

JUVENILE JUSTICE IN ARKANSAS

Building on Success



Arkansas Advocates For
Children And Families
March 2013



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Beginning in 2008, juvenile stakeholders engaged in a year-long effort to understand how best to reshape the youth service delivery system in Arkansas. They visited programs in five other states to see firsthand the effectiveness of community-based alternatives to confinement. The conclusion was that Arkansas's traditional reliance on secure correctional confinement for minor and non-violent juvenile offenders was expensive, ineffective, and not supported by the research on the proven-effective alternative methods already recognized and implemented in other states.

The Arkansas Division of Youth Services (DYS) created a Comprehensive Plan 2009-2014 to strategically implement reforms efforts that: assessed the risk levels of youth committed to DHS, measured the recidivism rates of those youth after three years, created pilot sites to implement proven-effective local alternatives to incarceration, and offered commitment reduction incentives to reward communities that successfully reduced the use of secure confinement. Other promising efforts now underway in Arkansas:

- Improved educational services and additional resources for youth held in secure confinement has been a major success;
- Increased professional development training has exposed more youth service staff to proven-effective methods of treatment;
- Developing more tools for youth who are re-entering the community is the focus of a recent grant to increase youths' chances of success;
- Three local detention sites have agreed to explore alternatives to detention with advice from the Annie E. Casey Foundation; and
- Court-involved youth will soon be evaluated to determine if they suffer from co-occurring disorders of substance abuse and mental illness – a common problem not yet documented or treated effectively across the state.

Commitments of Arkansas youth to secure facilities decreased 24 percent between 2009 and 2011, but rose slightly in 2012. The majority of those commitment reductions (94 percent) came from just five of the 28 judicial districts, indicating that more work still needs to be done to spread these reforms across the state. Juvenile justice system reforms are spreading across the country. Arkansas is at the forefront of these reforms and is positioned to remain so. By learning from what has been successful in other states and in Arkansas, and applying those lessons statewide, reform will advance to the next stage.

System stakeholders must make the necessary changes in policies and practices in order to usher in the next phase of reform. The state's laws, regulations, and practices must align with its commitment to a system of juvenile justice that will effectively serve youth for the long term. A thoughtful, engaged, and community-driven approach can reduce the incarceration of low- and moderate-risk youth. Reinvesting state savings in proven-effective, community-based alternatives is the most promising way to ensure that our continued successes builds on what we've accomplished thus far.

JUVENILE JUSTICE IN ARKANSAS

Building on Success

by Paul Kelly, Senior Policy Analyst
Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families
March 2013

Arkansas is on the forefront of a growing trend to reform juvenile justice practices by treating youthful offenders in the community instead of placing them inappropriately in secure confinement.¹ While incarceration is appropriate if youth present a substantial risk to public safety, research and experience show that youth who can safely remain in the community are more likely to succeed if provided positive supports and interventions in lieu of confinement.

In the past five years, Arkansas has been deliberately and successfully moving toward a juvenile justice system that relies less on confinement and more on holistic, community-based approaches that effectively engage youth in constructive life choices. However, the state's over-reliance on incarceration for decades past has made our journey toward reform challenging. Nevertheless, our successes, attributable to the courage and diligence of policy makers and stakeholders, provide a solid foundation for the work that still needs to be done. It will mean a better future for our youth and their communities.

This report describes Arkansas's successes in juvenile justice reform to date. It summarizes the steps taken to bring us to this point and proposes a plan to complete the reforms necessary to build a juvenile justice system that best serves Arkansas youth and their communities.

CULTIVATING STRATEGIC REFORM

Like many other states, Arkansas has a long history of placing youth who have had trouble with the law in overcrowded, understaffed, and dangerous juvenile prisons with far too few rehabilitative services. About 20 years ago, newspaper exposes, federal investigations, and threatened lawsuits began to shine a spotlight on the physical and emotional abuses inflicted on already troubled youth being held in secure facilities.

