

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

Residential Care of Juvenile Delinquents:
A contextual analysis of treatment
aims, implementation and perceptions

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by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION, METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH PROCESS

a. Introduction

"Residential treatment of young offenders has progressed from custodial care, through humanitarian reforms, to training with educational and work and training facilities, to rehabilitation and increased social training with individual and group therapy, counselling, to the now current concept of the development of therapeutic communities, not forgetting work with families and after care."¹

There is at this point the need to explain how the research process developed, what was to be investigated, and to describe the purpose for doing so. This study was born out of the researcher's general interest in correctional treatment, social work and education and a more specific interest in these as methods of treatment. The available contexts² in which these methods are an integral part of treatment were few and it became evident early on in the research that the most feasible context in which to investigate these was within the approved school service.³ Moreover it seemed that given

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1. P. Mason, "The Nature of the Approved School Population and its Implications for Treatment", in The Residential Treatment of Disturbed and Delinquent Boys, eds R. F. Sparks and R. G. Hood, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 13-26.
 2. The major contexts were prisons, borstals and approved schools.
 3. Approved schools ceased to exist by that name with the coming of the "Children and Young Persons Act 1969". This Act provided for the creation of a comprehensive and integrated system of community homes, which grouped local authority children's homes, hostels, many voluntary children's homes and approved schools under the label of "Community Homes". See H. K. Bevan, The Law Relating to Children, London, 1973, pp. 158-64; and the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, H.M.S.O., London, 1969, Chapter 54, Part 2. For a description of the effect this Act has had to date, as well as an account of its shortcomings, see M. Berlins and G. Wansell, Caught in the Act: Children, Society and Law, Harmondsworth, 1974; and M. Dean, "Getting Court Out", The Guardian, 29 April, 1975, p. 16. It was observed throughout the time the researcher spent in the schools surveyed in this study, as well as in a number of others, that staff still referred and thought of their schools as approved schools rather than community homes. Furthermore, according to Norman Tutt, there has as yet been no change in the residential treatment carried on in community homes since they ceased to be approved schools. See Norman Tutt, Care or Custody: Community Homes and the Treatment of Delinquency London, 1974, pp. 34-51; and S. Millham, R. Bullock and P. Cherrett, After Grace - Teeth: A Comparative Study of the Residential Experience of Boys in Approved Schools, London, 1975, p. 182. Because of this, the schools surveyed for this study were referred to as approved schools, as were other institutions which were formerly approved schools. Finally, for a description of the history and development of the approved school system, see J. Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, London, 1970; D. D. Johnson, Juvenile Delinquency: the History and Development of Approved School Treatment, unpublished M. Ed. dissertation, Durham University, 1960; and G. Rose, Schools for Young Offenders, London, 1967

the nature of the study itself, that the most desirable manner of carrying it out, with regard to freedom allowed and general helpfulness of those concerned, was within the approved school system.

The selection of approved schools as the context of study, served to focus on a variety of treatment methods as well as the synthesis of these. Considering that this treatment was presumed to have the major rehabilitative impact upon the clientele while they were in care of the school, treatment therefore became the focus of this study.¹ With pragmatic considerations and priorities in mind, the scope and approach were formulated and could be summarized as follows: an examination and descriptive analysis of residential treatment for delinquency, an operationalization of the important treatment components within the residential context and a consideration of these components with regard to the views of the staff and clientele. The researcher's interests in correctional treatment, social work and education were therefore merged, and subsequently oriented to the larger treatment context of residential treatment in approved schools.

Residential treatment is a concept which is applicable to a variety of settings and is directly related, but not entirely defined, by the clientele it serves. When the clientele is a select group, description and definition are, however, enhanced, in that a more uniform basis for the treatment exists. Residential treatment in this study is with special reference to juvenile delinquents in approved schools.

This introduction serves to define and describe residential treatment in approved schools and to outline the conceptualizations and framework on which it is based.

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1. According to Street, et al, "Intrinsic to the tradition of institutional care is the assumption that the institution, largely by itself, can accomplish the desired change in patterns of deviance." See David Street, Robert D. Vinter, Charles Perrow, Organization for Treatment: a Comparative Study of Institutions for Delinquents, New York, 1966, p. 8. However, Ryall has also taken note of "the contamination and reinforcement effect of the sub-culture which may arise when delinquents are treated together, particularly in a residential situation." R. A. Ryall, "Delinquency: the Problem for Treatment", Social Work Today, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1974, pp. 98-104.

As a concept, residential treatment is beyond precise definition and most accounts of it are usually lacking even in descriptive substance. This, however, is due more to the nature of residential treatment itself than failure on any theorist's part. Although definitions of residential treatment are only a narrow reflection of it, they provide a point of initiation for a more detailed examination. Of a number of definitions which were considered to more accurately reflect the nature of residential treatment in approved schools, most of them explicitly stated and stressed the importance of the total institutional living situation.¹ However, one of the more appropriate definitions for the purpose of this study, was the descriptive statement which was formulated by the Advisory Council on Child Care of the Department of Health and Social Security.

"In our view, the first step towards meeting the needs of those children (in what were Approved Schools but today are Community Homes) is to provide a planned environment. Such an environment provides not only a supportive framework for a variety of treatments but also an environment which is in itself therapeutic and, as such, it may be all that is needed for many children for whom no special form of treatment has been prescribed. All aspects of a child's day are used therapeutically, that is in such a way as to heal the effects of past damage, and to promote emotional and social growth; the ordinary group living arrangements in the home contribute a major part of the treatment

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1. For definitions of residential treatment as it is generally practised in approved schools, see Juliet Berry, Social Work with Children, London, 1972, p. 100; David Birnbach, "The Skills of Child Care", The Practice of Group Work, ed. William Schwartz and Serapio Zalba, New York, 1971, pp. 177-98; Children's Bureau, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, "The Role and Contribution of the Training School", The Problem of Delinquency, ed., Sheldon Glueck, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1959, pp. 694-8; Gisela Konopka, "Institutional Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1962, pp. 52-7; Joseph Lander and Rena Schulman, "The Impact of the Therapeutic Milieu on the Disturbed Personality", Social Casework (New York), Vol. XLI, No. 5, 1960, pp. 227-34; Anthony N. Maluccio and Wilma D. Marlow, "Residential Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children", Social Service Review (Chicago), Vol. 46, No. 2, 1972, pp. 230-50; and Elizabeth Pugh, Social Work in Child Care, London, 1968, p. 70.

methods."¹

This statement, although ambitious, is realistic in so far as it acknowledged the treatment value within the residential context, i.e., the environment, and because it suggested variation in treatment for the children involved. However, the term "planned environment" seems somewhat less relevant to this study, since much of what occurred, treatment or otherwise, often seemed to do so in spite of planning. But the residential treatment settings studied required a high degree of flexibility with regard to treatment itself so as to allow for various needs, demands and situations. At the same time these settings had to maintain a set structure and system by which the clientele was guided and with which it could identify, and it was here that the term "planned environment" might be applied. Polsky and Claster have described this relationship of structure and flexibility in the residential context as follows:

"residential treatment, however, assumes that clients are to be encouraged to exercise and maximize their autonomy in the institution so that they may learn to cope better with the world outside. Thus one of the central problems in residential treatment is to maintain the press toward resident autonomy in the face of countervailing forces for institutional conformity."²

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1. Advisory Council on Child Care, Department of Health and Social Security, Care and Treatment in a Planned Environment, H.M.S.O., London, 1970, p. 8. An important remark to supplement the Advisory Council's statement is that custodial care, according to Polsky and Claster, is distinct from residential treatment because "residential treatment seeks to change its clients so that they can cope more effectively with their environment during and after their stay in the institution", whereas in custodial care "inmates are forced or allow themselves to be taken care of." Howard W. Polsky and Daniel S. Claster, "Fostering Resident Autonomy in an Institutional Setting", in Social System Perspectives in Residential Institutions, eds, Howard W. Polsky, Daniel S. Claster and Carl Goldberg, East Lansing, Michigan, 1970, pp. 710-721. Also of importance with regard to the Advisory Council's statement is an earlier description of residential treatment in the Home Office's White Paper entitled Children in Trouble, H.M.S.O., 1968, Section 31, which was less specific with regard to the particular treatment aspects in the residential setting than the Council's, although it indicated an awareness of these aspects.
 2. Polsky, Claster and Goldberg, op.cit., pp. 710-21.

Each residential treatment setting, therefore, had to come to an explicit or implicit understanding as to the extent to which structure and flexibility were to apply. Since there seemed to be a tendency for these to be mutually exclusive, the greater the emphasis on structure in a treatment setting the less there would be on flexibility and vice versa.

The Advisory Council's statement and other definitions of residential treatment provided a starting point in the examination of residential treatment in approved schools. Observational and additional descriptive and theoretical material¹ assisted in the evolvement of a framework, the purpose of which was to measure and describe the essential components of residential treatment in approved schools, as well as provide a variety of important directly related measures to these. Although it is difficult to account for the degree of influence any one definition, theory or description had in the formulation of this framework, Henry Maier's method of classifying the essential components of residential treatment left a distinct and lasting impression upon this study. According to Maier,

"the essence of residential treatment lies in the clinical integration of all the specific helping efforts into the process of each client's daily living experience. Despite variation between different treatment programs all relate to or are integrated with the guided group living experience; and they all deal specifically, in one way or other, with the following ten major components: 1. basic physical necessities; 2. everyday living routines; 3. group living; 4. replacement of parental care; 5. peer experiences; 6. program experience; 7. one to one treatment; 8. group treatment; 9. education;

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1. Studies which were of particular relevance in offering guidelines in the design stage of this study were as follows: Roy D. King, Norma V. Raynes and Jack Tizard, Patterns of Residential Care: Sociological Studies in the Institutions for Handicapped Children, London, 1971; Howard H. Polsky, Cottage Six - The Social System of Delinquent Boys in Residential Treatment, New York, 1962; Howard W. Polsky and Daniel S. Claster, The Dynamics of Residential Treatment: A Social System Analysis, Chapel Hill, 1968; Ian Sinclair, Home Office Research Studies 6: Hostels for Probationers, H.M.S.O., London, 1971; and Street, Vinter and Perrow, op.cit.

10. community contact."¹

By breaking treatment down into components, specific questions could be formulated with regard to these as they represented the constituents of the treatment process itself. This study emerged with a two-fold purpose, which could concisely be stated to be, the examination of the extent to which various components of treatment were operative and present in the treatment setting and how these were regarded and perceived by staff and clientele. However, with the primary focus being on the residential staff themselves, it culminated into a descriptive analysis of residential treatment for juvenile delinquents, with special reference to the perceptions of staff.

b. Methodology and research process

"Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes."²

"The triangulation of measurement process is far more powerful evidence supporting the proposition than any single criterion approach.

Operationalism is better served by multiple measures of a given concept or attribute, each sharing a portion of the theoretically relevant components but each having different loadings of irrelevant factors."³

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1. Henry W. Maier, "Residential Treatment of Children", Encyclopedia of Social Work, 15th issue, ed. Harry L. Lurie, New York, 1965. pp. 660-4. Another excellent conceptualization of the components which constitute residential treatment is by Christopher Beedell. He has referred to the essential character of residential work for children to be that of "parenting", which he suggests has three main and to some extent separable aspects. These are "holding", "nurturing" and "development of personal integrity". Each of these in turn has a number of sub-aspects. Beedell's conceptualization, however, was less extensive than Maier's and his categorization of aspects was less pure, i.e., mutually exclusive, than was Maier's classification of components. Because of this Beedell's approach created a variety of insurmountable problems in the design of the research framework; Maier's classification was therefore preferred. Furthermore, Beedell's conceptualization seemed more directed at younger children in children's and comparable homes, than those in approved schools. See Christopher Beedell, Residential Life with Children, London, 1970, pp. 17-19.
 2. E. J. Webb, D. T. Campbell, R. D. Shwartz, L. Sechrest, Unobtrusive Measures: Non Reactive Research in the Social Sciences, Chicago, 1966, p. 3.
 3. S. Isaac and W. B. Michael, Handbook in Research and Evaluation, San Diego, 1966, p. 3.

Since it was felt that any one methodological approach to this study would have increased the likelihood of misrepresentation of what was being measured, a number of different approaches to measurement were employed. Although there was a reliance on participant observation throughout the field work, initially it was of primary importance, whereas during the later stages it was less so. Questionnaires and a staff diary system, i.e., a set of 14 daily time sheets, each divided into half-hour blocks, were the other means of measurement. Furthermore, this study itself can be viewed as a process, as revealed and highlighted by an examination of the chronological and methodological distinctness of its various stages.¹

Stage 1: Planning the research and initial periods of participant observation

The primary activity in the opening stage of the research was that of setting the scope of the study and to commence developing the necessary framework of measurement. The relevant literature was consulted and seven approved schools were contacted and visited. This provided the researcher with an indication of the degree of relevance the literature had to the real life situation as well as familiarizing him with the current treatment orientations in approved schools. However, of equal importance was establishing familiarity with the school, their staff and boys.

During the first few months of 1973 the initial period of participant observation was carried out in five of the above-mentioned schools, and of these, three were finally selected for more intense study.² These periods

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1. For a description of the methodology used in a somewhat similar, although much more detailed study as this, see Spencer Millham, Roger Bullock and Paul Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 6-10.
 2. Of the seven schools initially contacted and visited, one was quite hesitant in considering research, since a research project had only recently been completed there, and the local authority managing another of the schools refused to grant permission. This left five schools to select from. Since this study sought to approach and consider residential treatment in approved schools from as wide and diversified a perspective as possible, this meant inclusion of a school of each type, i.e., junior, intermediate and senior, and more of a regard for differences in leadership and regime style than similarities in these. The selection of the three schools, which were examined in this study, was primarily with reference to these differences, in that they represented each type, varied quite substantially in leadership and regime style and furthermore, they were all considered large enough in terms of staff and boys' numbers so as to provide an adequate sample.

of participant observation further served to clarify the focus of the study and the methodological approaches required, as well as to firmly establish contact and relationships with the staff and many of the boys. Field notes during these periods were maintained on a daily basis.

The role of the researcher during these initial participant observation periods was more that of observer than participant, and a neutral and non-threatening approach was adopted in his relations with staff and boys. The researcher was given a great deal of freedom to observe all activities which concerned boys and most of those which involved staff. The researcher was also given access to the boys' files and school records. Few demands were made upon him, the most important one pertained to confidentiality of personal information with regard to the boys, and during later stages of the research, with regard to staff's replies to the questionnaires. The researcher was free to observe the school in its entirety. However, during these initial observation periods the researcher found that the following aspects were of primary observational interest:

- (1) observing staff-boys relations in various settings, such as the classrooms, departments and houserooms;
- (2) listening to staff's views with regard to boys and staff and boys' views with regard to treatment and on their lives at the school.

The initial observations periods therefore were instrumental in guiding the construction of the questionnaires and the diary system, as well as providing explanations for the findings from these two methods of data collection. Furthermore, these periods served to establish contact, rapport and relationships with the schools, their staff and boys, which in itself was an important means of facilitating the subsequent stages of the research. But the primary purpose of the initial observation periods was to select appropriate indicators and measures of treatment and consider their degree of relevance, develop categories with regard to these indicators from which the questionnaires and the diary system could be constructed, and to

simultaneously carry on a process of hypothesis formulation, testing and selection.¹ The object therefore was an attempt at locating meaningful operational constructs of treatment from the observation of staff-boys relations as per their behaviour and verbalization.

Stage 2: Design and construction of questionnaires and diary system

In order to do justice to the subject and the schools studied, it was considered that it was necessary to survey the perceptions and attitudes of both staff and boys. Questions were kept relatively simple in structure, language and scope, so as to enhance accuracy and consistency of response.² A number of consistency checks were also included. Furthermore, the subject content of questions selected clearly reflected the researcher's experience during the initial observation periods. The questionnaires were designed so as to enable the respondents to complete them by themselves without assistance from the researcher. In order to gain an idea of the degree of clarity and the length of time necessary to complete the questionnaires, they were piloted on a randomly selected number of students at the University of Hull, and appropriate alterations were made.

