

# Reaching Out to Adolescents: Foundation and Form\*†

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## Introduction

THE adolescent of the seventies may not be inherently different from the adolescent of any other time period, but the manifestations of his adolescence are unusual and strange. Historically, social services have been developed to help the searching, exploring adolescent find his way to adulthood. Previously, more traditional modes of serving individuals and families were employed to help him, but during the last ten years a change has taken place in youthful behavior, in general, and in its more maladaptive forms. The deviant youth today experiments with drugs, hoping to find meaning in life and he becomes somewhat separated from the culture around him. The change from the loud, boisterous gang can readily be appreciated by social work which has always responded to a need.<sup>1</sup> In looking for a way to answer the needs of this group, social work has been forced to question and redesign the structure for delivery of service.<sup>2</sup>

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† This project was initiated jointly by the Jewish Family Service and the Bronx House.

<sup>1</sup> The gang represented by: Herbert A. Block and Arthur Niederhoffer, *The Gang* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), and the new culture by Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (New York: Anchor Books, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> New methods developed recently are represented by: Mildred O. Heller, "Outreach: Approaching the Adolescent Through Peer and Parent," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, Vol. XLVII, No. 2 (Winter 1970), pp. 123-126; Gerald

The purpose of this paper is to explore one type of outreach program. Acknowledging the roots in gang work, outreach programs hope to serve the client where he is, physically and psychologically. An individual is in need of help but will not approach the agency for many reasons; either he is not in touch with his need or the agency represents, in his eyes, the establishment. The agency then decides to reach beyond its four walls and normative methods of receiving referrals. The program described seeks to reach the adolescent population of a geographically defined community.

Prior to the development of a social service program a need must be determined. What defines a social need? Who determines the social need and how is it answered? The questions are innocent but who answers them reflects the intent and purpose of the outreach program. If the police provide the answers, then the program developed will be different in scope than that of a family agency or a community center.

In defining a social need, three factors are considered: the individual, the society and the need. The need becomes apparent when the individuals begin to dysfunction in society, and there cannot be a social service without an expressed need. What composes a "need?"

R. Wheeler, "American's New Street People," *Social Work*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (July 1971), pp. 19-24; Norman Keane, "The Drop-In Center: Its Role in Servicing Troubled Youth," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (Spring 1973), pp. 225-232; Arthur Goldberg, "The Here and Now - An Evaluation of the Rap Center Concept," *Journal of Jewish Communal Service*, Vol. XLIX, No. 3 (Spring 1973), pp. 233-237.

Titmuss has defined both social service and need.

All collectively provided services are deliberately designed to meet certain socially recognized "needs," they are manifestations, first of society's will to survive as an organic whole and secondly, of the expressed wish to all the people to assist the survival of some people. 'Needs' may therefore be thought of as 'social' and 'individual'; as interdependent, mutually related essentials for the continued existence of the parts and the whole. No complete division between the two is conceptually possible; the shading of one into the other changes with time over the life of all societies; it changes with time over the cycle of needs of the individual and the family; and it depends on prevailing notions of what constitutes a 'need' and in what circumstances; and to what extent if at all, such needs, when recognized, should be met in the interest of the individual and/or society.<sup>3</sup>

The dual concern for the individual and the society is the background for the development of services. The questioning and provoking nature of significant numbers of adolescents creates a distance between them and other sub-groups of society. The distance between the groups has pointed to the need for new forms of social service for adolescents.

The traditional social service agencies like community centers and family agencies have difficulty servicing this adolescent population. The nature of their service, from the application procedure to the worker in the authority position, "turn teenagers off." The youth have certain expectations, and whether they are grounded in reality or not they have caused these adolescents to feel their needs cannot be met by existing agencies.

"Outreach" as a form of service has been used before, and probably the earliest outreach worker was Charles L.

Brace, who rounded up boys on the street and started discussions known as "Boys' Meetings."<sup>4</sup> This paper presents the foundations of a present day outreach program which are bound in adolescence, alienation and crisis theory.

