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THE ETHICS OF EMPOWERMENT: 
RETHINKING THE ROLE OF LAWYERS IN INTERVIEWING AND COUNSELING THE CHILD CLIENT

Katherine Hunt Federle*

"Then you should say what you mean," said the March Hare.
"I do," Alice hastily replied; "at least—at least I mean what I say—that's the same thing, you know."
"Not the same thing a bit!" said the Hatter. "Why, you might just as well say that 'I see what I eat' is the same thing as 'I eat what I see'!"
"You might just as well say," added the March Hare, "that 'I like what I get' is the same thing as 'I get what I like'!"
"You might just as well say," added the Dormouse, which seemed to be talking in its sleep, "that 'I breathe when I sleep' is the same thing as 'I sleep when I breathe'!"1

INTRODUCTION

LAWYERS must feel, occasionally, that they have fallen down the rabbit hole when they try to speak with and advise their clients. This sensation may partially explain why issues of competency, coercion, and manipulation arise in the context of the lawyer's representation of the adult client.2 Scholars have acknowledged that such problems are the inevitable consequence of an unequal relationship in

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which the client is seen as subordinate and dependent.\(^3\) Moreover, the client may be particularly susceptible to interpersonal domination because of invasive practices that systematically disempower the client.\(^4\) Client empowerment, therefore, becomes essential to the creation of an equal relationship between lawyer and client.

This question of empowerment is central to the lawyer's relationship with her child client. Furthermore, that relationship is inextricably linked to notions of client competency and lawyer autonomy. For the child, an emphasis on capacity creates a peculiar disability, one that suggests that the child may be unduly susceptible to coercion and manipulation because of the child's inability to make reasoned decisions. Although these difficulties often underlie justifications that deny the child access to counsel in the first instance, they also suggest that the attorney's ethical obligations to the child client differ. Thus, what the child wants may be subordinated to some vision of the child's best interests and to what is a "good" or "right" decision. This necessarily enhances opportunities for autonomous decisionmaking by the lawyer.

This emphasis on capacity has structured much of our discussion about children's rights and ethical issues in interviewing and counseling child clients. The dominant lawyering paradigms, for example, center on issues of client autonomy and lawyer independence, on who gets to make decisions about the case. These models implicitly reflect rights constructs that, ultimately, inform the lawyer about what she may or may not do for the client. Moreover, rights theories themselves rest on some underlying notion about capacity as a prerequisite to having and exercising rights. But because children are not seen as capable, autonomous beings, much of our rights talk, and our lawyering, cannot accommodate children. What is needed is a new way of thinking about rights and lawyering that will account for children as rights holders.

This Article proposes a new lawyering model that stems from an empowerment perspective on the rights of children. An empowerment perspective rejects capacity as an organizing principle in rights theory and argues that power is central to any coherent account of rights. From an empowerment perspective, it is the powerlessness of children that mandates their empowerment. Moreover, ethical issues in the representation of children would be resolved by considering the child client's need for empowerment. Consequently, coercive and manipulative practices could no longer be justified and paternalistic practices would not only be inappropriate but unethical, for they would have a disempowering effect on children as clients.

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3. See infra notes 42-53 and accompanying text.
4. See infra notes 42-46 and accompanying text.
The first section of this Article begins with an overview of the two dominant lawyering paradigms and illustrates how theories of rights structure the relationship between attorney and client. The Article then analyzes the implications of these theories for lawyering when the client is a child by considering the child's right to counsel in delinquency, abuse and neglect, and custody cases. Lawyering for the child within the framework of these proceedings is then discussed and interviewing and counseling techniques are reviewed. The Article then concludes with a discussion of an empowerment perspective on the rights of children and a suggestion as to how interviewing and counseling the child client might differ under such an account.

I. OF PROFESSIONAL ETHICS, RIGHTS, AND CHILDREN

Two competing visions of the good lawyer animate much of the discussion about professional ethics. The first is a paradigm of client autonomy, in which lawyering is client-centered and client-empowering; the attorney is partisan, loyal, zealous, subordinate and morally nonaccountable for the client's autonomous choices. Dignity, freedom, individual autonomy and, somewhat paradoxically, communitarianism are central features. The second model emphasizes lawyer autonomy: within this construct, the attorney is professionally independent of and, perhaps, even paternalistic towards the client, as

5. This article focusses on these proceedings because lawyers come into contact with children most frequently in these sorts of cases. Nancy W. Perry & Larry L. Teply, Interviewing, Counseling, and In-Court Examination of Children: Practical Approaches for Attorneys, 18 Creighton L. Rev. 1369, 1370 n.14 (1985) (noting that lawyers come into contact with children most frequently in delinquency, neglect, abuse, divorce, or tort cases); Marvin Ventrell, Rights & Duties: An Overview of the Attorney-Child Client Relationship, 26 Loy. U. Chi. L.J. 259, 268 (1995) (stating that children are most commonly represented in abuse, neglect, dependency, delinquency, and status offense cases).


7. See Anthony V. Alfieri, Disabled Clients, Disabling Lawyers, 43 Hastings L.J. 769, 839 (1992) (recognizing that lawyers may empower their clients through such tactics as personalization) [hereinafter Alfieri, Disabled Clients]; William L. F. Felstiner & Austin Sarat, Enactments of Power: Negotiating Reality and Responsibility in Lawyer-Client Interactions, 77 Cornell L. Rev. 1447, 1497 (1992) (acknowledging that power is fluid and that clients exercise power over their lawyers in a number of ways); Paul R. Tremblay, Rebellious Lawyering, Regnant Lawyering, and Street-Level Bureaucracy, 43 Hastings L.J. 947, 951-54 (1992) (advocating a form of rebellious lawyering, in which the attorney seeks to empower subordinated clients) [hereinafter Tremblay, Rebellious Lawyering].
well as morally accountable for her actions. In this instance, notions of professional integrity are tied to larger concerns about the rights of other clients and an overarching duty to the principles of truth and justice.

Neither account, however, goes deep enough to suggest a paradigm that meaningfully addresses the seemingly intractable problems of role and morality. This difficulty ultimately stems from an impoverished account of rights. Lawyering models implicitly engage in rights talk: what the lawyer is to do (or not) for the client depends primarily on how one constructs and values rights. But the accounts of rights that lie beneath these lawyering models are invariably impoverished because they fail to account for powerlessness. To be coherent, a theory of rights must recognize the connection between powerlessness, hierarchy, and exclusion; in this sense, rights flow downhill toward the least powerful in any given relationship. The difficulty with models of professional ethics lies in their unsatisfactory accounts of rights and explains, I think, the paradigmatic concern for the individual lawyer's morality or goodness.

A. Two Lawyering Models

This section illustrates how two different notions of rights structure models of lawyering. It begins with an overview of the client autonomy model and contends that the choice theory of rights best accounts for the value placed on client autonomy. The Article then discusses the critique of client autonomy and its alternative paradigm, the lawyer autonomy model. Interest theory, in which interests generate rights and there is an explicit concern for the underlying moral justifications of a duty, best explains this emphasis on lawyer autonomy. The section then concludes with a brief description of the implications of these accounts for lawyering when the client is a child.

1. Client Autonomy Model

Client autonomy is the central value of the first lawyering model. Within the simplest account of this paradigm, autonomy is seen as a fundamentally moral concept, as a good in and of itself, because it


promotes and secures individual dignity and freedom. Furthermore, autonomy promotes individual happiness and satisfaction and, consequently, benefits society because it reaffirms those values promoted by the liberal state. Finally, autonomy is inextricably linked to our preference for an adversarial system of justice. It is being able to say what one wants, to make one’s case, to have some control over or to influence an outcome—that is the essence of autonomy and freedom.

Under this model, the attorney is the systemic promoter and facilitator of client autonomy. She has certain obligations to the client necessitated by this role. They include duties of loyalty, partisanship, zealous advocacy, and even a special-purpose friendship. But above all, the attorney must be professional, neutral with respect to the ends sought, and nonaccountable to others for her part in the pursuit of the client’s objectives, even when they may be wrong or immoral. Because autonomy is a moral good and the promotion of autonomy depends, in large part, upon access to law, the attorney is exempted from moral responsibility for the pursuit of the client’s stated ends. At worst, this renders the attorney’s role amoral and


15. Fried, supra note 6, at 1071-72. Fried analogizes the role of lawyer to that of a limited-purpose friend who adopts the client’s interests as her own within the context of a (narrower) legal relationship.

16. Freedman, supra note 6, at 32-33; Fried, supra note 6, at 1082-87.

17. Pepper, supra note 11, at 617-18.

18. See id. at 617-19. For critiques of Pepper’s claim that the lawyer’s role is amoral, see Andrew L. Kaufman, A Commentary on Pepper’s “The Lawyer’s Amoral Ethical Role,” 1986 Am. B. Found. Res. J. 651; David Luban, The Lysistratian Prerog-
may promote moral nonaccountability, a central criticism of the client autonomy paradigm.\textsuperscript{19}

Some proponents of the client autonomy model, however, claim that the attorney's act is, in and of itself, a moral one.\textsuperscript{20} Proponents of the paradigm argue that the lawyer acts morally when she helps clients realize their legal rights.\textsuperscript{21} This sort of action insulates the attorney from moral condemnation, even when she represents an "unworthy" client, because it promotes the expression of client autonomy within the legal system.\textsuperscript{22} The lawyer, nevertheless, may be held morally and professionally accountable when she preempts client decision making by denying the client the information or the means to carry out her lawful purposes.\textsuperscript{23} This not only violates the client's right to pursue her legal objectives\textsuperscript{24} but deprives the client of autonomous action, a central value of this paradigm.\textsuperscript{25}

Moreover, under the client autonomy model, the attorney has an additional obligation to ensure that the client participates freely and autonomously within the attorney-client relationship itself. Because the client accesses legal structures through the attorney, the client's primary expression of autonomy occurs within the attorney-client relationship.\textsuperscript{26} Concerns about the paternalistic, manipulative, and even deceptive practices of lawyers, however, suggest that client objectives may be sacrificed to lawyer self-interest.\textsuperscript{27} Client-centered or participatory decision-making techniques counteract this tendency to subordinate client interests by sensitizing the attorney to the ways in which she may influence client decision making.\textsuperscript{28} Thus, by creating

\textsuperscript{19} See Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 49-57; Fried, supra note 6, at 1074-75. \textsuperscript{20} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; see Fried, supra note 6, at 1074; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52. \textsuperscript{21} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52; Fried, supra note 6, at 1074-75. \textsuperscript{22} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52. \textsuperscript{23} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52. \textsuperscript{24} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52. \textsuperscript{25} Freedman, Ethics, supra note 11, at 57; Freedman, supra note 6, at 52. \textsuperscript{26} Dinerstein, supra note 12, at 514; Freedman, Personal Responsibility, supra note 11, at 204; Fried, supra note 6, at 1073. \textsuperscript{27} Lisa G. Lerman, Lying to Clients, 138 U. Pa. L. Rev. 659, 669 (1990); Carrie Menkel-Meadow, Lying to Clients for Economic Gain or Paternalistic Judgment: A Proposal for a Golden Rule of Candor, 138 U. Pa. L. Rev. 761, 781-82 (1990) (responding to and expanding upon Lerman); see also Dinerstein, supra note 12, at 593 (arguing that lawyer-centered approach "contributes to the professional mystification that persuades clients that the lawyer knows best"). \textsuperscript{28} Gary Bellow & Bea Moulton, The Lawyering Process: Ethics and Professional Responsibility 1018-1104 (1981); David A. Binder & Susan C. Price, Legal Interviewing and Counseling: A Client-Centered Approach 147-48 (1977); Dinerstein, supra note 12, at 555-56; Stephen Ellmann, Lawyers and Clients, 34 UCLA L. Rev. 717, 720 (1987); Lerman, supra note 27, at 670; Menkel-Meadow, supra note 27, at 781-82.
mechanisms to ensure the client's full participation in legal decision making, participatory models enhance client autonomy.\textsuperscript{29} This emphasis on client autonomy clearly presupposes a degree of competency.\textsuperscript{30} If autonomy suggests the freedom to make choices about and to control our lives, then being autonomous suggests having the present capability to exercise such freedom. Furthermore, the process of choosing implies that the decision maker is competent to weigh the alternatives and to assess their consequences in a rational and informed manner.\textsuperscript{31} Ascertaining when a decision is competent, however, also provides greater opportunities for lawyer manipulation, particularly if the attorney confuses a mistaken or poor decision for an incompetent one.\textsuperscript{32} Even a presumption of competency, however, would not preclude occasional infringements upon client decision making when necessary to preserve the client's autonomy.\textsuperscript{33}

