

Drug Treatment Behind Bars: Prison-Based Strategies for Change

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Changing the Paradigm about Youth Violence and Drug Abuse

Rod Mullen and Naya Arbiter

The July 19, 1993, issue of *Newsweek* magazine features a particularly brutal murder of two teenaged girls by six teenaged boys in Houston, Texas (Ingrassia, Annin, Biddle, & Miller, 1993). Police and citizens were shocked not only by the brutality of the rapes and murders but also by the lack of remorse by any of the perpetrators - most of whom seemed to take a curious pride in their sudden fame. *Newsweek* quoted Michael Cox, who heads a sexual abuse treatment program at Texas Baylor College of Medicine, as characterizing this attack as part of a "downward extension of the dysfunction we're seeing in society with drug problems, guns, split-apart-families" (p. 16). While governmental agencies, universities, private foundations, juvenile correctional organizations, judges, and thousands of prevention and treatment programs grapple with the problems raised by young people who "act out" against each other, and against laws and social norms, there is no dear consensus on effective countermeasures. This chapter presents an overview of background, macromovements in society, and social institutions - particularly family and community --that have been occurring for five centuries but that have accelerated very rapidly in the past few decades. Adolescent treatment and criminal justice initiatives that ignore these background factors may be doomed to failure or may have individual successes in the context of widespread social deterioration. According to Skolnick (1992),

The drug problem has two facets: one is abuse and addiction of both legal and illegal drugs, the second the crime and violence connected to illegal drug use and

sale. The current approach to and law enforcement in an unprecedented way has little impact on either of these problems - except to worsen street violence because it ignores or does not appreciate the imperatives driving people to use and sell illegal drugs; it underestimates the dilemmas faced by law enforcement in controlling the distribution and use of drugs; it is insensitive to the social and economic underpinnings of drug marketing and use in the United States and it is oblivious to the implication of a war on drugs for the character of the nation. (pp. 133-135)

Let us begin with a Greek immigrant, living in Oakland, California, in the 1930s. He lived in an ethnic Greek neighborhood with his wife and three teenaged children, and he worked in the local shipyards. It was his habit to address his family at dinner with his observations about the day, the state of the neighborhood, the country - themes ranging from the pedestrian to the universal. He addressed them in Greek, as his command of English was poor. One night after saying a prayer before the evening meal, he said, "You Americans, you are going to lose your country." One of his sons, a state senator in California told me this story forty years later, explaining that when the "old man" was upset with conditions in his adopted land, he would emphasize the difference between himself and his English-speaking progeny by calling them "you Americans".

The old Greek was agitated that night Earlier that day he had been walking through the neighborhood when he saw a boy hitting a younger girl in some sort of squabble - perhaps a game they were playing or a dispute about some possession. He immediately collared the boy, and taking him by the ear, scolded him loudly for his behavior as he escorted him down the street to his home. Many of the neighbors on the street were on their porches, observing this scene and nodding their heads in agreement with his actions. Urban ethnic neighborhoods of that day, like rural towns and villages, were places where everyone in the neighborhood minded everyone else's business. News of even the most insignificant behavior among neighbors was communicated by word of mouth quickly. The rituals and ceremonies of the community - church, social events, dubs and the social norms and life-style of the neighborhood kept everyone connected to everyone else.

When he reached the boy's house, he knocked on the door and asked for the boy's mother. When she appeared, he began to explain what the youngster had done wrong and suggested the punishment that should be meted out. There was probably a strong sense of disapproval in the old man's demeanor; the boy's bad behavior reflected on his family. To his shock and dismay, the mother, instead of thanking him, yelled, "Let go of my son, and don't ever touch him again! Go away! What he has done is none of your business!" The old Greek turned in consternation and departed.

That is why the lecture that-night at dinner was, "You Americans, you are going to lose your country." The old man had grown up in circumstances in which all parents, uncles, aunts, grandparents, cousins, and neighbors shared congruent expectations for children's behavior. Many adults, not just parents, were involved in the lives of children and took an active part in the raising and socialization of the young. Intuitively he knew that- what happened that day was a harbinger of a very disturbing future.