### Adolescence

Life constitutes a series of changing stages beginning with birth and culminating with death. Adolescence is one of those stages and, in many ways, the most difficult for the human being to experience. Adolescence may begin anywhere from the age of eleven to thirteen and extend until the early twenties. During this period of growth the individual begins to change in his physical appearance and his psychological make-up. He is torn and twisted, and pulled and pushed during the period of adolescence.

There are physiological changes occurring every day as the individual matures. He begins to take on a new shape from the size of his neck to the length of his foot. Taking notice of these shifts in shirt-size and pant-length often catapult the adolescent into a state of query over his new form. New characteristics are added to his appearance as he recognizes signs of sexual maturation. The full impact is not really felt until the youth responds to these new changes, and one way toward self-awareness is by noticing similar changes in others.

Adolescence is an individual, but also a group phenomenon. Young people become aware of the physical changes in each other as well as in themselves. This is a period when the other becomes meaningful. He first notices changes in

<sup>3</sup> Richard Titmuss, *Essays on the Welfare State* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years' Work Among Them* (New York: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck Publishers, 1872), p. 82-83.

himself and then may focus on someone else, wondering whether this person will experience the same thing; or he might notice a change in a friend and wonder whether he too will get taller, grow pubic hair or hair on his chest. Adolescent physiological change is uneven, and occurs at different times in each adolescent.

Accompanying the physiological growth there is a two part psychological change, one cognitive and one emotional. The adolescent experiences himself thinking in a new and strange way.<sup>5</sup> He becomes aware of his new thought process, and begins to express new ideas. He starts to view reality from a perspective unlike anyone he has ever known, and the new conception helps him to answer questions like, what is the importance of life, and how will he find meaning in it? The new questions reflect the new thoughts of adolescence during which his perceptions of reality change.

In addition the experience of adolescents differs markedly from that of their own early years. For some adolescents growing and maturing may be a struggle. Some young people may quickly enter into close meaningful relationships with friends of the opposite sex, while others will continue their same-sex friendships. There are those who find the intimacy of a relationship comforting while others feel they would rather be by themselves. The forces acting on the adolescent are felt differently by each adolescent and some need to share their feelings and thoughts with others in their culture.

The more troubled adolescent, who has a hard time coping with the changes he is experiencing feels the pull more intensely. One factor which adds to the confusion a young person might feel is

the new group relationship many adolescents form. He enters a peer relationship with a group, and he becomes aware of the fact that the same struggle he has, many of his friends have. His view of right and wrong change as the priorities in his life change and as the group becomes more meaningful. As Lidz says,

The group serves an important function in modifying superego controls, for through observing others in the group, the group's reaction to the self and others, through accepting its standards and by means of constant discussion with these friends, the adolescent gains new guiding principles.<sup>6</sup>

Utilizing this synopsis of the physical and psychological characteristics of adolescence,<sup>7</sup> I would like to introduce Erikson's concept of adolescence, "...a psycho-social moratorium during which the individual through free role experimentation may find a niche in some section of society, a niche which is firmly defined and yet seems to be uniquely made for him."<sup>8</sup> During this time, the young person searches to find his identity through discovering his niche. He must know who he is within the limits of reality, and the struggle becomes his as he continues to search.

The search for identity is a crisis, and some adolescents encounter more difficulty with the changes they experience than others. Trusting and engaging with people become a task for these adolescents who are not happy with themselves. The relationships they form with the opposite sex become a way for them to test themselves, as well as, the others. In creating "love" relationships, these

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 331.

<sup>7</sup> The "He" pronoun has been used, but it should be made clear girls experience the same growth process.

<sup>8</sup> Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," *Psychological Issues*, Vol. I, No. 1 (1959), p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> Theodore Lidz, *The Person* (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 316.

adolescents establish roles for themselves, and, unsure of their own selves, they try to elicit confirmation of their existence through others.<sup>9</sup>

As he formulates a self-concept through searching, testing and acknowledging his new characteristics, the growing adolescent resolves those loose ends of his personality and integrates them into new form and order. However, there are times when some adolescents cannot achieve resolution. They cannot handle the new discoveries about themselves and are left with incomplete desires for physical intimacy, occupational goal, energetic competition and a psycho-social definition.<sup>10</sup> They face a world seeming cold, hard and destructive. They view themselves as weak and separate from whatever is occurring outside them. Without the integration of the new characteristics and resolution of the identity conflicts, these adolescents are in a continued developmental crisis. At that point, these particular adolescents are susceptible to becoming alienated.

