

SELF-CONCEPT EDUCATION: AN ETHNOGRAPHY
OF A RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL AND TREATMENT CENTER FOR
EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED AND DELINQUENT ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

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The premise that a person's view of himself greatly influences the way he behaves is of particular significance to those operating therapeutic and rehabilitative programs for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents, as it suggests that in order to change and control certain behaviors of the adolescent, some aspects of his self-concept will have to be altered.

The purpose of this study, as developed in the research setting, was to investigate those components of an ongoing rehabilitation program which focused on influencing the student's self-concepts. Particular emphasis was placed on describing and analyzing the educational mechanisms and constructs involved in the process of teaching emotionally disturbed females to gain awareness and control of their feelings toward themselves, their behavior, and, ultimately, their lives.

The program studied was in operation at Glaydin School, a coeducational residential school and treatment center for students between the ages of 13 and 18 of mixed socioeconomic backgrounds who needed help with social and emotional problems. Glaydin's program was designed to offer students appropriate educational training in conjunction with necessary therapeutic treatment.

The research employed an ethnographic methodology which produced the descriptive materials and evidence needed for the resulting qualitative analysis of the self-concept education components of the program. The researcher entered 18 months of field observation work as a complete participant (researcher involved with interaction, observer status unknown) and completed the data collecting as a complete observer (researcher not directly involved in interaction, observer status known). An extensive recording system based on the field methods of Schatzman and Strauss (1973) was designed to note and organize information gathered in the field. The resulting self-concept education model reflects the 2,752 data entries collected during observations and interviews in the research setting, a review of related studies, and the personal experience and prejudices of the researcher. Four categories emerged during the analysis that became the basic components of the theoretical model. These components were stated in instructional terms as follows; students were taught to confront and control their behavior, recognize and control their feelings, examine their self-concept objectivity, and build strategies that would facilitate an improved self-concept.

I dedicate this dissertation to my wife,
Fanny, and my three sons, Jonathan, Nathaniel,
and Benjamin, for all that they have done
and done without to make it possible. Their
love kept me going.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background and Rationale of the Study

Wisdom is the principal thing;
therefore get wisdom: and with
all thy getting get understanding.

Proverbs IV:7

Young people who have serious behavioral and emotional problems often need the special assistance of a treatment or rehabilitation program. How these programs attempt to help troubled adolescents is the primary concern of the present research.

This study was motivated by the desire to better understand the rehabilitation process as experienced by emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents in the treatment setting. Subsequently, an ethnographic study was designed that promised to render a natural interpretation of significant aspects of the program at Glaydin School, a representative residential school and treatment center for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents. The intention was to enter the field situation and produce an in-depth analysis of the ongoing rehabilitation process. The effort was undergirded by the sincere desire to maintain the

integrity of the natural setting within the analysis and to offer a valuable perspective that is not easily achieved by the participants involved in the intensity of the day to day activities. The findings of this research, therefore, were meant to contribute to the general understanding of the process of rehabilitating adolescents and to provide a descriptive analysis that would be useful to the professionals participating in this particular treatment program.

In accordance with the precepts of contemporary ethnography, the researcher entered the field with the broad interest of better understanding adolescent rehabilitation. The specific focus of the study emerged during the investigation. After approximately 12 months of observations as a partial participant the researcher was able to delimit the perspective of the study and emphasis was placed on analyzing those components of the program related to influencing the students' self-concepts.

Chapter I locates the research problem and presents the statement of purpose as it developed during the initial stage of the research. The second chapter offers a review of the areas of literature related to the present research. A major portion of the literature review was done after the researcher had spent more than 6 months in the research setting. Chapter III describes the methodology and discusses reasons for its selection. The specific field methods and analytic techniques incorporated within the project are examined at length. A general overview of the setting and the specific location of the research within the school is presented in Chapter IV. The primary influence of the staff who work

directly with the students is also discussed in this chapter. The fifth chapter reports the findings resulting from the two phases of research; one in which the researcher participated in the daily routine, the other beginning when the researcher focused on one student unit as strictly as an observer. Finally, Chapter VI provides a summary of the report and presents the findings, relevant conclusions, implications of the research to those designing on operating rehabilitation programs, and recommendations for further research.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe and analyze the self-concept education implemented in a residential school and treatment center for adolescents. The phrase 'self-concept education' refers to the procedure of assisting an individual to fully examine and consider his own unique being. The subject of instruction is the self-concept of the individual, or as some speak of it, his "consciousness of self." Although the subject, by definition, varies for each person, the terminology here connotes that each individual is capable of the reflection necessary to consider himself as an actor in a social world.

This study focuses on the staff-centered teaching process in action at Glaydin School, a residential school and treatment center for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents. Particular emphasis is placed on describing the educational mechanisms employed in teaching the student

to gain awareness and control of his attitudes, perceptions, and feelings toward himself. This research goes beyond the description of the observed program to analyze the fundamental principles, values, and assumptions that govern this real-life educational experience.

Since many factors influence the teaching activity and the related opinions about what is happening or what should be happening, the ethnographic method of research was selected. This assures that the investigation examined and analyzed that which is actually happening and nothing else. The study, therefore, is further qualified as one which considers the actual teaching program as it emerges in the ongoing, flexible process of doing self-concept education.

Two basic assumptions undergird the perspective of this study as established above. First, it is assumed that a therapeutic program, such as the one in progress at Glaydin School, can be thought of as an attempt to provide an education that will lead to a healthier emotional disposition within the student. The activity is considered "educational" because of the staff's conscious effort to teach the student to change (improve) his concept of self. Secondly, it seems reasonable to assume that an individual's self-concept can be changed through a formal education program since it continually undergoes change through informal socialization processes. In other words, the assumption made is that it is possible to formally structure a program to produce self-concept change. The in-depth focus on the educational aspects of the observed program can be justified on several grounds.

First, an extensive exploration of the educational process and design, as it exists in the actual situation, is a prerequisite for realistically understanding and evaluating how a program influences the participant. It is one thing to be able to note changes before and after someone enters a program, another to understand the dynamics of the process that instigates change within the individual. In order to properly evaluate the effects of an educational process it is necessary to view the program as it is presented to the participant. The most important justification for the focus of this study, however, is that the educational characteristics of the program emerged through the observations; that is, the knowledge gained through participant observations within the setting revealed the educative nature of the ongoing activity of helping the student change his self-concept. Therefore, the perspective of this work is further justified on the grounds that it examines social realities of the natural setting.

The orientation of the investigation solicits the following research questions; what are the educational constraints of the program? What methods are used to conduct the education experience? What are the major components of the self-concept education? What values, assumptions, and guiding principles are apparent in the education process? What concepts of self are evident in the program design? The description and analysis of the program at Glaydin School, as reported with this work, considers these and other related questions concerning the process of self-concept education.

The Subject of Study

This study focuses on rehabilitation program designed to help those adolescents termed by some official agencies as emotionally disturbed or delinquent. Specifically, the work focuses on the program in progress at Glaydin School.

Young people are referred to schools like Glaydin by juvenile court systems, social service agencies, and special education departments of public school systems. In general terms, these adolescents are considered deviant youngsters who are unable to function in a normal social setting. The term "deviant" is used here in the same way it is used by Edwin Schur when stating:

Human behavior is deviant to the extent that it comes to be viewed as involving a personally discreditable departure from a group's normative expectations.¹

Generally, the young people placed at Glaydin because of emotional disturbance have problems that can be controlled with only a reasonable amount of effort. As one admissions officer said, "If the kid and I share a similar sense of reality so that we can talk things over, I'll let'm in." Usually these students are considered emotionally disturbed because of abnormal behavior patterns that are unacceptable but not outrageous.

Whether a student comes to the school termed as a "delinquent" or an "emotionally disturbed adolescent" often depends only upon the referring agency. A chief administrator

¹Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 2.

of the school stated, "if a student is referred by the juvenile court system he's delinquent, if he comes from a local school system or a social welfare offices, he's typically labeled emotionally disturbed; but we find the kids from either source have the same problems." Simply stated, these students exhibit abnormal patterns of behavior. The value of this study is, in part, dependent upon the belief that schools, like Glaydin, are necessary and viable options for caring for these students.

During this research, 53 students were observed at various stages of progress at the school. Of this group, 14 were females. The group consisted of 42 Caucasians, 8 Blacks, 2 Hispanics, and 1 American Indian. A majority of the students were from middle class socioeconomic backgrounds, although every socioeconomic class was represented, except the higher upper class.

Several very important reasons can be offered as justification for the existence of residential schools and treatment centers. The first is a practical consideration that few, including the most eager proponents of mainstreaming, care to dispute: the young people who populate these institutions cannot function in the normal environment. It is generally agreed that they disrupt the order of things, often pose a threat of danger to others in the setting, and do not get the help they need from the typical school environment. One probation officer said, "the type of kid we're referring to residential care is getting worse

as money gets tight; these are kids who just can't make it in any way in their home community." The addition of more full-time psychological staff and the increase of the number of staff per students over the past few years tends to suggest that Glaydin is adjusting to meet the needs of a more difficult client who must be removed from the normal adolescent environment.

Secondly, schools like Glaydin are necessary for treating young people who are involved with burglaries, auto thefts, assault, and other forms of misbehavior but who are not seriously psychotic, mentally ill, or in need of intense institutionalization. Still the public expects that these youngsters should be helped and controlled in a way that protects other citizens. Consider the timely example in the case of the young man who shot President Reagan. The young man's mother testified that for years her son seemed disturbed, but the family's psychologist did not feel the young man needed hospitalization. Some would argue that the form of treatment offered by residential schools like Glaydin could have helped this young person during the formative years of his life. The personnel at these schools would suggest they do help such individuals, but it is difficult to evaluate the degree of influence they have on the people they serve.

Jenkins and Harris explain research is limited pertaining to the effectiveness of residential treatment programs

because of the difficulty involved with collecting data.¹ Most institutions are very guarded with their records, if indeed they are effectively maintained.

Some evidence that the residential model of treatment is effective was presented by Jones (1953) in his study that compared a group of troubled adolescents who received treatment in a center with a group having similar difficulties that did not participate in the program. He found that only 28% of the treatment group was reconvicted after a given period of time following treatment, whereas 68% of the group not treated were reconvicted after the same time period.²

Finally, in light of the fact that there is always likely to be delinquent and disturbed young people in our complex, modern society, there will always be a need for systems of control and correction. Many professionals, who have dedicated themselves to helping troubled young people, find the alternative punitive programs undesirable. They work from the assumption that many delinquents are candidates for rehabilitation particularly adolescents who are generally undergoing the most intense years of change and character formation. Representatives of the National Conference of Superintendents of Training Schools and Reformatories suggest:

¹Richard L. Jenkins and Ernest Harms, Understanding Disturbed Children (Seattle: Special Child Publications, 1976).

²Maxwell Jones, Beyond The Therapeutic Community (New York: Basic Books, Inc. 1953).

The bulk of these boys and girls are not confirmed or hardened offenders. They are pliable, impressionable; opportunities for them are great.¹

Many people, like the founders of Glaydin School, feel that young offenders should be treated humanely, regardless of their past behavior. Many concerned individuals feel institutions like Glaydin, and unlike simple lock-ups, are viable and necessary alternatives in which troubled adolescents can get the help they need and deserve. I. Ira Goldenberg writes:

There is little doubt that the shift from punishment to rehabilitation is both warranted and necessary, not only because it is more humane but also because it represents an appropriate response, however long overdue, to the years of accumulated evidence indicating the failure of the punitive approach.²

Terms and Definitions

Within this report, the researcher refers to various terms that have specific meaning to the Glaydin School community. A review of terminology pertinent to this study is offered below.

Team is the word used to refer to the staff members who work directly with a particular group of students. The team consists of leader, teacher, and two counselors.

While at Glaydin School, a student is a member of a unit of students known as a group. The student lives with the

¹Abraham G. Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth (Albany: Delmar Publishers, Inc., 1967), p. 5.

²Yitzhak Bakal, Closing Correctional Institutions (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1979), p. 6.

group, and undergoes therapy with the group. In short, the student does everything with his or her group while in the program. The four separate groups, which are divided by sexes (1 female group and 3 male groups), mix only during mealtimes and special community-wide events, like the Spring Fair.

Formals are structured therapy sessions held by each group. Generally, these sessions are staffed by the team leader and occur 3-4 times per week depending on how well the group is functioning. Various group therapy techniques are used to encourage students to help one another with problems.

Informals are group therapy sessions not held on a structured timetable, but called when needed, usually by a student. Once an Informal is requested, however, the group techniques used during Formals apply, save the time structure in that Informals can last as long as necessary.

The term Feelings Check refers to the daily activity of having the group sit down after the class day and allowing each student to convey feelings. Statements are to be brief and problems are not to be discussed but held for Formals or Informals. This therapeutic event is staffed by one of the counselors.

A Serious Incident Report is a formal reporting and documenting of misbehavior that exceeds acceptable limits. These reports are placed on file and often sent to a student's probation officer or court representative.

The Positive Incident Report documents behavior which serves as an indication of positive growth in a student as evaluated by the staff. These reports reach the same audience as the Serious Incident Reports.

After a student's behavior has proven consistently positive, he or she develops a written plan which determines the student's individual goals within the program. These plans are referred to as Program Goals. They consist of a statement of each problem with which the student must deal, what must be done to change the problem and how to go about making necessary changes -- the strategies.

These and other terms peculiar to the field setting are discussed in greater detail with the context of this report.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Self

Man is the unique creature among the animals world's who can stand outside himself and perceive himself and his conduct. As stated by Morris Rosenberg, "while all of animal life has consciousness, only man has self-consciousness."¹ Only man can evaluate his behavior, criticize his actions, describe himself, and feel guilt, gladness, sorrow, shame, and hundreds of other emotions. The nature and development of an individual's ability to be conscious of self has been a central theme in the work of many past and present social psychologists.

The term "self" has been used in many different ways. Freud considered self as a set of mental processes serving to satisfy "inner drives."² A number of scholars referred to self as the "inner nature" or "essential nature" of a person.³ Some have used self to mean the individual as

¹Morris Rosenberg, Conceiving the Self (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979), p. 6.

²Sigmund Freud, "A New Series of Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis," trans. W.J.H. Sprott (New York: Norton, 1933).

³E. Fromm, Escape from Freedom (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1941).

A.H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality (New York: Harper and Row, 1954).

known to the individual."¹ Chein equated self to the experience and content of "self-awareness."² Other authors have used self as a set of attitudes related to the "I," "me," or "mine" experience.³ In discussing the nature of self and the human experience that it represents, scholars over the years have interchanged the term with "ego," "proprium," and "identity."⁴

Consequently the many uses of the term "self" cited above have lead to a great deal of confusion regarding its definition. As noted by L. Edward Wells,

It consequently becomes difficult to tell clearly what is self (versus nonself) and what such an inclusive concept might actually explain.⁵

The scholarship that has grown out of the social psychology area referred to as Symbolic Interaction, has contributed much to the contemporary understanding and refinement of defining the concept of self. George Herbert Mead, the father of symbolic interactionism, was very

¹V.C. Raim, "Self-reference in Counseling Interviews," Journal of Consulting Psychology 12 (Spring 1948).
²C.R. Rogers, Client-centered Therapy: Its Current Practice, Implications, and Theory (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1951).

³Isidor Chein, "The Awareness of Self and the Structure of the Ego," Psychological Review 51 (September 1944).

⁴M. Sherif and H. Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1947).

⁵G.W. Allport, "The Ego in Contemporary Psychology," Psychological Review 50 (October 1943).

E.H. Erikson, "The Problem of Ego-Identity," Journal of the American Psycho-analytic Association 4 (May 1956).

⁶L. Edward Wells, "Theories of Deviance and the Self-Concept," Social Psychology Quarterly 4 (Winter 1978), p. 195.

interested in the idea of self. Meltzer interprets Mead's notion of self as follows:

In referring to the human being as having a self, Mead simply means that such an individual may act socially toward himself, just as toward others. He may praise, blame, or encourage himself; he may become disgusted with himself, may seek to punish himself, and so forth. Thus, the human being may become the object of his own actions.¹

For Mead, the consciousness of self is a process whereby one is able to perceive himself as a social creature.

The roots of symbolic interaction can conceivably be traced to great thinkers like Plato and Aristotle, but for the present purpose this review will be limited to some of the modern scholars who represent this theoretical position.

Among the earliest work concerning the concept of self relating to the symbolic interaction perspective is that of William James. In his Principles of Psychology, James proposes that self is composed of two parts: the "I" and the "Me." The "I" represents the actor in the social situation; that part of the total self which acts spontaneously and impulsively. For James, the "Me" was the controlling part of self that restricted and guarded the behavior of the person.

The insights of George Herbert Mead laid the groundwork for the sociological orientation of the self.

¹Bernard Meltzer, "Mead's Social Psychology," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader In Social Psychology, 2nd ed., edited by J.C. Manis and B.N. Meltzer (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), p. 8.

Using the same distinction between the "I" and the "Me" as James, Mead referred to the "I" as the subject phase of the self in which the individual responds as an actor to others in the social situation, and the "Me" as the "object" phase of self wherein the individual responds to himself as a participant in the setting. He did not suggest that "I" and "Me" represent static entities that come into being and control behavior, but rather that they are processes through which a person fully enters into his own existence.

Mead emphasized, among other things, the social creation of the "Me." He suggested that the self is the product of the individual's social interactions. A parent may be angered by a child's accidental spilling of a drink and begin to harshly scold the child. This behavior represents the "I" part of the self impulsively reacting to the disturbance. The "Me," on the other hand, emerges and the parent may realize how harsh he has been with the child and check his reaction. The "Me," as illustrated above, is the phase of a person's consciousness wherein he views himself as an actor in the social situation. Mead said:

The individual enters as such into his own experience only on the basis of social relations and interactions, only by means of his experimental transactions with other individuals in an organized social environment.¹

This does not suspend the notion that the individual

¹Anslem Strauss, The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 215.

subjectively manipulates the experiences he encounters, but rather clarifies that it is within the context of his social world that the individual acquires the ability to respond subjectively as an actor (participant) in that world, "taking the attitude of other individuals toward himself within the social environment or context of experience and behavior in which both he and they are involved."¹

Meltzer further clarifies the social creation of the "Me" in stating:

The "Me" represents the incorporated other within the individual. Thus, it comprises the organized set of attitudes and definitions, understandings and expectations--or simply meanings--common to the group.²

According to Mead, the "I" and the "Me" phases of consciousness collaborate to help the individual control his impulsive reaction to his social world; that is, the socially wise "Me" phase helps the reactionary phase of self, the "I," to be manifest in a socially acceptable manner. Hewitt refers to Mead's notion of the cooperative nature of the "I" and "Me" when he writes:

The "Me" doesn't attempt to block the "I"³ but organizes and directs its activities.

¹Ibid.

²Bernard Meltzer, "Mead's Social Psychology," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader In Social Psychology, 2nd ed., edited by J.C. Manis and B.N. Meltzer (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1972), p. 8.

³John P. Hewitt, Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1976), p. 63.

Theoretically speaking, that which influences the "Me" phase of a person's self-consciousness, social interaction for example, will indirectly influence the activity of the "I" phase of self.

Man's ability to view himself and to consider other persons and things in his environment is implied in the thinking of John Dewey. In particular, Dewey's explanation of the process for building a moral life rests upon the assumption that man can reflect upon his being.

In his discussion of Dewey's ideas of morality formation, William Frankena remarks:

For him (Dewey) the moral life--including conduct, choice, and self-making -- should be precisely a habit of reflective thought.¹

Dewey, greatly influenced by the thinking of William James, attends to the impulsive nature of man as well as to human potential to reflect upon, and as he suggests, control conduct and being. Dewey maintains the impulsive and reflective components of the self, the "I" and "Me," act cooperatively to produce the character of the person. This notion is apparent in his words:

...character consists of an abiding identification of impulse with thought, in which impulse provides the drive while thought supplies consecutiveness, patience, and persistence, leading to a unified course of conduct.²

¹William K. Frankena, Three Historical Philosophies of Education (Chicago: Scotts Foresman, 1964), p. 143.