The need for reform was recognized, but Arkansas lacked the community resources and programs to address the needs of these youth in their local communities. The barriers to reform were enormous. From 1995-2007, the Division of Youth Services (DYS) had nine directors; during that same time period, the federal government sued the state over bad practices and unconstitutional juvenile prison conditions. There was scant innovation and a lack of effective leadership needed to overcome the seemingly intractable barriers to change in the traditional system of care.

Recognizing that Arkansas was once again facing federal intervention, legislative and executive leaders in 2007 made a commitment to address the barriers that stood in the way of juvenile justice reform. A new DHS director was hired, the state agreed to accept national foundation support to explore options, and a multi-year, exploratory effort to improve the system was underway.

Beginning in 2008, with the financial support of private foundations and the assistance of national juvenile justice experts, stakeholders engaged in a year-long effort to understand how to best re-shape the youth service delivery system in Arkansas. This included a thorough examination of the latest research and the shared experiences of local communities in Arkansas where the youthful offenders lived.

The stakeholders involved in this deliberative process came from a variety of backgrounds – state and local government, the judiciary, education, private service providers, child advocates, academics, youth, and families. They visited programs in Missouri, Texas, Ohio, Illinois, and New York to see firsthand the effectiveness of community-based alternatives to confinement. Regional meetings were held across the state to listen to community concerns and share potential alternatives to the existing system. National experts examined the causes of persistent problems in the state’s system and made recommendations about how to address them.

The Department of Human Services Division of Youth Services (DYS) then developed a 50-member taskforce of judges, probation officers, advocates, service providers, prosecutors, youth, parents, educators, behavioral health experts, and government leaders to study the recommendations and came to the same conclusion as the national experts: Arkansas’s traditional reliance on secure correctional confinement for minor and non-violent juvenile offenders was expensive, ineffective, and not supported by the research on the proven-effective methods recognized and implemented in other states.

Participants adopted a broad set of principles that would shape the goals of reform. These included:

- Cooperative partnerships in local communities
- Standardized risk and needs assessment tools
- Improved methodologies for data collection, analysis, and outcome accountability
- Safe, humane, and treatment-oriented facilities
- Viable community-based treatment alternatives to address specific problems facing trouble youth (e.g., substance abuse)²

The report “*Arkansas Youth Justice – The Architecture of Reform*” was published in February 2012. It describes a path forward for juvenile justice reform in Arkansas.³

PROVIDING OVERSIGHT

In June 2009, the DYS taskforce of community stakeholders completed the Arkansas DYS Comprehensive Reform Plan, 2009-2014. The plan focused on transforming the current system from one that overly relied on secure confinement and commitments to one that provides effective, community-based programs to prevent out-of-home placements. Its aim was to make better use of taxpayer dollars by reserving expensive secure confinement for those that were truly a danger to the community, and invest those savings in proven-effective programs to address delinquent behavior.⁴

To ensure that the plan's vision and goals were acted upon, the DYS Strategic Plan Oversight Committee was created to make periodic assessments of the progress and timeliness of the implementation. The committee meets quarterly to review the state's progress on more than 60 tasks deemed necessary to achieve full implementation of the strategic plan by 2014. It has determined that DYS has completed more than 75 percent of the tasks in the strategic plan, although several took longer than expected, and that DYS is on target to complete most all of the tasks by 2014.

REFORM UNDERWAY: SOME HIGHLIGHTS AND DIRECTION FOR THE FUTURE

Arkansas's reform efforts are already having a remarkable effect. In fact, Arkansas's successes are already catching the attention of national juvenile justice researchers, foundations, and advocates. Several have offered their support and expertise to further our efforts as Arkansas continues to move forward.

The data collected since reforms were initiated strongly suggest that local communities do have the capacity to more effectively serve youthful offenders and their families without jeopardizing public safety. The decline in recidivism is noteworthy.