### Alienation

The theoretical foundation of "Outreach," as a form of service, has its roots in helping the adolescent who feels alienated from the society around him. A concept of alienation precedes a comprehensive description of today's youth. An alienated individual might be characterized as experiencing,

.... non-involvement with and estrangement from one's society and culture. The values and norms shared by others seem meaningless to the alienated individual. Meaningless involves alienation from value and norms, while the feeling of powerlessness involves alienation from

roles, but the meaninglessness of norms necessarily results in lack of concern for the proper performance of roles, and conversely alienation from roles necessarily results in the rejection of the norms and values supporting these roles. Thus, meaninglessness and powerlessness together contribute to the individual's estrangement from the culture and social relationships of his society.<sup>11</sup>

The alienated adolescent encounters a world separate from himself, and he finds he cannot connect with that which is outside his own world. Feeling strange and lost, he wanders among friends and family.

Many adolescents who cannot find a "way" for themselves feel alienated. Many adolescents feel alienated, and Fromm has referred to it as a young person experiencing himself as someone other than himself.<sup>12</sup> It is as if he were living in another dimension of time and space and could not reach anyone. He feels himself "out of step" with the mainstream of people and society. In feeling alienated he affects others; he has difficulty relating to friends and finds himself alone.

Thus, the individual adolescent, seeing himself as separate from his peer group is overcome with this feeling of alienation. This points to what Erikson called identity confusion; the adolescent cannot integrate those characteristics ascribed to the adolescent period. The lost, dejected, unhappy adolescent struggles to pinpoint himself on the graph of life. What makes his task more difficult is the widespread alienation among youth in American society. Dr. Donald Muchich, testifying about the adolescent in American society, pointed to his rejection of

<sup>9</sup> Erik H. Erikson, *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (New York: Norton, 1968), p. 132.

<sup>10</sup> Erik H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," *op. cit.*, p. 123.

<sup>11</sup> George A. Theoderson and Achilles G. Theoderson, *Modern Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell, Col. 1969), p. 9.

<sup>12</sup> Erich Fromm, "The Sane Society," in Gerald Sykes, ed., *Alienation* (New York: George Braziller, 1964), p. 67.

American culture and other cultures as he searches for his own identity.<sup>13</sup> He listed several characteristics of our society which add to the causes of the feelings of alienation,

- increasing social and cultural rate change
- increasing geographic and social mobility
- prolongation of adolescence
- deterioration of nuclear family
- urban complexity<sup>14</sup>

These factors combine with the internal process of identity formation. The young person who cannot deal with the changes he is facing finds himself amidst a great number of people experiencing the same feelings. However, because he is fragmented he cannot recognize the common searching of the others. He experiences only himself. Keniston referred to the adolescent's commitment to submission.<sup>15</sup> The adolescent loses all sense of individuality and accepts his role as an amorphous nonentity. He does not accept any restrictions to his desires or acceptance of responsibility. In fact, there is an angry response elicited when anything is demanded of him. In essence, there is a blatant refusal of adulthood.

In response to the adolescent's feelings of loneliness he has created a "youth culture." In forming a separate sub-culture, the young person hopes to create a new world for himself, but in reality, it is a moratorium on the adoles-

cent process. In the confines of the adolescent world, he does not have to confront the issues of identity. He is able to escape the crisis and surround himself with a temporary protection.

The youth culture succeeds in protecting this individual adolescent from the developmental crisis of growth by concentrating on the present. Within the youth culture, there is no future orientation. The group concerns itself with immediate issues, such as, "where are they going?" or "what color pants should they buy?" In this way the adolescent does not confront his life in terms of the future, and in this present oriented culture he is given the identity of the group. He quickly accepts the group and does not struggle with his own identity. The youth culture does not allow the individual to find himself because he is caught in the submissiveness of latency and the acceptance of roles in an adolescent manner.

