as the Becca Bill positions. From a public policy perspective, the implications are equally intriguing: why can't partisan divides be reconciled when everyone supposedly wants the same thing?

The results of this research indicate that safety is in fact a concern for virtually all participants. Yet it is the extent to which self-direction is prioritized over safety that has a relationship with a respondent's attitude towards a voluntary program model. A significant relationship with the preferred program options exists with both the Youth Survey safety-choice hierarchy and with the Schwartz Values System (SVS) values of self-direction and security. Of the latter values, only self-direction, however, contributes significantly to the overall model when combined with the safety-choice hierarchy.

Further analysis indicates, however, that a better model occurs when conservation, openness to change, and the safety-choice hierarchy are combined as independent variables with the dependent variable representing the voluntary program preference. As one may recall,

the SVS value of "conservation" is an aggregate of security, conformity, and tradition, while "openness to change" is an aggregate of self-direction, hedonism and stimulation.

Some interesting conclusions are suggested by 1) the strong emphasis on self-direction and choice by those favoring voluntary options and 2) the finding that the broader category of conservation fits the data somewhat better than does simply the security category alone. To the extent that this data is representative of the perspectives of those involved in the original Becca Bill debate, the value of youth safety was not unambiguously the dominant motivation to the extent participants portrayed. The opponents of the Becca Bill had argued that the Bill would threaten the safety of runaway and homeless teens by giving too much authority to potentially abusive parents. The data here certainly confirms that respondents who support voluntary options for teens are also more likely to perceive the home situation as dangerous. Nevertheless, these individuals show an extremely clear preference for the values of self-direction and choice, regardless of which method is used to evaluate these beliefs. On the other hand, those more likely to support the Becca Bill policy changes are concerned about the youth's safety and security, but as only one component of an overall belief in conservation that included values of tradition and conformity.

None of these models consisting of either the safety—choice hierarchy alone or in combination with the SVS values is a strong fit. This is not surprising. There is no assumption in this research that values are the *only* significant foundation for respondents' program preferences. In addition, while the correlation of values with attitudes and preferences is well-documented in the literature, research also indicates that the influence of values is neither linear nor total. Given that, the assumption here is that values played a role, and perhaps a greater role, than had been considered during the policy debate serving as the inspiration for this research. It

is possible, therefore, that further elucidation of participant values might have affected the public debate and perhaps even the final form of the Becca Bill.

Campbell (1998), for example, highlights the way that policy issues are framed to fit with public norms and values in order to make those policies more acceptable to the general public. Both parties in the Becca Bill debate would have had some incentive to frame their views in terms of the safety of youth. Those seeking passage of the Becca Bill were doing so partly as a result of Washington State's history of laws and policies that had strongly supported voluntary options and the rights of youth. In that context, arguing for the safety of youth would be a more powerful argument than to argue in terms of traditional family values and the rights of parents, although the issue of parents' rights was at times used as a way to facilitate youth safety. Those opposing a bill named after a youth who died on the streets also had an incentive to argue in favor of the safety of youth.

It is possible that participants simply may not have been aware of their own values—one difficulty facing those doing research on values. It is an interesting question, however, as to whether the debate on the Becca Bill might have progressed differently if it were clear that there were other values motivating the stances of participants than simply safety? Alternatively, would it have been possible to craft a different and perhaps better bill by focusing on the fact that safety was a value shared among the parties?

Based upon this research, it is important to reiterate here that values were only one factor in the stance people took in relation to the Becca Bill. Further research is needed to consider what other factors might be operative in these types of debate, and whether any one factor is the deciding one.

6.2   THE HIERARCHY OF VALUES MODEL

Self-direction is prioritized	Safety is prioritized
Variant A **"Ideal" Social Service Model** Self-direction = Parental Guidance= Safety	**Variant C** **Treatment Model** Safety ≥ Parental Guidance > Self-direction
Variant B **Social Service Model In Non-Ideal World** Self-direction > Parental Guidance > Safety	**Variant D** **Juvenile Justice Model** Safety > Parental Guidance = Self-direction

Value Hierarchies in the Different Models or "Archetypes" (Figure 1)

As was discussed earlier, this research is structured around the model in Figure 1, repeated above. Respondents were asked to rank the four variants in terms of what they consider the optimum program model for youth.   While the fundamental tension between self-direction/choice and safety is supported as represented by Variants A and B versus Variants C and D, the other elements of the model are not. First of all, the distinction between Variant A and Variant B (the ideal versus non-ideal social service model respectively) is not supported by participants. Variant B is represented in the survey by a statement stating that, while the respondent preferred voluntary services, the lack of available resources made it necessary to have some locked/involuntary services to protect the safety of youth. Over half of all participants (54.8%) indicate that they do not think adequate services exist for the runaway and homeless youth population. Despite that, only 15.7% choose the policy preference matching Variant B as their number one choice. It is possible that this is a methodological issue: either the questions

137

regarding available services or that involving the policy preference for Variant B were inadequate. What seems more likely, however, is that those who have a strong belief in choice or self-direction prefer a voluntary social service model as a matter of principle, regardless of whether youth safety is at higher risk because of a lack of available services. This conclusion fits the strong emphasis for self-direction and choice shown by respondents in both surveys.

The distinction between Variants C and D (treatment versus juvenile justice model respectively) also is not supported. In fact, one of the most surprising results of this study is the almost equal division between respondents who rank juvenile detention as preferable to treatment (51.4%) and those who rank treatment as preferable to juvenile detention. No significant differences are found in this respect between those who generally prefer voluntary options, and those who prefer locked involuntary ones. Those working in the youth and family programs, however, are more likely to prefer detention over locked treatment than those in the RHYP. While it will require additional research to understand this result, a reasonable hypothesis has to do with the philosophy governing most treatment services. Most treatment services are voluntary because it is assumed that treatment is most effective when someone chooses to be helped. Coercive services do have a place in drug treatment, such as requiring treatment for individuals who have been arrested for driving while intoxication. Even in these cases, however, individuals are often given the choice of treatment or incarceration. In mental health services, coercive treatment is rarely used except in the case of individuals who are incapacitated or a risk to themselves or others.

In that sense, the findings in this area reflect some of the tension within the Becca Bill itself. The Becca Bill designed its five day incarceration as a form of treatment partly to avoid conflicting with federal laws against the incarceration of young people for status-offenses. One

underlying premise for the bill was that coercive treatment is necessary because runaway and homeless youth are a risk to themselves, but not at "imminent risk" to the extent required to commit them involuntarily in a mental health facility. In responding to these concerns, however, the bill's proponents may have created other problems by fashioning a model called "treatment" that conflicts with strong norms regarding voluntary treatment. In addition, it must be recognized that this is an area where the sample for this research may be especially unrepresentative of the general public. It is reasonable to assume that those most involved in the social and treatment services would have stronger feelings about the issue of consent and choice due to the codes of ethics and overall practice guidelines governing their profession. For example, section 1.02 of the Social Work Code of Ethics states that:

> "Social workers respect and promote the right of clients to *self-determination* and assist clients in their efforts to identify and clarify their goals. Social workers may limit clients' right to self-determination when, in the social workers' professional judgment, clients' actions or potential actions pose a serious, foreseeable, and *imminent risk* to themselves or others (emphasis added)."[19]

One of the crux issues of the Becca Bill concerned that second sentence and the issue of when a youth poses a "serious, foreseeable, and imminent risk to themselves or others".

There is another contributing factor to the lack of complete support for the Hierarchy of Values model. The Youth Survey questions addressing the values and attitudes of respondents regarding parental or adult guidance had mixed success. This is especially true for the measures of the respondent hierarchy between safety and parenting, which do not show the same correlations and range of answers as the other measures.

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[19] Available at: http://www.socialworkers.org/pubs/code/code.asp (accessed on 10 November 2008).

In summary, the tension between safety and choice as outlined in the model is clearly supported by the data, but the other distinctions in the model are not. Further research is needed to confirm these results or to determine whether some refinement of the four variant models would produce better results.

6.3   POLICY IMPLICATIONS: THE CHILDREN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION

As was discussed earlier, the Becca Bill violates principles that are contained not only in the United States Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), but also in the United Nations Children's Rights Convention (CRC). As was also discussed earlier, rights share some features with values although there are also some important distinctions. Rights fit the Schwartz and Bilsky definition in that they are "concepts or beliefs about desirable end states or behavior that transcend specific situations… and guide selection or evaluation of behavior or events" (1987, 519).   In contrast with the definition for values, however, the Children's Rights Convention clearly states that its provisions are *not "*ordered by relative importance"[20]. Further, rights are something which an individual acquires because of one's humanity or because of one's membership in a certain group, such as children, women, or refugees.

The findings of this research support the view that people have a hierarchy of values that can affect how they respond to various issues. It is reasonable to assume that their hierarchies similarly affect how they interpret and respond to rights that parallel those values. This research

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[20] http://www.unicef.org/crc/index_understanding.html (13 August 2007).

also indicates that how people respond to rights and values is not just a theoretical issue, but has the potential to impact the implementation of laws and policies related to those rights and values.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the passage of the Becca Bill and the results of this research as they relate to the Children's Rights Convention. The most important is that the Becca Bill was not passed in a vacuum. It occurred in a state with two critical factors in its history which led to a perception that the safety of children was not being adequately protected. When Washington State decriminalized status offenses for youth, it failed to fund many of the services that were meant to address the needs of these youth who previously would have been detained in juvenile detention centers. In addition, it eliminated even those locked group home and treatment options which other states had maintained as a way to provide needed safety and services for youth, but with family court supervision that would protect the rights of the youth. It appears that a comprehensive and balanced approach incorporating some well-regulated locked options for youth who can not be adequately served in less restrictive options may be the best way to maintain both the letter and spirit of the Children's Rights Convention concerning safety and self-direction (called "participation" in the CRC). Even when resources are inadequate, the best solution may be a balance of limited but well crafted involuntary options within a continuum of services made up of primarily voluntary options.

The other conclusion from this research relevant to the CRC is the same one highlighted earlier regarding policy framing and implementation. It may be important to frame the issue of children's rights in a way that recognizes the concerns individuals have about various aspects of safety. The issue of "children's rights" is likely to have wider acceptance if it is presented not just as protection from abuse or child-trafficking, but also as protection from the child's own behavior. It is interesting that one argument used by those in the United States who opposed

141

participation in the Convention was the concern that "children's rights …undermine the traditional family and ultimately threaten children's welfare" (Melton, 1235). That statement echoes the findings of this research that family values—as reflected in the SVS aggregate value of conservation—played a role in those supporting the Becca Bill principles (and in contradiction to the CRC).