The DYS recidivism rate is calculated by counting number of youth in Arkansas who successfully completed the treatment plan and aftercare program while in DYS custody who then re-offend and are committed to DYS or the Department of Correction within three years after discharge. Recidivism data is available through 2012. Youth successfully discharged in 2008 had a recidivism rate of 54 percent three years after discharge. Youth discharged from DYS in 2009 had a recidivism rate of 41 percent three years after discharge. Hopefully this reduction in total recidivism will continue in the years ahead.⁵

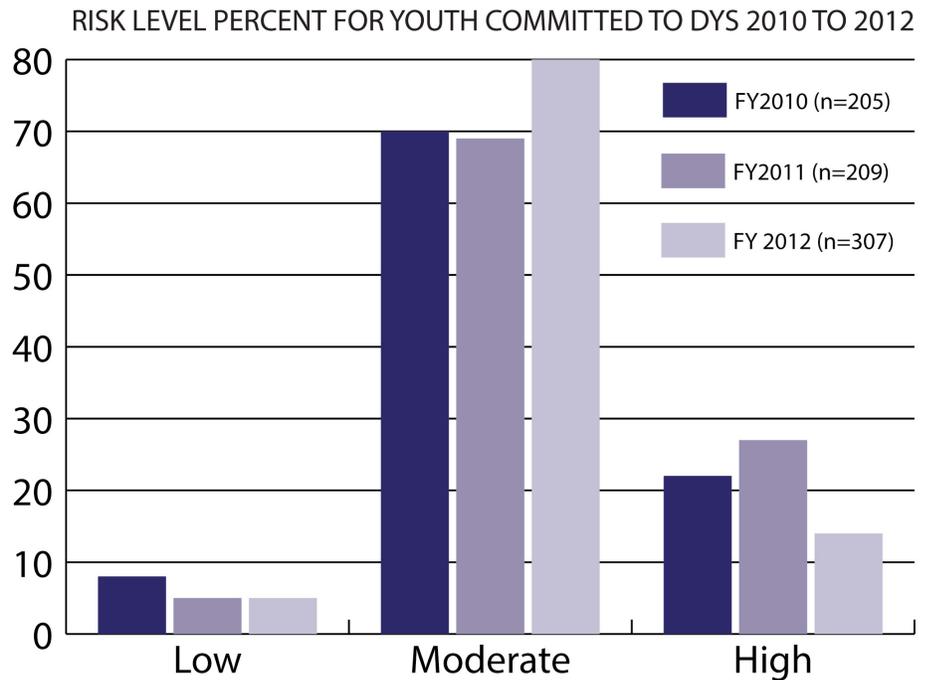
Basing treatment decisions on reliable assessments of youth risk and need

A critical element of reform success has been in the area of assessment. The Division of Youth Services has now standardized the methodology for risk and needs assessment of all youth committed by juvenile courts to state custody.

Risk assessment tools in general are a good predictor of the likelihood of future offenses, and the Youth Level Service/Case Management Inventory (YLS/CMI) instrument in particular has been determined to be among the best of 28 tools studied, especially in terms of its high predictive validity.⁶ The instrument enables the scoring of youth as being at a low, moderate, high, or very high risk of re-offense and thus is a useful aid in determination of corresponding treatment needs. The YLS/CMI was first used by DYS in 2008, and statewide administration occurred after implementation of the strategic plan in 2009. In 2010 only 38 percent of committed youth were given the YLS/CMI assessment and by 2011 that increased to 44 percent. By 2012 the percent of youth assessed had increased to 62 percent. The

following chart provides the percent of youth committed to DYS with a YLS/CMI score of low, moderate, or high risk. Over this three-year period there was only one youth (in 2011) classified as a very high risk.⁷

The state’s effort to divert low- and moderate-risk offenders from unnecessary commitment to DYS still presents significant challenges. While overall commitments decreased, and the percent of youth committed who are considered low-risk has decreased slightly, the percent of youth judged by the YLS/CMI as moderate-risk who were incarcerated increased in 2012. Only with increased access to proven-effective alternatives to incarceration will the percentage of incarcerated, moderate-risk youth decrease.



Source: AACF analysis of data from the Administrative Office of the Courts.

