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ARTICLE

Skinhead Trends in France and Their Rituals: A Psycho-Sociological Approach to Their Apolitical Concerts

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ABSTRACT

This paper is a theoretical comment based on long participant observation in France. While it is not a detailed presentation of the empirical results, it does summarize its main lines. The aim is to highlight the nuances of commitment, the collective memory, and the intergroup relationships that structure concrete and significant interactions among French skinheads. Three processes explain the development of apolitical skinhead concerts in France since the late 1990s: a. the establishment of resistance through rituals and the affirmation of belonging to the same community; b. the need to experience a hypnotic crowd trance; c. the ambivalence of these communities in the face of intercultural relationships and mixed global music. These three psycho-sociological characteristics influence the French replication of a typically and historically British youth culture. The skinhead rituals observed at apolitical concerts are reproductive, conservative, fetishist, ritualistic. They aim to establish the broad outlines of common stylistic identity. Moreover, the social representation of the skinhead is like a heritage, which allows the actualization of a memory of the provocation of violence and anger. Finally, this social representation is linked to a continual dissemination of its associated musical styles specific to these circles (ska, rocksteady, early reggae, street-punk, and Oi!).

Keywords: Anger; Apolitical Concerts; Music; Crowd Trance; Psycho-Sociological Approach; Skinhead

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1. Introduction

The study of French skinhead apolitical concerts, particularly those involving Oi! music, allows us to observe a structure of representations corresponding to ritual interactions between the participants in these public events. We therefore regularly observe mimetic behaviors and the need for a crowd psycho-sociological effect. While not entirely discarded, the main aim of this article is not to present a lengthy discussion of the political aspect of skinhead practices, e.g., the movement's extremist partisanship. The study's originality lies in its psycho-sociological explanation of the appeal of a shared angry crowd-trance pattern in the skinheads' attitude and in global pop culture. It also examines how this pattern develops. It is acknowledged that the phenomenon of the skinheads belongs to the wider field of the ethnographic study of urban gangs^[1-7]. It is also important to acknowledge the contributions of researchers at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, UK, who have extensively commented on the skinhead subculture through its working-class culture dimension^[8-10]. A significant body of research on social marginalization has highlighted the pivotal role of appropriating spaces and territories for male gangs^[11] or neo-tribes^[12, 13]. However, observations of the historical and temporal metamorphosis of gangs, through their different styles and aesthetic expressions, only reinforce the theoretical framework of this study. First, we examine the existence and permanence of a basic transcultural and structural form of populism based on cultural contents—which translates into a need for a crowd trance—in various pop music cultures. Second, we analyze a specific psychosocial ambivalence of skinheads' behaviors.

In contrast to the prejudices based on meaningful figures and symbols, the various skinhead movements have provided excellent examples of the blending of Jamaican and European cultures which originated in the United Kingdom in 1960, and subsequently spread across the globe. These phenomena, which are commonly referred to as “popular cultures,” are complex, even though they may appear simple or primitive on the surface.

Whether they are redskins, apolitical, or partisans of extreme nationalism, skinheads experience a similar thrill of the crowd and the same nostalgia for the music, clothing, and cultural forms they adopt. Despite the existence of significant ideological differences and occasional physical

confrontations, a sense of community binds them together. In contrast to popular perceptions, most are not politically active. There has always been a significant proportion of apolitical skinheads.

The paper concludes with a discussion of the contemporary evolution of these deviant forms of sociability, their psycho-sociological significance, and the transformation of the criminalization of skinheads.

This phenomenon, which originated primarily in working-class circles, has in recent years spread to a more heterogeneous fringe^[14, 15]. It is ideologically expressed by a kind of structural populism, with an aestheticizing intent. This is evidenced by the need for charisma and trance in crowds through a mass, albeit highly stylized, musical culture. Moreover, skinhead engagement is also predicated on profound ambivalence towards intercultural hybridization. There is a duality of sentiment towards Jamaican culture, which is simultaneously an object of admiration and of nationalistic ambiguity. This is evidenced by the inclination to disavow other communities beyond the group, while adopting select elements of their practices. This ambivalence about the experience of multiculturalism (or other cultures) is particularly noteworthy. It describes both an openness to others and a deep nostalgia for community and cultural belonging. The figure of the “*real skinhead*”, imbued with both semiotic and psycho-sociological connotations, is highly esteemed within these circles, reinforcing an in-group bias. Indeed, there is a notable consistency in attitudes and behavior within emotionally charged and tendentially angry circles, which defend authenticity as a value and obsess over the sincerity of commitment. Our primary hypothesis, although it has been previously developed^[12, 16-20], is that skinhead tendencies, like other expressive, extreme, and paradoxical phenomena, are relatively like the characteristics of many electro-amplified pop music trends. However, despite this apparent similarity, their ideological expressions appear to diverge significantly due to contrasting political or doctrinal affiliations. This viewpoint is diametrically opposed to an emancipatory theorization of popular music. However, our paper also posits that youth, and marginal cultures must be analyzed through the lens of “identity,” “subculture,” and “resistance.” Experts in the field of cultural studies have addressed this kind of paradox in depth in their research^[21]. This paper contributes to the distanced analysis of populism

and radicalism in the electro-amplified music scenes, which continue to be ambivalent forms of rebellion that can be aesthetically and expressively translated in various ways. This analysis also considers the subsequent violent or ritualized excesses that can result from these forms of rebellion.

It can be argued that “*resistance through rituals*” is therefore an important aspect of our thinking and our problem^[22]. Our aim is neither to excessively denigrate nor to abstractly idealize these musical and sociological trends. The objective is to demonstrate that these phenomena represent a “wild and uncontrolled return of the need for ritual,” as defined by Roger Bastide, in his essay on “*The Sacred Wild*” (*Le Sacré Sauvage*)^[23]. In a form that is difficult to understand in postmodern contemporary spaces, these musical and sociological trends group together and symbolize atomized semi-community resistances to social change and induced interpersonal and cultural shifts.

In this initial first section, we set out the problematic, which revolves around the meaning of “resistance through ritual,” the hypnotic effect of community, and crowd sociability, as well as the conventional function of theatricalization in such practices. In the following paragraph, we will present the methodology of the field study and explain why we cannot systematically cite all the data collected in this paper. An extensive period of participant observation in these settings has been presented in a synoptic table synthesizing the various scenes and events studied (see **Table 1**: Section 2). The description and commentary on the characteristics of the skinhead movement in France are based on the ethnography, including the participant observation, of Oi! music concerts, conducted by Gildas Lescop in his Ph.D thesis in sociology and various publications he has produced^[24, 25]. Additionally, our descriptions of skinhead behavior were informed by a comprehensive review of relevant literature on the subject (see **Table 2**, in Section 4.1 below).

This article examines some socio-historical and political specifics of the skinhead milieu, including whether they are antiracist movements or, conversely, nationalist and anticommunist. It employs the grounded theory mode of analysis, integrating and articulating field observations and research references on the subject matter, as has been done in other studies of skinheads or musical cultures^[16, 26–33]. Consequently, in the fourth paragraph, we will integrate progressively references from the literature review on the

anthropology of these environments into our commentary and interpretation of the various themes. The fourth section of this article is entirely devoted to the interpretation of emotional regulation and forms of ritualization during skinhead concerts and practices. Four thematic nodes will be explored in depth:

- a. The meaning of criminalization and structural populism with aesthetic tendencies among these followers.
- b. The mythologization of the figure of the “true skinhead” and its translation into rituals, theatricality, and staging.
- c. The role of seduction and gender relations in the context of the symbolic image of the “skin girl” or “skinhead girl”.
- d. The transmission of the skinhead cultural heritage, regardless of political affiliation, and its intergenerational evolution.

2. Survey Methodology: A Long Participant Observation: First Step of This Article

The study of these factions necessitates consistency, rigor, and audacity. At first glance, skinhead cultures appear to be unfriendly, and thus, their factions must be observed using a naturalistic ethnographic method. At the same time, however, there must be a low tolerance for gratuitous, hostile, xenophobic, and violent behaviors. Over the past fifty years, the field of cultural practices has not been entirely uniform, clear-cut or Manichean^[34]. Despite the media’s over-exposure of the worst caricatures of the deviant, criminal, extreme right-wing groups^[6, 35, 36], it is not possible to unilaterally establish the existence of a clear-cut dichotomy between these deviant groups and other cultural practices.

Due to the inherently risky nature of the object of enquiry and the challenging environment in which the study was conducted, it proved to be somewhat difficult to implement an ethnographic approach (and participant observation) to research these groups over the course of several years. This was compounded by the presence of latent violence, the confrontation with closed groups, and the pervasiveness of stereotyping. Nevertheless, participant observation represents the most effective methodology for the collection of this type of data. The observations and comments presented in this paper are based on the findings of a long-term

ethnographic and observation study^[24]. A summary of observations of public situations and events is presented in **Table 1** below. For those not part of the milieu, it is challenging to obtain information about the concert venues. Since 2005–2010, with the accentuated refocusing of the skin scene and the development of social networks, there has been a notable shift in the landscape^[37–39].

In such circumstances, observers of events such as apolitical concerts must be aware of at least one individual who is able to provide information about the appropriate attire and who may even be allowed to attend the event, with any friends. An individual arriving at the venue unaccompanied and without prior knowledge of the local social dynamics may appear somewhat suspicious, particularly in the context where social interactions are often based on informal groups and a mimetic drive between groups. The individual serving as both informant and guide must be a well-known and respected figure within this milieu. These prerequisites have helped the observer navigate this type of environment, reducing the likelihood of unnecessary questioning and protecting him from potential aggression. Moreover, one informant who accompanied the ethnographer to a concert was punched in the face right at the entrance to the venue, which in many ways placed the sociological researcher in a very delicate position.

Consequently, a “veteran” of these environments who knows the place and its surroundings, with both experience and a certain distance from the groups present, was the ideal choice to accompany an observer. Indeed, one’s appearance

plays an essential role in the skinhead milieu. It is imperative to adopt the appropriate demeanor, which entails striving to remain inconspicuous, paying close attention to the remarks made, and refraining from exhibiting poor taste in clothing or behavior. In these sometimes violence-filled places, where alcohol is used as a means of releasing impulses, conspicuous behavior and attire that fail to meet the dress code—for example, hair that is too long, looking so happy or too over-anxious—can very quickly turn a member of the audience into a potential victim. In essence, heed the counsel of seasoned observers of radical movements: consume alcohol in moderation, engage in discourse in moderation, and refrain from appearing overly “intellectual,” as Bill Buford^[40] proposed long ago. Nevertheless, the pacification of the oi! scene because of its political reorientation renders all these precautions almost obsolete. Since approximately 2015, this relaxation of public contexts has dismayed veteran skinheads. This development is perceived as a sanitization of the scene. The skinhead concert is no longer experienced as an “electrifying adventure” capable of getting the adrenaline pumping. Instead, it has become an event like any other that is now perceived as being within the bounds of normalcy. The following is the list of public skinhead events (**Table 1**), observed from 2000 to 2010, which was used as an empirical basis for this psycho-sociological analysis. Subsequent observations were conducted after 2010, in concerts et on the web. They were less numerous. Thus, the objective was only to confirm the recurrences, and the information previously noted.

Table 1. List of the venues for the participant observation of skinhead concerts.

Event Name	Date of the Concert	Public Venue	Names of the Bands	Audience
Streetpunk Christmas Party 1	15/12/01	Au “Cellier” Boqueho (22)	Lutèce Borgia (Fr) les Teckels (Fr)	200
Streetpunk Christmas Party 2	14/12/02	Au “Cellier” Boqueho (22)	The Veros (Fr) + Lourd 5 (Fr) ++ special guest	200
Streetpunk Christmas Party 3	13/12/03	Au “Cellier” Boqueho (22)	Lourd 5 (Fr) + Haircut (Fr) +Ultimo Asalto (Esp)	250
Streetpunk Christmas Party 4	11/11/04	Au “Cellier” Boqueho (22)	On the Rampage (Fr) + Jacques Mesrine X’ perience (Fr) +Janitors (Fr) + Menace (Uk)	250
Streetpunk Christmas Party 5	10/12/05	Au “Cellier” Boqueho (22)	St Georges B. (Fr) + The Old Cunts (Fr) + Rythm’n’Boots (Fr) Radiations (Fr) + On File (Écosse)	250
Streetpunk Christmas Party 6	09/12/06	Salle municipale Boqueho (22)	The Rudes (Fr) + Rythm’n’Boots (Fr) + The Agitators (Belg) + The Last Resort (Uk)	400

Table 1. Cont.

Event Name	Date of the Concert	Public Venue	Names of the Bands	Audience
Streetpunk Christmas Party 7	01/12/07	Salle polyvalente Boqueho (22)	Bombardiers (Fr) + Shaved Dogs (Esp) + Bakers Dozen (Écosse) Resistance 77 (Uk) + Condemned 84 (uk)	620
Streetpunk Christmas Party 8	06/12/08	Salle polyvalente Boqueho (22)	Dickheads (Fr) + The Black Tartan Clan (Belg) + Superyob (Uk) + Evil Conduct (NL) + Anti-Nowhere League (UK) + La Souris Déglinguée (Fr) + The Business (UK)	600
Streetpunk Christmas Party 9	12/12/09	La scène Vernouillet (78)	Unfit (Fr) + Haircut (fr) + Bootstroke (Grèce) + Negative IQ (fr) + 4Skins (uk)	600
Streetpunk Christmas Party 10	12/11/10	La scène Vernouillet (78)	Misogynes (Fr) + Rythm'n'Boots (Fr) + Bombardiers (Fr) + Deadline (Uk) + U.S Bombs (USA) + LSD (FR) + Cock Sparrer (Uk)	900
Brittany Oi fest 1	07/04/07	Salle polyvalente Boqueho (22)	Janitors (Fr) + Ol' Cunts (Fr) + Vero's (Fr) + Loyalty (Uk) + Evil Conduct (NL) + Argy Bargy (Uk) + Cockeny Rejects (Uk)	500
Oi ! En France 1	11/11/00	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Les Teckels (Fr) + Toltshock (fr) + Gundog (Uk) + On File (Écosse)	250
Oi ! En France 2	07/04/01	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Négative IQ (Fr) + P38 (Fr) + Stomper 98 (All) + Skinflicks (Lux) + Oxblood (USA)	300
Oi ! En France 3	20/04/02	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Haircut (Fr) + The Veros (Fr) + Ultimo Asalto (Esp) + Retaliator (Uk)	300
Oi ! En France 4	09/11/02	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Traquenard (Fr) + Loyalty (Uk) + Oeil Pour Oeil (Fr) + Headcase (Belg) + Haircut (Fr) + On File (Écosse)	300
Oi ! En France 5	05/04/03	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Les Poches (Fr) + Cri D'Alerte (Fr) + Lourds 5 (Fr) + Conflict 75 (Fr) Templars (USA)	300
Oi ! En France 6	11/10/03	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Schusterjungs (All) + Veros (Fr) + Razorblade (Holl) + Outfist + Clockwork Crew (SE) + Boots and Braces (All) + Perkele (SE)	300
Oi ! En France 7	27/03/04	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	Janitors (fr) + Riot Squad (Esp) + Evil Conduct (Hollande) + HardxTimes (Fr) + The Last Resort (GB)	300
Oi ! En France 8	08/01/08	Le Pub Fiction Morville-en-Beauce (45)	The Veros (Fr), Haircut (Fr) + Volxsturm (All), Banner Of Thugs (Holl) + Bulldozer (Esp), Criminal Class (UK)	300
Association Bertel	23/02/02	Salle municipale Scaer (29)	Overdose TV (FR) + Toltshock (FR) + P38 (FR) + Deadline (UK)	200
Breizh Wankers	05/07/03	Le Kissing Bar Rennes (35)	Lourds 5 (FR) + Les Corons Puent (FR) + Traquenard (FR)	50
Breizh Wankers	06/12/03	Le Kissing Bar Rennes (35)	Les Corons Puent (FR) + Lourds 5 (FR) + Negative IQ (FR)	50
Breizh Wankers	10/04/04	Au "Cellier" Boqueho (22)	Lourds 5 (FR) + Operation S (FR) + Bad Lieutenants (FR)	100
Breizh Wankers	11/04/04	Le Kissing Bar Rennes (35)	Lourds 5 (FR) + Operation S (FR) + Bad Lieutenants (FR)	50
Breizh Wankers	25/09/04	Mondo Bizarro Rennes (35)	Mickey Porno (FR) + Janitors (FR) + Warrior Kids (FR)	200

Table 1. Cont.