6.4   INSTITUTIONS: WHICH, IF ANY, MATTER?

The results related to the first hypothesis establish that the attitudes respondents have towards the core issues of the Becca Bill are partly related to their underlying values. But from whence come those values? If values shape a person's response to the Becca Bill, is it also possible that the Becca Bill, as part of a normative-legal institution within which the respondents operate, can shape individual values? From a theoretical perspective, exploring these issues contributes to the existing literature on the way in which values and institutions interact, especially when an individual is part of overlapping institutions. From a policy perspective, such an analysis indicates potential points of influence when attempting to build support for a policy or to reconcile differing viewpoints.

This research examines which if any institution correlates with and thus potentially influences respondent values. Critical to that process is ascertaining whether respondents in Washington State reflect the values and policy preferences in the Becca Bill in a way that respondents operating in other normative-legal environments do not. In addition, this research provides an opportunity to consider other institutions such as epistemic communities which are

unrelated to, but overlap with, normative-legal structure. Finally, it allows an examination of other non-institutional factors, such as technical considerations and the job-organization fit.

Figure 3 illustrates the complexity of influences on and by an individual staff member's values and attitudes. As was discussed in the literature review, an individual's values and attitudes are, first and foremost, shaped within the family and by an individual's life experiences, which are to some extent affected by the local or national culture. An individual is often hired because his or her values and attitudes match those of the organization which then, through training and supervision, works to shape them further (job-organization fit). The individual of course retains autonomy in the process and can thus also exert an influence on the organization.
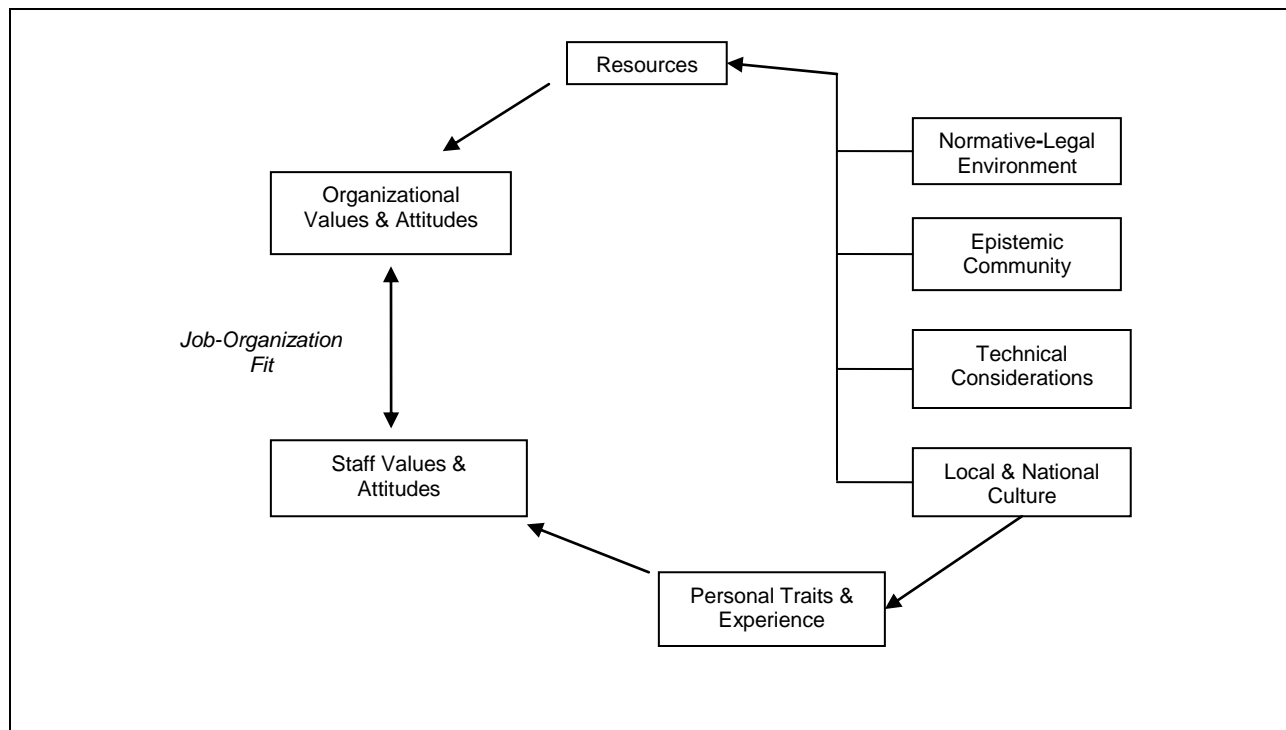
Figure 3:   Factors Impacting Staff and Organizational Values and Attitudes

143

The normative-legal environment and the local or national culture likely overlap and either separately or concomitantly impacts the organization and the individual. Likewise, the organization and individual values and attitudes can also be shaped by the epistemic community and the technical considerations of the job. Those same factors can influence the availability of funding and other resources available to the organization. This research provides an opportunity to examine these multiple pathways. The findings will now be reviewed and discussed in that context.

6.4.1 Legal-Normative Institutions

This research was structured around the fact that each of the three research sites has a distinct normative-legal institution specific to youth. As was discussed earlier, this institution manifests itself in the laws and regulations related to child welfare issues, as well as the funding, contracting, and networking processes related to child welfare. As has also been discussed, Washington State has an approach in conflict with national and international norms because of the Becca Bill and the resultant mandatory confinement of runaways. Separate from this specific bill, Washington State's laws regarding children and youth have had some critical differences from those in Oregon and British Columbia. Further differences at the national level exist between the United States and Canada. As a signatory to the Children's Rights Conventions, Canada's laws are regularly monitored for compliance, providing additional input to and pressure on its legal provisions. In addition, some cultural distinctions exist between Canada and the United States, a point raised by one of the research participants.

Despite these distinctions, one undeniable outcome of this research was that there is no significant difference found according to location in the preference for voluntary programs by the runaway and homeless youth providers. Specifically, runaway and homeless youth providers in Washington State do not significantly prefer involuntary options more than those in the other two locations. There are, however, significant differences in the values of respondents according to location.

What interpretation can be made of these results? Because each of the three locations represents a different normative-legal environment, the results suggest strongly that the normative-legal environment is not the most influential institution for this group of respondents, at least as it related to this specific issue. There are several possible alternative explanations. The first is that the Becca Bill provisions do not have unambiguous support throughout Washington State, including from government and funding entities. In that sense, the Becca Bill may not have been fully institutionalized within the normative-legal environment. For example, one state agency, the Governor's Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee (GJJAC), is charged with monitoring state compliance with the federal JJDPA. As a result, it continues to challenge those provisions of the Becca Bill in conflict with the JJDPA. Another possible explanation is that legal and normative influences are not inextricably linked. Thus passage of a law in and of itself does not create normative support, although a certain amount of normative support in the community is often needed in order for a law to be enacted. Related to this is the fact is the possibility that there is some heterogeneity within the institution, with the runaway and homeless youth community creating an alternative discourse to that predominant within the normative-legal environment.

While no significant differences are found according to normative-legal environment in terms of voluntary program preference, they are found, however, in values according to normative-legal environment. This finding is intriguing until one digs deeper into the data. Recollect that the differences in values of respondents according to normative-legal environment is dependent upon the way that one program is categorized, specifically a program that is part of both the Portland metropolitan area as well as a Portland organization, but located within Washington State. Significant differences in values orientations are found only when this program is analyzed as part of the Washington sample. However, categorizing the program in this way also shifts the distribution of outreach versus residential programs. As a result, the differences found appear to be differences in the type of runaway and homeless youth program rather than the normative-legal environment in which they operate. This point will be expanded upon below under "Program Type".

6.4.2 Epistemic Institutions: Job or Professional Credentials

One proxy measure used in this research to represent epistemic institution involves the job or professional credentials of staff. It had been anticipated that the values and attitudes of Master level clinicians such as social work or psychology might differ from those of staff without that training. There are, however, no significant differences according to either the job or the professional credentials of the staff member. A reasonable explanation for this finding is related to the small number of clinicians relative to the overall size of staffing, both for the respondent group as a whole (16.8%), and for most of the participating programs. This may have impacted the results in one or more of three ways. First of all, the clinicians who go to

work in these types of program may do so because they share the values and attitudes of that program in general. Secondly, the relative lack of numbers of clinicians may increase the influence that the program values have on them. Finally, the small size of this group relative to the entire sample may have limited the accuracy of the statistical analysis.

6.4.3 Epistemic Communities: Program Type

Significant differences are found according to the type of program in which respondents work. These fall into two categories. The first is between individuals working in runaway and homeless programs versus those working in the broader category of youth and family programs. In these latter organizations, runaway and homeless youth are only one part of their client population. In addition, the mission and function of these organizations means that they have more involvement with the family members. As a final note, the percentage of respondents who are parents is higher in the youth & family program sample as compared with those in the runaway & homeless youth sample. The difference between the two groups is found not only in their program preferences, but also in their values according to both the Youth Survey and the SVS.

As was discussed earlier, one secure crisis residential center (SCRC) chose to participate in the research. This program is part of a larger organization whose mission is to serve runaway and homeless youth, and is one of four SCRCs in the state that is not located in a juvenile detention facility. The possibility was considered that this program might be an outlier that could bias the data. The values differences between the youth and family services programs versus the runaway and homeless youth ones were comparable, regardless of whether the SCRC

147

was included as the runaway and homeless youth group or omitted from the analysis altogether. Several possible explanations for this finding can be considered. First of all, the SCRC represents only 7.3% of the RHYP sample, which limits its ability to affect the overall results. Secondly, the fact that this SCRC is just one program within an agency with numerous voluntary programs for runaway and homeless youth may mean that staff values closely align with the RHYP community. An interesting question is whether a different result might have been obtained if the participating SCRC were one located in a juvenile detention facility.

The other set of significant differences found are between two subsets of the runaway and homeless youth programs, specifically those who work in street outreach centers and those who work in residential programs. The significant differences found are only in the respondent values and not in program preference. Somewhat surprisingly, the differences in values are more widespread between those working in different subsets of the runaway and homeless youth programs than had been the case when comparing runaway and homeless youth programs with the broader category of youth and family services.

Several explanations can be offered for the significant differences among different types of programs. The epistemic community of runaway and homeless youth providers as well as that of youth and family providers may be well established and successful in communicating a certain set of values through the existence of networks, informal information exchanges, and research on the population in both countries. Another consideration, one that may be intertwined with the previous, is that the differences simply reflect the specific populations served in these programs. Those who work in runaway and homeless youth programs may prioritize choice and self-direction because the young people they serve are often from such highly dysfunctional and dangerous families that choosing to be on the streets is a reasonable choice in a bad situation. In

addition, literature suggests that a dysfunctional upbringing might make runaway and homeless youth untrusting. As a result, allowing them as much choice as possible is perceived as the most successful route to helping them exit the street (Boyer 128-133).