Since one important aspect of the study was to consider the components of staff's work and the amount of time they spent on these, the staff questionnaire and the staff diary system served to provide measures for both of these. The staff diary system required staff to choose from a pre-selected set of tasks, the tasks they themselves were engaged in and for what length of time (see Appendix CC). The advantages of also using the

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1. For a more elaborate treatment of the participant observation as it applies to this study see Blanche Geer, "First Days in the Field: a Chronicle of Research in Progress", pp. 144-62; George J. McCall, "The Problem of Indicators in Participant Observation Research", pp. 230-9; Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of data", pp. 354-60; all in Issues in Participant Observation: A Text and Reader, Eds George J. McCall and J. L. Simmons, Reading, Mass, 1969; H. W. Polsky, op.cit., pp. 44-54 and 109-21; R. A. Ryall, Boys in Approved School: A Study of the Impact of Residential Treatment on Delinquent Adolescents, unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1971, Vol. I, pp. 57-71.
 2. For a general and clear description of this and other aspects of questionnaire design see A. N. Oppenheim, Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, London, 1966.

questionnaires to measure the time spent as per the pre-selected components was that it allowed staff to give an overall impression and/or intuitive judgement as to how they spent their working hours. Although this had drawbacks of misrepresentation, since there was a reliance on recall, intuition etc., the staff diary system served to compensate for this in that staff recorded and allocated the time they spent per category shortly and regularly after the event. However, the staff diary system as it was used in this study also had its own limitations.¹ These limitations appeared to be more with regard to staff selection (sampling) than staff's diary recording(s) or a change in their work habits because of their recording(s).

Stage 3: Questionnaire-Diary administration and participant observation

The participant observation method was continued throughout this stage which took place between November 1973 and June 1974, although to a substantially lesser degree than it was in Stage 1.

Since most staff were to a greater or lesser extent involved in the treatment of boys it was decided that all staff as well as all the boys at the three schools studied would be selected to complete questionnaires.²

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1. For the general merits and shortcomings of the diary method see C. A. Moser and G. Kalton, Survey Methods in Social Investigation, 2nd edition, London, 1971, pp. 142, 248, 340-1. Also for a number of studies employing this method see Ian Cullen, "A day in the life of ...", New Society, Vol. 28, No. 601, 1974, pp. 63-5; E. Grey, Home Office Research Studies, 1: Workloads in Children's Departments, H.M.S.O., London, 1969; M. P. Hornsey-Smith, "The Working Life of a University Lecturer", Universities Quarterly, Vol. 28, No. 2, 1974, pp. 149-64; J. P. Martin and Gail Wilson, The Police: A Study in Manpower, London, 1969, pp. 119-37, 263-9; Social Science Research Council, "A Study of Open and Closed Prisons", Social Science Council Newsletter, May 23, 1974; B. Davies and K. Davies, "Academics' diaries prove 50 hour working week", The Times Higher Education Supplement, No. 28, April 21, 1972, p. 13; S. F. Monsky, Staffing of Local Authority Residential Homes for Children: An Enquiry carried out November 1961-January 1962 for the Home Office, London, 1963.
 2. The staff at all three schools were requested to be interviewed for the questionnaire first, which required approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks each at the Junior and Senior Schools and nearly 4 weeks at the Intermediate School. Then the boys completed theirs, which took approximately $2\frac{1}{2}$ weeks at each of the three schools. Diary systems were handed to selected staff at each school at the beginning of the boys' questionnaire administration periods, and collected from them at the completion of these periods.

Furthermore, it was considered that this would serve to establish more valid and conclusive findings. The method of administering the questionnaire was done randomly, with regard to availability and convenience to the respondents. The rationale behind this was one of minimizing any influence the researcher or the research process might otherwise have on the usual pattern of events. The researcher interviewed each respondent personally as a method of administering the questionnaires. This served to allay any unnecessary fears, doubts or misgivings and to offer them encouragement, clarification, and answer questions where necessary.¹ In retrospect, it seemed to have had a direct influence on the response rate, since a greater number of staff and boys responded than had initially been expected, had they been left to complete the questionnaires by themselves.

The staff and boys were usually quite willing and co-operative to answer the questionnaire, although a number of staff, especially in the ancillary group, were somewhat reticent and unforthcoming at times. During such occasions the researcher accommodated himself in an attempt to alleviate the reasons for this. When requested to complete the questionnaire staff usually gave a specific time within a day or two, while boys were usually available on request. Before boys were requested to answer the questionnaire the researcher first checked with the staff member in charge of them for permission and if and when it would be convenient, before approaching the boys to see if they were interested and willing to answer.

A number of noteworthy differences between the three schools were evidenced with regard to the response to the questionnaire interview. These were as follows:

(1) Boys at the Junior School seemed to have more difficulty in concentrating on the questions and they needed substantially more explanation

1. The approximate time required for staff to complete the questionnaire interview was between 1 hour and a half to 1 hour and 45 minutes, whereas the boys' questionnaire interview varied from 30 to 45 minutes. The boys at the Senior School usually completed the questionnaire more quickly than the boys at the other two schools, with the Junior School boys tending to take the longest time.

and clarification than the boys at the other schools. A number of them were also quite restless during the time they were completing the questionnaire.

(2) Staff and boys at the Intermediate School were individually more assertive as their queries and disagreement with certain questions and higher non-response rate indicated. The staff and boys at the other schools were generally more accepting of the questionnaires and diary system, and accepted these without undue queries or resistance.

The number of staff and boys who responded to the questionnaire interviews was as follows:

<u>Schools</u>	<u>Staff</u>	<u>Boys</u>
Junior	39	74
Intermediate	42	71
Senior	41	84
TOTALS	122	229

The Junior and Senior Schools had the lowest non-response rates for staff and boys, while the Intermediate School had the highest. One staff member at the Junior School refused to respond because he claimed he did not have time to complete the questionnaire and one staff member at the Senior School failed to respond because of ill health. Of the five staff members at the Intermediate School who did not respond, three of them refused because they did not have time, one did not give a reason for his refusal and one could not be contacted.¹ With regard to the boys, all boys present at the Junior and Senior Schools responded to the questionnaire, although one boy at the Senior School absconded before he could be interviewed. However, three boys

1. Another interesting difference in the staff non-response rate between schools was that the two staff who did not respond at the Junior and Senior Schools were both ancillary staff, whereas the five non-respondents at the Intermediate School represented different staff groups, i.e., one full-time secretary, one teacher, one instructor and two ancillary staff. Since the Intermediate School placed a stronger emphasis on individual freedom, integrity and development as ideals with which boys were treated, this was suspected also to have attributed to the higher non-response rate in so far as staff were more willing to be individually assertive and refuse to respond.

at the Intermediate School did not respond; two of them considered the questionnaire as "silly" and one boy could not be contacted because he was ill in hospital.

Since the staff diary system was meant to be a supplementary measure to the staff questionnaire and since the aim of this study was that of examining treatment, the extent of its use was limited to staff who had substantial contact with and treatment responsibility for boys. Since ancillary staff tended to have generally less contact with boys and little if any direct treatment responsibility for them, they were not selected as candidates for the diary system. The diaries were distributed therefore to just over one-third of the remaining staff, at each of the schools, at the beginning of the boys' questionnaire administration periods. It was considered that a two-week period would be the most adequate length in terms of providing a typical picture of what staff did and in maintaining their interest and co-operation.

Every staff member selected for the diary system was individually briefed by the researcher with regard to filling in his diary, and personal contact was maintained with him throughout the period covered by it, to ensure he was progressing satisfactorily. The participants retained the diaries in their possession during this period. Upon completion, every staff member was again individually contacted in order to collect and edit the diaries, answer any outstanding queries, and to ascertain how typical or atypical the period covered by the diaries had been. The researcher's presence in each of the schools for the duration of the period covered by the diaries, also served to be a reminder for some of the participants that they had agreed to engage in filling in a diary, and that it was necessary to regularly record their activities.

Staff were selected to partake in the diary exercise according to a number of preferred criteria. However since it often proved difficult to find staff who met all of these, it was necessary to compromise and make

selections according to the criteria they did meet. Staff were selected therefore with the following in mind:

1. substantial contact with and treatment responsibility for boys;
2. when possible, relatively equal representation from each of the three applicable staff groups, i.e., Supervisory/Administration, Teacher/Instructors, and Housestaff;
3. prior completion of the staff questionnaire;
4. interest and willingness to conscientiously engage in diary exercise;
5. on duty, i.e., not on vacation or leave, for the duration of the fourteen-day period covered by the diary.

The staff selected at each of the schools were as follows:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Junior School</u>	<u>Intermediate School</u>	<u>Senior School</u>
Supervisory/Administrative	3	1	2
Teacher/Instructor	3	5	3
Housestaff	5	5	5
TOTALS	11	11	10

Because one of the housestaff at the Junior School lost his diary shortly before its completion, eleven instead of twelve Junior School staff completed diaries. Furthermore, one of the housestaff at the Intermediate School failed to fill in any of his diary because he had been very busy and forgotten about it, even though he had stated to the researcher that he was progressing satisfactorily with it. Consequently, eleven instead of twelve staff at the Intermediate School completed the diaries.

Stage 4: Analysis

The object of analysis was to bring together the various methodological approaches used to explain and describe the treatment and regimes of each of the three schools surveyed in this study. The data gathered by the staff and boys' questionnaire interviews, with the exception of a few questions,

was analysed by computer and the researcher himself.¹ The reason for exclusion of these questions from the analysis stage was because they were considered by this stage to be either irrelevant or badly designed.² The diary system was also analysed by the researcher himself.

The total number of staff interviewed at the three schools was 122 and the total number of boys was 229. The total period of time spent in participant observation and questionnaire and diary data collection between May 1973 and June 1974, at the three schools was approximately 5 months and an extra month during April and June 1973, was spent in participant observation at two other schools.

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1. The "Statistical Package for the Social Sciences - SPSS" was used for the data which was analysed by computer. See Norman Nie, Dale H. Bent, C. Hadlah Hull, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, New York, 1970.
 2. The questions on the staff questionnaire which were considered to be irrelevant by the analysis stage were: 9, 10(a) (b), 11(a) (b), 13 (a)(b), 15(a)(b), 16, 17, 19(a)(b), 39 (1, 2), 46 (1 to 5, 7 and 10), and on the boys' questionnaire, 3(a)(b), 11(c). Question 30(a) on the staff questionnaire, by this stage, was considered to have been badly designed and therefore was also not included in the analysis of data. (See Appendices AA and BB.)

CHAPTER 2

DESCRIPTION OF SCHOOLS

So that the reader may more fully appreciate and understand the different regimes and their approaches to treatment at each of the schools, it is necessary before examining the findings of this survey in detail, to offer a general description of each of the schools and more specifically give reference to various aspects of their programmes, staff and boys.

THE JUNIOR SCHOOL

The Junior School was built around 1850 and was first opened as a small private school. During its history it has also been a girls' industrial school, but eventually became an approved school for boys. Today, of course, it is a community home for boys and comes under the jurisdiction of a large urban local authority in the West Riding of Yorkshire. Its location provides quick and easy access to a number of moderate size cities and numerous villages.

The school had a staff of 40 which was grouped as follows:

1. Supervisory/Administrative Group.

This group consisted of the headmaster, deputy headmaster, Senior assistant, matron, assistant matron, one clerk and one shorthand typist.

2. Teacher Group.

This group consisted of six teachers. Although the senior assistant was a teacher he was designated by the headmaster as being part of the Supervisory/Administrative group. This was because his duties were substantially more supervisory and administrative than they were concerned with teaching, and because of this, therefore, he had more status than the other teachers.

3. Housestaff Group.

This group consisted of four housewardens, one housemaster, three full-time housemothers and five part-time housemothers.

4. Ancillary Group.

This group consisted of nine full-time staff and five part-time staff, which can be broken down as follows: four cooks, one dining room assistant, two seamstresses, four domestics, two gardeners and one handyman.

a. Programme Description

The living arrangements for the boys was according to a "house" system. There were four houses in which between 15 and 25 boys were accommodated and where boys spent a fair amount of their free time during the evenings in recreational activities. Houserooms, however, were infrequently used by boys during the day time. Each house room was well equipped with a variety of games, including a billiard table, television, and two of the houses had table tennis. Boys slept in the houses they were assigned to, and boys in three houses all slept together in one of three large dormitories.

The idea behind the house system, as compared with the "block system",¹ was that it provided boys with a greater sense of belonging and identification which served to break down a degree of the impersonal atmosphere so often prevalent in institutional living. Although at one time the more disturbed boys were allocated to one particular house, this practice had been discontinued by the time the research commenced. The housewarden of this house had felt no longer able to cope with having most, if not all, of the more severely disturbed boys at the school. Random house allocation of boys upon their arrival to the school had been in effect for several months when interviewing of staff commenced. However, boys very seldom changed houses after their arrival.

Although boys had contact to a greater and lesser extent with most staff,

1. "Block system" refers to all the boys being accommodated, and perhaps even sleeping in a single unit. Also see King's et al description of "block treatment" which is analogous to block system treatment. "Child management practices are institutionally-oriented if the children are regimented - that is dealt with as a group - before, during and after any specific activity. These practices involve queueing and waiting around with large groups of other children and no mode of occupation during the waiting period." King, Raynes and Tizard, op.cit., pp. 106-7.

each house was assigned a specific set of staff of which the Housewarden was the most responsible person for the house. The House teams were at the time of interviewing boys, as follows:

House 1	House 2
1 Housewarden	1 Housewarden
1 Housemaster	1 Housemaster part-time
2 Housemothers part-time	1 Teacher
1 Teacher	1 Ancillary staff
1 Ancillary staff	
Number of boys = 25	Number of boys = 16
House 3	House 4
1 Housewarden	1 Housewarden
1 Housemother part-time	1 Housemother full-time
2 Teachers	2 Teachers
1 Ancillary staff	1 Administrative staff (school clerk)
Number of boys = 15	Number of boys = 18

The purpose of having specific house teams for each of the houses served to provide a sense of security and stability for boys in that it provided them with a better opportunity to get to know a few people on a more personal and intimate basis. However, house teams did not discourage the possibilities of this evolving with other staff than themselves. House teams also had a practical purpose of having staff available to relieve and share the duties in the house, as well as to assume responsibility for the house during staff illnesses, emergencies, etc.

In order to convey to the reader what occurred during a typical day or week at the school, an examination of the boys' daily routine and activities would serve this purpose. The daily routine which boys lived by was fairly well set and unchanging. A typical day would be as follows:

- 7.00 a.m. Boys rise, wash, and engage in their assigned chores of cleaning, etc., supervised by one or two staff members.
- 8.00 a.m. Breakfast. All boys eat their breakfast together in one large dining hall, while supervised by one or two staff members.
- 8.30 a.m. Two boys help wash and clean up in the kitchen and the remainder play in the school yard, while under the supervision of one or two staff members.

- 9.00 a.m. Assembly. This is attended by all boys, most teachers, and usually a number of the housestaff. The purpose of assembly is to provide both religious and social training for boys.
- 9.20 a.m. All boys are in their respective classrooms.
- 10.35 a.m. Staff tea break. All boys are playing in the school yard, while under supervision of one or two staff members.
- 10.50 a.m. All boys are again in their respective classrooms.
- 12.00 p.m. Boys prepare for lunch, e.g., wash their hands etc., under supervision.
- 12.30 p.m. Lunch. Boys eat their lunch, whenever possible, in their houses. They are supervised by one or two staff from their house teams.
- 1.00 p.m. Boys are playing in the school yard under the supervision of one or two staff members.
- 2.00 p.m. Boys are in their respective classrooms.
- 3.10 p.m. Staff tea break. All boys are playing in the school yard while under the supervision of one or two staff members.
- 3.25 p.m. All boys are in their respective classrooms.
- 4.30 p.m. All boys prepare for tea, e.g., wash their hands, etc.
- 5.00 p.m. Tea. All boys have their tea, while supervised by one or two staff members, in the large dining hall.
- 5.30 p.m. Boys are out playing on the school yard under the supervision of one or two staff members, while a few boys might briefly be in the house room during this time.
- 6.00 p.m. Certain evenings have been designated "House Nights", during which most, but usually all, the boys of a particular house remain in their respective house and engage in recreational activities. House nights are usually the same evenings for all the houses. During other evenings boys are engaged in sports in the school gymnasium or on the football field, or are at the local swimming pool, movies, or an outing elsewhere. Usually all, but always most, of the boys from a house engage in an

activity together. House nights occurred once or twice during the weekdays, usually during the same days from one week to the next.