Event Name	Date of the Concert	Public Venue	Names of the Bands	Audience
Breizh Wankers	04/10/04	Le Kissing Bar Rennes (35)	Lourds 5 (FR) + On The Rampage (FR) Urban Crew (FR) Haircut (FR)	50
Breizh Wankers	15/10/05	Mondo Bizzaro Rennes (35)	Old Cunts (FR) Veros (FR) Criminal Class (UK)	200
Breizh Wankers	31/01/09	Mondo Bizarro Rennes (35)	Bombardiers (FR) + Al Kapott (FR) Peter and the Test Tube Babies (UK)	200
Hardcore trooper /UVPR/ Naoned Crew	13/03/09	Le Floride Nantes (44)	Frakture 44 (FR); Golden District (FR) The Headliners (FR); Tromatized Youth (FR); Trotskids (FR)	250

To conclude this section, it's worth highlighting the long involvement on the field of one of the two co-authors of this article, from 2000 to the present day; the other author of this paper himself undertook another long period of participant observation in punk and alternative rap circles between 1980 and 2001^[18, 19]. Lescop made regular incursions into this skinhead environment through concert attendance and other encounters. It became gradually a natural and familiar environment for him. However, he was quick to renounce the explicit display of his status as a sociologist in his survey. In fact, most skinheads are latently anti-intellectual. In the eyes of many of them, a sociologist is spontaneously considered a "leftist" and therefore a "useless and harmful being", etc. What's more, this declared observer status has led some skinheads to outdo each other in their theatrical and genuinely violent behavior. This outdoing each other led to major distortions in the observations on the ground. It reached the point where a police lieutenant finally summoned the observer and accused him of inspiring aggressive expeditions by hooligan gangs in a football stadium and of being a virtual "skinhead leader"^[24, 25]. This misunderstanding, while comical and confusing, seriously shook the observer, who then took refuge in a full and unobtrusive participant observation approach. Feeling that they were being observed, the skinheads overplayed all the behaviors that they felt their sociologist companion expected of them, to impress him and reproduce what they felt was the correct definition of a "bad boy". Apparently, these skinheads stayed peaceful when the observer wasn't present.

3. Socio-Historical Presentation: How Did Skinheads Come to Be in France?

With the risk of seeming tautological, we must reiterate that skinhead concerts appeal *implicitly* to a public made up of individuals that feel they belong to this movement. We say "implicitly" because the publicity for these concerts in France never mentions the term "skinhead" which is viewed as too negative. The use of this term can lead to complications when it comes to organizing such events, especially when booking the concert hall and dealing with the administrative paperwork. The information is disseminated to the target audience by the organizers, the bands, and the design of the posters, which make use of appropriate references. The advent of social networking sites has undoubtedly changed the way information about skinhead cultures is disseminated. Currently, news about concerts and festivals originates from groups created on Facebook or Instagram.

By their presence, their number, their active participation, their collective power, and a massive saturation of the public space, the skinheads will make the concert "their own". Depending on the specific sub-groups involved, these events can be distinguished by their musical and political characteristics. The skinhead movement has undergone significant evolutions and ideological discrepancies throughout its history. Sometimes, a considerable number of skinheads will attend a venue that was not specifically designed to cater them, such as a heavy metal concert. Why? One possible motivation for attending such events is to gain control of an unfamiliar territory. Another is to satisfy entertainment drives. If the skinhead audience grows sufficiently large

and exuberant, the event may very well become a “typical skinhead concert”. How can the semantic, cultural, political, symbolic, and musical importance of apolitical concerts in this type of subculture be explained? As is often the case, the practices of a movement reflect the outcome of its history and genesis. These practices are also the result of interactions that can influence subsequent events. Consequently, an apolitical concert can thus be a lifeline for many followers (whatever their political leaning in these circles) in their search for an essential space of catharsis. That’s why it is important to consider the socio-historical and political origins of these trends, which are generally categorized by the term “skinhead movement.”

3.1. The Ambivalent British Genesis of Skinhead Tendencies

The apolitical skinhead genre emerged in Great Britain at the end of the 1960s from the most rigid fringes of the mod movement, which was known as “hard mods”. The hard mods (1965–1966), in England, constituted a working-class tendency within the latter movement and could be identified as the precursors of the skinheads^[41]. In 1969, these nascent groups underwent a definitive transformation, becoming definitively identified as skinheads and stylistically and musically separated from the mod scene. As early as 1974, Mike Brake identified the working-class origins of skinhead bands in a series of interviews. He noted the passion for European football and the ethnocentric, puritan, cynical and violent characteristics of the individuals involved^[42]. At the same time, they exhibited a robust proletarian identity and a clear affinity with the style and music of Jamaica, in homage to the “rude boys” of the renowned Caribbean Island^[24, 43–45]. After reaching its peak in 1969, this first English movement began to decline in 1971 due to its notoriety for violence. This decline also resulted in the removal of the exotic sources of the initial music craze. Indeed, the actors of the Jamaican music scene increasingly and deliberately pulled away from their white skinhead partners, moving towards a preferentially black Rastafarian scene. A new generation of skinheads emerged between the 1970s and the 1980s, initially supporting the street-punk scene^[34, 46, 47], only to later take over the Oi! punk rock variety and make it their preferred genre. The Oi! trend became the musical expression of the second generation of punk skinheads.

At the same time, the 2-Tone label ska revival, created in 1979 and embodied by bands such as The Specials, The Selecter and Madness, also contributed to the revival of the skinhead movement in its own way, by updating the old 1960s music and dress codes. Under the emblem of the black and white checkerboard, symbol of the crossbreeding of their music and their bands composed of black and white musicians, the 2-Tone scene was at the forefront of the antiracist and antifascist fights. They had to confront the political provocation and violence associated with a section of their skinhead audience^[48].

Nevertheless, it was the Oi! scene that was most engaged in the specific excesses and the bad-boy image of skinheads in general. The Oi! mini festival which took place in a pub in Southall, a western suburb of London on July 3, 1981, and which resulted in a riot, contributed to the negative reputation of this music and its audience. The Oi! music has remained the most representative style of the movement to this day, despite the existence of other musical genres, such as Jamaican-influenced Ska, which also feature in the repertoire of skinhead musical tastes.

The second skinhead movement reached a pivotal point with the attempted political manipulation led by the British National Front, which resulted in the emergence of the RAC (Rock Against Communism) scene in England. Originally, RAC was very close to the Oi! culture. However, RAC movement introduced an anti-communist, nationalistic, xenophobic, and racist discourse into the Oi! style. Developed under the patronage of the National Front and against RAR (Rock Against Racism), RAC was viewed as the spearhead of a nationalistic form of rock music, destined to popularize extreme right beliefs among British youth. RAC initially adopted the stylistic conventions of the Oi! music before diverging and incorporating elements of metal. Nevertheless, there have always been anti-fascist and anti-racist Oi! groups.

The initial consequence of this phenomenon was the highly publicized emergence and deployment of the “white power” ideology, which was closely linked to the skinhead movement^[37, 49]. The second consequence was the fragmentation of the skinhead movement into several factions. One such faction was the “Redskins”, an anti-fascist and anti-racist group. Another, the SHARP (Skinheads Against Racial Prejudice), was founded as a reaction to the white power skinheads. Some of the SHARP branches publicly

declared themselves to be antiracist, antifascist, and anti-communist. The Redskins espoused an extreme left-wing ideology, whereas the SHARP did not subscribe to any political ideology. In the present era, the term “Redskins” is most associated with RASH (Red and Anarchist Skinheads).

The “apolitical skinheads” finally constituted as a fourth branch of these trends. They eschewed all forms of political discourse, perceiving them as manipulative or otherwise undesirable. This positioning was defended by the “*skinzine*” (or skinhead magazine): *Hard As Nails*, launched in 1983. Through its “*Campaign For Real Skinheads*,” this publication, which presented itself as “*anti-racist*,” “*patriotic*,” and “*apolitical*,” sought to combat both generational and political divisions within the movement and against its negative brand image outside the movement. *Hard As Nails* advanced the idea of establishing an “authentic” skinhead movement anchored in a historical continuum through the creation of a synthesis between the skinhead movement of the 1960s and that of the 1980s, based on purported common references and values, with the objective of proposing a global and unifying vision of a single evolving trend, while excluding any potentially divisive political references. Those who espoused apolitical views claimed to be “*patriots*,” or even “*nationalists*,” yet also “*non-racist*.” They thus considered the SHARPs to be excessively aligned with left-wing ideology. Conversely, they were and still are regarded by the SHARPs, and even more so by the Redskins, as being “shady” characters, suspected of having “ambiguous” and even complaisant relations with the different political parties, specifically the right-wing ones. Apolitical people (“*Apos*”) are criticized for being tolerant in their association with people considered dubious, rather than being hidden supporters of a political party.

3.2. The Establishment of Skinhead Forms in France

These political and ideological conflicts were exported to France, with success, exhibiting a high degree of historical and sociological fidelity, compared to the British matrix. The 1960s skinhead movement did not have a significant impact in France. The inaugural French skinhead current arrived in Paris around 1978. This group emerged from the convergence of two distinct movements: the punks, from

whom they inherited a penchant for provocation, and the second-generation skinheads, whose violence they held in high regard. The group was comprised of French nationals of diverse ethnic origins who exhibited a minimal interest in politics. These small groups attempted to assert their presence in the public space and to defend their territory against rival gangs. Modeling themselves on the English movement, old and new French gangs embraced a nationalistic ideology, leading to the departure of some “historical” figures.

During the 1980s, the expansion of white-power skinheads in England contributed to the radicalization of the French skinhead movement. This racist tendency was audible in certain songs of French Oi! and was also visible in football stadiums, such as the Parc des Princes in Paris. The increase in street violence, which was widely denounced by the media, led to police retaliation against skinheads who claimed white power. This had led in the emergence of rival gangs, which were known as the “*skinhead hunters*”. The Parisian gang “*The Ducky Boys*” and the French branch of the Redskins, which was known as “*The Red Warriors*,” were two such factions^[3]. From the 1990s onward, the supremacy of the skinheads disappeared, and the French skinhead movement dwindled and splintered into smaller factions. These included: *a.* nationalistic skinheads; *b.* publicly discreet white power skinheads, chased through the streets and confronted with police repression; *c.* SHARPs; *d.* Redskins, and *e.* apolitical option (^[24]. pp. 97–108). Since that time, these sub-groups have consistently endeavored to consolidate into a unified new entity.

Reflecting these various trends, skinhead concerts may have different political orientations: i.e., RAC events of the extreme right, the antiracist and antifascist music concerts of the extreme left Redskins and/or the SHARPs, and the apolitical performances whose publicity insists “Political bullshit stay out”. We should also note that since the disappearance of the RAC scene and the apolitical repositioning of the skinhead scene (particularly in France in the 2010–2020 period), apolitical concerts have become the norm^[46, 49]. Additionally, a noteworthy concomitant phenomenon has been the occurrence of the most recent neo-Nazi music festival in France, which was held in the Grenoble region. This festival featured black metal music¹. One of the many signs that the

¹Unidentified author, “Le festival de metal néonazi se tient en Isère, dans une salle communale”. *Le Dauphiné Libéré*, 24 février 2024: <https://www.ledauphine.com/faits-divers-justice/2024/02/24/le-festival-de-metal-neonazi-se-tient-en-isere>

neo-Nazi trend is disappearing in France.

The apolitical nature of the concert is indeed portrayed by the organizers as a “neutral” space where the audience is not allowed to “show their political colors” to avoid any unwelcome friction. Heavily connoted signs, symbols, badges, patches, t-shirts, and even shoelaces that could reveal political affiliation, are banned. Although this rule is not set in stone, Redskins frequently wear red shoelaces, while white power partisans wear white ones. An example: at the last punk and oi! festival in Nantes², the oi! bands affiliated with SHARP refused to play on the same day as the Brigada, a RASH (Red and Anarchist Skinheads) formation.

Those who fail to adhere to the established norms of conduct are subject to the consequences of their actions. Such norms depend pragmatically on the profile of the organizers, the composition of the public and the degree of tolerance of the people involved. The music bands that perform on stage at apolitical concerts do not have an open political affiliation. A larger audience, regardless of their political beliefs, can therefore appreciate them for their musical abilities alone. Consequently, these concerts attract, in close promiscuity, a considerable number of individuals who hold disparate beliefs and often espouse conflicting opinions. In an environment where differences of opinion often end in street fights, with the protagonists, employing knuckle-dusters, a heavy atmosphere of general mistrust can set in. The murder of left-wing anti-fascist activist, Clément Méric³, by skinheads was widely reported by the French mass media. This last case provides a clear illustration of the typical and unfortunate excesses that can occur in these environments.

Apolitical concerts, in contrast to politicized concerts where there is obviously great complicity between the participants, address a more diverse audience and are more indicative of an under-politicized, non-activist environment. Given their reputation, skinheads are not typically welcomed in most political organizations. Conversely, the highly mediated radical hyper-racist groups do not represent many skinheads. They merely benefit from greater publicity. Moreover, these contexts are characterized by significant heterogeneity, with varying interactions and intricate situations. They represent a fertile and polymorphic field of study. Furthermore, the option of favoring “apolitical” concerts is supported by

the results of surveys indicating the ideological and socio-cultural heterogeneity of these movements^[31, 50].

The apolitical Oi! music concerts are potentially open to all, whereas RAC events are often threatened with a legal injunction and are therefore organized in secret. Nevertheless, the publicity for these apolitical concerts is limited and primarily directed towards a skinhead audience. In this context of apolitical events, that the empirical research, based mainly on participant observation, was conducted.

4. Emotional and Behavioral Ritualization at Public Events and Concerts

What has been the source of this implicit agreement and sense of “common good,” over the last fifty years or so, in the sense of a skinhead heritage to be preserved and, above all, passed on? How can we understand the persistence of this phenomenon beyond the stereotypes of neo-Nazism and racism, sometimes unfortunately well embodied? Let us examine the processes and key factors behind what Clark has already described as the “magical recovery of community”^[9]. At the forefront of the motivations for this communitarian quest is the need for neo-rituals and their effect on revitalization of social bonds. We will commence by delineating the phenomenon of “cultural and aesthetic populism” observed in these communities.

4.1. The Criminalization of These Groups and Their Aesthetic Populism

The criminalization associated with the skinhead image is a theme that is consistently addressed in both journalistic and academic writings. A literature search on Web of Science and Google Scholar for academic publications with the single keyword “Skinhead” yielded 106 references from 1974 to 2024. Nearly all these publications originate from North America and Europe in the broadest sense of that continent (including Russia). The following table presents a comprehensive overview of all the identified references, classified into two categories (Table 2). The first category includes works that describe and assess the specific violent abnormalities of skinhead movements, including their political

²Participatory fan diary: Raw Fest #3 16 au 17 février 2024: https://www.concerts-metal.com/concert_-_Raw_Fest_3-162596.html

³See: Laure Borredon, “A Young Man Beaten to Death in Paris: the ‘mark of the extreme right.’” *LeMonde.fr*, June 6, 2013.

extremism, inspired terror or violence, or the sung expression of hatred and racism, as well as the instrumentalization of music. This category of references accounts for two-thirds of the publications collected, both in North America, Western Europe, and the former Eastern European countries, including Ukraine and Russia, where skinhead gangs have received some attention from certain researchers since the early 2000s. A substantial corpus of literature attests to the pervasiveness of a transnational concern regarding the hateful, macho, and racist proliferation of the skinhead phenomenon.

It is crucial to acknowledge that in addition to skinhead trends, there are other musical currents that espouse racist or aggressive views. One illustrative example is the Gabber-skin scene in Northern France. The term “*Gabberskin*” is employed in France, the Netherlands, and Belgium to designate fans of hardcore electro and techno music who adhere to the beliefs and agenda of the extreme right. A comparable

phenomenon can be observed in the case of NSBM (National Socialist Black Metal), a musical genre that has attracted the attention of numerous racist and neo-Nazi groups^[51].

It is therefore necessary to consider whether this label can be generalized to all skinheads since 1969, in all parts of the world. A third of the bibliographical references listed present an alternative version of the skinhead narrative, which is more focused on the description of historical, cultural, and socio-economic conditions, and more linked to the determinisms of the social stratification of these highly atomized groupings. This type of publication rarely employs an apologetic discourse regarding the skinhead movement. In contrast, it adheres to an anthropological and analytical approach, which illuminates both the negative and positive aspects of these youth cultures, their ambivalence, their confrontation with stigmatization, and their trajectories and representations.

Table 2. Synthesis of a literature review on the key word “skinhead” (Web of sciences/Google Scholar).