This might also explain the differences between the runaway and homeless youth programs that are more outreach focused and those which were residential. The fact that youth are able to be served in a residential program suggests that they have taken the first step off the streets, or perhaps never became as street involved as the majority of youth served through the outreach centers. The most plausible explanation for the differences across all the primary values comparisons between the subsets of runway and homeless youth programs may be a reflection of the special nature of outreach work, where staff are more likely to encounter the most extreme situations concerning youth. While the staff in both sub-groups of runaway and homeless youth programs share a preference for voluntary programs, their values do reflect the specific focus of their work.

As was mentioned earlier, the broader group of youth-serving programs is more likely to be working with families, either as an integral part of the program, or by requiring parental (or guardian) consent for the youth to be placed there. The simple fact that many of the youth in these programs have some level of family involvement means that the majority of youth served in those programs, although high-risk and perhaps not without some family difficulties, are a somewhat different category of youth than those in the runaway and homeless youth programs. This would likely color the perceptions of the staff working there.

Are differences deriving from the variations in program populations institutional differences? In and of themselves, probably not. However, each of these groups of organizations is part of a larger epistemic community which circulates certain values and

practices. The epistemic values are likely to have derived from specific technical considerations such as intervention strategies designed to address the needs of the target population. For example, many of the US runaway and homeless youth programs started after the federal Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA) and the Runaway and Homeless Youth Act (RHYA) established funding streams for those programs and developed technical assistance vehicles to enhance the quality of those programs. Both the JJDPA and RHYA had been passed largely in response to technical considerations, that is, the increased awareness that many of the youth on the streets were from abusive and neglectful homes.

Is it also possible that the differences found simply reflect the recruitment processes by organizations?   Research has shown that organizations socialize individuals into an organizational culture, one component of which are values. This process begins at hiring and continues throughout one's tenure in the organization (cf. Hart). It is not a total process; conflicts between individual and organizational values can impact both the functioning of the organization and its resistance to or acceptance of change. In this case, however, the differences between and among programs seem to parallel those according to program type. For example, when ANOVA is done for each location according to the individual programs, few significant differences are found with the exception of in Vancouver BC. On the other hand, the finding of significant differences at the program level among all the runaway and homeless programs regardless of location fairly closely matches the significant differences found between the two categories of runaway and homeless youth programs. Thus the *type* of RHYP seems to be the determinant factor here, rather than the philosophy and values of individual programs.

6.4.4 Conclusions: Institutions, Technical Considerations, Job-Environment Fit

What overall conclusions can be drawn about the abundance of information obtained from these analyses?   Based upon the analysis here (summarized in Table 6-1), some modification to Figure 3 is necessary. Since no significant differences are found according to location for either the program preference or overall values, neither legal-normative environment nor the local and national culture appear to be relevant to the staff values and attitudes. The findings of other research make it clear that local and national culture helps shape the personal values of an individual. In this case, however, any impact of culture appears to be mediated by some other process.

Table 14:   Summary of Findings

Dependent Variable	Independent Variable	Significant Differences?
Program preference	Norm-Legal Environment	No
	Values	Yes
	Program Type : RHYP vs. Youth & Fam. Svc.	Yes
	Program Type: Type RHYP	No
	Parent	Yes
Values	Norm-Legal Environment	No
	Canada vs. US	No
	Program Type : RHYP vs. Youth & Fam. Svc	Yes
	Program Type: Type RHYP	Yes
	Parent	Yes

Three factors, separately or in combination, explain the finding that value differences and support for the social service model are significant only according to the type of program: technical considerations, epistemic communities, and the person-organizational fit. Two out of

three of these are non-institutional; only epistemic communities constitute an entity that fits the conceptualization of institution. At the same time, the argument has never been made that institutions have *no* relationship to technical considerations, only that they at some point take on a life of their own beyond and at times in contradiction to the dictates of technical considerations. Thus a reasonable framework based on the data (Figure 4) is that the technical considerations--the needs of the specific client population and the best model and practices to serve them--drive the selection of staff who have the values and attributes deemed most effective to work with that population. The experience gained in working with the client population is shared through epistemic communities, which contribute to further shaping of the values and attitudes of their members. Several feedback loops are likely, as the epistemic communities likely influence the way in which an organization works with clients, as well as the way it chooses and trains its staff. Staff values and attitudes also can impact both the organization and the epistemic community.

An interesting consideration—one that can illustrate these interactions and feedback loops—is that parents are more highly represented among staff in the youth and family services sample, and more highly represented in the residential sub-set of the runaway and homeless youth agencies. Since it is considered discriminatory to ask questions about a candidate's marital or family status during the hiring process, an agency is unlikely to recruit candidates specifically because they are parents. This of course does not bar job-candidates from volunteering information if they consider it relevant to the discussion. What is equally plausible is that a job-candidate who is a parent demonstrates values and attitudes that fit those which have evolved in the youth and family agencies because of the nature of the population with whom they work. Alternatively, parents may be less likely to seek jobs in runaway and homeless youth

programs, particularly outreach ones, because of a perceived greater risk or more stressful work conditions.
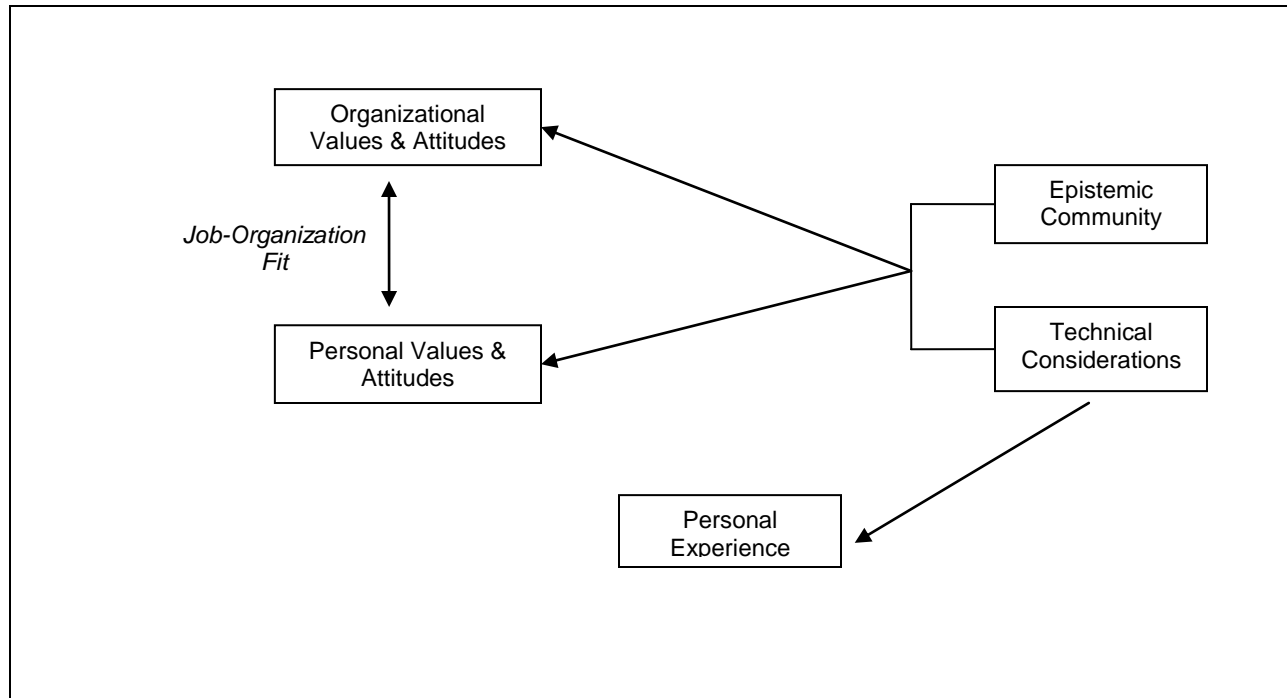
Figure 4:   Revised Relational Model

Following the model in Figure 4, the experience of being a parent may have impacted their values and attitudes which then enhance the job-organization fit. Those agencies with which they have the best fit may be those where the mission involves some type of on-going family involvement (technical considerations) such as in the youth and family agencies. At the same time, the organization itself is usually part of an epistemic community, which can shape the views of the organization as well as the individual staff within it. Over time, the individual staff can also affect the values, attitudes, and direction of the organization and the epistemic community. Non-parents within an organization might begin to shift their views as they learn

153

from the anecdotes of their parenting colleagues. Or, perhaps non-parenting staff might leave the organization in greater numbers than parenting staff because they have different values and attitudes.

To the extent that the differences found in this research represent institutional factors, it is useful to consider how the institutional process fits those in the literature. Consider, for example, DiMaggio and Powell's three mechanisms of institutionalism: coercive, normative, and mimetic. Since no significant differences are found according to different locations with differing laws and regulations, the findings of this research do not support the coercive mechanism in this particular case-study. The findings of this research also do not support a normative mechanism at either the local or national level. A normative mechanism *is* possible, however, within the professional community in which the program operates. Also possible is a mimetic mechanism, or what Scott calls cultural-cognitive. In both these latter examples, institutional values can be communicated by the interaction, interplay, and imitation of symbols, values, and archetypes.

In order to more carefully evaluate the point of intersection among institutional pressures, technical pressures, and job-organizational fit, it would useful be to examine more carefully the youth attracted to and served by each of these programs. This research does not examine the client populations of participating agencies beyond that provided by the mission and clients stats of the agencies themselves. A more detailed analysis of the types of youth served and the history of the youth's interaction with the agency could provide data as to whether institutional considerations or technical ones were dominant. Decisive in the process would be how an organization handles youth "out-of-type". For example, if a program's norms and values are developed in response to the fact that the youth served are primarily from abusive homes, what happens when they serve a youth from a healthier family setting? Are they able to respond in a

154

way that addresses the individual needs of that youth (technical considerations), or do the institutional values and norms color the entire way of evaluating and serving that youth? Conversely, if a program's mission, values, and norms presume that the youth come from a viable home, is that program able to respond adequately to a youth from an abusive family? Does the response depend upon the specific staff member involved (and thus the extent of job-organizational fit)? Answers to these questions could have implication not only for general theory about institutions, but also for staff hiring and client care.