Thus, the troubled adolescent undergoes an alienating identity crisis which is fostered by a false sense of wholeness from the youth culture. In addition to the developmental crisis of adolescence, the youth must face day-to-day crisis situations. As mentioned previously, the society seeks to control the adolescent; so the outreach worker is placed in the street. His role entails helping the youth of the community while pacifying the adult community. However, prior to entering in a discussion of the streetworker's role, it is important to develop an understanding of crisis.

### Crisis

All people are in a state of homostatic disequilibrium. Everyone faces situations requiring decisions to maintain equilibrium in their relationship with each other and the environment. There are also unexpected events which occur and the individual has difficulty maintaining equilibrium. When this happens

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<sup>13</sup> S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Youth Crisis Services*, 1972, before a sub-committee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senate, 92nd Congress, 2nd sess., 1972, p. 3.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>15</sup> Kenneth Keniston, *The Uncommitted* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1965), p. 184.

a crisis has occurred, and the problem can no longer be handled by the coping mechanisms.

Parad defines crisis as consisting of,

.... a hazardous circumstance or stress which constitutes a threat for individuals and families because (a) the stress jeopardizes important life goals such as health, security, and affectional ties, and (b) the problem posed cannot be immediately solved by the immediate resources of the ego, thereby generating a high level of uncertainty, anxiety and tension.<sup>16</sup>

The adolescent who is having difficulty coping with his own psychological and physiological changes encounters a stressful situation finds himself in a terribly difficult position. Not only does he encounter difficulty in functioning everyday but he must also cope with these unexpected situations. The adolescent confronts both an internal identity crisis and an external situation.

In the life of an individual he encounters traumatic events and he deals with them as they occur. This adolescent, however, experiences these situations as he struggles through his identity formation. Affecting the adolescent in a number of ways, a stressful event can present an insurmountable problem to him. He will react strongly and emotionally to an event an adult can handle. It is during these situations that an adolescent will turn to someone for help.

He will accept the help offered to him as a result of the pressure he feels from the identity crisis, alienation and the onset of a stressful situation. The three form a constellation which permit the adolescent to accept someone outside his youth culture. He will use the helping person for the duration of the crisis, and

in some cases will continue a relationship. The mechanics of the development of this relationship will be explored in the next section of the paper.

## Background

Jewish Family Service, a family agency, and Bronx House, a Jewish community center, have sponsored a program,\* which utilizes the above theoretical foundation. The program has three aspects to its functioning, for the purpose of reaching drug-prone marginal functioning adolescents. Each phase of the program reflects its aims in aiding the adolescent who is caught in a crisis or potential crisis situation and may turn to drug usage because other coping mechanisms have failed.

Co-op City, located in the North-East corner of the Bronx, consists of 15,000 households yielding approximately 55,000 people. About 70 percent of the families are Jewish, and there are an estimated 6,000 to 8,000 Jewish adolescents from ages of twelve to twenty-two. There are 35 twenty-six story buildings, several three story town houses, and three "center" complexes consisting of stores, synagogues and churches and rooms available to the co-operators at a small rental fee. In addition, Co-op City is an isolated section of New York City and access to and from the center city is difficult. In each section no facilities were built for social and recreational purposes, until the apartments were completed, and so, large numbers of teenagers began to congregate outside the buildings.

Recognizing there would be a need for a consultation center, Jewish Family Service opened an office in one of the buildings. A year later Jewish Family Service and Bronx House recognized the need for a program to help the adolescents.

<sup>16</sup> Howard J. Parad, "Preventative Case work: Problems and Implications," in Howard J. Parad, *Crisis Intervention*, (New York: Family Service Association of America, 1969), pp. 288-289.

\* Since the delivery of this paper, continued by Jewish Family Service, alone.

The program was designed to reach the youth through streetwork with individuals and groups.

### Streetwork

In concentrating on the elements of a unified approach to outreach, I will begin with "streetwork" as a form of social work practice which utilizes the knowledge and skills of the profession. The *Contact* is the central concept of streetwork. It is the engagement of the worker and adolescent without prior regard to time, place, or physical setting. The worker has little control of the structure of the interview, and he must utilize his awareness of the lack of control to enhance the engagement. Every adolescent is seen as a prospective client, and the contact bridges the gap between knowing a young person on the street and having a meaningful engagement with a client.