²John Dewey, Theory of the Moral Life (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1934), p. 36.

Dewey's thought about the nature of the human being as an impulsive creature controlled by reflective thought supports the important symbolic interactionist premise that man has the capacity to view himself as a social member with drives, desires, and other impulsive characteristics that he must consider.

Like Mead, Charles Horton Cooley argues that the self emerges in the context of the individual's social interaction, as influenced by others in the social setting. In formulating the famous "looking-glass theory," Cooley compared the reflective nature of self to a looking glass:

We see our face, figures and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer what we should like them to be; so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it.¹

One of the most important points Cooley adds to the concept of self is the idea that one's consciousness of himself is a reflection of the image of himself he attributes to the minds of others. Cooley emphasizes the imagination characteristic the individual brings to the social situation wherein his self emerges.

Cooley's notion of the emerging self, as conceptualized in the looking-glass theory, is composed of

¹Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and Social Order (New York: Scribner's, 1902), p. 5.

three principle elements:

The imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgement of that appearance and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification.¹

He calls attention to the fact that within the social interaction process, an individual's perception of self is closely related to his image of others, his imagination of others' image of him and a resulting self-evaluation.

Even though Cooley compared the individual's look at self with his look at himself in a mirror, he emphasized the imagined judgement of one's appearance to others is not a mechanical process. The subjective, interpretive nature of the emerging self is represented by Cooley's words when he writes:

Society is an interweaving and interworking of mental selves. I image your mind, and especially what your mind thinks about my mind, and what your mind thinks about what my mind thinks about yours. I dress my mind before yours and expect that you will dress yours before mine.¹

The point is that the individual's perception of another's thoughts influences how he thinks about himself.

In considering the social formation of the self, W.I. Thomas argues that commonality exists between the social group members varied perceptions of others' thoughts and

¹Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and Social Order (New York: Scibner's, 1902), p. 5.

²Charles H. Cooley, Life and the Student (New York: Scribner's, 1927), p. 208.

expectations. He claims:

Preliminary to any self-determined act of behavior there is always a stage of examination and deliberation which we may call 'the definition of the situation.'¹

Through interacting, the individual acquires from the larger society the common definitions of the situations in which he find himself. These definitions are not perfectly conveyed to each member of society, and individual spontaneity may influence the actors' definition.

Thomas writes:

There is therefore always a rivalry between the spontaneous definitions of the situation made by the member of an organized society and the definition which his society has provided for him.²

Thomas posits that the common thread of thinking, as acquired by members of a given society, influences the individual interpretation of the social situations within that society.

Contemporary thought concerning the interactionist perspective of self is presented by two schools of thought referred to as "the Chicago School" and "the Iowa School."³ Herbert Blumer, considered the progenitor of the Chicago School, followed closely the work of Mead. This similarity is seen in Meltzer's and Petra's summarization of

¹William I. Thomas, The Unadjusted Girl (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1931), p. 42.

²Ibid.

³Bernard N. Meltzer and John W. Petras, "The Chicago and Iowa Schools of Symbolic Interactionism," in Human Nature and Collective Behavior, ed. Tamotsu Shibutani (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 50.

Blumer's view of self:

Blumer contends that the self is a process of internal conversation, in the course of which the actor can come to view himself in a new way, thereby bringing about changes in himself.¹

This perspective of self as process is consistent with Meadian theory since it promotes the notion that the individual comes to view himself, and subsequently control himself, within a social context.

Kuhn, the chief representative of the Iowa School, views self as a structure rather than a process. He promotes a role-theory explanation of self and self-formation.

According to Meltzer and Petras:

Kuhn...describes both the self and human interaction as structures. The organized set of self-attitudes serves as a system of preestablished plans of action. And, human association takes the form of fairly stable, ready-made patterns of role and counter-role prescriptions.²

The problem with Kuhn's perspective of the social construction of self is that it seems to suggest that man is a perfectly pliant creature. Not only are social expectations and roles often unclear to the actor, but accurate or appropriate responses to known roles are often difficult for the individual to construct.

Blumer supports Mead's idea of separating the impulsive nature of self from the socially influenced

¹Bernard N. Meltzer and John W. Petras, "The Chicago and Iowa Schools of Symbolic Interactionism," in *Human Nature and Collective Behavior*, ed. Tamotsu Shibutani (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 53.

²Ibid.

set of attitudes and opinions of self that comprise the "Me." Kuhn, on the other hand, makes no conscious effort to consider the "I" component of self and views the individual as totally a "Me" who adopts the structure of his social group.

In regard to behavior, Blumer considers human behavior as, "interplay between the spontaneous and socially-determined aspect of self."¹ For Blumer, behavior is indeterminate. Kuhn, however, claims that behavior is determined by the actor's socially structured self-definitions and self-attitudes:

If we know the actor's reference groups, according to Kuhn, we can predict his self-attitudes; and if we know his self-attitudes, we can predict his behavior. In short, antecedent conditions determine the person's self; and the self determines his conduct.²

Kuhn's suggestion that behavior is indeed predictable and determinate has gained little support in subsequent empirical research.

Whether as process or structure, self is consistently considered within the literature to refer to the view of oneself as an actor in a social environment wherein the individual's perception of self is influenced by others. Meltzer points out that a major implication of selfhood, as developed in symbolic interactionist theory, is that the individual possessing a self "may engage in interaction

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

with himself just as two or more different individuals might."¹ This statement epitomizes Mead's approach to self because it asserts that the individual is capable of responding to himself.

Morris Rosenberg offers another important characteristic of self that emerged within the symbolic interactionist tradition.

Over the years, one fundamental distinction has come to be recognized--that between the self as subject or agent and the self as object of the person's own knowledge and evaluation.²

The ability of the person to be the object of his knowledge and evaluation has come to be referred to as the self-concept.

Similar to the varied uses of the word "self," many authors apply their unique definition to "self-concept." The word that seems to appear most close in meaning to self-concept is "object." For this reason, the discussion will focus briefly on the general usage of the word object, before considering the context of self-concept.

Dictionary definitions often give preliminary clues to the varied uses of a specific term. In the case of "object." Webster's Third New International Dictionary offers the following as one definition:

¹Meltzer, "Mead's Social Psychology," in Symbolic Interaction A Reader in Social Psychology, p. 8.

²Morris Rosenberg, Conceiving The Self, p. 6.

3.b.(1) Something that is set or may be regarded as set before the mind so as to be apprehended or known; (2) something of which the mind by any of its activities takes cognizance, whether a thing external in space and time or a conception formed by the mind itself.

Accordingly, to refer to oneself as "object is to recognize oneself as something which the mind is actively apprehending. The reflective individual, therefore, is the "object" of his own thoughts.

Mead clarifies his use of the word "object" when he writes:

This characteristic is represented in the word 'self,' which is a reflexive, and indicates that which can be both subject and object. This type of object is essentially different from other objects, and in the past has been distinguished as conscious, a term which indicates an experience with, an experience of, one's self.²

According to Mead, to be an object to oneself is more than being aware of the physical being; it includes being aware of one's behavior and position in his social environment.

Rosenberg distinguishes his use of the term "object" in his discussion of the individual who says to himself, "I am a moral person." Rosenberg explains:

¹"Object," Webster's Third New International Dictionary.

²George H. Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 201.

The individual is standing outside himself and looking at an object, describing it, evaluating it, responding to it; but the object he is perceiving, evaluating, and responding to is himself. With regard to every other object in the world, the subject and object are different; only with respect to this object are they the same.¹

This summary recognizes that a person is a subjective actor in society, while emphasizing the possibility that he can also step outside himself and become the object of his reflection, evaluation, and judgment.

In short, the word "object" is used most often in the discussion of self to indicate that a person can be the focus of his reflection and attention. He is an object to himself during those moments when he is cognizant of his own being. Considering this notion of the term "object," this author can now turn to a discussion of the various notions of self-concept.

Self-Concept

In discussing the individual's concept of self, Mead offered an illustration that clarifies some distinguishing factors of self-concept. The illustration is of an individual who is being chased. He may encounter walls to climb, puddles to jump, and other obstacles to which he must react. The fugitive is an actor in a social situation. During the chase, he is so occupied with his immediate need to flee that he has no time to consider himself as a

¹Morris Rosengerb, Conceiving The Self, p. 6.

person who is afraid and running. When the chase ends, and let us say he escapes, he may sit down and begin to realize and reflect upon what he has just experienced. At this point he may say to himself, "you just got out of that one."

The story illustrates that as human beings we do not always contemplate our actions and reactions, but at times we do stop and consider ourselves as social agents. This awareness or perspective of self, whether slight or intense, is what produces the individual's self-concept.

In attempting to clearly specify what is meant by self-concept, L. Edward Wells writes:

The essential features of self-conception are that it is reflexive and behavioral.¹

His term reflexive traces directly to Mead's point that conceiving the self was an act of reflective thought. The behavioral component of Well's statement refers to the contention that self-concept is directly related to the behavior of the individual.

Rosenberg considered the self-concept as the individual's "realm of self attitudes; as (his) Selbstanschauung -- his guiding self-views."² Rosenberg offers the following ideas concerning self-concept.

¹Wells, "Theories of Deviance and the Self-Concept," p. 195.

²Morris Rosenberg, Conceiving The Self, p. 8.

The self-concept...is an object of perception and reflection, including the emotional responses to that perception and reflection. It is a product of 'self-objectification' requiring the individual to stand outside himself and to react to himself as a detached object of observation.¹

Considering this definition, self-concept is specified as that which results from the individual's reflection upon himself as a social being. The person's self-concept includes the attitudes, judgments, and opinions he holds toward himself.

Self-concept is most frequently used in reference to an individual's overall view of himself. Kinch defines self-concept as, "that organization of qualities that the individual attributes to himself."² The term qualities includes attributes and roles. One can see himself as father, doctor, or priest, or as ambitious, intelligent, or timid. The outstanding feature of this definition is that it infers a collective, organized view of self-concept. The idea of a framework of self is also represented when Secord defines self-concept as, "an interlocking set of views that an individual holds about himself."³

A major criticism of each of these definitions is that they promote a notion of self as a "thing" and not a "process." As Hewitt points out, "...Mead did not intend

¹Ibid., 9.

²John W. Kinch, "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader In Social Psychology, p. 8.

³Paul F. Secord and Carl W. Backman, Social Psychology (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. 414.

his discussion of these terms (Self, I, Me) to refer to things that come into existence and then operate as static controls over behavior, but to processes that develop when individuals acquire the capacity to use symbols and thus to become a part of their own existence."¹ At any given moment, the self-concept is both a dependent variable and an independent variable in that it reflects the effects of prior events while it is being shaped by new experiences. Self-concept is best considered as a continuously developing casually extended process.

Chelst attends to the process nature of self-concept when he offers his definition of the term.

...a person's view of himself, his subjective and personal image of self, either positive or negative, in varying degrees, and which is susceptible to influence.²

The important common feature of each of these definitions is that self-concept is reflective by nature. Therefore, a person has the ability to view himself as a social actor and as such can evaluate, describe, and judge his conduct. The reflective and processive features of self-concept are considered by Rosenberg when he says, "self-concept is...the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object."³

¹John P. Hewitt, Self and Society: A Symbolic Interactionist Social Psychology, p. 63.

²Marvin R. Chelst, "Changes in Adolescents' Self-Concepts During the Course of Institutionalization" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, 1972), p. 50.

³Morris Rosenberg, Conceiving The Self, p. 8.

One major effort of symbolic interaction theorists is to explain how the individual's concept of self relates to his social interaction. A basic premise of self-concept theory, as stated by Kinch, clearly summarizes the social nature of self-concept.

The individual's conception of himself emerges from social interaction and, in turn, guides and influences the behavior of the individual.¹

Within the social interaction process, the opinions, attitudes, and reactions of others, as perceived by the individual, come to influence the person's view of self. This finding has been documented by correlational, longitudinal and experimental studies: (examples of these listed by author and year are: Manis, 55; Miyamoto and Dornbusch, 56; Videback, 60; Reeder, Donohue, and Biblarz, 60; Maeher, Mansing, and Nafzger, 62; Backman and Secord, 62; Backman, Secord, and Pierce, 63; Mannheim, 66; Kemper, 66; Quarentelli, and Cooper, 66; Doherty and Secord, 71). Two of the studies can serve to represent the kind of research produced by the group.

In the study of the self-rating of 195 subjects from fraternities, sororities, and sociology classes, Miyamoto and Dornbusch determined that, 1) self-concept is related to the response of others, 2) the individual's perception of the response is more closely linked to self-concept than actual response, and, 3) the individual's self-

¹John W. Kinch, "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader In Social Psychology, p. 246.

conception is more closely related to his estimate of the generalized attitude toward him than to the perceived responses of members of a particular group.

The findings of Quarentelli and Cooper (1966) in their longitudinal study of dental students paralleled those of Miyamoto and Dornbusch. They used an extensive questionnaire to determine self-concept of a group of dental students and found that the actual responses, and particularly the perceived responses of others, influenced the individual's self-concept.

The basic propositions that have emerged from this area of symbolic interaction research can be summarized as follows:

- 1) an individual's self-concept is based on his perception of how others are reacting to him,
- 2) an individual's perception of the responses of others toward him reflects the actual responses of others,
- 3) an individual's self-concept functions to direct his behavior.¹

This last proposition is particularly interesting to those studying deviant behavior. The theoretical notion that there exists a significant relationship between self-concept and behavior, in the symbolic interactionist tradition, has contributed greatly to the creation of the theoretical view of deviancy known as the labeling theory.

¹Ibid.

Self-Concept and Deviancy

In Social Deviance, David Glaser's definition of deviance represents the contemporary opinion of many sociologists.

Deviance, in current American Sociology, refers to any behavior or attribute for which an individual is regarded as objectionable in a particular social system. It denotes anything that violates prevailing norms on what makes a person acceptable.¹

Traditionally, the unacceptable behavior to which Glaser refers was often thought to be the result of the actor's predisposition toward deviancy. In this sense, the individual's deviant nature was considered antecedent to the act. Self-concept was generally believed to be an explanation for deviancy. Low self image, for example, was thought to contribute to the manifestation of deviant activity.²

The labeling theory moved the focus off the individuals's supposed deviant tendencies and on to a consideration of the social response to deviancy and the influence of such response upon the actor's self-concept. The words of Howard S. Becker represent the general attitude toward deviancy held by labeling theorists.

¹David Glaser, Social Deviance, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 1.

²Ruth S. Cavan and Jordan R. Cavan, Delinquency and Crime: Cross-Cultural Perspectives (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1969).

... deviant behavior is behavior that people label as such.¹

A central concern of labeling theory is to consider how social actors become defined and treated as deviants. Consequently, this theoretical perspective not only views one's self-concept as a possible explanation for certain deviant acts, but also contends that one's self-concept is influenced by having his activities designated as deviant and the subsequent experience of having others respond to him as a deviant.

The symbolic interactionist influence on labeling theory is clearly evident in a statement found in Edwin Schur's, Labeling Deviant Behavior:

At the heart of the labeling approach is an emphasis on process; deviance is viewed not as a static entity, but rather as a continuously shaped and reshaped outcome of dynamic processes of social interaction.²

Through the process of interacting within a social environment, the individual labeled "deviant" comes to accept the attitudes and responses of others. The person's self-concept is shaped and adjusted according to his perception of others' reactions to him as a deviant. Baker states:

Treating a person as if he were generally rather than specifically deviant produces a self-fulfilling prophecy.³

¹Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 9.

²Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 23.

³Howard S. Becker, Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance (New York: Free Press, 1963), p. 9.

Referring to the process of producing deviance in a social setting, Kitsuse considers deviance as the process whereby the society or group "1) interprets behavior as deviant, 2) defines persons who so behave as a certain kind of deviant, and 3) accords them the treatment considered appropriate to such deviants."¹ Human behavior, therefore, is considered deviant to the extent that a social group defines it as such and takes action to confront and control it.

Erikson suggests there is a "ceremonial" sequence in which the individual is given the status of deviant.² First, there is a "formal confrontation between the deviant suspect and the representatives of his community (the criminal trial or psychiatric case conference)." Secondly, the representatives "announce some judgment about the nature of his deviancy (verdict, diagnosis)"; and, finally, the community representatives "perform an act of social placement, assigning him to a special role (prisoner or patient) which defines his position in society."³

Beyond defining and confronting deviant behavior, the social community absorbs the responsibility to control

¹John I. Kitsuse, "Societal Reaction to Deviant Behavior: Problems of Theory and Methods," Social Problems (Winter, 1962), p. 247.

²Kai T. Erickson, "Notes on the Sociology of Deviance," in The Other Side, ed. Howard S. Becker (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 9-21.

³Ibid., p. 12.

the deviant person. In other words, deviance is conduct which is generally thought to require the attention of a social control agency. The social group, for example, can isolate, punish, correct, or rehabilitate the deviant individual. The focus of this research is on the form of control wherein an attempt is made to rehabilitate the individual considered to be deviant.

Maintaining the views of symbolic interactionism and labeling theory, an effective rehabilitation program helps the person acquire socially acceptable behavior patterns and attempts to influence a change in the individual's concept of self. Bliss supports the criteria for determining the task of the rehabilitation program when he writes:

The program should create an atmosphere in which the individuals are considered, and helped to believe, that they are worth and value as people apart from their behavior. However, it is equally important that they be helped to modify and redirect their behavior in order to like and value themselves more and generate new and different reactions from the generalized other.¹

It is evident in this statement that the person's self-concept must be improved in order to produce the desired behavioral changes. Bliss also recognizes that social responses to the person's behavior influence the individual's self-concept.

Many people agree that the most effective method

¹Dennis C. Bliss, The Effects of the Juvenile Justice System on Self-Concept (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1977), p. 58.

for dealing with delinquent adolescents is rehabilitation. The young person is considered to be in a very formative period of his life, wherein his self-concept is likely to change quickly and more easily than in his adult years, and he has time to be taught how to control his behavior. Rosenberg supports this notion when he states:

It is in the pre-adult years that the self-concept emerges, evolves, and crystalizes; that is the time of life that the self-concept is most malleable.¹

Many rehabilitation programs attempt to help the young person improve his self-concept as well as his patterns of behavior during these pre-adult years. As noted in the manual for training school personnel produced by the National Conference of Training School Superintendents,

Success or failure in efforts to help the delinquent is determined by the degree to which the training school is effective in modifying his fear and hostility, in lessening his distrust of other persons, and in helping him to gain a more adequate self-understanding and an increased sense of self-worth.²

One of the major goals of a successful rehabilitation program is to produce a change in the person's self-concept allowing him to maintain socially acceptable patterns of behavior and a feeling of self-worth.

¹Morris Rosenberg, Conceiving The Self, p. 197.

²Abraham G. Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth (Albany: Delmar Publishers, Inc., 1967), p. 158.

Before focusing on the rehabilitation program considered by the present study, the researcher offers a brief summary of the previous research in the area of adolescent rehabilitation.

Rehabilitation: Programs and Previous Research

No institutions dealt exclusively with juvenile offenders in this country prior to 1825. Young offenders were placed in the same jails and insane asylums with adults. There was little effort to separate offenders by age or degree of offenses.

In the early part of the 19th century, social reformers fought to have conditions improved for young offenders. The Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents was established in New York in 1935. Two years later, the Society opened the House of Reform, built on the site now occupied by Madison Square Garden, to serve as an alternative to sending youngsters to jails. Shortly after the opening of the first separate institution for juvenile offenders, similar refuges were founded in Boston and Philadelphia. These early institutions were financed by philanthropic organizations of a religious or humanitarian nature. Most of these establishments operated on voluntary contributions.

The first state operated "training school," the Lyman School for Boys, was established in 1847 by the State of Massachusetts.¹ Many states followed suit and by the

¹Ibid., p. 2.

end of the 19th century established some type of institution for juvenile delinquents.

The early houses of refuge held many children who were not usually segregated by their degree of criminal activity. Strict discipline and hard work was the usual method of control. Most of the larger institutions were located near cities and suffered from crowded conditions. Many felt the effect of these large, urban institutions was harmful to the young offender.

In 1856 the Boys Industrial School at Lancaster, Ohio introduced the "cottage system," where small groups of children lived together in a rural setting in cottages that were on one campus but separated by some distance.