6.5 INDIVIDUALS VERSUS INSTITUTIONS

The findings of this research show that changes in law, even after 13 years, do not necessarily convert into changes in individual attitudes. As can be seen by the above discussion, there are several reasons why that may be the case. First, other institutions may be more influential for this particular subject group than the normative-legal environment. Second, the specific law which was the focus of this research may not have been fully institutionalized, perhaps because of the influence of other institutions. A third factor concerns the beliefs and actions of individuals. Management of the organization can establish a philosophy that may or may not match that of the surrounding institution. Individuals within those organizations may resist either the philosophy of management or the institutional pressures, perhaps because of their personal experience with clients (e.g. technical considerations) or with their personal history. This research did not provide an answer as the role of individual agency vs. institutions. It did,

however, confirm that the values of individuals within organizations do not necessarily conform to the institutional pressures created by laws impacting the work of those organizations.

6.6   VALUES: DEFINITIONAL ISSUES

Do the findings of this research shed any light on the issue of how best to define values? Each of the two parts of the survey instrument was crafted around attributes that would be considered values by some researchers. One survey, the Schwartz Values Survey, asks about somewhat universal values that were important in the respondents' life, and that would be considered values by virtually all researchers. The other survey asked about beliefs concerning youth in general and runaway and homeless youth in specific that would be considered values according to many if not most public policy researchers, but not necessarily by other values researchers—most commonly those in the psychology field such as Schwartz and his followers. In accord with the stricter definitional protocol used by this latter group of values researchers, this research started with the operational description of the attributes examined in the Youth Survey as "values-expressive attitudes".

In order to address the definitional issues, it is useful first to consider these two different surveys in terms of those features commonly attributed to values, as discussed in the literature review: "1) concepts or beliefs 2) about desirable end states or behavior, 3) that transcend specific situations, 4) are ordered by relative importance, and 5) guide selection or evaluation of behavior or events" (Schwartz and Bilsky 1987, 519). Both surveys clearly met four out of five of these criteria:

- Both measured concepts or beliefs that guide the selection or evaluation of events (criteria 1 and 5).

- Both concern desirable end states and behavior (criterion 2). The SVS values are all considered desirable in themselves, although the lowest ranking of the 9 point SVS Likert Scale does extend to -1. Because of the ranking methodology used in the Youth Survey which asked an individual to prioritize safety or choice in the respondent's hierarchy, an answer at either extreme of the scale indicates undesirability of either safety or choice. In less than 11% does the score derived from respondent choices fall into one of those extremes, suggesting that respondents perceive both safety and choice as largely desirable attributes.

- Although the SVS uses a rating methodology and this researcher's scale a ranking one (discussed further below), both arrive at final scores that indicate relative importance (criterion 4).

The criterion on which it is possible to challenge the fit between the Youth Survey and the values definition is #3—the trans-situational nature of the attribute measured. The SVS determines attributes which undeniably fit this criterion, arriving at ten different values that have been shown to have universal applicability. This researcher's survey instrument can in no way claim similar universality. Despite that, the questions do concern issues which transcend the specific situation and ask for respondents' views on the safety-choice dynamic not only for one specific youth population and issue, but in terms of youth in general.

A second evaluatory test concerns the Hofstede (1998) criteria—one more in line with the way in which values are defined in public policy research. As was discussed earlier, Hofstede distinguished between "what state of affairs one would prefer" (values) and "how one

157

feels about a situation" (attitudes). According to these criteria, the safety and choice attributes measured in the Youth Survey would be considered values.

An additional difference between the two surveys is that they ask the respondent to answer the questions from differing perspectives. The SVS asks respondents what is important in their own lives, while the Youth Survey asks respondents to consider a broader social group of youth. Although Schwartz and others from the psychology field argue that the first approach is appropriate because values are a psychological construct, the viewpoint used in the Youth Survey more closely resembles that of the widely accepted Inglehart research based on the World Values Survey.

The analysis related to the second hypothesis gives an opportunity to evaluate this issue. This analysis compares the safety-choice measure with the difference between the SVS security and self-direction measures. Using the difference between these two values serves to transform the SVS values so that they can be compared with the ranking format of the Youth Survey. A significant relationship is found between the two measures, but the standardized coefficient is -0.353. Thus the safety and choice attributes measured in the Youth Survey do not exactly correspond to the SVS values of security and self-direction. This is confirmed by factor analysis, which shows that the correspondence between the Youth Survey attributes and those of the SVS is not total. Thus although the safety-choice hierarchy and the SVS values of self-direction and safety produce parallel results through most parts of this research, this analysis highlights the ways in which the measures are different.

There are two possible explanations for this result. First of all, they simply may not measure the exact same attributes. Self-direction in the SVS and choice on the Youth Survey, for example, may not be identical. Secondly, the two surveys may measure comparable

158

attributes, but the difference in perspective may be the determinate factor. This hypothesis was crafted based on the assumption that people may have different values (or value differently) the safety of adults and the safety of minors. Specifically, the hypothesis assumes 1) that those who prioritize self-direction/choice for youth view them as capable of making adult-type decisions; and that as a result 2) these same people will evaluate similarly both the personal values as measured by the SVS and the values about youth. By contrast, those prioritizing safety for youth may consider youth as requiring more protection than the adult respondents consider necessary for themselves. The results do support this explanation. Had individuals assigned a similar value to choice/self-direction for adults as they did for the choice/self-direction of youth, the regression coefficient would be equal to 1. Nevertheless, further research will be needed to rule out the possibility that these results were instead related to the imperfect comparability of the measures rather than to the specific perspective of each measure.

When considering the results of this research in the context of the various values definitions and perspectives, it appears that the choice of definitions for values may ultimately depend upon the research topic, the perspective of the researcher and, as it were, the researcher's values. Obviously there is a clear advantage in using the more narrow and rigorous definition in much research, especially when the unit of analysis is primarily or exclusively the individual. The psycho-dynamic focus in that research has provided major contributions regarding the causality link between values and behavior.

For public policy and much organizational research, however, it may be more advantageous to continue using the broader definition. In that context, the narrow definition divorces the term "value" from common usage and the topics often studied in public policy. As an example, consider the term "values voter" used in the United States to refer to individuals

159

who "believe in American values that existed before time and were articulated in America's founding document on her birthday, the 4th of July, 1776."[21] Although it is a term often used by and about social conservatives, it could legitimately be used to describe people from a wide range of perspectives who vote their conscience[22]. To that extent, using a rigorous definition and instrument such as the SVS could go far in explaining the underlying motivation of these individuals and giving meaning and subtlety to a term that has perhaps become misrepresented through common usage.   Under the narrower definitional criteria, the agenda that these individuals support based upon their conscience, such as a pro-life or anti-poverty agenda, would more appropriately be considered "attitudes". But if "values voters" is so lacking in rigor so as to render the term meaningless, the use the term "attitudes voters" seems to trivialize the deeply held convictions of people. In order to reconcile these two perspectives in field research, the researcher could be faced with the dilemma of using one definitional convention within the research community and a different one within the survey and other publications targeted to the general public.

As a result, it seems appropriate to retain the term "values" (without modifiers) for the broader beliefs studied in public policy issues, to the extent that they can fit the five criteria stated earlier. Thus, the attributes "safety" and "choice" studied in this research would be considered values. This perspective is supported by Hofstede's research showing that the term "values" is comprehensible in the context of research where the focus is more social, such as in public policy, organizational studies, and cultural studies. Retaining this terminology for those applications may be best. At the same time, there is also a clear necessity to distinguish between

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[21] http://www.valuesvoter.org/about.cfm?host_id=VVO1 (28 September 2008).
[22] George F. Will, "Who Isn't A 'Values Voter'?", *Washington Post*, May 18, 2006, A23.

the universal values denoted in the SVS and those that are trans-situational but less universal such as the safety-choice hierarchy examined in this research. Using the terminology "universal values" for the former, as well as the parameters established by the work of Schwartz and his followers seems an appropriate delineation, especially given the intra-psychic or psychodynamic focus of that research.

It is also recommended here that the terms "social values" and "organizational values" be used to represent the complex social interactions and processes researched by public policy, organizational, and cultural studies. The definitions used, for example, by Rohan for social and group values are driven by an apparent desire to reconcile the concept of personal and universal values as an individual trait with a group dynamic. The current research started from the assumption that values (broadly defined) shape and are shaped by group, organizational, or institutional processes in a way that transcends the individual, similar to what happens in the process of institutionalization. None of the findings in this research contradict that perspective. Continued research on the interaction of values and institutions or values and organizations can offer further clarification of how group values evolve, change, and interact.

6.7   METHODOLOGY: RANKING VS. RATING

The results of this research show parallel results from the two different methodologies. The concept of choice or self-direction is dominant over that of security or safety in the majority of respondents, despite the fact that one scale uses a ranking methodology and the other a rating

one. Thus the results of this research suggest no clear advantage (or disadvantage) to one or the other methodology.

6.8   LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY:

This research was designed as exploratory research and as such, answers some questions but raises others. The youth survey, for example, was designed specifically for this research. Despite the pre-test, the information from the SVS paralleling the results of the youth survey, and the useful findings obtained, more research needs to be done to determine whether and to what extent this instrument can be useful on issues related to youth, particularly runaway and homeless youth. This is especially true in some of the secondary categories of the survey where the results do not follow the same pattern found elsewhere, most evident in those questions asking respondents to prioritize safety vs. parenting. Further research is needed to determine if that is a failure of the survey instrument, an accurate portrayal of the subject population, or something else. Is it possible, for example, that people do not distinguish between safety and parenting, considering instead that responsible parenting is the means to provide safety for youth? Continued and follow-up research using the dual survey instruments could also produce additional data supporting or contradicting the assumptions and conclusions in this research about the nature and definition of values.

Secondly, this research is only a snapshot. While the comparisons of three different normative-legal environments provides evidence that those environments do not produce the institutional effects one might expect, a "before and after" study would certainly have increased

the confidence in those conclusions. Even at this point, there may be some value in conducting a longitudinal study to determine if there is some change over time in staff values and attitudes that reflect the normative-legal environment. As part of this, it would be useful to delve more deeply into the intra-organization dynamics as well as the organization-environment interaction. Should, for example, attitudes and values within the organizations shift over time, is that change because of institutional pressures, internal changes, or something else? Further research in this area might also produce data to help answer the question about whether and to what extent individuals affect institutions or vice versa.

Third, the study made efforts to find organizations with comparable missions and programs in the three geographic sites. These efforts were most successful in terms of runaway and homeless youth programs, where two programs in each location agreed to participate. The efforts were less successful in recruiting programs in the broader youth and family services. While the response is sufficient to be able to test the hypotheses, it limits the ability to do more extensive analysis of data from these organizations and to explore potential variations among sub-types of this broader group. Organizations which declined to participate explained their decision based upon the perceived limited relevance of the research for those organizations, as well as the desire to minimize conflicting pressures for staff time. Nevertheless, more data from these organizations would be valuable. Perhaps a similar study with a broader focus would lead to a higher level of participation. A broader focus could also include participants outside the social service field, including a sample of government officials, funders, and community members in each location. While such a study would likely encounter a great variation in awareness of the relevant issues, especially outside Washington State, it would help establish the extent to which values were institutionalized within the community.