As the worker walks the streets he will begin to talk with the adolescents in the geographical area he is serving. The contact begins when the worker is seen by the prospective client, and the worker must be aware of himself and his possible impact on the adolescents. As he approaches they may assume he is a narcotics agent or an attendance officer from a local high school. He must formulate his approach and speak openly with them.

The beginning engagement is a statement of his role and his willingness to help, within the limits of that role. The first contacts allow the adolescents to test the worker and to question him in reference to his role. There must be a clear differentiation about his purpose and function in comparison to other helping people in the community. The adolescent internally mistrusts the worker and may remark about the strangeness of having a social worker come up to him on the street. This allows the young people to express their anxiety and begin the establishment of a relationship. In the same way that a first interview in a family agency begins or a group session in a community center, the streetworker has his beginnings.

However, the first contact is not rec-

ognized as a beginning by the prospective client. The adolescent considers it an accident or a coincidence, while the worker might have planned to be on the street at that time of the day. The key factor in streetwork is the emergence of a meaningful contact out of the phenomenon. The phenomenon is the worker's happenstance meeting with an adolescent on the street, and it becomes a contact as the worker engages the adolescent. As the worker begins to form a relationship with the adolescent, the worker's role becomes clear to the adolescent, and he may wish to utilize the service offered to him.

It is at this point that the worker utilizes those skills which concern themselves with beginning a worker-client relationship. He begins to assess the needs of the individual while making clear his position in the community and what he has to offer. As he proceeds to make contact with different groups in the community, there will be various responses. Some will trust him and want to know more about what he is doing, and in some cases young people will want to speak to him about things in their lives they find upsetting. Others, who are less trusting, may turn away and continue to see him on the street. In the latter case, the worker is conscious of each time he meets this youngster and will allow the youngster to probe during their conversations. The interchange between them, whether for five minutes or twenty minutes begins to form a process. In the same way a worker uses process during a scheduled interview in a family agency, he will use the common process of the street contact. The worker uses this process to help the youth experience himself and the worker differently each time they engage with each other. Thus, the social work base, as used in an office interview, is the same, but the form and pattern of the interview are changed, by the worker, to meet the nature of the phenomenon.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Ruth E. Smalley, *Theory for Social Work Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), p. 130.

In assessing the needs of the street client, it may be necessary to involve the family, as the trust of the worker increases, he may be able to suggest family involvement to the adolescent. Thus, the process begins with the initial engagement of the family. A specific case comes to mind:

A young man wanted to drop out of college, and I eventually held a family session concerning this issue. He knew me from the street but never spoke to me about this problem and kept a "hello-goodbye" relationship. When he was in a crisis he turned to me and asked if I could help him. He was in great pain over the pressure from his parents to remain in school, and he had been both to the academic counselor and psychologist at the college. They had helped him to make the decision to take a leave of absence and he was not sure he wanted to leave. In addition, he would now have to face his parents and was not sure how he was going to handle this part of it. He came to me, hoping I would help him convince his parents it was important for him to leave school. Once my role was clarified to him, in terms of helping him speak to his parents but not advocating his position, I was able to move into a family interview. The interview focused on the difficulty he felt about talking to his parents and the immediate decision facing him.

However, there are those contacts which may not lead to any substantial involvement of the individual or his family. In this context, the worker may be used only in times of crisis and may not have a sustaining relationship with each individual. An example might be the youngster who seeks out the worker when he is afraid he has venereal disease. Another example might be the fourteen year old who has missed her menstrual period and is afraid she is pregnant. In these situations the worker may develop a relationship, but the adolescent may only want a referral and not an involved relationship. However, this contact begins the process of forming a relationship based on the trust of the streetworker. After the crisis has been resolved, the adolescent may then seek out the worker to deal with any underlying

problem. The worker communicates his willingness to be helpful in times of crisis and desire to continue his relationship with the adolescent.

If the adolescent has felt the concern and has a willingness to trust the worker, the chance for a continuing relationship exists. However, some young people only seek to find a "band-aid" and will only use the worker when they hurt. When this is the extent of the service as well as those that form more lasting relationships, the "word" of the streetworker's existence and availability spreads through the adolescent community. In this way, the adolescent who will not utilize traditional forms of social service finds acceptance within the boundaries of the outreach program.