This vision of the autonomous and competent client comports with Western rights traditions of individual liberty.\textsuperscript{34} Within a construct of rights as the exercise of choice, the rights holder is an autonomous and competent being with the power to compel others to perform some duty owed to the rights holder.\textsuperscript{35} The performance of the duty, however, is conditioned upon the rights holder's decision to demand performance of the obligation; in other words, the right preexists the duty.\textsuperscript{36} But the need to choose whether to enforce the obligation also means that the rights holder must have the capacity to recognize that a decision must be made and to execute that choice.\textsuperscript{37} Consequently, capacity becomes a prerequisite to having and exercising rights.\textsuperscript{38}

The client autonomy model also values the competent and autonomous rights holder. Rights not only provide access to the legal structure: they also define and preserve individual liberty. For a lawyer to find a client incompetent is thus to declare that the client has no status as a rights holder.\textsuperscript{39} Client incompetency, therefore, authorizes the

\textsuperscript{30} See Ellmann, supra note 28, at 717, 726-29; Luban, supra note 8, at 462-64.
\textsuperscript{31} Id. at 727-28.
\textsuperscript{32} Id. at 769 & n.149. For a more complete understanding of Ellmann's position, see John Morris's critique, John K. Morris, Power and Responsibility Among Lawyers and Clients: Comment on Ellmann's Lawyers and Clients, 34 UCLA L. Rev. 781 (1987); and Ellman's rejoinder, Stephen Ellman, Manipulation by Client and Context: A Response to Professor Morris, 34 UCLA L. Rev. 1003 (1987).
\textsuperscript{33} See Ellmann, supra note 28, at 778.
\textsuperscript{34} Federle, Rights flow downhill, supra note 10, at 343.
\textsuperscript{35} Id. at 343-44; Jeremy Waldron, Introduction to Theories of Rights 1, 6 (Jeremy Waldron ed., 1984).
\textsuperscript{36} Federle, Rights flow downhill, supra note 10, at 347-48.
\textsuperscript{37} Id. at 348.
\textsuperscript{38} Id. at 344.
\textsuperscript{39} Id. at 361-62; Paul R. Tremblay, On Persuasion and Paternalism: Lawyer Decisionmaking and the Questionably Competent Client, 1987 Utah L. Rev. 515, 539 [hereinafter Tremblay, Lawyer Decisionmaking].
attorney to act paternalistically and this sort of paternalism does not infringe upon client autonomy when the client is not competent. Moreover, paternalistic intervention may even appear to preserve the client's opportunities for the future exercise of autonomy by preventing the client from making choices that actually restrict liberty.

The centrality of capacity thus creates a special problem for proponents of participatory decision making because erroneous assessments of the client's competence significantly impinge upon client autonomy. Furthermore, the construct of competence may be used in ways which disadvantage and disempower certain client groups, like the poor, particularly if their political or moral beliefs serve as a basis for assessing the "rightness" or competence of their choices. This image of the client as incompetent and dependent, as "disabled," provides significant opportunities for the lawyer to exercise power at the expense of client autonomy. Existing legal structures also permit and perpetuate the image of client as incompetent other and create systemic occasions for disempowerment. In this way, the dominant vision of competence narrows the client's exercise of autonomy to the politically permissible.

Lawyering, nevertheless, may be a mechanism for significant individual and collective empowerment if we broaden our conception of the autonomous, capable client. This would envision enabling the client within the attorney-client relationship to resist attorney domination by enhancing client participation and encouraging collaboration through new methods of interviewing, counseling, and investigation. By freeing the client from a legal hegemony designed to perpetuate unequal class structures, this account also would permit the client to challenge the subordinating systemic effects of law and to consider long-term rewards. Client empowerment, in turn, promotes class

40. See Luban, Paternalism, supra note 8, at 465-66.
41. See id. at 465.
43. See Alfieri, Disabled Clients, supra note 7, at 773.
44. Tremblay, Lawyer Decisionmaking, supra note 39, at 554; see Alfieri, Disabled Clients, supra note 7, at 811-12; Felstiner & Sarat, supra note 7, at 1449-50.
46. Id. at 811-12.
48. Alfieri, Antinomies of Poverty Law, supra note 42, at 711-12; Tremblay, Rebelious Lawyering, supra note 7, at 959. Alfieri argues that the dominant traditions in poverty lawyering (direct service and law reform litigation) cannot and will not succeed in abolishing poverty because these traditions depoliticize the struggle against poverty. Rather, the goal of lawyering for the poor should be the mobilization and
consciousness and facilitates collectivist strategies for positive and long-term legal change. This vision of client empowerment thus fosters both individuality and collectivity: the freedom to express personal goals to the lawyer and the power to effect long-term change through political communitarian agitation.

Although this version of client empowerment offers a different accounting of rights, client autonomy is nevertheless a central value. Unlike the vision of rights articulated by the simple autonomy model, this theory reconstructs rights to accommodate notions of both individual and class rights. By pursuing the individual claim within a case-specific context while empowering the client to agitate for rights vindicating the client's class interests, the attorney combines these disparate objectives into a unified, multidimensional theory of rights. But this emphasis on transcendent class rights does not obviate autonomy as a primary goal of client empowerment lawyering for the client has the freedom to choose among various rights demands and the attorney is obligated to respect those client choices. Furthermore, and somewhat counterintuitively, class consciousness facilitates autonomy by freeing individuals from subordinating structures and practices and thereby enhancing individual dignity while recognizing the advantages of community.

2. Lawyer Autonomy Model

Proponents of the competing lawyering paradigm, however, claim that the client empowerment model does not adequately account for the powerful client. The corporate lawyer, for example, often serves wealthy and socially powerful clients upon whom she may depend for recurring business; consequently, she may be reluctant or unable to empower the poor as a class to enable effective collective challenges to oppressive welfare systems. Alfieri, Antinomies of Poverty Law, supra note 42, at 663-65.

49. See Alfieri, Antinomies of Poverty Law, supra note 42, at 711-12 (arguing that poverty can be abolished only through the unification of the poor as a class and that lawyers must facilitate this process by transforming the attorney-client relationship); see also Tremblay, Rebellious Lawyering, supra note 7, at 957-58 (discussing one strand of empowerment theoretic—the "collectivist" theme—in which mobilization is an effective method for clients to redress their grievances).

50. Alfieri, Antinomies of Poverty Law, supra note 42, at 711; Tremblay, Rebellious Lawyering, supra note 7, at 958 (discussing view urging attorneys to encourage collective activity among the poor in order to achieve long-term community goals). For a summary of the modern and postmodern views of lawyering, see Anthony V. Alfieri, Stances, 77 Cornell L. Rev. 1233 (1992).

51. Alfieri, Antinomies of Poverty Law, supra note 42, at 701.

52. Id. Alfieri argues that traditional methods of poverty lawyers continue to have a place in poverty lawyering and that the lawyer should respect the client's limited rights demand. Nevertheless, the lawyer should engage the client in a dialogue about the possibilities of transcendent and comprehensive rights demands.

53. Id.
challenge stated client objectives. Organizational constraints imposed by a large-firm practice setting or the role as in-house counsel to a corporation suggest additional diminutions in lawyer power. Furthermore, the lawyer’s willingness to defer when confronted by a powerful client is particularly problematic because the powerful client is more likely to be in a position to harm third persons. Even the merely savvy or sophisticated client, who may have a clear sense of how to accomplish certain objectives, is unlikely to feel overwhelmed by or act unduly deferential to the attorney.

The critique of client empowerment also rejects the claim that zealous advocacy and partisanship promote the values of individual dignity and autonomy. While the justification for adversariness has great force when applied to criminal proceedings, not all cases handled by lawyers are criminal cases. In the civil context, the lawyer may be representing a powerful client for whom the traditional appeals to autonomy and freedom from oppression are exceedingly inappropriate. But even within the criminal context, systemic interests in uncovering the truth and in promoting fairness place limitations upon zealous advocacy and client loyalty. Furthermore, much of what lawyers do—negotiating, counseling, settling—occurs outside the adversarial system and without an independent arbiter and, in some instances (as with much transactional work), in the absence of an identifiable opponent.

Under this view, the adversary system excuses lawyers from moral accountability for the harm caused to third parties by the facilitation of client objectives. Adversariness, according to its critics, exonerates role-differentiated behavior: the lawyer may engage in certain acts on behalf of the client, acts which would be immoral if done for

55. Id. at 900; Rhode, supra note 11, at 631-38.
56. Morris, supra note 32, at 799.
57. Id. at 798.
58. Robert M. Bastress, Client Centered Counseling and Moral Accountability for Lawyers, 10 J. Legal Prof. 97, 115-16 (1985); Erwin Chemerinsky, Protecting Lawyers From Their Profession: Redefining the Lawyer’s Role, 5 J. Legal Prof. 31, 38-39 (1980); Morris, supra note 32, at 796; Rhode, supra note 11, at 606; Ted Schneyer, Moral Philosophy’s Standard Misconception of Legal Ethics, 1984 Wis. L. Rev. 1529, 1540; Richard Wasserstrom, Lawyers as Professionals: Some Moral Issues, 3 Hum. Rts., Fall 1975, at 1, 12.
59. Rhode, supra note 11, at 606-08.
others outside the attorney-client relationship. The legal profession nevertheless protects role-differentiated behavior through the promulgation of ethical codes that promote moral nonaccountability as a necessary adjunct to adversariness. But, as the critics point out, adversariness cannot be justified across a range of cases or the spectrum of lawyering situations, leaving role-differentiated behavior with little moral force. Consequently, critics of the client autonomy model contend that the lawyer has broader obligations and may be held morally accountable to the same extent as a nonlawyer for the harms caused to others.

Whether a good lawyer also may be a good person is an important issue for proponents of the lawyer autonomy model. The obligations of the professional role, imposed by a paradigm in which client autonomy is a central value, may not only insulate the attorney systemically from responsibility but also discourage the attorney's direct and personal examination of the moral implications of her actions. Furthermore, to ignore the moral aspect of professional life denies the essential nature of law office talk, in which attorney and client engage in a moral conversation that, at its best, reflects mutual interdependence and caring. Encouraging the moral independence of lawyers promotes goodness by thinking about the morals of others and pro-

63. Schwartz, supra note 61, at 673; Wasserstrom, supra note 58, at 3.
65. Luban, Adversary System Excuse, supra note 62, at 117. Luban argues that while adversariness may be justifiable in criminal or quasi-criminal cases because we have political reasons for handicapping the state and the criminal defendant appears to be the paradigmatic "man in trouble," adversariness cannot be justified in noncriminal cases. According to Luban, adversariness has little moral force. Thus, lawyers must have some additional moral justification for their actions other than the adversary system. Id. at 117-18.
66. Luban, Adversary System Excuse, supra note 62, at 118; Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1005; Peter Margulies, "Who Are You to Tell Me That?": Attorney-Client Deliberation Regarding Nonlegal Issues and the Interests of Nonclients, 68 N.C. L. Rev. 213, 223-24 (1990); Thomas D. Morgan, Thinking About Lawyers as Counselors, 42 Fla. L. Rev. 439, 454 (1990); Morris, supra note 32, at 794; Rhode, supra note 11, at 643-44; Wasserstrom, supra note 58, at 12.
68. Postema, supra note 64, at 73-81; Rhode, supra note 11, at 626; Wasserstrom, supra note 58, at 12-13.
70. Shaffer, Moral Discourse, supra note 69, at 252; Shaffer, Good Client, supra note 8, at 319.
roduces happier and more productive attorneys. Ethical discretion also fosters a more just legal system; the lawyer may confront the client about the moral implications of the client’s actions and actively seek justice by pursuing only those objectives deemed right and fair.