In addition to the cottage system of institutionalization, the mid 1800s introduced foster care as an alternative to the large reformatory. The Boston Aid Society in 1869 began to provide probation services for children so that they could remain in their home or at least in their community. By 1890, and the onslaught of the juvenile court systems, probation and foster care became a viable and widely used alternative to residential training schools. However, the larger institutions remained to handle those youngsters who posed a more serious threat to themselves and their community.

The first World War reinforced the military type of training program that was popular in many of the larger institutions. The typical uniform in these training schools changed to a more military garb and the staff and students were often assigned military ranks.

After World War II, the widespread influx of new psychological theories influenced much of the rehabilitation ideas aimed toward delinquent young people. One effect of psychiatry reinforced the desirability of foster home care which intended to give the youngster the needed experience of a parent-child relationship. The rise of psychiatric practices also influenced many residential programs. The traditional training and punitive techniques began to be replaced by more psychologically motivated rehabilitative programs aimed at changing the personality and character of the individual. This movement marked the beginning of the period of treatment-oriented rehabilitation programs.

The typical private institution for rehabilitation of youngsters, as it exists today, is described by Martin Bula as follows:

The institution serves from 25 to 100 or more children. It has several buildings located on the same campus, which is partially or fully separated from residential neighborhoods.

The institution may offer a variety of relationships and activities with adults and other children which can be used to understand and help a child more fully; less intense adult-child relationships for the child who is unwilling or unable to handle close emotional ties; a more favorable setting for absorbing and re-directing disturbing behavior of the child who is usually upset, disorganized and destructive; protection to the community from the destructive behavior of such a child; and a combination of professional services which can be integrated around a child's specific needs.¹

¹Martin Gula, Agency - Operated Group Homes (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 33.

Most of these institutions have some tie to a philanthropic or religious organization. For the most part, they are, however, publicly licensed non-profit establishments run in a very business-like fashion. The main purpose of private insitutions for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents has remained the same since the founding of the earliest institutions; that is, to provide decent placement for troubled young people wherein they can receive a proper education and necessary treatment.¹

A major role of the residential treatment program for adolescents as viewed in today's society is to contribute to social improvement by changing the individuals placed in such programs. It is assumed that changing the behavior pattern of the young delinquent will decrease the continuance of misbehavior into adult life, thus contributing to the improvement of the overall social order. Alper and Garvin comment on the idea that the adolescent residential treatment program can contribute to a decrease in adult criminal activity.

... there has long been general acceptance of the finding that the earlier the onset of delinquency conduct, the greater the likelihood of its continuance into adult life. The corollary is that if children in trouble can be reached earlier rather than later, they can be spared the stigma of the delinquent label, later careers of crime can be averted ... Adolescence is a best a difficult period for teenagers in our society. The great majority of today's

¹Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth, p. 197.

respectable adults committed, in their youth, many of the same acts which today's adjudicated delinquents commit. But in their time of confusion and distress, they were fortunate enough to have someone near who guided them through to the point where they could take charge of their own lives... The residential treatment center has proven to be an effective vehicle in which to provide that guidance.¹

The residential treatment center, considered as a social institution, promises to indirectly improve social conditions while it effects a better life for the individual under treatment. Social, as well as humanitarian, concerns have instigated many studies of the important features of the effective rehabilitation program.

One very important feature of the residential institution is that the youngsters with similar problems are placed together. In his descriptive study of Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School, Herschel Alt relates some common aspects of each individual's experience in the residential treatment program:

- 1) each resident is separated from family without choice,
- 2) each resident must deal with attitudes and feelings about parents,
- 3) each resident is dependent upon the program to fill personal and nurturant needs,
- 4) each resident is struggling with adolescent growth (e.g., sexuality identity),

¹Benedict S. Alper and Michelle M. Garvin, "Issues in Juvenile Justice: Report of a Conference on Current Issues in Juvenile Justice in Massachusetts," (Unpublished Report, 1976).

5) each resident is expressing anxiety¹
toward their future direction and goals.

Such commonality among members of the community tends to build tight groups. Sometimes these groups are informal, such as those referred to by Novick when he writes:

Informal groups within an institution arise because of the youngster's needs, some of which are produced by virtue of residing within the institution, while others are related to the individual's personality and cultural heritage.²

Others are designed by the staff of the treatment program for the purpose of therapy or organization.

The benefit of this style of treatment is found in the rich possibilities of changing individual reactions and attitudes through interaction and sharing experiences, thinking, and ideas.³

Jenkins and Harms have studied the role of the director of the residential treatment center.⁴ The chief administrator's personality, philosophy, and attitudes have an enormous effect on the treatment program, they claim. They suggest the director sets the tone of the program in the following ways:

¹Herschel Alt, Residential Treatment for the Disturbed Child: Basic Principles in Planning and Design of Programs and Facilities (New York: International Universities Press, 1960), p. 42.

²Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth, p. 86.

³Ibid.

⁴Richard L. Jenkins and Ernest Harms, Understanding Disturbed Children (Seattle: Special Child Publications, 1976).

- 1) through the selection and removal of staff,
- 2) in developing rules and regulations,
- 3) through conscious and unconscious impartment of personal values and attitudes,
- 4) by the manifestation of skills and behaviors expected of all other workers.¹

These scholars go as far as to claim that the success or failure of the program is almost the exclusive responsibility of the director.

Similarly, the importance of the staff-child relationships in residential treatment centers has been the focus of much research. In a case study of a community-based treatment facility for delinquent boys, Lynne Schwartz found that the staff's ability to build relationships with the client had a direct effect on the personal development of the delinquent boy.²

Esther Rothman claims the ability of the staff to perform as specialists in human relations has great impact on the resident.³ She notes that the successful staff member has the "ability" to 1) view all behavior, positive or negative, as a form of communication, 2) accept the emotions of residents even though they may be expressed through negative behavior, 3) understand the resident.⁴

¹Ibid.

²Lynne Schwartz, "A Case Study of a Community-Based Day Treatment Facility for Delinquent Boys," (Ed.D. dissertation, Columbia University Teachers College, 1981).

³Esther Rothman, The Angel Inside Went Sour (New York: D. McKay Company, 1971).

⁴Ibid.

In his significant study of the Ramsey County Group Homes, Michael Patton found that a supportive participator in the environment was the most effective staff member.¹ This supportive relationship was then compared to a more authoritative atmosphere. This study agrees with the findings of Bruno Bettelheim and Redl and Wineman that the interaction style and personality traits of the staff member greatly influence the success the child achieves in a residential program.²

Undoubtedly, the success of a residential treatment center is dependent upon the criteria used to define success. Easson states that, "the major purpose of the residential treatment center is to provide increased self-confidence and personality stability in the disturbed adolescent."³

Evidence suggests that the residential treatment model of therapy is able to help the child improve his self-concept. Coughlan, Gold, and Zimmerman found that residential treatment in a therapeutic community in Staten Island, New York resulted in the clients' increased feelings of mastery,

¹Michael Patton, "Environments That Make A Difference," (Unpublished Report, 1977).

²Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, Dynamics of Prejudice: A Psychological and Sociological Study of Veterans (New York: Harper, 1950).

³William M. Easson, The Severly Disturbed Adolescent (Washington, D.C.: International University Press, Inc., 1969).

self-esteem and self-control, as opposed to the sense of hopelessness and powerlessness the subjects brought with them to the program.¹

In another study, Gold and Coughlan reported increases in the client's feelings of control and level of self-esteem after just a six-month period of treatment in a residential program for adolescents with drug problems.²

Friedman and Gettys studied a residential treatment program involving fifty-nine emotionally disturbed adolescents and determined that the general effect of the treatment led to an increased level of self-esteem and an overall improvement in self-concept among a majority of the participants.³

The premise that residential care can improve the self-concept of the emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescent is supported and explained in the training manual of the National Conference of Superintendents of Training Schools and Reformatories in the following way:

¹Alban J. Coughlan, Steven R. Gold, Edward P. Dohrenwend, and Roger S. Zimmerman, "A Psycho-Behavioral, Residential Drug Abuse Program: A New Adventure In Adolescent Psychiatry," International Journal of the Addictions 8 (January 1973), p. 769.

²Steven R. Gold and Alban J. Coughlan, "The Effects of Residential Treatment on Adolescent Drug Abusers: A Preliminary Report," Proceedings of the 81st Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association 8 (Fall 1973), p. 525.

³Steven Friedman and J. Gettys, "Increase in Self-Esteem As Measured By The Coopersmith Inventory," Perceptual Motor Skills 40 (May 1975), p. 165.

The delinquent's poor self-concept is modified as he experiences acceptance in the training school and, therefore,¹ success in his relationship to others.

This research contends that the process of instigating a change in the self-concept of the adolescent in a residential treatment center is much more complex than indicated in this statement from the training manual. The purpose of the present study is to describe and analyze the process of self-concept change as it occurs, or is intended to occur, in a particular residential program.

¹Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth, p. 80.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

The previous chapter presents the theoretical foundation regarding the human conception of self upon which this study is built. Symbolic interaction theory, and the extensive body of research that has helped to mold it, supports two basic premises of importance to the present research: 1) a person's self-concept is shaped and reshaped by interaction experiences within the individual's social environment, 2) the person's self-concept strongly influences his behavior (and vice versa).

This study focuses on the significant component of social interaction at Gladyin School where the staff attempts to influence a change (improvement) in the student's self-concept. As indicated within symbolic interaction theory, changing the self-concept of the individual is a vital part of the task of changing (improving) the inappropriate behavior patterns responsible for bringing the student to this residential school and treatment center. The specific goal of this research is to determine the manner in which the ongoing educational process at

the school attends to the (job) of influencing self-concept change.¹

Perspective

There is no attempt to presuppose the characteristics of the educational program that should be used to try to change the self-concept of the adolescent. This study adopts a research approach that allows the investigator to discover, describe, and analyze the actual educational processes and constructs as they relate to reshaping the student's view of himself. This work, therefore, places fundamental importance on the everyday experiences and interactions of the participants and their view of the social events as they occur in the natural setting. As aptly stated by Joseph Kotarba, "only an understanding of social life based on common sense, everyday experience allows a social researcher to maintain the integrity and inherent properties of it."²

In the desire to protect the "integrity" of the observed program, the researcher chose a field research method of inquiry that facilitated finding answers to the essential questions raised by the investigation, such as -- How does this

¹Since the methodology used was ethnographic in design, being based on an individual's observations in the setting, it seems appropriate to discuss the method in the first person. Therefore, in Chapter III I divert from the traditional, formal manner of referring to myself as researcher and use the presentation of the first person in keeping with contemporary ethnographic research reporting.

²Joseph Kotarba, "The Chronic Pain Experience," in Existential Sociology, eds. Jack Douglas and John Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 259.

program deal with the student's concept of self? What does this program do to influence the self-concept education occurring in the setting? How does face-to-face interaction affect the ongoing educational process?

The task of the observer who is studying human experiences in the natural setting is to listen, watch and systematically record the occurrences in the real situation. Schatzman and Strauss summarize:

The observer of human events listens to how persons in given situations present to themselves and others (including the naturalist the 'realities' and contexts of their lives. Meanwhile, he correlates what he himself sees with what he hears from these persons who stand in different relationships to each other and to the whole situation. The observer is then able to develop an abstract, logical, and empirically grounded representation of the observed situation.¹

The idea is to draw the data and perspective from the actual, ongoing situation which leads to a faithful analysis of the social environment. In this manner, the researcher is most likely to fulfill a major goal of the qualitative analyst, as stated by Lofland: "to provide an explicit rendering of the structure, order, and patterns found among a set of participants."²

The perspective of the human events the researcher/observer needs to acquire is what John Johnson refers to as

¹Leonard Schatzman and Anselm L. Strauss, Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973), p. 13.

²John Lofland, Deviance and Identity (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 14.

the "empathetic view," in which, "the observer is able to understand daily events as members experience them"¹ This is quite different from a sympathetic view where the researcher may feel compelled to join the side of the group he is studying. An empathetic understanding of the situation permits the investigator to see from the perspective of the participant without feeling he must demonstrate the validity or correctness of the perspective. An empathetic view of the social setting and events promises to yield a meaningful rendition of the observed interaction which will lead to a greater understanding of the complex nature of human existence.

To achieve the participant's perspective of the social environment, this research was designed as an ethnography of the educational program at Glaydin School. The study follows the style of recent ethnographic research because it strives to create an analytic description that reflects a systematic collection, classification, and analysis of social phenomena as they have been observed or experienced in the actions, interactions, and language of the participants.

The ethnographic approach to studying human existence grew, for the most part, out of traditional anthropological studies which examined the whole culture of a certain people. Often, the anthropologist spent an extended amount of time with the people in order to be able to describe the entire culture.

¹John Johnson, Doing Field Research (New York: Free Press, 1975), pp. 24-25.

More recently, ethnographic methods have come to be applied to many fields other than cultural anthropology. In doing so, the focus has shifted from examining an entire culture to studying just a segment of one. For example, in education many ethnographies are utilized which focus on the unique features of a school, class, grade, or even a specific lesson. Such ethnographies have been referred to by Lutz as "micro-ethnographies."¹ He suggests one can examine a segment of the entire culture or social world of the individual by "following an event or series of events through a complete cycle."²

The micro-ethnographer must clearly present the parameters of the investigation since it is not his desire to examine the whole culture. Erickson refers to the task of defining research parameters as laying out the unit of analysis as the "whole" unit of research.³ He writes:

It is in this sense that ethnographic work is 'holistic,' not because of the size of the social unit, but because the units of analysis are considered analytically as wholes, whether that whole be a community, a school system, or the beginning of one lesson in a single classroom.⁴

¹Judith L. Green and Cynthia Waiet, Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings (Norwood, New Jersey: ABLEX Publishing Corporation, 1981), p. 41.

²Ibid., p. 45.

³Frederick Erickson, "The Counselors At Gatekeeper: Social Interaction" in Interviews (New York: Academic Press, 1982).

⁴Ibid.

Micro-ethnography produces descriptions of social situations within the whole culture, contributing knowledge of how it is to be a participant in some specific setting. Green and Walleet summarize the product of micro-ethnography in the following statement:

By observing patterns for participation and membership within and across contexts, the micro-ethnographer can describe rules for construction of context, rules of group membership, as well as the goals of specific interactions and the product of these social interactions.¹

Several studies which could be considered micro-ethnographies served as models for the present research. John Johnson did an ethnographic study of the preparation of official information in a social welfare agency.² His work examined how the social worker, in the context of his everyday activities, constructed official information about clients. Johnson entered the social welfare system and began to observe the activities of the social workers. His work resulted in a revealing description and analysis of the actual process of creating official documents.

In Johnson's study, the unit of analysis was the social production of official information in a social welfare agency. He was able to clearly analyze the construction process because he was in the natural setting and observing the ongoing process of welfare office work. He studied the common rules and regulations influencing the process, and the

¹Judith L. Green and Cynthia Walleet, Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings (Norwood, New Jersey: ABLEX Publishing Corporation, 1981), p. xiv.

²John M. Johnson, Doing Field Research.

and the underlying values, assumptions, and judgments that were essential to the final outcome of the process. His analysis offers a view of the interactions between the worker and social service system that help the concerned reviewer better understand the actual working process of the social welfare office.

In a similar fashion, Kenneth Anderson studied the activities of a mental health screening unit.¹ In his study, Anderson offers a descriptive analysis of the process whereby the screening staff determines the kind of care the client (interviews) needs. He also entered the field and observed the ongoing process of screening individuals. The unit of analysis was the mental health screening of individuals and the ongoing process of determining client needs. Similar to Johnson's work the data was the individuals within the social setting.

Selection of the Research Unit

In the present study, the unit of analysis was the self-concept education used in the therapy and residential program of Glaydin School. The project focuses on examining how the program efforts of the staff and students, succeeded in their attempt to influence the self-concept of the student.

¹John P. Anderson, "Practical Reasoning In Action," in Existential Sociology, ed. Jack D. Douglas and John M. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

The parameters of the investigation were further delimited by focusing on the female portion of the total population at Glaydin. The female population was one of four groups operating at the school during the research period. Several major factors supported the decision to concentrate on the female group.

While there are many schools that serve male delinquent adolescents, relatively few are available for troubled young females. Even in coeducational institutions like Glaydin, there are usually more spaces provided for male placements than for female. As a result, much of the existing literature concerning the residential treatment of delinquent adolescents is oriented toward the male sector of the population served. Carole Upshur notes:

The study of delinquent behavior in adolescent girls has long been neglected, both because of the absence of general interest in women's studies until very recently, and because girls make up only about 20% of the juvenile court population... There remains widespread lack of understanding about causal factors in female delinquency and inability to provide adequate rehabilitation service for those girls who are before the nation's juvenile courts.¹

Limitations were selected that reduced the scope of this research by focusing on the female population at Glaydin, while still allowing the project to contribute to the general understanding of adolescent rehabilitation.

¹Yitzhak Bakal, Closing Correctional Institutions (Lexington, Press, 1973), p. 19.

The delimiting process stated above was possible because of conditions the researcher discovered when he entered the real situation. It so happened that during the time of this project, the female group was considered by most of the Glaydin community to be the one which best represented how the groups were to function. The staff of the girls' group was at the school the longest and succeeded in the process of moving the group to function satisfactorily. The male groups, however, were all in the early stages of formation because of staff changes and student graduations. Community-wide acceptance and noticeable respect made the female group a desirable research unit.

Included among the staff of the female group was an individual who played a significant role in training new teachers and counselors. This person has also spent more years at the school than any other group staff member. His role as training instructor, combined with his level of sensitivity, allowed him to influence other groups as well as his own. This made him a key figure in the initial stages of research and contributed to the researcher's decision to study the girls' group.

In general, the female group, staff and students were cooperative about the intrusion into their group and refrained from asking too many questions or paying undue attention to the research.

The easy acceptance was a result of an established trust held with the group in my early stages of research.

Perhaps the reason for this acceptance can be found in John Dean's argument,

A person becomes accepted as a participant observer more because of the kind of person he turns out to be in the eyes of the field contacts than because of what the research represents to them. Field contacts want to be reassured that the researcher worker is a 'good guy' and can be trusted not to 'do them dirt' with what he finds out.¹

I felt very comfortable with the staff and students of the female group, and I felt sure the feeling was reciprocated by most of the group.

The final reason for selecting the female group as a research unit related to the experience and knowledge I brought to the investigation. For a full academic year, my wife and I were live-in counselors for eight eighteen-year-old delinquent girls at Glaydin. The counseling experience equipped me with first-hand knowledge of the kind of young person who was the subject of this research. Also, the experience helped me to know what it is like to be a staff member at a residential treatment center. It was my past experience in the field that developed my desire and motivation to contribute to the understanding of how rehabilitation programs affect young people.

In summary, the selection of the research unit was based upon the desire to contribute to the general knowledge of female rehabilitation among adolescents, the existing

¹John P. Dean, "Participant Observation and Interviewing," in Introduction to Social Psychology, ed. John T. Doby (Harrisburg: Stackpole, 1954).

optimum conditions the researcher found when entering the natural setting, the abilities and experiences the researcher brought to the field project, the adaptability of the group to the research process, and the relationships established between the researcher and the group. Within the context of the natural setting, the researcher discovered not only what the focus of the study should be, but also how one could conduct the study.

After selecting the research group and clarifying the research issues that became apparent during the early stages of observation, the researcher developed and implemented research methods to produce pertinent data and needed information. A discussion of the field methods utilized in this investigation follows.

Methods

The methods of the ethnographer are those heuristic devices which allow him to construct as accurate and as faithful an account of the social events as possible. This research incorporated some of the most frequently used tools of ethnography; participant observation, formal and informal interviewing, informant interviewing, and the review of official and unofficial documents.

Participant observation is an essential method of examining social phenomenon from the actor's perspective. The researcher enters the social setting in some capacity of observer. Sevigny suggests there are four types of

participant observation stances one can assume when entering the research environment; they are, 1) complete participant (researcher completely involved in interaction, observer status unknown), 2) participant-as-observer (researcher completely involved in interaction, observer status known), 3) observer-as-participant (researcher occasionally involved in interaction, observer status known), 4) complete observer (researcher never directly involved in interaction, observer status known).¹ The position which one adopts depends upon the study and the desires of the researcher.