8.00 p.m. Supper. Unless boys are away from the school or on an outing, boys have a hot drink and snack at this time.

9.00 p.m. Boys prepare for bed. However the time for this varies depending on a variety of factors, such as general restlessness, a particular television programme they are allowed to stay up for, etc.

9.30 p.m. Lights out.

There were a few exceptions to this daily routine during the week. Once a week boys and members of their house teams had house meetings for approximately 25 minutes from 9.20 to 9.45 a.m., and on Tuesdays boys did not have assembly, although they commenced their classes at 9.10 a.m., rather than at 9.20 a.m. This brought the total time boys spent in class per week to 23 hours and 5 minutes, or 1,385 minutes (see Table 3.10). But they spent 27 hours and 30 minutes during the week on recreational activities, and more than this when they did not go home on weekend leave.¹

The classroom or academic training which was carried on at the school was organized along the lines of the form system. Upon their arrival all boys were placed in Form 1, which provided them with the opportunity to settle in and gave staff a chance to assess each boy's academic level and capabilities. From Form 1 boys would be moved to any one of the five other

1. Times spent on recreational activities during the week were as follows: 8.30 to 9 a.m., 10.35 to 10.50 a.m., 1 to 2 p.m., 3.10 to 3.25 p.m., 5.30 to 9 p.m., equals 5 hours and 30 minutes each day and 27 hours and 30 minutes for the 5 weekdays. It is estimated that boys spent an additional 20 hours or so on recreational activities during the weekends they remained at the school. This brought the total time spent on recreational activities per week to approximately 47 hours for those boys who remained at the school during the weekend. Recreational activities could be defined as those activities boys were engaged in during their free time, which was when they were not in class, assembly or being addressed by staff as a group. The activities ranged from organized team sports, group games and outings to unorganized games, and activities such as watching television, etc. The amount of time spent on recreational activities is of importance in subsequent analysis of data.

forms. Form 2 was termed by staff as the remedial form, in that it provided remedial education. Form 3 was the form to which Form 2 boys usually moved once they had learned the basics there. But since there was a high demand for boys requiring the remedial education available in Form 2, boys already in Form 2 were at times moved to Form 3 so as to make room in Form 2 for newly arrived boys requiring remedial education. Hence, Form 3 was known as the senior remedial form, in that it continued to carry on some remedial work started in Form 2. Forms 4, 5 and 6 were the forms boys were assigned to according to age, once they had acquired the necessary academic skills in Forms 2 or 3 or were up to this standard upon their arrival at the school. However, the boys in Forms 4, 5 and 6 were fairly mixed in their academic abilities.

Each teacher was in charge of a form, which meant that he wrote educational progress reports for the boys in his form and had his own form for the last period in the week for review. The teachers in charge of Forms 1 and 2 spent more classroom time with their forms than the other teachers did with theirs.¹ Forms 3, 4, 5 and 6 moved around more from one teacher to another, than did Forms 1 and 2.

The subjects and areas covered by the teachers, other than remedial education, were mathematics, English, science, social studies, art, music, physical education, woodwork, careers and games.

A unique and important feature at the Junior School was the weekly meeting to decide on what privileges each boy would receive. These meetings were attended by teachers and the male housestaff, although always by more teachers than housestaff. There were three categories in this so called "privilege system" and the category to which a boy was assigned was dependent on his behaviour and performance since the last privileges meeting a week earlier. The category "off privileges" meant that a boy did not partake of

1. Forms 1 and 2 spent approximately two-thirds of their classroom time with their own form teachers and approximately one-third of their time split amongst the other teachers.

the special events, outings, etc., such as going to the baths, movies, etc., and if necessary he was selected to do a variety of chores. What these chores were and how many of them he had to do was up to the staff member imposing them. When a boy's behaviour and performance had been neither outstandingly good or bad, he again did not partake of the special events but did not have to carry out the chores the boys in the "off privileges" category had to do. The third category was entitled "on privileges", which meant a boy had an opportunity to earn extra pocket money and could go on outings and partake of any special events.

Alongside this system of granting and withholding of privileges was a mechanism whereby individual staff could allot penalties to boys, which they were given an opportunity to redeem through engaging in various chores and tasks during specific times in the week. Since boys redeemed these penalties each week, they began each week cleared of any penalties. However, since it was evident during the observation periods that there was less consultation with respect to the process of allotting penalties than there was about the granting and withholding of privileges, it might be suggested that the penalty system was subject to greater variations in its enforcement than the privileges system was.

The method staff used to rate boys' progress in the school was the assignment to each boy of a grade one, two or three.¹ Grade one indicated that a boy had either only recently arrived at the school or was not progressing well if he had been at the school some time, whereas Grade three indicated he had progressed and was progressing very well. It was difficult, however, for staff to articulate and be precise with regard to the criteria whereby boys were graded. However, the behaviour of boys which was considered during the meetings which were held once a term to reappraise boys' grades, was with regard to the politeness, obedience, compliance, willingness, etc., they exhibited towards staff, their

1. The grades boys were in had a bearing on the amount of weekly pocket money they received. Although boys under 15 years of age and in grade one received a basic rate of 45 pence per week, whereas boys over 15 and in grade one received 63 pence, these figures were further adjusted upwards if boys were in grades other than one. Furthermore, boys "on privileges" had opportunities of earning additional pocket money over and above these basic rates, by doing chores in the kitchen, etc. But boys in the "off privileges" category could stand to lose pocket money from their basic rate, in that the school would place a part of their pocket money in their accounts and not allow them to spend it until a later date, and perhaps even for a specific purpose such as paying their transportation home.

attitude to their classroom lessons and the school generally, and their behaviour while on home leave. But perseverance and sincerity in their attempts to improve on their lessons, behaviour etc., were qualities for which staff had high regard when they reappraised boys' grades.

An important point which needs to be emphasized and re-emphasized here is that the decision making process with regard to the privilege and grade systems were based, as alluded to above, on a variety of mutually accepted or stereotyped behaviours, the exhibition of which was of importance for boys to be considered as progressing satisfactorily or worthy of being "on privileges". However, in addition to this, staff relied on their own personal intuitive feelings as to a boy's progress and whether he was deserving of privileges. But it was difficult to ascertain to what extent the stereotyped behaviour and the intuition influenced the decision making process. An over reliance on one or the other would either indicate a staff member to be too reliant on his own judgement and not enough on his colleagues' or too dependent on his colleagues' judgement and not enough on his own.

The Junior School placed a great deal of emphasis on meetings which were directly related to boys. Besides the already mentioned weekly privileges meetings and the grading meetings held once a term, members of each of the house teams met weekly with the boys of their respective houses, and held meetings to discuss a boy's future. The purpose of the weekly house meetings was to discuss house policy, how the house and the boys in it were faring generally, future house events and activities, as well as providing boys with an opportunity to express and listen to each other's concerns and grievances and to ask questions. The purpose of the meetings prior to the Local Authority Review, termed by staff as the "internal review meetings", was to provide for the staff, usually closest to and most knowledgeable about the boy to be reviewed, an opportunity to compare their perceptions,

prognosis, and the next phase, if any, in his treatment.¹ Finally, general staff meetings at which boys, staff and school concerns were discussed, took place with substantially less frequency.

A unique secondary feature of the Junior School was the comparatively greater amount of home leave boys received and the substantially lower occurrence of absconding (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.4). Although there was no evidence of association between the amount of leave and the degree of absconding, it seemed that boys tended to abscond more once they had been at the school for a number of months than they did shortly after their arrival.² However, home leave tended to be more often rationalized on compassionate grounds at the Junior School than it was at the other two schools, although boys could lose weekend leaves for disciplinary reasons.

The amount of home leave boys received was as follows: three leaves of two weeks each and three half term leaves of six to ten days each annually. Every boy received this leave which was not subject to reduction or curtailment, as weekend leaves were. Most boys went on leave every third

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1. "Internal review meetings" were held a few weeks before the "Local Authority Review" and the conclusions of the internal reviews were forwarded to the child care worker responsible for the boy's Local Authority Review, before he visited the school to undertake this review, so that he was prepared for and knowledgeable of the issues and facts regarding the boy in question. A Local Authority Review is a review of a boy's progress at the school.
 2. Although this finding is contrary to what would be expected, since, as described by Rose there tended to be a greater degree of absconding soon after boys arrived and before they settled down. It has also been noted by Rose and Clarke and Martin that the reasons for absconding vary and are far from clear. Clarke and Martin have further stated that "at present the best hope for reducing absconding would seem to lie in the manipulation of factors in the school regime" and that the practical suggestion of dealing with it "would arise from further research, particularly if more detailed studies of school regimes and staff attitudes were undertaken." R. V. G. Clarke and D. N. Martin, Home Office Research Studies 12: Absconding from Approved Schools, H.M.S.O., London, 1971, pp. 95 and 102. Also see G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 67-8. For other studies dealing with absconding see, R. V. G. Clarke, "Approved School Boy Absconders and Corporal Punishment", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1967, pp. 195-202; "Absconding and Adjustment to the Training School", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 8, No. 3, 1968, pp. 285-95; M. G. S. Gunasekara, "The Problem of Absconding in Boys' Approved Schools in England and Wales", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 4, No. 2, 1963, pp. 145-51; D. N. Martin and R. V. G. Clarke, "The Personality of Approved School Boy Absconders", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 9, No. 4, 1969, pp. 366-75; Sinclair, op.cit., p. 72.

TABLE 2.1

Junior School Boys: Number of Home Leaves and Absconding by Length of Stay¹

LENGTH OF STAY IN MONTHS	BOYS		HOME LEAVES ²		ABSCONDINGS		Av. No. of home leaves per boy ²	Av. no. of Abscondings per boy
	No.	% cumulative %	No.	% cumulative %	No.	% cumulative %		
Less than 1 month to 3 months	12	16.2	42	3.5	-	-	3.5	-
4 months to 6 months	14	18.9	108	8.9	3	9.4	7.7	.2
7 months to 9 months	11	14.9	141	11.7	2	6.3	12.8	.2
10 months to 12 months	13	17.6	247	20.4	8	25.0	19.0	.6
13 months to 15 months	9	12.2	198	16.4	6	18.8	22.0	.7
16 months to 18 months	3	4.1	69	5.7	5	15.6	23.0	1.7
19 months to 21 months	5	6.8	162	13.4	4	12.5	32.4	.8
22 months to 24 months	5	6.8	145	12.0	3	9.4	29.0	.6
25 months plus	2	2.7	96	7.9	1	3.1	48.0	.5
TOTALS	74	100.0*	1208	100.0*100.0*	32	100.0*100.0*		

Average number of home leaves per boy surveyed at the Junior School equals 16.3

Average number of abscondings per boy surveyed at the Junior School equals .4

1. Up to and including the last day of boys' interview period, i.e., 12th June, 1974.
 2. Refers only to the number of home leaves and does not account for the length of these leaves.
- * Percentages are rounded to first place of decimal and therefore totals approximate 100 per cent.



weekend, a considerable number of them every alternate weekend, and for a small number of boys coming near the end of their stay, every weekend. Also for a small number, because of a variety of reasons such as discipline, not having a home and family to go to, or it not being advantageous to return to an unstable family situation, went home less often than every third weekend. It was very rare for boys to go on home leave for just a day visit or that his family visited the school to take him out for the day, although staff themselves at times took those boys who did not have a home and family of their own and/or who might stand to benefit from being away from the school, into their homes for a day or weekend leave. Those boys who did not have a family or could not go home on leave, at times spent their home leave at a family group home, with foster parents or with couples who extended their welcome to them.¹

b. Staff-Boys Relationships

Although each staff member had his own unique manner of relating to boys, there existed a number of distinct features in their relationships with boys which are deserving of further comment and description. As was previously indicated by the daily routine of the school, boys were tightly programmed during the day time, although substantially less so during the evenings or weekends spent at the school. However, they were never unsupervised during any of these times and constant supervision was strongly stressed by the headmaster. The importance of the tightly programmed and constantly supervised day was that boys were either unable to be trusted by themselves or unable to take care of themselves. It was difficult at times to be certain as to which of the reasons was more predominant, although staff seemed to mistrust boys more than they felt boys were unable to take care of themselves.

1. According to the files at the school, by the end of the interviewing period for boys, only two boys had no family of their own to go on leave to and had therefore spent most of their leaves with foster parents, and five boys had spent one or more of their leaves at family group homes, children's homes, staff members' homes, or with couples who opened their homes to them. Only on six occasions had parents visited the school to take their boys home or for a day of touring the area.

An outstanding characteristic of the Junior School boys was that they were relatively much more childish and immature than the boys at the Intermediate and Senior Schools. Furthermore, they were emotionally more volatile and less restrained or self controlled, as frequent unpredictable outbursts and unprovoked fights indicated.¹ However, they were very affectionate as well as deferential to adults. They also tended to be more attention-seeking. But they were emotionally much more transparent and less sophisticated than the boys at the Intermediate and Senior Schools. Intellectually they were also less sophisticated as indicated by their inability to conceptualize and their tendency to relate to and see the world around them primarily in literal terms. They were unable to generalize from their own experience. Hence, they were more impressionable, gullible and naive. They had not as yet developed a significant degree of self awareness, self assurance or for that matter, as much of a self identity as the older boys at the other two schools had.

Staff's manner of relating to boys seemed to be influenced and often directly guided by these characteristics of boys. They tended to feel sympathetic towards boys in that they considered them more as victims of broken homes, poverty, poor academic training, which often had associated mental and emotional handicaps and maladjustments. This sympathy seemed to take on characteristics common to parent child relationships such as staff's assurances, affection, companionship, etc., conveyed.

But staff also had the habit of shouting at boys, either because they were angered by them or wanted to quieten them down when they were noisy.

1. According to John Howells, this is fairly typical behaviour for junior approved school boys. See John Howells, "The Junior Approved School", in Services for Children and Their Families: Aspects of Child Care for Social Workers, ed. John Stroud, Oxford, 1973, pp. 134-7. However, Field, Hammond and Tizard's findings in a study of thirteen-year old junior and intermediate school boys indicated that the boys' maladjustment did not significantly differ according to the school they were in. See E. Field, W. H. Hammond and J. Tizard, Home Office Research Studies 11: Thirteen-year old Approved School Boys in 1962, H.M.S.O., London, 1971, pp. 22 and 25.

This was an effective method of controlling boys, since once they were quiet they were attentive and ready to listen, and furthermore, provided staff with a means of venting their own pent up frustrations. However, it was often difficult to ascertain the reason for the shouting; whether it was to get boys' attention or the venting of frustration.

When examining the various treatment methods, what must be kept in mind is the anticipated and potential benefit these were estimated to have on boys. Intensive group work or individual counselling, according to one housewarden, was considered to be beyond boys' capacity to be of use to them. Among the many valid obstacles preventing boys from benefiting from these methods, lack of insight into themselves and others was the most crucial. Supervision of boys in groups and establishing personal relationships with them seemed therefore a much more workable method of treatment with the boys at the Junior School.

An important point with reference to the reasons why boys were sent to the school as noted by the headmaster, was that the vast majority of the boys at the school had been involved in one way or another in offences, and furthermore, the majority of them had had court appearances for offending. Although only 4 or 5 of the 74 boys interviewed had no history of offending, the headmaster outlined a number of hypothetical categories to which boys at the school could be assigned.¹ These were as follows:

Group 1 Confirmed Offenders

"Approximately 60 per cent of the boys could be assigned to this category."

Group 2, Recent Offenders

"These were boys who had recently become involved in offending, apparently because of recent behavioural and family problems. Approximately 25 per cent of the boys could be assigned to this category."

1. The percentages of boys who could be assigned to each of the four categories was based on how the school population at any one time might generally be categorized. However, these percentages and categories seemed also to be fairly representative for the 74 boys interviewed.