Proponents of moral independence accord the attorney considerable autonomy over both the means chosen and the ends pursued on behalf of a client. While the moral lawyer may refuse to engage in any proposed course of conduct that violates her conscience, she nevertheless must accept responsibility for those actions she chooses to undertake for the client. Irrespective of the client’s legal right to pursue her objectives, the attorney must make judgments about the moral implications of the client’s goals that are grounded either in the lawyer’s own moral understanding or in some sense of common morality, a concept less difficult to apply in practice than may first appear. Such assessments necessitate a moral conversation between lawyer and client to ascertain the client’s wishes and reconcile any conflicts between the lawyer’s moral judgments and the client’s aims and to counsel the client about the rightness or wrongness of her actions. Although such counseling may be explicitly client-centered in that it seeks only to enlighten and persuade, it also opens discourse to the possibilities of the client’s moral conversion.

Because a morally activist vision of lawyering exhorts lawyers to shape and judge client objectives, it necessarily encourages certain paternalistic practices. The notion of lawyer as moral counselor is not new to the bar: the Brandeisian concept of the “lawyer for the situation” envisions the attorney as actively engaged in the improve-

71. Bastress, supra note 58, at 118. Chemerinsky argues that lawyers should not take positions counter to their own personal beliefs because of the possibility that such advocacy may actually force a change in the lawyers’ own beliefs. Chemerinsky, supra note 58, at 34.
73. Bastress, supra note 58, at 113; Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1005.
74. Burke, supra note 60, at 22; Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1021-22; Rhode, supra note 11, at 643.
75. Berscheid, supra note 11, at 644.
76. Bastress, supra note 58, at 114.
77. Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1023; Wasserstrom, supra note 58, at 10-11.
78. Bastress, supra note 58, at 99-103; Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1022, 1026; Margulis, supra note 66, at 221-27 (discussing a model for counseling clients about moral implications of actions); Morgan, supra note 66, at 456; Shaffer, Moral Discourse, supra note 69, at 235.
79. Bastress, supra note 58, at 128; Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1026; Morgan, supra note 66, at 456.
80. Shaffer, Moral Discourse, supra note 69, at 247.
81. Luban, Noblesse Oblige Tradition, supra note 9, at 738.
82. See Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1036-37 & n.109.
83. Id. at 1014.
ment of both law and client. Nor is the profession unaware of the ways in which lawyers may act independently of their clients. For example, courts have upheld lawyers' decisions to override their clients' preferences in tactical matters and the legal profession has sanctioned lawyer decision making in other instances as well. The bar's willingness to sanction paternalistic practices suggests that acting on the client's behalf, even when contrary to the client's expressed wishes, may be better for the client and, therefore, create a positive moral good.

In justification of these infringements upon client decision making, proponents of a morally activist ideal of lawyering contend that the client autonomy model exaggerates both the extent to which lawyers actually impinge upon client autonomy and the value of autonomy itself. The most significant interference with a client's autonomy occurs when the lawyer refuses to accept a case or continue with the representation, yet this hardly affects the client's autonomy because of the other opportunities the client has for independent action. It may also be extremely difficult to distinguish between an autonomous choice and a paternalistic one because, in practice, an autonomous decision often appears consonant with the client's best interests. Furthermore, the client autonomy model values the autonomous act over acting autonomously; taken to its logical extreme, this elevates autonomous action to a good, even when the results of that action would be immoral. But as autonomy itself has little, if any, inherent worth, refusing to further the client's immoral purposes cannot be morally objectionable simply because it impinges upon client autonomy.

84. Luban, Noblesse Oblige Tradition, supra note 9, at 721 (recounting a speech made by Justice Brandeis at Harvard in which Brandeis argued that the lawyer should engage in law reform and exhort her clients to act in the public good). Russell Pearce argues that the lawyer's obligation to pursue the common good, even when it conflicted with the client's or the lawyer's interests, may be traced to an even earlier source—an essay written by a nineteenth century jurist. This essay, argues Pearce, influenced subsequent national codifications of the lawyer's ethical obligations. Russell Pearce, Rediscovering the Republican Origins of the Legal Ethics Codes, 6 Geo. J. Legal Ethics 241 (1992).

85. Luban, Paternalism, supra note 8, at 458-60.

86. Luban, Lysistratian Prerogative, supra note 18, at 643 (noting that limited impositions do not threaten clients' autonomy given the clients' other opportunities for decision making); Luban, Partisanship, supra note 13, at 1037 (finding no intrinsic value to autonomy).

87. Luban, Lysistratian Prerogative, supra note 18, at 639.


89. Luban, Lysistratian Prerogative, supra note 18, at 639. Luban argues that while it may be good that people may make their own choices, it does not necessarily mean that what they choose to do is good. Thus, autonomy cannot be preferred over good or right conduct.

90. See id.; Shaffer, Good Client, supra note 8, at 328.

91. D'Amato & Eberle, supra note 11, at 773 (arguing that "moral rules cannot be eclipsed by nonmoral considerations" thus encouraging a move away from autonomy.
Nevertheless, not all infringements upon client autonomy are morally permissible.\textsuperscript{92} Autonomy may not have any intrinsic goodness, but it is a means of promoting other values like responsibility.\textsuperscript{93} To have responsibility means to have the freedom to exercise choice but in a manner that suggests the individual act in accordance with moral principles.\textsuperscript{94} While the freedom to choose encompasses even mere whims, its value lies not in the individual’s ability to make choices but in the decision to act morally.\textsuperscript{95} If the autonomous action can be said to be responsible, then restricting the client’s choice would be an unjustifiable act of paternalism.\textsuperscript{96}

Autonomy in this narrower sense apparently welcomes moral discourse between lawyer and client.\textsuperscript{97} Making moral decisions does not occur in isolation and implies that the client is willing to receive moral influence and correction.\textsuperscript{98} The moral advisor necessarily must have integrity if she wishes for her advice to be followed; the lawyer has integrity if there are certain things she will not do for her client.\textsuperscript{99} The conversation between lawyer and client thus facilitates moral decision making by opening the client to the ethical possibilities of his actions\textsuperscript{100} and even to conversion.\textsuperscript{101} But condemning this practice as paternalistic necessarily misconstrues the value of paternal metaphors to the practice of law,\textsuperscript{102} for being paternalistic resonates with moral worth.\textsuperscript{103}

This vision of lawyering, which is explicitly Kantian,\textsuperscript{104} suggests a different approach to understanding individual rights. Within such an account, a right is an interest that the legal or ethical system recognizes as worthy of advancement or protection by imposing duties on others.\textsuperscript{105} Rights, therefore, are not correlative to duties and this has the advantage of permitting one to say that another has a right with-
out having to identify who has the duty. Questions pertaining to the nature of the duty and the identity of the obligor are addressed by a substantive account of which interests generate rights. Of course, not every interest will generate a corresponding right, but an interest theory may accommodate a larger class of rights and rights holders than would a choice theory.

Furthermore, interest theory permits one to consider not simply the interests of the rights holder but also of the duty bearer when justifying the imposition of rights and obligations. References to individual autonomy thus cannot begin to explain why one’s interests should be exchanged for another’s or for some moral principle. A conception of political morality nevertheless requires some explanation of the trade-off. The process of justification implies that the individual, whose interests are affected, may be reasoned with by those proffering the explanation. This suggests two interrelated concepts about capacity and interests: the individual must have the capacity to apprehend moral reasoning and those interests central to capacity must remain intact.

Moral discourse thus involves a conversation between two individuals capable of understanding moral argument, of giving and receiving moral advice. But would the client’s lack of moral competence obviate the need for a moral conversation? The question is an important one, for an affirmative answer would indicate that the attorney may justifiably treat the incapacitated client differently. Furthermore, a determination that the client is incompetent would countenance the lawyer’s paternalism.

How, then, from within this perspective, should the client’s capacity be ascertained? Respect for the client’s autonomy implies that eccentric or peculiar decisions do not necessarily denote incapacity. But an incompetent client cannot be said to be autonomous because she lacks the capacity to engage in rational decision making. A finding

106. Federle, Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places, supra note 10, at 1531; Waldron, supra note 35, at 10.
107. Federle, Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places, supra note 10, at 1531.
108. Id.; Waldron, supra note 35, at 12.
109. Waldron, supra note 35, at 12-13. To distinguish right-based from duty-based theories, Waldron uses the example of torture. Under a right-based theory, torture is prohibited out of a concern for the sufferings of those who are tortured. But under a duty-based theory, torture is prohibited because it degrades the torturer. Id. at 13.
110. Id. at 19-20.
111. Id. at 19.
112. Id. at 19-20.
115. See Luban, Paternalism, supra note 8, at 466 (discussing “a notion of incompetence that is not self-justifying and self-serving”).
116. Id. at 465.
of incompetency, therefore, must be based upon some factual account of how the individual came to be incompetent or a judgment that the basis for the client's choices cannot be inferred from the available facts. If the client could not satisfy this test of her rationality, the lawyer would be justified in making decisions for the client.

When that client is a child, capacity becomes a central issue because we lack any definitive statement about the competency of children. There is, nevertheless, a strong presumption that children are not competent beings and have not yet reached that level of moral development that would enable them to participate in a moral conversation. Even if the child has certain interests that can be said to generate rights, that substantive account invariably emphasizes the child's needs and dependencies. Proponents of the lawyer autonomy model, when they have addressed the issue at all, imply that the child, simply by virtue of her age, lacks the requisite capacity. Certainly, the child's incompetency would warrant paternalistic intervention.

Acting paternalistically when the client is a child would seemingly be justifiable even under the client autonomy model. Although this construct values individual rights, it presupposes a rights holder who is capable of making decisions. This connection between competency and rights constrains our rights talk about children because of their perceived incapacities. If children are not autonomous beings, then it is difficult to see how a lawyering model that values client decision-making would have any applicability in the case of a child client. Despite the deep skepticism about individual rights from a communitarian perspective, client autonomy remains a central value because of its connection to greater political empowerment.

117. Id. at 479, 482. Luban argues that we may override a person's choices on behalf of that person's own good only if we have some causal account explaining how that person came to be incompetent or if that individual cannot be said to have engaged in some inferential process based on real facts before making her choice.

118. Id. at 482. Luban identifies four different conceptions of paternalism: "1) constraining, on behalf of [one's] values, [one's] liberty to act according to [one's] values; 2) ... constraining, on behalf of [one's] values, [one's] liberty to do what [one] wants; 3) ... constraining, in [one's] own best interests, [one's] liberty to act according to [one's] values; 4) ... constraining, in [one's] own best interests, [one's] liberty to do what [one] wants." Id. at 472. According to Luban, paternalistic actions are not justifiable when the paternalist overrides one's real values. To permit this sort of paternalism would allow an attack upon one's integrity. Id. at 473-74.