Main Study Countries	Thematic Focus of the Publication	
	<i>Political extremism, terror, violence, hatred, instrumentalization of music, identity rock</i>	<i>Socio-economic or cultural contexts, ambivalent, heterogeneous worlds, subcultures</i>
Germany (8 references)	[52–59]	
France (15 references)	[51, 60–63]	[3, 24, 25, 27, 41, 46–49, 64, 65]
United Kingdom (17 references)	[36, 66–73]	[8–10, 34, 40, 42, 44, 69, 71, 73–81]
Italy (1 reference)	[55]	
Portugal (1 reference)	[82]	
Spain (2 references)		[14, 83]
Sweden (8 references)	[21, 84–88]	[20, 21]
Finland (1 reference)	[89]	
Denmark (1 reference)	[90]	
Ukraine (1 reference)		[91]
Czech Republic (8 references)	[43, 92–95]	[96, 97]
Israel (1 reference)	[98]	
Bulgaria (1 reference)	[99]	

Table 2. Cont.

Main Study Countries	Thematic Focus of the Publication	
	<i>Political extremism, terror, violence, hatred, instrumentalization of music, identity rock</i>	<i>Socio-economic or cultural contexts, ambivalent, heterogeneous worlds, subcultures</i>
United State of America (24 references)	[6, 7, 15, 16, 26, 100–112]	[37, 45, 111, 113–116]
Canada (5 references)	[30, 31, 34, 38, 117]	
New-Zealand Australia (2 references)	[39]	[118]
Russia (10 references)	[119–128]	

However, all popular electro-amplified music cultures, and thus all skinhead movements, have a common cultural foundation. Like other countercultural and popular movements, skinheads are immersed in the rituals associated with musical expression and the pleasure offered by a densely crowded concert. This fascination with the “*crowd spirit*” of the music fans^[43, 129] and producers is a central focal point in research on rock and pop bands^[18, 32], informing a basic issue of mass psychology^[130]. Regardless of their respective ideologies, skinhead gangs and their eponymous bands derive immense satisfaction from investing, or even invading, the concert halls or soccer stadiums, and are highly proud of their distinctive forms of identification during codified and ritualistic interactions. Like the followers of other movements, especially music but also sports, they experience a sense of community and aesthetic emotion each time they gather and experience ceremonial moments of strong social effervescence^[18, 23, 131–140]. This intense need to be part of a crowd and to enjoy public trance states represents the ambivalent and intensive counterpart of the paranoid/schizophrenic behaviors favored by the “deterritorialization” of social identity and by economic liberalism^[141, 142]. From a certain perspective, this intense pursuit of pleasure in crowds nevertheless reflects a societal vitality and a need for social interaction that may gradually diminish in contemporary societies, due to policies of atomization, or digitalization, and domestic confinement of the masses, in the West, as was done, in a very destructive way, during the post-2020 period (confinements and other pseudo-sanitary measures: see for France^[143, 144]).

As previously stated, the public’s search for an altered state of mind and body is a commonality shared by skinhead events and other popular electro-amplified music genres^[145–149]. By systematically and enthusiastically reviv-

ing their own popular electro-amplified music, these “rhythmic crowds” genres^[150], pp. 29–33) or these “concrete groups”^[151], p. 63) consolidate a feeling of social belonging. The aesthetic unit created during the concert intensifies a quasi-mystical experience, that is external to everyday time and spaces, akin to chemically induced trance state genres^[19, 118, 152, 153]. Skinhead trends, like other forms of aesthetic populism, make use of this charismatic and hysterical register as a potentially mobilizing, if not innovative dimension^[154], pp. 62–65). The spontaneous instrumentalization of charisma can be linked to typical grassroots cultural productions^[155]. The fascination with collective rituals and the mods’ cultural movement diachronically corresponds to the origins of the skinhead and hard-mod phenomena^[45, 75, 116]. This also aligns with the history of the “*Nouvelle Droite*” ideology in Europe, and its esoteric and occultist ramifications^[17, 156–158]. Mysticism can be a component of the doctrine, philosophy, or dogma of both the right and the left, contingent on the dominant ideological content. The fanatical pursuit of an alternative mental and bodily state, including through brawls or concerts, helps us to comprehend the nature of these styles and contexts, while subsuming them within a more encompassing process — which has proven to be quite challenging to analyze theoretically — that we label “*cultural and musical populism*” or “*aesthetic populism*”. Pop music is not simply a creative and emancipated culture. This implies a novel form of alienation in which individualistic and narcissistic expressiveness becomes a conformist and absurd norm of having to be ever more original and closer to a dream self, a phenomenon that is often highlighted in the cultural industries. It is challenging to ignore this final analysis.

The hypothesis of *social and psychological ambiva-*

lence with respect to pop-rock bands' attitudes and the mimetic behaviors of the fans^[18, 32] is in line with the arguments of English researchers on music and cultural studies^[19, 20, 22, 159] and French researchers^[160]. The violent and angry nature of these groups is likely embedded in this ambivalence, which can be described as an "anomic tendency"^[18, 32]. Indeed, ambivalence arises from the dependence of these groups on the majority and dominant society and from confrontation between a highly competitive live music market, a nervous involvement in art, an uncertain search for success, and various difficulties in testing their own intellectual skills and their social visibility. Furthermore, it is evident that this underlying anxiety is informed by emotional and cognitive dissonance, whereby these groups simultaneously admire and reject popular and mixed cultures. The frequent conflicts within these skinhead groups are likely a means of expressing and temporarily alleviating this ambiguous and tense fascination, while simultaneously demonstrating a lack of power. The behavioral and cultural expression of this ambivalence/anxiety is obvious in their concert behaviors and their clothing fetishism.

Observation of these behaviors (concerts and clothing) allows us to understand the symbolic formalization of their cultural and intergroup framework. The groups are relatively small, with scattered clusters across national and/or regional areas. In their everyday life, waiting for the emotional intensity of the concert, skinheads survive by proxy and by asserting their clothing style and imagination. As already reiterated, on this point too, *the skinhead cultures are not so different from other music cultures of fans and consumers*.

Nevertheless, authenticity remains the central theme of the skinhead's discourse and attitude^[24, 43], which explains the multiple obsessive norms that characterize this sub-counterculture: namely, clothing, music, behavior and respect for the older generation and the past. These forms of conduct are associated with the valorization of binary oppositions (of race, status, gender, political relations) and hypermasculinity^[26, 66, 87]. Elders are regarded as "*transmitters of memory*" and "*guardians of the temple*". Prior to the advent of social media, this type of atmosphere and series of tributes were prevalent, with transmission occurring orally and directly from "*those who are*" to "*those who want to be*". The haunting claim to authenticity leads to an idealization of the past, which in turn determines the generally conserva-

tive mindset of the skinheads and their globally reactionary or nationalist tendencies. The initial and traditional skinhead *credo* was "*Authentic and English*" (or "*Authentic and French*"). These sub-countercultures function as "bastions" initially erected to protect against all changes considered a danger to the "values of the working class" and the "national identity". Additionally, the mixed origins of the movement became the paradoxical bases for memory and legitimacy. The left-wing or liberal skinheads claim multicultural origins in their musical tastes and habits, as this allows them to advance their self-portrayal as open-minded, antiracist and antifascist, as well as to participate in other "social" struggles.

Those on the right wing or with conservative leanings tend to downplay or even deny the multicultural origins of these trends. In contrast, they emphasize the patriotic and typically British or French nature of their ideology, thereby reinforcing the white identity of their movement. The reality of the skinhead movement is mysterious and ambiguous, to say the least: it admits to both foreign and national influences while defending a territorial identity. This is the reason why the individuals under study, the apolitical skinheads, made the formal choice of "not choosing". They remain on "a ridge line," preferring to accept these contradictions rather than attempting to resolve them. Concurrently, other musical genres, such as hip-hop, are similarly characterized by a high degree of territorialization.

This enduring outcropping of paradoxes explains the continuation of the state of anxiety, inherent to the skinhead movement and the search for idealized fusional and crowd moments, which apolitical concerts provide. The trance and bodily expression in the concerts serve as a time and space to forget this paradox in the form of a mystery, as in many community and deviant cultures. The apolitical stance is thus an implicit compromise festive, in terms of both aesthetic, and ritual, and it is adopted despite the fragmentation of the movement and, perhaps above all, *because* of ideological differences and political splinters. This compromise is also of a strategic nature. This attitude allows them to continue organizing concerts that would be forbidden if proposed by an organizer of an opposing or extreme-right faction.

The analysis of these orientations and this posture of constant negotiation between the skinheads themselves and between skinheads and local decision-makers regarding the

possibility of organizing concerts indicates that moments of celebration, and therefore sociability, are essential to their survival. Psycho-sociologically speaking, the public behaviors of skinheads, therefore, can be considered examples that illustrate the ritualistic and conservative character of these cultures^[40].

“For traditional skinheads, the creation of cultural items and the articulation of political beliefs serve to counter the conflicting ideals of racist factions. Our analysis illustrates how members continue to identify themselves as skinheads even when the public and media attach a racist label to anyone identified with the subculture” (^[116], p. 290).

Above all, they are aware of what they wish to keep, even if the public display is, at least in the French context, formally and specifically, apolitical.

4.2. The Theatricalization and Social Representation of the “Real Skinhead”

When we consider the concept of performance during concerts, it is evident that this occurs not only on the stage of musical expression, but also in the space reserved for the audience or in the parking lot adjoining the venue. In this sense, the apolitical skinhead concert can be viewed as a “total social fact” in the meaning given to it by Marcel Mauss^[161]. The valorization of a specific set of values during concert interaction necessitates that most spectators align themselves with their social representation of the skinhead. A social representation (or SR) is a socio-cognitive matrix that unites a group around norms and definitions that foster shared identifications. It therefore refers to social knowledge and practices that are shared and transmitted. It enables the regulation of communications, accepted behaviors, and opinions within a reference group or community^[162–164]. Consequently, there can be no concert rituals without the existence of representations that guide a group’s decision-making and conduct during these events. It is therefore important to analyze the representation of the true skinhead and that of female companions (skin girls) in these highly masculinized communities. The analysis of the SRs, that structure skinhead lifestyles, also enables us to understand the place of violence in these gatherings, despite the existence of par-

tisan discourse and populist doctrines. Apart from a very subtle codification of appearances, behaving like a “real skinhead” during a concert means testing one’s courage during a fight. This type of challenge is common, despite the existence of equally regular methods of restraint and collective channeling of violence and anger during these public events. While it is a dangerous undertaking for those not aware of its standards, the social control system at a skinhead concert is surprisingly effective. How is this type of event different from other popular or rock concerts?

Its first distinctive characteristic is its specific *target audience*. This type of event addresses a denigrated, underground public, whose seemingly outdated frames of reference belong to a constantly fetishized, memorized myth based on the organization of provocation and marginalization, borne out of fear or stress. As representatives of a prototype, these gangs are generally poorly understood in their phenomenal reality and variability. It is commonly assumed that these groups are associated with the violent extreme-right movements or gangsterism^[6, 7, 111, 112]. Some aspects of this notoriety are the subject of considerable dispute among the skinheads themselves. A significant proportion of those surveyed in France expressed their regret and disapproval about the conflation of their movement with a right-wing ideology that not all of them subscribe to and some even vehemently oppose. However, their reputation for violence does not really seem to bother them, since even though it may not attract any sympathizers, it can instill fear and give them an edgy aura of danger. This validates their image of “the radically authentic rebel,” encompassing all skinhead factions.

Skinheads have always taken pride in their violence, which is not only suggested, but often cruelly administered. Since the movement was first created, this attitude has been an integral part of its history and legacy. This final argument justifies the frequent reference to the *history of the British skinhead movement* in this paper with respect to French apolitical concerts. The two major periods of this subculture’s development -the old school and the confusing Oi!- became part of the *mythologizing (or SR) of the “true skinhead”* in France as well.

The hard mods, the skinheads’ direct ancestors, rallied to the mod movement less out of love for the genre and rather from a taste for riots and confrontation, embodying “the violent and aggressive aspect of the post-1964 mod-

ernism” ([76, 77], p. 272). Throughout the 1960s, the skinheads would distinguish themselves by actively participating in hooliganism at soccer stadiums^[8, 68]. They engaged in in-group brawls and violent acts directed at individuals whose lifestyle they disapproved of, including rockers, hippies, homosexuals, and Pakistani immigrants^[26]. Each generation of skinheads has assumed and acclaimed this kind of behavior. Indeed, it is this violence that has been popularized by sensationalist media outlets that has allowed them to assert their identity, to be noticed and to acquire a fast, albeit excessive and reductive, notoriety.

A significant proportion of young people in need of social recognition join these movements, as they appear to derive a sense of satisfaction and pride from their “*bad boy*” status. The initial skinheads perceived the designation of “*the main threat to public order*” by all public institutions as was a form of consecration. In the subsequent wave of Nazi skinheads, there has been a further increase in the number of individuals who have embraced the designation of “number one public enemy”. For example, a group of racist skinhead gangsters in California called themselves as PENI (Public Enemy Number One) in the early 2000s^[6]. This search for violent and provocative visibility led some individuals to join the movement, not because they had been moved by its ideology, but because they felt the need to be recognized and to feel that they mattered, even if it meant adopting the group’s most negative stigmata. It is important to note that one of the defining characteristics of the skin hunters (the Ducky Boys or the Red Warriors, in Paris) was their aspiration to surpass the skinheads in terms of violence. This was accomplished by establishing themselves at the pinnacle of this ecosystem, which could be described as a “*food chain*”. They asserted themselves as the “*supreme predators*,” or “*those who hunt those who claim to be hunters*”.

This “*outdated*” genre has undergone minimal evolution, since the 1980s, which has resulted in its fragmentation into numerous, similar and disparate sub-factions. The emergence of new trends is therefore driven by a reduced number of individuals who are devoted to the cult “figure of the skinhead”, following in the footsteps of the British founders, scrupulously upholding the memory of benchmark moments. Those who adhere to the skinhead subculture remain fixated on musical and sartorial references that are no longer acces-

sible and are left with mere symbols of a bygone era. To an outsider, the spectacle of a skinhead concert can seem somewhat anachronic. Like teddy boys’ meetings or mods’ scooter rallies, participants in these ritualistic events come to reconstruct the same visual environment, sound effects and atmosphere, all carbon copies of a glorified past. The bands provide the sound, and the audience provides the visual. As is often the case with electro-amplified music events, the participants play an active role in the show. This includes the bands members, aesthete, brawlers, provocateurs, restless dancers, and disillusioned former skinheads. This translates into a collective effort to recreate the fascinating atmosphere of the skinheads’ heyday, allowing the participants to project themselves, if only for an evening or a weekend, into a collectively rebuilt, timeless, reiterated elsewhere. In the early 1980s, the French punk band Wunderbach released a song entitled “*Paris-Londres*” that expressed a cynical and haunting desire for imitation through, rather provocative lyrics for such a milieu:

“Paris isn’t London / Le Gibus [an old concert hall in Paris] isn’t the Vortex/ Metal U are not the Pistols/ We don’t have Johnny Rotten/ 77-80/ There’s nothing left/ Of all this urban metal/ And about me, what am I to become/ Paris isn’t London/ Colombes isn’t the East-End/ We all make believe/ Les Halles are sad in the wintertime/ I had faith and I still have/I had faith, now I have more⁴.”

The typical audience of this type of concert is mostly male. There is a smaller contingent of punks and punkettes, with a greater number of individuals who could be described as “*psychos*,” or followers of the psychobilly genre, which is a fusion of punk rock and rockabilly. A small number of individuals lack an explicitly defined appearance. The latter are completely ignored, as if not having a particular style makes them transparent or totally insignificant. Among the skinhead audience, a good quarter of them were in their twenties, half in their thirties, and the remaining quarter were made up of “*old*” “*veterans*” often considered to be well-known and respected figures in this milieu for two main reasons: first, their remarkable longevity in an environment that for many is frequently only a short passage in life; and, second, they

⁴See: Music Album: Wunderbach, 82/84, “Paris-Londres,” 1982: <https://open.spotify.com/artist/48nlXULr2Whpyk2GRjZFOP>.

lived through the “*great era*” of the 1980s when “*being a skinhead really meant something*”.

4.3. The Skin Girl’s Community Status: A Gendered Public Effect

Since there are few skin girls (also known as “*skin-byrds*” or “*skinhead girl*”), they represent the ideal of femininity and the object of male skinhead fantasies by being incorporated, as part of the social representation of skinhead. The connection between skin girls and the subject matter of this article is that concerts and public events, with mass medias, are the setting in which this SR of the skinhead is most obviously expressed and practiced. Skinhead magazines are also filled with drawings and pictures of desirable skinhead girls. Many Oi! bands have songs praising these girls who are portrayed as being both beautiful and dangerous. This is a reactivation of a recurrent theme in gender history: the ambivalent attribution of magical power to femininity. This theme can be observed in the figure of the bewitching witch^[165] or the seductive and devilish Lilith^[166]. Because of this representational symbolic effect, they are both a source of desire and a potential cause of discord. For a skinhead, going out and being seen with a skin girl is the promise of a harmonious union based on an intimate and publicly shared passion. This type of couple is obviously idealized, free from the judgmental and critical gaze of a wife who would be far removed from the movement, or from laborious negotiations for the right to go out for a beer with skinhead buddies. Failing to find “the rare pearl,” i.e., a single skin girl, some try to convert their girlfriends. Many skin-girls join the movement through the influence of their boyfriends. In line with Thomas Johansson and colleagues’ analyses of the integration of skinhead subcultures into dominant social and cultural structures^[20], the specificity of these skin girls is becoming less clearly asserted in the 2020s. The skinhead style has become more fashionable in the context of a wider range of stylistic options, with the emergence of “*fashionista skin girls*” on social media platforms such Instagram. The skin girl cut (the “*Chelsea cut*”), once a distinctive feature of the subculture and difficult to achieve, according to survey interviews, is now offered by “*trendy*” or 2.0 hairdressers⁵.