Investing in effective community-based alternatives

Programs proven effective in other states are now being piloted in Arkansas with the same success. For example, the Youth Advocacy Program (YAP) model, which provides six months of support services, coupled with almost daily access to an adult mentor, is now being successfully piloted in several Arkansas communities.^{8,9}

Multi-systemic Therapy (MST), an evidence-based program that provides intensive family and youth counseling proven to reduce recidivism, is now offered in Arkansas.¹⁰ With MST, the problems facing a youth and his parents are addressed in the home, at school, or in the community. It has been shown to be cost-effective, especially with more serious offenders.¹¹

The use of these model programs, as well as a recent agreement between DYS and service providers on more appropriate outcome measures for all program services, enables the state to measure the impacts of reform. These new outcome measures go beyond measures of process (e.g., numbers of individual or group therapy sessions, drug treatment sessions, or other interventions) to measures of outcomes (e.g., school attendance or performance, release from court oversight or supervision, family relations). This is critical step towards the kind of analysis that resonates with policy makers, funders, and the general public – all of whom must be part of this reform effort.

GLOSSARY OF TRAINING STRATEGIES

Trauma informed care is a critical aspect of treatment for the significant numbers of youth involved in the juvenile justice system who have experienced childhood trauma. The negative effects of such trauma should be identified and addressed with every youth entering the juvenile justice system to ensure this underlying cause for delinquent behavior is dealt with successfully.

Wrap-around is an intensive team-based care process that provides complete supports and services aimed at developing problem-solving skills, coping skills, and self-efficacy of young people and family members. There is an emphasis on reintroduction of the youth into the community and building the individual's and family's social support network.

Positive youth development is a framework for approaching youth interventions that will enable them to develop the character traits and social skills that will help them have a healthy, safe family and community life.

Gender responsive programming recognizes that the needs of youth in the justice system require gender-specific services for their treatment and proper maturation.

Girls Circle and Boys Council are structured, gender-specific support groups that employ evidenced-based principles and a focus on an individual's strengths, in order to promote positive development of personal skills, experiences, and friendships.

Improved educational programs for youth in DYS custody

For those youth who must be incarcerated, it is imperative that they receive quality educational services in order to ensure their successful reentry into their communities. Deficiencies in the Arkansas system are now being addressed. For more than a decade, the U.S. Department of Justice monitored the state's compliance with a federal court order that had identified serious deficiencies in the educational services provided at the Arkansas Juvenile Assessment and Treatment Center (AJATC) in Alexander. The DOJ also mandated improvement in the care of youth in the state's custody at that facility.¹² In late 2012, the federal agency determined that Arkansas had met the requirements of the decree and the federal lawsuit was dismissed in early 2013.¹³

Improvements in education can in part be attributed to the work of joint committees of the Arkansas House and Senate. In 2011, the committees initiated a joint study of the education provided to all youth committed to DYS.¹⁴ In response, DYS now provides prompt access to education (within two days of intake) and vocational education by a professionally trained workforce. In addition DYS utilized \$35 million from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act to renovate and expand educational structures at all six of its secure facilities.¹⁵

Perhaps most importantly, changes in education programming for youth committed to DYS have increased the academic engagement of DYS students after they leave these facilities. Almost half (49 percent) return to school, get their diploma, or obtain a GED compared to only 16 percent in 2009.¹⁶

Training in best practices

New programs to help troubled youth – whether based in the community or at a secure confinement facility – must be augmented by training for both DYS staff and service providers. In order to meet this need, training offerings have been significantly expanded in the past year. Five “juvenile justice basics” and nine “DYS support staff” training modules are available on a shared internet site.

On-site trainings for youth service workers cover topics such as motivational interviewing, strategies for engaging family in the therapeutic process, and diversity and cultural awareness. Additional on-site trainings are focused on innovative and proven-effective approaches such as gender responsive programming, Boys Council and Girls Circle, trauma-informed care, wrap-around services, positive youth development, and mentoring.