119. Federle, Rights flow downhill, supra note 10, at 348 n.35.
120. Id. at 347-49.
121. Federle, Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places, supra note 10, at 1531-32.
122. Luban, Paternalism, supra note 8, at 490 (stating that "not at all clear that the 13-year-old is capable of making such a far-reaching decision"); Shaffer, Moral Discourse, supra note 69, at 250 (noting that "[p]arents give; children receive").
123. See Luban, Paternalism, supra note 8, at 493; Wasserstrom, supra note 58, at 19 (explaining that acting paternalistically is to treat someone like a child).
124. See supra notes 39-41 and accompanying text.
125. See supra notes 47-53 and accompanying text.
Nevertheless, a notion of empowerment tied to a strong account of rights seems to hold the greatest promise for constructing a lawyering model that would account for the child client.

II. LAWYERING AND THE CHILD CLIENT

The centrality of capacity to rights theory raises two difficult, interrelated questions about a lawyering paradigm that would accommodate the child client. The first lies in constructing a child's right to counsel. Seemingly, a child would fall entirely outside the class of rights holders because of her incapacities and, therefore, could not even claim such a right. But even if a child has a right to counsel despite her incompetencies, then what role would the lawyer play? Could a lawyer for a child ever be a zealous advocate or is her role like that of a wise and understanding parent?

Central to the resolution of these issues is the idea of autonomy and the inherent tension between client decision making and lawyer independence. This section of the Article illustrates these issues by providing an overview of the literature on models of lawyering for the child client. The section begins with a discussion of the child's right to counsel primarily in three types of proceedings: delinquency, abuse and neglect, and divorce custody. This Section focuses on the role of the lawyer representing the child client and analyzes that role in terms of the two competing lawyering paradigms discussed in the previous section. The relationship between models of lawyering and interviewing and counseling the child client is then examined in terms of underlying notions about autonomy and capacity.

A. Counsel for the Child in Delinquency Proceedings

Prior to 1967, the question of whether a child was entitled to counsel as a matter of constitutional law was unresolved.\textsuperscript{126} Much of the debate centered on the nature of and justifications for a separate judicial system to handle the problems of delinquent, dependent, and neglected children. From an historical perspective, the juvenile court system was seen as an integral part of the child welfare movement and was concerned primarily with the protection and rehabilitation of wayward youth.\textsuperscript{127} Because its purpose was to reform, rather than to punish, the juvenile court rejected the philosophy of the criminal court and eschewed traditional legal trappings like procedural formality.\textsuperscript{128}

\textsuperscript{126} The United States Supreme Court decided \textit{In re} Gault, 387 U.S. 1 (1967), in that year. Until that time, children in delinquency proceedings had no constitutional right to be represented by court-appointed counsel.


\textsuperscript{128} \textit{Id.} at 1159-61.
There was little need for counsel in a setting designed to benefit children and foster their development.129

Furthermore, the traditional lawyer’s role, with its emphasis on the zealous protection of individual rights, seemed peculiarly unsuitable to the unique goals of the juvenile justice system.130 The lawyer was not a vigorous advocate of civil and constitutional rights and was "missing the whole point" if she sought to secure the release of a child who had committed the act alleged.131 Counsel who insisted on procedural formality and the protection of rights could find herself facing a hostile and unsympathetic judge who might threaten to waive the child to adult court if counsel persisted in her adversariness.132 If the child did have counsel, however, her role was that of guardian and officer of the court. The lawyer was to interpret the philosophy of the juvenile justice system to the child and to assist in the minor’s rehabilitation by insuring the child’s cooperation with the court’s orders.133

Some commentators, however, were deeply skeptical of the juvenile court’s rehabilitative ideal. These critics noted that the benevolent practices of the juvenile court often masked harsh and punitive sanctions.134 For example, children could be detained before trial in adult jails and lock-ups and, upon an adjudication, could be committed to secure facilities resembling adult penal institutions often for longer periods of time than would have been possible had they been convicted of a crime.135 Furthermore, the process of adjudicating a child as delinquent often had stigmatizing effects not unlike those associated with criminal convictions.136 The distinction between the juvenile and criminal courts, therefore, was not a meaningful one and the

129. See id.


132. McKesson notes the following:

There were a few rare instances in which the lawyer insisted that his client be treated in much the same way that he would be in a criminal court, and that his client’s "rights" made it necessary for the lawyer to demand that strict rules of evidence should be followed. One effective way of meeting this contention was to suggest that if he or his client wanted a criminal trial, it would be necessary for the juvenile court to transfer the case to the criminal court . . . . This suggestion usually brought a change in the attitude of belligerent counsel.

McKesson, supra note 131, at 846.

133. Id.; see McMullan, supra note 131, at 54.


constitutional requisites of due process mandated certain procedural protections, including the right to counsel.\textsuperscript{137}

Nevertheless, the role of counsel for the child was constrained by the rehabilitative underpinnings of the juvenile court. Although some commentators acknowledged the need for a lawyer to zealously defend her child client, her adversariness was to be tempered with an understanding of the juvenile court's welfare orientation.\textsuperscript{138} The child's attorney was to be flexible and to adjust to the special needs of the court while avoiding the indiscriminate use of adversarial techniques.\textsuperscript{139} Additionally, the lawyer was to serve as "wise parent" by considering the child's welfare, as interpreter to the child of the court's objectives, and as facilitator of an acceptable and beneficial disposition.\textsuperscript{140} Some, however, doubted the ability and commitment of the legal profession to temper its approach to adversarial representation and claimed that children would be better served by nonprofessional advocates.\textsuperscript{141}

Concerns about the lawyer's overzealous representation of the child client had been overstated. Studies indicated that the minor's lawyer was often unprepared at trial\textsuperscript{142} and frequently stipulated to the facts.\textsuperscript{143} Furthermore, the attorney often failed to recognize the potential for a conflict of interest when retained by the parents to represent the child,\textsuperscript{144} particularly when the child's behavior might be attributable to neglectful parenting.\textsuperscript{145} The zealous lawyer also could expect some pressure from the bench to conform to the nonadversarial and informal nature of juvenile proceedings.\textsuperscript{146} Juvenile court judges indicated in several surveys that the role of the lawyer was not exclusively an adversarial one and many suggested that the lawyer needed special training beyond trial advocacy.\textsuperscript{147}

The question whether the child had a right to counsel in juvenile proceedings was partially answered by the United States Supreme Court in In re Gault, 387 U.S. 1, 41 (1967)); see Antieau, supra note 134, at 392-93; Joel F. Handler, The Juvenile Court and the Adversary System: Problems of Function and Form, 1965 Wis. L. Rev. 7, 13; Paulsen, supra note 134, at 550.


140. Isaacs, supra note 138, at 506-07.

141. See Handler, supra note 137, at 37-40.

142. Note, Rights and Rehabilitation in the Juvenile Courts, supra note 134, at 324.

143. Id. at 326-27.


146. McKesson, supra note 131, at 846; see Equi et al., supra note 145, at 814.

147. Skoler & Tenney, supra note 144, at 93; Equi et al., supra note 145, at 814.
Court in 1967 when it decided *In re Gault.*\(^{148}\) The Court held that due process mandates the child's representation by counsel in a proceeding to determine delinquency where the child's freedom may be curtailed by commitment to an institution.\(^{149}\) The Court's decision, however, left unresolved two related issues. The narrowness of *Gault*'s holding created some confusion about the applicability of the Court's ruling to other stages of a delinquency proceeding and to other types of cases, such as status offenses, in which the child faced a potential loss of liberty.\(^{150}\) The Court's opinion also failed to clarify the role of counsel for the child and left open the question whether the lawyer's obligations to the child client differed in any way from those owed to the adult client.\(^{151}\)

Several commentators have subsequently interpreted *Gault* to require zealous advocacy from the child's attorney in delinquency proceedings. Noting the *Gault* Court's recognition of the similarities between delinquency and criminal cases,\(^{152}\) the legal system's commitment to adversarial proceedings,\(^{153}\) and doubts about the lawyer's ability to make therapeutic judgments in the child's best interests,\(^{154}\) these scholars have suggested that the lawyer has an ethical obligation to assume a more traditional role in juvenile court. Thus, the child's lawyer is a partisan advocate at all stages of the proceeding\(^{155}\) who has a duty to present the best possible case for her client.\(^{156}\) The lawyer should treat all communications with the child as confidential and should vigorously protect the child's privilege against self-incrimination.\(^{157}\) Furthermore, the lawyer should not hesitate to put the state to its burden of proof, even if that may mean the client's release.\(^{158}\)

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\(^{149}\) *Id.* at 41.

\(^{150}\) *Id.* at 13. The Court announced:

> We do not . . . consider the impact of constitutional provisions upon the totality of the relationship of the juvenile and the state. We do not even consider the entire process relating to juvenile "delinquents." For example we are not here concerned with the procedures or constitutional rights applicable to the pre-judicial stages of the juvenile process, nor do we direct our attention to the post-adjudicative or dispositional process.

*Id.*


\(^{152}\) *See Gault*, 387 U.S. at 24, 27.

\(^{153}\) Paulsen, *supra* note 151, at 264.

\(^{154}\) *Id.* at 262.


\(^{156}\) See Paulsen, *supra* note 151, at 261-62.


\(^{158}\) McMillian & McMurtry, *supra* note 157, at 598.
This vision of the child's lawyer as zealous advocate is consistent with the client autonomy paradigm of lawyering. The parallels between delinquency and criminal proceedings suggest that the justification for adversariness is equally applicable to all cases in which the state seeks to limit the freedom of the individual. Because freedom is a central value, the erroneous deprivation of individual liberty is intolerable even when the person whose freedom is constrained is a child. Thus, the lawyer as loyal partisan facilitates the accuracy of factual and legal determinations in the juvenile court by challenging and presenting evidence. The attorney's role as zealous advocate and ardent defender of the child, therefore, is entirely appropriate within a legal system that values individual freedom.

Furthermore, this approach to lawyering accords the child client considerable autonomy. Some commentators have indicated that the lawyer is obligated to seek those results desired by the child client and to represent the child's expressed preferences. Such an approach comports with traditional ethical rules governing the attorney's behavior while promoting certain goals of the legal system. The lawyer's failure to act upon the client's objectives, however, would prevent the child from presenting certain legal claims to the court for consideration and adjudication. The adversarial approach is also likely to encourage respect for the courts if the child, as a participant, believes she has had a full and fair opportunity to present her case through loyal counsel.

159. Id. at 598.


161. Paulsen, supra note 151, at 261-62; Welch, supra note 160, at 673.

162. Antieau, supra note 134, at 405-06; Paulsen, supra note 151, at 261; Welch, supra note 160, at 695.


164. Davis, supra note 163, at 829-30; Ferster et al., supra note 163, at 387; Lyon, supra note 163, at 144-45. But see Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 96-99 (arguing that ethical rules do not provide the lawyer representing a client under seven years of age with sufficient guidance as to her role).

165. Lyon, supra note 163, at 145-46.

166. Id. at 146-47.

167. Monrad G. Paulsen, Juvenile Courts, Family Courts, and the Poor Man, 54 Cal. L. Rev. 694, 705 (1966); H. Bruce Hamilton, Comment, In re Gault and the Persisting
The client autonomy model, however, does assume a competent client. Therefore, several proponents of the adversarial approach to lawyering for the child have suggested that, in most instances, the child client is capable of making decisions about her case. They argue that the assumption of incompetency often is based on a definition of capacity that few adult clients could meet: to require more of the child client merely because of her age would be illegitimate. Furthermore, the child’s prosecution for a delinquent act reflects a legislative determination that the child is of sufficient maturity to be held accountable for her actions if she is adjudicated. Thus, fairness mandates that any individual held morally responsible for her actions should be given the autonomy to seek the outcome she desires.