Depending on the need, the streetworker has the flexibility to refer the family or to see them for short-term treatment. In Co-op City, the outreach staff have been able to bring families into the local family service offices and in some cases joint interviews with caseworkers have been held to enhance the transfer of the case. If an outreach program begins to develop a case load, then the function changes and the flexibility of outreach is lost.

### Group Contacts

The streetworker maintains a flexible approach to his purpose and function in the community. Not only does he deal with individual adolescents, but also works with groups he encounters on the street. Integral to the adolescent's development is his intimacy with and testing of other adolescents. The group experience is the foundation of adolescent programs in Jewish community centers like Bronx House,<sup>18</sup> and it was included in the design of the outreach program.

<sup>18</sup> Louis Kraft, *The Development of the Jewish Community Center: Purposes, Principles and Practice* (New York: Association of Jewish Center Workers, 1967), p. 255.



Throughout Co-op City large numbers of adolescents congregate outside the apartment buildings. As they meet, they form natural groups of thirty and forty. The worker forms a relationship with a few members of the group and the others want to know who he is and what he is going to do for them. The group begins to test or "haze" the worker as he forms a relationship with them. The initial contact resembles the individual contact, but the worker formulates a different set of goals as he engages with the group. He may offer them program services for establishing teen-lounges as well as an opportunity to form a "rap group." A rap group is a short-term group that allows its members open end informal discussion. The group may offer the young people an opportunity to learn that the difficulties of growing up are not only part of their lives as individuals, but are also shared with other young people. Rap groups are not treatment oriented and can only be exploratory in nature. As the teenager begins to gather a sense of himself and others, through the group experience, he is better able to acknowledge the frustrations of adolescence. In addition, he is exposed to the streetworker and has a sense of what the worker has to offer to the young people of the community.

As the streetworker meets with unorganized groups of teenagers, he is able to help them identify what they want as a group, and whether it coincides with his role as a worker in the community. In this way, the worker begins to establish a relationship with the adolescent. As mentioned above, he may offer them help in organizing a teen-lounge program. In one instance, a group of adolescents became an organized club and developed a relationship with a group of adults who wanted to sponsor a teen group. (In Co-op City, adults are needed to sponsor teen groups for purposes of renting meeting rooms.) After several

months of work with both the adult community group and the teen-club, a teen-lounge program was organized. Within the lounge program, two rap groups were started, and the adolescents were able to use the streetworker in another context. Thus, the streetworker's role expands as his involvement in the community increases.

In connection with the teen-lounge, the adult group needed guidance and support to continue their functioning in Co-op City. Once the outreach worker recognized the need of the adult group, he engaged with the group and helped them to identify their needs. At this point the worker referred the group to the community center where they would receive help in establishing an organized teen-lounge.

### **Community Contacts**

A co-operative community, like Co-op City, places demands on the residents to provide their own community activities. As a part of the community we have been asked at different times to help in the development of community projects. One such project is the Community Action Listening Line, (C.A.L.L.), a volunteer, emergency hotline. Originally designed to reach adolescents, the hotline now serves the general community.

The outreach program has taken responsibility in developing the volunteer leadership and providing the professional training for the listeners. The management of Co-op City has jointly supported the hotline by providing room space and telephone lines. The hotline is a self help project, and the outreach program assists in strengthening the leadership and enabling them to exist as an independent group. The volunteers who answer the phones, are community residents and reflect a wide age range from sixteen to fifty.

*Conclusion*

In reviewing the bi-agency project, there is a unified social work approach to the individual, group, and community. The worker is not exclusively a caseworker, group worker or community organizer but a professional social worker who uses his skills to reach out beyond the limits of a worker in a "casework role." The philosophy

grounds itself in extending a helping service to the adolescent where they are both physically and psychologically. Outreach is defined as "to reach beyond; exceed,"<sup>19</sup> and such a program will stretch the limits of more traditional types of social service.

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<sup>19</sup> *Dictionary of the English Language*, (New York: Random House, 1967).