The observations in this project were divided into two major phases. In Phase One, the observer was a "complete participant" employed by the institution. My co-workers knew I was a graduate student, but few had knowledge of my intent to do an ethnographic study within the school. The students, at this time, did not know I was a graduate student or researcher.

During the period of complete participation, I served as the Director of Development and Public Relations for the school. Essentially, I was an administrative assistant to the Director and Governing Board. I carried out impersonal duties, such as writing grants and preparing brochures. This did not allow me direct contact with the students. The staff knew I was involved in agency relations and fund-raising work but the students were unsure about my

¹Judith L. Green and Cynthia Walleet, Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings (Norwood, New Jersey: ABLEX Publishing Corporation, 1981), p. 23.

duties. The students' ambiguity in regard to my job was clearly represented in the yearbook where under my picture were the words, "What Does This Guy Do Here?"

During this first phase of observing, I was able to move around the school and see the action from the inside. Usually, the staff was willing to accept a helping hand, and this allowed me to step into situations when I felt it would not disturb the trust I was building with staff and students. My position was ideal because it allowed an insider's view but not compel me to get involved in situations that would interfere with my observation process.

The observational approach of Phase One required that I record field notes after the experience, but often because of other duties, I wrote notes after the work day. For this reason, the first set of field notes are in the form of a journal. This method of recording observations helped direct the research design and clarify essential research questions. During this time, the observations revealed the staff's emphasis on attempting to improve the self-concepts of the students. The second phase of observation, however, allowed for a more detailed description and analysis of the components of the self-concept education process.

Phase Two of the observations began when I discontinued my employment at the school and announced my interest in studying the group process occurring within the program. By emphasizing a desire to look at the group as a whole, I avoided making the administrator or student feel he was

individually the center of attention. Hence, I maintained a non-threatening position within the community.

During the second phase of observations I was a "complete observer" and claimed to both staff and students that I would no longer be involved in situations but intended only to observe. Generally, staff and students seemed comfortable with this research stance and often I was told things that otherwise may not have been offered. One example of this acceptance of my neutral position occurred while a student and I were walking back to the dormitory alone. She proceeded to tell me, since I was "not staff" and "couldn't tell," who was having sexual relations with whom on campus. Previous information confirmed her honesty. The significance here was that the girl felt comfortable and willing to give me information typically kept very confidential. When I began the direct observations, a staff member told me the "girls are not bashful about telling you what's happening if they think you can't do anything about it."

I continued to keep notes in the second phase of observations as in the first. As time passed, however, I began to write in front of students and staff. First, I only recorded items in the field that were neither very sensitive nor revealing, such as who was in a room or who was speaking with whom. Meanwhile determining how curious people were about my act of writing. By the end of the research period, I was able to record field notes openly without anyone paying much attention to my writing.

I adopted a version of the note keeping system described by Schatzman and Strauss, marking observational notes (ON), theoretical notes (TN), methodological notes (MN), and personal notes (PN).¹ I recorded these notes on legal size yellow pads because of their general use around the campus. The use of similar materials made my recording less threatening and conspicuous to staff and students.

Although the Governing Board and the Director of the school granted permission to proceed with my observations, when I decided to join the girls' group I thought it essential to ask them (students and staff) if I could observe. Their permission further established their commitment which was only helpful during the course of the research. Surely it was a risky step to ask their permission since I could have been left without the research group I wanted. But finally, the payoff of their indirect invitation to join was well worth the risk. The only restriction requested by the group leader (head staff personnel) was that I could not interfere with the therapy process.

Being a male observer among a female group did not seem to interfere with the research process. Only twice during the entire course of the research was I asked to leave the room; once when a girl was discussing a sexual act committed against her will, and another time when a young woman wanted to show the counselor a lump on her breast.

¹Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology, p. 99.

Otherwise, the girls seemed comfortable in saying what they needed in front of me. In fact, as time passed, other people not in the group were asked to leave (which, by the way, is the option of the students during therapy sessions) while my presence was not questioned.

I was granted permission to review any official or unofficial information produced by staff or students. I had access to personal files and materials reporting student progress, history, or problems. In return, I guaranteed confidentiality. To avoid entering sensitive information into my notes along with a name, I assigned each girl and staff member a number and committed the code to memory. Also, I was very careful with my notes never letting them out of my sight and never bringing the previous day's notes back to campus.

During the investigation, opportunities arose for informal as well as formal interviews with participants. These interviews provided a valuable source of information and insight both from students and staff. Often, a staff member and I would walk through the campus after leaving the group and I would find the person very willing to reveal his or her opinions and reactions to recent events. Many times I gained valuable material by simply being in the right place at the right time when someone wanted to talk or express feelings. These informal conversations often gave clues and ideas that I would later follow up in formal interview sessions. In most cases, staff and students were willing to formally discuss questions or concerns that I raised.

I used the methods briefly described above to collect data and information that reflected the participants' views of the social situation. The main task in the field was to record any information that appeared relevant to the analysis of the self-concept education in progress in this residential school and treatment center.

Data Analysis

Similar to the field observations, the data analysis moved through several stages. The initial stage of analysis began during the first phase of observations while I was an employee at the institution. As I recorded entries into my journal regarding the day-to-day interactions in the social environment, it became evident to me that the staff was attempting to produce a change in the students' concept of themselves. Once I realized the staff's efforts in the area, I began to look for relevant information and data that would help me understand what was actually occurring. In just a short while, my journal was saturated with examples of how the staff tried to influence the students to change their self-concept. These preliminary observations and findings were the foundation of the decision to focus the research on the self-concept education process. Symbolic interaction theory and related deviance theory were incorporated at this point of the investigation to further support and strengthen the research focus.

At no time does the research claim that self-concept education is the most important component of the total

program at Glaydin. However, it is assumed to be as essential and as real a feature of the program as those typically regarded as very important; i.e., the need to prepare students academically; to keep these young people protected from hostile environments; or to provide respectable legal custody. The fact is that all facets of the program are significant and interrelated. How a student fares academically greatly influences how he may feel about himself. The purpose of focusing on the self-concept education aspect of the program is to realistically delimit the scope of the research while providing a research perspective that is based upon actual happenings in the natural setting.

After the initial ten months of observations as a complete participant, I concluded the following: self-concept education is a major component of the program in action at Glaydin School as represented in the daily interactions between staff and students. Subsequent research at the institution was directed toward producing a descriptive analysis of this educational process.

The second stage of analysis was based upon the information collected in the natural setting during the period of direct observation. This stage began shortly after an organized style of note-taking was established. Major patterns and groupings began to appear in the data, revealing significant connections between the various pieces of information. These groups are what Schatzman and Strauss refer to as "packages of data."¹ They are not created by

¹Ibid., p. 103.

the researcher, but are discovered while organizing and recording notes. The packages represented consistent patterns that eventually grouped themselves to form the analytical areas or categories, which were then used to develop the initial working hypotheses. An example of a few notes that share a common characteristic follows.

Example:

ONa 2 finishes her story about her father. . . .
begins to cry . . .

8 ... tells 2, softly, "your problem is ...
you don't think much of yourself . . . you
have a bad low self-image problem.

ONb 11 follows Mrs. S₂ back to the office porch
. . . Mrs. S₂ says, "wait here." . . .

She returns with a few papers, says, "here are
some things you should look over . . . this is
what we call the 'problem list' . . . don't worry
about it now . . . I'll have one of the girls go
over it with you later."

ONc 1 yells profanity back to a young man . . .

Mrs. S₁ hears from other dining table . . .

She approaches 1 . . . 1 avoid eye contact

. . . Mrs. S₁ leans toward 1, says, "I hope
you realize your having an inconsiderate to
self and others problem." . . . quickly

walks away . . . 1 had no chance to respond.

OND When I walked up to the porch tonight, I overheard 1, 9, 7, 2 having a conversation about what it means to have a 'hurting problem' . . . 2 and 7 maintain it means hurting someone's feelings as well as hurting them physically . . . 1 disagrees, says, "hurting someone's feelings is an 'inconsiderate to others'" . . . they see me and ask my opinion . . . I say "I don't know . . . ask Mrs. S₁."

Three observational notes represent various situations in the research setting and exemplify the different types of interaction between community members. However, each is a case where references is made to terms from a "problems list" commonly used by individuals in the program. The use of common terminology to specify kinds of problems is a pattern that became evident during the research process. The evidence of such a pattern is the package of relevant data found within the field notes.

By itself, the observed pattern tells little about the education process being examined. But when the pattern is considered in conjunction with others a category begins to emerge, i.e. 1) there is a common logic used by staff to justify making the students examine their problems, 2) in conversations with students the staff members generally claim lack of control over problems and behavior results in a low self-image, 3) there is a tendency in staff reports to

discuss a student's problems in terms of the student's self-concept, 4) in the training process, staff conveys to students control over actions leads to satisfaction with self. In this case, the category can be stated; the staff's instruction to students of methods and reasons to confront and control problems and behavior.

As categories began to emerge during the field research, a statement was prepared to convey the theoretical ideas it represented. The statements were entered into a journal labeled Theoretical Statements, which was periodically reviewed during the investigation.

The post-field analysis began after a significant amount of data was collected and the list of theoretical statements became repetitive. At this point, the field notes were reviewed and made uniform. All notes not already on yellow pads with a 2-inch margin were rewritten. Descriptive and supportive information was placed in the margin of most notes, and each was given some type of categorical label. Consider the following notes for example:

Staff control
apparent during
formals

Problem statement
has been dragging

Staff control/
formals

Staff uses various
methods to control
activity of
the group

Staff control/
formals

O_n The group sat in a circle . . . Mrs. S₁ said, "I would like to move quickly through the problem statement . . . we have to cut formals short tonight . . . 2 began stating problems.

T_n Mrs. S₁ may have decided to cut formals short as a way to speed up student participation . . . things have been dragging and I know Mrs. S₁ feels the group is in a slump.

Each of these notes was assigned the label of Staff Control/
Formals and relevant comments placed in the margin to the
left of the notes.

As evidence in each category increased, the previously recorded theoretical statements were reviewed and either rewritten or discarded. The revised statements were then examined for key relationships existing among them. This analytical step produced four major groupings that logically organized the various descriptive propositions. Four working hypotheses were developed from these general areas. Each was assigned a number and entered into the theoretical journal.

At this point, a triangulated method of analysis was designed to test the data for support of each hypothesis. As used here, triangulated analysis refers to analytical methods which represent multiple perspectives of a particular phenomenon.

Within this study, three distinct perspectives are apparent in the data. First, there is the perspective of the researcher which is most clearly developed in the direct observational notes. This is his perspective of the day-to-day interactions as he witnesses and interprets them in the field.

A second perspective is presented in the formal procedures occurring in the social setting, or those brought to the setting by the researcher. Relevant data in this area would include the information obtained from formal

interviews and surveys, the review of official documents and records, and the observation of formal meetings and presentations.

Finally, a distinct perspective of the situation is presented in the informal processes of interaction. Information relating to this perspective was gathered from informants in the setting, by listening to casual conversations in the community, by reviewing informal and personal written materials, and informal interviews.

These perspectives represent various views of the social events taken by individuals interacting in the setting with others, often preparing materials or presenting their perspective with a particular audience or motive in mind. The triangulated method of analysis allows the researcher to compare elements of interpretation and evaluation presented in each perspective.

In this case, I was interested in the degree to which the various perspectives support the working hypotheses. To do this, each perspective distinguished above was assigned a code letter; O - direct observation, F - formal source of information, I - informal source of information. The data were once again reviewed and each note was assigned a perspective code letter and a related hypothesis number. This produced an indexed set of field notes from which the final descriptive analysis was prepared.

CHAPTER IV

OVERVIEW OF THE PROGRAM: THE SETTING, THE STAFF AND TEAM PRIMACY

The Setting

Glaydin School is a private residential school and treatment center for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents. The campus is located on 192 acres in a rural community. The campus consists of a large wooded area, a large open field, a small pond, and a group of rustic buildings that serve as dormitories, classrooms, administrative offices, and service buildings. The environment is camp-like, and offers a soothing, country atmosphere for students and staff.

Glaydin serves as a rehabilitation center for a maximum of 40 young people who are referred by Juvenile Court systems, Social Welfare agencies, and Special Education departments of public school systems. Adolescents between the ages of 13 and 18 come to Glaydin to receive residential care, therapeutic treatment, and academic training. The school is licensed by the Virginia Departments of Corrections, Welfare and Education. The students are usually funded by state and federal monies cycled through the referring agencies in accordance with the provisions of the Title XX program.

Glaidin was founded in 1958 and has always served as an educational institution. Over the past ten years, Glaidin has become an institution that provides services only to students who have severe emotional and behavioral problems.

The Staff

Glaidin is a non-profit organization governed by a Board of Directors. The program is operated under the supervision of a director who is appointed by the Board. The director is charged with the responsibility to carry-out policies established by the Board and running the day-to-day operations.

Similar to many small, private school directors, the chief administrator was a very powerful and influential figure at all levels of the institution. In their research of residential treatment centers, Jenkins and Harms (1976) determined that the director of the residential treatment program was a major determinant of the therapeutic milieu that existed at any given institution.¹ This finding appeared to be consistent with observations made at Glaidin. At Board meetings the director's influence on policy issues was evident in numerous situations where the Board deferred to his judgment and decisions. Generally, the Board tended to react to the director as if he were an autonomous head of the institution to whom they could offer opinions and ideas.

¹Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 2.

The staff divided into two categories: service and program. The cooks, maintenance team, clerical assistants, and skilled laborers were considered service staff. Their relationship with the students was incidental and a matter of personal preference. Occasionally, a member of the service staff had a great deal of influence over a particular child. An example of a close student-service staff relationship was observed between one of the girls and an older woman who worked as a cook. The woman became a close friend and confidante to the girl. Often, when the girl was experiencing a problem, she would go to the cook to talk. The team discouraged the girl from confiding in someone other than her group, but they did not prohibit her from seeing the cook. It was evident that most service staff members were friendly and cooperative with the students, but mainly most chose to remain uninvolved as they performed their work.

The program staff consisted of those individuals who worked directly with the students. The director and other members of the administration worked closely with staff and students. As mentioned, the director greatly influenced the creation of the general program. Through meetings, written policies and guidelines, and personal contact with the staff, the director maintained close supervision of the functions and activities of the whole community. He often observed specific activities of a group or was asked to meet with students for a variety of reasons. Once during

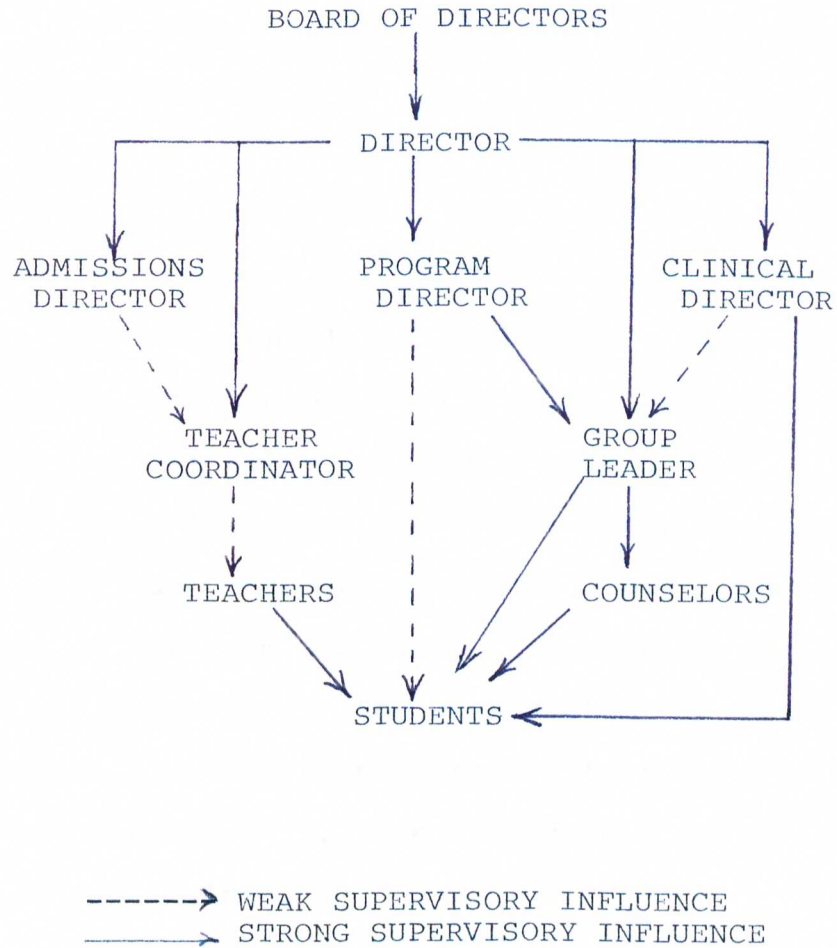
the observation period, the director taught a health class for six weeks. In short, the director was very visible to students and staff and involved with the ongoing activities of the community.

The residential coordinator, admissions director, clinical director, and teacher coordinator also had specific administrative duties within the program. To some degree these staff members supervised the activities of the remaining program staff--teachers, counselors, group leaders. However, the lines of authority were not pronounced between staff, except when it came to the director. As one staff member shared with the researcher, "When it comes right down to it, there's only one boss, (director)."

A schematic representation of the hierarchial arrangement of the staff reveals the general relationship between the staff positions. (See Figure I.) Although this schematic is representative, the actual relationships between the staff are more loosely structured in the natural setting that it appears here. One obvious example was the relationship between the psychologist and the group leaders. The psychologist spends much of his time in one-on-one sessions with students and much less time working with staff or group leaders. Whether the psychologist became greatly involved with the therapeutic functioning of a particular group was more dependent upon his personal relationships with the team members than upon his clinical position.

FIGURE I.

SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIPS AT GLAYDIN SCHOOL



Although the director maintained a tight watch over the program, he seemed to prefer a loose structure among all the staff and actively advocated decision-making by consensus, which weakened the need for strict supervisory boundaries. This lack of definitive supervisory organization was evident when observing most staff interaction. The

staff of a small institution tend to interact in a more personal manner, than in a large institution where staff usually maintain a strong role identification. The small size of the school and the managing preference of the director resulted in a relaxed hierarchial structure.

The working style of the group leader and the particular mixture of personalities determined how loose the structure of command was at the level of each specific group. Some group leaders, for example, were extremely directive with the counselors, developing schedules and giving specific assignments; while others preferred the team to make almost every decision together.

The group leader of the female group functioned in the latter mode. She was comfortable with the abilities of the rest of her team and viewed her role as a coordinator rather than a supervisor. She represented the group at administrative meetings, conferences with referring agencies, and meetings with parents. She stated that she saw herself as the group's "liaison."

The informal relationship among the team for the female group was easily observable during team meetings. The team members appeared at ease making suggestions and sharing opinions. They generally settled problems or differences with a majority rule.

The Program

In Elderfan's study of rehabilitation and treatment of the juvenile offender, he determined the most successful programs provided the child with foster care, education, and treatment. Those institutions which offered only one or two of these three major components were less likely to successfully rehabilitate the delinquent youngster.

Gladyd is designed upon the premise that it is important to give the delinquent and disturbed adolescent an education within the total therapeutic milieu. The program, therefore, provides students with residential care, therapeutic assistance, and academic training. Although these services can be identified separately, they were so interrelated at Gladyd it would be misleading to suggest in any way that they were separate entities.

At Gladyd, emphasis was placed on having all aspects of the program focus on the problems of the youngster. Boundaries between academics and therapy were flexible, as were those between residential aspects and academic or therapeutic matters of the program. For example, during a science class one student's misbehavior became the focus of the group, which turned from the subject matter to deal at length with this student's problem. The teacher did not appear to be upset by the course of events, but assisted the group in their confrontation of the student. On another occasion, a group missed dinner in the dining room in order to help a group member get control of a problem. Many examples could be cited.