Let us illustrate just how far we are today, - in some segments of our society, from that ethnic neighborhood in Oakland. A story in the *New York Times* in 1993 described how a maintenance man, who was hauling bags- of compacted trash to a curb, became suspicious at the weight of one of the bags (Richardson, 1993)"He opened it and saw the foot of a small child. The boy, about four or five years old, weighed 40 pounds. He was dressed in his pajamas. The autopsy discovered that the cause of death was beating and strangulation; the boy was already dead when he was stuffed down the trash chute and crushed in the trash compactor. The horror of this senseless killing is heightened by the, fact that no one knew the child's name. The police took a Polaroid photograph of the dead child's face and walked through the Linden Houses housing project in east New York for days, seeking the child's identity. Almost none of those questioned responded affirmatively, but one won-tan summoned to the door by police officers said she recognized the boy because he used to play with her children and rode her son's bike, but she did not know his name, who his parents were, or where he lived.

A "family assistant" at Public School 306 thought that she recognized the child from kindergarten but could not place the child's name or identity a fifth-grade child thought that she recognized the boy from a nearby park where she played, but she was not sure and did not. I know his name. It would have been unthinkable a couple of generations ago for a child to play regularly at a neighbor's house without the parents having met each other, unthinkable for a child to attend school and for the teachers, not to know the parents and the neighborhood where the child lived.

How did we go from a society where everyone minded everyone else's business to one in which a child can exist and be murdered in a neighborhood with no apparent connection to anyone?

Police continued to investigate without success; they heard that the mother might be a local crack-addicted prostitute. Had the murdered child not been found by the maintenance man, he

AGE SEGREGATION AND LOSS OF SOCIALIZATION FOR THE YOUNG

Stone (1987) describes how recently the modern family has made two major transitions that have changed its ability to socialize the young. First, fathers began to carry out their major productive activities away from the home, in shops or offices not accessible to children; second, a more recent transition, mothers left the home to go to work. As Coleman and Husen (1985) have pointed out, prior to these transitions the home was the central productive institution of society. It was a place in which adult work and adult roles were easily visible to young children. Youth could, and were expected to, participate in productive activities, helping their parents at a very young age and continuing to participate more, and more as they grew older. Until the Great Depression most rural children were out of school several months a year helping on family farms. According to Stone (1987).

Between the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century the institution of the family lost many of its older functions to a series of impersonal institutions, such as poorhouse for the indigent, almshouses for the old, hospitals for the sick, schools for the children, banks for credit, and insurance companies for protection against catastrophe. Its legal, political, and economic functions declined before the ever encroaching march of the institutions of the modern state. This function. erosion enhanced the prominence of the past era of family concern, the nurturance and socialization of the infant and young child. Furthermore, the power of the state undermined the influence of the kin, and thus increased the isolation and privacy of the nuclear family. This process can hardly be called the rise of the family, but rather its re-orientation to serve a narrower, more specialized function. The rise of the school is best seen not as part of the same process as the growth of the child-oriented family, but as its very antithesis, the transfer to an impersonal institution of a socializing function previously performed by the family. (p. 101)

As the parents left the home, they tended to draw their friends and acquaintances from their new workplaces; rarely did these relationships involve the children. While the young remained in the home, the home became a less interesting and less valuable source of information about adult behavior and adult norms. Children have been increasingly excluded from the places where adult activities take place and have been unable to see how adults live their lives in an adult context. The past two generations have seen dramatic acceleration of other age-segregating trends including rapid urbanization, longer schooling and more centralized schools, child labor laws and the demise of apprenticeship systems, zoning laws, the suburban commuting culture, frequent geographic moves by adults related to work, television as the new parent, and a shift in the norms and values of society away from the importance of child-

rearing (Bronfenbrenner, 1970). As a society we seem convinced that children can raise themselves. Parents and kin are increasingly unavailable, and young children are sent to day-care centers where the turnover rate ranges from 40 to 300 percent per year, and then to school where teacher to student ratios of 1:30 is common (ABC World News Tonight, 1993).

ALIENATION AND PEER CULTURE

As we have seen, there is a general institutional movement in our society toward age segregation, that is, toward the removal of children from the world of adults. In doing so, the opportunities for socialization are decreasing as are the opportunities for responsible roles in society. What are the consequences of such age segregation? What are the consequences of, the loss of family and community as socializing agents in children's lives? What are the effects of the shift toward dramatically increased peer influences for youth?