163

Even within the runaway and homeless youth organizations, the method of survey distribution led to self-selection by participants, although all direct service staff in the organizations were generally offered the opportunity to complete the surveys. More refined data and analysis might be obtained by creating specific enrollment criteria that would ensure that there are no subtle but relevant differences among staff that are being obscured within the overall data.

Fourth, given the results of this analysis, further research would be valuable in ascertaining more precisely what impact the various competing institutions have on individuals in these types of agencies. What is the reason for the lack of significant differences in policy preference according to normative-legal environment? Is it because the normative-legal environment is not the determinate institution for staff in this area, or is it the case that the Becca Bill is not fully institutionalized in Washington State? Additionally, what is the mechanism that best explains the differences found among the types of organizations? As was discussed earlier, it would also be useful to examine more carefully the youth attracted to and served by each of these programs. This might clarify the relative weights of institutional pressures, technical pressures, and job-organizational fit.

Finally, the results of this research appear to fit most closely sociological institutionalism. It is worth noting, however, that this case study could be the springboard for other analyses that would encapsulate the other branches of institutionalism. For example, the current values and attitudes are at least partly the product of the way in which values and attitudes regarding runaway and homeless youth in the United States became codified into the JJDPA and then promulgated through various funding streams and professional communities. Using the tools of historical institutionalism to examine that path could offer further enlightenment both to this

specific case study as well as to the theory of institutionalism and values as a whole. A broader understanding could also be gathered through a detailed examination of the funding streams of each of the organizations involved using the tools of economic institutionalism.

7.0   CONCLUSIONS

As was indicated in the discussion, this research suggests several conclusions, which will be summarized in this section.

7.1   BALANCING THE TENSION BETWEEN SAFETY AND SELF-DIRECTION

The results of this research within the context of the history of services in Washington State leading up to the passage of the Becca Bill make it clear that there is a tension between safety and self-direction that must be balanced when designing services and public policy responses to the issue of runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth. Not only the model established in the Becca Bill, but the social service model and the juvenile justice model used at other times or in other locations involve some implicit prioritization of safety and choice. Nevertheless, one way to minimize prioritization or hierarchy is by a strategic crafting of a service continuum. Looking at the specific policy examined in this research, it is important to recognize that the Becca Bill was passed in response to a configuration of laws and policies which many felt erred too much in prioritizing self-direction over safety. Washington's policies limiting the use of both group homes and involuntary services were well-meaning and philosophically admirable. Nevertheless, it appears that those states with carefully crafted involuntary services as well as

more extensive group home options have better preserved the balance between safety and choice lacking in Washington State.

Similar considerations pertain to the Children's Rights Convention. As was discussed earlier, the CRC states that all the specified rights are "interconnected and of equal importance"[23], despite the tension between safety and self-direction/participation in the implementation of program models. It appears that the best way to maintain both the spirit and the letter of the CRC is to recognize the tension and to support the creation of program models and continua that provide the optimum balance in these rights.

7.2 "WHERE YOU STAND DEPENDS ON WHERE YOU SIT"[24]

This research makes it clear that the stance of respondents—their values and program preference--is related to where they sit. "Where they sit" in this case does not, however, refer to the normative-legal environment. This suggests two interrelated conclusions: 1) the Becca Bill is not fully institutionalized in Washington State, and 2) institutions, though by definition powerful in their ability to shape the behavior and thinking of members, are not omnipotent. Related to this second point is the fact that many individuals are members of two or more overlapping and interacting institutions. In such a situation, one of the institutions may be more influential than the other, or the overall impact on an individual may be the result of cross-

[23] http://www.unicef.org/crc/index_understanding.html (13 August 2007).
[24] Richard Stillman, "'Where you Stand Depends on Where you Sit' or, Yes, Mile's Law Also Applies to Public Administration Basic Texts", *American Review of Public Administration,* 29 (1999): 92-97.

cutting pressures. In this research, it is the epistemic institution which is shown to be related to respondent values and attitudes.

Interwoven with institutional effects are those technical considerations that are at the heart of the specific epistemic community under discussion. In the case study under consideration here, the technical considerations are based on the specific type of youth served by the program and the methods believed to be most effective in helping them. Thus, individuals in epistemic institutions built around working with youth on the street, for example, are shown in this research to have different values and attitudes from those part of epistemic communities built around working with youth and families.

In a public policy debate such as that leading up to the Becca Bill, one major manifestation of these different epistemic communities is that various participants in the debate were not necessarily talking about the same kids. Those in support of the Becca Bill were, for the most part, presumably non-abusive parents seeking better resources to help their teenagers, or agencies who were working with these parents. They recognized that some of the kids on the streets are abused. They believed, however, not only that the biggest gap in law was in services for kids from non-abusive homes, but that the remedies of the Becca Bill would be just as advantageous to abused kids as to non-abused ones. On the other hand, those opposed to the Becca Bill were generally those affiliated with organizations and the epistemic community working predominantly with youth who were on the streets because of abuse and neglect. They, of course, were worried that the Becca Bill would negatively impact this group of youth.

Thus the two sides were to a large extent talking about different sub-populations of youth. The current research indicates that this division continues today. This is most apparent in the responses to the questions regarding whether or not runaway and homeless youth make good

168

choices. Those opposed to the involuntary options such as the Becca Bill are significantly more likely to believe runaway and homeless youth have made a good choice to leave home because those homes are abusive.

How the issue of safety is defined for this population of youth may therefore depend upon the type of youth one is considering. Those who argued against the Becca Bill did so by arguing that self-direction was a necessary means to achieving safety. That is, youth would be safer if the laws made it easier for them to leave abusive homes and if the law allowed them to choose leaving the streets on their own initiative. From a values standpoint this is a challenging argument, since by their very nature, the values of safety and self-direction tend to conflict with each other (figure 7). From a public policy and program implementation standpoint, this stance makes sense, however, in the context of those respondents' beliefs and experience with youth who are on the streets because of familial abuse or neglect.

7.3   DATA MATTERS

One major conclusion which must be drawn from the lack of agreement on the type of youth on the streets is the need for more comprehensive data that better represents the full spectrum of runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth. To some extent, however, the same segmentation of the youth population that has led to epistemic divisions may also contribute to a similar segmentation in data collection and analysis. It is reasonable, for example, that those conducting research on runaway and homeless youth seek data from organizations whose mission focuses on those youth. Conversely, those seeking more information about youth in conflict with their

169

families may instead work with organizations doing family counseling. Nevertheless, the NISMART[25] data (Hammer et. al.) has achieved some success in obtaining an overview of the runaway and homeless youth population nationally by gathering data from different sources so as to better represent the full spectrum in youth. Continued and expanded efforts in this direction are needed, as well as similar research on a state level.

7.4   WHERE YOU SIT DEPEND UPON WHERE YOU STAND

The research does provide data to support the conclusion that respondent values observed were at least partly the result of the job-organization fit.. Job-organization fit describes the match between individuals and the organization in which they work. It can indicate both the type of employees attracted to an organization as well as the efforts made to acculturate employees to the specific organizational culture. In the case of this research, one indication of job-organization fit is that parents are better represented in certain types of programs than are non-parent respondents, and that parents are significantly more likely to have different values thannon-parents..

Questions about whether a candidate is a parent are considered inappropriate in a job interview, however, because of the potential of perceived or actual employment discrimination based on family status. Thus it is likely that the relevant factor is that job candidates demonstrate values and technical competence (e.g. the ability to work effectively with the parents and/or youth) that are somehow linked to their experience as a parent. It would be interesting to further

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[25] National Incidence Studies of Missing, Abducted, Runaway, and Thrownaway Children

examine what part of the interview process leads to this result, so that it can be strategically managed by organizations seeking new staff.

It is important to note, however, that these differences are at the epistemic community level; no significant relationships are found for respondent values at the organizational level. Thus despite whatever hiring processes exist among different organizations with different management and different agency philosophies, the values of participants in those organizations within the same epistemic institution are more similar than different.

7.5   SUMMARY

Thus four major conclusions can be drawn from this research. First, the tension between safety and choice needs to be actively and deliberately considered and managed in the design of a service continuum in a community. Second, the various perspectives related to this fundamental tension between the safety and choice of youth are related to the specific sub-population of youth staff work with, and the epistemic communities built around that sub-population. Third, data collection that more fully describes the length and breadth of the runaway, homeless, and at-risk population is necessary to develop public policy that can best meet youth needs. Finally, the values and perspectives typified in the different epistemic communities studied as parts of this research are intricately interwoven with the technical considerations of the target population, as well as with the personal experiences of staff who work within those epistemic communities.

Despite the limitations and unanswered questions of this study, it nevertheless provides a unique contribution. First of all, it provides insight into the way in which the tension between safety and choice manifests itself both in the public policy related to runaway, homeless, and at-risk youth, and to the individuals who work with that same population of youth. Secondly, the analysis related to this specific case-study offers lessons regarding the role of values in public-policy debates. Thirdly, it provides an inter-disciplinary look at the theories of values and institutions, offering data that can help illuminate the points at which the various theories intersect in a real-life case study. Finally, it takes an initial step to bridging the overall research on the relationship between values and institutions research with the research on the relationship between values and job-fit.

APPENDIX A: DATA SCREENING

The usual tests were performed in order to screen the data. The identification of outliers was done using the Mahalanobis distance. Six cases were outliers (Figure 5) and eliminated from all subsequent analysis.
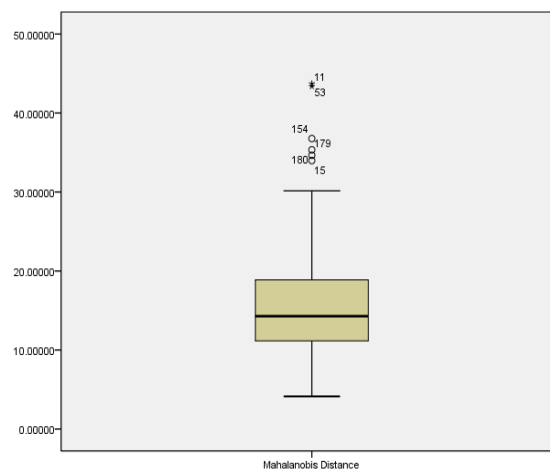
Figure 5:   Identification of Outliers

Table 19 shows the results of the collinearity test conducted on all quantitative variables used in the analysis   All tolerances are above 0.100, indicating that collinearity was not a problem.