When reviewing each of the major service areas of the program, one must realize that the actors in the natural setting do not spend time differentiating one area from another. The purpose here of considering each area separately is to provide clarity from the perspective of the outside observer and to emphasize the team's role in the overall operation of the program.

Therapeutic Program

The basic unit of the therapy model at Glaydin is the group. Theoretically, the student becomes a member of a group of peers with similar problems, and then as a unit the group deals with problems of the individual. The program is based on a therapy model originated by Harry Vorrath and referred to as "Positive Peer Culture."¹ The main tenet of this approach to therapy is that peers are capable of changing and controlling the behavior of delinquent and disturbed adolescents more effectively and more quickly than adults or other non-peer groups. The role of the staff in Vorrath's model is to motivate the peer group to function in a manner which supports positive, constructive behavior among its members.

Although Glaydin adopted many of the techniques and methods of the Vorrath model, its program diverges from being a pure emulation of Positive Peer Culture Therapy by

¹Harry H. Vorrath and Larry K. Brendtro, Positive Peer Culture (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1974).

encouraging the adults in the setting to take a more direct role in the therapeutic functions. Each week, for instance, every child in the female group attends an individual session with the resident psychologist or a trained member of the team, usually the group leader. These are traditional one-on-one therapy sessions. Many sensitive topics were discussed during these meetings, particularly those which involved the student's problems with the group. Vorrath suggests that such sessions undermine the group's ability to maintain the involvement and control of the individual that is necessary for effective group therapy. According to the Vorrath model, a staff member should remain privately uninvolved and continually direct the student to her group. The staff's client is the group. In reality, Glaydin's program was a group therapy model that permitted a high level of adult interaction and intervention.

Although all aspects of a student's experience at Glaydin in some way reflected the therapeutic stance of the program, there were activities designed specifically to aid the therapy process. Many of these involved the entire group, such as the "Formals." Formals were sessions in which the entire group sat together to discuss the problems of an individual who was "awarded" the meeting by her peers. These group sessions were scheduled on a routine basis and were only cancelled for extreme circumstances. Only the group leader could cancel a Formal.

Formals began, for the group under observation, with each student stating the problems she had experienced that day. No discussion occurred at this point. After the "problem statements," each person stated whether she would like to hold the meeting for herself. If a student stated she would like the meeting, she had to briefly say why. After everyone responded, each group member cast a verbal vote for who she felt should receive the meeting and why. The individual receiving a majority of the votes was awarded the meeting. The time remaining in the formal session was devoted to discussing her problems at length and seeking help from her group members.

Theoretically, Formals are run by the group. The group leader or her delegate was the only staff member who was required to attend. It was observed, however, that control of the meeting was often placed on the staff member present and not the group. Students would repeatedly look to the adult and ask for an opinion or for clarification of the direction of the meeting.

The matter discussed in formal sessions remained confidential. Since the emphasis was to encourage students to speak openly and honestly in Formals, the staff would not divulge the "privileged information" unless someone's well-being was being threatened. The team under observation was not inclined to share such information with staff outside the team, but that which was discussed during Formals was considered to be basic knowledge and available to each team member.

Sessions, like Formals, were also held during the course of the day whenever a student felt she needed the group's immediate help. These ad hoc sessions were referred to as "Informals." Theoretically, a group member could call an Informal anytime, but great pressure from staff and students existed to ask for the meeting only if the individual was sincere. The staff did not want Informals called as an excuse to avoid other activities or responsibilities. Also, they wanted to prevent students from trying to handle a student who was too irrational to effectively seek the help of her peers. The students were also interested in making sure Informal requests were sincere, since they understood that dealing with another's problem was not always an easy task. The group was careful to withhold meetings from students whom they felt were just seeking attention.

"Front Line" Positions

A distinction between direct and indirect student contact was observed in the staff positions at Glaydin. Hence, "front line job" a term which staff used for those positions of direct contact. The following excerpt from field notes describes the concept of a front-line position from the counselor's point of view.

R: What do you mean by "front-line" job?

C: It's the jobs around there that put right with the kids...You know...the counselors are always with the kids at night and the teachers have them all day... Actually, it's any job of a team member.

This conversation defines the notion of front-line work from the perspective of the participant as that which makes one deal directly with students. It also reveals another predominant attitude among most staff; the team is the staff unit actually interacting and "working with the students."

Observations verified that students did spend a majority of their time under the supervision of a member of the group's team or a teacher who worked closely with the team. Students almost always formed their closest adult relationships with members of the team.

The personal relationships and close contact cited above were partly responsible for the team's attitude that they were the staff members who really understood the students in their group and were best suited to make decisions about their day-to-day life at Glaydin. An example of this was found in a situation where the chief administrator felt a particular action of one of the girls warranted a brief suspension. This was an unusual response from the administration and the reaction of the entire team was a vehement rejection of an administrator "interfering when he doesn't really know what's going on with the kid." The situation ended with the team writing a Serious Incident Report in regard to the misconduct of the student and no more mention of a suspension.

In general, all teams acknowledged they were the ones with firsthand knowledge of the students and their interactions at the school. As will be discussed later in this chapter, the team members for the female group were par-

ticularly aware of their position and used it to justify a pattern of primary control over the student's experience in the program.

Communications

There were formal and informal processes at work that allowed Glaydin's staff to interact and communicate. Even though observations verified that staff members' intentions (particularly the chief administrator) expressed the desire to maintain communication lines among the entire community. One formal method of facilitating campus-wide communication was the routine scheduling of meetings between the various constituencies of staff members. The following were types of meetings observed during the field research: residential staff meetings, weekly meetings between counselors, group leaders, the program coordinator, the clinical director, and, occasionally, the director; teacher meetings, weekly meetings between teachers, teacher coordinator, and the director; administrative meetings, weekly meetings including the director, group leaders, clinical director, program coordinator, and admissions director; team meetings, weekly meetings between counselors of the group, group leader, and team teacher community meetings, occasional meetings between all members of the group, normally only covering a very general topic or common interest.

The purpose of these meetings, in general, was to give the staff members and opportunity to discuss specific problems and share information. From the chief administrator's perspective, they gave him a chance to "keep up on things."

Another formal method of communication occurred with the production of many reports and records. The largest portion of the documentation concerning a particular student's social, emotional and academic progress was produced by that student's team. Following is a review of major reports issued periodically during the program.

All students accepted into the program were first placed on a thirty-day probationary period. The theory was that the staff and students needed to spend time in the actual setting to be sure the student was suited for the program and vice versa.

At the end of the thirty-day period, members of the group and the team evaluated the student. After the team formally discussed the student's status with and without the group members, a written evaluation was prepared by the staff members which was called the "30-day Review." The report included a narrative regarding the student's readiness and potential for improving herself at Glaydin. If the probationary period was not extended and the student was not asked to leave, she was considered to have full status. (See Appendix III).

The final decision, made after the probationary period, was made by the team. If they felt a student should stay or go they were sure to have the group opinion in support of their decision. Seldom did a student leave if she lasted the full thirty days.

Each student received a progress report at the end of each six week grading period. These reports reviewed the

student's progress in specific problem areas and offered an analysis of what the student needed to work on. The group leader was finally responsible for preparing these reports, but, as often was the case with the group, the counselors and team teacher offered their help and input. These reports were first presented to the student, then filed in the central office. The student's referring agency also received a copy of each progress report.

The team also prepared Serious Incident Reports and Positive Incident Reports. The Serious Reports recorded activities which ranged from incidents of theft to those involving physical violence. (See Appendix IV)

Positive Incident Reports, however, were written when a student exhibited outstanding behavior or action. For example, a Positive Incident Report was done for a girl who spent an entire night persuading another group member not to carry out her plans to run away. When the team was told about the youngster's display of support, they immediately said she would receive a PIR for her kindness and concern for another person. (See Appendix IV)

The students viewed these reports as punishment and reward. None of the girls wanted a SIR. It was embarrassing and a statement against the individual's ability to control herself. The more impersonal concern with SIR's was that since copies went to the referring agencies and they could affect the student's status, particularly those on probation. The staff had to feel that the incident was serious enough to perhaps

jeopardize the student's status. By no means were SIR's given automatically. In some cases many days passed before the team could decide whether to officially record the misbehavior. Ultimately, the team made the decision concerning the SIR's, but often persons outside the team offered their opinion.

The following account illustrates the team's control over SIR's. A young girl, who was in the program for just four months, ran away for a period of about 48 hours. She returned on her own volition and appeared really ready to accept help from the group. The girls, however, were warned by a judge that if she ran away again (she had a history of running before she came to Glaydin) she would be placed in a reformatory. The team knew that this would not be in the best interest of the student nor in line with her readiness for help. Therefore, an SIR was not written and the girl was put on a student leash (required to be with another group member at all times) for several days as a consequence of her action.

Once during the observation period, the Residential Coordinator sought to become more involved with preparing and issuing SIR's. He stated he wanted to do more than simply read them after they were written. The teams were unwilling to yield any control over these reports and would accept no more than his opinion while they were being prepared. The staff viewed Positive Incident Reports in the same manner.

The academic progress of students was evaluated every six weeks in reports prepared by the teacher of each subject.

Academic reports were extensive reviews of a student's behavior and academic progress in class. In addition to a grade, the report included an elaborate narrative. The student received a copy of each report she was given, and another was placed in the student's files in the administration office.

When a student was accepted at Glaydin, the staff produced, in conjunction with a representative of the referring agency, an Individual Education Plan (IEP) that the student was to follow while at the institution. The IEP was designed to tailor the educational experience to the individual and to serve as a barometer against which to evaluate his or her progress, as required by Federal law.

The IEP was written in general terms, usually by someone in the administrative office who had discussed the student's needs with the referring agency. The follow-up on the student's progress, as measured against the IEP, was usually written by the team teacher with the help of the teacher coordinator or some other teacher. These evaluations were sent with the student's specific academic report to the respective referring agency.

The resident psychologist, or clinical coordinator, was responsible for a set of reports commonly referred to as "psychological reports." These typically clinical reports reviewed the emotional and psychological progress of the student. Psychological Reports were prepared by the psychologist based on his one-on-one session he held with the student and information he received concerning the student from team and group members.

Psychological Reports were considered sensitive documents and placed on file in the psychologist's office. He alone controlled access to these files. The staff often used the information in these reports to evaluate a student's progress.

The team had little to do with the actual production of the psychological reports. They did, however, have close contact with the psychologist and ample opportunity to share their feelings and perspectives on each student's progress.

Students often appeared before a judicial court or reviewing board which monitored their progress. A special report was usually prepared for the occasion which offered an overview of the academic, social and behavioral progress of the student in question. Typically, someone in the administration was responsible for these reports with help from the student's team and the psychologist.

Special reports were geared to produce the outcome desired by the staff. For example, if a report was presented to a court attempting to keep the youngster at Glaydin, the report would contain information that demonstrated the child was progressing but argued the need for continued institutionalization. On the other hand, if the report was being presented to an agency just before a student's graduation, it would probably emphasize only the successes and growth the student experienced while at Glaydin.

In most cases, the team closely assisted the administrator in writing a special report. The team agreed

to the final draft of any special report before it was sent or presented. These reports were filed in the administrative office.

In addition to the formal communication procedures, the community environment permitted a great deal of informal interaction among staff. Most staff members lived on campus. Even though schedules were busy and the nature of the work was demanding, most staff members found time to relax together and informally discuss what was happening. Once, the staff requested the use of a building off campus for those off duty. The structure was made available and the staff aggressively guarded the privacy it afforded them. The off campus building was a popular refuge and meeting place for staff.

The ground rules for Informals were similar to those of Formals. The general problem statement was excluded and, of course, there was no need to award the meeting. Informals were not under the same time structure as Formals, but lasted until the problem was under control.

Staff involvement with an Informal depended upon the type of problem being discussed, its importance or seriousness from the staff perspective, and the general conduct of the group during the meeting. Usually, a staff member was consulted by the student before she requested an Informal. The team was then able to set up the situation by discussing with the student how to approach the group and had time to talk with other group members about how to support the student during the particular Informal. For the most part, staff members involved themselves directly in these sessions only if the group lost control of

the meeting, someone was being hurt, or the staff felt the meeting was not being productive enough to warrant the group's time and attention.

"Feelings Check" was another structured therapy technique used within the program. Each afternoon, just before dinner, the group members sat together and each stated how she was feeling about things. A "feelings list," which consisted of descriptive words that covered a wide gamut of possible emotions or feelings, hung in the living room of each dorm. The list was also given to each student upon entrance in the program.

During Feelings Check, the student was to identify and share with the group how she felt. The technique brought feelings to the surface and prevented a lack of communication between members. However, what the student said often revealed less about her feelings than the way she said it. As the group leader said, "Many times a girl doesn't want to say how she's feeling, which is a strong cue to all of us that she needs help."

Problems that surfaced during Feelings Check were not usually dealt with at the time to be sure all individuals were given the opportunity to share feelings. Often, a student would call an Informal after Feelings Check to address a problem that became apparent. Most of the time, the problem was addressed during the subsequent Formal or informally by a staff member or another student.

The Feelings Check was one way to keep group members aware of one another's feelings. These sessions also helped the student learn how to express feelings in a constructive manner. As one counselor shared with the researcher, "These kids are the kind that usually break a window, or get high when they feel bad....instead of just telling someone."

As stated previously, the Glaydin program deviates from a strict PPC model by encouraging an adult-centered therapy component. A staff member always attended the Feelings Check. For the female group, counselors were responsible for the Feelings Check. Theoretically, the adults only had to monitor the sessions, but just as in other circumstances, the staff member's presence greatly influenced the meeting. One formal method reflecting the adult orientation was observed in what was called a "One-to-One" session; a weekly meeting held between each student and the psychologist or the group leader. At times, a counselor would be assigned the responsibility of doing the one-on-one with a student if they had a close relationship and the psychologist and group leader agreed. The psychologist usually saw six of the ten girls individually on a regular, weekly basis during the quarter. Those he did not see regularly were generally doing well and held one-on-one sessions with their group leader, though the psychologist was still responsible for the psychological reports of all students and would meet with group leaders to obtain information he needed to prepare the reports for students he did not meet with himself.

The psychologist did talk periodically with the student who was meeting with other members.

Most of the staff involvement in the therapy process was more indirect than the one-on-one sessions. The preferred pattern at Glaydin was to use the group to provide the student with the help she needed. The process of "seeding" referred to the staffs behind-the-scenes manipulation to get students to motivate other group members and to use the established group techniques.

Most seeding was done by the team because of their proximity to the students and their responsibility for them. It was observed, however, that if the seeding did not work, the team for the female group did take matters directly into their own hands. An example of this was observed when a counselor was trying, inconspicuously, to get a group member to say something she felt should be said during an Informal. When the student did not connect with the suggesting, the staff member entered the discussion herself. This is one case where Glaydin's program departed from being a strict PPC program according to Vorrath.

Personal relationships between the team member and the individual in the group were often a subtle source of therapy for the student. Although close relationships between the adults and students were discouraged in order to give the group the student's full attention, most of the staff did not avoid building close relationships with students.

The team's control of most of the therapy techniques

was motivated by the desire to have the group function properly. One team member responded to staff intervention in the form of seeding as follows:

C: You have to keep the group functioning... at first they won't know what to do, so you have to help them without being too obvious... Set the situation up for them. Eventually they'll be able to do it themselves.

The team observed in this research never did find it possible to remain completely removed, even when the group was functioning at its best.

Residential Care

The primary living unit for the student is her group. Each group has its own dorm housing ten students and two staff members. The dorms were rustic and comfortable, but certainly not fancy.

Most of the students at Glaydin needed to have year-round residential care. This was true for several reasons: (1) some parents were not willing, able, or fit to have their child live with them; (2) most of the students could not function satisfactorily in their home community; (3) the student needed an intense therapeutic environment in which to work out problems. In most cases, the student found her way to Glaydin for the latter two reasons.

Students were asked to admit themselves into the program as part of the admission procedure. This created staff leverage to say to the youngster that she decided to

join the program. Once, the director voiced his opinion that the idea seemed great, but that it did not really create much of a "handle over students."

Gladydin was often considered by the perspective student, her parents and referring agency, to be the least unpleasant in a set of undesirable choices. Seldom was a child admitted to the program who really had the option of remaining in her home situation. Once the student was accepted and successfully completed the thirty-day probationary period, Gladydin became the student's home for ten to fifteen months.

During the regular week day schedule, students attended school on campus and therapy session there. They interacted only with members of the Gladydin community and mainly with members of their particular group. One of the most important social spots on campus was the dining hall, since meal time offered the students an opportunity to see other members of the community. Each group had its own table and group members sat together during meals. The time just before the meal was served and that which followed the meal were favored times for visiting students in other groups. The staff was responsible to see that these were not over extended to the point of overlooking other responsibilities, such as getting to class on time.

Each group scheduled its weekends, from planning meal menus to deciding recreational activities. Weekends usually consisted of shopping trips, going to a movie, doing work projects, cleaning the dorm, going out for dinner, or camping.

The students produced the weekend schedule with the help of one of the counselors. The schedule was then presented to the entire team for approval. The staff frequently made slight changes in the plans, but typically they had already indirectly influenced the scheduled production.

Students who were progressing well in the program were able to request a "home visit" during weekends. The staff encouraged home visits as a means of gauging the student's progress. Many times students returned with old problems resurfacing or with a report on how they were able to deal with problems in their home or community more effectively than before entering Glaydin.

But home visits were not easily granted. If the group was having a serious problem, it often interfered with a member's home visit request. Once when the group was having a problem with one of the girls, another member's home visit was denied in order that the intact group could work with the girl. The young woman whose request was denied did not appear unusually upset by the team's decision, stating, "I'll just have to help her get her _____ together, and try next weekend."

Most of the time, students were not denied the opportunity to be home during major holidays. Students who could not return home because of problems in the family, were found temporary placement during holidays or remained at the school with one of the staff members.

The intense, year-round schedule of the program required the residential staff to work long hours for long periods of time. Counselors maintained a rotating schedule of three days of work and two days off. The intense life style that accompanied living with troubled adolescents, caused a rapid turnover in front-line staff, particularly counselors. The average tenure as a counselor at Glaydin, as in most residential schools, was less than two years. Frequently, however, a counselor would leave for a while, then return for another year or two. This suggested they found the work rewarding, but the intensity of work caused them to need a break.

The turnover of staff occasionally accompanied a disruption within the group. To prevent this, the administration put pressure on staff to complete an academic cycle and leave when there was a natural break in the program of events. For the most part, counselors and other staff who worked directly with the students attempted to make their leaving smooth for the group.

Academic Program

The importance of academic training in residential settings for emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents has been noted by many theorists and practitioners in the field. One obvious reason for the training is to give the youngster the educational training he will need when leaving a program. It would become a handicap for the child if his

academic growth was allowed to lapse during involvement in a residential program.

Paul Toussing presents another more direct reason for the academic component of residential treatment programs when he writes:

The educational process in the classroom provides the resident with tangible evidence of his ability to grow and progress.¹

Academic success can be an important indicator to the youngster of his growth and potential in the setting.

The product of the educational component of resident programs is also extremely important to the self-concept of the student. The feeling of accomplishment tends to enhance the resident's opinion of himself and others in his environment.²

Gladydin's staff was aware of the student's need for educational progress, its value as a criterion of success for the student, and the subsequent enhancement it could produce in the student's self-concept. The academic component at the school, therefore, was considered an important part of the total experience at Gladydin.

Gladydin offered students a fully accredited special education program for grades 8 through 12. Graduates of the academic program received a standard Virginia high

¹Frank Adamo, "The Development of A Residential Treatment Center for Emotionally Disturbed Adolescents" (Ph.D. dissertation).

²Edwin Schur, Labeling Deviant Behavior: Its Sociological Implications (New York: Harper and Row, 1971).

school diploma. Most courses were designed for students with minor learning deficiencies. Entrance requirements prohibited students with severe learning problems from entering the program. The admissions director explained the learning problems the program was geared to handle:

Students at Glaydin usually have learning deficiencies that result from emotional and behavioral problems...for the most part, these kids are capable of doing average or above average work

The teaching staff maintained high standards and challenging expectations. Individual differences among the students established the amount of work required from a student, but rarely the quality expected.