Although proponents of the client autonomy model note that the child often is competent to instruct the attorney, they also concede that the young child may be incompetent to make certain decisions. Consequently, the lawyer must make an initial assessment of the minor’s decision-making capacity. Under certain circumstances, if the attorney determines that the child is incapable of making reasoned choices, the attorney may make decisions on behalf of her client. Such decisions should be made only after the lawyer has conducted a thorough investigation and considered the child’s wishes and interests. The lawyer, too, should argue for the least intrusive disposition that may be justified under the circumstances.

Assessments of client competence, however, provide significant opportunities for unwarranted infringements upon client autonomy. The lawyer’s belief in the foolishness of the choice may convince the lawyer that the child is not capable of considered judgment. Furthermore, even within the client autonomy paradigm, there continues to


168. See, e.g., IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, at 8 (stating that most adolescents meet the standard of understanding the “nature and purposes of the proceedings and [their] general consequences”).

169. Id.

170. Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 87 (arguing that the decision to prosecute children seven years of age and older for delinquent acts reflects legislative judgment that such children are mature enough to be held accountable for their actions).

171. Id.

172. See, e.g., IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, Part 3.1(b)(ii)[c][3].

173. Lyon, supra note 163, at 148. It is unclear exactly how the lawyer is to make an initial assessment of the child’s capacity. The IJA-ABA Standards suggest that a child is competent if she understands the nature and purposes of the proceedings and its general consequences, and is able to formulate her desires as to those proceedings. IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, at 8.

174. IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, Part 3.1(b)(ii)(c); Lyon, supra note 163, at 148.

175. IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, Part 3.1(b) cmt. at 82.

176. Id. Part 3.1(b)(ii)[c][3].

177. Id. cmt. at 81-82.
be some recognition of the need to preserve the client's future autonomy. Thus, the minor's attorney may have a special role in juvenile court given the needs and possibilities of the child.\textsuperscript{178} The lawyer may counsel the juvenile about the importance of accepting responsibility for her wrongful acts\textsuperscript{179} and explain the limits of her advocacy.\textsuperscript{180}

In the absence of a clear articulation that the child has a right to counsel, pervasive beliefs about the incompetency of children structure the attorney's role in juvenile court. Because the \textit{Gault} Court did not indicate the extent to which its holding might be applicable to other stages of a delinquency proceeding, some commentators have argued that counsel for the child is not bound by her traditional professional obligations in nonadjudicatory hearings.\textsuperscript{181} For example, during the dispositional phase, the lawyer has an obligation to consider the welfare of her client even though she may have acted as an ardent defender of the child's rights during the adjudicative stage of the proceedings.\textsuperscript{182} A nonadversarial approach to the representation of the child is a practical necessity because the child lacks the capacity to instruct her attorney.\textsuperscript{183} Furthermore, this approach would promote the child's welfare by insuring a more thorough and nonpunitive disposition and, ultimately, would preserve the minor's right to receive rehabilitative treatment.\textsuperscript{184}

For critics of an adversarial role, systemic concerns for the minor's welfare and rehabilitation appropriately limit the adversarial behavior of lawyers.\textsuperscript{185} During the dispositional phase of a delinquency proceeding, a systemic concern for the child's well-being suggests that the judge should consider a range of dispositional alternatives.\textsuperscript{186} But adversariness would impede the court's search for an appropriate disposition, redounding to the child's disadvantage if the judge were to impose a more restrictive disposition out of ignorance of the available alternatives.\textsuperscript{187} According to these critics, the child's attorney, should adopt a nonadversarial posture to insure that the court consider a

\textsuperscript{178} Spencer Coxe, \textit{Lawyers in Juvenile Court}, 13 Crime & Delinq., 488, 490 (1967); Paulsen, \textit{supra} note 151, at 261-62 (noting, nevertheless, that there is a limit to the special stance a lawyer may take in the juvenile court).

\textsuperscript{179} Skoler, \textit{supra} note 163, at 580.


\textsuperscript{183} \textit{See} Kay & Segal, \textit{supra} note 181, at 1415.

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Id.} at 1419.

\textsuperscript{185} For a discussion of systemic limitations upon a lawyer's zealous advocacy, see supra note 60 and accompanying text.

\textsuperscript{186} Kay & Segal, \textit{supra} note 181, at 1416-17.

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Id.} at 1417.
broader range of alternative proposals for disposition.\textsuperscript{188} The result may be a more positive disposition that proves less restrictive for the child.\textsuperscript{189}

These critics also argue that the attorney’s nonadversarial role at disposition serves an additional systemic interest in uncovering the truth.\textsuperscript{190} Certainly, assisting the court in searching for the truth does sacrifice some of the client’s rights; the child, however, may be advantaged by her lawyer’s nonadversarial approach.\textsuperscript{191} By presenting the court with information about the child, rather than simply the offense, the attorney may help structure a less punitive disposition.\textsuperscript{192} Furthermore, in light of the additional information presented, the judge may be reluctant to impose a disposition that is punitive and restrictive.\textsuperscript{193} This approach may actually advance the child’s right to rehabilitative treatment because the court may be forced to consider the child’s needs.\textsuperscript{194}

From this perspective, the justification for adversarial behavior has little persuasive moral force. It is the lawyer’s nonadversarial behavior that promotes the child’s rehabilitation during the dispositional phase of a delinquency proceeding. In this sense, it can be said that the lawyer engages in a positive moral act that benefits the child by espousing the child’s right to rehabilitation and treatment.\textsuperscript{195} Similarly, the lawyer’s duty to convince the minor that the court’s disposition is fair is morally obligatory because by securing the child’s compliance with the court’s orders, the lawyer facilitates the child’s rehabilitation.\textsuperscript{196} By counseling the client to accept responsibility for her actions,\textsuperscript{197} the lawyer also promotes the client’s goodness.

In practice, many attorneys seem to favor a lawyering paradigm that accords them considerable autonomy and independence from their child clients. Studies conducted after the \textit{Gault} decision have found that strong systemic pressures discourage adversarial behavior during all stages of a delinquency case.\textsuperscript{198} Juvenile court judges have resisted

\footnotesize{\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{188} \textit{Id.} at 1417-18.
  \item \textsuperscript{189} \textit{Id.}
  \item \textsuperscript{190} \textit{Id.} at 1418.
  \item \textsuperscript{191} \textit{Id.}
  \item \textsuperscript{192} \textit{Id.} at 1419.
  \item \textsuperscript{193} \textit{Id.} at 1418.
  \item \textsuperscript{194} \textit{Id.} at 1419-20.
  \item \textsuperscript{195} See \textit{id.}
  \item \textsuperscript{197} Coxe, supra note 178, at 490 (stating that a sensitive lawyer knows when confession is good for the client’s soul); Curtis, \textit{supra} note 180, at 249 (stating that when the state acts as \textit{parens patriae}, a lawyer should subrogate his role as advocate, but remain a fierce adversary when the state acts to imperil the child’s interests); Walsh, \textit{supra} note 195, at 654.
\end{itemize}}
Gault's implementation by providing children with prejudicial advice about the right to counsel and waiver, imposing more severe sanctions upon those who appeared with counsel at disposition, and failing to assiduously apply the burden of proof. Attorneys have continued to identify with a nonadversarial role because of hostility from juvenile court judges and a general belief in the appropriateness of serving the child's best interests. The relationship between attorney and child client is, consequently, paternalistic because of the lawyer's perceptions about the child's dependent status and immaturity.

B. The Child's Counsel in Abuse and Neglect Proceedings

The right to and role of counsel in abuse and neglect proceedings is even less clear. The United States Supreme Court has never held that the child in an abuse or neglect proceeding has a constitutional right to counsel, although most jurisdictions require independent representation for the child. Federal law does mandate the appointment of a guardian ad litem for the minor, but does not indicate whether the guardian should also be a lawyer nor what her duties should be. State laws also fail to clarify the identity and responsibilities of the child's representative. Nevertheless, some commentators have ar-
argued that the child does not need independent representation because her interests will be adequately protected either by the attorneys for the parents or by the state.\textsuperscript{208} Others, however, have acknowledged that the child should have independent representation, although there is significant disagreement about whether the child’s representative should be a lawyer or a guardian \textit{ad litem} and the appropriate role for that representative.\textsuperscript{209}

Those who do see a role for an attorney in abuse and neglect proceedings differ as to the nature of that role. Some have argued that the attorney has a duty to zealously advocate the child’s expressed preferences, even when the attorney disagrees with the client’s objectives.\textsuperscript{210} Such representation rejects unwarranted paternalistic practices and is consistent with a deep respect for individual autonomy.\textsuperscript{211} From this perspective, the child has a right to have her views expressed to the court and the attorney should not substitute her judgment for that of the child.\textsuperscript{212} Under certain circumstances, the ethical obligations of the profession may even require the lawyer to advocate for a position that would prove harmful to the child.\textsuperscript{213}

This vision of lawyering promotes the child client’s autonomy. By defining the attorney’s role to mandate zealous representation of the child’s expressed wishes, this lawyering model recognizes the value of the child’s preferences and permits her participation in the proceedings. Representation of the child’s desires also may focus the court on the child and her needs rather than on her parents’ behavior.\textsuperscript{214} Additionally, the promotion of the child’s autonomy may have a positive effect on the ultimate disposition of the client’s case. The complexity and uncertainty inherent in these cases suggest that the child’s wishes are just as likely to be right as those made on her behalf; consequently, representing the child’s preferences may result in better and more accurate decisions.\textsuperscript{215}

\textsuperscript{208} Duquette & Ramsey, supra note 204, at 347.
\textsuperscript{209} Ramsey, supra note 206, at 288-91.
\textsuperscript{211} Ramsey, supra note 206, at 320.
\textsuperscript{212} Besharov, supra note 210, at 235-36; Edwards & Sagatun, supra note 210, at 70 n.16; Ventrell, supra note 5, at 281-82.
\textsuperscript{213} Ventrell, supra note 5, at 280-82.
\textsuperscript{214} Ramsey, supra note 206, at 295.
\textsuperscript{215} Besharov, supra note 210, at 235-36.
Client autonomy does presuppose a client capable of autonomous action. Proponents of a zealous advocate for the child in abuse and neglect proceedings thus argue that most children are capable of considered judgment and are mature enough to understand crucial aspects of the proceedings in which they are involved. They note that if the child client is capable of expressing a mature judgment, then the attorney has an obligation to espouse the client’s preferences. The mere ability to express a preference, however, is not an adequate test of capacity. Rather, the child must have the intellectual and emotional capability of making a decision that is reasonably accurate.

Proponents of this view note that the lawyer must make an initial determination about the child’s capacity to make a reasoned decision. The evaluation of the child’s competence, however, may create occasions for needless paternalism. The assessment of capacity is highly subjective. In difficult cases, the lawyer may be tempted to evaluate the child’s capacity based on the “rightness” of her decision, if only because the lawyer may find it easier to advocate for a position with which she is in agreement. The lawyer’s uncertainty about her client’s capabilities also may engender an ambivalence in the lawyer’s representation of the child that leaves neither lawyer nor client satisfied.

To avoid unnecessary infringements upon the child’s autonomy, proponents of client autonomy contend that the attorney should not assume that her client is incompetent merely because she is a child. Furthermore, the attorney should be careful to distinguish the decision-making process from the actual decision made by the child to assure that the minor’s autonomy is not needlessly overridden simply because the attorney disagrees with the choices made by the child. Even when the attorney has determined that her client is incompetent, she nevertheless has an obligation to express the child’s views to the court out of a respect for the child’s feelings. But under this view, the lawyer is still free to advance what she believes to be in her client’s interests.