The absolute extreme in human alienation that we know of is feral children, so-called wolf children. There are 53 such persons identified in the literature, beginning in 1344, in Germany, through the last one, in France, discovered in 1961 (Malson, 1972). Not all of these children were raised by animals, but all were raised out of normal human communities-- isolated from other human beings during the crucial first years of development. Generally, when discovered, these children walked on all fours, ate the same food as wild animals and in the same manner, and, laboriously, had to be taught to walk upright. None could speak and only a few ever learned even rudimentary speech and this only after long periods of time and enormous effort. They were not retarded or suffering from any mental deficiency; they simply were deprived of human contact. They were deprived during that period of time when primary intellectual, social, psychological, and moral development takes place. Thus they appeared, when discovered, to be lower animals.

Many were violent, to be expected, perhaps, since they could not communicate their feelings. Elie Weisel, in an interview with Bill Moyers (1989), said that -when language fails, violence becomes the language.

These feral children functioned only marginally as lower animals. They could not run as fast or hunt as well, nor were they, -with their hairless bodies, well protected from the elements and common animal diseases and, afflictions. All attempts at rehabilitation certainly habilitation in their case were expensive, long term, and only slightly effective. For those "wolf children" that lived very long after their capture, only a few reached and none exceeded the level of., functioning of a normal three year-old child.

Aristotle warned that the person outside the, primary human community would be exceptional - either superhuman or subhuman. The

extreme example of feral children corroborates this. While even extreme conditions in our cities do not replicate that of feral children, we should notice with alarm that 10 percent of our children are being raised in homes with absent parents and that the *words father and mother* are being taken out of the school curriculum in one Oakland, California, school district because so many children do not have parents (Gross, 1992). Incidents like the 1989 "wilding" spree, in which a gang of New York City teens brutalized a female jogger in Central Park, seem to be occurring more frequently. The lack of identification with mainstream, adult social norms is a predictable response for youngsters who are not socialized by adults, who grow up alone or with peers and who, at very young ages, habitually use powerful drugs that increase impulsivity and disassociative mental and emotional states.

The novel *Lord of the Flies* gave us a metaphor for extreme isolation from adults - a children's peer society with no adult. The degeneration of the shipwrecked boys over time into brutal, savagery seems eerily prophetic of the violent "crews," "sets," and "Posses" of today's urban landscape. In a recent survey of high school students on Chicago's South Side, 23 percent said that they had witnessed someone being -killed and that 40 percent of the victims were family, friends, classmates, or neighbors (Greene, 1993).

VIOLENCE AND DRUGS

In 1990 alone over 6 million violent victimizations occurred in the United States. This averaged out to be over 16,000 violent crimes committed every day. The more serious the crime the greater the difference between the rate in the United States and that in other developed countries (Reiss & Roth, 1993). The National Center for Juvenile Justice reports that the number of murders committed by youths under age 18 has rocketed by 85 percent in the past five years, Federal Bureau of Investigation figures show that while arrests for adult sex offenses rose by 3 percent between 1990 and 1991 they increased by three times that amount for juveniles (Ingrassia et al., 1993). For the first time in U.S. history, death rates for black and white teenagers attributable to firearms exceeded the mortality rate attributable to all other causes combined (National Center for Health Statistics, 1991). As Bronfenbrenner might have predicted, violent juvenile crime increased by 27 percent during the decade between 1980 and 1990 (Federal Bureau of Investigation; 1991).

Frank Chavez, the grandfather of 13-year-old Michael Governale, who was killed in a gang-related homicide in Tucson, Arizona, where juvenile crime is up 300 percent since 1991, offers the following perspective: "Life is difficult when you are Indian, or Mexican. There are no worthwhile jobs. There is nothing for our young people to hope for. The cops use their

heel on them. They [the police] come down here, kick down doors, treat us like dirt. They are the white people's police. They don't care what happens to Mexicans and Indians" (quoted in Brinkley-Rogers, 1993).

Residents of the area around 31 st and Van Buren streets in Phoenix, Arizona, say that several houses are controlled by Wetback Power (WBP) members (a local Hispanic gang) and are used for methamphetamine production. "They have lookouts, they're heavily -armed, and everyone is scared to death of them," one source said. "The WBP gang members who have been to prison and gotten linked in with Nuestra Familia [a prison gang] and the Mexican Mafia teach the local guys about big-time drug dealing,- a member of another gang, Los Cuatros Milpas, said. The connection with Mexican drug mafiosos is useful to WBP as members seek to arm themselves with the most deadly weapons available. Pablo, a WBP member from Phoenix, where gang membership has increased 600 percent since the 1970s and where drive-by shootings are common in low income neighborhoods, said, "We see this as a country where you take what you want. . . you don't ask. People, want drugs, so we give them drugs, and we take their money. People fool with us or try to hurt us, we hunt them,- patting the pistol sticking out a back pocket We survive. We make a living. And nobody pushes us around- (quoted in Kwok & Hermann, 1993).