Table 15:   Results of Collinearity Test

Coefficients[a]

Model	Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.	Collinearity Statistics	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Tolerance	VIF
(Constant)	14319.076	4885.630		2.931	.004		
availsvcno	3008.704	1998.328	.135	1.506	.135	.865	1.156
choiceg	2351.229	3987.016	.059	.590	.556	.703	1.423
develno	-604.478	2363.351	-.023	-.256	.799	.853	1.172
parchcchc	-1430.445	2681.994	-.055	-.533	.595	.663	1.507
safechcsafe	2343.678	3857.429	.068	.608	.545	.555	1.803
safeparsafe	-1236.198	2953.598	-.037	-.419	.676	.896	1.116
Conformity	2867.695	1455.352	.251	1.970	.051	.430	2.324
Tradition	102.837	1079.600	.013	.095	.924	.394	2.541
Benevolence	1911.639	1599.578	.144	1.195	.234	.478	2.093
Universalism	402.669	1665.449	.031	.242	.809	.430	2.327
Self-Direction	1691.609	1487.570	.149	1.137	.258	.404	2.473
Stimulation	816.773	802.910	.120	1.017	.311	.497	2.012
Hedonism	1435.349	898.804	.188	1.597	.113	.505	1.981
Achievement	125.817	1182.616	.010	.106	.915	.725	1.380
Power	-381.093	1003.829	-.044	-.380	.705	.516	1.938
Security	2266.724	1143.567	.215	1.982	.050	.594	1.684

a. Dependent Variable: identifier
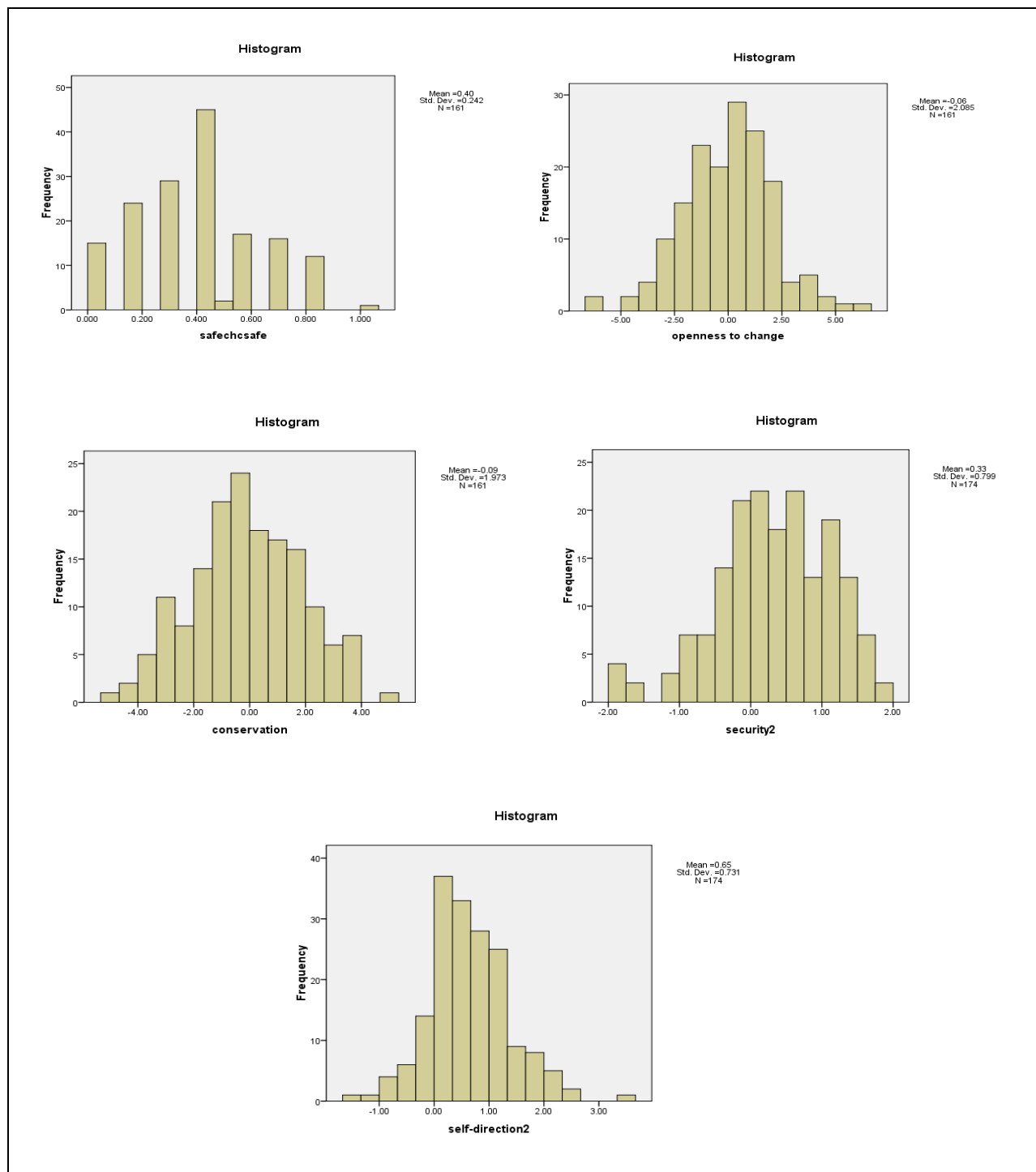
Figure 6:   Tests for Normality

175

Finally, the variables safety-choice hierarchy, self-direction, security, openness to change, and conservation were analyzed to determine if they were normally distributed. All passed this test (Figure 6).

As was mentioned in the methodology section, the screening protocols required for the Schwartz Values Survey were performed. These consisted in centering or norming the values to account for the fact that different individuals and different cultures use the Likert scale differently. Small Space Analysis was also conducted using the HUDAP program in order to confirm that the values in this sample were distributed similarly to the circumplex form found in other research (Figure 7).
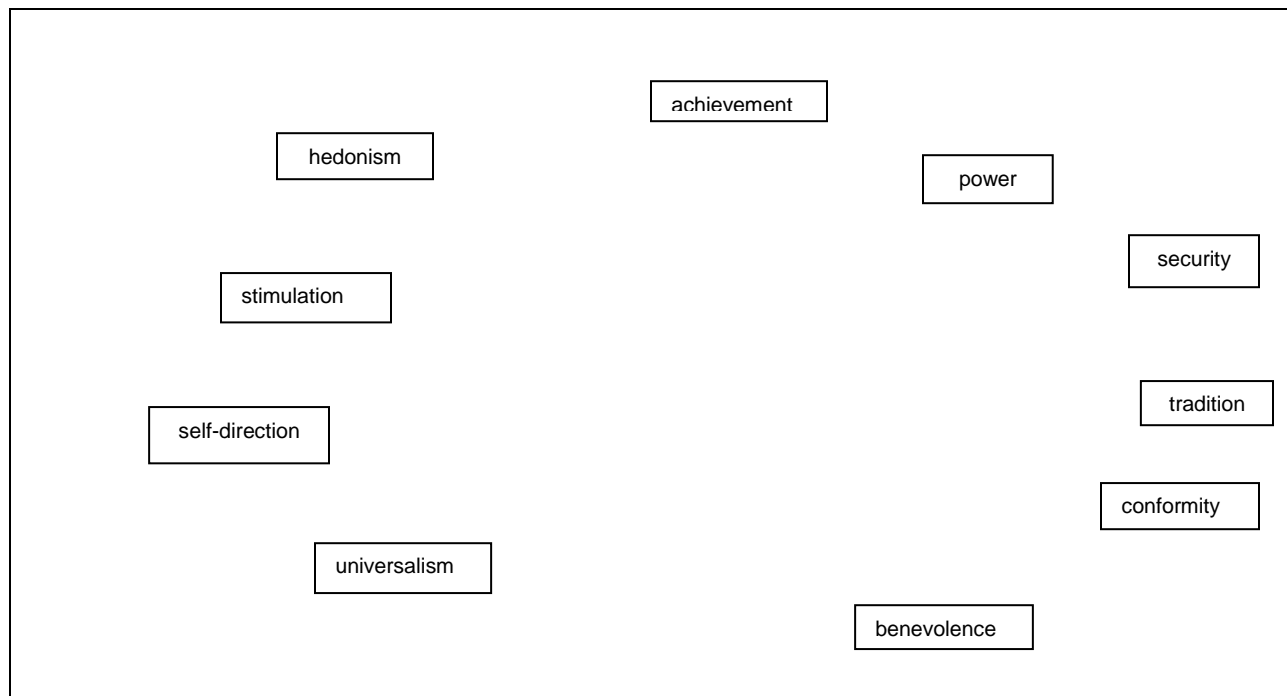
Figure 7:   Small Space Analysis for Schwartz Values

APPENDIX B: ADDITIONAL TABLES

B.1 SUPPORTING TABLES FOR SECTION 5.2

In order to evaluate Hypothesis 1, logistic regression is performed on the variables in separate steps. Those found to be significant are then combined into one model, shown in Table 1. The following three tables show the analysis for the preliminary evaluative steps.   As can be seen, the safety-choice hierarchy (Table 16) and self-direction (Table 17) are each found to be significant, both separately and then when combined into a combined model (Table 18). Security is not found to be significant (Table 17). The optimum model, however, includes the safety-choice hierarchy in combination with the Schwartz aggregate values of conservation and openness to change (Table 1, Section 5.2).

Because earlier research with the Schwartz Values Research has found correlations between values and gender, logistic regression is performed to rule out the possibility that observed effects were, in fact, gender effects. Gender is found not to have any significant relationship to the program priority (Table 19).

Table 16:   Support for Social Service Model vs. Hierarchy of Values

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step	22.895	1	0.000
Block	22.895	1	0.000
Model	22.895	1	0.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	170.548	0.125	0.185

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 safechcsafe	-3.668	0.836	19.273	1	0.000	0.026
Constant	2.761	0.455	36.868	1	0.000	15.808

178

Table 17: DV Support for Social Service Model vs. IVs Security and Self-Direction

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

	Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step	13.180	1	0.001
Block	13.180	1	0.001
Model	13.180	1	0.001

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	173.535	0.075	0.112

Variables in the Equation

	B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 self2	.900	0.327	7.577	1	0.006	2.459
Sec2	-0.155	0.272	0.325	1	0.568	0.856
Constant	0.723	0.293	6.078	1	0.014	2.060

Table 18: Support, Social Service Model vs. Safety-Choice Hierarchy and Self-Direction

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step		23.905	2	0.000
Block		23.905	2	0.000
Model		23.905	2	0.000

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	150.969	0.140	0.209

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	Self2	0.643	0.321	4.021	1	0.045	1.902
	Safechcsafe	-3.121	0.970	11.505	1	0.001	0.044
	Constant	2.234	0.539	17.182	1	0.001	9.336

Table 19:   Relationship between DV Support for Social Service Model and Gender

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1 Step		.555	1	.456
	Block	.555	1	.456
	Model	.555	1	.456

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	203.710[a]	.003	.005

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1 gender		.267	.362	.547	1	.460	1.307
	Constant	.649	.512	1.606	1	.205	1.913

B.2 SUPPORTING TABLES FOR SECTION 5.4

Two proxy measures for epistemic community are used in this research. The first is the job function or professional certification of the respondents. When logistic regression is performed using these two factors as independent variables, no significant relationship is found.