216. See, e.g., IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, Part 3.1(b)(ii)(b) & cmt. at 81.
217. Id.; Besharov, supra note 210, at 234; Edwards & Sagatun, supra note 210, at 70 n.16; Massachusetts Bar Ass’n, supra note 210, at 154; Ramsey, supra note 206, at 320; Bellah, supra note 210, at 510.
218. Ramsey, supra note 206, at 306.
219. Id. at 307.
220. Id. at 305-07; see also Massachusetts Bar Ass’n, supra note 210, at 154.
221. Ramsey, supra note 206, at 308-09.
222. Id. at 310; Besharov, supra note 210, at 236.
224. Besharov, supra note 210, at 236.
225. Massachusetts Bar Ass’n, supra note 210, at 154.
227. Besharov, supra note 210, at 235-36; Edwards & Sagatun, supra note 210, at 70 n.16.
interests once she determines that the minor is incompetent. According to its proponents, such advocacy, although contrary to the child's present wishes, may actually foster greater client autonomy by preserving the child's opportunities for future decision making.

By focussing on the nature of the child's interests in abuse and neglect proceedings, other critics have concluded that advocating the child's expressed preferences is not central to the role of counsel for the child. These writers note that the purpose of an abuse or neglect proceeding is the protection of the child from abusive or neglectful parenting. Nevertheless, in the absence of an adjudication, there is no reason to presume that the interests of parents and their children diverge. From this perspective, independent representation for the minor may be unnecessary because the parties to the proceeding—the child's parents and the state—could be expected to vigorously litigate issues pertaining to the child's welfare. Moreover, the child's own preferences are irrelevant to the initial determination that the child is, in fact, abused or neglected.

If, however, separate counsel is appointed to represent the minor, she may assume one of several roles, all of which accord the lawyer significant autonomy. First, the lawyer may ascertain what she believes to be in the child's best interests and then zealously advocate for a disposition consistent with her views. Moreover, the attorney may seek an appointment as the child's guardian ad litem; because of her adversarial skills and familiarity with courtroom procedures, the attorney may be in the best position to fulfill the obligations of that role. Alternatively, the lawyer may assume a nonadversarial role and act as an independent investigator whose job is to provide the court with all information relevant to the child's interests.

228. Massachusetts Bar Ass'n, supra note 210, at 154.
229. See Ramsey, supra note 206, at 306.
230. Id. at 291.
231. Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 119. Guggenheim argues that the appointment of separate counsel for children before abuse or neglect charges have been proven may violate the parents' constitutional rights to make decisions about their children.
232. See Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 131.
233. Id.
236. Fraser, supra note 234, at 34 (noting that the lawyer also has a role as an advocate); Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 107-08.
the lawyer may define her role in a dependency proceeding more narrowly prior to an adjudication and oppose the state's attempts to establish parental unfitness.\textsuperscript{237} This comports with the legal presumption that it is in the child's best interests to be reared by her natural parents.\textsuperscript{238}

From this perspective, the child's preferences are secondary to the child's interests as defined by some other, capable adult. Thus, the minor's wishes and desires may be construed as irrelevant to a determination of what is best for the child.\textsuperscript{239} The attorney, therefore, need not represent the child's views if they conflict with the child's interests, although the lawyer may have some obligation to communicate the minor's preferences to the court.\textsuperscript{240} Moreover, relating the child's wishes to the court enhances the judge's ability to make a reasoned decision about the child based on all available information.\textsuperscript{241} The attorney's role as spokesperson for the minor, however, must be balanced against her role as advocate for the child's best interests.\textsuperscript{242}

Furthermore, the child client's inability to instruct counsel mandates a lawyering paradigm that does not center on client autonomy. Under this view, young children lack the capacity to make reasoned choices and may be incapable of articulating a preference to counsel.\textsuperscript{243} Consequently, the lawyer may be unable to advocate for her client's expressed wishes and may find herself taking a position that accords with her own views of the child's interests.\textsuperscript{244} Because of her incompetency, the minor's present wishes may endanger her future well-being and the attorney may justifiably act to protect the child from her present desires.\textsuperscript{245} The attorney, therefore, may be unable to rely on her client's expressed wishes and may have a duty to notify the court about the extent of the child's incapacity.\textsuperscript{246}

The lawyer's role thus envisioned affords the attorney considerable autonomy. The determination of the client's interests is left to the child's lawyer, although she may consider the views of experts as well as of the child herself.\textsuperscript{247} Moreover, the lawyer has an obligation to protect the minor and may override her client's wishes in order to

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{237} Guggenheim, \textit{supra} note 163, at 138-39.
\item \textsuperscript{238} \textit{Id}.
\item \textsuperscript{239} \textit{Id}. at 131.
\item \textsuperscript{240} Edwards & Sagatun, \textit{supra} note 210, at 74; James R. Redeker, \textit{The Right of an Abused Child to Independent Counsel and the Role of the Child Advocate in Child Abuse Cases}, 23 Vill. L. Rev. 521, 545 (1977-78).
\item \textsuperscript{241} Edwards & Sagatun, \textit{supra} note 210, at 74.
\item \textsuperscript{242} Redeker, \textit{supra} note 240, at 545.
\item \textsuperscript{243} Edwards & Sagatun, \textit{supra} note 210, at 75; Guggenheim, \textit{supra} note 163, at 93-94.
\item \textsuperscript{244} Guggenheim, \textit{supra} note 163, at 94.
\item \textsuperscript{245} Redeker, \textit{supra} note 240, at 545.
\item \textsuperscript{246} \textit{Id}.
\item \textsuperscript{247} \textit{Id}.
\end{itemize}
preserve the child's future options.\textsuperscript{248} The lawyer's decision to disregard the child's preferences nevertheless is morally justifiable, even though the child's autonomy is infringed, because the lawyer's actions are necessary to preserve the client's future ability to make responsible choices. In this sense, the lawyer acts morally when she acts paternalistically.

In practice, there is still considerable confusion about the proper role for child's counsel in an abuse or neglect case. State statutes and court rulings do not clarify the role of counsel in abuse and neglect proceedings and trial judges may obscure the lawyer's role by directing counsel to assume contradictory obligations.\textsuperscript{249} The lawyer may be uncertain about whether she should remain neutral, act as an investigator, or provide the court with her own assessment of the child's best interests.\textsuperscript{250} Furthermore, the lawyer may receive little guidance from the court as to her obligation to represent the child's expressed preferences as opposed to the child's interests.\textsuperscript{251} Serious questions also have been raised about the dedication and effectiveness of counsel for the child in abuse and neglect proceedings.\textsuperscript{252}

\section*{C. The Lawyer for the Child in Custody Disputes}

As in abuse and neglect proceedings, the child has no definitive right to counsel in a disputed custody matter ancillary to a divorce proceeding.\textsuperscript{253} Some writers contend that the child does not need independent representation because the child's interests are adequately protected by one or both of the parents' attorneys.\textsuperscript{254} From this perspective, a custody dispute is an essentially private matter between two individuals and appointing an independent representative for the child would be unduly intrusive.\textsuperscript{255} Furthermore, the appointment of

\textsuperscript{248} Id.
\textsuperscript{250} Kelley & Ramsey, supra note 235, at 412.
\textsuperscript{251} Id. at 413.
\textsuperscript{252} Duquette & Ramsey, supra note 204, at 385-91; Kelley & Ramsey, supra note 235, at 451-54; Ramsey, supra note 206, at 302.
\textsuperscript{253} Compare Monroe L. Inker & Charlotte Anne Perretta, A Child's Right to Counsel in Custody Cases, 55 Mass. L.Q. 229, 235 (1970) (purpose of custody hearing so similar to that of juvenile hearing that procedures required by \textit{Gault} have some application to custody hearings) with Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 119 (asserting that \textit{Gault} is not a precedent for right to counsel for young children in custody cases).
\textsuperscript{255} Representing Children, supra note 254, § 1.1 cmnt. at 4-5 (stating that custody proceedings are "private disputes," and the "fact that parents have decided to resolve
a child's representative would generate unnecessary delay, increase fees, and impose additional financial and psychological costs. There is also a possibility that the representative's assessment of the child's interests will receive undue weight, particularly when the representative agrees with an expert witness. If the attorney does receive an appointment to represent the child in a disputed custody case, the lawyer should offer no active assistance at trial.

Nevertheless, most states permit the discretionary appointment of a representative for the child, although that representative may not be an attorney. Eight states mandate the appointment of a representative, but that appointment is contingent upon the existence of certain conditions, such as an allegation of abuse or neglect. Only one state mandates the appointment of a representative when custody is contested. Some state statutes permit the court to appoint an attorney, an attorney or a guardian ad litem, or an attorney as the guardian ad litem to represent the child. While most of these statutes require the representation of the child's interests, it is unclear whether the child's preferences should be advocated in addition to or in lieu of the minor's best interests.

Among those who do see a role for an attorney in a custody proceeding, there are two views as to the nature of that role and the obligations of the lawyer to her child client. Some commentators evoke the lawyer autonomy paradigm and argue that the attorney's role is to ensure the protection of the child's best interests by advancing what she believes will best serve the child. The attorney should zealously represent the minor's interests and present all rele-

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256. Representing Children, supra note 254, § 1.1 cmt. at 3-4.
258. Guggenheim, supra note 163, at 125 (discussing the proper role of the attorney when the child-client is without a preference or is too young to express one).
260. Id. at 1552 & nn.171-74.
262. Federle, Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places, supra note 10, at 1553 &n.177.
263. Id. at 1554.
264. Id.
265. Id. at 1554-55.
vant evidence as to the child in court.267 If there is a conflict between what the child wants and what the attorney thinks the child should have, the attorney need not be bound by the client's expressed preferences.268 Under these circumstances, the lawyer may argue her own opinion as to the child's best interests and specifically urge the court to discount the child's views.269

Other writers, however, argue that the child's attorney should respect and promote her client's autonomy. Under this view, the attorney is a zealous advocate who should represent the child's expressed preferences rather than the attorney's own opinion of what is in the child's best interests.270 The lawyer is a representative of the child alone and should not advocate the competing claims of the child's parents.271 Moreover, the attorney should treat her child client much as she would any adult client and capably defend the child's views in the courtroom.272 If the lawyer disagrees with the child's stated prefer-

(1977-78); Sibylle Kobienia, Comment, Separate Representation in Custody Cases, 6 Adel. L. Rev. 466, 474 (1978).