Group 3, Offenders with no Recorded Offences

"Although the boys in this category were not convicted of offending they were known to have offended. Approximately 10 per cent of the boys could be assigned to this category."

Group 4, Non-Offenders

"Boys who had virtually committed no offence other than truancy or being beyond their parents' control. However, there was a great likelihood that there had been at least some fringe involvement if not definite involvement in offences. Approximately 5 per cent of the boys could be assigned to this category."

The decision to take a boy into care, according to the headmaster, was not dependent on whether he had offended, but rather for reasons directly relating to his own personal needs and circumstances and to those of his home, family and community. The headmaster stressed that because of this the school did not regard "the curing of delinquent traits" as the focus or purpose of the school. Rather the emphasis was on "boys' self improvement, achievement and the quality of life generally." In consideration of the aforementioned, it was not feasible to investigate and make valid distinctions between offenders and non-offenders.

c. Staff Organization and Staff Relations

To enhance the understanding of the treatment milieu at the Junior School, a description of staff organization is of primary importance. (See Figure 1.) First of all, the headmaster was formally responsible for the school. He delegated a great deal of responsibility concerned with the everyday operation of the school to the deputy headmaster, who in turn delegated many of the responsibilities with regard to the boys' education and operation of the classroom to the senior assistant. Aside from his direct contact with staff during staff meetings, boys' reviews and informal contact with boys, the headmaster spent most of his time on purely administrative tasks and community oriented interests. However, the deputy

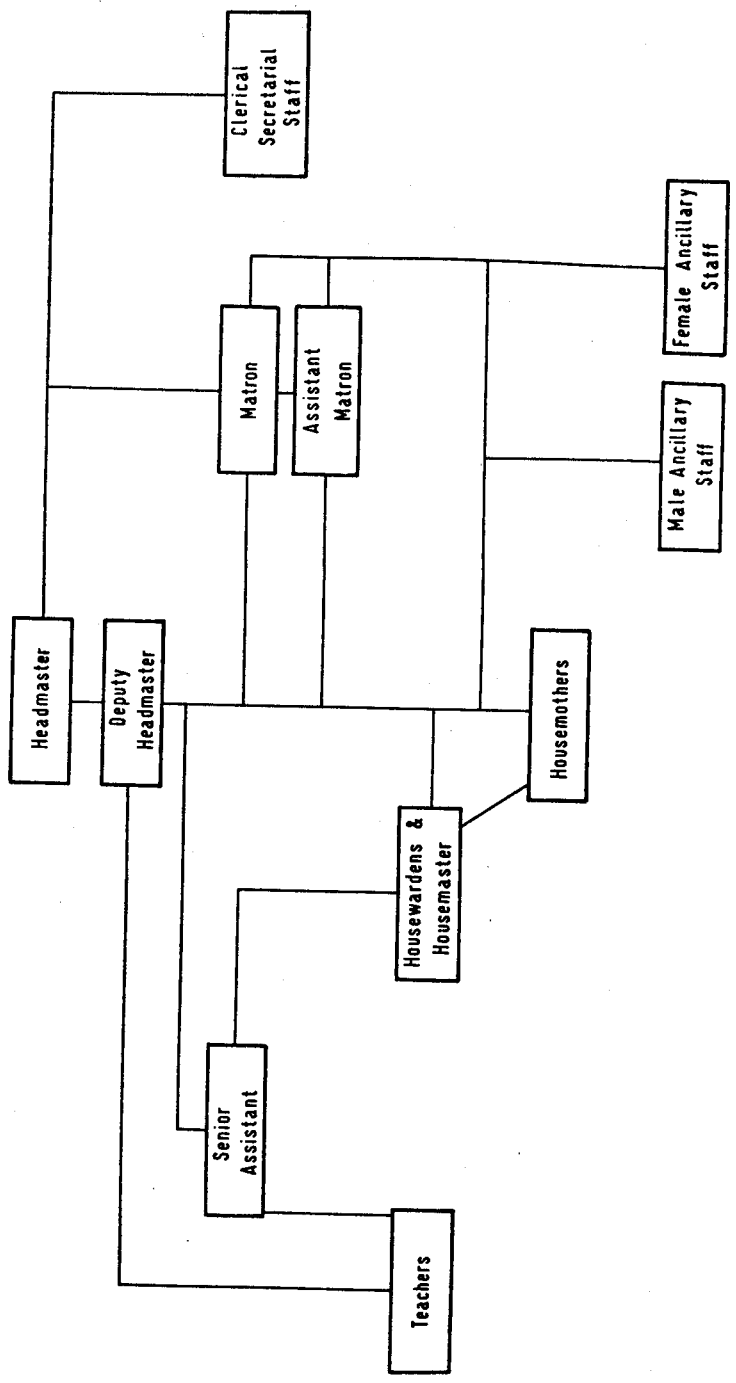


Figure 1. Staff Organisation at the Junior School.

headmaster retained a fair degree of influence in matters concerning the teaching staff themselves, and shared with the matron the supervisional responsibilities of the female staff.

The matron and assistant matron jointly supervised the female staff, with the exception of the school typist. Since they were the wives of the headmaster and deputy headmaster, this served to support, and at times increase, their already high degree of influence at the school.

The male housestaff, i.e., four housewardens and one housemaster, were granted a substantially greater degree of autonomy than the other staff who were directly involved in the treatment of boys, in their selection of programmes and activities for boys. This greater degree of autonomy meant that the deputy headmaster and the senior assistant had less direct contact with the male housestaff than they did with the teachers, and thereby also had less direct influence upon them. The relationship between the male housestaff and the senior assistant seemed to be more in terms of consultation and advising than supervision, whereas the relationship with the deputy headmaster tended to have a more supervisional emphasis than this. The male housestaff also had a supervisional, advisory and consulting function in relation to the housemothers' relations with boys. The matrons supervised the domestic side of the work.

Finally the most autonomous staff of all, were the three male ancillary staff, i.e., two gardeners and one handyman, and the typist and office clerk. It seemed that since they had relatively less contact with boys than house staff and teachers, and therefore less essential in the treatment of boys, it was possible to allow them this greater degree of autonomy. Also since they were all older members of staff who each had several years of experience at the school, they were considered trustworthy and responsible enough to warrant this greater degree of autonomy.

THE INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL

This school, located in a rural area of northern England, evolved from a monastery built in 1855. Shortly after it was opened the order of monks occupying it withdrew, leaving it to remain unoccupied for approximately two years. In 1858 it was re-opened as a training college for teachers with the provision to take in a number of delinquent boys for these training teachers to practise on. However, the training college was soon abandoned and the focus became solely that of the treatment of delinquents, and before long it was re-opened as a boys' reformatory. Operated by an order of priests, boys were sent to this reformatory for stays of five-year periods. Then in 1912 a special Roman Catholic teaching order took over the operation of the school and it eventually became an approved school. Today this same order operates the school, although the headmaster, deputy headmaster, and two of the teachers were the only Brothers of this order. The remainder of the 47 staff employed at the school were laymen. Also a number of the staff as well as a few of the boys were not Roman Catholics.

The 47 staff were grouped into 4 categories as follows:

1. Supervisory/Administrative Group.

This group consisted of the headmaster, deputy headmaster, the senior assistant, the matron, and three full-time secretaries.

2. Teachers/Instructors Group.

This group consisted of six teachers and six instructors. Since the senior assistant was an instructor but designated by the headmaster as being part of the supervisory/administrative group because of his different responsibilities and status, he was therefore placed in that staff group.

3. Housestaff Group.

This group consisted of six housemasters and four full-time housemothers, and one part-time housemother.

4. Ancillary Group.

This group consisted on fifteen full-time staff and two part-time staff,

which can be broken down as follows: three cooks, three linen room staff, four cleaners, five farm staff, one night watchman and one priest. The priest was placed in this staff group on the advice of the headmaster.

a. Programme Description

The living arrangements for the boys at the Intermediate School, like those for the boys at the Junior School, was according to a house system. Although upon commencement of the research there had been four separate house units for the boys, towards the later part of it, two houses were combined into one, thereby resulting in three house units. Boys were randomly allocated to these houses and at the time of the boys' questionnaire interviews house teams were assigned to each of the three houses as follows:

House 1	House 2	House 3
2 Housemasters	2 Housemasters	2 Housemasters
2 Housemothers	2 Housemothers	2 Housemothers
2 Teachers	1 Teacher	1 Senior Assistant
2 Instructors	2 Instructors	2 Teachers
	1 Ancillary	1 Instructor
No. of boys = 29	No. of boys = 25	1 Ancillary
		No. of boys = 20

The house system and house teams served to provide boys with more intimate and personal contact with staff than the centralized system would have, i.e., the block system, whereby all boys would be accommodated in one living unit. An interesting contrast to the house system at the Junior School was that the house teams at the Intermediate School had a greater number of staff assigned to each house, and with the exception of one house, had more boys accommodated per house.

The academic education boys received at the Intermediate School was less structured into a specific subject area or timetable than at the Junior School. Teachers were encouraged to experiment and be innovative in their presentation of their subject matter as well as the particular content chosen for presentation. Classes were conducted with boys' emotional needs, capabilities and interests in mind. Classes therefore often had distinct group therapy orientation in which the group, individual or both, was the focus at any one

time. "Academic work was not neglected", according to the headmaster, "but the emphasis was on "emotional and social rehabilitation".¹

Boys were divided into four classroom groups, labelled A, B, C and D. Class A and B represented the boys who were most capable academically, although they did not necessarily represent the most intelligent boys. Class A was a traditional secondary modern type class, preparing boys for C.S.E., and Class B was a class for boys requiring more specialized treatment. Class C was termed the "Reception Class" to which all boys recently arrived at the school were assigned. This class served to allow boys to settle in and gave staff a chance to gauge a boy's academic abilities and potential. Class D represented the boys most in need of remedial education, although some remedial education was also carried on in Class C.

In addition to the classroom programme, the Intermediate School also had what might loosely be regarded as a vocational training programme. This consisted of six departments which had seven instructors (see Appendix D). The departments were building, engineering, farming, joinery, maintenance and painting. The headmaster felt boys benefited most from the departments through being involved in tasks and projects rather than in stressing the theoretical side of these. If theory was thought to be necessary to enable boys to carry out a project, it was expected that the instructors would present it to them. However, aside from these expectations, the instructors like the teachers, were encouraged to experiment and innovate in the projects and tasks they selected and the manner in which they and the boys engaged in these.

The kind of projects boys were engaged in were usually of direct use and benefit to themselves and/or the school. These ranged from general repairs and maintenance of the school fabric and machinery, lending assistance in the kitchen, to the feeding and caring for the animals on the farm. Boys

1. Unpublished article by the Headmaster, "My Methods and Aims ...", February, 1972.

seemed to enjoy their time in the department and had a pride in their achievements therein.

Besides being categorized in classes for academic purposes, boys were also divided into four grades, which was an indication of a boy's progress at the school. The headmaster noted that the grading system

"was designed to give a boy more and more responsibility for his behaviour. It was sufficiently flexible to allow him to fail and try again and again to develop as much self-discipline as he was capable of attaining."¹

Grades were also an indication of the privileges boys were granted.² A manner of assigning grades was through the use of a "points" system. Boys were assigned a number of points each week, the number of which was dependent on their behaviour during that week. Although the headmaster noted that this system was only an arbitrary indicator of a boy's progress, boys tended to take it fairly seriously as their disappointment or elation over a loss or gain of points indicated.³ However, by stating that it was arbitrary, the headmaster suggested that there existed a great deal of leeway in the method the "points" system was effected. But the "points" system was related to grades in that a boy could be downgraded if he lost enough points, and being downgraded was the most serious form of punishment a boy could experience. Irresponsibility, refusing to work, delinquency while on home leave, and bullying were some of the reasons for downgrading, of which bullying was the most serious offence. When questioned with regard to the

1. Unpublished article by the Headmaster, op.cit.

2. Boys in Grade 1 received one pound pocket money per week, did not have to be in their houseroom until ten-thirty p.m., and any time outside 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. was his own to do with as he pleased. However, in addition to having made exceptional progress at the school, boys were assigned to grade 1 because they were also considered to be trustworthy and able to use the additional freedom responsibly. Grade 4 boys on the other hand, were recent arrivals to the school, i.e., had been at the school for less than a month. They received twenty pence pocket money per week and had to be in their houserooms, as did all boys not in grade 1, by 8.30 p.m. Of the 77 boys at this school on January 31, 1973, there was one boy in grade 1, 12 boys in grade 2, 62 boys in grade 3 and 2 boys in grade 4.

3. See also Rose, op.cit., pp. 60 and 61.

effectiveness of this punishment, the headmaster remarked that it depended on the problem and/or the particular boy involved.

Although the criteria whereby a boy became labelled as an absconder differed¹ somewhat between the three schools, the Intermediate School had by far the highest rate of abscondings (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.4). This could be explained in a number of ways. First of all, the Intermediate School accepted and had a greater proportion of disturbed boys than the other two schools. Secondly, the headmaster considered absconding to be representative of a boy's disturbance, from which he could learn and gain understanding of his problem upon his return to the school. Hence, abscondings were dealt with individually, with specific reference to the particular boy and set of circumstances involved. Since the headmaster considered that punishment for absconding was hardly an effective method of dealing with this problem, boys were not punished for absconding.

The Intermediate School also placed a strong emphasis on individual and group therapy. Although it is not feasible to describe the types of therapies used, it is important to note that there were Client Centred Therapy, Gestalt therapy and Psychodrama.² However, only a few staff

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1. All three schools labelled a boy an absconder if he left the school unauthorized or did not return from home leave. However, there existed a difference in the amount of time before the schools reported a boy's absence as an absconder. The Intermediate School was unable to give a specific time limit before the police and/or child care officer were contacted, since according to the headmaster, this varied with the situation and the boy involved. However, he stated that in case of a late return from leave the child care officer was contacted within 24 hours after a boy's leave expired, if the boy himself had not already contacted the school. It depended on the circumstances which prevented a boy from returning on time to the school, as to whether he was recorded as having absconded.
 2. For a detailed account of each of these therapies the following publications may be consulted: Carl R. Rogers, Counselling and Psychotherapy, Boston, 1942; Client Centered Therapy, Boston, 1951; "The Necessary and Sufficient Conditions of Therapeutic Personality Change", Journal of Consulting Psychology, Vol. 21, No. 2, 1957, pp. 95-103; Walter Kempler, "Gestalt Therapy", in Current Psychotherapies, ed. R. Corsini, F. E. Peacock, Illinois, 1973, pp. 251-86; Frederick Perls, Ralph Hefferline and Paul Goodman, Gestalt Therapy, New York, 1951; J. L. Moreno, Psychodrama, Vol. 1, New York, 1946; also see R. Brooks, Bright Delinquents: the Story of a Unique School, Windsor, 1972, pp. 33, 61-70, 169-75, for a description of the application of the Rogerian therapeutic outlook and approach to approved school care and treatment.

TABLE 2.2

Intermediate School Boys: Number of Home Leaves and Abscondings by Length of Stay¹

LENGTH OF STAY IN MONTHS	BOYS		HOME LEAVES ²		ABSCONDINGS		Av. No. of home leaves ² per boy	Av. no. of Abscondings per boy			
	No.	% cumulat-ive %	No.	% cumulat-ive %	No.	% cumulat-ive %					
Less than 1 month to 3 months	21	29.6	29.6	69	10.8	10.8	25	10.4	10.4	3.3	1.2
4 months to 6 months	16	22.5	52.1	116	18.2	29.0	67	27.8	38.2	7.3	4.2
7 months to 9 months	12	16.9	69.0	130	20.4	49.4	30	12.4	50.6	10.8	2.5
10 months to 12 months	8	11.3	80.3	101	15.9	65.3	42	17.4	68.0	12.6	5.3
13 months to 15 months	5	7.0	87.3	72	11.3	76.6	35	14.5	82.5	14.4	7.0
16 months to 18 months	6	8.5	95.8	117	18.4	95.0	31	12.9	95.4	19.5	5.2
19 months to 21 months	1	1.4	97.2	8	1.3	96.3	6	2.5	97.9	8.0	6.0
22 months to 24 months	2	2.8	100.0	23	3.6	100.0	5	2.1	100.0	11.5	2.5
TOTALS	71	100.0	100.0	636	100.0	*100.0*	241	100.0	100.0		

Average number of home leaves per boy surveyed at the Intermediate School equals 9.0

Average number of abscondings per boy surveyed at the Intermediate School equals 3.4

1. Up to and including the last day of boys' interview period, i.e., 9th May, 1974.

2. Refers only to the number of home leaves and does not account for the length of these leaves.

* Percentages are rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore totals approximate 100 per cent.

members used therapy or considered it necessary or useful in their relationships with boys. Most staff considered the lesson, task, project or activity, etc., provided an intense and credible enough helping relationship with boys, without involving themselves in therapy. The headmaster and three of the teachers were the only staff engaged in therapy with boys.