But if we look back to an earlier era (2000–2010), the

scarcity of skin girls might have contributed to their high value. In a universe renowned for its machismo, these women were regarded as object of admiration and thoughtfulness. Men who managed to form relationships with them were regarded as having achieved a status of honor within their communities. The fortunate individual, accompanied by a skin-girl, achieves a kind of envied standing. The skin girl is then considered as “an ornament of choice”, perfectly complementing the garb of the accomplished skinhead. The “*owner of such a treasure*” is jealous and possessive, and quick to react at the slightest hint of suspicion or misunderstanding. As one skin girl noted during an interview: “*there are few girls who could be considered as treasures in the same way as in the skinheads’ gangs*”.

Let us now examine this possessive attitude and its implications for gender relations. Skinheads appear to adopt a mystical posture, in which femininity is represented in a narrative of purity/impurity disjunction that is like that of conservative religious group^[167]. At the same time, skin-girls are spoiled for choice when it comes to potential boyfriends. They can easily switch partners. In doing so, they may also switch political sides and ideologies. The reverse can also be true but told by the boy as the result of moderation brought about by the girl: He may say for example, “*I calmed down - or gave up all radicalism and violent behavior - because of my girlfriend (and not thanks to my girlfriend!)*.” If the young woman has the facetiousness to want to play with her admirers, she will know how to inflame passion by creating a competition in which she is the prize. The concert provides an opportune moment for burgeoning love, brutal break-ups or reviving old flames. In this communitarian world where social interactions are often conducted in public, and where interpersonal conflicts are frequently resolved using aggressive solutions, romantic conflicts can result in bloody battles.

The idealization of the “ancient times” (myth of the British movement) by young skinheads is an indicative of a profound deference to veterans and the older hierarchy. The cult of the past is therefore inextricably linked to the idolatry of skin-girls. It can be observed that young male skinheads are developing a surprising degree of “gerontocratic” and “gynecocratic” tendencies, which are arguably contrary to

⁵“Chelsea Hair Cut, that’s what I want!!! Naomi’s new hairstyle by T.K.S.” (video Youtube: 2015): <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lcBOyssrRM>

their professed generational rebellion and explicit phallogocentric attitude. The idealization of the skin girl is likely to be linked to a social representation of gender that is essentially based on a strong categorization and hierarchization of sexual differences. As previously stated, it is also plausible that this phenomenon is associated with respect accorded to elders. Veterans play an important evaluative role in judging the value of new entrants to skinhead activities, with selection based on subtle dress, and physical and attitudinal codes. In addition, female skinheads serve as arbiters of conduct and values. By targeting certain men as potential mates, skin girls assume the privilege of selecting those that best embody the “epitome of the skinhead man”. In this way, they contribute to the collective, emotional and cognitive effort required to develop the shared representations of these highly fusional, ritualistically territorialized, conformist and fetishist groups. Some of Fabrizio Lorenzi-Cioldi’s social psychology research has indicated that female groups tend to reinforce the pre-delineated social categorizations of the genre^[168]. Venerated as “icons,” they will never be seen in the company of “fake skinheads”.

4.4. Preservation and Transmission of Community Heritage: Generational Conflicts?

Since becoming helpless witnesses to the erasure of their socializing markers, some fringes of working-class youngsters are increasingly experiencing an existential crisis. So, they have found a voice to symbolize their perpetual resentment and their inherited, identity-based and violent anxiety. Their lack of reflexivity about any political or cultural issue has led to the transformation of their latent rage into an elementary need for uproar and for aimless, purely emotional, even irrational, violence^[169, 170]. The intense character of the style and the raucous voice of the singers have played a major part in defining Oi! music as an aesthetic expression of anger. Its fans view it as the voice of a rebellion, which, due to its lack of structure, is limited to rowdy utterances of resentment and frustration. The emergence of rock and pop music in the UK, in the 1950s, symbolizing various social tensions linked to generational and cultural identities, was an

absolute novelty which, a few years later, gave rise to the first skinhead movement. In conjunction with this acrimonious and confrontational music, skinhead dance choreographies, such as pogoing and moshing⁶, reflect a need to express aggression through staging mock fights in which the participants are pitted against each other. Some members of the concert audience engage in dangerous and provocative behavior with the intention of producing their own show that would attract attention and eventually mimetically replace the official and real show offered by the band on stage. This type of behavior was observed in street-punk concerts in the 1970s and in the 1980s^[32, 169, 170]. The leading band of the movement, Sham 69, frequently encountered problematic behavior from part of their audience who enjoyed turning their concerts into mini riots. This kind of band played the sorcerer’s apprentice, thereby inadvertently creating circumstances conducive to violence. In fact, Jimmy Pursey, lead singer of Sham 69, declared at the time: “*Let the skins come! Let the tough guys come to me!*” but he was unable to control their subsequent rampage.

This need for intense social interaction on occasion manifests in a homoerotic manner. In some instances, individuals engaged in skinhead shows may remove their shirts and engage in physical contact with one another: see also chapter 3 on “skinheads gays”^[114]. “*The appeal of skinheads to those with a fetishistic interest can be attributed to the appropriation of an identity that has traditionally been perceived as extremely masculine. Although this image is largely constructed by the media, for many, the typical skinhead is perceived as tough, violent, and rather muscular, and is part of an all-male community. A radical and even threatening version of masculinity. At skinhead concerts, attendees often remove their shirts, allowing their bodies to rub together. This homosocial dynamic, which many fetishists find appealing, is a key aspect of the subculture*⁷.”

However, in contrast to party political meetings which attract a relatively homogenous audience, the heterogeneous ideological spectators of apolitical concerts increase the risk of physical altercations. The music performed at these concerts stirs unthinking, raw anger and burgeoning violence, which is seldom directed at a specific target and whose vic-

⁶These bodily activities are frequently observed in skinhead events but not only in such events. Their descriptions are not particularly important for our argument and are simply mentioned in passing.

⁷See the Recon.com blog: Paper: “Fetishism à fond” (trad. “Fetishism in full force”): <https://www.recon.com/fr/Blog/Article/FC3%A9tichisme-FC3%A0-fond-les-skinheads/2593>

tim is often an outsider who happens to be “within reach of punch.” This accumulation of rage is more likely to manifest in a confused manner, resulting in the eruption of violence within the concert hall and affecting anyone indiscriminately. In fact, upon reflection about moments of ethnography, we realize that it was possible to anticipate, from the outset of the concert, which type of individual was likely to become involved in a physical altercation. We are thinking specifically of drunken punks, isolated individuals and, more generally, those who had not yet internalized the appropriate behavioral norms. This predatory attitude towards isolated individuals was probably linked to a desire to avoid group fights at all costs. In such contexts, everyone is inclined to take the side of their friends. Additionally, there is an objective and concrete risk associated with the aesthetic, ritualistic and public expression of anger, particularly in the risky choreography of the pogo dance. The entertainment, sources of adrenaline, and real dangers can be found on the stage, as well as inside and outside the concert hall. Nevertheless, there is a certain degree of social and concrete control over the expression of violence, which is enforced by aggressive and deterrent security agents, who are hired by the event organizers and producers and are familiar with the target audience’s behavior.

Moreover, a significant proportion of the public itself acts as an order custodian by ensuring that everyone acknowledges and abides not so much by the norms specific to the skinhead milieu, rather than the general rules of common courtesy. These norms include knowing and respecting informal hierarchies, interacting, during the event, according to the common forms of skinhead decency, and complying with a certain “code of honor” when initiating a fight. Spectators attend concerts in gangs. It is the responsibility of each individual to ensure the safety of their peers and to demonstrate solidarity in the event of conflict. Each gang is aware of the potential dangers they may face. However, failure to adhere to the stylistic and musical ambience and the irrational violence of some individuals can result in group fights or, more commonly, “one-on-one fights”.

The term “skinhead music” is used to describe a musical genre typically performed by bands, that adhere to the tenets of the skinhead subculture. They assume the role of the movement’s spokespeople, that is, they act as its faithful representatives and visually align themselves with the ex-

pectations of their audience. When a skinhead music band releases an album, they devote particular attention to the optimal setting and appearance of the cover. In some cases, this attention to detail may extend to the point of prioritizing physical appearance over the quality of the music itself. It typically organizes to produce a sound that is easily identifiable as part of the musical style of reference and that, as in most electro-amplified popular music genres, remains very close to the core structural model ([32], pp. 97–10; [164], pp. 94–100). The visual aspect of the covers, the calligraphy, and the band names themselves serve as a constant reminder of the movement’s past. Additionally, it is becoming increasingly common to create “covers” of Oi classics. From this perspective, skinheads are not markedly distinct from adherents of other musical movements. Philippe Le Guern, with irony, has attempted to decipher the possible meanings behind this obsessive fascination with heritage and preservation of cultures and icons linked to popular music, which he believes is leading to a “spectral nature of rock”^[171].

“May Karl Marx forgive me, but there could well be a specter haunting rock music. The specter of rock continues to haunt rock music itself, rather like an equivalent of what Simon Reynolds [...] in a striking phrase called “the empire of retro” with regard to current pop music, and which even led him to beg for Kurt Cobain to be left to rest in peace at last, as it is so clear that the death-wish underlying the compulsion of retromania is the diametrical opposite of the life-force – and the enthusiasm for transgression – on which rock music has built up its legend and its power as a social contaminant”^[171].

In accordance with the disparate practices of street-punk, which is the precursor to Oi!, the musical ensemble must establish a direct connection with the public. It is therefore evident that there is no possibility of acting as a “rock-star” or creating any kind of distance from people who belong to the same movement. This participatory and egalitarian aspect of the show is also present in techno, hip-hop and punk rock trends^[146, 172, 173]. Finally, the lyrics, which are designed to reinforce and encourage this proximity, reject individual doubts and interrogations in favor of consensual themes, thereby encouraging a collective bond. By mirroring

the public and participating in its celebrations, these groups of musicians offer a compelling example of mass crystals that facilitate community revitalization ([32], pp. 11–56, [150]).

This sense of proximity explains why this type of event constitutes the surprising embodiment of a well-orchestrated rite. Subjected to the control of their peers, skinhead bands perform within an enclosed artistic framework which leaves little room for imagination and originality. Confined to the strict framework of Oi! music and the skinhead mythology, the bands have very little chance of becoming commercially successful and publicly renowned.

The objective is not to innovate, shock or distinguish oneself; rather, it is to sustain and perpetuate the memory and heritage of a genre by properly honoring it in its already acquired forms. Consequently, the performers resemble each other in both sound and appearance. This explains the attitude of the “veterans” toward the young bands, who they often accuse of copying, without sublimating, the performers of their times. However, if these bands were to innovate excessively, the older skinhead leaders would be the first to condemn this evolution as a kind of betrayal of the fundamental values of the claimed reference culture. They regularly express the opinion that “*It’s always the same thing,*” yet simultaneously maintain a conviction that “*nothing should change*”.

In attending these concerts, the audience participates in a sort of commemoration ([174], pp. 113–166). Skinhead music bands are analogous to the “bankers of anger,” archiving and canalizing its contents, as defined by Peter Sloterdijk [175]. In an atmosphere of challenge and need for recognition, these music and cultural events are invested in self-contemplation. The audience, obsessed with certain common icons, engages in a narcissistic and mimetic spiral, attempting to divert attention from the scene that most fascinates them. This is done to focus all attention on themselves.

Several eminent scholars in the field of anthropology, including Mary Douglas, Émile Durkheim, Michel Leiris, Gilbert Rouget and Victor Turner, have long observed that every ritual system is inextricably linked to a form of theatricality, encompassing elements of exaggeration, violence, outbidding, deceit and comedy. This theatricality is believed to facilitate the transition through a deviant, liminal phase,

and its subsequent return within the community [133, 176–178]. Public skinhead events serve to illustrate this tendency. Ultimately, this is just another example of an ancient anthropological way of playing, of passing on ways of doing things, of showing off. As Martine Segalen reminds us, “*The essence of ritual is to blend individual and collective time. In terms of their morphological properties and social efficacy, rituals are also characterized by symbolic actions, manifested through sensitive, material, and corporeal emblems (trad.)*” ([140], p. 21).

At this juncture, the audience assumes the role of the performer, while the bands playing on the stage, despite their own entertainment value, are compelled to act as mere background. One of the defining characteristics of pop-rock crowds is their inclination to transgress the common norms of a collective event through violence and exhibitionism [23]. For many of the skinheads in attendance, the concert is merely a pretext. The primary objective is not to see the show or listen to the bands, but rather to be seen, preferably surrounded by many friends, and to scrutinize the other attendees. Which gangs will be present? How large will they be? Which factions are going to be represented and in what proportion? Consequently, some choose to remain on the parking lot in proximity to the venue entrance, or at the bar to observe the audience and to simply make an appearance. Skinheads often deride a category of individuals, commonly referred to as “*living room skinheads*”, “*virtual skinheads*”, or “*Internet warriors*” who are reluctant to engage in “real world” activities and instead choose to remain within the confines of their living-rooms. In their song “*Internet Warriors*,” the Oi! band, Les Vilains⁸, denounces these skinheads who remain “*hidden in their living rooms*,” which they describe as places “*no one [...] ever sees anywhere*,”. They also accuse them of being “*the shit in our movement*.” among other obscenities. For them, these individuals’ cowardly behavior and lack of physical courage are “*undeserving of a true skinhead*”. In this context of gang, the attitude of being a loner or valuing individuality outside the community is, to say the least, a reprehensible one. In order to be fully admitted to the movement, a skinhead must be seen, has to be known, and then has to be evaluated and judged worthy by his or her peers.

⁸Les Vilains, “Internet Warrior” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4hvisxQb3wQ>). Kampfzone Album, Belgium, De Kastelein Records.

5. Conclusion

This interpretive synthesis and interpretation of skinhead culture is based on participant observation and a structured theoretical underpinning. Skinhead culture is communitarian. It is characterized by a highly structured and ritualistic process of conformity, whereby the scrupulous observance of the common cult is ensured. “*Scrupulous observance*” is one of the two etymological meanings of the Latin word “*religio*”. Concurrently, this form of sociability represents a typically worldwide and heterogeneous, even eclectic, music scene in the present era. Each skinhead must reconcile two narratives: first, the assertion that the in-group is, and must remain, unchanged, preserving and passing on the common heritage; and second, the claim that other cultures and styles have influenced the in-group and continue to alter its vision of common objects and ways of thinking. This paradoxical conformism can be described as *thwarted dogmatism*. Several references are available that are particularly applicable to skinhead tribes when attempting to comprehend the authoritarian/dogmatic structure of this kind of group behavior^[179–183]. Apolitical concerts bring together individuals with a wide range of ideological orientations, including those on left and right, as well as those who engage in disruptive behavior and those who adhere to a more orderly lifestyle. Additionally, the concerts attract teenagers who are nervous and nostalgic punks, among other categories of individuals. Nevertheless, as Milton Rokeach’s extensive work demonstrates, left-wing citizens can exhibit the same degree of dogmatism as their conservative or right-wing counterparts^[180], although the content of their ideologies is different. In this sense, apolitical concerts represent a psychosocial compromise that allows the preservation of a heritage that is, to varying degrees, affected by newcomers or openly extremist groups. Isn’t the formula of the apolitical concert an example of this way of walking like crabs, trying to go straight ahead while taking sideways steps?

There is no theoretical explanation on the psychosociological meaning of this thwarted or even repressed dogmatism. It is important to underscore this discrepancy in the conclusion of this paper. Nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid referring to substantial body of social psychology literature, too voluminous to be detailed here, on social influences and conformist/rebellious behavior, from Robert Merton to Solomon Asch to Serge Moscovici. It is possible

to consider this ambivalent, frustrated and tendentially rigid attitude as an emanation of a strong and tribal conformism. In the context of apolitical concerts, it is evident that everyone is watching every member of the community. Undeniably, shared and valued music and public events are learning and socializing experiences. These experiences are regulated by the skinhead symbolic entity, which act as a kind of “*collective observer*” through codes, modes of self-presentation, and peer evaluation. The adherence to a system of norms is evidenced by a duty of remembrance, the adoption of certain musical styles, and the adherence to normative aesthetics that tends to marginalize all individual demarcation. However, there are variations to this standard. Some skinheads also had a few ska records, even though experts in the Oi! music style. They had purchased ska albums, even though they seldom listened to them, because “*it’s also skinhead music*”. Consequently, the prototype of skinhead behavior authorizes deviations from the norm and includes a relatively wide variety of musical forms. Currently, tolerance for these deviations from the so-called “*skinhead norm*” is increasing, bordering on a tempered eclecticism^[25].