On the radios and cassette and compact disc players of young Americans, lyrics like the following by rap star Ice-T (1991) are typical:

Hustler! I pull the trigger long, grit
my teeth, spray 'til every niggas gone
Got my block sewn, armored dope spots,
Last thing I sweats a sucka, punk cop!

Here I come, so you better break north, as I stride my gold chains glide back n~ forth. I care nothing 'bout you, and that's evident, all I love is my dope and dead presidents [money]. Sound crazy? Well it isn't. The end justifies the means, that's the system. I learned that in school, then I dropped, out, hit the streets, checked a grip [gun] and now I got clout. I had nothin', and I wanted it, you had everything and you flaunted it. Turned the needy into the greedy. With cocaine my success came speedy. Got me twisted, jammed into a paradox, every dollar I get, another brother, drops. Maybe that's the plan, and I don't understand, God Damn!! You got me sinking in quicksand.

But since I don't know, and I aint never learned, I gotta get paid, I got money to earn. With my

posse on the ave, bump my sounds, crack a forty and laugh, cool out and watch my new Benz gleam, Is this a nightmare or the American Dream?

So think twice if you're coming down my block, you wanna journey through hell? Well, slut gets hot, pregnant teens, children's screams, life is weighed on the scales of a triple beam You don't come here much, and you better not, wrong move, (gunshot sound), ambulance cot. I gotta get more money than you got. So what if some other motha fucka gets shot? Thats how the game is played. Another brother slayed. The wound is deep, but you givin' us a bandaid. My education's low, but I got long dough, Raised like a pit bull, my heart pumps nitro

The United States is the only developed nation that can be included among those nations with very high drug usage. For example, there were 677 cocaine-related arrests in France in 1989, while Boston alone had 4,900 such arrests (Currie, 1993). Most of those with high use are third world countries, with a high proportion being "source" counties. In 1991, 26 million Americans used illicit. drugs, almost half of them at least once per month (Falco, 1992) juvenile arrests for cocaine -and heroin have increased 713 percent in the last decade with a staggering increase of 2,373 percent for African American teens (Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1995). Despite declines in drug abuse among more advantaged Americans, the age of first use of illicit substances continues to drop for those who do use drugs and alcohol; the percentage of sixth graders using drugs has tripled since 1975 (Napolitano, 1992).

Like the data on violence, however, while the amount of drug usage and violence nationally is extremely high compared with other developed countries, the rate varies by race; class; educational achievement; job status; and geographic location, be it urban, suburban, or rural. Thus there are two immediate social entropy symptoms: first, the problem of endemic and widespread drug use and violence *throughout* our society and, second, the epidemic problems that are found in areas that have high densities of underprivileged minority groups. Such areas are afflicted with low educational attainment, high levels of unemployment, and large numbers of disrupted families. Currie (1993) has noted that "it is the simultaneous withering of economic opportunities and intensification of consumer values that has made the urban drug culture both so alluring and so difficult to dislodge through conventional policies. Rapidly constricting economic opportunities have severely weakened the indigenous institutions and traditions of poor communities, and the weakening

of those institutions, in turn, has helped make possible the rise of a violent and materialistic street culture." (p. 54).

THINKING ABOUT THE UNTHINKABLE

We need to develop a context for, solutions to our current problems. We do not need another shoot from the hip war on drugs, an violence, on poverty, on illiteracy, or on welfarism. Nor do we need another "nothing works," cut all social programs, lock 'em up and throw away the key decade where politicians compete in the tough on crime sweepstakes. The decreasing ability and willingness of our high-tech society to provide the low-tech intensive work of socializing the young is our collective social "shadow." Like Pogo said, "We have met the enemy, and he is us." While we are collectively putting water on the social fires in the foreground, the conditions-for even more devastating fires are developing in the background. AR of our interventions to prevent or treat adolescents involved with the criminal justice system are, of limited value if social forces continue to turn out more and more dysfunctional, disconnected, unsocialized youth. Many of our current efforts could be characterized as a crew praising each other on the wonderful sparkling brass and cleanliness of the engine room of a sinking ship.