A unique treatment facility at the Intermediate School was what was termed the "Intensive Care Unit",¹ operated by one of the teachers on a full-time basis.² Its purpose was to provide group and individual therapy during times when boys were distressed, disturbed, frustrated etc., or desired to chat intimately to someone.³ Boys could ask to be placed in the unit if they felt over-tense, distraught or no longer able to cope in the department or class, or staff could place boys in the unit if they felt they were being disruptive or generally a negative influence on the class or department. However, boys would remain no longer than a few hours to a day in the unit and because of this, it served as a mechanism or safety valve for the containment, prevention and treatment of aggression, hostility, despair, etc. The unit was also sometimes used during other times when no crises seemed or were imminent, such as when boys' classes or department activities were cancelled. Since the teacher in charge of the unit tended to favour group more than individual therapy, it was more often occupied by groups of boys rather than individual boys by themselves.

In order to provide the reader with an idea as to what constituted a normal day or week at the Intermediate School, an examination of the boys' daily routine would be helpful. The daily routine went as follows:

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1. Marcellus Guyler, "Intensive Care Unit at St. Williams", Community Schools Gazette, Vol. 65, No. 12, 1972, pp. 665-9; and "The Unit", Community Schools Gazette, Vol. 67, No. 7, 1973, pp. 369-83.
 2. The teacher in charge of the "Intensive Care Unit" was also one of the brothers of the Order responsible for the school. He had no teaching responsibilities and therefore spent all of his working time engaged with boys in the unit and in activities directly related to this.
 3. For a general account of a variety of therapies applicable to correctional settings, see D. C. Gibbons, Changing the Lawbreaker: the Treatment of Delinquents and Criminals, New Jersey, 1965, pp. 129-88.

- 7.15 a.m. Boys rise, dress and wash, while supervised by staff.
- 7.45 a.m. Breakfast. Boys eat their breakfast with the boys of their own house, while supervised by staff. Each house of boys had their own dining room where they ate all their meals with the boys of their own house.
- 8.15 a.m. Boys engaged in their assigned chores, while supervised.
- 8.45 a.m. Boys have free time for play in the school yard, usually supervised by one staff member.
- 9.00 a.m. Assembly. This is attended by all boys, all teachers and a number of the housestaff. The purpose of assembly is to provide religious and social training for the boys
- 9.10 a.m. Boys are in their respective classrooms and departments.
- 10.30 a.m. Staff tea break. All boys are playing in the school yard while supervised by one staff member.
- 10.45 a.m. Boys are in their respective classrooms and departments.
- 12.00 p.m. Boys prepare for lunch, i.e., leave classrooms and departments and wash while supervised.
- 12.15 p.m. Boys have lunch in their respective dining rooms, while supervised.
- 12.45 p.m. Boys have free time in the school yard while supervised.
- 1.30 p.m. Boys are in their respective classrooms and departments.
- 3.15 p.m. Staff tea break. All boys are playing in the school yard while supervised by one staff person.
- 3.30 p.m. Boys are in their respective classrooms and departments.
- 5.00 p.m. Boys have free time in the school yard and houses and prepare for tea, while supervised. Usually 15 minutes is spent in free time and 15 minutes is spent on preparation for tea.
- 5.30 p.m. Boys have tea in their respective dining rooms.
- 6.00 p.m. Boys have free time in the school yard and houses while supervised.
- 6.30 p.m. Organized evening recreational activities commence. These vary from evening to evening and from house to house. Since during

some evenings there are no organized recreational activities, the boys then use the facilities available in their houses or play in the school yard. Boys are supervised throughout the evening regardless of the activity.

- 8.30 p.m. Supper, usually consisting of a hot drink and snack, is taken by boys in their huserooms while engaged in huseroom recreational activities.
- 9.00 p.m. Boys prepare for bed while supervised. The time for this varies somewhat, depending on the degree of boys' restlessness, excitement, co-operation, etc.
- 9.30 p.m. Lights out.

In many ways the timetable of the daily routine at the Intermediate School was much like the one at the other two schools. Although the total time boys spent in class and departments per week was greater than that spent by boys in class at the Junior School, and in class and departments by boys at the Senior School, the boys at the Junior and Senior Schools had more recreational time during the week than the Intermediate School boys.¹ However, a very important observation with reference to the group supervision of boys at the Intermediate and Junior Schools was that boys at both schools were constantly supervised throughout the day, although the manner in which it was carried out and the purposes it served seemed to be slightly different.

1. Times spent on recreational activities during the week were as follows: 8.45 a.m. to 9.00 a.m.; 10.30 a.m. to 10.45 a.m.; 12.45 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.; 3.15 p.m. to 3.30 p.m.; 5.00 p.m. to 5.15 p.m.; 6.00 p.m. to 9.00 p.m.; making a total of 4 hours, 45 minutes each day and 23 hours, 45 minutes per week. It is estimated that boys spend an additional 20 hours or so on recreational activities during the weekends they remain at the school. This brings the total time spent on recreational activities per week to approximately 44 for those boys remaining at the school during the weekends. Although the time spent on recreation was less at the Intermediate than the Junior School it was only marginally so, i.e., 23 hours, 45 minutes as compared with 27 hours, 30 minutes for the weekdays at the Junior School, while the number of hours during the weekends approximated 20 at both schools. However, during the weekends there were organized activities for boys at all three schools, although grade 1 and 2 boys at the Intermediate School organized their own. Also, in addition to the hours boys spent in recreational activities, each of the three schools had a varying number of physical education periods per week, usually during classroom time, but also during departmental time.

At the Junior School group supervision was more direct in that staff were more apt to use and regard it as a means of controlling boys, as their quick and direct intervention in potentially disruptive events, i.e., arguments, disagreements, fights, disobedience, misbehaviour, etc., suggested. The Intermediate School staff placed less emphasis on group supervision, and tended to regard it more as a method of providing boys with guidance and help during their daily activities as well as a way of being available to boys. The Senior School viewed group supervision least seriously of the three.

With regard to home leave, boys at the Intermediate School went on five leaves of ten days each, annually. Although every boy was granted these leaves, in that they were not a privilege, usually seven or eight boys would be unable to take advantage of these.¹ Weekend leave for most boys amounted to one weekend in four, but a number of boys went home less often than this.² Although home leave was at times rationalised on compassionate grounds, it seemed it was done less so than at the Junior School.

Every boy at the Intermediate School had a Local Authority review³

1. The reasons for this varied from not having a home or anywhere else to go to, having just recently arrived at the school, and at times boys just preferred to remain at the school during leaves.
2. The reasons for boys going on weekend leave less than one weekend in four ranged from having returned late on previous leaves, having just arrived at the school, not having a home or elsewhere to go to. Although the reasons for boys not going on leave in many instances were the same for weekend and ten-day leaves, the ten-day leaves were less subject to being curtailed due to circumstances relating to discipline.
3. Since the ultimate responsibility for a boy lay not with the school but with the Local Authority who placed him in care of the school, the Local Authority's representative, the child care officer, to whom a boy was assigned, visited the school to review his progress there, and to inform the school of any additional pertinent information about the boy in question. The review also served the purpose of planning the next step in a boy's treatment and in considering what progress or conditions would be necessary or preferable to enable a boy's release to his home. Furthermore, the review allowed the child care officer to visit with the boy in the environment of the school. The reviews were attended by the headmaster, child care officer, and one or more of his colleagues, and a number of school staff who were most familiar and knowledgeable about the boy in question.

once every three months, as compared to once every six months for the boys at the Junior and Senior Schools. The headmaster felt that six months was too long a period to wait for a review and therefore was insistent with the child care officer attending reviews that the next review be in three months' time. Since it was the policy to let boys know the conclusions reached at their reviews, it provided boys with an indication as to how their progress was regarded, as well as pointing out to them what improvements, if any, should be attempted. Considering that the Intermediate School had more disturbed boys and more boys who were severely disturbed than the other two schools, the shorter waiting between reviews seemed justified in that it gave boys more frequent feedback on their progress.

An interesting implication therefore was that the more disturbed boys and the more severely disturbed boys a school had, the greater the need of and/or benefit from keeping boys informed as to their progress in the school.

b. Staff-Boys Relationships

Staff relationships with the boys seemed to be influenced and guided by their own perceptions of the boys themselves, the headmaster's therapeutic emphasis in his relations with boys,¹ and the staff's perceptions of the headmaster's expectations of them with regard to treatment. Because the Intermediate School had, according to its staff, a greater proportion of disturbed boys as well as more severely disturbed boys than other approved schools, this in itself tended to elicit a sympathetic understanding and tolerance, although not to as marked a degree as at the Junior School. Staff considered boys to be more victimized by their disturbances than by

1. The headmaster had a policy of having a brief meeting with each boy individually shortly after his arrival at the school and as often as he and the boy in question felt was necessary or wanted after that. The nature of these meetings tended to be therapy or counselling oriented. Since most of the boys in the school had some degree of individual contact such as this with the headmaster each week, the headmaster was not only one of the most knowledgeable persons with regard to the individual boys in the school, but was also the person the staff gauged their own involvement in treatment by.

circumstances which may have contributed to their disturbance and/or their placement into care, i.e., broken homes, poverty, delinquency, etc.¹ The manner of working with boys at the Intermediate School was more calm and gentle in approach than at the other two schools. However, this did not mean staff had any less control over boys than staff at the other schools, rather it only indicated that the control was more indirect and subtle and perhaps that boys were also more responsible for controlling themselves. In addition, there was a strong emphasis on individualized treatment of boys. The stress on spontaneity, self respect, self confidence and similar concepts seemed to have had a positive effect on boys as their lack of suspicion, resentfulness and defensiveness, and general ease and confidence in relating to adults, suggested. All these efforts were directed and anticipated to help boys increase their self awareness and desire to help themselves adopt more socially desirable patterns of relating and behaving.

The daily routine at the Intermediate School was similarly tightly timetabled as at the other two schools, and the boys were constantly supervised as they were at the Junior School. However, the Intermediate School boys had much more freedom within their daily routine than did the Junior School boys.² The supervision although constant, as it was at the Junior School, was much less direct and more subtle. Considering the strong emphasis on individualized treatment and the staff's calm and gentle approach of relating to boys, complemented the manner in which staff supervised the boys and dealt with the daily routine. Staff attempted to structure their

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1. The majority of the 74 boys present at school at the time the boys were interviewed, had been placed there for offending. Three or four boys had been placed at the school for other reasons, although they were suspected of having offended or having been associated in offences in the past. Also another three or four of the boys had offended but had not been sent to court.
 2. Because the daily routine was less rigid and boys were also less "obviously" supervised at the Intermediate and Senior Schools, they also seemed to have contact with more staff more often than did the Junior School boys.

classes, projects, tasks, etc., so as to be of most benefit and interest to the boys, and they were often willing to make subsequent changes in order to accommodate a variety of interests.¹ The Intermediate School staff tended to relate more intuitively to the boys' needs than the staff at the other schools did.

c. Staff Organization and Staff Relations

Perhaps the most significant difference between the three schools studied was that the headmaster at the Intermediate School not only had a stronger influence in the formulation of treatment policy than did the other headmaster, but he was also directly and very actively involved in the treatment of boys himself. Although it has been previously stated that he allowed staff a great deal of latitude and freedom to carry out their work as they considered best, this did not imply that they were equally free as to what concepts and values they emphasized in their relations and treatment endeavours with boys. When these concepts and values were examined more closely, a central theme began to emerge. This theme could be generally summed up as follows: boys were to be allowed the freedom and dignity of being themselves so that they could experience their own strengths and weaknesses and which would provide them with the opportunity to attempt to learn to help themselves in overcoming and/or coping with their problems (see Rogers, op.cit., 1942, 1951, 1957). Needless to say, expectations with regard to putting such a theme into practice were difficult to verbalize, let alone conceptualize in operational terms. Hence, many staff were not on the same

1. The Intermediate School had the greatest variety of outlets for boys of the three schools studied. There were six departments with six instructors, and one department was a large modern farm; four classrooms with five teachers, each engaged in a different curriculum; the intensive care unit which offered individual and group psychotherapy and counselling; recreational facilities which consisted of a gymnasium, a heated indoor swimming pool, a large school yard, a football field, an army obstacle course, a summer camp on the moors, evening hobby classes and a variety of recreational facilities in each house room. There were also evening outings, although these occurred less frequently than at the Junior and Senior Schools.

wavelength as the headmaster and a number of them were frustrated because they felt they were unable to live up to the headmaster's expectations of them. They seemed somewhat overwrought by their own personal limitations and those they considered to prevail within the school itself and the social services generally. However, the older staff seemed by and large less frustrated than the younger staff.

Although the majority of staff were sympathetic and honest in their efforts and attempts to put the headmaster's expectations with regard to treatment into practice, a few of the staff actively refused to go along with the headmaster's views on treatment. Generally speaking, the Intermediate School staff seemed to be more committed and involved in their work than the staff at the other two schools. Most of the staff seemed to find their work very satisfying. They enjoyed the amount of freedom they had to experiment and innovate in their classrooms, departments and elsewhere and the degree of latitude they had in treating boys. However, the few staff members who disagreed with the headmaster's approach and expectations in the treatment of boys, voiced a number of similar complaints. Their major complaint was that boys had too much freedom to do as they liked and that there was not enough discipline, both of which they felt were directly related to the high rate of absconding and other misbehaviour.¹ (See Table 2.2.) They claimed that boys misused the freedom they had and violated the trust staff placed in them. Furthermore, they considered the headmaster to be impractical and somewhat naive in his approach to dealing with boys. They suggested that he should have taken a more active role in the administrative side of the school and should have left the treatment to the staff.

Since the headmaster was very much involved in treatment and because the deputy headmaster was an efficient and competent administrator, the headmaster had delegated most administrative tasks to the deputy headmaster.

1. For an extensive account into absconding and the reasons regarded to be associated with it, see R. V. G. Clarke and D. N. Martin, op.cit., 1971; and other references noted in footnote 2, p. 24.

(See Figure 2.) The headmaster dealt only with administrative concerns which were either directly related to him because he was the headmaster, or because these were of special interest to him. The headmaster therefore had exclusive responsibility for the treatment of the boys and for all that which was directly related to this, i.e., policy, programmes, etc. The deputy headmaster was almost exclusively responsible for the overall administration of the school. The deputy headmaster also had direct responsibility for the secretarial staff of the general office, and had direct contact and responsibility for all staff in so far as it was of administrative concern, i.e., salaries, holidays, etc. Finally, he also had a supervisory responsibility for the night watchman.

The relationship of the headmaster and deputy headmaster with the supervisory/administrative staff directly below them, i.e., matron and senior assistant, was dependent upon the headmaster and deputy headmaster's respective areas of responsibility. Since the matron's task with reference to the boys was primarily one of feeding and clothing them, the headmaster had relatively much less contact with her than he did with the senior assistant, who also being an instructor, was directly involved in the treatment of boys. The deputy headmaster, on the other hand, seemed to have more contact with the matron than the headmaster did, since she was also responsible for the ordering, buying and budgeting of a substantial amount of the school's supplies.

Other responsibilities of the senior assistant and matron were as follows: the senior assistant had limited supervisory and consulting responsibilities with regard to the other instructors, and upon the headmaster's and deputy headmaster's absence was in charge of the school. The matron was also responsible for the supervision of all the female ancillary staff and for the domestic side of the housemothers' work.