Table 20: **Support for Social Service Model vs. Job or Professional Certification**

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	1.112	2	.573
	Block	1.112	2	.573
	Model	1.112	2	.573

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	207.404[a]	.006	.009

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	Cert2	.039	.113	.120	1	.729	1.040
	Job2	.085	.111	.588	1	.443	1.089
	Constant	-2.837	3.661	.600	1	.438	.059

ANOVA is performed as part of the evaluation of the relationship between values and normative-legal environment. Because one program participating in the research is part of the Portland metropolitan area and a Portland agency, but is located in Washington State, the analysis is conducted twice, once as part of the Portland group (Table 24), and once as part of the Seattle group (Table 8, Section 5.4.2)

To rule out whether national differences in values exist between the Canadian sites and the US sites, ANOVA is conducted with values factored according to national environment for the runaway and homeless youth programs (Table 22). No significant differences are found.

A similar concern about the proper categorization of programs occurred regarding the one secure crisis residential center (SCRC) in the sample as was the case earlier regarding the geographic location of one program. Because of the unique nature of the SCRC program as a locked facility, it has the potential to be an outlier in analysis. When conducting ANOVA of values versus program type, however, similar results are found regardless of whether the SCRC program is omitted (Table 25) or included as part of the runaway and homeless youth programs (Table 12, Section 5.4.3).

Table 21:   Values vs. Local Normative-Legal Environment

Program Categorized as Part of Portland Group

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
Security2	Portland	62	.2214	.73968	.09394	.0336	.4093	-1.54	1.71
	Seattle	23	.1666	.78505	.16369	-.1728	.5061	-1.87	1.29
	Vancouver	45	.3355	.81409	.12136	.0910	.5801	-1.79	1.94
	Total	130	.2512	.77075	.06760	.1175	.3850	-1.87	1.94
Conservation	Portland	62	-.5657	1.83092	.23253	-1.0307	-.1007	-4.82	3.77
	Seattle	23	.2490	2.02920	.42312	-.6285	1.1265	-3.67	3.79
	Vancouver	45	-.1913	1.79692	.26787	-.7311	.3486	-3.04	3.97
	Total	130	-.2920	1.86560	.16362	-.6157	.0318	-4.82	3.97
Openness to change	Portland	62	.2347	1.96177	.24915	-.2635	.7329	-3.47	6.22
	Seattle	23	-.7599	1.72181	.35902	-1.5044	-.0153	-4.44	2.31
	Vancouver	45	.3742	1.93151	.28793	-.2061	.9545	-3.92	5.54
	Total	130	.1070	1.94028	.17017	-.2297	.4437	-4.44	6.22
Self-direction2	Portland	62	.7994	.68963	.08758	.6243	.9745	-.82	3.45
	Seattle	23	.5192	.85284	.17783	.1504	.8880	-1.19	2.24
	Vancouver	45	.7284	.68983	.10283	.5212	.9357	-.67	2.56
	Total	130	.7252	.72213	.06333	.5999	.8506	-1.19	3.45
safechcsafe	Portland	60	.30476	.202828	.026185	.25237	.35716	.000	.857
	Seattle	24	.39286	.215833	.044057	.30172	.48400	.000	.857
	Vancouver	24	.39286	.215833	.044057	.30172	.48400	.000	.857
	Total	127	.34871	.223827	.019861	.30940	.38801	.000	.857

Table 21 continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Security2	Between Groups	.539	2	.270	.450	.639
	Within Groups	76.094	127	.599		
	Total	76.633	129			
Conservation	Between Groups	11.832	2	5.916	1.719	.183
	Within Groups	437.150	127	3.442		
	Total	448.982	129			
Openness to change	Between Groups	21.507	2	10.754	2.942	.056
	Within Groups	464.136	127	3.655		
	Total	485.643	129			
Self-direction	Between Groups	1.318	2	.659	1.269	.285
	Within Groups	65.951	127	.519		
	Total	67.269	129			
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	.220	2	.110	2.244	.110
	Within Groups	6.092	124	.049		
	Total	6.312	126			

Table 22: Values Comparison Factored vs. National Normative-Legal Environment:

Canada vs. United States

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Security2	US	85	.2066	.74788	.08112	.0453	.3679	-1.87	1.71
	Canada	45	.3355	.81409	.12136	.0910	.5801	-1.79	1.94
	Total	130	.2512	.77075	.06760	.1175	.3850	-1.87	1.94
Conservation	US	85	-.3453	1.90929	.20709	-.7571	.0666	-4.82	3.79
	Canada	45	-.1913	1.79692	.26787	-.7311	.3486	-3.04	3.97
	Total	130	-.2920	1.86560	.16362	-.6157	.0318	-4.82	3.97
Openness to change	US	85	-.0344	1.94134	.21057	-.4531	.3843	-4.44	6.22
	Canada	45	.3742	1.93151	.28793	-.2061	.9545	-3.92	5.54
	Total	130	.1070	1.94028	.17017	-.2297	.4437	-4.44	6.22
Self-direction2	US	85	.7236	.74266	.08055	.5634	.8838	-1.19	3.45
	Canada	45	.7284	.68983	.10283	.5212	.9357	-.67	2.56
	Total	130	.7252	.72213	.06333	.5999	.8506	-1.19	3.45
safechcsafe	US	84	.32993	.209177	.022823	.28454	.37533	.000	.857
	Canada	43	.38538	.248484	.037893	.30891	.46185	.000	.857
	Total	127	.34871	.223827	.019861	.30940	.38801	.000	.857

Table 22 Continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Security2	Between Groups	.489	1	.489	.822	.366
	Within Groups	76.144	128	.595		
	Total	76.633	129			
Conservation	Between Groups	.698	1	.698	.199	.656
	Within Groups	448.284	128	3.502		
	Total	448.982	129			
Openness to change	Between Groups	4.911	1	4.911	1.308	.255
	Within Groups	480.732	128	3.756		
	Total	485.643	129			
Self-direction2	Between Groups	.001	1	.001	.001	.971
	Within Groups	67.268	128	.526		
	Total	67.269	129			
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	.087	1	.087	1.756	.188
	Within Groups	6.225	125	.050		
	Total	6.312	126			

Table 23: Values vs. Program Type, SCRC Omitted

Descriptives

		N	Mean	Std. Devia-tion	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Mini-mum	Maxi mum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
safechcsafe	Youth & family	37	.53990	.244043	.040120	.45853	.62127	.000	1.000
	Run/homeless	127	.34871	.223827	.019861	.30940	.38801	.000	.857
	Total	164	.39184	.241465	.018855	.35461	.42907	.000	1.000
Self-direction2	Youth & family	34	.3867	.78178	.13407	.1139	.6594	-1.39	1.91
	Run/homeless	130	.7252	.72213	.06333	.5999	.8506	-1.19	3.45
	Total	164	.6551	.74524	.05819	.5401	.7700	-1.39	3.45
Security2	Youth & family	34	.5642	.93632	.16058	.2375	.8909	-1.93	1.99
	Run/homeless	130	.2512	.77075	.06760	.1175	.3850	-1.87	1.94
	Total	164	.3161	.81476	.06362	.1905	.4418	-1.93	1.99
Conserva-tion	Youth & family	34	.2088	2.29844	.39418	-.5932	1.0107	-3.83	5.05
	Run/homeless	130	-.2920	1.86560	.16362	-.6157	.0318	-4.82	3.97
	Total	164	-.1882	1.96608	.15353	-.4913	.1150	-4.82	5.05
Openness to change	Youth & family	34	-.3645	2.35562	.40399	-1.1864	.4574	-6.49	3.78
	Run/homeless	130	.1070	1.94028	.17017	-.2297	.4437	-4.44	.22
	Total	164	.0093	2.03459	.15888	-.3045	.3230	-6.49	6.22

188

Table 23 Continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Safechcsafe	Between Groups	1.047	1	1.047	20.064	.000
	Within Groups	8.456	162	.052		
	Total	9.504	163			
Self-direction	Between Groups	3.090	1	3.090	5.725	.018
	Within Groups	87.438	162	.540		
	Total	90.528	163			
Security2	Between Groups	2.640	1	2.640	4.052	.046
	Within Groups	105.564	162	.652		
	Total	108.205	163			
Conservation	Between Groups	6.757	1	6.757	1.756	.187
	Within Groups	623.316	162	3.848		
	Total	630.073	163			
Openness to change	Between Groups	5.993	1	5.993	1.452	.230
	Within Groups	668.758	162	4.128		
	Total	674.751	163			

Tables 24 and 25 are part of analysis done to determine if differences between program types exist in regards to several factors tested to potentially explain participant viewpoints. These included questions about 1) whether respondents thought runaways and homeless youth made good choices, especially as it related to being on the streets ("choiceg"); 2) questions about whether or not one needs to take into consideration a youth's developmental level in regards to the safety-choice tension ("develno"); 3) respondent hierarchies related to tension between parenting and safety; and 4) respondent hierarchies related to the tension between parenting and choice ("parchcchc"). The results from theses analyses are discussed in section 5.4.4.