Providing resources for successful youth reentry

The reentry of youthful offenders back into their local communities following placement in a secure facility is a critical time. Engaging youth in positive, pro-social activities when they return to their home, school, and neighborhood is a vital step in reducing recidivism. With support from a Second Chance Reentry planning grant from the U.S. Department of Justice, Arkansas is in the process of developing a comprehensive toolkit of resources to aid those involved in youthful offender reentry services. The resources will provide guidance for crafting a reentry plan that fits the unique needs of an individual youth and clear, evidence-based standards for measuring success. Success of this new approach will be dependent upon the provision of a full array of community-based services through formal contractual agreements between DYS and local service providers. The youth reentry toolkit will be piloted in a community where proven-effective, community-based services are already in place.

The Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative

Another promising reform on the horizon for Arkansas is the Annie E. Casey Foundation’s Juvenile Detention Alternatives Initiative (JDAI). The program is being implemented in 39 states and the District of Columbia and is credited with dramatic declines in the number of youth charged as felons and jailed at adult facilities. So far, 86 detention sites have shown an average of a 42 percent drop in youth populations and decreases in the number of youth arrested and charged as felons.

Three local jurisdictions in Arkansas (Benton, Washington, and Garland counties) will receive technical assistance from the Annie E. Casey Foundation to demonstrate that their jurisdictions can establish more effective and efficient systems to reform the use of local juvenile detention. Objectives of the program are to 1) eliminate inappropriate or unnecessary use of secure detention, 2) minimize failures to appear and incidences of delinquent behavior, 3) redirect public finances to successful reform strategies, 4) improve conditions in secure detention facilities, and 5) reduce racial and ethnic disparities.

Federal initiative for youth with co-occurring disorders

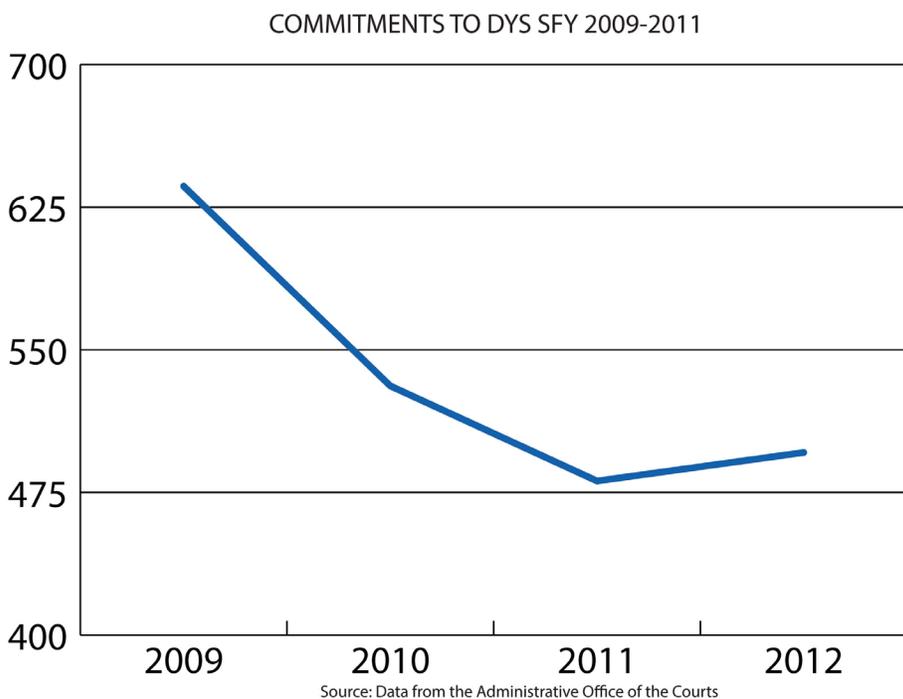
A federal initiative is in its planning stages to help youthful offenders with co-occurring mental health and substance abuse disorders so that they are diverted from the juvenile justice system to more appropriate community-based behavioral health services. In Arkansas, Judicial District 8 North (Hempstead and Nevada counties) has been selected as the site for this pilot program. The aims of this initiative are to:

- Select and implement an assessment tool to be used to determine whether youth have a co-occurring mental health and/or substance abuse disorder
- Identify and increase the number of effective, evidence-based services for these youth
- Increase the number of youth that are diverted and reduce the number of contacts these youth have with the criminal and juvenile justice systems
- Reduce the disproportionate number of minority youth that are adjudicated delinquent due to underlying co-occurring mental health and/or substance abuse disorders

The success of this pilot will provide a model and incentive for other judicial districts in Arkansas to adopt similar diversion policies and practices to address a unique population of youth.

Continuing to reduce inappropriate commitments

Our early successes in juvenile justice reform have come about because of the dedication, collaboration, and willingness of stakeholders to work together – from the governor to juvenile judges to local service providers. These partnerships hold the key to future successes.



Dedicated to building the infrastructure needed for sustainable juvenile justice reform, Governor Mike Beebe included in his 2010 state budget funding for an innovative “commitment reduction” initiative by which community-based programming was expanded to “reduce dependency on secure confinement in Arkansas to address the needs of youth in trouble and their families.”

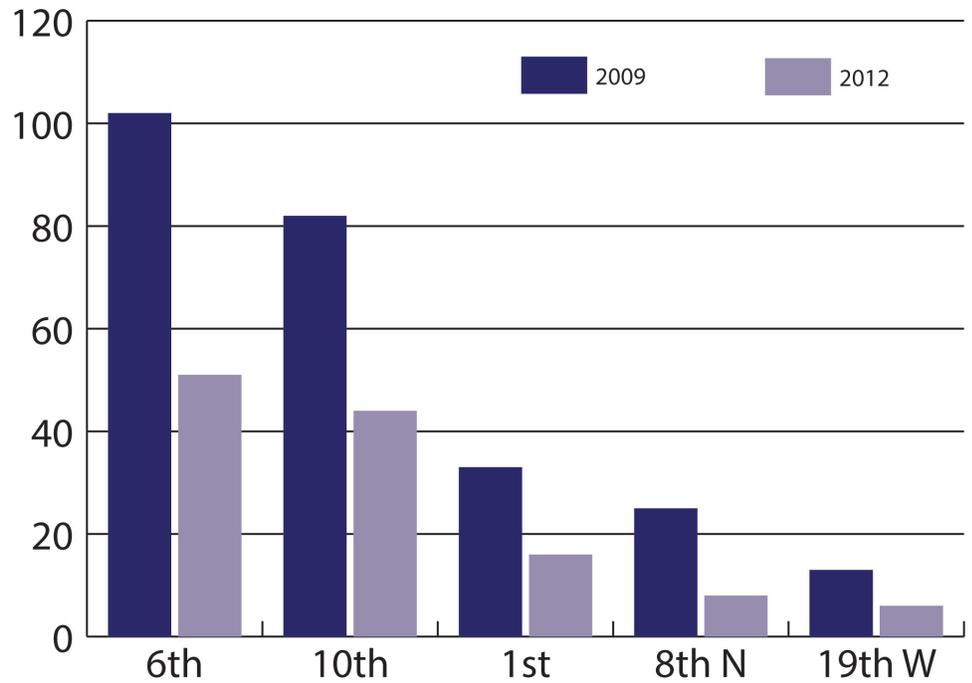
The governor also invested \$1.7 million of federal stimulus funds in the creation of fiscal incentives for reducing commitments of non-violent youthful offenders as part of the service provider contracting process. This innovative approach required youth service providers

to work closely with juvenile judges to determine how best to reduce commitments in the state's 28 judicial districts.

In 2011, DYS saved \$700,000 as the result of reduced reliance on residential beds. That money was used to increase community-based alternatives to confinement. This program continues today, although at a much reduced level, due to the loss in federal stimulus funds. As a result, commitments declined 24 percent between 2009 and 2011, but rose slightly (three percent) in 2012.