The staff who were directly engaged in the treatment of boys, i.e., housemasters, teachers and instructors, had more autonomy in their work than those staff who were not directly or less directly engaged with boys, i.e., ancillary. However, there were two exceptions to this in the ancillary

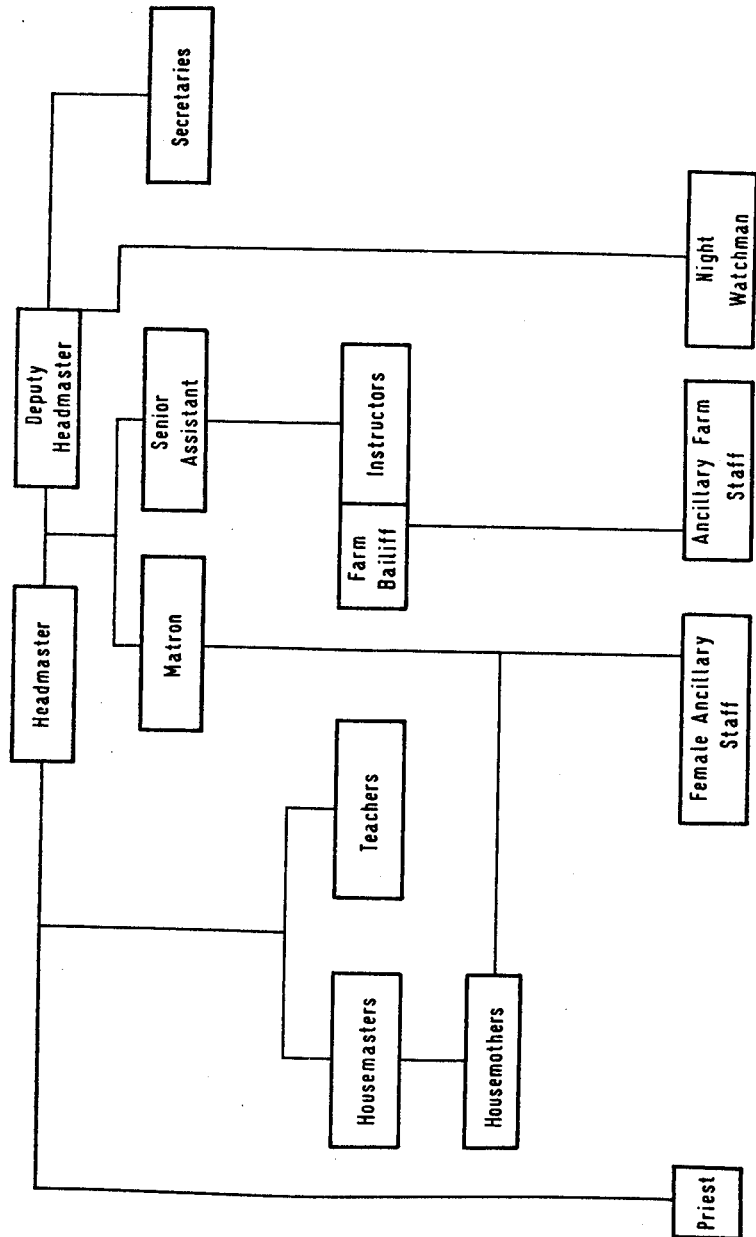


Figure 2. Staff Organisation at the Intermediate School.

group. These were the school priest and night watchman. It appeared that these two staff members had more autonomy than any of the other staff. The priest was engaged in the religious education and training of the boys and because this was part of the boys' overall treatment, the priest was responsible to the headmaster. However, the night watchman's work called for relatively little contact with boys and because of this and the general nature of his work, he required and had a great deal of freedom. The greater autonomy for staff directly engaged in the treatment of boys, is an observation which supports earlier statements which made reference to the headmaster's encouragement of staff to experiment and innovate in their relations and treatment of boys.

Since the farm was a department which was administratively and financially independent of the school itself, the farm bailiff was not only responsible for the administration of the farm but also for the supervision of the ancillary male staff working there. However, since the farm was also one of the departments where boys were placed, the farm bailiff had been given the status of an instructor. He thereby came under the jurisdiction of the senior assistant in so far as it concerned the boys placed on the farm.

Finally, the relationship of the housemasters to the housemothers was more that of seeking advice and consultation than one of supervision.

THE SENIOR SCHOOL

The Senior School, located in a rural area on the outskirts of the West Yorkshire conurbation, was opened in 1965 as a Senior Catholic Approved School¹ and since the implementation of the Children's and Young Persons' Act 1969, the school had become an Assisted Community Home.² Since the school

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1. Although the Senior School was a Catholic Approved School, of the 54 boys present during the researcher's initial visit on February 9, 1973, 26 boys were Roman Catholic and 24 were not. Many of the staff also were not Roman Catholics.
 2. A community home is an Assisted Community Home when the responsibility for the management of a community home is undertaken by a voluntary organization, such as in this case a Roman Catholic organization, and two-thirds of the managers of the school are of the voluntary organization while one-third of them are appointed by the local authority. See H. K. Bevan, op.cit., pp. 158-61; and Children and Young Persons Act 1969, Ch. 54, Sect. 39(3)(b).

had been purpose-built as a senior approved school, all of its buildings with the exception of one or two, were especially designed and equipped. In contrast to the austere and grotesque Victorian buildings which predominated the grounds of the Junior and Intermediate Schools, the Senior School's modern and comfortable buildings blended suitably with the lush green countryside where they stood. However, what overall effect this aesthetic superiority had on the staff and boys is still beyond the researcher's speculations.

The staff employed at the Senior School numbered 42. In consultation with the headmaster¹ they were divided into four groups as follows:

1. The Supervisory/Administrative group.

This group consisted of the headmaster himself, the deputy headmaster, the school's secretary, one general clerk and one part-time accounts clerk.

2. The Teacher/Instructor Group

This group consisted of one teacher and eight instructors. Since the senior assistant was also an instructor and his duties were considered by the headmaster to consist more of those carried out by instructors than staff in the supervisory/administrative category, he was included in this group as one of the eight instructors.

3. The Housestaff Group.

The staff in this group consisted of three housewardens, two housemasters and six part-time housemothers.

4. The Ancillary Group.

There were seventeen staff in this group, of which nine were full-time and

1. An interesting comparison between the three schools is with regard to the headmasters themselves. The headmaster at the Junior School had made the Approved School Service his career and had risen to his present post through it. The headmasters of the Intermediate and Senior Schools had had no prior approved school experience before they were appointed as deputy headmaster and headmaster at their respective schools. The headmaster at the Intermediate School had been a college lecturer and was a Brother of a Roman Catholic teaching order, while the headmaster at the Senior School was a retired army officer.

eight were part-time. These could also be categorized as follows: five cooks, four domestics, one seamstress, one launderess, one gardener, one "extraneous duty" youth worker, one night watchman, one maintenance engineer, one matron and one assistant matron.

Since a number of the duties of the matron and assistant matron were considered by the headmaster to be more comparable to the general duties carried out by the domestic staff, both the matron and assistant matron were placed in this category. However, an important aspect of their duties was the responsibility for the boys' medical needs and care, supervision of twelve of the seventeen ancillary staff, which included those in the kitchen, and the purchasing and supervision of usage of most of the boys' supplies.

Although the maintenance engineer was in charge of the maintenance department and had six boys in his department, the headmaster considered his duties to be equivalent to those performed by a handyman. He was therefore placed in the ancillary staff group.

The number of boys present at the school varied with the various visits of the researcher to the school; there were 84 boys at the school during the period boys were interviewed.

a. Programme Description

As at the Junior and Intermediate Schools the living arrangements for the boys at the Senior School were also according to the house system. Boys were accommodated in three separate house units,¹ the assignment to which had been random. Houseteams² at the Senior School were distinctly different from those at the Junior and Intermediate Schools. Although one

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1. Three groups of 27, 28 and 29 boys occupied these three house units.
 2. The purpose of the houseteams was primarily that of supervising boys during the evenings or the part thereof which they spent in the house units. During these times the houseteams were usually comprised of the housewarden himself, or one of the housemasters and usually one but sometimes two other members of staff, depending on whether it was "House night". House night was Thursday evening and boys remained in their respective houses for the entire evening.

housewarden and two housemothers were assigned to each house, in that they performed their duties only in the house to which they were assigned. Furthermore, each of the two housemasters often, although not always, performed duties in the same houses. In addition to these there was a group of fifteen staff, most of whom were of some assistance or had been involved with one or more of the houseteams. The important difference, therefore, between the houseteams at the Senior and the other two schools was that most of the houseteam staff at the Senior School were not exclusively attached to only one particular house. The effect of this, however, was that boys had a good opportunity to become familiar with many rather than just a few of the staff. Interestingly enough, this greater access to staff was a very noticeable trend which was also evidenced during the boys' daily routine and was a distinct feature of the Senior School. It was less prevalent at the Intermediate School and least so at the Junior School.

Although the house system seemed to provide, as it did at the other schools, a personal and social environment and atmosphere for boys to live in,¹ it also had another function which was of greater importance to the Senior School than the others. Because the house units seemed to provide for and encourage more personal contact between staff and boys and boys and boys, it also gave staff opportunity to establish relationships with boys in a more relaxed, quasi home-like setting. Staff could then draw upon these relationships in other settings and for a number of reasons of which control over boys was often the most important.² However, an interesting observation was that the Senior School boys, and to a somewhat lesser extent the Intermediate School boys, seemed to identify less and/or seemed to feel

1. In addition to this, each house had its own dining room and sleeping quarters which accommodated four to five boys per bedroom. As at the other two schools the houserooms served as a source of many of the evening recreation activities.

2. The alternative to this house system would be to accommodate all boys in one large houseroom and have central dining and sleeping facilities. This would not only serve to create a more institutional and impersonal atmosphere because of this increased emphasis on group treatment, among other things, but would also quickly lead to a loss of control over boys.

less attachment to their houses than the Junior School boys did.

Boys at the Senior School, because they were older,¹ could be and were at times more difficult to control than the boys at the other two schools. They were not as susceptible to emotional control, i.e., affection, praise, etc., or by rules as the Junior School boys were, or for that matter through individual psychotherapy and counselling as the Intermediate School boys could be. The Senior School boys were less emotionally, and perhaps even less intellectually dependent on their school. Because of this, overt compliance to the rules and routines was easier for them although staff control of the boys was not. The Senior School boys were more detached and were generally less interested in their school.

Since it was more difficult to control the older boys through emotional and intellectual means, a subtly structured environment or a relatively unstructured environment would provide a more satisfactory means of controlling boys. An equally structured environment as that of the Junior and Intermediate Schools therefore, would only have served to enhance their resentment and suspicion. Whether by accident or design, the Senior School was least structured and the least organized of the three. The headmaster's nonchalant attitude with regard to staff supervision and the administration of the school generally, also prevailed where the treatment of boys was concerned. Staff had a very carefree attitude towards their work generally as well as towards the treatment of boys. Compared with staff at the other schools, they seemed least committed to this end. Needless to say, the headmaster made and had few expectations as to what the content of the treatment programme should be or what form it should take. It seemed that this was left to the staff themselves to figure out. One important manifestation of this abdication was that there existed a tendency for staff to carry out and structure their work more to their own convenience than to the needs of the boys.

1. Mean age of the boys interviewed at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools was 12.7, 14.4, and 15.6 years respectively.

As another interesting contrast to the Intermediate School staff and by-product of this lack of expectations, was that staff tended to feel fairly sure and confident with regard to their work generally and in their relationships with boys. However, the comment that "the school was being run for the convenience of the staff rather than for the good of the boys", was often voiced by the staff who were more strongly committed to the treatment of boys. In comparison to the high expectations with regard to treatment that the headmaster at the Intermediate School had of his staff, the headmaster of the Senior School seemed somewhat directionless and unclear as to what he expected from his. Because of this it was up to the staff themselves to find direction and make their own expectations with regard to their work.

In contrast to the Junior and Intermediate Schools the Senior School placed least emphasis on academic education. This was highlighted by the fact that the Senior School had only one teacher for a population of 84 boys and had the lowest average amount of weekly classroom time per boy of the three schools (see Table 3.10).¹ The classes ranged from remedial to C.S.E. courses, but due to the brevity of their stay, most boys engaged in C.S.E. course work never remained long enough to complete it.² During the researcher's initial visit to the school on 9th February, 1973, of the 54 present at the school 14 were receiving remedial education, 13 were in C.S.E. courses and 23 were studying at an educational level somewhere in between these two. Although boys were also allowed to attend specialist courses at the Colleges of Further Education in the district, boys rarely took advantage of this opportunity.

1. Although there were two teachers at the school during the initial phases of the research, by the time the staff questionnaires were administered there was only one. The population of 84 boys was the number of boys at the school during the boys' interview period. Two of these 84 boys, however, did not spend any time in the classroom, but were in their respective departments for the whole week.

2. Average stay for boys at the Senior School was 13.7 months (see Table 4.11).

Considering the number of boys the teacher taught, a great deal of organization was required on her part to accommodate all of the boys within her programme. Since the classroom more often than not contained boys from more than one of the three academic levels mentioned, her method of teaching was that of setting various appropriate tasks for each of the boys and assisting them individually as they worked through these. Her effectiveness as a teacher, therefore, seemed to be partially reliant on her ability to organize her academic programmes. But since there existed relatively little appreciation for organization generally, or academic programmes particularly, at the Senior School, this served not only as a hindrance to the organization of her programme but also posed a constant source of aggravation and frustration. Discipline and control of boys in the classroom was another problem. Even though the teacher was periodically assisted in her teaching duties by the deputy headmaster and one of the housemasters,¹ this did not serve to alleviate her feeling that boys were not achieving academically as well as they could.

The most important and central programme at the Senior School, both with regard to the amount of weekly time spent on it (see Table 3.8) and the number of staff involved in it, was what could be termed the vocational training programme. It consisted of eight departments and eight instructors.² The departments were as follows: bricklayers, building, farming, joinery, maintenance, painting, plastering and plumbing. Most boys were in farming and least in the building department (see Appendix E). As at the Intermediate School, the orientation of the departments

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1. The deputy headmaster would periodically take some of the teacher's lessons for her and assist in situations requiring severe punishment, strict discipline or exceptionally firm control. The housemaster would assist her somewhat more frequently by filling in as a physical education instructor.
 2. Although the maintenance engineer was in charge of the maintenance department, he was not classified by the headmaster as an instructor, and therefore was not one of the eight instructors. However, since there were two instructors on the farm and one in each of the other departments with the exception of the maintenance department, there were eight instructors and eight departments.

was one of learning through the actual engagement in projects or tasks; more so than through the study of the theoretical side to these. These projects and tasks were of direct benefit and use to the boys themselves and/or the school. They ranged from general repairs, maintenance and renovations to the school fabric, to caring for the animals and crops on the farm. However, staff and boys in the departments were noticeably less enthusiastic than their counterparts at the Intermediate School, and there did not exist the same degree of interest, commitment and zest on behalf of both the instructors and the boys.¹

In spite of the relative lack of appreciation for organization and direction, the school maintained a fairly punctual daily routine. Boys rose, had their meals, were in class and/or departments, had recreational periods and went to bed at specific times. The routine was as follows:

- 7.00 a.m. Boys rise, wash and dress and engage in the assigned chores in their house units, i.e., cleaning showers, bedroom etc., while supervised by staff.
- 8.15 a.m. Boys have breakfast in their respective dining rooms while supervised. After breakfast, boys destined for departmental activity prepare themselves for this, i.e., selection and fitting of boiler suits, boots, and any other necessary clothing. The supervision during these activities is fairly lax, and often there is none.
- 9.00 a.m. Assembly. Boys assemble in lines according to the house units they are in and are counted by the staff member in charge of assembly. Once counted, boys are dispersed to their respective departments or to the classroom. Time devoted to assembly was very brief and although it usually occurred at 9.00 a.m., it

1. Aside from difference between schools, an interesting observation was that the department where boys enjoyed themselves most was the farm and the one where they enjoyed themselves least was joinery. This was, however, only partially explained in terms of the personal differences of the instructors involved.

sometimes commenced somewhat previous to this, and therefore was calculated as time boys spent in departments or classrooms.