Some respondents indicated that they had listened to other genres of music, aside from Ska and Oi! styles, but had never done so while in the company of their friends. Since these genres “*are not skinhead music*”, they feared the repercussions of such “*deviations from the norm*”. As in many gangs, the skinhead must conform to the conventions of the subculture, rather than those of society at large. To be fully recognized as a member of the movement, one must gain the approval of one’s peers. In most cases, the subject matter concerns youth gang subcultures, as exemplified by the studies conducted by the urban ethnologists referenced at the outset of this article. The concert is the ideal space to observe and being observed, for comparing and self-evaluating, and for being approved or criticized by those who have apparently a major influence on the transmission of skinhead, and who pass heritage. Their pursuit of hypnotic or trance-like effects in crowds indicates an obsessive fear of not fully meeting the standards set by the skinhead myth. Strong adherence to the community (and the micro-crowd of the concerts) is offset by a continuing ambivalence towards cultural mixes, the influence of Jamaican music and the virilist and nationalistic values of the in-group.

In France, belonging to the skinhead current is highly

deviant and in the minority. It is therefore crucial to contextualize these trends by embedding them in global pop cultures, and not only, like two-thirds of international publications, in relation to neo-fascist or right-wing populist extremism, or to the strict criminality that we don't deny concerns a not inconsiderable proportion of these circles. The globalization of the skinhead attitude and of pop music is analogous to the global diffusion of other cultures such as football^[132, 135, 138]. The global exchange of professional footballers challenges the nationalist logic, as evidenced by the celebration of the winner of a World Cup or the multi-ethnic, multinational composition of European Champions League clubs. Skinheads represent a similar point of convergence, situated at the nexus of the same paradoxical flow of globalization. It is too reductionist to portray these groups to the monstrously populist figure of the West, as a monolithic entity. However, the ethnographic description and theoretical interpretation of all the nuances of their behavior does not exempt the authors of this text from continuing to adopt both an empathetic and a critical stance.

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ARTICLE

The Family Centered Treatment (FCT) Model: Impacts in Child Protective Services

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ABSTRACT

The assessment and outcomes of this paper determined the effectiveness of the Family Centered Treatment (FCT) model of providing care in child protective services. The data presented in this survey represented over 200 respondents from regions across the United States. This collection of supervisors, clinicians, and support staff had been introduced to or had experience with using the FCT foundation model. The study aimed to determine the model's effectiveness and gauge the respondents' responsiveness to using it in their daily caseloads. While the purpose of the research centered on the effectiveness of the FCT model, the data captured another overarching phenomenon at work: how respondents related to or identified with their organization. The prominence of organizational identity was significant enough to be apparent throughout the responses despite their region of practice. This unexpected finding necessitated a discussion of organizational fitness and its ability to respond to the fractured bonds unveiled in the research findings. The results suggest that the FCT model is effective, and participants who used it had positive experiences; however, most could not leverage all it has to offer. If organizations are to benefit the most from the FCT model, the underpinnings of value, collaboration/communication, and trust must be repaired. This paper discusses the methodology used to arrive at this conclusion, offers an overview of the findings, and concludes with recommendations to bridge these elements.

Keywords: Organizational Identity; Organizational Fitness; Decision Making; Secondary Stress; Collaboration; Communication; Trust; Value Systems

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1. Introduction

This mixed methods inquiry began as an assessment of the effectiveness of the Family Centered Treatment (FCT) model, an evidence-based trauma treatment model for families, as a system for providing care in child protective services. Previous research suggests that the FCT model is fundamentally effective, and participants' feedback after field applications has been positive overall. The sample for this study was a collection of child protective services supervisors, clinicians, and support staff who had been introduced to or had experience with the FCT foundation model. The data represented over 200 respondents from regions across the United States. The aim of the study was to determine the model's effectiveness and gauge the respondents' responsiveness to using it in managing their daily caseloads.

While the focus of this research centered on gauging the effectiveness of the FCT model, the data captured another overarching phenomenon at work: how respondents related to or identified with their organization. Alongside participants' evaluations of the FCT model, themes of secondary stress, compassion fatigue, and burnout emerged. These themes indicated fractured bonds within organizations and appeared to be reflections of participants' organizational identity, or the degree to which they trusted and felt supported by their agencies. The concept of organizational identity was prominent throughout the responses, regardless of the respondents' region of practice.

We speculated about why asking child welfare workers questions about the FCT model would also solicit data about the inner workings of their organizations. One possibility is that the responsibility for managing highly advanced innovations such as FCT programming typically rests with advanced and professionally seasoned managers in policy development. However, due to their inherent complexity, these innovations can induce perfunctory managerial orientation. This disposition may emerge because implementing the politically and administratively complex ecology of FCT programming is challenging and unfamiliar to most managers. Therefore, rather than engaging in activities aimed at understanding how to maximize the potential impact of FCT programming, managers may instinctively rely upon experience to guide and limit the scope of their current actions. This behavior by managers may both limit the effectiveness of FCT programming and interfere with inter-organizational

collaboration, communication, and trust.

Findings therefore implied that to realize maximum benefits from FCT programming, organizational leaders must consider and act upon the underlying issues of value, collaboration/communication, and trust in a direct, measured fashion. Collectively, these components of organizational identity offered insights that could sustain and improve the delivery of FCT programming at local levels. The implication was that leaders must not underestimate the strategic value of refining organizational capacity by attending to employees' connections to and faith in their organizations. The following sections describe the literature that helped to frame and inform the concepts relevant to this complex topic, the methodology used to conduct the study, an overview of study's results, and recommendations to bridge these elements for future practice.

1.1. Conceptual Literature

We set out to explore the possible connections between participants' assessments of the FCT model and organizations' fitness to incorporate and administer that model, as reflected in the unexpected themes that indicated compromised organizational identity. First, we considered how managerial techniques differ in singular organizations and those that regularly engage in inter-agency collaboration. The theory was that if managers in child welfare departments were inexperienced or otherwise unfamiliar with strategies for supporting employees in collaborative relationships, they would also be less effective at administering complex treatment models like FCT.

1.2. Collaborative Management

Normative public administration scholars advance the management approaches and methods that work best with monolithic, singular public organizational entities^[1]. However, a critical conceptual challenge is that these management techniques are not easily transferable to situations that involve inter-agency collaborations^[1]. To determine how a monolithic entity can adapt and evolve to meet emerging challenges of working with other agencies, organizational leaders must shed light upon the fitness of the singular entity and determine whether such an assessment applies similarly to inter-agency collaboration^[1]. If it does, leaders need to

identify the essential requirements, assumptions, and implications to consider from the collaborative management orientation. To understand this process, we will examine, explore, and consider the conceptual foundations of administrative tethering (AT), a strategic management approach that assists collaboration managers with addressing complex issues involving multiple variables and individuals from different institutions^[2, 3].

1.3. Administrative Tethering

AT is a technique that enables organizations to fashion a shared understanding at both the individual and organizational levels through a highly effective, interagency problem-solving structure that relies on the prescriptions and directives of leaders^[2, 3]. Simon's^[4, 5] notions of near decomposability (ND) and bounded rationality (BR) are central to explaining how the AT intervention functions.

1.3.1. Bounded Rationality & Near Decomposability

Simon^[6] submitted that BR is a cognitive process that induces individuals to rely upon past experiences, heuristics (i.e., rules-of-thumb), and the limited information at hand in the attempt to render an effective decision that prescribes action (Like those managers who were unfamiliar with the FCT and may have relied on less-than-optimal means of administering the model). These cognitive rules-of-thumb draw upon suboptimal measures; these imprecise strategies may then be coupled with actions that magnify the complex problem rather than solve the problem. Simon counseled that humans cannot obtain or process all the information needed to make entirely rational decisions; instead, they seek to use the information they have to produce a satisfactory result or one that is "good enough." Humans are bound by their cognitive limits, according to Simon^[6], and they are prone to distill a simplified view of their world and their role within it.

Near-decomposability is a characteristic of organizational systems that can be or have been divided into subsystems^[5]. In the short term, the subsystems function independently of one another, and over longer periods, the systems come back together to as one, that is, collaboratively. The subsystems' behavior are independent in the short term, but dependent in the long term. Effective collaboration involves applying coordination processes and techniques relevant to

the task at hand within an operating arrangement where formal and informal interactions may transpire^[1]. The ability of an organization to conduct such coordinating actions while reducing cost demonstrates its fitness^[2, 7].

Adaptability and reduction in organizational fragility are quickly established by those entities that demonstrate the property of ND within a federation of subsystems^[5, 8]. The ND framework provides a realistic set of determinants of a fit organization; this condition portends the longevity of an organization due to its capacity to efficiently and effectively adapt and evolve to the given situation^[4, 5, 9]. According to Simon^[5], the ND system can be "thought of as a units-within-units hierarchy" featuring the capacity to engage in "equilibrating interactions within the units at any level" (p. 589). Simon^[5] further provided that "at any level of complexity, ND systems will evolve much faster than systems of comparable complexity that are not ND" (p. 592). Systems that do not possess the property of ND will be unable to adapt and evolve when needed.

1.3.2. The Role of Managers

Simon^[5] explained that ND characterizes organizational activities that transpire within the organizational setting and are subject to the control of a singular hierarchical reporting arrangement. Managers in public organizations such as child protection agencies often must address complex problems that call for them to engage in external inter-organizational actions and relations while navigating an ecology high in uncertainty and lacking a formal hierarchical arrangement from a command-and-control vantage. The central question then becomes whether the inter-agency collaborative possesses the property of ND.

Simon^[4, 5, 9] offered critical insight and direction to public administrators who lead, manage, and carry out intricate, inter-agency coordination tasks in response to a complex problem. Simon's concept of ND contains necessary conceptual guidance that can ameliorate the challenges posed by these complex problems. Simon^[4, 5, 9] theorized that the solutions specifically manifest in the process of amalgamating the capacity of the modern organization.

1.3.3. Near Decomposability: Achieving Equilibrium

The property of ND features a unique characteristic: an equilibrating capacity involving interactions within sub-

sets of the collaborative. ND systems exhibit an exceptional dynamic behavior when disturbed from equilibrium. The subsets at the lowest level of the system return to equilibrium while the sets at the next level above are still changing dynamically (relatively slowly) and similarly (and even more decisively) for the still higher levels, which are essentially stationary on this time scale^[5]. Two of Simon's^[5] assertions about ND explain this dynamic:

1. At any level of complexity, nearly decomposable systems will evolve much faster than systems of comparable complexity that are not nearly decomposable and
2. Thus, unlike the first one, this second claim does not predict a steady increase in the complexity of the evolving systems; what it predicts is a growing predominance of nearly decomposable systems at all complexity levels. (p. 592)

Importantly, these claims then need to be further construed in terms of Simon's^[5] characterization of the broader, conceptual contours of ND:

The model of a nearly decomposable arrangement consists of a federation of multi-level subsystems. The property of ND features a particular characteristic: equilibrating capacity involving interactions within subsets at any level takes place much more rapidly than the interactions between subsystems at that same level and similarly to upper levels of the hierarchical structure. (p. 562)

AT, when considered through the framework of ND, provides a unique, critical differentiator when gauging the fitness of an inter-agency, collaborative entity designated to mitigate a complex public problem. Suppose the collaboration participants are construed as ND subunits. In that case, conceptually, AT may exercise its omnidirectional, non-hierarchical capacity to strategically intervene among the hierarchical levels to catalyze actions that help materialize a more effective and efficient ND response system.

1.3.4. AT Management Mechanism: Inter-Agency Trust

The notion of trust, as reflected in high-quality interpersonal bonds, is salient when addressing the implications of BR in the context of interagency collaboration. In this

regard, individuals may have a misplaced perspective about their organizational role. This negative perception calls for remediation to draw upon the skills of the AT manager. This set of AT interactions fosters a mediation process involving the framework of AT—BR—ND; the critical facets of this process are highlighted below. Through careful design, the AT manager can merge these distinct areas of expertise to fashion a guiding ND maintenance protocol anchored in a unique set of areas of expertise critical to the ongoing operations of the interagency collaborative.

The AT manager must make sense of the pronouncements and prescriptions involving decision-making actions within an area of expertise. The AT manager must consider that these areas could render opinions that are partly based upon misplaced perceptions. These reflections inspire a focus on Simon's perspectives of BR and ND. Such complex frameworks point toward the need to ascribe a managerial approach to govern the effective conduct of AT. Based on this understanding of the characteristics of AT, we processed the data obtained in our study as follows.

2. Materials and Methods

The quantitative portion of this mixed methods study produced statistical data and models that provided finite numbers and patterns of significance. The qualitative portion consisted of a thematic analysis of the individual responses provided by the participants. In general, the qualitative outcomes aligned with the empirical data generated from the quantitative results.

2.1. Quantitative Data Analysis

This study was an examination of the effectiveness of the service delivery and reporting system prescribed by FCT programming. The data consisted of Child Protection program reports as aligned with the FCT model and associated with the period of June 2018 to June 2023. The sample size was 249 ($N = 249$). We placed data in an Excel spreadsheet format and exported to IBM Statistics SPSS, Version 27 and IBM Statistics AMOS, Version 27 (IBM AMOS 27) for statistical analysis. SPSS provided statistics for those measures related to the commixture of those program service activities central to delivering counseling services at the program participant level. Quantitative analysis included the application

of descriptive and inferential statistical techniques. We initially conducted correlational analysis to identify the nature of any relationship concerning all program variables.

2.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

We completed the qualitative portion of data analysis using the Maxqda thematic analysis software. The initial coding phase was deductive, based on the open-ended survey questions as the primary codes related to the activities of the same set of program participants as driven by the FCT model. Next, we sub-coded each primary code as *positive*, *negative*, *neutral*, or *NA* responses and paired them with their LV construct as representative of BR or ND. Because the data set was large, we implemented this means of sorting the information for a more in-depth review to determine how each question related to the more significant phenomena of organizational identity and near decomposability. The qualitative review embodies a hybrid of deductive and inductive approaches to distill the emergence of perceptions of the FCT program and the properties of organizational identity^[10].

The next step involved a second review of each response to determine precisely how and where it fit into the theoretical framework of organizational identity and coded relationships. This review reviewed the subcodes and yielded a code to gain perspective on how available respondents are to engage with and use the FCT model effectively. The final review embodied a more precise representation of the organization's ability to harness and employ the full potential of the FCT model based on the notion of organizational identity and the need for an administrative tethering agent.

For the final review, we used an inductive approach to investigate further the secondary trauma and burnout elements that emerged in the initial coding phases. The results showed an authentic and organic representation of the organizational identity among staff, as seen in the quantitative portion of this study. Thus, findings reflected the organizations' ability to harness and employ the full potential of the FCT model based on the theoretical frameworks of BR and ND.

2.3. Structural Equation Modeling Analysis of AT Intervention

As described above, the AT intervention mediates adjustments to BR and ND to render "fitness." Accordingly,

we employed structural equation modeling (SEM) as the primary analysis procedure to advance understanding of AT's nature as an inter-agency collaboration intervention. SEM provided critical insights in this area, allowing simultaneous examination of latent and measured variables. SEM analyses were a proper analytical approach to examine the relationships among all the measured and latent variables in the model depicting the additive nature of AT in a collaborative setting^[11].

The data for this study derived from the survey questions aligned with the set of latent variables (**Table 1**). The core AT intervention first assesses the condition of the FCT programming (of the inter-agency entity under SEM examination) for baseline measurement purposes.

Using SEM analyses, we examined the relationships among all the measured and latent variables in the model. SEM uses correlation and regression to test theories^[11]. This operation produced a visual, hypothesized model to reflect the relationships between exogenous and endogenous variables. Then we tested the model using statistical analyses. We examined the paths connecting measure variables (indicators) to determine to the extent to which they predicted the exact relationship using statistical methods. This (measurement) model assesses the relationships between the observed and the latent variables based on correlational statistical analysis^[12].

IBM AMOS 27 was the central SEM analytical technique to examine the model's capability to provide meaningful insights relative to the effectiveness of the FCT programming. This examination aimed to assess the capacity of the decision network as employed by the organizational member. This review, then, should reveal the extent to which an individual's knowledge to act is constrained by the information they have, cognitive barriers, and the limited amount of time and resources they must make a judgment^[6]. In other words, individuals tend to render a decision that will be "good enough" rather than the best possible decision, given the many nuanced dimensions involved in today's public sector decision-making processes^[6]. BR contributes to the conceptual core of AT in its unique capacity to identify relevant and realistic action pathways that help to enhance the effectiveness of an inter-agency collaborative^[3].