The number of beds at the state's largest juvenile secure facility, the AJATC, was reduced from 143 to 100. Plans are to reduce the number of AJATC beds by another 30 beds. State savings will be used to provide more timely comprehensive assessments of all youthful offenders committed to DYS and to create short-term transition beds in local communities to quickly return low-level offenders committed to DYS back to their family, school, and neighborhood.

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS WITH THE LARGEST DECREASE IN DYS COMMITMENTS 2009 TO 2012



Source: Data from the Administrative Office of the Courts

While these commitment reductions represent a significant step forward, much work remains if these reductions are to be expanded statewide. Between 2009 and 2012 there were 140 fewer commitments to DYS. However, 94 percent of these reductions came from five of the 28 judicial districts, with just two districts, the 6th (Pulaski and Perry counties) and the 10th (Ashley, Bradley, Chicot, Desha, and Drew counties) accounting for 63 percent of the reduction. Two districts, 18th West (Montgomery and Polk counties) and 19th East (Carroll County) had zero commitments to DYS in 2011 and 2012.¹⁷ These five districts are geographically diverse and represent both urban and rural areas of the state. This is a promising indicator that, with increased access to effective community-based alternatives, further reductions can be realized across the state.

MOVING FORWARD

“Arkansas Youth Justice – The Architecture of Reform” contains an estimate of further reductions in the size of the DYS secure-custody population, if certain reform scenarios were put into practice.¹⁸ The

REFORM SCENARIO	NUMBER OF YOUTH	DOLLARS SAVED
Bar some misdemeanor offenders from DYS commitment as long as they did not have prior commitments for felony offenses or more than three prior commitments (for any offense).	140 fewer committed youth per year	\$9 million
Commitment reduction contracts are continued and fiscal incentives for reduced commitments of certain low-level offense (excludes 19 listed serious offenses) are met.	329 fewer committed youth in five years	\$12.4 million by FY 2016
Limit commitments to moderate or high-risk offenders based on YLS/CMI risk assessments	66 fewer committed youth per year	\$3 million
Reduce delays in assessing youth while awaiting DYS placement (i.e., detainment in a county juvenile detention center using beds paid for by DYS)	Youth awaiting placement reduced to 11	\$1.1 million
Reduce commitments of youth with an IQ under 70 that are unable to effectively participate in the cognitively-based programs provided by DYS and are better served in small community programs.	41 fewer committed youth per year	\$2.9 million

report also provides associated dollar savings if the proposed policy initiatives were implemented. The chart above summarizes the five hypothetical policy reforms advanced in the report, the number of offenders that would be affected by each, and the dollars that would be freed up to fund alternative programs, were these reforms put into practice.¹⁹

These scenarios illustrate that using best practices to produce better outcomes for youth will also offer a more efficient use of limited state resources.

Expanding quality community-based programming and using the best juvenile justice practices will produce better outcomes for youth, communities, and the state. Young people will get what they need to build on their strengths and to solve their problems so they can successfully transition to responsible adulthood. Community-based services that address academic performance, home stability, resistance to substance abuse, vocational skills, and opportunities will produce positive results. The economic and social gains of such a holistic, community-based approach to juvenile justice are enormous.

Juvenile justice system reforms are spreading across the country.^{20, 21, 22} Arkansas is at the forefront of these reforms and is positioned to remain so. By learning from what has been successful in other states and in Arkansas, and applying those lessons statewide, reform will advance to the next stage.

The goal remains the same: reduction of the inappropriate use of secure confinement through expansion of proven-effective, community-based alternatives that address youths' needs close to their family, home, and community. The research indicates this is the most effective and cost-efficient approach, and one the state must continue to work toward.