In contrast to the purpose of assembly at the Junior and Intermediate Schools, the primary purpose of assembly at the Senior School was that of accounting for the boys' presence or absence.

- 9.00 a.m. Boys are in their respective departments or in the classroom.
- 10.30 a.m. Staff tea break. Most boys relax while staff have their break, and some engage in play. Supervision of boys is fairly infrequent during this time and when there is supervision it is fairly lax.
- 10.45 a.m. Boys are in their respective departments or in the classroom.
- 12.15 p.m. Boys break for lunch, i.e., leave the departments and classroom and wash at their respective house units. This is often unsupervised although the supervision is lax when it occurs.
- 12.30 p.m. Boys have lunch in their respective dining rooms while supervised. After lunch boys may relax or engage in recreational activities in their respective houserooms or elsewhere. Boys are sometimes not supervised after they have had their lunch but when they are the supervision is fairly lax.
- 1.30 p.m. Boys are in their respective departments or in the classrooms.
- 2.45 p.m. Staff tea break. Most boys relax while staff have their break, and some engage in play. Supervision of boys is fairly infrequent during this time and when this is provided it is fairly lax.
- 3.00 p.m. Boys are in their respective departments or in the classroom.
- 4.30 p.m. Boys break for tea, i.e., leave the departments and classroom and wash at their respective house units. This is often unsupervised, although the supervision is lax when it is there.
- 5.00 p.m. Boys have tea in their respective dining rooms while supervised. After tea boys may engage in recreational activities in the

house rooms or elsewhere. This is usually more frequent and under somewhat stricter supervision during this period than the period after boys have had their lunch, i.e., sometime after 12.30 p.m., but before 1.00 p.m.

6.00 p.m. Assembly. The procedure and purpose are similar to that of the morning assembly at 9.00 a.m. Boys at this time choose and/or are selected for the various evening activities, i.e., cadets, Duke of Edinburgh Awards Scheme, sports, or outings to the local youth club or elsewhere. Boys are usually closely supervised during this time, especially when the activities take them into the community.

7.30 p.m. Indoor recreation. After evening activities (see above) boys return to their respective houses and engage in recreational activities. However, since it was often difficult to gauge when evening activities would finish, especially those taking place in the community, the time for the commencement of indoor recreation varied. Again boys are closely supervised during the indoor recreation period. On "Housenights", i.e., Thursday evenings, boys remain in their houseroom for the entire evening, from the time they finish their tea to the time they prepare for bed, and engage in indoor recreational activities, i.e., table tennis, snooker, T.V. etc.

8.30 p.m. Supper. This usually consists of a hot drink and a snack taken by boys in their respective house room during indoor recreational activities.

9.30 p.m. Boys prepare for bed. Although the time that this commences and takes is flexible, the supervision of boys is firm and constant throughout this period.

10.00 p.m. Lights out.

Exceptions to this routine during the week were for the periods of compulsory religious instruction on Monday and Tuesday mornings at 9.00 to

9.30 a.m., and on Wednesday mornings from 11.30 to 12.15 p.m.¹ Since there were no classroom or departmental activities during the weekends, the average time boys were in the classroom per week was 3 hours 41 minutes, and the average time they spent in the departments per week was 24 hours and 32 minutes. When these figures were compared with the average amount of time per week the Junior and Intermediate School boys spent in the classrooms and/or departments, the Senior School boys spent least time per week in the classroom and most in the departments (see Table 3.10). With regard to the amount of time boys spent in recreational activities during the week, the Senior School boys spent somewhat less time engaged in these activities than the Junior School boys did, although slightly more than the Intermediate School boys. But during the weekend the Senior School boys who remained at their school had slightly more time to engage in recreational activities than the boys who remained at the other two schools for the weekend. However, since there was a greater element of approximation in the calculation of the time spent on recreational activities at the Senior School than the other two, the comparisons between the Junior and Intermediate schools are likely to have a greater accuracy than would comparisons between the Senior and either of the other schools.²

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1. Of the 84 boys that were interviewed, 77 received a half hour of compulsory weekly religious instruction on Tuesday or Wednesday mornings, 6 boys received 45 minutes on Wednesday mornings and 1 boy had religious instruction for half an hour on Wednesday mornings and for 45 minutes on Monday mornings.
 2. The amount of time boys at the Senior School engaged in recreational activities during the week varied somewhat. This was because set periods of time were allotted to accommodate meals, i.e., lunch and tea, and recreational activities afterwards. Since the amount of time required for boys to have their meals varied somewhat, this had a direct influence on the amount of time which remained for recreational activities. The results of the variance in meal times was that the amount of time boys spent in recreational activities directly after their meals had to be approximated. Therefore during the periods from 12.30 to 1.30 p.m. and from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m., the first half hour of these was usually necessary for boys to eat their meals while during the second half hour they engaged in recreational activities.

The period boys spent in recreational activities during the week therefore was as follows: 10.30 a.m. to 10.45 a.m.; 1 p.m. to 1.30 p.m.; 2.45 p.m. to 3 p.m.; 5.30 to 9.30 p.m., which approximated 5 hours per day and 25 hours for the 5 weekdays. It was estimated that boys spent approximately an additional 21 hours and 30 minutes on recreational activities if they remained at the school during the weekend, thereby bringing the approximate total time boys spent in recreational activities to 46 hours and 30 minutes per week.

Although the daily routine at the Senior School was fairly punctually adhered to with regard to time, what happened during these set times, however, varied more at the Senior than the other two schools. Tasks, projects and classes were easily rearranged, rescheduled or changed in focus, so as to suit a variety of conditions, be it the weather or the availability of staff. Departments at times would combine their efforts and resources to simultaneously engage in a particular project, or task, and boys would be jointly supervised by the instructors involved. But there was observational evidence to suggest that this easy going and flexible approach was of more convenience and benefit to the staff themselves, although not necessarily without benefit to boys. At times this flexibility was a source of confusion and frustration to them, particularly where they were not kept informed of changes and did not know what they should be doing or where they should be. However, considering the age of the boys, less flexible approaches such as those at the other two schools, would not necessarily have meant less frustration for them, or as far as could be surmised, have been any more beneficial. The chances are that a less flexible approach would have been of less benefit.

In contrast to the Junior and Intermediate Schools, the system of privileges and punishments at the Senior School was based on a points system, which operated as follows: at the beginning of each week every boy received 50 points outright, from which deductions would be made by staff in the course of the week. Points were reduced for reasons such as lack of effort with regard to chores or in the department, etc., rudeness and insolence, bullying and fighting, absconding,¹ etc. Directly related to the number of points remaining at the end of the week was the amount of pocket money

1. There was less absconding at the Senior School than at the Intermediate but more than there was at the Junior School.

boys received,¹ the privileges they were allowed (see Table 2.3), and the amount of leave they were granted. Since so much depended on the points system, so too therefore did the perceptions staff had of a boy's progress at the school. Considering there very seldom were meetings of any sort at the Senior School and none with reference to the treatment of boys, as there were at the Junior and to a lesser extent at the Intermediate School, it seemed that the manner in which the points system was effected, at times lacked consensus and guidance generally.

The amount of leave boys received varied with the number of points they managed to retain over a four-week period (see Appendix F). However, in terms of the actual number of leaves granted, the average number of leaves per boy was lowest at the Senior School and highest at the Junior (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, 2.4).

b. Staff Boys Relationships

Staff relationships and treatment efforts with boys were largely a reflection of the headmaster's own sentiments and manner of relating to boys. His attitude and policy was that boys would outgrow their delinquency² if they were provided with the proper conditions to do so. He considered that the environment from which boys had come and in which they had committed their delinquent acts was one with a great deal of pressure. He considered

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1. By the time the field research was completed the weekly pocket money for boys had been raised from 30 to 50 pence. Pocket money was deposited along with any other money boys had, e.g., sent to them by parents or brought back on return from home leave, in their school accounts. The portion of their pocket money they were allowed to spend varied with the number of points they were left with at the end of the week (see Table 2.3). Since boys were not allowed to have money in their possession at the school, they spent their pocket money buying on credit from the housewarden's tuck shop, their account thereby being debited accordingly. However, at times and/or for special reasons, those boys who had more than 42 points left at the end of the week were allowed access to that money in their account which was their own, i.e., other than school pocket money.
 2. According to the deputy headmaster, all except four of the eighty-four boys interviewed had at one time or other offended and most of the eighty-four boys had been committed to the school for having done so.

TABLE 2.3

System of Rewards and Punishments at the Senior School

Points	Privileges	
	Amount of Pocket Money allowed to spend (pence) ¹	Other privileges ²
50	30	1. Access to private monies/savings, i.e., money belonging to the boy himself or sent in on his behalf. 2. Allowed to leave the school grounds unaccompanied by staff. 3. Allowed to smoke (4 cigarettes per day). 4. Varied privileges within the school, i.e., dependent on the occasion and circumstances
49, 48	29	
47, 46	28	
45, 44	27	
43, 42	26	
41, 40, 39	24	Loss of privileges 1 and 2 above, however can leave school grounds if accompanied by staff.
38, 37, 36	22	
35, 34, 33	20	Loss of privileges 1, 2 and 3 above
32, 31, 30	18	Loss of privileges 1, 2, 3 and 4 above
29, 28, 27	16	
26, 25, 24	14	
23, 22, 21	12	
20, 19, 18	10	
17, 16, 15	8	
14, 13, 12	6	
11, 10, 9	4	
8, 7, 6	2	
5, 4, 3, 2, 1	0	

1. While the research was in progress the maximum amount of pocket money per week was raised to 50 pence, and the number of points boys lost became directly related to the amount of money boys were allowed to spend.

2. Also see Appendix F for "leaves", which were also a point-related privilege.

TABLE 2.4

Senior School Boys: Number of Home Leaves and Abscondings by Length of Stay¹

LENGTH OF STAY IN MONTHS	BOYS		HOME LEAVES ²		ABSCONDINGS		Av. no. of home leaves per boy ²	Av. no. of Abscondings per boys
	No.	% cumulative %	No.	% cumulative %	No.	% cumulative %		
Less than 1 month to 3 months	23	27.4	21	5.0	24	20.9	.9	1.0
4 months to 6 months	27	32.1	110	26.2	35	30.4	4.1	1.3
7 months to 9 months	24	28.6	162	38.6	43	37.4	6.8	1.8
10 months to 12 months	7	8.3	72	17.1	7	6.1	10.3	1.0
13 months to 15 months	2	2.4	29	6.9	6	5.2	14.5	3.0
16 months plus	1	1.2	26	6.2	-	-	26.0	-
TOTALS	84	100.0	420	100.0	115	100.0		

Average number of home leaves per boy surveyed at the Senior School equals 5.0

Average number of abscondings per boy surveyed at the Senior School equals 1.4

1. Up to and including the last day of boys' interview period, i.e., 11th April, 1974.

2. Refers only to the number of home leaves and does not account for the length of these leaves.

that the school's role in the treatment of boys, therefore, to be that of providing boys with an unpressurized and unregimented environment in which, somewhat ironically, control over boys seemed to be the most important aim staff were to promote and maintain. Once the necessary environment for boys to grow out of their delinquency had been provided, the implication was that it was primarily the boy's own responsibility to change from their delinquent ways. This emphasis and approach to treatment was also translated by staff to imply that the importance of treatment and their active engagement in it, was not as crucial as it was for staff at the other schools. Because boys were now in an environment which was conducive for them to change their past ways, there was a tendency for boys at the Senior School to be regarded as responsible for their own delinquency.

Associated with this emphasis on personal responsibility were a number of distinct ways that staff and boys related to each other. Staff seemed to be somewhat impatient, intolerant and irritated and generally critical with boys when they considered boys were not fulfilling or coming up to their expectations. Staff claimed that the boys had it generally easier and were treated less harshly today, than boys had been only a few years ago.¹ Because of this staff felt boys should be more interested, better motivated and perhaps even show some sense of gratitude. As a means of dealing with the frustrations arising from this, staff tended to shout at boys, intellectually and emotionally assault them into obedience, and generally remain somewhat detached from them. Boys' reaction and manner of relating to staff was therefore to maintain their distance and relate

1. Staff at all three schools noted that boys were treated less harshly and with greater tolerance today than they were a few years ago. They noted also that there now was a greater emphasis on boys' social and emotional needs. They attributed these changes to the influence of the Home Office's White Papers, i.e., "The Child, The Family and the Young Offender", H.M.S.O., London, 1966; "Children in Trouble", H.M.S.O., London, 1968; and the government's "Children and Young Persons Act, 1969", H.M.S.O., 1969. Another interesting point which is perhaps directly related to this change of emphasis in treatment was that staff at all three schools noted that the boys of a few years ago were different from the boys being admitted today. The boys who were being received today were generally more immature and emotionally disturbed, intellectually less capable and a greater proportion of them had some degree of mental retardation.

rather passively with them otherwise.¹ This represented a form of passive aggressiveness on their behalf. However, more specifically, boys seemed somewhat more shy, reserved, mistrusting, resentful and morose in their relationships with staff, than boys at the other schools were. They were therefore generally much quieter and withdrawn. But it was difficult for the researcher to gauge to what degree the status of staff-boys relations were influenced and determined by either party and how responsive to treatment staff regarded boys to be.

c. Staff Organization and Staff Relations

The Senior School was characterized by a great degree of informality between staff. They were fairly outspoken with regard to the school generally and their jobs in particular. This was a rather refreshing change from the reticence a number of staff in the other schools displayed in terms of their unwillingness to discuss their work or school. The staff at the Senior School were quite informal with visitors and were exceptionally hospitable and outgoing to them. Their willingness to assist each other in time of need or during their daily work was also a noteworthy difference between the Senior and the other two schools. Morale among the staff therefore was noticeably high.

The headmaster encouraged this informality and frankness. He allowed staff to engage in their work and relations and treatment of boys as they wanted to, and in particular contrast to the Intermediate School headmaster, had few demands as to the values and concepts they emphasized in the process. Furthermore, his informality did not serve to promote the use of staff meetings as a means of keeping staff informed or to discuss specific issues or problems. He tended to skilfully select less obtrusive means and more opportune moments to serve these purposes, such as staff tea breaks and the like. Staff meetings therefore occurred so infrequently that many of the

1. The degree staff were detached from boys and the distance boys kept from staff seemed also to be a reflection of the degree of laxness with which boys were supervised. The Senior School was most lax of the three with regard to the supervision of boys.

staff could not remember when the last one had been held. However, some of the more isolated staff did complain that they were not kept sufficiently informed as to what was happening in the school.

Considering the headmaster's tendency of delegating a great deal of responsibility to the staff themselves, this was also the trend in his delegation of administrative tasks to the deputy headmaster (see Figure 3). Certainly most, if not all, of the day to day routine administration was delegated to the deputy headmaster, who, as his counterpart at the Intermediate School, was a very competent administrator. Although the headmaster influenced the general policy whereby and how the school was to be administered and to a relatively negligible degree as to how the boys were to be treated, the deputy headmaster provided the administrative expertise necessary for the daily functioning of the school. He delegated to, supervised, and was assisted in this by the senior assistant, who also being an instructor had direct supervisory responsibility for the instructors, and by the two matrons, who were classed as ancillary staff, had direct supervisory responsibilities of this group. Furthermore, he was assisted to a much lesser extent by the school clerk, who in essence was the book-keeper of the school.

Since there was such a degree of informality at the Senior School, other lines of staff organization often and in many regards were difficult to observe. In comparison to the other schools, however, they certainly were less complicated and less of a source of stress. In addition to general supervision responsibilities for all staff, the deputy headmaster had direct supervisory contact with the teacher, shared responsibility (with the senior assistant) for the maintenance engineer and clerical secretarial staff (with the headmaster), and because of their greater degree of autonomy, considerably little direct supervisory responsibility for the male house-staff, i.e., three housewardens and two housemasters. The relation of the male housestaff to the housemothers was, as at the Intermediate School, more one of consultation than supervision.