As a network theory, AT provides insights that can help

guide interagency collaborative decision protocol. In some cases, BR simplifies the decision-making processes. Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) lent precision to detect such decision-making in its capacity to relate selected indicator variables with latent variables to form constructs that supply better situational awareness^[3]. This dynamic suggests tethering functions by transmitting administrative data to the intended recipient without interference.

The AT framework can help guide interagency collaborative decision protocol when turned upon areas intrinsic to

FCT programming effectiveness. This analytical approach is helpful in assessing the impact, for example, of exogenous (observable) variables upon the endogenous (latent) variable. Given that the focus of the analysis was the challenges in developing a set of intervention strategies, these factors would enhance the overall impact of FCT programming as implemented. For instance, the AT manager could strategically approach LV3 with the aim of improving how the individual perceives that their actions are supported by the supervisor in terms of their role within the organization (see **Table 1**).

Table 1. Latent Variable Construct Alignment.

Latent Variables	Survey Items and Alignment with Near Decomposability (ND) or Bounded Rationality (BR)
LV1: Individual to leadership	I trust the senior leadership team (director and board members) to lead the agency to future success in using the FCT model. (ND) I believe the leaders (director and board) of this organization are honest and trustworthy. (BR) The leaders of this organization demonstrate integrity in the FCT model. (BR) I trust the leaders of this organization to provide trauma-informed practices for staff and families we serve. (ND)
LV2: Leadership to organization	(ND) My immediate supervisor provides me feedback focused on improving FCT skills. (ND) If my supervisor is focused on developing my FCT and trauma skills it builds trust. (BR) If my supervisor uses FCT principles in supervision there is open communication. (BR)
LV3: Individual to supervisor's support	I have a close and trusting relationship with one or more coworkers. (BR) I feel close to the other members of my work group. (BR) I know I can depend on the other members of my team. (BR)
LV4: Individual to workplace accomplishment	I am encouraged to engage with family trauma work in FCT. (ND) If I use FCT, Families will improve trauma resilience. (ND) My FCT training supports my professional growth needs. (BR)

Notes. Model Fit Indices: CMIN/df = 34733.431/199, CFI = 0.937, SRMR = 0.041, and RMSEA = 0.073. Model Labels: CE/BRINPUTI2IL (LV1), CI/NDINPUTI2IL (LV2), LDT/BRINPUTU2US (LV3), Member (LV4). Squared Multiple Correlations (Default Model): Endogenous Variable = FO; Estimate = 0.926.

3. Results

3.1. Default Measurement Model

The SEM-generated measurement model diagram depicts the latent variables and their association with the work on AT. The double-headed arrows joining the latent variables indicate correlations between variables related to positive behavior leading to good decision-making. We identified LVs by applying the principal component analysis (PCA) data reduction technique (**Table 2**).

In the first portion of the statistical measurement, we employed PCA to identify standard components among observable variables^[13]. The value of PCA is that it reduces the dimensionality of the data while increasing interpretability and minimizes information loss by creating uncorrelated variables that maximize variance^[14]. PCA is an adaptive

technique that does not require distributional assumptions and can be used for multiple data^[14]. These results revealed the initial identification of four components or grouping of observable variables that matched the latent variables.

SEM enables researchers to analyze the plausibility of their notions, relationships, and impacts of nonexperimental data. SEM requires the development of a conceptually derived model that specifies relationships among variables and applies theory to determine alternative ways of depicting these relationships^[13]. Researchers can assess and modify their theoretical models through CFA to further theory development^[15]. The use of SEM/CFA “presumes there are latent, usually unobserved constructs (or factors) that are represented by observed indicators (or measures). Relationships are hypothesized between the various latent variables and the indicators to their respective factors”^[16] (p. 566).

Table 2. PCA Data Reduction Analysis.

Survey Item	Latent Variables			
	LV1	LV2	LV3	LV4
I trust the senior leadership team (director and board members) to lead the agency to future success in using the FCT model.	0.961 (ND)			
I believe the leaders (director and board) of this organization are honest and trustworthy.	0.950 (BR)			
The leaders (director and board members) of this organization demonstrate integrity in the FCT model.	0.943 (BR)			
I trust the leaders (director and board) of this organization to provide trauma informed practices for staff and families we serve.	0.926 (ND)			
My immediate supervisor provides me feedback focused on improving FCT skills.		0.923 (ND)		
If my supervisor is focused on developing my FCT and trauma skills it builds trust.		0.922 (BR)		
If my supervisor uses FCT principles in supervision there is open communication.		0.898 (BR)		
I have a close and trusting relationship with one or more coworkers.			0.946 (BR)	
I feel close to the other members of my work group.			0.926 (BR)	
I know I can depend on the other members of my team.			0.888 (BR)	
I am encouraged to engage with family trauma work in FCT.				0.899 (ND)
If I use FCT, families will improve trauma resilience.				0.865 (ND)
My FCT training supports my professional growth needs.				0.846 (BR)

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Oblimin with Kaiser Normalization.
 a. Rotation converged in 11 iterations.

SEM allows for modifying original constructs based on theory-building through the modification of indices. This method allows researchers to adapt AT theory based on understanding “how much the model ... change[s] if a path was estimated (freed)” between indicators and latent variable pathways^[16] (p. 571). When utilizing SEM/CFA, “researchers should never deploy default, interval, normal-data-based procedures to non-normal and discrete data”^[16] (p. 572). Instead, according to Coursey^[16], “Standard maximum likelihood estimation (MLE) in CFA assumes a sample covariance matrix from a multivariate normal distribution. Discrete, noncontinuous distributions are not appropriate” (p. 572).

SEM techniques also allow researchers to analyze the plausibility of their notions, relationships, and impacts of nonexperimental data. With these techniques, researchers may reject or accept hypothesized structures consistent with the data used in their examination^[13]. Using SEM first re-

quires the development of a conceptually derived model that specifies relationships among latent variables. With the application of theory, researchers can determine alternative ways of depicting relationships based on estimates of the strength of all hypothesized relationships between the variables in the model^[13]. By allowing for confirmatory SEM methods, researchers can comprehensively assess and modify theoretical models to further theory development^[15].

3.2. Analytical Dimensions of Administrative Tethering

AT involves collaborative strategies based on individual tasks distributed across a high-performance team. Perception of teamwork with an immediate coworker and trust with a coworker are interrelated aspects of AT. These variables predict individual performance within interagency decision-making, confirming that individual performance is relevant

to team performance. Task-related skills and knowledge are insufficient when accomplishing tasks in a teamwork setting. Confirmatory factor analysis computation detects the degree of correlation essential for interagency collaboration. The significant factors that emerge after factor analysis include the correlation matrix, which has a desirable range of 0.3 to 0.6. The assumption is that it should not be a very high or very low correlation; rather, it should be a moderate correlation between variables. At least 0.3 is a desirable value.

Data for this study came from a survey containing 44 items. Most of these used Likert-type scales ranging from *a minimal extent to a very great extent*. Analysis derived from the questionnaire data. The checklist, rating scale, and rubrics are reliable and valid instruments^[17]. Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin and Bartlett's test of sphericity was utilized to establish a factor analysis at an adequate level. The calculation yielded a coefficient alpha to determine the reliability of the factors. Forty-four categories of questions represented the constructs as a measurement; multiple items combined the basis of factor analysis with a single-item indicator^[3].

3.3. Model Factor Loadings

The PCA technique was first employed for data reduction purposes. A varimax rotation extraction method involved 30 items from the dataset. This method identified four components and their respective items from PCA. The required factor loadings, which were more significant than 0.3, were retained. In this process, items with lower factor loading were removed. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin and Bartlett's test of sphericity measures established a PCA at an adequate level (Sig., 0.000). Coefficient alpha analysis determined the reliability of the factors.

The PCA employed varimax rotation on the 34 survey instrument items for data reduction purposes. This procedure identifies salient pattern matrix components. The required factor loadings, which were more significant than 0.6, are retained, and the items with lower factor loading were removed from the analysis. The retained factor loadings for the rotated items reflected a significant measure greater than 0.6. As an inter-organizational collaborative intervention, AT contributes to measuring the quality of decision-making and engagement that impacts the service delivery ecology. For instance, the computation focused on perceptions of supervisor effectiveness, which is critical to the effectiveness

of an inter/intra-agency/subunit collaboration. These components involved the areas of (a) trust in senior leadership, (b) general job satisfaction, and (c) perception of teamwork with coworkers.

3.4. Good Fit Measure: Absolute and Incremental Fit Indices

Social behavioral scientists disagree about suitable fit measures to be used in determining the relevancy of structural equation models^[18, 19]. Three prominent measures of fit are the (a) root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), (b) comparative fit index, and (c) standardized root mean square residual (RMR). The RMSEA measures an absolute fit index scaled as a badness-of-fit statistic, wherein zero indicates the best result. It also generally "rewards models with more degrees of freedom or models analyzed in larger samples with lower values of RMSEA"^[20] (p. 273; see also^[19]). The CFI is an incremental fit index that "compares the amount of departure from close fit for the researcher's model against that of the independence (null) model"^[20] (p. 276; see also^[19]). The values of CFI range from 0 to 1.0, with 1.0 being the best result.

The standardized version of the RMR "is a measure of absolute covariance residual"^[20] (p. 277). An RMR of 0 indicates a perfect model fit, with values greater than 0 indicating a worse fit. One issue identified with the RMR "is that because it is computed with unstandardized variables, its value and range depend on the metrics of the observed variables"^[20] (p. 277).

A key difference in these models is their absolute fit versus incremental (relative, comparative) fit measurement. An absolute fit index measures "how well an a priori model explains the data ... [and the] model is the researcher's model because there is no other point of reference for an absolute fit index"^[20] (p. 266). An incremental fit index measures "relative improvement in the fit of the researcher's model over that of a baseline model ... [and the] baseline model is usually the independence (null) model, which assumes covariances of zero between the endogenous variables"^[20] (p. 266). **Table 3** displays the results for the structural equation model.

The SEM analysis adhered to the steps recommended by Byrne (2010). First, descriptive statistical analysis facilitated inspection of the data and assessment of normality.

Table 3. Model Fit Results.

Fit Indices	Recommended Good Fit Measures (Parry, n.d.)	Default Model Fit Index Measure
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)	<0.08	0.073
Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (RMR)	<0.08	0.041
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	≥0.90	0.972
Sample Size	249	
Chi-Square	136.627	
Degrees of Freedom	59	

Note: Information from “Fit statistics commonly reported for CFA and SEM” by S. Parry, n.d., Cornell University, Cornell Statistical Consulting Unit. Available from: <https://dokumen.tips/documents/fit-statistics-commonly-reported-for-cfa-and-sem-parry-kline-suggests-that-at-a.html?page=1>.

Subsequently, first-order CFAs were performed to assess whether the tasks measured separate constructs and their reliability. SEM procedures then supported the assessment of which configuration of factors fit the data and whether the same configuration would hold for both groups. Model fit was evaluated statistically by a χ^2 test. However, this test was not informative about the large sample size ($N = 294$), and descriptive measures are usually preferred. Therefore, additional indicators of model fit were employed to determine model fit status; these indicators included the χ^2/df ratio (preferably < 2), the CFI (preferably > 0.90), and the RMSEA (preferably < 0.08 ; Parry, n.d.).

For purposes of this study, ND questions were framed about general job satisfaction, perception of supervisor effectiveness, perception of professional growth through ongoing organizational membership, perception of workplace safety, and perception of teamwork with immediate coworker success; all of these will be questioned regarding the past, the present, and the future. The SEM revealed the gaps and vulnerable areas of the service provision itself as tethered. As specific programming outcomes were considered, a more precise model emerged. This model was then adapted to assess further and improve FCT services. The resulting measure of good fit evoked the importance of individual behaviors in collaborative efforts. The model suggested that individual behaviors are formed or altered by pressure placed on the individual due to differences in norms associated with individual institutions, the impact ND and BR play in individual behavior as measured by organizational adaptability and loyalty and dedication variables, and the application of observable variables associated with AT-like activities.

3.5. Bivariate Pearson Correlation Analysis

Data outcomes suggested patterns in organizational identification that could impact the extent of longevity and success of the FCT model within the organization. The responses indicated that respondents identified strongly with the FCT model and demonstrated that it was successful, as discerned in the statistical measurements of the quantitative results. The qualitative review supported the statistical outcomes and further revealed elements of secondary trauma and burnout that significantly impacted the quality of organizational identity and organizational fitness.

In the findings, the impact of the FCT model stands out as a valuable tool to build trust and rapport with families. However, its success does not end there; this research showed it can also be the pivotal resource needed to repair the fractured internal organizational bonds exhibited in the analysis. In this study, it is the profound effects of secondary trauma and burnout that led to symptoms of passive aggressive nuances in the qualitative responses. Thus, identifying a critical fault line impacts the quality of care provided to clients and support for staff.

The FCT model was referenced by almost every individual who provided feedback. Respondents better identified with the organization in those responses where FCT was being used internally. This outcome suggested that the model is the needle for the organization’s golden thread of coordination, trust-building, and decision-making. Based on these results, internal repair must be addressed before quality care can be delivered to clients. Leadership must meet their staff’s organizational needs, as suggested by the AT component, if they are to operate from an equilibrated state to provide necessary trauma-informed care.

4. Discussion

4.1. Quantitative Analytical Review

4.1.1. Correlational Analysis

In the quantitative review of the FCT model, correlation analysis (Table 4) reflected positive program outcomes involving the pedagogical value of the FCT training. This notion manifested in the set of FCT program participants' responses associated with the impact of the FCT program training (e.g., *My FCT training has improved my ability to recognize how trauma impacts family functioning*). Program participants discerned capacity enhancements associated with their analytical abilities; this additive extended to the critical family trauma topical area. The FCT training reflected a medium, positive correlation (0.587**) when considered in terms of its impact upon the area of professional development and growth at the individual program participant level (e.g., *My FCT training supports my professional growth needs*, medium, positive support at 0.489**).

However, in this area, we encountered a weak, positive correlation (0.161*) concerning the ability of the program participant's immediate supervisor to provide meaningful feedback from an FCT skill maintenance perspective (e.g., *My immediate supervisor provides me feedback focused on improving FCT skills*). These analytical findings (Table 5) suggest that a realistic, relevant FCT skills maintenance approach is critical, given that the recently acquired FCT skill set is perishable if not appropriately applied on an ongoing basis, as assessed and monitored by a respected expert practitioner.

In this area, the correlational findings (Table 6) suggested that FCT training drives how the worker perceives and interprets the benefits of receiving FCT training (e.g., *My FCT training improved recognition ability trauma impacts family functioning*, medium, positive at 0.377**). From another vantage, the analysis suggested that the immediate supervisor proceeds in a thoughtful manner in terms of providing the worker with FCT-related direction from a career development vantage (e.g., *My immediate supervisor cares about my development in the FCT model*, correlation medium, positive at 0.440**). Indeed, by proceeding in a mindful, incremental manner, the immediate supervisor may interact with the worker to enhance communication and support and develop credibility (e.g., *I trust and respect my immediate supervisor*, correlation medium, positive at 0.331**).

In this area, the correlational findings suggested that organizational leadership and its management are positioned to be discerned meaningful champions of FCT programming should such a focus emerge as an organizational priority (See *The leadership team listens to and takes employee ideas seriously*, correlation strong, positive, at 0.669**; *Management is committed to making it a great place to work*, correlation strong, positive, at 0.737**; and *The managers of the organization make FCT a priority*, correlation medium, positive at 0.474**). Correlational analysis suggested that FCT programming is of fundamental import for the FCT worker as it fosters promise concerning its (ongoing) set of professional benefits to be accrued at both the organizational and individual levels as perceived (See *My FCT training supports my professional growth needs*, medium, positive at 0.417**).

Table 4. FCT Program Training Impact Areas.

Survey Item	Measure of Association
FCT training improved recognition of trauma family functioning impacts.	0.587**
I have enough FCT training and resources to perform my duties with excellence	0.422**
My FCT training supports my professional growth needs.	0.489**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 5. Immediate Supervisor Impacts.

Survey Item	Measure of Association
My immediate supervisor cares about my development in the FCT model.	0.440**
My FCT training improved recognition ability trauma impacts family functioning	0.377**
If my supervisor perceives I am under stress, they check on me quickly.	0.336**
My immediate supervisor provides me feedback focused on improving FCT skills.	0.336**
I trust and respect my immediate supervisor.	0.331**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 6. Local Precursors to FCT Program Advancement.