269. Atkinson, supra note 268, at 712.


271. Bischoff, supra note 270, at 1393.

272. Haralambie, supra note 249, at 12; Parley, supra note 270, at 57-58.
ences, the lawyer nevertheless has a duty to present and vindicate those views in court.\textsuperscript{273}

This view of the lawyer as zealous advocate for the child's expressed wishes acknowledges the child client as a capable and autonomous being. From this perspective, the opinions of a competent child deserve the same respect as those of an adult.\textsuperscript{274} Because the minor does have the capacity to make a reasoned and intelligent choice, she should be permitted to present her views to the court through an independent and partisan advocate.\textsuperscript{275} The lawyer thus has an obligation to ensure that the child's voice is heard throughout the course of the proceedings.\textsuperscript{276} Moreover, a child who is a sufficiently mature and competent individual is capable of instructing her attorney and providing her lawyer with the necessary guidance as to her objectives.\textsuperscript{277}

Furthermore, this approach underscores the institutional commitment to the adversary system. Adversariness has value because it preserves and facilitates client autonomy by giving the child access to law and legal structures.\textsuperscript{278} Some commentators have argued that the child's right of access may have constitutional dimensions, for due process may require the protection of the child's liberty interest in her placement.\textsuperscript{279} But even in the absence of a constitutional mandate, separate counsel for the child is needed because the child's best interests are often compromised in the bargaining process.\textsuperscript{280} Professional rules of ethics also mandate the lawyer's role as zealous advocate and the vigorous representation of the child client's views.\textsuperscript{281}

From the other perspective, however, the lawyer has considerable autonomy to determine the child's interests. As with the adversarial paradigm, this approach also acknowledges the child's need for independent representation because parents may be motivated to sacrifice the child's best interests for other concerns.\textsuperscript{282} But this view of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{273} Haralambie, \textit{supra} note 249, at 31; Berdon, \textit{supra} note 268, at 165; Bersoff, \textit{supra} note 270, at 34; Elrod, \textit{supra} note 267, at 64; Genden, \textit{supra} note 270, at 588-89; Hafen, \textit{supra} note 270, at 462; Long, \textit{supra} note 270, at 633; Mlyniec, \textit{supra} note 270, at 16; Parley, \textit{supra} note 270, at 56; Scheperd, \textit{supra} note 270, at 748-49; Bischoff, \textit{supra} note 270, at 268; Lyon, \textit{supra} note 270, at 706; Milmed, \textit{supra} note 270, at 187-88; Sokolnicki, Note, \textit{supra} note 270, at 254; Wilcox, \textit{supra} note 270, at 949.
\item \textsuperscript{274} Genden, \textit{supra} note 270, at 589.
\item \textsuperscript{275} Berdon, \textit{supra} note 268, at 164-65.
\item \textsuperscript{276} Elrod, \textit{supra} note 267, at 63.
\item \textsuperscript{277} Berdon, \textit{supra} note 268, at 165; Genden, \textit{supra} note 270, at 589.
\item \textsuperscript{278} Berdon, \textit{supra} note 268, at 165 (citing Henry H. Foster, Jr. & Doris J. Freed, \textit{A Bill of Rights for Children}, 6 Fam. L.Q. 343, 356 (1972)).
\item \textsuperscript{279} Berdon, \textit{supra} note 268, at 160-61; Genden, \textit{supra} note 270, at 582-83; Inker & Perretta, \textit{supra} note 253, at 234; Long, \textit{supra} note 270, at 627-50; Milmed, \textit{supra} note 270, at 179-80.
\item \textsuperscript{280} Federle, \textit{Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places}, \textit{supra} note 10, at 1559; Genden, \textit{supra} note 270, at 573.
\item \textsuperscript{281} Parley, \textit{supra} note 270, at 54-56.
\item \textsuperscript{282} Norberg, \textit{supra} note 268, at 102-03.
\end{itemize}
the lawyer's role values the lawyer's independent judgment. The child's immaturity and inability to make a reasoned choice require the child's lawyer to make an independent assessment of the child's best interests and to advocate her position as to those interests in court. Moreover, this approach recognizes the systemic importance of promoting the minor's welfare by ensuring the presentation of objective evidence as to the child's interests.

There is, however, substantial agreement among these commentators as to the attorney's obligations when the child client is incompetent. Those who argue for a more adversarial role for the child's representative envision a sufficiently mature client who is capable of reaching a reasoned and intelligent decision. If, however, the child lacks the capacity to articulate a reasonable preference, then the attorney may communicate the child's views to the court while remaining neutral as to the desirability of the child's proposal. The lawyer also may argue for a result contrary to her client's express wishes if, in her best judgment, the child's stated preference is not a reasonable or intelligent choice. Whether a particular child has the requisite degree of maturity and capacity to make decisions thus becomes definitive, and the attorney either must make the assessment herself or request help from the court.

Both lawyering models, therefore, provide opportunities for paternalistic intervention. From within a lawyer autonomy paradigm, the necessity for independent moral judgment requires the lawyer to engage the client and shape her objectives. Although this would infringe upon the client's autonomy, the lawyer is morally justified in refusing to further those objectives that are irresponsible. But even within the client autonomy model, the attorney may act paternalistically. From within this paradigm, a client may be said to be competent only if she is autonomous; thus, acting on behalf of the incapacitated client does not infringe upon the client's autonomy.

284. Holz, supra note 267, at 741-43; Hewitt, supra note 266, at 302-03.
285. Kobienia, supra note 266, at 474.
286. Flock, supra note 266, at 362.
287. Haralambie, supra note 249, at 30-31; Berdon, supra note 268, at 165; Eitzen, supra note 266, at 69; Elrod, supra note 267, at 64; Genden, supra note 270, at 588; Schepard, supra note 270, at 750; Flock, supra note 266, at 362; Lyon, supra note 270, at 706; Sokolnicki, supra note 270, at 254.
288. Berdon, supra note 268, at 165.
289. Id. at 165; Flock, supra note 266, at 362; Kobienia, supra note 266, at 474; Lyon, supra note 270, at 705; Milmed, supra note 270, at 188.
D. Interviewing and Counseling the Child Client

The question of the minor's competence also structures the obligations of the lawyer to communicate with, advise, and counsel the child. Within the client autonomy paradigm, the attorney should treat the competent child client much as she would any adult client. The lawyer should interview the child as soon as possible and as often as is necessary, as the client is an important source of information about the case. Furthermore, the attorney should encourage a frank and open discussion and full disclosure of all relevant information so that she might have a better understanding of the legal matter and more capably represent the minor. As with an adult client, the lawyer should not hesitate to probe for detail and implausibility to assess the client's credibility as a potential witness.

Despite valid reasons for treating child and adult clients similarly, the capacity, maturity, and intellectual development of the child are thought to require special communicative and interviewing techniques. The minor, for example, is unlikely to have a clear understanding of the legal system and the lawyer's role in that process, and may be suspicious of the attorney's motivations. The child also may be more passive and suggestible than other clients and may have difficulty recalling events with accuracy. The minor's degree of language acquisition may further impede successful communication between lawyer and client because the child simply may not understand the questions asked of her. She also may have difficulty expressing herself because of her limited linguistic and cognitive capabilities.

From this perspective, the attorney for the child must adapt her interviewing techniques to accommodate the child's special needs. The lawyer should provide the child with a clear explanation of the attor-
ney's role and her obligations as zealous advocate and loyal partisan. The lawyer should also assure the child client that all communications will be kept confidential and encourage the child to speak freely and candidly about the case. To ensure the minor's understanding, the lawyer should ask simple and concrete questions and avoid legal terminology. Additionally, the lawyer should reassure the child and empathize with her feelings in order to facilitate communication and foster a positive attorney-client relationship.

Children, however, are not the only clients who may benefit from these techniques, which are equally applicable to interviewing situations involving adult clients. Enhancing client communication by using facilitators like empathy and reassurance, avoiding legal terminology, and improving the client's understanding of the attorney's role are essential to the promotion of client-centered interviewing methodologies. Client-centered techniques expressly value client autonomy because they nurture client control. By sensitizing the lawyer to the ways in which she may subordinate her client and influence client decision making, the lawyer may empower the client to make decisions about her case in an informed and fully participatory manner. Such participation not only improves the attorney-client relationship but is likely to enhance client satisfaction with the outcome of the case.

The extent to which the attorney finds interviewing the child client difficult may actually be a reflection of the attorney's own expectations and assumptions. Class and racial differences between attorney and client may generate misunderstandings and frustration; consequently, the attorney should be aware that her personal beliefs may foster unnecessary suspicions about her client. The attorney, however, could expect these sorts of difficulties even when dealing with an adult client, but what distinguishes the child client from other kinds of clients is the attorney's perceptions about the cognitive and emotional limitations of childhood. The relationship between attorney and client thus may reflect the lawyer's expectations about the child's capacities.

300. Perry & Teply, supra note 5, at 1377-78.
301. Haralambie, supra note 249, at 74; Elrod, supra note 267, at 64; Perry & Teply, supra note 5, at 1379; Ventrell, supra note 5, at 276.
302. Haralambie, supra note 249, at 75-76; Perry & Teply, supra note 5, at 1383-84.
303. Perry & Teply, supra note 5, at 1381; Saywitz, supra note 295, at 17.
304. See e.g., Binder & Price, supra note 28, at 14-18 (discussing techniques to facilitate full participation by the client).
305. See supra notes 22-29 & accompanying text.
306. See supra notes 27-31 & accompanying text.
308. IJA-ABA Standards, supra note 163, Part 4.2(a), cmt. at 100; H. Freeman & H. Weihofen, Clinical Law Training 242 (1972).
that are unrelated to the client’s actual abilities. \textsuperscript{309} This, in turn, may serve to disempower the minor who will be treated as less competent to participate in and make decisions about her case.

Both lawyering paradigms recognize that speaking to the child, even if she is incompetent, may provide the attorney with new insights into the case. \textsuperscript{310} Nevertheless, the interview’s purpose is investigatory and the lawyer may be more interested in acquiring information than in developing a rapport with the client. \textsuperscript{311} Furthermore, from within the lawyer autonomy paradigm, ascertaining the client’s preferences may be of secondary importance since the attorney may have the power to override her client’s express wishes. \textsuperscript{312} Under this view, the lawyer may not find an interview very constructive, particularly if the child is very young. \textsuperscript{313} Thus, merely observing the child may satisfy any obligation that the lawyer may have to meet with her client. \textsuperscript{314}

Questions about the child’s capacity also structure the lawyer’s counseling obligations. When the attorney perceives the client as competent and she values client autonomy, she should treat the child client as she would an adult and advise the child fully and candidly about her case. \textsuperscript{315} The lawyer should not manipulate or coerce the child into choosing a particular course of action or usurp the client’s decision-making authority. \textsuperscript{316} This approach also requires the lawyer to recognize that certain decisions are the client’s alone to make, \textsuperscript{317} although the attorney may make some strategic or tactical decisions on her client’s behalf. \textsuperscript{318} Additionally, the attorney should acknowledge her responsibility to counsel the child about nonlegal matters and should make the client aware of other professional treatment services. \textsuperscript{319}

From this perspective, there is some recognition of the need to utilize special techniques when counseling the child client. The counseling process should be a collaborative one in which the child is

\textsuperscript{309} IJA-ABA Standards, \textit{supra} note 162, Part 402(a), cmt. at 100; Ventrell, \textit{supra} note 5, at 273.
\textsuperscript{310} \textit{See e.g.}, Atkinson, \textit{supra} note 268, at 706-07; Haralambie, \textit{supra} note 249, at 66-67; Ventrell, \textit{supra} note 5, at 275.
\textsuperscript{311} Brooks, \textit{supra} note 295, at 764-65; \textit{see} Sokolnicki, \textit{supra} note 270, at 245 (recommending ways to fulfill guardian ad litem’s function as an investigator); \textit{see generally} Elrod, \textit{supra} note 267, at 59 (describing ways in which guardians ad litem conduct investigations); Inker & Perretta, \textit{supra} note 253, at 239-240 (discussing ways in which a child’s attorney represents the child).
\textsuperscript{312} Haralambie, \textit{supra} note 249, at 6; Elrod, \textit{supra} note 267, at 60; Ventrell, \textit{supra} note 5, at 269.
\textsuperscript{313} Atkinson, \textit{supra} note 268, at 706-07.
\textsuperscript{314} Ventrell, \textit{supra} note 5, at 275.
\textsuperscript{315} IJA-ABA Standards, \textit{supra} note 163, Part 5.1(a) cmt. at 109-10.
\textsuperscript{316} \textit{Id.} at 110; Perry & Teply, \textit{supra} note 5, at 1423.
\textsuperscript{318} IJA-ABA Standards, \textit{supra} note 163, Part 5.2(b), cmt. at 115.
\textsuperscript{319} \textit{Id.} at Part 5.3 cmt. at 116-19.
encouraged to reach a decision on her own.\textsuperscript{320} The attorney should encourage the child to identify alternatives and to evaluate their legal and nonlegal consequences.\textsuperscript{321} The lawyer should be careful to avoid suggesting that one alternative is preferable to another by manipulating the discussion of the various courses of action that may be open to the client.\textsuperscript{322} Finally, the attorney should help the child reach a final decision and ensure that that choice is truly one made by the client.\textsuperscript{323}