Our problem is analogous to the staggering environmental problems that we face these too are a result of enormous changes in the way human beings have come to live. Global can be compared to age segregation, failure of socialization, and social disintegration. The problems are so massive and amorphous that it is difficult for individuals or governments to address. It appears that the solutions to global warming and other massive environmental problems are not just technical but are fundamentally connected with the need for significant and widespread changes in the life-style of citizens in the developed world. Our current reliance on massive sanctions and our misplaced hope that we can stop the drug crisis by sealing our borders are all evidence of

mass social denial and pathological inertia regarding the root causes of social entropy. We cannot punish our way out of this situation; we cannot prevent or treat (using current technology) our way out of this situation. However, the situation cannot be ignored.

As a nation we tend to respond to crisis. We would have less of a problem mobilizing ourselves against the HIV disease if those infected became sick and died within hours - instead of years. Recently a rare disease struck a couple of dozen Navajos spread out over several states in the Southwest. Though the numbers afflicted were small, the disease was front-page news every day for several weeks because people died within hours of contracting the mysterious illness. The slow disintegration of, our social fabric through the failure to adequately socialize our young is

occurring much more rapidly than we recognize. Yet it is occurring slowly enough so that our attention is diverted to the most florid symptoms - serial killings, brutal rapes, and gang violence while we ignore the problem itself.

We can simplistically imagine society in the form of a diamond – with dependent youth at the bottom and dependent elderly and infirm at the top. In the middle, in productive harness, are adults working to support themselves and those at the top and the bottom - plus a certain percentage of adults who constitute the mentally ill, sick, or criminal populations.

There are limits to how much working adults can support. Could a society exist in which only 20 percent of the able-bodied adults took on adult social and productive roles? How much more deviance would it take to collapse our society - 10 percent? 2.0 percent? 30 percent? Are we currently approaching a danger point with over 1 million people incarcerated and the numbers increasing? How many of today's children will join adults in the social and economic tasks of building society? How many want a free ride or will be active saboteurs? We can glimpse the answer to these questions when we look into certain inner city neighborhoods where social order appears to be in a state of collapse; where few adults have either the opportunity or the ability to take on adult responsibilities, where, when people talk-about going to work or getting paid they mean stealing, drug sales, or other illegal activities. Increasing age segregation, and decreased involvement of adults with children (and with each other in the holistic manner experienced in authentic communities), appears to be intrinsic to our postindustrial, consumer society. The failure to socialize the young may be exacerbated among the poor, but, inevitably, it continues to negatively affect all children in all walks of life. While physical and intellectual development may occur, the conditions for moral development are not present or are very weak.

BROAD SOLUTIONS

The one major change that must be made is the reversal of the increasing age segregation in society. It must become a central value and practice, of society to transmit positive values to younger generations. The longterm, intensive, time consuming, and demanding work of socialization must be elevated to a central place in the hearts, minds, hands, and spirits of adult society. This involves a "strategy of inclusion" to replace the current strategy of inequality and exclusion (Currie, 1993). The difficulty' in coming to grips with this stems from the fact that the task is long term, and enormously challenging. It involves nothing less than *changing the way we live*, changing the inertial drift of -our society toward more age, race, and class segregation. It is our unique human capacity to perceive changing environmental situations and to make conscious evolutionary

adaptations to them. In this case what is required is for us to change the current forms of social organization in order to recapture the essence of human communities. It is not the family alone but rather families lodged in the matrix of social communities that have been the socialization engine of human societies. This is not to suggest that the socialization machinery of the twenty-first century will resemble a fifteenth-century rural village. The current adaptations- will have to develop around a changed technological and social landscape. We cannot, for example, expect women to return to home and hearth and reject the stimulation and rewards of other work, nor can adaptations ignore the urban, industrial nature of our world. We cannot pretend that car, phone, fax, computer, and television are not everyday realities that need to be harnessed in the service of community building and reinforcement.

What kind of leadership is required? Leadership at the federal level would be welcome. It is time that our political leaders acknowledged the widening crack in the portrait of the American Dream. Examining the hard issues, however, will be very difficult because social bodies, like physical ones, respond to laws of inertia. Large-scale social changes are inevitably resisted, particularly at this time in our history when cynicism about politicians and the efficacy of government is pervasive. Inevitably the bulk of this work must be done at the local level in cities, towns, neighborhoods, and barrios. The work of building *intentional communities* in postindustrial society; of making the rearing of children a central value; and of reorganizing business, education, and social interactions around this central value must be done by community leaders, educators, businesspeople, religious leaders, and individuals.

WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT DO?

Government can at least encourage social experimentation, rather than having a throttle hold on it. Government policies in entitlement programs, taxation, shelter, health care access, welfare reform, and allocation of government land and facilities can help open the door to the formation of intentional communities that encourage socialization of the young. Family-leave policies, mandatory school involvement, quality day care at job sites, flexible time, and other policies that encourage adults to spend time with their children will also help. Rebuilding the devastated inner cities with economic and social programs is critical. Here massive investment is crucial. We must remember that many if not most of the parents in these devastated neighborhoods were not parented themselves and that they can only parent by referencing their own inadequate experience. Programs that train people for jobs and result in them obtaining work must be promoted, but they must be complemented with investment

in social training in how to socialize the young - a lost skill in many impoverished areas.

Closer to home, the solution to the problem of social entropy will not be found in another new federal initiative or a bureaucratic "big foot" approach to the problem. The government itself is organized and structured in such a manner that it cannot generally see the larger problems in society and respond to them. Government agencies can only see and respond to those concerns to which their congressional mandates allow them to respond. Until Congress and the federal administration recognize the broader problem, agencies will continue to foster initiatives that, are fragmented and incomplete. These same bureaucratic problems are also evident on the state and local levels. Most of the solutions that will make a difference in this country will not fit into our current paradigms.

CHANGING PARADIGMS

Most, of our healing professionals are trained to focus on individual psychological change. The most recent paradigm shift in psychology is the recognition that the family system must be treated as the "client" in order for long-lasting, well-integrated change to occur. Professionals now recognize that the individual intervention is just the beginning of system change that may go on for many years in the family. On the societal level, communities and neighborhoods -are the clients. Therefore, the paradigm that is needed now is the understanding, skills, and resources to view socializing communities as clients. that require interventions on psychological, social, economic, health, and educational domains by teams that will necessarily include the native leadership of the emerging community itself. This paradigm recognizes that even a marginal parent can do a good job raising. a youngster if ' embedded in a well-integrated and socially connected community that places child rearing right at the top of its values and that even well-intentioned and capable parents acting alone may experience failure.

The above should not be confused with a recent Department of Health and Human Services (DHHS) publication that suggests a new paradigm for the prevention of alcohol and other drug p problems (Office for Substance Abuse Prevention, 1991). DHHS outlines a model that shifts away, from agency-directed service delivery, in which agencies and professionals provide services primarily in response to the needs of individuals, and toward a model in which agencies and organizations work to facilitate the community's. acquisition and effective use of the knowledge, skills, and resources necessary to respond -to the needs and problems as expressed by the community. The community becomes the expert, and professionals and agencies work with the, community to develop a community prevention system that reaches out to and involves

all affected groups and ethnicity's at all levels of programming and decision making" (p. 23).

While DHHS's "new paradigm" represents a significant shift in conceptualization and practice from its predecessor, it fails to ask what the community is. Odes to the community may mirror similar romantic but completely unrealistic odes to the family that do not recognize the realities of our times. The real issue here is that we do not have real communities. Instead, we have geographic areas or groups of people who share some characteristic that we then label with the word community. Real communities can be defined by well-articulated community practices, rituals and ceremonies that manifest their values. At the core of all healthy human communities is the socialization of the young. The human technology that we need now is that which will help to build communities that are intentional and not based primarily on class, race, or work.

Therapeutic communities for drug addicts in the United States and around the world have shown that many of even the most intractable and socially impoverished members of society can be mainstreamed back into society after one to three years of intensive community experience. The social technology is not really drug treatment; rather, it is social habilitation by all members of an intentional community. Socialization of the young can occur even if the young are adults, that is, those whose immaturity is not physical, but social. Scientific experiments are being conducted today to see if this technology can be used with addicted mothers and children, the homeless, residents of public housing, and mentally ill clients. In all cases the results seem promising. When we look at areas in our society that have really functioned well, even when conventional wisdom says that they should not (such as the George Washington Preparatory School in South Central Los Angeles), we see all the elements of intentional community and effective socialization being implemented. Experiential training centers teaching a whole generation of Americans how to rebuild the social infrastructure of our society would be more valuable and considerably less expensive than the money invested in developing space programs, the massive arms race of the past 50 years, or prison expansion.