Survey Item	Measure of Association
The leadership team listens to and takes employee ideas seriously	0.669**
Management is committed to making it a great place to work.	0.737**
Management values people as their most important resource.	0.772**
I have enough FCT training and resources to perform my duties with excellence.	0.272**
My FCT training supports my professional growth needs.	0.417**
The managers of the organization make FCT a priority.	0.474**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

This set of findings suggested that the organization, at all levels, needs to anchor the FCT programming in a development foundation built upon the insights of the workers, management, and leadership. By building such a foundation with this set of stakeholders, the potential of the FCT programming will be well-positioned to maximize the effectiveness of its service delivery mechanism.

4.1.2. Review and Analysis of Path Diagram Construct

The above correlation analysis demonstrated the multi-dimensional nature of the impacts of the FCT programming when engaged. These outcomes further suggested that the supervisor is the interactive link with the potential to nurture the space for trust building to occur, leading to more successful outcomes. However, these actions may induce an organizational operating ecology that confounds how the

FCT trainee identifies with the organization.

When supervisors engage with staff using the open communication elements of FCT, the other person’s perception of how supervisors receive them improves, leading to trust in the leadership team and a stronger belief in the integrity of their leaders. The path diagram (Figure 1) depicts relationships that emerged from the dataset as provided and analyzed with IBM AMOS 27. These relationships consist of those with direct and indirect effects from observed variables. Table 7 reflects such effects from the observed variables.

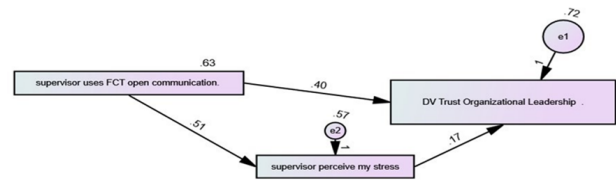


Figure 1. Path Diagram Construct.

Table 7. Model Fit Results.

Fit Indices	Recommended Good Fit Measures (Parry, n.d.)	Default Model Fit Index Measure
Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA)	<0.08	0.092
Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (RMR)	<0.08	0.041
Comparative Fit Index (CFI)	≥0.90	0.979

Note. Sample Size: 249, Chi-Square: 6.197, Degrees of Freedom: 2.

4.2. Qualitative Analytical Review

4.2.1. Organizational Identification

The qualitative review indicated that the respondents who utilized the FCT model held it in high regard with favorable responses. In this context, the transition presented above is seen in action. The initial parent codes were taken from the survey questions when respondents were asked to offer their insights regarding various organizational elements. Overwhelmingly, participants responded in a manner that

showed a separation between the participant and the organization. This effect was evident in those who provided a response, as they primarily referred to FCT and the high number of responses that were *N/A*, *neutral*, and *unrelated* when asked about organizational topics.

On the surface, the magnitude of what was occurring may not be apparent; however, what lay beneath spoke to the need for internal repair. FCT is a program utilized by the organization to provide services; it is an addition, and the organization is the “parent” if you will. Salaries, benefits,

positions, and resources exist because of the organization; therefore, the organization should be what participants feel connected to. The FCT program model should be seen as a distinct and separate resource the organization provides.

A significant number of participants responded in ways that indicated they had replaced the organization with FCT: “I have been responding based on the assumption that ‘this organization’ means FCT overall and that you are doing this survey to gather feedback about how you [FCT] are doing. However, the last question made me wonder if you are asking about the specific org that I work for.” This participant marked all organization-specific responses after this item with *N/A*. This trend is of great concern because it suggested the employees no longer identify with the organization. Two other groups of respondents similarly offered responses that were unrelated to the topic area and provided *N/A* or *neutral* responses. These areas are problematic because they suggest that the individuals have already disconnected and are operating from a place of merely checking the boxes and under the right conditions, would no longer be tethered to the organization.

In another example, when allowed to comment on “your individual benefits to learn, grow, and flourish under the FCT model,” one respondent replied, “The agency did not involve the FCT department in Christmas gifts for our families.” Further, many respondents provided feedback when the question was specific to FCT, but when it referred to the organization, they often had no comment. In this example, the respondent began by providing positive feedback if they thought the organization and FCT were the same. When they came to a question delineating the organization from FCT, responses shifted to the *N/A*, *neutral*, or *unrelated* category. The **Appendix A** of this paper includes the primary codes with specific examples.

The findings thus far suggested that survey participants were not able to answer questions specific to the organization and when asked for open text feedback on “in-house” organizational topics, their responses defaulted to how much they enjoy being a part of the FCT project. To questions explicitly excluding FCT, participants either negatively reflected on the organization, chose not to answer, or provided a *N/A* response; this pattern of responses held true across multiple participants’ surveys^[21]. This trend suggested that the topic was too sensitive to answer, participants did not

have the knowledge to answer, or they were disconnected from the organization. The findings reflected a significant organizational fault line. The outcomes identified that work needs to be done internally if the FCT model is to be most successful.

In this data, the respondents represented a broad range of individual and locations across multiple states. The findings revealed a need to repair the organizational bonds from the outermost staff member to top leaders. The lack of communication between the outermost employees and uppermost leadership was so pronounced that members who carried out day-to-day operations did not know where they stood or the direction of their organization with or without the FCT model. While this ambiguity prevented the staff members from achieving daily operational goals, it also created a significant chasm between workers and leaders, making workers more likely to leave when organizational conditions became adverse beyond their tolerance.

Based on existing conditions, the respondents were operating in silos, and most were locked within the scope of their duties, unable to see or process the interconnectedness of their role with the organization. Within this landscape, despite intentional efforts to improve an area, the fractures were so significant that the employee could not appreciate minor improvements, leaving them with a negative perception of the whole. When reviewing the data, these organizations regularly encounter adverse conditions and cannot effectively respond to the persistent problems of high turnover, poor pay scales, and burnout among employees. These conditions confirmed that employees were working within their own silos. A collection of negative responses, as seen here, suggested an opportunity for repair existed because participants provided their opinions, indicating they were still engaged to some degree. While only a small number of responses fell in the *neutral* category, they represented individuals with a negative organizational identity. If not corrected, this condition may spread to other staff, widening the existing gap^[22].

The findings in this topic area reflected the more significant organizational fault line that negatively impacted the near decomposability of the organization. The outcomes thus far identified that work needs to be done within the organization if the FCT model is to be most successful. This topic captured highlights into other agency concerns, each of which was a variable, feeding the more significant issue

of organizational identity and factors that influence it. The **Appendix A** of this paper provides additional topics and supportive examples.

In the layers of this analysis, one of the first apparent areas was the influence immediate supervisors have on the success of FCT. Sometimes, a staff member trained in FCT had a supervisor who was not trained in the model, creating an immediate disconnect and opening the door to ambiguity and potential triangulation. If the supervisor was not trained in how the staff is expected to carry out the modalities when there are questions, they are left to find help from someone else, casting the net for diminished levels of respect, inconsistencies, and uncertainty. One participant addressed this concern: “Team supervisors do not know the FCT model and can’t help with FCT specific issues, problems, or support. Supervision time is inefficiently used; it requires discussion of FCT principles, but supervisors don’t know the model.” This response captured what was happening below the surface individually and in groups. FCT was the conduit through which organizational fractures were exposed and the context in which passive-aggressive behaviors might emerge.

In another example, the supervisor was trained in FCT, but an organizational fracture raised the question of organizational identity: “I feel recognized within the FCT program, by peers, program supervisor, and trainer; however, I feel [I am] unlikely to be acknowledged for contributions by organization management/supervisors.” Again, FCT provided a conduit through which significant organizational cracks can be seen. This response suggested that (a) FCT is what the individual identifies with; (b) if FCT were not in use, the respondent would not perceive the value they bring to the organization; and (c) it is necessary for supervisors to have FCT training if they are going to provide the critical stability needed for their staff.

However, some responses reflected the positive foundational outcomes when immediate supervisors had the FCT training, as seen here:

I am extremely lucky to have the supervisor that I do. She is very effective in her role. She supports me, encourages me, but also challenges me to grow and progress. I have nothing but respect and gratitude for my supervisor, and she is a great role model for FCT.

This response portrays a sharp contrast in how one individual identified with the organization compared to those above.

The second review of the data was inductive. It was an in-depth analysis based on patterns, context, and frequency of words and phrases observed in the initial review. Findings revealed an emergence of characteristics consistent with secondary trauma and burnout among the respondents; these themes reflected how well participants identified with the organization. After further review, the data showed that secondary trauma and burnout were the results of exposure to clients’ trauma and unhealthy organizational culture. One respondent identified client trauma and lack of internal support as problematic: “Staff experience emotional surgery with each of their clients; only a small group of people can do this successfully without burnout, yet any type of support would be appreciated.” However, more responses reflected additional exposure: “We have EAP [employee assistant programs] resources, but we don’t do enough to encourage the use of time off, reducing case load stress, and listening to staff needs.”

While organizations offered self-care options, staff were left with extensive caseloads and no time to engage in any of the offerings, or when they took time off, they were contacted by the organization about their work. For example, one participant shared,

Taking time off for self-care, family and/or vacation can come with a lot of stress and mismanagement of tasks, or lack of follow-through or support when out, so it is a constant worry of what I am going to be coming back to during my time off.

In another response, an individual spoke of the organization’s offering and a lack of opportunity to take advantage of it: “I do not feel like my organization practices the parallel process nor do they pay attention to the self-care of the employees.” These responses reflected significant themes of internal fracture and daily exposure to clients’ traumatic events, which created secondary trauma and thus expedited burnout. Metaphorically, these sentiments bring to mind the instructions for airline passengers to secure their oxygen masks before helping someone else. Organizational repair must ensue to enable social workers to provide quality care

to children and families.

A final example of needed repair emerged in analysis of communication. Responses revealed a gap between front-line staff and leadership, and quite often, the immediate supervisor proved to be the necessary component to help keep staff tethered while working with leadership. This response reflects such a gap in communication: “My supervisor is the heart and soul of her team, providing a genuine human component to counterbalance the very top levels of leadership.”

These outcomes aligned with the sentiments of individuals who had come to lack trust in their organization. These conditions characterize an “unfit organization,” and the findings suggested that employees are operating in a limited state of BR because of extended exposure to internal organizational fractures and client trauma. Because of the cyclic state of conditions, individuals were not able to arrive at a state of equilibrium; therefore, the organization remained susceptible to negative outcomes.

The analysis uncovered responses that reflected a positive organizational culture, again with FCT as the mediator. Some responses reflected positive connections, as seen in this response regarding organizational resilience:

My organization truly encourages me to meet my own needs so that I can be present and effective with my families. My supervisor is very attuned to me, and when I am stressed, she absolutely addresses it and helps me. I have so much support through my organization, and I never have to hide or minimize my feelings or needs.

This response came from an individual whose supervisor was trained in the FCT model. This respondent identified further positive organizational resilience characteristics: “Our organization is very work-life balance friendly. My supervisor is always supportive of my needs as a professional and respects my life outside of work as well.” However, without attentiveness to the elements described by these respondents, the impacts of secondary trauma associated with client exposure and organizational culture will give way to the inevitable symptoms manifested in passive-aggressive behavior.

4.2.2. Secondary Stress/Compassion Fatigue/Burnout

The language and roots of this paper are in the field of public administration, specifically related to organizational identification and culture and the characteristics that comprise organizational fitness. This research demonstrated how the notion of organizational identification induces a usable framework to transcend and influence professional domains. However, the evolutionary process within the individual, the process that determines how they identify with their agency and thus the culture^[23], remains unclear.

For social workers and child welfare professionals, exposure to traumatic events and expectations to manage surmounting caseloads are part of a day’s work, as referenced in the data. Agencies face an emphasis on policy outcomes and meeting Medicaid requirements while caseloads continue to increase, and social workers’ needs are often overlooked in the process. Researchers have not reached consensus on the definitions of secondary stress, compassion fatigue, and burnout, nor whether these concepts are extensions or symptoms of the others^[24]. However, there is agreement on the causal areas of disruption for service providers: chronic exposure to traumatic events, not being able to see happy endings, growing caseloads, and toxic work environments^[24].

Other factors may be involved as well. Rauvola et al.^[23] explored potential subconscious manifestations of what could be considered passive-aggressive work behaviors resulting from these conditions of secondary trauma, pessimism, and overwork. Linnerooth et al.^[24] discussed how influential excessive caseloads, minimal staffing, ambiguity in roles, and lack of support from the administration impact professionals who provide human services. Such conditions inevitably lead to burnout, impacting how the individual identifies with the organization and engages with the organization’s cultural conditions. These results established a concrete relationship and evolutionary change between the person, their experiences, and the organization^[23, 24].

Social workers in child welfare experience varying intensities of ongoing and new trauma while they are chipping away at a mountainous caseload with only a tiny chisel, never seeing the end. Unfortunately, this is the nature of the work for those providing such services, and the field has little room

for remediation. These conditions are also a perpetuating factor that leads to employees' lack of self-differentiation and inability to set work limits^[25]. As this line blurs, the passive-aggressive behaviors that reflect the symptoms of secondary stress, compassion fatigue, and burnout impact how the practitioners see themselves within the organization, leading to a defining organizational culture.

5. Conclusions

5.1. Analytical Dimensions of Administrative Tethering

AT involves collaborative strategies based on individual tasks distributed across a high-performance team. Perception of teamwork with an immediate coworker and trust with a coworker are interrelated aspects of AT. These individual variables also predict individual performance within interagency decision-making. Aspects of individual performance are relevant to team performance. Additionally, individual performance translates into team performance.

Task-related skills and knowledge are insufficient when accomplishing tasks in a teamwork setting. Confirmatory factor analysis computation detected the degree of correlation necessary for interagency collaboration. The significant factors that emerged after factor analysis included the correlation matrix, which had a desirable range of 0.3 to 0.6. The assumption is that it should not be a very high or very low correlation; rather, it should be a moderate correlation between variables. At least 0.3 is a desirable value.

5.2. Recommendations

In the context of near decomposability, the respondents reflected the inter-agency subunits. The existing condition of respondents suggested that repair is needed at the subunit level to mitigate unintentional passive-aggressive behaviors. The job requirements of social workers in the child welfare profession dictate that they will experience some level of secondary stress/compassion fatigue and burnout. Therefore, as an ethical obligation, government agencies that provide guidelines for client care should also develop and enforce such safety nets for staff. However, such restoration comes the price of acknowledging and addressing organizational vulnerabilities and seeking remediation from the administra-

tive tethering liaison.

The data showed existing accolades and profound promise for the FCT model. In areas where it is used, the responses reflected positive results, and those who had not had the opportunity to use it observed positive outcomes and wanted training. However, for it to reach its fullest potential, internal organizational repair concerning communication and trust is necessary. Communication is the golden thread woven through the organization, providing opportunities for staff to be heard and validated. Active communication involves listening, acknowledging, providing authentic responses, and validating the presenter. This golden thread now begins to build trust. Once trust is established, those employees encountering adverse circumstances are more resilient and likely to respond in a manner that benefits the organization^[26]. Additionally, the necessary repair is not a single act; it requires the dynamic intervention properties of AT in which individual needs can be mentored and adjusted to meet current perspectives.

These conditions are not random and do not occur unless all layers of leadership are part of the process. In this analysis, correlations related to the empirical data showed that when the supervisor used the FCT model for trust, it enhanced communication within the organization by as much as four times. When engaged fully, the FCT builds trust. When the supervisor can endorse the FCT model, the effectiveness increases significantly, meaning that the closer the relationship of the supervisor with the user of FCT, the more effective they are in their role. The fidelities that make up the FCT model are also elements of resiliency to protect against secondary stress, compassion fatigue, and burnout^[23–25, 27].

The following recommendations may support organizations to accomplish the necessary changes:

- Incorporate the FCT model as an inter-agency resource to open communication and foster trust.
- Provide intentional support and training for the middle manager/immediate supervisor.
- Utilize an outside AT agent (e.g., an ombudsman) as the liaison to bridge relationships and create pathways.

The supervisor holds the space to open the door for more communication, which builds trust. Using the FCT model as a foundational principle, the supervisor can be approachable and relatable to their staff. In this space, the

immediate supervisor is the pivoting point between staff and upper management, impacting the relationship and the extent to which employees will trust. The outcomes of the extent of separation are such that repair would require an independent liaison or tethering agent to work on internal conditions, specifically in the role of the middle manager, and thus prepare a foundation for not only organizational resilience but the spread of FCT among more counties, meeting the need for more services.

5.3. Implications

Agencies providing child and family services have specific mandates, regardless of their location and whether they are private entities. They essentially have some uniformity in design and function because they provide services that ultimately fall under the watchful eye of a government body. While labels of departments may differ from state to state, the essence of essential duties remains constant regardless of region, thus yielding itself as a necessary yet stoic government body. While this design is fundamental, internal adjustments are required if the agencies are to provide high-quality care for staff and clients.