By offering its own academic program, Glaydin was able to integrate therapy into the classroom. Consistent group interaction was maintained since the group attended class as a unit; i.e., the group was the class.

Since teachers were involved in all aspects of the program, the borders between academic activities and therapeutic endeavors were not strictly maintained. This flexibility was illustrated in a case where a student became angry and physical with another in a science class. The teacher let the group confront the student and all worked through the problem before class was resumed. This was not an uncommon response from the teacher.

Teachers at Glaydin usually had special education certification or were working toward it. Many of them had prior experience working with exceptional children similar to those at the school. The outstanding quality of the

teaching staff as a group, however, was that they did not jeopardize the academic integrity of the program in allowing school work to become a secondary function of the school. The director was also inclined toward maintaining legitimate academic standards for the students.

In the group being studied, team members agreed that the educational progress of the student was as vital as her emotional and behavioral progress. The team teacher explained to me, in front of the rest of the team, that they viewed the academic success as a "major goal of the program."

The students in the sample group were grade conscious and spent much time studying or doing class work. Often, during a period of commotion or some unessential activity, a student would excuse herself in order to get to her homework. It was one excuse that was accepted for leaving the group if matters were not extremely intense. The desire to do well academically was well regarded among students and staff. The entire community supported the academic endeavors of the student.

The academic emphasis at Glaydin offered a common bond between community members that was more neutral than the therapeutic demands placed upon the students. The staff did everything possible to make certain the child's educational experience at the school was successful.

Team Primacy

During the initial observation period, it became evident that the team maintains primary control and responsibility for the student's experience at Glaydin. An analysis of field notes regarding the setting, the program, and staff interactions, as presented above, revealed three major factors that contributed to the creation and perpetuation of team primacy: (1) the proximity of the team to the student; (2) the control of paperwork by the team; and (3) the intentional positioning of the team in the design of the program.

Those closest to the students were the team members. On duty counselors spent 24 hours a day with the students. The group leader on the team was primarily responsible for all of the therapeutic activities of the group, as well as many of the one-on-ones. The team teacher coordinated the academic activities of the group and served as the academic advisor for each student in the group. No aspect of the program was beyond the influence of the team or a member of the team.

There was a campus-wide acceptance of the team's close relationship with the group members. Staff members outside of the team almost always consulted with the team before any significant contact with students and reported any serious information about the student first to the team, which then could strongly influence the decisions, as to what

action, if any, should be taken. The team's attitude towards itself as primary controlling factor was illustrated during a brief confrontation with the nurse.

There was a period of time during the observations that the girls found it necessary to visit the nurse frequently. The unusual amount of visitations caused the nurse to conclude that a pattern of mimicry was responsible for the numerous visits. The nurse told one young woman that she was not really ill, but just copying her friends.

When the team learned of the encounter, the group leader and the team teacher confronted the nurse. The nurse said that she did have the right to counsel the students on matters of health without consulting the team. The team, then, sat up a meeting among themselves, the nurse, and the director wherein it was quickly decided the nurse could not counsel students without prior contact with the team.

This kind of confrontation between the team and other staff members was unusual and infrequent. The simple reiteration by a team member of their primary responsibility for the group and its members usually settled differences in their favor.

The team also had primary responsibility for the production of reports and records. The team teacher maintained all academic records and individual reports and was directly responsible for about 40% of the group's classes, i.e., the teacher actually taught the classes. The group leader, in conjunction with the rest of the group, produced

most of the documents that reviewed the student's emotional and social progress. Also, no report was written about a student without the direct influence of the team.

The team was aware of its predominant control of paperwork, as represented by one of its members who stated, "We (the team) decided what should be written about our students (the group), ...because we are the ones who know what's going on with them." Control and significant influence over reports and records gave them the opportunity to be sure specific documentation supported their decisions, intentions, and opinions.

The director's advocacy of team primacy and the subsequent design of the program, played a major role in making the team's control possible within the program.

The program under the influence of the director, was designed with the intention of making each group an independent therapy unit. The team was, therefore, considered a basic staff unit for the particular group. This accounted for the combination of staff which made up a team, a teacher, a therapist, and residential counselors. The team was intended to include the professional staff needed to conduct an independent program within the general context of a therapeutic environment.

The administration supported the team as a unit which has primary responsibility for the group, and, thereby, deserved the right to have primary control of it.

The matter of team primacy was of great importance when carrying out the present research. As an ethnography

of a natural setting, the research had to be based within the context of the primary unit of interaction. The focus of the investigation was, therefore, on team and the interaction team members had with students in the group. This interaction can be considered the actual program at Glaydin School.

The findings of this research are based on the information gathered through intense observation of a group in the program.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Findings: Phase I, Researcher As

Participant Observer

As an ethnography, this study was designed to offer an explicit rendering of some significant aspects of the program actually in process in the research setting. The decision to focus primarily on the self-concept education dimension of the program came as a result of the researcher's findings during the initial phase of observations.

In the Phase I portion of the research, the researcher was a participant in the social setting. As such, he participated in the interactions within the school and recorded notes inconspicuously. After an extensive period of observations, a pattern began to emerge in the field journal which revealed that the staff was placing much emphasis on attempting to teach the students to examine and improve their self-concept.

The director of the program explicitly stated in an address to several representatives of a referral agency, "Students we take at Glaydin often view themselves as worthless . . . What we try to do is prove to these young people that they are not worthless, but, in fact, are valuable human beings who can learn, mature and live happy, productive lives."

Clearly, the director focused on the need to improve the self-concept of the students. This was representative of the administrative stance towards the youngsters in the school.

During Phase I, a pattern also emerged in the notes regarding the staff interactions with individual students which indicates an emphasis on helping the students better understand themselves, to gain more control over themselves, and begin to feel better about themselves. Evidence of this tendency appeared in private conversations between students and staff members. Many times the emphasis on self-concept became evident when the staff member was addressing the entire group, making a comment like, "How are you people ever going to feel proud of yourselves if you continue to act like this?"

The staff's focus on self-concept also appeared in the production of various documents reviewed by the researcher during Phase I. Much of the language in various reports referred to the "need to improve his opinion of himself," or, "feels better about herself ... realizes she can be successful ... has found confidence in herself."

The students were also observed to follow the guidance of the adults in the setting and focused a great deal on the subject of self-concept. When one young woman admitted to the group she had had a sexual experience with several boys, the first comment made by a member of her peer group focused on how that made her feel about herself. The group discussed at length, how such activity makes a person lose "self-respect."

On another occasion a student was discussing her grades, which had improved over the previous grading period. Her comments were centered on how "good" it made her feel and that she had started to look at herself as "being pretty smart" since she came to Glaydin. Numerous entries were accumulated in the research journal which indicate a major emphasis on self-concept from the perspective of the student.

Without a complete understanding of the ramifications of the focus on student self-concept, the researcher was able to conclude from Phase I of the research that within the program the staff attempted to help the student improve his self-concept. This initial finding was used to develop a research hypothesis which was stated as follows:

Hypothesis: "There is an educational pattern or structure in operation at Glaydin School which is focused on helping students realize, confront, and change their self-concept."

For convenience sake, this process of dealing with the self-concept was labeled self-concept education. An extensive review of two pertinent areas of literature, as reported in Chapter II, supported the importance of examining further the self-concept dimension of the program.

A review of symbolic interaction theory provided general support. The major tenets of this theoretical orientation imply a strong relationship between self-concept and behavior. The theory suggests that behavior is inextricably related to how the actor views himself in a particular social context. Further, the actor's self-

concept also influences how he interprets interaction in the social setting.¹

The implications of this theoretical orientation are extremely important when examining deviant behavior, as they suggest a lasting change in a pattern of deviant behavior should accompany a change in the deviant's self-concept. Theoretically, a program which is designed to alter an individual's patterns of misconduct must attempt to change the self-concept of the individual. This theoretical position was found to support the validity of examining the self-concept education of a program aimed at rehabilitating deviant adolescents.

A review of the literature concerning rehabilitation programs determined professional opinion also supported the selection focus of this research. The researcher reviewed literature ranging from that produced by people involved with reformatory type schools to those who work in less restricted rehabilitation programs. Within the context of these varied resources, there was consistent recognition of the need to improve the adolescent's image of himself. As presented in Chapter II, those working with young people are aware of the need to make the deviant adolescent "stop thinking of herself as a bad kid."²

¹Anthony Giddens, Central Problems In Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

²Michael Schwartz and Mary Baden, "Female Adolescent Self-Concept: An Examination of the Relative Influence of Peers and Adults," Youth and Society 5 (September 1973), p. 115.

Many studies have been done to determine the amount of change that occurs in adolescents who experience various programs. Although these studies rarely include a significant analysis of how the program went about the task of changing the self-concept, those researching the self-concept change infer its importance in rehabilitating adolescents.

In summary, the primary focus of this study resulted from the initial observation period in the field setting and the subsequent review of related theoretical and professional literature. The researcher considered the first phase of the investigation complete with the determination of the primary focus and the production of the research hypothesis. Phase I had set boundaries in which the researcher would explore the rehabilitation process in greater detail.

Findings: Phase II, Researcher as Complete Observer

After determining the primary focus, the researcher proceeded to collect data and information that would allow for proper analysis of the program. Essentially, the researcher continued the ethnography that had produced the primary focus. At this juncture, however, it became evident that more detailed observations had to be done to acquire information needed to effectively analyze the self-concept education process. The researcher moved from a participant role into that of a complete observer. The ethnographic methods reported in Chapter III were initiated at this point and the study was delineated from a broad examination of the program and the related social interaction to an investigation of the on-going process of doing the self-concept education.

Early in this phase of the investigation it became apparent that the staff with the most control and responsibility for the students' experience at Glaydin was the team. The team consisted of a group leader, a team teacher, and two counselors. Chapter IV discusses the manner in which team primacy was sustained in the research setting.

The elucidation of the team's control of the program and team members constant contact with the group clarified the location of the actual educational process under investigation. The discovery of team primacy led to the decision to focus intensely on one of the groups at the school in order to analyze the self-concept education process as it occurred in the social setting. The female group was selected for a variety of reasons, one of the most important being that it represented all the female students in the school.

Systematic analysis of the data began shortly after the researcher targeted the specific research group. As discussed in Chapter III, the researcher incorporated a version of the analysis model present by Schatzman and Strauss.¹ This analytic procedure allowed the researcher to classify pieces of information gathered in the field. As a larger number of classes developed, associations between classes merged into categories that became the key components of the analytic description of the self concept education process being investigated.²

¹Schatzman and Strauss, Field Research: Strategies for a Natural Sociology.

²This process is dealt with in greater detail in the discussion of methodology and the field research strategies as adopted from Schatzman and Strauss (1973).

Table I presents an outline of the classification system developed during the above analysis. The first column lists the major subclasses that were produced by coding the data and searching the pieces of information for key linkages. The subclasses were then grouped according to common characteristics. From these groupings emerged the classes from which the researcher developed four inclusive categories. These categories were, therefore, developed from 2,557 pieces of coded data representing the information gathered in the field.

Three hundred data were then selected at random to test the inclusiveness and representativeness of the categories. Of these selected data, 289 fit within the boundaries established by the categories, that is, 96% were represented by the major categories developed through the analysis process. The 11 bits of data not able to be included were either incomplete (7), known to be inaccurate (2), or apparently irrelevant to any category.

It is important to remember that the systematic analysis of the data was not occurring in a vacuum, but being conducted by a researcher who had entered the field of study to obtain an understanding of the social process from the perspective of the participants. As explained by John Johnson the advantage of a researcher's indepth involvement in the field setting is that it places him in the position to gain an "empathetic understanding" of the situation.¹

¹Johnson, Doing Field Research, p. 11.

TABLE I

PRESENTATION OF SUBCLASSES, CLASSES, AND CATEGORIES

CODE	LINKAGE	SUBCLASS	CLASS	CATEGORY
Es	School structured/accountability techniques			
Es	Expectations set for students			
Es	"Staff Control" of non-functioning group	Staff control behavior		
Es	Staff "seeding" group		Student assisted with controlling behavior	
Eg	Student placed on "leash" by group			
Eg	Group not tolerant of hurting (phys/emotional)	Group control of behavior		
Eg	Students assist students in controlling behavior			<u>Instruction in Confronting and Controlling</u>
Es	Staff evaluates awareness and control of behavior			<u>Behavior/Problem</u>
Es	Students given "problems list"			
Es	Staff offer students analysis of behavior patterns	Staff involvement in problem identification		
Es	Staff provides professional therapy		Student assisted with identifying problems	
Et	Students evaluate their behavior			
Et	Students aware of need for behavior control	Student involvement in problem identification		
Et	Consensual determination of definitions			
Is	Students given "feelings list"			
Is	Staff "seeding" group			
Is	Staff offers analysis of emotional response	Staff help students discuss/recognize feelings		
Is	Staff evaluates awareness/control of feelings		Students are assisted in identifying feelings	
Ig	Students label feelings			
Ig	Consensual determination of definitions	Students help others discuss/recognize feelings		
Ig	Students evaluate ability to identify feelings			<u>Instruction in Recognizing and Controlling</u>
Es	Staff suggest "step outside situation" techniques			<u>Feelings</u>
Es	Staff encourage students to "get feelings out"	Staff help students control emotional responses		
Es	Staff provides professional therapy		Students are assisted in dealing with feelings	
Et	Students explain its harmful to "stuff feelings"	Students help others control emotional responses		
Et	Students state they are "creatures of feelings"			
Et	Students find it difficult to discuss feelings			
S	Staff emphasize need for self-awareness			
S	Staff offer opinions on what is "too critical"	Staff focus on self-awareness		
S	Staff provide professional therapy		Community encourages self-awareness/examination	
G	Group used as therapy unit regarding self-awareness	Group focus on self-awareness		
G	Students participate in discussing others problems			<u>Instruction in Self-Awareness/Viewing Self-Concept</u>
G	Students discuss an "ideal self"			
G	Students reject someone being "phony"			
T	Students discuss the "real me"			
T	Students compare how outward appearances vs feelings	Individual focus on self-awareness		
T	Students express concern about appearances		Students find opportunity to examine self-concept	
T	Students evaluate emotional progress in program			
S1	Students were given structure/expectations			
S1	Students instructed on dealing with others			
S1	Staff provides professional therapy	Staff offer assistance in building strategies for change		
S1	Staff coaches students on handling problem			
S1	Staff presents general problem solving techniques		Community supports Production of Strategies	
S1	Staff encourages students to progress at "even pace"			
S1	Staff evaluate student strategies			
G1	Group offers support to those who are "trying"			
G1	Students "practice being open" with group	Students support attempts to change self		
T1	Students establish program goals/strategies			<u>Instruction in Building Strategies/Process of Change</u>
T1	Students discuss working toward "ideal self"			
T1	Students seek ideas on how to change self	Students pursue methods for changing self	Students develop Strategies	

The analysis of the data, therefore, consisted of the researcher systematically classifying and relating data while interpreting and evaluating the analysis from the perspective he gained in the field setting.

After an extensive period of analysis, occurring during and after the field work, a model of the self-concept education process within the research group emerged.

A Model of the Self-Concept Education Process

The analysis verified the existence of a self-concept education process as stated in the research hypothesis. Further, the analysis enabled the researcher to construct a theoretical model which represents the structure, order, and pattern of the education process as it occurred in the field setting.

Four basic categories emerged during the analysis that became the basic components of the theoretical model. The components were stated in instructional terms as follows:

- (1) Students were taught to confront and control their behavior;
- (2) Students were taught to recognize and control their feelings;
- (3) Students were taught to examine their self-concepts objectively;
- (4) Students were taught to build strategies that would help them develop a positive self-concept.

A description and evaluation of the ramifications of each component of the theoretical model, including the specific functions and activities that support each, is given below.

A discussion of how these educational objectives were inter-related in the actual routine of doing self-concept education follows the presentation of the components

1. Confronting and Controlling Behavior

Symbolic interaction theory tells us that self-concept is directly related to behavior. How a person behaves in a particular situation is greatly influenced by his concept of himself. John Kinch explains that the converse is also true--how a person behaves in a situation and his perception of others' reactions to his behavior influences his self-concept.¹ This latter theoretical concept is the foundation of labeling theory, which maintains that, in part, the deviant's concept of himself as deviant sustains his pattern of misbehavior.

This concept was represented in the activities of the research group. Great effort was given to controlling the behavior of the student and placing the student in a position where she could learn to control her behavior. Several methods and procedures for controlling behavior were observed that are of particular significance to the present research. They are reviewed below under the headings identification of problems and controlling behavior.

¹Kinch, "A Formalized Theory of the Self-Concept," in Symbolic Interaction: A Reader In Social Psychology.

Identification of Problems

The team constantly focused on getting the students to realize and accept problems they needed to work on while in the program. This was true from the first contact with the student to the end of the student's stay. Before being admitted to the program, the prospective student had to disclose three problems and agree, in writing, that she will work on them. A staff member explained this was done to have the student "look at herself and her problems from the beginning." The staff emphasized how important it was to realize and control her behavior if, "the kid is ever going to feel better about herself."

After the student was admitted, the staff immediately began to have the group identify the student's problem with her. Communication was facilitated by a "problems list" that was given to each student. The "problems list" was a list of twelve problems that typically brought students to Glaydin. The list provided terminology that enabled the students to label problems in a manner that would facilitate communication. The list included some obvious problems-- "drug/alcohol problems," "stealing problems," "easily angered problems." Others were much more abstract, like, "inconsiderate of others problems," or "easily misled problems." (See Appendix I)

The definitions for these problems were constantly under debate. Usually, when a specific problem was being discussed, the group would decided to which problem heading the specific problem actually belonged. If the group could

not reach a consensus, one of the team members resolved the question. The meaning of a particular problem heading was continually revised to accommodate agreement among the group.

Among the abstract problem types listed were two which focused directly upon self-concept. These problems were "low self-image problem" and "inconsiderate of self problem." In nearly every case, when a student was listing her problems she would include one or both of the problems referring directly to self-concept. If the student did not add the problem to her list, a member of the staff usually insisted she reconsider.

On one occasion a staff member reviewing the problem statement of a new girl questioned why she did not include a "low self-image problem." The girl retorted she did not have a low self-image. The staff member replied that she must at least agree she had an "inconsiderate of self problem" since she behaved in a way that was not beneficial to her wellbeing. The girl agreed with some reluctance and included the problem on her list. The message to the student was that people who think well of themselves do not exhibit certain behaviors.

The "problem list" was a tool that facilitated the identification process. The actual process of identifying problems occurred throughout all activities of the group. During Formals, in particular, the meeting began with each student stating their problems. The students attempted to identify specific problems with those on the problem list. Often, a group member would disagree with the classification and the group would discuss the problem type. On several

occasions, the entire Formal was given to the problem statement. Most of the time extended discussions of problem types ended with a staff member giving the final word on what heading encompassed a specific problem.

The staff member's strong influence on the process of identifying problems was evident in the one-on-one sessions. These sessions typically focused on the student's problems and how they were dealing with them. It was here the staff had the most direct influence on the youngster's understanding of her problems. The influence of these meetings was often revealed when a student would discuss her problems with peers afterwards, reiterating much of the language used by the staff member in the preceding session.

The therapeutic environment encouraged informal discussions of problems. Discussions of problems, what they were or what was being done about them, occurred throughout the daily routine of the program. Students and staff members talked before and after meals, on the way to classes, during evening activities, and any time specific activities did not prohibit them to do so. The discussions and exchanges that took place during these informal moments were often responsible for helping a student identify problems and develop possible solutions. They also allowed the staff to monitor how well a student was identifying her problems and her reaction to the process.

The need to identify problems was a constant focus of the group and staff. A student, obviously paraphrasing a staff member's words during in a formal, "You can't work on your problems, until you know what they are!" This

represented the underlying assumption which motivated the great thrust on problem identification.

The process of problem identification went beyond the activity of clarifying problems to making students realize that indeed the problems were theirs and they had to resolve them. This characteristic of the process was referred to by members of the community as "ownership of problems." A conversation between the team teacher and a student illustrates this notion:

- Student: I can't believe you gave me a late today, I was trying to get there on time.
- Teacher: Yea, but you didn't make it.
- Student: You didn't have to give me a late.
- Teacher: Look, I didn't give you a later-- you gave yourself a late by being late for class for no legitimate reason. It's your problem, not mine.