Table 24:   Program Types vs. Other Attitudes and Values-Hierarchies

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Mini-mum	Maxi-mum
Choiceg	Youth & Family	33	.60000	.175198	.030498	.53788	.66212	.333	.833
	RHYP	115	.69130	.208545	.019447	.65278	.72983	.167	1.000
	Total	48	.67095	.204606	.016819	.63771	.70418	.167	1.000
Develno	Youth & Family	37	.45946	.360909	.059333	.33913	.57979	.000	1.000
	RHYP	119	.33193	.314058	.028790	.27492	.38894	.000	1.000
	Total	156	.36218	.329093	.026349	.31013	.41423	.000	1.000
Parchcchc	Youth & Family	37	.360360	.3275270	.0538451	.251157	.469563	.0000	1.0000
	RHYP	135	.562963	.2949736	.0253873	.512751	.613175	.0000	1.0000
	Total	172	.519380	.3126306	.0238379	.472325	.566434	.0000	1.0000
Safeparsaf	Youth & Family	36	.50463	.230548	.038425	.42662	.58264	.000	1.000
	RHYP	128	.51823	.257210	.022734	.47324	.56322	.000	1.000
	Total	164	.51524	.250979	.019598	.47654	.55394	.000	1.000

Table 24 continued

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Choiceg	Between Groups	.214	1	.214	5.254	.023
	Within Groups	5.940	146	.041		
	Total	6.154	147			
Develno	Between Groups	.459	1	.459	4.329	.039
	Within Groups	16.328	154	.106		
	Total	16.787	155			
Parchcchc	Between Groups	1.192	1	1.192	13.056	.000
	Within Groups	15.521	170	.091		
	Total	16.713	171			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.005	1	.005	.082	.775
	Within Groups	10.262	162	.063		
	Total	10.267	163			

Table 25: RHYP Program Types vs. Other Attitudes and Values-Hierarchies

Descriptives

| | | | | | | 95% Confidence Interval for Mean | | | |
| | | | | | | Lower | Upper | Mini- | Maxi- |
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Bound	Bound	mum	mum
Choiceg	Outreach	74	.72072	.195279	.022701	.67548	.76596	.167	1.000
	Residential	41	.63821	.223304	.034874	.56773	.70869	.167	1.000
	Total	115	.69130	.208545	.019447	.65278	.72983	.167	1.000
Develno	Outreach	75	.31333	.315943	.036482	.24064	.38603	000	1.000
	Residential	44	.36364	.311852	.047013	.26882	.45845	.000	1.000
	Total	119	.33193	.314058	.028790	.27492	.38894	.000	1.000
Parchcchc	Outreach	86	.620155	.2854319	.030779	.55896	.68135	.000	1.000
	Residential	49	.462585	.2871985	.041028	.38009	.54508	.000	1.000
	Total	135	.562963	.2949736	.025387	.51275	.61318	.000	1.000
safeparsafe	Outreach	83	.51004	.256817	.028189	.45396	.56612	.000	1.000
	Residential	45	.53333	.260148	.038781	.45518	.61149	.000	1.000
	Total	128	.51823	.257210	.022734	.47324	.56322	.000	1.000

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Choiceg	Between Groups	.180	1	.180	4.247	.042
	Within Groups	4.778	113	.042		
	Total	4.958	114			
Develno	Between Groups	.070	1	.070	.710	.401
	Within Groups	11.568	117	.099		
	Total	11.639	118			
Parchcchc	Between Groups	.775	1	.775	9.470	.003
	Within Groups	10.884	133	.082		
	Total	11.659	134			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.016	1	.016	.238	.627
	Within Groups	8.386	126	.067		
	Total	8.402	127			

The next four tables are related to the discussion in Section 5.4.5, and analysis designed to rule out the possibility that the observed results are related to program level differences rather than differences between sub-types of RHYP programs. Table 26 shows program level analysis for all RHYP together. Tables 27, 28, and 29 show the results for program level analysis within individual normative-legal environments.

Table 26:   Program Level Analysis

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
safechcsafe	Between Groups	.778	8	.097	2.072	.044
	Within Groups	5.535	118	.047		
	Total	6.312	126			
parchcchc	Between Groups	1.402	8	.175	2.152	.036
	Within Groups	10.258	126	.081		
	Total	11.659	134			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.861	8	.108	1.697	.106
	Within Groups	7.541	119	.063		
	Total	8.402	127			
availsvcno	Between Groups	1.852	8	232	1.605	.129
	Within Groups	18.756	130	.144		
	Total	20.608	138			
Choiceg	Between Groups	.360	8	.045	1.038	.413
	Within Groups	4.598	106	.043		
	Total	4.958	114			
Develno	Between Groups	1.727	8	.216	2.395	.020
	Within Groups	9.912	110	.090		
	Total	11.639	118			
self-direction2	Between Groups	10.215	8	1.277	2.708	.009
	Within Groups	57.054	121	.472		
	Total	67.269	129			
security2	Between Groups	8.739	8	1.092	1.947	.059
	Within Groups	67.894	121	.561		
	Total	76.633	129			
conservation	Between Groups	117.356	8	14.670	5.352	.000
	Within Groups	331.626	121	2.741		
	Total	448.982	129			
openness to change	Between Groups	92.779	8	11.597	3.572	.001
	Within Groups	392.864	121	3.247		
	Total	485.643	129			

194

Table 27: Program Level Analysis for Portland RHYP Programs

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
availsvcno	Between Groups	.218	1	.218	1.359	.248
	Within Groups	10.760	67	.161		
	Total	10.978	68			
choiceg	Between Groups	.006	1	.006	.142	.708
	Within Groups	2.325	55	.042		
	Total	2.331	56			
develno	Between Groups	.203	1	.203	2.409	.126
	Within Groups	4.711	56	.084		
	Total	4.914	57			
parchcchc	Between Groups	.063	1	.063	.657	.421
	Within Groups	5.937	62	.096		
	Total	6.000	63			
safechcsafe	Between Groups	.089	1	.089	2.213	.142
	Within Groups	2.338	58	.040		
	Total	2.427	59			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.009	1	.009	.156	.694
	Within Groups	3.446	60	.057		
	Total	3.455	61			
self-direction2	Between Groups	1.626	1	1.626	3.562	.064
	Within Groups	27.386	60	.456		
	Total	29.011	61			
security2	Between Groups	2.143	1	2.143	4.117	.047
	Within Groups	31.232	60	.521		
	Total	33.375	61			
conservation	Between Groups	15.297	1	15.297	4.851	.031
	Within Groups	189.191	60	3.153		
	Total	204.488	61			
openness to change	Between Groups	13.338	1	13.338	3.614	.062
	Within Groups	221.424	60	3.690		
	Total	234.762	61			

Table 28:   Program Level Analysis for Seattle RHYP Programs

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
availsvcno	Between Groups	.579	1	.579	4.555	.044
	Within Groups	2.921	23	.127		
	Total	3.500	24			
choiceg	Between Groups	.001	1	.001	.027	.872
	Within Groups	.859	19	.045		
	Total	.860	20			
develno	Between Groups	.167	1	.167	1.529	.230
	Within Groups	2.290	21	.109		
	Total	2.457	22			
parchcchc	Between Groups	.009	1	.009	.119	.733
	Within Groups	1.786	23	.078		
	Total	1.796	24			
safechcsafe	Between Groups	.000	1	.000	.004	.948
	Within Groups	1.071	22	.049		
	Total	1.071	23			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.012	1	.012	.165	.688
	Within Groups	1.505	21	.072		
	Total	1.517	22			
self-direction2	Between Groups	1.164	1	1.164	1.647	.213
	Within Groups	14.838	21	.707		
	Total	16.001	22			
security2	Between Groups	.033	1	.033	.052	.822
	Within Groups	13.525	21	.644		
	Total	13.559	22			
conservation	Between Groups	14.116	1	14.116	3.877	.062
	Within Groups	76.472	21	3.642		
	Total	90.589	22			
openness to change	Between Groups	.040	1	.040	.013	.911
	Within Groups	65.182	21	3.104		
	Total	65.222	22			

Table 29:   Program Level Analysis for Vancouver Programs

ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
availsvcno	Between Groups	.120	1	.120	.998	.323
	Within Groups	5.191	43	.121		
	Total	5.311	44			
choiceg	Between Groups	.069	1	.069	1.496	.230
	Within Groups	1.624	35	.046		
	Total	1.694	36			
develno	Between Groups	.686	1	.686	7.893	.008
	Within Groups	3.130	36	.087		
	Total	3.816	37			
parchcchc	Between Groups	.616	1	.616	8.926	.005
	Within Groups	3.036	44	.069		
	Total	3.652	45			
safechcsafe	Between Groups	.142	1	.142	2.366	.132
	Within Groups	2.452	41	.060		
	Total	2.593	42			
safeparsafe	Between Groups	.059	1	.059	.718	.402
	Within Groups	3.357	41	.082		
	Total	3.416	42			
self-direction2	Between Groups	3.024	1	3.024	7.258	.010
	Within Groups	17.915	43	.417		
	Total	20.938	44			
security2	Between Groups	.208	1	.208	.309	.581
	Within Groups	28.953	43	.673		
	Total	29.161	44			
conservation	Between Groups	16.250	1	16.250	5.554	.023
	Within Groups	125.822	43	2.926		
	Total	142.073	44			
openness to change	Between Groups	7.809	1	7.809	2.148	.150
	Within Groups	156.343	43	3.636		
	Total	164.152	44			

The final two tables are related to Section 5.5 and analysis designed to determine if the program preference for a juvenile detention model over a locked treatment one is correlated with program type or normative legal environment. As was discussed earlier, logistic regression demonstrates that there are is a significant but extremely weak relationship between those who prefer for voluntary options between those who prioritized juvenile detention over locked treatment models (Table 30). No significant differences are found either between the sub-types of RHYP (Table 31) or the normative-legal environment (Table 32), in terms of those who prefer the juvenile detention option.

Table 30:   Social Service Model versus Preference for Juvenile Detention

Omnibus Tests of Model Coefficients

		Chi-square	Df	Sig.
Step 1	Step	4.328	1	.037
	Block	4.328	1	.037
	Model	4.328	1	.037

Model Summary

Step	-2 Log likelihood	Cox & Snell R Square	Nagelkerke R Square
1	201.453[a]	.023	.035

Variables in the Equation

		B	S.E.	Wald	Df	Sig.	Exp(B)
Step 1	juviepref	-.277	.134	4.233	1	.040	.758
	Constant	1.122	.176	40.763	1	.000	3.072

198

Table 31:   Preference for Juvenile Detention versus Location RHYP Programs

Descriptives

juviepref=juvie - tx

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Portland	67	-.09	1.240	.151	-.39	.21	-3	3
Seattle	25	-.12	1.236	.247	-.63	.39	-2	3
Vancouver	45	-.07	1.214	.181	-.43	.30	-3	2
Total	137	-.09	1.222	.104	-.29	.12	-3	3

ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.046	2	.023	.015	.985
Within Groups	202.903	134	1.514		
Total	202.949	136			

Table 32:   Preference for Juvenile Detention Type RHYP

Descriptives

juviepref=juvie - tx

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound	Mini- mum	Maxi- mum
					95% Confidence Interval for Mean			
outreach center	87	-.11	1.205	.129	-.37	.14	-3	3
residential	50	-.04	1.261	.178	-.40	.32	-3	3
Total	137	-.09	1.222	.104	-.29	.12	-3	3

ANOVA

	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.178	1	.178	.119	.731
Within Groups	202.771	135	1.502		
Total	202.949	136			

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