These techniques are not only suitable for counseling sessions with adult clients but also reflect many of the same problems that a client-centered approach seeks to avoid. Lawyers may manipulate and deceive all kinds of clients, not just the very young ones.\textsuperscript{324} Many clients, regardless of their age, may feel intimidated by their lawyers who, consciously or not, may dominate their clients.\textsuperscript{325} Participatory decision making, however, promises to counteract subordination by empowering the client to make fully informed decisions that will be respected by her attorney.\textsuperscript{326} Furthermore, participatory models promote client autonomy by giving the client greater control over the outcome of her case.\textsuperscript{327}

Because of the connection between client autonomy and capacity, however, paternalism appears to be warranted when the client is incompetent. Both the client autonomy and the lawyer autonomy paradigms envision a more intrusive approach to counseling the minor if the lawyer believes the child to be incapacitated.\textsuperscript{328} At a minimum, the lawyer should feel free to advise the child about the wisdom of her position and the likelihood of its success\textsuperscript{329} and to counsel the client about the appropriateness of the case’s disposition in order to ensure the client’s acceptance of or compliance with the court’s orders.\textsuperscript{330} The attorney may even try to persuade the client to pursue those objectives that are in her best interests, although the child’s expressed wishes are to the contrary.\textsuperscript{331} In some instances, the client’s incapacity may even authorize the attorney to make decisions on behalf of the child.\textsuperscript{332}

\textsuperscript{320} Perry & Teply, supra note 5, at 1425.  
\textsuperscript{321} Id. at 1424.  
\textsuperscript{322} Id. at 1423.  
\textsuperscript{323} Id. at 1425.  
\textsuperscript{324} See supra notes 27-28 & accompanying text.  
\textsuperscript{325} See supra notes 22-23 & accompanying text.  
\textsuperscript{326} Wilber, supra note 317, at 355; Bellah, supra note 209, at 513.  
\textsuperscript{327} Wilber, supra note 317, at 354-55.  
\textsuperscript{328} Elrod, supra note 267, at 65; Ventrell, supra note 5, at 281; Wilber, supra note 317, at 358-59.  
\textsuperscript{329} Wilber, supra note 317, at 354.  
\textsuperscript{330} Walsh, supra note 196, at 654.  
\textsuperscript{331} Ventrell, supra note 5, at 279.  
\textsuperscript{332} Elrod, supra note 267, at 65; Ventrell, supra note 5, at 281; Wilber, supra note 317, at 358-59.
The issue, then, turns on an assessment of client competency. Under either paradigm, the lawyer has considerable autonomy to structure the case when the client is incapacitated. Most commentators do not challenge the centrality of capacity to lawyering models, although they differ in their assessments of the extent to which incapacity is defined by the boundaries of childhood. Proponents of client autonomy, therefore, are most likely to be skeptical of claims that children of a certain age are incompetent and to reject age-based presumptions. Nevertheless, notions about capacity organize the ways in which lawyers approach their child clients and structure attorney-client relationships.

III. RETHINKING LAWYERING

As stated previously, capacity has disadvantaging effects, not the least of which is an incoherent rights theory that cannot accommodate notions of children’s rights. But what if we were able to reconstruct our rights talk in ways that would acknowledge the status of children as rights holders? Such a theory would have positive consequences for children as well as other oppressed and marginalized groups. Moreover, a coherent account of rights would recognize the value of rights and rights claims, which have been under critical attack in recent years. A coherent rights theory also may provide a lawyering paradigm that would account for the powerfulness or powerlessness of the client and would ultimately offer the lawyer some stronger sense of what it means to engage in the ethical practice of law.

I think that a coherent account of rights must be premised upon notions of power. Power structures the interactions between and among individuals and the state. It is power that permits an individual to assert a claim against another and power that permits the enforcement of that claim. It is through the exercise of that power that individuals are recognized by others as worthy and their objectives as having value. Moreover, power creates access by claiming the attention and respect of others.

In its most fundamental sense, a right is power. But note that the value of rights lies in the redistributive effect they have on power in any given relationship. Rights have merit because they hold out the promise of challenging hierarchy and mitigating marginalization. In this sense, rights do not stem from the power an individual has over another but from her powerlessness; consequently, rights are a means of accessing power and of demanding the respect of those with power. Furthermore, thinking about rights as power enables us to see the dif-

333. See, e.g., Wilber, supra note 317, at 357.
334. Federle, Looking for Rights in All the Wrong Places, supra note 10, at 1525; Federle, Rights flow downhill, supra note 10, at 344.
ferent ways in which we may be marginalized and oppressed by powerful elites who are advantaged by incoherent rights talk.

From a coherent rights perspective, then, having a right does not depend upon the capacity of the rights holder but upon her powerless-ness. Rights prohibit those who have power from exercising it over those who do not and create zones of respect in which the excluded may be empowered. Moreover, empowering those who have been marginalized would reduce their victimization and oppression within elitist hierarchies because they would no longer be seen as powerless beings. Grounding rights in notions of power also has the advantage of allowing us to think about the world as it is, not as it should be. That, too, is critical because it helps to avoid the pitfalls of rights theories that cannot speak of the realities of the world and thus lack the force to effectuate real change.

For children, a coherent rights theory permits the child to make rights claims and to have them heard. The capacity and maturity of the child is irrelevant within such an account because it is the child’s status as a powerless being that accords her rights. Thinking about rights in terms of power also allows for challenges to paternalistic practices that often disguise attempts at control and domination. Recognizing the powerlessness of children enables us to see the relationships they have with others in terms of that powerlessness and to question claims of acting in the best interests of the child. Furthermore, viewing such claims with skepticism may reveal additional ways in which children are disempowered by the relationships they have with others.

Ultimately, our lawyering paradigms are impoverished because they rest on incoherent accounts of rights. The lawyer has obligations to the client stemming from the client’s legal rights and interests. Thus, if the client has no legal right, the lawyer would appear to owe nothing to the client; moreover, if the client’s interests stem from her incapacities, the lawyer’s obligations would center on protecting the client. Children are disadvantaged by rights talk that is organized around principles of capacity because they are excluded from the class of rights holders or have rights that promote their dependencies and vulnerabilities. This generates considerable confusion about the role of the lawyer for the child in the absence of a coherent account of rights.

By moving our rights talk away from notions of capacity and towards conceptions of power, we may find it easier to reconceptualize a paradigm of lawyering. From within a coherent account of rights, it is the powerlessness of the individual, rather than her capacity to make an intelligent or reasoned decision, that is determinative of her status as a rights holder. Moreover, the rights of the powerless do not pro-

336. Ventrell, supra note 5, at 259.
mote their dependent status. Consequently, lawyering paradigms that turn on the competency of the decision maker cannot adequately account for those individuals who may lack the requisite capabilities. But if rights flow to the powerless, then a lawyering paradigm that facilitates the recognition of the rights of the marginalized has coherence.

From this perspective, client empowerment is the central value of a lawyering model. The lawyer must recognize that existing legal structures, as well as the attorney-client relationship itself, may disempower the client. By freeing the client from subordinating lawyering practices, the attorney enhances the client’s participation in the lawyer-client relationship. The attorney has an ethical obligation to ensure that the client has the power to make decisions about her case and to determine the true objectives of her representation. Moreover, client empowerment encourages a more meaningful expression of the client’s goals and may foster a true collaboration with the lawyer.

This approach to lawyering also permits the attorney to challenge dominant visions of her client’s abilities. For example, claims by powerful elites that an individual lacks rights holder status because of her incompetencies should be viewed skeptically. By seeing relationships in terms of dominance and subordination, however, a coherent account of rights may reveal the ways in which powerful elites oppress and marginalize. Rights, therefore, have value because they allow challenges to these hierarchies and force these elites to hear the claims of those without power. The advantage of seeing rights in this way is to recognize the rights claims of all those, including children, who have been oppressed.

The lawyer for the child, therefore, must be aware of the ways in which she, as an adult, may dominate her child client. Because children are powerless, they do not expect adults to treat them with respect or to listen to their opinions. They are treated as passive and subordinate beings who must follow the instructions of an older and wiser adult. The lawyer, therefore, must be cognizant of the effect she may have on her client and must take steps to facilitate the client’s empowerment in the relationship. By acknowledging that the association between attorney and child is an unequal power relationship, the lawyer begins the process of client empowerment.

Interviewing and counseling are effective mechanisms for facilitating the child client’s full participation in both the legal system and the attorney-client relationship. From this perspective, the lawyer has an ethical obligation to meet with the client and discover information about the client’s situation. The lawyer also has an obligation to foster communication between the lawyer and the child and to utilize whatever techniques may be necessary to accommodate the child client. While some of these methods may account for the child’s varia-
ble linguistic and cognitive capacities, they nevertheless serve to free the child from potential domination by the adult lawyer. Moreover, by empowering the child in the attorney-client relationship, the lawyer also enhances the child’s ability to participate in the legal system.

Counseling methodologies also need to be sensitive to the disempowering effects of the attorney-client relationship. Manipulative and deceptive practices subordinate the client and have no place in a lawyering model which promotes client empowerment. The lawyer should be particularly careful to avoid the imposition of her own views as to what she thinks is best for the client and to empower the client to make her own decisions. This sort of counseling is premised upon a deep respect for the client as a rights holder and the ethics of promoting the client’s status in the face of domination. Additionally, because the goal of counseling is to facilitate the client’s decision making, it is focussed not on the correctness of the decision made but on the process by which the client reaches her decision.

To put it another way, the point of client empowerment is not to make sure that the child client has made a good decision or the best choice; nor is it to ensure that the way in which she reached her decision is a reasoned one. Rather, by empowering the client, the lawyer ensures that the child, and no other, has truly made her own choice. Of course, this may mean that some decisions will be made by the child that the lawyer believes are wrong or ill-conceived, but then, all clients, not just those of a certain age, are capable of making and have made bad choices. Nevertheless there is value in allowing a client to speak in her own voice and to determine her own goals. This is the essence of empowerment and of ethical lawyering.

CONCLUSION

Our rights tradition, which emphasizes competency, perpetuates hierarchy by excluding those from the class of rights holders who lack the requisite capacity. For children, who are seen as immature and incompetent beings incapable of making important decisions about their lives, this vision of rights has made it extremely difficult for them to claim they have rights. Moreover, even when children have certain interests deemed worthy of protection by the state, those interests invariably perpetuate their subordination and oppression. This sort of rights talk also disadvantages children by structuring lawyering models that cannot accommodate the child as client. Consequently, our lawyering paradigms rest on an impoverished account of rights.

But if we reconstruct our rights talk to account for the powerless, we may reconsider our approaches to lawyering. If rights have value because they challenge hierarchy and mitigate oppression, then our rights accounts must accommodate those who have been excluded. A coherent rights theory must account for power and powerlessness and a coherent right empowers those who have been subordinated. Under
this account, children are rights holders who may make rights claims that will be recognized and treated seriously. Furthermore, this account of rights directly challenges images of children as dependent and vulnerable and may reduce the opportunities for their victimization.

Rethinking rights also permits us to reconsider the ways in which we approach lawyering. Recognizing powerlessness accords rights status and structures the obligations we owe to our clients as lawyers. In addition, by thinking about the powerlessness of our clients, we become more aware of the ways in which we, as lawyers, may dominate, oppress, and manipulate them. Interviewing and counseling techniques are critical to client empowerment, no less so when they are used with the child client. Moreover, these methods may ensure that the child’s voice is heard by those who have been unwilling to listen.