Usually, the staff was not quite as blunt when discussing problems that were more sensitive than tardiness. However, the message was consistent; students must not only determine what their problems are, they must also accept the problems as their own.

Controlling Behavior

The act of accurately identifying problems did not often result in their immediate solutions. Students at Glaydin needed help controlling their behavior. This was done in many ways, all of which were ultimately controlled by the team.

Ideally, the staff wanted the students to control their own behavior. Before this was possible external controls had to be placed on the students.

Many students who came to Glaydin were sent by court systems which placed ultimatums upon the youngsters. These were usually intended to keep the individual from continuing his misbehavior. One young woman who ran away from her guardians a great number of times, for example, was told by the judge that if she ran away from Glaydin he would place her in a "lock-up." This kind of threat gave a great leverage to the staff. At times actions that were cause for dismissal or "lock-up," like running away, were kept from the judges' attention. Seldom did the staff use a threat from an external agency as more than leverage for control.

When a student first entered Glaydin, tight control was placed on the individual. This was done by implementing an accountability system designed within the group. New students had to be with another member of the group or a staff member at all times. Often there was a fierce reaction to this constant watch that erupted into a confrontation between group members and the student. When this happened (and it did in four out of five times new girls were observed entering the program), the staff seized the occasion to convince the new girl that outrageous conduct would be controlled by the team and the group. A member of the team referred to this initial confrontation with the group as "the break-in ceremony."

The amount of control the group was given depended upon how well the group was functioning. When the group

was totally out of control, a procedure referred to as "staff control" was put into effect. During this procedure, staff members from all over the school, under the direction of the team, would put a complete watch over the group. A substantial number of staff were with the students every minute of the day and the night.

The students disliked the procedure. One girl told me during an episode of staff control she felt "embarrassed to have anyone see" them. Staff control was looked at as a signal to the community that the group could not handle itself. There was an obvious sense of pride among group members when they were doing well, and embarrassment when they were not.

Staff did not enjoy "staff control" for obvious reasons. One staff member commented, "not only is it hard to cover a control, but it makes the girls feel like ____... it's definitely a set-back, and you lose the momentum you had going with the kids!"

Occasionally, the group had to physically restrain an individual. Methods for holding a person to the floor who was angry or upset were taught to the group. Usually, if someone had to be "restrained," a staff member initiated the procedure, getting help from members of the group. A student was restrained until she had control and could talk calmly. Only twice in three months of observation was it necessary for the group to restrain a member; once when a girl was trying to run away, and once when a student attacked another member of the group.

In dialog with the group, the staff maintained the best way to "care" for each other was to "keep each other from doing things you shouldn't." The theme of "caring" was at the heart of getting people to control themselves and other group members. It was frequently suggested that one shows they care about themselves when they control their behavior and help to control the behavior of their peers. Revealingly, one staff member on the team said, "its amazing how good these young kids feel about themselves when they learn they can help other people in their group."

An important method of controlling behavior was observed in the personal relationships team members built with individual students. Students inevitably became attached to one or more staff members. Staff often used personal attachments to help control student behavior. It was common for a "favorite" staff member to ask the student to "do this for me." This was accepted by most members of the community as typical of human interaction. It was considered normal to form relationships with other people. The emphasis of control, however, always remained with the group as directed by the team.

Another form of behavioral control was presented in methods of rewarding "desirable" behavior. The "positive incident report" was an example of a reward mechanism within the program. (See Appendix IV). These reports were not given frequently. When they were, they were received with great pride. Positive recognition was also given at each evening meal to those students who had outstanding attendance during the day. Students seemed proud to have their names

mentioned in front of the entire community as a person who was not late for class or had attended all of her classes. Students who thought their names should be mentioned and they were not, often went running to their group leader to find out and to argue the point. It was a very coveted moment, when a student's name was announced for good behavior in front of the rest of the community.

By directly controlling misbehavior and by encouraging proper behavior, the team was guiding the students into behavioral patterns that would improve their self-concept. As one teacher stated, "If we can get these kids to see they can do well at something, before you know it, they think they're something...they become proud of themselves!" The activity of controlling behavior was a major component of improving the student's concept of herself.

2. Recognizing and Controlling Feelings

Just as students were taught to identify their problems staff helped students recognize and understand their feelings. The identification of feelings was facilitated by a "feelings lists." (See Appendix I)

This list included descriptive words representing specific human emotions. The list was intended to help students and staff communicate about feelings. Students often used this list to label how they were feeling. Each day, after classes, the group would sit together and each member would tell the group how she was feeling.

Observations revealed the uneasy nature of this task to the novice. Not only did the new students "incorrectly" identify feelings, according to the group, they were much more anxious about the procedure than the polished veteran. New students had to learn the consensual interpretations of "the feeling list" that were understood by the rest of the group.

At times significant gaps were observed between how a student said she felt and how she behaved. During an interview, a student stated she only tells the groups what she chooses to tell them during "feelings check." The selectivity was based on what she really wanted to deal with at the moment. Many times it was taken for granted that a person did not wish to discuss her feelings and it was not time to force her to do so. But, if the group felt the student was hiding something she really wanted to tell, the group would force her to talk.

The focus on identifying feelings stemmed from the underlying premise that feelings and emotional response to particular situations could result in negative behavior. For example, a young lady who was feeling a strong sense of "rejection," as she later described it, became extremely upset and smashed her hand through a window. A staff member explained later that no one realized the girl had received a letter from her mother which she interpreted as rejection. The team member went on to say, "If we would have known, we could have gotten to help her deal with her feelings... Instead, she went off. Now she feels bad about her reaction, as well as feeling bad about her mom."

The recognition of feelings went beyond controlling reactions and emotions. The team also presented to students that it is "normal" to have feelings, but it is "the individual's responsibility to control and adjust to her feelings." During a one-on-one session, a staff member was telling a young girl that it was okay to feel angry, and it's okay to feel hurt, it's part of being a human being. You know you're not the only person who feels bad about things, we all do. You're no worse off than anyone else, you have got to stop thinking you're a freak because you feel things." The staff member was articulating a position that appeared consistently in the observations--it is important to realize that it is normal and all right to have feelings.

The ability to control feelings and response to them was presented as a step that brings satisfaction and ultimately self-respect. A member of the team explained to a parent:

We tell the girls there's nothing wrong with having strong feelings about things; it is normal to feel angry or hurt or whatever--but what is not okay is letting your feelings control you. They have to learn to deal with their emotions and come out winners. Believe me, nothing makes them feel better about themselves.

The staff assumed that the recognition of feelings would lead to control of the response to them and eventually a deeper sense of self-respect for being able to deal effectively with the emotions. How one deals with problems and feelings began with an objective evaluation from the perspective of the actor.

3. An Objective View of Self

Throughout the program, students were asked to examine how they were behaving and feeling. Beyond this, they were asked to evaluate their behavior and feelings in various social situations. This was illustrated in a one-on-one session wherein a counselor was discussing a student's relationship with one of the guys on campus. From the perspective of the staff and other group members, the relationship was causing the young woman undue stress. During the session the counselor tried to help the student step back and take an objective look at the relationship:

Student: We always seem to do what _____ wants to do!

Counselor: Does that bother you?

Student: Yea...I mean, sometimes I just would like to do whatever I want to do without worrying about how he's going to feel about it.

Counselor: Do you feel he's being unfair to you?

Student: No...well, sometimes...it seems that in our relationship I'm the stronger one and need to help him a lot... Sometimes I don't see him helping me.

Counselor: How do you see your relationship to _____? Is it a healthy one?

Student: I think for him it's healthy, cause he knows I care about him and would help him through anything; I know I'm one of the first people he's ever been able to trust!

Counselor: How about for you, how's the relationship helping you?

Student: It's helped me stop being so self-centered (pause).

Counselor: Is that all?

Student: Well, it's helped me learn to care about another person a whole lot; I guess it also helped me see I want to have someone to care about me, too.

Counselor: Are you getting that from _____?

Student: I think he wants to, but I don't think he's able to. He's got a lot of heavy things going on in him.

This illustration exemplifies the manner in which staff tries to get students to examine and think about themselves--their actions, feelings, and their life in the social setting.

Basic to the controlling process was the need to be aware of self. The expression "aware of self" in this case refers to the level of awareness the student had of her feelings, behavioral patterns and herself as a social actor.

The extent to which students responded to the emphasis on self-awareness was reflected on many occasions. During the process of awarding the formals, students would often state they wanted the meeting because they realized something about themselves or their situation that they wanted to share and discuss with the rest of the group. One young lady was awarded the meeting when she told the group that, "I would like to tell you all something I figured out about myself today."

The need and appropriateness of discussing how one views himself, particularly his feelings, was accepted by staff and student. The notes from a team meeting, as written by one of the members, included a brief statement concerning the progress of each girl. A student who is doing very well in the program according to the team had the following note

written next to her name: "Is working on self--trying to understand her feelings and behavior, trying to be more honest with herself and others about how she feels." In the researcher's field notes related to the particular team meeting in which this note was made, was recorded the unanimous agreement of the staff that this girl was "progressing better than anyone else in the group." The staff's reaction to this girl and the note illustrates the significance they place on the student's ability to examine and evaluate their feelings, behavior, and interaction with others.

The students were also very aware of who had a "handle" on themselves and their situation. During an informal interview with one of the students, the researcher asked the student for her opinion about the progress of each group member. Among her descriptions was a favorable one of a girl she felt was "getting it together." She explained that the young woman was "able to keep herself under control, and doesn't lose it when she gets upset about something." Further questioning revealed the student respected the girl's maturity and ability "to look at herself calmly."

During one of the formals, the program's emphasis on self-awareness was evident in the comments of a young woman who was feeling anxious about her progress. She stated to the group:

I get afraid I won't get to know myself,
I'll always be wondering what's going on
with me (pause). I want to know myself
(pause). I want to live a normal life
(pause). I don't want to be locked up
in some nut house when I'm 25.

This statement illustrates the extent to which the students

were often convinced of the need to "know" themselves and how important it was to eventually get control of themselves.

Even students who were not progressing well indicated, at least on the surface, they realized the need to take an honest "look at themselves." The student who had been in the program for several months referred to the need for self-evaluation and self-examination in the following way:

I know I have to get in touch with myself
(pause) but sometimes it makes me feel
like _____ (pause) when I do stop to
look at my life... it sucks!

These remarks were indicative of the staff's constant effort to make the student evaluate and articulate her view of herself and her situation. Self examination and evaluation were an important part of the self-concept education process in action in the research setting.

4. Strategies for Changing Self-Concept

As the student became more aware of her behavior and feelings and more capable of evaluating her situation, the need to find ways of changing grew commensurately. One student who had progressed to the point of being able to articulate her problems and characteristics about herself that she did not like, asked, "OK, I see all these things, I want to change (pause), I just don't know how." The uncertainty about how to change was also represented by another student who was generally upset with where she was and the "kind of person" she was. She expressed she wanted to get control of herself so not to live in a "nuthouse" when she was older.

Students were presented various methods for pursuing changes in behavior, emotional control, and self-concept. Some of these methods were structured into the program, others were less formal and appeared ad hoc during the daily interactions.

Initially, the staff focused mainly on controlling the student's behavior. In the research group, the staff and peers were viewed as the primary source of control until the student began to show she was "learning to control herself." In the words of one of the staff members, "external controls" were placed on the student until she developed self-control, or "internal period control."

When a student first arrived she had to be accompanied by a group member at all times. As the student began to show she could control herself, total accountability was gradually lifted.

After the girl had settled into the program she had to produce, with the assistance of a staff member, a list of "program goals," (See Appendix II). These "program goals" were directly related to problems the young lady identified within the program. As the girl came to realize more about herself and her problems, program goals were altered. One staff member explained,

Program goals are always changing because the girls are constantly learning new things about themselves and the program; the purpose of setting goals is to give them something to aim for--and that changes as they come to know themselves.

Program goals allowed the student to articulate the problems and state how the problems exhibited themselves. How she could accomplish dealing with these problems was represented by the "strategies" that accompanied the statement of each problem (See Appendix II). "Strategies" were plans stating specific actions that would help the student work on the problems presented in the program goals. Program goals and accompanying strategies were generally not produced until three to six months after the student entered the program.

The staff was extremely involved in the production of the program goals, particularly in the development of realistic strategies. A team member reported during an interview that the staff liked to be sure the strategies were "realistic, not disruptive, and designed to involve the whole group." The appropriateness of a student's goals and related strategies was discussed by the team during team meetings and revisions were made and given to the student. The staff was particularly concerned that the student set "achievable goals" with "realistic strategies." The team leader stated during the discussion with the researcher that "you've got to be sure the girl doesn't set herself up for failure: they have had enough of those!"

The staff wanted to be sure the student's efforts were successful. Staff feared the production goals and strategies that were impossible to obtain would cause "setbacks" in the student's progress. "Setback" was an expression used among staff and students when discussing someone who had stopped progressing or whose progress

reversed itself. During an interview, a staff member remarked:

The worst thing you can do is to get these kids fired up to do something they just can't handle; you've got to take them slowly, if you overload them you can count on a major setback.

The process for writing program goals and strategies was essentially an exercise to help the students methodically handle problems and problem solving. The offshoot of the process was the correction of inappropriate behavior, and as one counselor remarked, "a great feeling of satisfaction in themselves (students) when they discover they are capable of controlling and changing themselves and their behavior. Just as increased self-esteem was thought to be a by-product of improved behavior, an improved self-concept was thought to be a by-product of successfully dealing with problems and developing methods of solving them. The team leader explained it this way:

Once the girl realizes her problems and finds she can solve them, the struggle is over. She begins to mount success upon success, and before you know it, she blossoms into a young woman who has a sense of pride about herself.

The emphasis is placed, once again, on the improved self-concept; in this case, self-esteem.

In addition to the formal or structural methods of dealing with problems, were those relayed to the student informally. During formal meetings, staff and students frequently offered suggestions and ideas on how a student might go about working on a problem or "bad feeling." One young woman who was having trouble controlling her temper told the other girls during a formal that she wanted not to

"lose it" all the time. One of her peers suggested the group put special effort into watching for indications that the girl may be starting to lose control. The group finally planned to watch her and she calmed down. The staff agreed to the plan with the slight alteration that more than one girl be present when the "talking-it-out" process occurred.

During lunch or between classes, students and staff would often find time to talk about problems. These encounters provided opportunities to discuss problems and solutions on a more personal basis than during formals or in the production of program goals. Frequently, a staff member would offer personal advice on a one-to-one basis with a girl particularly when the staff member and the girl had a close relationship. These personal interactions were accepted by the team, with the strong stipulation that they not interfere significantly with the girl taking problems to the group. Once, a staff member was overheard to end a discussion with a girl saying, "I think what you have to do is to go to the group and tell them what you've been telling me; you know, they really can help."

Students also discussed problems among themselves. Serious discussions among students were remarkably similar to those between staff and students, with the exception that the girls were usually more blunt with one another in the absence of a staff member. For example, a girl was talking about her drinking problem with one of the group members who advised her, "Girl, you'd better get your _____ together, or you're going to find your _____ out of here."

The amount of support a student received in carrying out strategies depended upon how hard the girl was trying from the perception of the staff and the group. If a girl was trying "her best" to control and change herself, or as the group said, "working on herself" then the support was usually very generous. If a girl was thought not to be putting much effort into her strategies, the group and staff either castigated her directly or simply ignored her as not being serious enough about her program goals. Most of the time the group dealt directly with the student who was "slacking off" or "being phony" in a formal or informal session rather directly.

There was a level of achievement that could be obtained by students who were consistently able to identify problems, build strategies, and implement change in their behavior and self-image called "independent." Independent was a coveted status in the school which very few were able to achieve. The standards were purposefully kept very high to make "getting independent" a real challenge. In discussing the status with the team, this statement was made:

simply being able to control behavior
does not put a person on independent;
they have to show that they are genuinely
concerned about others in the community
and that they have gotten over any strong
negative feelings about themselves; they
have to have made honest changes within
themselves.

These comments illustrate that, according to staff, success in the program was more than being able to control behavior; it required a change in the person's concept of themselves. The fourth component of the self-

concept education process included methods of building strategies that would help the student maintain control over her behavior and ultimately improve her self-concept.

The four components of self-concept education presented above contributed to the effort of helping the students improve their self-concept. The underlying assumption presented in the research setting was that an improvement of the student's self-concept would result from improved behavior, greater control of emotional responses to particular situations, greater self-awareness and the ability to plan ways of making necessary changes in one's attitude and perception of self.

The Relationship of the Components of the Self-Concept Education Model

The self-concept education model represented by the four components accounts for most of the activities and interactions in the research setting directed toward producing a change in the student's self-concept. The activities classified by each area were experienced by the student throughout the entire program. During any one day, one could observe activities related to each of the components. There was, however, an implied order among the instructional constructs of the model. Primary concern was placed on controlling behavior. Continued misbehavior made it difficult to "deal" with the student and perpetuated the student's inability to confront her problems and the "poor" concept she held of herself. The first component of the model represents the group of activities focused on getting

the necessary control of behavior that would facilitate identifying and controlling problems. Even though controlling behavior was initially the most important component of self-concept education program, the "external" control of behavior was maintained throughout the program. It was hoped that the student would eventually be able to control her own behavior, or, as staff referred to it, would gain "internal control."

With the student's behavior under control, or, "in check," they could begin identifying problems more clearly and deal with feelings and emotional responses more effectively. At this point, the activities and interactions associated with the first two components of the model were most visible. It was in this stage that discussions of feelings and emotional responses were most intense.

The process of identifying problems and feelings contributed to the student's overall awareness of self. As the youngster became adept at realizing problems and identifying and discussing emotional response, the staff encouraged a more intense examination of self. The activities constituting the third component of the model became more obvious in the staff's interaction with students who were capable of identifying problems and feelings accurately.

When the student had advanced to the point where she appeared to "have a handle on her problems," and awareness of herself and her situation, emphasis was placed on helping

the student develop strategies that would produce necessary changes. The strategies were designed to make changes in the student's behavioral patterns, the way in which she handled her feelings, and her overall concept of herself. The fourth component of the model represents the activities associated with this area of instruction.

The ideal progression through the program, therefore, would follow the outline of the components as given above. The control of behavior allowed for the identification of problems and feelings, which produced, with support, self-awareness and self-examination, which established the need to find ways of making necessary changes.

In reality, the participants in the social setting did not necessarily follow the progression as cleanly as stated. A student who was very aware of herself, for example, occasionally might lose control of her behavior. This did not mean she had not progressed to a level of substantial knowledge of herself, it might indicate that for a moment she "acted impulsively or lost sight of the direction in which she wanted to move."

Instruction in all areas of the self-concept education model was evident in the day to day activities and interactions in the program. The extent to which each set of activities had meaning and were emphasized depended upon the student and her perceived progress in the program.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The general conceptual problem which developed this research project can be stated briefly as follows: how does the staff at a residential school and treatment center go about the task of rehabilitating the young people who enter the program? With this question in mind, the study was designed as an ethnography of the daily activities of a rehabilitation institution for adolescents between the ages of 13 and 18.

Early in the investigation, it was determined great emphasis was being placed on assisting the youngster to change his self-concept. Staff were obviously concerned with the student's activities, perceptions, and feelings toward himself.

The discovery of the emphasis on self-concept change produced a refinement of the research focus and the development of a delimited problem statement. The problem, presented as an hypothesis, was stated as follows:

There is an education pattern or structure in operation at Glaydin School focused on helping students to realize, confront, and change their self-concept.

The research focused on the verification of the hypothetical statement and gathering information that could

lead to a descriptive analysis of the activities and interactions related to improving the student's self-concept.

At this juncture, the process of attempting to produce self-concept change was labeled, Self-Concept Education. It was also determined, during this initial phase of the research, that the staff most responsible for the students and those who had most contact with the students were the team members. Essentially, the team controlled and directed the student experience at Glaydin. The team's control over the educative process was referred to as team primacy and located where the self-concept education actually occurred.