In addition, the most successful juvenile justice reform models include:

- Local engagement in the development of community-based alternatives
- Financial incentives to reduce the use of costly confinement and reinvest savings back into the community to tackle the needs of court-involved youth and their families

A model approach to juvenile justice was used in Wayne County, Michigan to reform the system from one that was state-controlled and focused on incarceration, to a local, self-sustained system based on rehabilitation. In 1996, Wayne County had the largest juvenile population in the state. The majority of out-of-home placements were for minor or non-criminal offenses, and two-thirds of juveniles sent to a state facility were committed for a technical violation of a court-ordered condition. Using local solutions and financial incentives, the average daily population of Wayne County youth in state facilities dropped from 906 in 1996 to 40 in 2003. By 2010, there were only two juveniles in a secure facility.²³ The recidivism rates also dropped dramatically, from 50 percent under the old system to less than 5 percent under the new.²⁴

Similarly in Ohio, the juvenile justice system has transformed from one that relied heavily on commitments to state custody to one that favors community-based alternatives over incarceration. In 1994, the state launched the Reasoned and Equitable Community and Local Alternatives to Incarceration of Minors initiative, or RECLAIM Ohio, which financially rewarded counties for reducing state commitments and reinvested savings into community-based programming. DYS facilities in Ohio held 1,228 youth in 2009, and by 2011 the population had dropped to 736 as a result of RECLAIM. Ohio has also realized significant savings from RECLAIM. It cost the state \$123,370 to keep a youth in a DYS facility for one year, compared to placing them in a RECLAIM program that costs \$8,539 annually. A portion of the money saved is reinvested to help local communities develop proven-effective alternatives to state confinement, including intensive probation services, substance abuse treatment, family preservation programs, and educational services.

Systems stakeholders in Arkansas can learn from these successes in other states. They must make the necessary changes in policies and practices in order to usher in the next phase of reform. The state's law, regulations, and practices must align with its commitment to a system of juvenile justice that will effectively serve youth for the long term. A thoughtful, engaged, and community-driven approach that reduces the incarceration of low- and moderate-risk youth and reinvests state savings in proven-effective, community-based alternatives is the most promising way to ensure that we build upon our success.

NOTES

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⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ Data provided by Arkansas Department of Human Services, Division of Youth Services, *Recidivism rates 2008-2012*.

⁶ Schwalbe, C. S. (2007). *Risk Assessment for Juvenile Justice: A Meta-Analysis*. *Law and Human Behavior*, 31(5): 449-462.

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⁸ See Youth Advocate Programs, Inc.'s website: (<http://www.yapinc.org/>).

⁹ Parker, M, McDuffie-Lenox, M. B., & Mitchell, A. (2011). *Arkansas Youth Advocacy Program Model Pilot Project:*

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¹² http://www.justice.gov/crt/about/spl/documents/alexeyouth_sett.pdf (federal court order requiring Arkansas to reform education and other unlawful practices at Alexander and to improve safety at the facility).

¹³ <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2012/November/12-crt-1403.html> (dismissal of U.S. v. Arkansas requested based on state's compliance with the decree).

¹⁴ *Interim Study on the Educational System of the Division of Youth Services ISP 2011-169 and 2011-170*.

¹⁵ Arkansas Department of Human Services, *Report on Improvements Made in DYS Education*, Superintendent of Schools Brett Smith and Dr. Paul Leopard, December 2012.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, page 6.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, Arkansas Department of Human Services.

¹⁸ Ibid. Arthur, P. & Hartney, C. (2012).

¹⁹ Each scenario is not mutually exclusive – many youth may fall under more than one of these possible scenarios. The full report provides the specific details and assumptions made in these calculations. Estimates are based on an analysis of data from state fiscal years 2010 and 2011. This summary is provided here to give a flavor of the policy reforms advanced in the report and the potential fiscal impact.

²⁰ Ibid, Evans, Douglas N.

²¹ Tyler, Jasmine L., Ziedenberg, Jason and Lotke, Eric. “Cost Effective Corrections: The Fiscal Architecture of Rational Juvenile Justice Systems” (2006). Washington, DC: The Justice Policy Institute.

²² “The Real Costs and Benefits of Change: Finding Opportunities for Reform During Difficult Fiscal Times,”

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²³ Ibid, Evans, Douglas N.

²⁴ Ibid, Evans, Douglas, N.

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