Social workers in child welfare are susceptible to the pitfalls of their job requirements, experiences, and expectations that only increase with severity. This is a mandatory profession that seeks to create and apply standardization across states and states across counties. In this continuum of service provision, the person merges with the agency from the organization's perspective, as this paper has illustrated. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between the organization and the individual, offering some autonomy and individualism to generate internal connections more effectively if there is ND. For the organization to operate at its fullest potential, trust must be rebuilt, empowering individuals to work to their fullest potential. While this paper began with the topics of organizational identification and organizational culture, the lenses of secondary stress, compassion fatigue, and burnout illuminated how deficiencies in these agencies emerged.

Author Contributions

J.H., provided original research and conceptual development pertaining to the notion of secondary stress. Her

work manifested in terms of the qualitative analysis and structuring of the conceptual underpinnings of this notion (i.e., secondary stress). R.W. and K.M provided expertise in terms of the empirical facets of this study as well as their contribution to the concept of Administrative Tethering and its application withing the practice of FCT as aligned with the extant conceptual construct of this notion.

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Institutional Review Board Statement

The current study, as submitted, involved research with individuals from public sector agencies and in this regard, the authors of this article have retained and will provide relevant materials as aligned with appropriate ethics and ethical conduct as necessitated by the nature of the academic research conducted herein.

Data Availability Statement

The data associated with this study is available through the REAL Academy by contacting Kevin Marino: Kevin@realacademy.co. The data is accessible as it will be presented in a clear and concise manner and arranged in a useful format that can be furnished to the public without any conditions or limitations on access and in accordance with all privacy requirements.

Acknowledgments

We wish to thank these FCT professionals and those CPS workers who have provided invaluable insights surrounding FCT, its application, and their sharing of insights associated with nuanced facets of their profession.

Conflict of Interest

No conflict of interests exists in terms of this study.

Appendix A

Deductive Primary Codes	BR or ND	Examples of Coded Segments	Summary of Topic	AT Intervention	AT Components
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Alignment with Agency Goals to spread Family Centered Treatment to serve more children and families.	ND	Positive: "It is clear to me my role within the organization and how I can grow into the organization."; ".....just recently got to for a F2F where we participated in strategic planning. We completed a SWOT and came up with relevant and useful goals & strategies to further our mission of implementing FCT in more places."	Some agencies are expanding FCT services to more regions and populations, while others are evaluating whether they can continue with FCT. There is a desire for more clarity and transparency from agencies about their plans for FCT and how it aligns with their goals. The need for more resources and support for clinicians is also recognized.	Value is the element that determines the relationship between staff and leadership. It is also what influences performance and helps mediate secondary stress [23]. People feel valued when they are heard and the person listening authentically validates them through actions, this is the foundation for trust [28, 29]. As trust and their perception of their value to the organization improves, so does job performance. Individuals who see themselves as valuable to the organization will operate from a higher level of emotional intelligence and thus, how they respond to adverse conditions will improve. Therefore, factors of secondary stress, compassion fatigue and burnout also begin to improve [23, 30]. Given the existing conditions expressed through this data analysis, repair begins as a prescriptive process administered through the administrative tethering agent and the AT ombudsman.	AT mediator designs and facilitates diagnosing and training for AT ombudsman. They work as a liaison between external agencies, resources and the foundation executive leadership generating communicative networks based on their diagnostics.
		Negative: "I love my job and what I do. I believe whole heartedly in the work we do, and have a desire to help others, but I do not feel that the actions and direction my organization is headed seem to align with the things they say and promise, or career goals at this time."	Many employees express pride in working for an organization that utilizes FCT to serve families and hope that every county can provide this service. The agency's primary goal is to continue supporting the growth of the FCT team and caseload. Some employees suggest that more marketing is needed to make the program thrive.		
		Neutral: "I have general agreement with the statements on alignment but I would not always be able to give specific reasons if asked."; "Board alignment with on the ground work is key"	There is a consensus that alignment with agency goals will lead to greater retention of certified clinicians and transfer of learning from experienced peers to their teammates. However, some employees are still learning about the agency's long-term goals and how they align with program goals. Some employees are contracted to the county from another agency and are not directly involved in program alignment. Overall, the employees' comments suggest a positive attitude towards FCT and a desire to align program goals with agency goals to serve more families.		
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of your Individual Benefits to learn, grow, and flourish under the FCT model as a professional.	BR	Positive: "I have been able to strengthen my trauma skills through the many trainings available. As a leader in this organization, I particularly saw an opportunity to strengthen my role utilizing the situational leadership model promoted by FCT."; "I have learned a great deal throughout the process of learning about FCT, which has continued my understanding of trauma in a different way."	The FCT model as a professional, respondents mentioned that consistent check-ins from supervisors or trainers with encouragement and reminders of their own strengths are helpful. They also appreciated the opportunity to learn new skills and strategies that can be applied in their work with families. Some mentioned that the FCT model has helped them become more confident in their ability to work with families who have experienced trauma. Additionally, The FCT model requires a lot of commitment from staff, and standardized training is necessary.	Agency size and locations are relevant to the number of AT ombudsmen deployed. Assuming one AT ombudsman oversees many agencies in different regions would be counterproductive, thus setting the process up for failure. Such conditions would revert to the original state of the organization. However, it is reasonable to strategically divide and create small regions with similar context.	
		Negative: "Once again, just the lack of management involvement."; "I believe the Supervisor should have direct access helping staff complete checkoffs."			
		Neutral: "I came to FCT with a strong knowledge of how trauma impacts family functioning."; "FCT sets a basis for what to go over with the families."			

Deductive Primary Codes	BR or ND	Examples of Coded Segments	Summary of Topic	AT Intervention	AT Components
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Organization Communication.	ND	Positive: "The organization encourages providing and receiving feedback regularly."	While some employees feel that their leadership team is inspiring, supportive, and receptive to feedback, others feel that leadership does not take their concerns seriously and that there is a lack of communication and follow-through. Many employees feel that there is a need for growth and development in their organization, particularly in the areas of fractured internal culture and limited utilization of resources. Some employees feel left out of conversations about plans for the future and doubt what the future of the program looks like. There is also a struggle with getting salary ranges raised to a fair place, which puts the organization at risk of losing employees. Specific to the FCT training, there is a discrepancy in knowledge base among leadership staff, which has been an obstacle at times.		
		Negative: "Chain of communication can be confusing/disorganized."			
		Neutral: "Continuous use of surveys ensures needs are met."			
Are there other supports your organization provides to invest in your FCT growth not listed above? Please share other supports or how supports can be improved.	ND	Positive: "...is doing well listening to the needs of clinicians and developing new forms of training to support their growth and meet their needs."			
		Negative: "No other supports besides the education I received getting my masters."; "Not that I know of"			
		Neutral: "training specifically for the non clinical staff is always welcome"			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Feeling Individually Valued.	BR	Positive: "I feel valued based on the amount of training and type of training provided by my organization. Also, by having a support system in place."; "My direct supervisor is exemplary at providing the team with the support and environment needed to make each individual feel safe and valued."	highlight the importance of feeling individually valued in the context of FCT and the varied experiences and perceptions of employees regarding this topic. While some organizations have implemented initiatives to promote staff health and wellness, there is a need for more recognition of good work, more opportunities for self-care, and more flexibility in supporting staff. In terms of FCT, there are mixed opinions on whether managers prioritize it, but it is seen as a program that speaks to the individual and unique needs of families.		
		Negative: "I do not feel that the value i bring to this organization has been utilized. I also feel that at times i have felt silenced in my opinions or have not been provided a safe space to provide feedback and suggestions or solutions."			
		Neutral: "Staff retention and satisfaction is a key component to agency and family success."			

Deductive Primary Codes	BR or ND	Examples of Coded Segments	Summary of Topic	AT Intervention	AT Components
Your thoughts and comments are welcome regarding these questions on the topic of organizational resilience.	ND	Positive: "Our supervisor is aware that burn out is important to address and is making ways to work with us to avoid the feeling of burn out."; "I am comfortable speaking with my team and/or supervisor to discuss self-care concerns, secondary trauma, and any other stressors. I am aware of the EAP program as well."	Overall, employees felt supported by their organization and supervisors in meeting their needs for self-care and managing stress. However, some employees felt that the organization could do better in this area, particularly in providing more resources for employee resilience and addressing secondary stress and trauma. Some employees also felt that taking time off for self-care could be difficult due to the demands of their job, and that the organization could do more to promote work-life balance.		
		Negative: "I think our organization thinks they are addressing these issues, but an EAP that provides a couple of sessions or referrals is not care for those who experience secondary trauma every day. And it's a mixed bag of whether you can be off for mental health reasons. I like my company, but there is plenty of room to do better. Stop doing performative, trendy reactive things and listen to employees."			
		Neutral: "Our EAP services are always available."; "I think we can always improve on this."			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Individual Contribution.	BR	Positive: "I believe my strong work ethic provides the organization with a fully engaged employee who truly wishes to help our clients."; "I feel that my experience working with children and families is valuable and adds to the work I do utilizing the FCT model with families in my community."	Many individuals express a strong belief in the effectiveness of the FCT model in addressing trauma and providing quality services to families. However, there are also concerns about the challenges of implementing the model consistently and effectively, particularly in the face of limited resources and high turnover. Some individuals feel that they are not adequately recognized or supported for their contributions, while others feel valued and appreciated. There is a strong emphasis on the importance of ongoing learning and growth, both as individuals and as a team, in order to provide the best possible care to families. Overall, there is a sense of dedication and passion for the work of supporting families and addressing trauma, as well as a recognition of the need for ongoing support and resources to do so effectively.		
		Negative: "I believe I make a difference in the lives of the families I serve; however, I have received little recognition for my contributions.; "I don't feel the organization does a very good job with positive reinforcement. There is a higher focus on negative reinforcement, i.e., the naughty lists. I'm more likely to hear about myself or someone missing something or messing something up than to hear praise."			
		Neutral: "We do the best we can."; "I am willing to learn more about trauma informed care and help with it."			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Job Satisfaction.	BR	Positive: "I love challenges and changes. Opportunities to grow, etc. Embrace constructive criticism." "I am given the opportunity to take my prior profession and use those skills to align with the model to best meet the clients needs."	The majority of respondents express high levels of job satisfaction in their roles as family therapists using the FCT model. They enjoy the work they do, find it rewarding, and appreciate the opportunities for growth and learning. Many feel that their job aligns with their career goals and allows them to utilize their skills and experience to help families. They value the team aspect of their work and the support they receive from colleagues and supervisors. However, some express concerns about the direction of their organization and the stress and workload associated with their job. Others mention the need for more flexibility and better compensation. Overall, job satisfaction is linked to the ability to help families and the opportunities for personal and professional growth within the FCT model.		
		Negative: "I love the part of working with families. The amount of extras required by this job make it far beyond a 40 hour per week job, and it's suffocating to keep up with."			
		Neutral: "This job is a lot of hard work and challenging at times."; "I am generally satisfied with my job."			

Deductive Primary Codes	BR or ND	Examples of Coded Segments	Summary of Topic	AT Intervention	AT Components
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Your Supervisor's Effectiveness.	BR	Positive: "The support and feedback from my supervisor is welcomed and received well because I know it comes from a place of nurturing growth and encouragement."; "My supervisor is the heart and soul of her team provides a genuine human component to counterbalance the very top levels of leadership."	Many respondents express positive views of their supervisors, describing them as supportive, accessible, and effective in their roles. Some supervisors are noted for their flexibility and willingness to work with staff to ensure they feel supported. However, some respondents note that their supervisors are not directly involved in FCT and may not have the necessary knowledge or skills to provide effective coaching or supervision in this area. Others express frustration with the limited resources available to support FCT implementation and the high turnover rates that make it difficult to provide consistent, high-quality services to families. Overall, the responses suggest that effective supervision is critical to the success of the FCT program, and that ongoing support and training are needed to ensure that supervisors have the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively support staff and families.		
		Negative: "My supervisor has very little understanding of FCT. She knows the basics but cannot support my growth with FCT. Her focus is on the billable numbers for our program as a whole, not just FCT. My growth as an FCT supervisor, is really owed to my foundation consultant, who provides me with support, and constant supportive feedback."			
		Neutral: "My supervisor is very personable."; "My supervisor is accessible and knowledgeable but very new and not yet trained in the FCT model."			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Your Retention and Desire to Stay at this Agency.		Positive: "I have no desire to leave this organization. I have a good team, supervisors. I feel valued. Now, I would appreciate a wage increase but not leaving this job to find it."; "I look forward to a future with this agency and advancing in my career."	The majority of respondents expressed a strong desire to stay with their current agency and continue working with the Family Centered Treatment (FCT) model. They believe in the effectiveness and sustainability of the model and feel that it aligns with their values and goals. Many also appreciate the support and opportunities for growth provided by their agency and supervisors. However, some expressed concerns about low morale and lack of financial compensation, which may lead to turnover. Work-life balance and pay were also cited as factors that may influence retention. Overall, respondents value the work they do with families and hope to continue serving their communities through FCT.		
		Negative: "Unfortunately I feel staff are unappreciated, unrecognized, unmotivated, and unsupported which has resulted in very low morale and high turnover."; "There is a reason the turnover in this company is high. This job places stress on every part of one's family and it eventually will get to be too much for most workers."			
		Neutral: "I believe in the work I am providing in my community."; "I stay because of FCT."			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Workplace Safety.	ND	Positive: "Our supervisor makes it a point to make sure that we are feeling safe while doing in home services."; "Safety has never been an issue for me with this organization."			
		Negative: "Safety is secondary to client contact."; "It's hard to hear "Stay safe if your families are sick" but then be in fear of being in the crosshairs of management when dosage falls short."			
		Neutral: "I haven't had an issue with safety. Those areas of question I provide services during a "safe time"; "Sometimes, some of the referrals sound scary, but they turn out to be alright."			

Deductive Primary Codes	BR or ND	Examples of Coded Segments	Summary of Topic	AT Intervention	AT Components
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Teamwork within the Agency.	ND	Positive: "Team work is important within the program at our agency. We have been able to come together and work through difficult situations together."; "My team is the most cohesive and supportive team I have ever been on."	Many practitioners express positive sentiments about their teams, highlighting the importance of teamwork in the success of the FCT model. They describe their teams as cohesive, supportive, and committed to the FCT mission. Some practitioners note that their teams have grown and changed over time, and that there have been challenges with turnover and restructuring. However, they also emphasize the importance of transparency, honesty, and collaboration in addressing these challenges.		
		Negative: "Due to the members of the team being on different paths within the same organization, it is sometimes difficult to be on the same page."; "We don't work closely with anyone."	Some practitioners express concerns about the clarity of goals and the consistency of training, particularly around the ownership check off. Others note that their teams could benefit from more comprehensive and focused training on trauma. Some practitioners also express frustration with the fractured internal culture and limited utilization of resources, which they feel has impacted the quality and intensity of services being provided to families.		
		Neutral: "I do not know if things are clear to everyone on my team. We have several new people that are just now learning."; "There are challenges at times to intensity that we continue to work through."	Overall, practitioners emphasize the importance of teamwork in the implementation of the FCT model, and the need for ongoing support and collaboration to ensure its success. They highlight the value of peer leadership, group supervision, and input from team members in growing and improving the program. While there are challenges and areas for improvement, practitioners remain committed to the FCT mission and to working together to support families and children.		
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Trust in Your Senior Leaders.	BR	Positive: "I believe the board and the CEO's when they say we are valued by the way the fight for funds and how they distributed the funds to serve the client's that we services."; "I completely trust the leaders as they have shown they can be trusted in what they say, do and follow through with."	However, there are also employees who express concerns about the lack of interaction with the board of directors and senior leaders, and some feel that the leaders are not knowledgeable about FCT or do not prioritize it. Some employees have had negative experiences with senior leaders, citing poor communication, inadequate training, and a lack of understanding of FCT.		
		Negative: "I struggle to trust the authenticity of the board."; "I do not trust our senior leaders. They have not demonstrated FCT skills. They constantly change expectations to the point where myself and my team never feel like we know what is expected of us."	Overall, the responses suggest that trust in senior leaders is influenced by factors such as communication, transparency, knowledge of FCT, and commitment to the mission of the organization.		
		Neutral: "Not knowing those in higher management, I can only assume based on what I see."; "Not actually knowing or being introduced to senior leaders leaves trust as a general acceptance that they are working towards the right things based on company results rather than interpersonal trust building."			
Your thoughts and comments are welcomed regarding these questions and the topic of Trust in Your Coworkers.	BR	Positive: "We are strongly emeshed and respectful of each other's area of expertise and commitment to work."; "I have great rapport and trust with the team I am on."			
		Negative: "Since we are all in different areas we only interact together during out team meetings every week. This has hurt the comradery that can sometimes grow working in an office setting."; "We don't work close enough to have a significant bond or relationship."			
		Neutral: "I work solo much of the time."; "I feel I work with group."			

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