In order to produce an analysis of the self-concept education which represented the perspective of the participants in the research setting, the research focused intensely on a specific group or student unit. The female group was selected for various reasons; it represented all female students in the school, the group was well established, the researcher had built a rapport with the students and staff in the group, the group was willing to permit intense observation, and a review of the rehabilitation literature revealed a general need for research relating to the female deviant's experience in insitutional settings.¹

¹Ruth Morris, "Attitudes Toward Delinquency by Delinquents and Nondelinquents," British Journal of Criminology 5 (Winter 1965), pp. 249-65.

After an extensive period as a participant observer which presented the emphasis being placed on self-concept change, the researcher entered a phase wherein he was a complete observer. During this latter phase, the researcher spent four months with the research group. The ethnographic procedures incorporated during this phase provided the data and information needed to produce a descriptive analysis of the ongoing process of self-concept education.

Analysis of the data and the empathetic understanding of the social interaction gained by the researcher in the field verified the existence of a self-concept education process within the program. Further, a model of the educative process was developed from the data and subsequent analysis.

The model of the self-concept education being offered consisted of four basic components. The first of these, instructing students to identify and control behavior, was of primary importance to the self-concept education process. This component represented the staff's working assumption that students had to first realize and accept problems before they could deal with controlling them. The staff also assumed the students' self-concept would improve as they became capable of controlling undesirable behavior patterns and experienced the rewards of positive behavior.

The second component of the model occurred in conjunction with the first. Instruction in identifying and

controlling feelings and emotional responses was an integral part of controlling behavior. The lack of emotional control was considered a major problem for many of the students admitted to Glaydin. The activities supporting the second component helped the student to identify and label feelings in a manner that facilitated communication with other members of the community. Emphasis was placed on handling feelings and emotional responses by "talking-it-out."

The process of identifying problems, behaviors and feelings was part of the activity of assisting students to gain awareness of themselves. The instruction of self-examination was the third component of the education model. This component included various informal and formal methods for helping students take an objective view of all aspects of themselves as individuals.

As a student's awareness of self developed, as evaluated by the staff and her peers, she was instructed to create strategies and goals that would help her change and control aspects about herself and her situation that needed changing. Activities were structured within the program requiring the development of strategies for change. Methods for producing change were also given to the student during informal, personal contact with other students and staff.

The various activities represented by each component of the model were experienced by students throughout the program. There was an implied order of progression, however,

which followed the outline of the components as given above. This progression can be briefly stated as follows: confronting and controlling behavior facilitated the identification of feelings and problems, contributing to greater self-awareness in the student, which determined what the student needed to change in herself, establishing the need to find ways of producing the desired changes.

The self-concept education in action at Glaydin School was predicated on the belief that the educative process would improve the individual's self-concept and ultimately serve to rehabilitate the youngster. Early in the student's experience in the program she was told the most significant change to make was that of improving her self-concept.

Implications of the Findings for Those Operating Rehabilitation Programs

The attitude of the staff toward improving the student's self-concept implied their assumption that it was essential to actually rehabilitate the student. Clearly, the staff at Glaydin did not feel behavioral control was the only concern in the rehabilitation program. Not only did they attempt to help the student learn to control her behavior, they also desired to help the student improve her opinion of herself and become a more self-confident and self-satisfied individual. Team members' interactions with students and the program design indicated a belief that an improved self-concept would result in lasting changes in behavior patterns and give individuals greater control over their lives.

Not all programs designed to rehabilitate emotionally disturbed and delinquent adolescents are so heavily focused on changing the self-concept of the student. For example, many programs are based on an approach which attempts to modify behavior by punishment and reward. In many cases, a resulting change in self-concept is a by-product of improved behavioral patterns or habits.¹

The program at Glaydin, as exemplified in the female student group, maintained that corrected behavioral patterns would only be realized in conjunction with an improved concept of self. In a sense, improved behavior was a by-product of an improved self-concept.

The findings of this study also presented the processes involved in a program of self-concept education for female delinquent adolescents. The findings suggest that programs focused on improving self-concept are likely to include the components of problem identification, feelings identification, self-awareness instruction, and methods for strategic change.

Limitations and Recommendations for Further Research

As an ethnography, the goal of this research was to systematically observe patterns of behavior and interaction in

¹Novick, Institutional Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youth, p. 17.

order to construct a typology of existing variables that reflects what is occurring in the social situation being observed. In the words of Green and Walleet,

the ethnographer's purpose is to describe what is occurring, to develop of typology or model that reflects the occurrences, and then to test the validity of this model in other similar situations.¹

The ethnographer's primary responsibility is to produce an explicit rendering of the social activity that represents the perspective of the participants.

This study reveals a model of a particular segment of the education process at Glaydin School. The validity of the research must be evaluated according to how well it represents the thoughts, feelings and perceptions of those participating in the program.

The focus of the ethnographer is on describing and analyzing social events as they occur, not on judging effectiveness or ineffectiveness. Green and Walleet point out,

the ethnographer does not judge what occurs as good or bad, as effective or ineffective; rather the ethnographer describes what is occurring and after considering the recurring patterns of behavior in the environment, defines rules and processes for participation and membership.²

¹Green and Walleet, Ethnography and Language in Educational Settings, p. xii.

²Ibid.

This does not mean the ethnographer is uninterested in the effectiveness of the process he is observing, rather, it places the focus on attempting to produce a descriptive analysis of ongoing human processes as they occur in various social settings.

Accordingly, this study does not focus on the effectiveness of the self-concept education in action at Glaydin School, although tests in the setting and the observer's insight gained in the field indicate students' self-concepts improve within the program. The focus of this ethnography was on describing and analyzing the educative process as it occurred.

Ethnography is by definition a rendition of social activity. Although ethnographic materials provide some of the most detailed examinations of human activity, they do not speak for themselves but are subject to the selection, ordering, and processing of the investigator. As stated by John Johnson, "the presentation of ethnographic data should reflect the researcher's performance as an agent of social control and the empathetic understandings achieved during the research."¹ The goal is not absolute knowledge, but the discovery of novel insights into the nature of human interaction as understood by a social agent, in this case a researcher.

The findings of this ethnography are limited to the

¹Johnson, Doing Field Research, p. 31.

female population of one residential school and treatment center. Evidence found in the research journal kept during phase I gives the researcher reason to believe an indepth study of any male group at Glaydin would result in similar findings. It was evident, however, that among the male population there was an element of aggression and misconduct aimed toward others that was seldom exhibited by the female group. This would cause the self-concept education process to vary somewhat, probably resulting in tighter control of behavior within the male groups.

In the female population, great emphasis was placed on feelings and understanding emotional responses. Rehabilitation literature regarding female adolescents suggests they tend to interalize probelms and exhibit misconduct that is self-destructive rather than displacing their anxiety on others as is common in their male counterpart. This may account for the great attention given to identifying and discussing feelings as observed in the female group.

It is reasonable to assume that a strictly male version of the self-concept education process would reveal less emphasis placed on feelings and more on controlling behavior. The researcher believes the ingredients would be the same in the self-concept education model, although emphasis in specific areas might vary somewhat.

Further research within a male unit would help clarify the differences between the male and female versions of the model, and further verify the validity of the model.

It would also be of great value to test the model in other rehabilitation programs, particularly those purporting to successfully change the students' concept of himself. Although it is unlikely the same activities would be found in other situations, it would be informative to examine how consistently the observed activities fall within the structure of the self-concept education model developed in this research project.

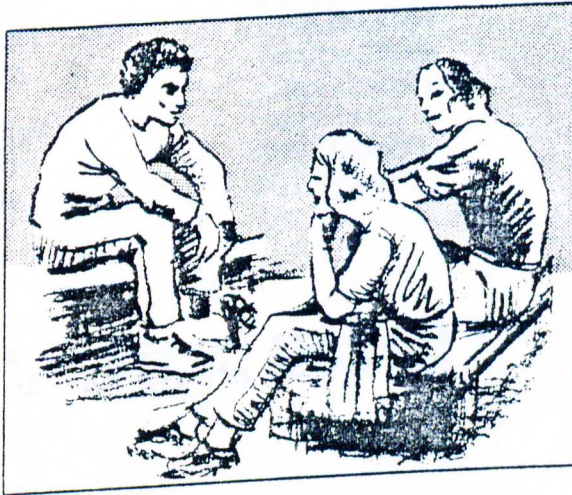
APPENDIX I

THE PREPARED "PROBLEMS LIST" AND "FEELINGS LIST"

PROBLEMS LIST*

PROBLEM SOLVING LIST

The Positive Peer Leadership program confronts behavior, providing peer groups with a framework of therapeutic language to assist the resolution of the following common adolescent problems:



- low self image
- inconsiderate of others
- inconsiderate of self
- authority problem
- misleads others
- easily misled
- aggravates others
- easily angered
- stealing
- lying
- drug or alcohol problem
- fronting (puts on an act rather than being real)

*List as it appeared in a school publication, 1980.

FEELINGS LIST

LOVE
HOPE
JOY
FORGIVING
COURAGE
GLAD
TRUST
CONFIDENT
COMPETENT
RELIEVED
VALUED
SATISFIED
FRIENDLY
PEACEFUL

FAITHFUL
PROUD
GOOD
COMPASSION
EMPATHY
ENERGETIC
ANGER
HOSTILE
RESENTMENT
INADEQUATE
EMBARRASSED
CONFUSED
HUMILIATED
PUT DOWN

DISCOURAGED
FATIGUED
OVERWHELMED
ANXIOUS
SUSPICIOUS
HATE
MAD
AGGRAVATED
DESPAIR
SORROW
FEAR
MISCHIEVOUS
SENSITIVE
HURT

(List as it appeared hanging in the living
room of the girl's dormitory)

APPENDIX II

PROGRAM GOALS: SAMPLES OF THOSE
WRITTEN BY SEVERAL STUDENTS

Program Goals - [REDACTED]

I Fronting Problem

I have this problem when:

a) I feel the need to be accepted by everyone, and consequently, am not really myself.

b) when I'm insecure of myself, & feel the need to protect myself

c) when I'm not sure if people really like me.

d) when I'm with people I don't know very well

e) when I'm upset, and don't want people to know (feel vulnerable)

f) scared (people, situations, myself, etc...)

I can work on this problem by:

a) becoming happier with me, so other people's approval isn't so important, giving myself a chance to be known (the real me.)

- b) not taking things so personally so that I won't feel the need to protect myself as much. becoming more satisfied with myself, so I won't feel the need to front my insecurities.
- c) find out who is, and who is not a real friend. spend time letting real friends get to know me, (and vice versa,) and not letting fake people upset me with their problems
- d) get to know people better, become closer & build up trust, so I feel comfortable being me.
- e) let people I trust know how I feel, try coming to the group and accepting support & strategies
- f) tell someone I trust that I feel scared, try and help myself get over it, don't dwell on it, try and express real feelings.

Easily Angered

I have this problem when

- a) I allow people to push my buttons to the point that I'm not rational
- b) when I'm upset, and someone says or does something aggravating so that I blow up for no apparent reason
- c) when I'm frustrated & don't know what else to do.

I can work on this problem by:

- a) not taking others problems on as my own, letting my anger out by talking or yelling, instead of throwing things - asking to talk to one person so that I can calm down
- b) talking about what's really bothering me, instead of acting it out by going off.
- c) handle my frustrations in other ways, such as
 - 1) talking about what I'm pissed off about
 - 2) doing something constructive, like punching pillows, or jogging.

Low Self Image (the biggie!)

I have a low self image when ...

- a) when I feel left out
- b) when I'm not happy with my appearance
- c) when I feel others don't really like me
- d) when I feel used
- e) when I don't feel cared about
- f) when others hurt my feelings
^{projection} ~~make~~ ^{rate} ~~pretend~~ ^{if} ~~don't~~ ^{who} ~~them~~ - ^{judge} ^{so don't like them anyway}

I can work on this problem by

- a) when I feel left out, instead of dwelling on it, try & join in conversations, add my feelings to it, don't be afraid to speak up, also, tell people I feel left out, and try and work out some sort of compromise
- b) do things to improve my appearance. try new things, experiment until I find a look that's 'me' and that I'm happy with.
- c) find out who is, and who is not a true friend. spend more time with people who I like & who like me, and try and not worry so much about other people's opinions.
- d) if I feel used, talk to the person I feel used by. If it will help, get my self out of the situation. And people who

won't use me, for closer friends
(relationships)

e. express my feelings when I don't
feel cared about. call on informal
to figure out things that do
make me feel cared about, so the
group can help build up my self
image.

f. express my hurt feelings try &
not take things so personally, but
when I am hurt, say something
about it.

g. most of all - tell the group
when I feel bad, & be willing & open
to strategies & new ideas.

EXPRESS - my feelings, and start
accepting that low self image
is a problem, not a disease, it
has a cure.

Inconsiderate of others

I have this problem when

a) I do things regardless of how
it will affect others.

b) I make others wait for me,
or cause them to be late.

c) I say mean things or do
mean things to other people.

I can work on this problem by

a) thinking about how my
actions will affect others
before I do anything, think
how I feel, if the situation ~~no~~

(1) Program Goals

1. How Self Image,

A I feel I get a low self image when;

1. I think about things that have happened in the past, all something reminds me about, and I realize I can change it.
2. When everything messes up & I can't seem to do anything right.
3. When I set a goal and I fail to reach it.
4. When somebody puts me down, or says something that hurts my feelings.
5. When I do something to myself or others & think about it later.
6. After I do drugs or drink alcohol.
7. If I do something that embarrasses me.

Strategies;

B. To help solve this problem I need to;

1. Identify why I feel the way I do.
2. Don't act out the bad feelings on myself.
3. To talk in formal & informal or to group members.
4. To remember that a low self image does not last forever, and while it lasts to stick it out.
5. Think of all the good things I've accomplished & all the things I can accomplish if I don't let myself fail.
6. Help someone in the group which will give me a feeling of accomplishment.
7. Set short term goals for myself to help me achieve my progress.

(2)

Intermediates: TL, Self

I feel in favor this problem when I

1. Do drugs or drink alcohol to escape my problems, or to get ~~it~~ it. be accepted.
2. When I have a few self image and do things that are harmful to myself.
3. When I get an "I don't care" attitude and do things I really don't want to.
4. When I do things for attention or to aggrivate people, that make me look bad.
5. When I talk myself into doing things that are wrong, to get back at people.

STRATEGIES

I can resolve this problem by:

1. Getting to know myself better.
2. When I feel I am going to have this problem to warn people & get support.
3. Informal & formal
4. Relye how bad I make my self feel.
5. Think about how I look to other people.
6. Read Program Goals
7. Knowing that hurting myself because I feel bad shouldn't always be directed towards myself. (when I'm mad at someone & hurt myself)

APPENDIX III

THE PROGRESS REPORT: A SAMPLE OF A 30-DAY REVIEW

PROGRESS REPORT

STUDENT

3rd yr. Winter

TERM

DATE March 4, 1982

DATE OF BIRTH

11/2/65

HOUSE

DATE ENROLLED

2/3/82

TEAM

Underline problems
identified on IEPOriginal
problems
identified
by studentProblems
noted by
teamCurrent
problems
identified
by groupProblems toward
which student
is putting forth
the most effortProblems
resolved
since last
report

LOW SELF-IMAGE
INCONSIDERATE OF OTHERS
INCONSIDERATE OF SELF
AUTHORITY PROBLEM
MISLEADS OTHERS
EASILY MISLED
AGGRAVATES OTHERS
EASILY ANGERED
STEALING
ALCOHOL OR DRUG PROBLEM
LYING
FRONTING

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MOST SERIOUS PROBLEMS:

- 1 PROBLEM: Low Self Image - shown in feeling worthless, acting immature, putting self down, isolating self from group, having little self respect, accepting self with problems and showing little desire to change.

SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE:

will focus on her ability to change the way she feels about herself.
She will begin to recognize positive attributes to help her improve her self-image.

STRATEGY:

- ① will understand that she is able to achieve personal goals.
- ② will begin personal program goals
- ③ will identify the things she would like to change about herself.
- ④ The group will help develop short term goals to help her begin achieving successes.
- ⑤ will focus on mature behavior.
- ⑥ will avoid feeling sorry for self and will ask the group to help her keep trying when she wants to give up.
- ⑦ will use the group for support and refrain from seeking staff attention

PROBLEM: Inconsiderate of Self / Appropriate Others - shown in not meeting daily expectations consistently, isolating self from group, seeking attention in inappropriate ways, giving up on self before getting started, focusing on staff instead of self.

SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES:

- 1. will focus on positive ways of getting attention from the group.

STRATEGY:

1. will strive to meet expectations consistently.
2. will ask for attention appropriately.
3. will avoid games playing to seek attention.
4. will begin to focus on her needs and her reasons for being here.
5. will become more involved in group meetings.
6. will accept that attention and help comes primarily from her peer group and will avoid seeking help solely from staff.

3

PROBLEM: Fronting. shown in using word games to hide real feelings, changing focus from herself to others to avoid looking at problems, keeping group at a distance so they cannot get to know her beyond the surface.

SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVES:

- 1. will focus on building trust relationships so she can begin to open up to the group.

STRATEGY:

1. will avoid making a joke out of serious matters.
2. will ask the group to confront her when she's playing word games.
3. will use formal meetings to begin opening up to the group.
4. will focus on one or two group members to begin building a trust relationship.

A. EVALUATION OF STUDENT'S PROGRESS IN MEETING OBJECTIVES:

SHORT-TERM

PROBLEM AND SHORT-TERM OBJECTIVE

EVALUATION

1.

2.

3.

B. BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF STUDENT'S OVERALL USE OF POSITIVE PEER LEADERSHIP PROGRAM DURING THIS EVALUATION PERIOD (INCLUDE SPECIFIC INCIDENTS, BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE).

C. NOTE ABILITY OF STUDENT TO HELP PEERS.

D. NOTE ABILITY OF STUDENT TO ACCEPT HELP FROM PEERS.

- B. [redacted] has become more comfortable in the group and has begun to contribute to group meetings. She tends to focus her attention primarily on staff members and has not accepted that the group is her main source of help. [redacted] has a very poor self-image and seems to have the attitude that she must accept herself the way she is. She does not focus on changing her behavior or dealing with her problems. [redacted] is very open about her problems, but there is an attitude underneath that is self-defeating. She seems to focus more on getting others to feel sorry for her than on changing the way she feels about herself. For these reasons, the 30 day probationary period will be extended another 30 days. [redacted] needs to focus more on herself and develop strategies for dealing with her problems instead of allowing them to control her.
- C. [redacted] is a little more active in group meetings. She tends to isolate herself from the group which causes her to be unaware of group members' problems. [redacted] needs to be with the group more so she will be in a better position to help others.
- D. [redacted] does not yet accept support nor confrontation from the group. She does not try to change her behavior. She listens to the group but does not try to carry out what they suggest. She has not made a commitment to achieve internal

APPENDIX IV

SERIOUS INCIDENT AND POSITIVE PROGRESS REPORT FORMS

POSITIVE PROGRESS REPORT

GLAYDIN SCHOOL
founded in 1958

Rt. 3 Box 334, Leesburg, Virginia 22075

Instructions: The Positive Progress Report documents behavior which serves as a significant indication of positive growth in a student or students. It is not a progress summary over time but a single incident or short series of incidents which represent a new high water mark in dealing with problems or show caring and responsibility in a strong fashion. For students just getting into the program it could be a change of direction as well as a gain in a specific area. For students further along, the P.P.R. might indicate a step forward in positive attitude and behavior or stabilization of significant gains.

Examples include: (1) avoidance of one or more problems, (2) improved handling of one or more problems, (3) successful handling of one or more problems, (4) positive gains in school achievement, (5) positive gains in group participation, (6) positive gains in responsible self-care, (7) breakthrough in one of the treatment areas, (8) evidence of responsible self-care, (9) evidence of responsible care and concern for others in the community.

1. STUDENT(S) INVOLVED _____
2. OBSERVER(S) NAME(S) _____
3. DESCRIPTION OF POSITIVE INCIDENT: _____

4. COMMENTS:

(Director)

(Program Coordinator)

Copies to: Parents, Agency Representatives, House and Team, file.

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