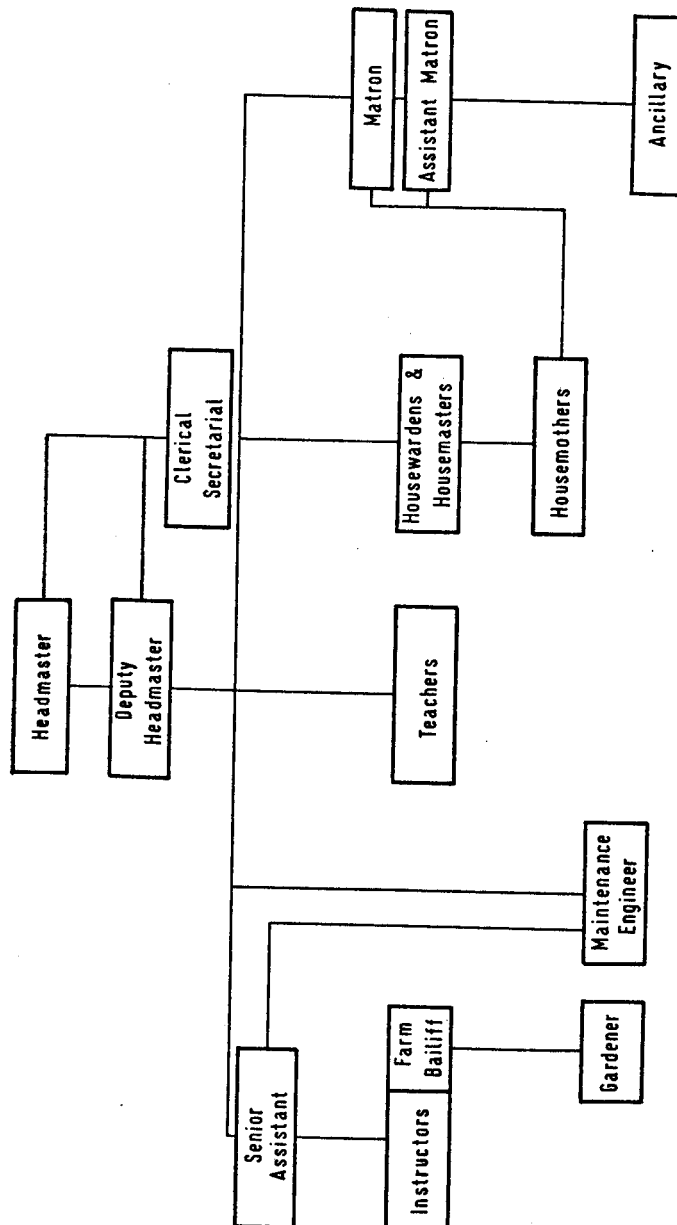


Figure 3. Staff Organisation at the Senior School.

SUMMARY

Having provided the reader with a descriptive account of each of the three schools surveyed for this study, the important aspects which served to characterize these and set them apart from each other, could be considered as follows:

The Junior School, with the strongest emphasis of the three on academic education and training, was also the most organized and scheduled in terms of programmes and meetings. Although Junior School staff tended to feel sympathetic to boys because they regarded them more as victims of their young age and personal and other shortcomings, than as hardened delinquents, they were also closely and constantly supervised. However, they received more home leave than the boys at the other two schools. Finally, since the headmaster at the Junior School spent most of his time on administrative tasks and delegated a great deal of responsibility for the everyday operation of the school to the deputy headmaster, he was only peripherally involved in the treatment of boys.

The Intermediate School was most committed of the three with regard to the treatment of boys. Although less structured and rigid in its adherence to timetables etc., than the Junior School but more so than the Senior one, the Intermediate School encouraged its staff to be innovative in their treatment endeavours, of which the intensive care unit was an example. The headmaster, having delegated most of his administrative tasks to the deputy headmaster, was personally involved in the treatment of boys and was the driving force behind his school's greater concern and commitment to treatment. Although not all staff fully comprehended or appreciated his approach and involvement, his impact had a distinct influence upon the school's treatment ethos and policy. Furthermore, because the Intermediate School had the greatest proportion of disturbed and more severely disturbed boys than the other schools, staff tended to regard boys more as victims of their own and other shortcomings, rather than hardened delinquents. However, the Intermediate School also had the highest rate of absconding.

Although the morale among the Senior School staff was noticeably high and they were generally more co-operative, friendly and hospitable than the staff at the other schools, the Senior School had the lowest regard for the treatment of boys. The headmaster's delegation of responsibility for the daily operation of the school to staff and most of the administrative tasks to the deputy headmaster, in addition to his nonchalance about treatment and general disregard for organization and concern for programmes, left staff without direction or leadership and the school without a balanced programme. Hence the lack of concern for instance for academic education. Left to their own devices treatmentwise, staff tended to be more concerned with their own priorities and conveniences than with treatment, and boys were looked upon, in contrast to the other schools, as being responsible for their own delinquency as well as treatment. Needless to say, staff and boys were more distant from each other at the Senior School than at the other two schools.

In viewing these differences between the three schools it appeared that the headmasters at each of them had a substantial if not the major impact on the schools' regard for treatment. This was most clearly evident at the Intermediate and Senior Schools, although somewhat less so at the Junior one. Furthermore, staff's attitude concerning boys' responsibility for their delinquency also seemed to shape staff's attitudes to treatment, although this in itself may also to a degree have been affected by a headmaster's particular belief and approach to treatment. Although it was more difficult to be specific or pin down other factors which seemed to have as obvious an influence on the school's treatment ethos, there were a variety of, what may be termed, accidental factors operative in the form of events, circumstances and personal idiosyncracies, which at times served to more clearly explain differences between the schools themselves and their orientation to treatment than either of those just previously mentioned. Hence, even if the schools in this study had all been of the same type catering for the same age group or the same level

of criminal sophistication, the chances are that differences would have still existed between them because, as in the words of McClintock with reference to attendance centres, "no two centres can be expected to work exactly alike."¹

1. F. H. McClintock, Attendance Centres: An Enquiry by the Cambridge Institute of Criminology on the use of Section 19 of the Criminal Justice Act, 1948, London, 1961, p. 27.

CHAPTER 3

STAFF STRUCTURE AND WORK ALLOCATION

Since the major focus of this study was on the examination of staff's perceptions of their schools' regimes and the relation of these to treatment, as well as staff's own involvement in treatment, boys' perceptions with regard to these were given secondary consideration.¹ However, as a means of introducing a more detailed analysis of these regimes and their particular relation to care and treatment, it would benefit the reader to first be provided with some additional background information on staff, other than what has already been presented in the previous chapter, and to introduce him to how each regime distributes its staff's working time and staff's feelings about this. This chapter, therefore, also serves as a continuation of the previous one, in that it serves to elaborate themes and ideas relevant to each of the regimes, which were commenced upon in that chapter.

Staff Structure²

(a) Age, Sex and Marital Status

The importance of the differences in age, sex and marital status of the staff at the three schools, lay not in their interpretive value for the

1. For recent studies pertaining to the boys' views on their approved school training see Anne B. Dunlop, Home Office Research Studies 25: The Approved School Experience, H.M.S.O., London, 1974; Owen Gill, Whitegate: an Approved School in Transition, Liverpool University Press, 1974 (b); Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit.
2. For a recent study which also investigated a number of the same aspects of staff structure as this study, and for which the findings for a number of these aspects clearly reflected the findings in this study, see Millham et al, op.cit., pp. 183-6. However, since this study only surveyed one school of each type while the Millham study covered five junior, six intermediate, and seven senior schools, there was a greater likelihood for the schools in the Millham study to be typical or representative of these types, than those surveyed by this study. However, since the Williams Committee, to whom further reference is made throughout this section on staff structure, surveyed 89 approved schools, a greater assurance existed that these schools were typical or representative than those selected by the Millham study. Therefore, even though the Williams Committee's findings were less recent than those of the Millham study, in that they were published in 1967, they seemed to be a more accurate guide or baseline for comparison of the staff structure data in this study than the Millham findings would have been.

findings of this study, but rather in the descriptive value that these had for each of the regimes of the schools. These as well as the other descriptive measures that follow, served to provide some basic idea as to the nature of the population of staff interviewed for this study.

Differences with regard to age and sex did not reach statistical significance, although there was a tendency for the younger staff to be at the Junior School and the older staff at the Senior,¹ and all three schools had very roughly the same proportion of men to women, although the Junior School had the greatest percentage of women, i.e., 56.4, while the Intermediate School had the least, i.e., 42.9 (see Tables 3.1 and 3.2). The Senior School had the greatest proportion of married staff, i.e., 95.1 per cent (the remaining 4.8 per cent were either widowed or divorced), while the Junior and the Intermediate Schools had approximately the same percentages of single staff, i.e., 23.1 per cent and 23.8 per cent respectively, and married staff, i.e., 76.9 per cent and 7.14 per cent respectively (see Table 3.3).²

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1. Of direct relevance to this are the findings of the Williams Committee on the staffing of residential homes. The Committee noted that more than two-thirds, i.e., 68.0 per cent of the case staff at the 89 approved schools and 54 remand homes surveyed, were aged 21 to 49 and almost all of the remainder were older than this. Although the age categories by which staff were grouped in this study differed from those used by the Williams Committee, observational reference and personal knowledge of the care staff, i.e., teachers/instructors and housestaff, in the three schools studied supported the Committee's finding. However the Committee also noted that the proportion of older staff was greater at Junior and Intermediate approved schools than at Senior schools. This finding, however, seemed to be in contrast to the finding of this study, in that there was a tendency for the older staff to be at the Senior School. See National Institute for Social Work Training, Caring for People: Staffing Residential Homes, London, 1967, pp. 92-108.
 2. This finding is partly supported by the Williams Committee study. "Approved schools for Senior boys employ a higher percentage of married men, i.e., 58 per cent, than those for younger boys, i.e., 39 per cent, and a lower percentage of women, i.e., 27 per cent compared to 37 per cent", National Institute for Social Work Training, op.cit., p. 94.

TABLE 3.1

Age of Staff

AGE IN YEARS	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 25	3	7.7	4	9.5	-	-
25 to 40	17	43.6	15	35.7	16	39.0
Over 40	19	48.7	23	54.8	25	61.0
TOTAL	39	100	42	100	41	100

$$\chi^2 = 4.53; \quad df = 4 \quad ; \quad p < .3$$

TABLE 3.2

Sex of Staff

SEX	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Male	17	43.6	24	57.1	22	53.7
Female	22	56.4	18	42.9	19	46.3
TOTAL	39	100	42	100	41	100

TABLE 3.3

Marital Status of Staff

MARITAL STATUS	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Single	9	23.1	10	23.8	-	-
Married	30	76.9	30	71.4	39	95.1
Divorced	-	-	-	-	1	2.4
Separated	-	-	-	-	-	-
Widowed	-	-	2	4.8	1	2.4
TOTAL STAFF	39	100	42	100	41	100*

* Percentages are rounded to first place or decimal and therefore percentages approximate 100 per cent.

(b) Educational Qualifications

"It is unlikely therefore that the differences in staff roles and patterns of care could be accounted for simply in terms of the proportions of trained and untrained staff. It is rather to the appropriateness of different types of training that one must look for explanations."¹

"Research in individual and group psychotherapy indicates that paraprofessional and other minimally trained staff can establish relationships that do not differ in quality from those established by highly trained professional staff."²

"Thus although the recruitment of well-educated staff was necessary to implement complex treatment techniques, their educational level per se was not sufficient to account for institutional differences in goal perspectives. Whether highly educated or not, more staff in treatment institutions chose goals associated with complex treatment techniques."³

Considering that the two most important aspects of residential treatment in approved schools are what might broadly be termed education and social work,⁴ examination of the schools with regard to the qualifications staff held in these would serve as an interesting comparison. The number of "directly related" qualifications held by staff at the Intermediate School was greater than those held by the staff of the other two schools, i.e., 21, while the other two schools had approximately the same number, i.e., 15 and 14 (see Table 3.4). This might on the surface be taken to partially account for the Intermediate School regime's greater emphasis and involvement of treatment, but there is, however, more substantive evidence to account for it. The Junior School's somewhat stronger emphasis than the other two

1. King, et al, op.cit., 1971, p. 186.

2. Rudolf H. Moos, Evaluating Treatment Environments: A Social Ecological Approach, London, 1974, p. 332.

3. Street, Vinter and Perrow, op.cit., 1960, p. 139.

4. According to G. Rose, definitions of education and social work "tend to be vague and all embracing ...", but, "there is, however, an area in teaching that is, in a wide sense, social training, and overlaps a good deal with what we tend to think of as social work." G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 171-2. For a further description of education and social work in approved schools, see G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 159-76, and D. H. Morrel, "The Educational Role of the Approved Schools", in The Residential Treatment of Disturbed and Delinquent Boys, edited by R. F. Sparks and R. G. Hood, Institute of Criminology, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 43-50.

TABLE 3.4

Number of Educational Qualifications held by Staff

<u>Educational Qualifications</u>	<u>Junior School</u>		<u>Intermediate School</u>		<u>Senior School</u>		<u>Total for all Schools</u>	
	No.	% of 39 respondents	No.	% of 42 respondents	No.	% of 41 respondents	No.	% of 122 respondents
School based ¹	19	48.7	18	42.9	12	29.3	49	40.2
Further education ²	2	5.1	5	11.9	11	26.8	18	14.8
Professional, but indirectly related ³	8	20.5	6	14.3	2	4.9	16	13.1
Directly related ⁴	15	38.5	21	50.0	14	34.1	50	41.0
Directly related ongoing study ⁵	1	2.6	4	9.5	1	2.4	6	4.9
Total per school	45		54		40		139	

1. Includes Scottish Lower and Higher, O and A levels, C.S.E., School Certificate (matriculation), G.C.E.

2. Includes City and Guilds Certificates, O.N.C., O.N.D., H.N.C., H.N.D.

3. Includes university degrees, nursing qualifications and priesthood training

4. Includes teaching, child care, residential child care and youth work qualifications

5. Includes part-time related study in education and social studies.

Note: Since staff members on various occasions had qualifications in more than one of the above categories, the number of staff and percentages exceed the number of respondents, i.e., 122. However, a number of staff had no educational qualifications at all, i.e., 17, 12 and 18 at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively.

on school-based qualifications could similarly be related to the greater emphasis its regime placed on academic education. The same might again be implied by the Senior School's greater emphasis on further education qualifications, accounting for the greater emphasis its regime placed on vocational training, i.e., departmental activity. However, the impact that staff's educational qualifications, directly related or other, had on the schools' regimes and treatment of the boys in particular, is highly speculative.

Training and educational qualifications by themselves are of dubious value if the necessary personal attributes are lacking. "Success or failure in their, i.e., teacher and social worker, job", according to Himmelweit, "depends on their ability to maintain interpersonal relations and upon their capacity to understand people's needs."¹ Furthermore, Tropp has suggested that good teachers and social workers are born and not made, and "that it is assumed training will make them better".² Although Brill has stated with regard to the training of social workers that training is a short cut to preparing for the work, providing the trainee with a capacity for learning more about it and providing him with some sort of professional identity, he also noted that training does not necessarily make the best social workers.³

The potential effect of these differences in educational qualifications of the staff at the three schools must be interpreted cautiously, even though

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1. Hilde Himmelweit, "The Teaching of Social Psychology to Students of Education and Social Work", in Sociological Review Monograph No. 4: The Teaching of Sociology to Students of Education and Social Work, ed. Paul Halmos, Keele, 1961, p. 79.
 2. A. Tropp, "A Comment on 'The Relevance of Sociology to the Training of Teachers and Social Workers'", in Ibid., p. 29. For an account and description of the desired social work training for approved school work, see Second Report of the Working Party, "Recruitment and Training of Approved Schools Staff", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 55, No. 4 and 5, 1961, pp. 146-56 and 196-207; Morris F. Mayer, "Differentials in Training Child Care Workers", in Training for Child Care Staff, edited by Helen R. Hagan, New York, 1963, pp. 41-61.
 3. Kenneth Brill, Children, not Cases: Social Work for Children and their Families, London, 1962, pp. 41-2.

these differences partially reflect and parallel the different emphasis each regime placed on treatment. Although perhaps more might be understood in terms of the different emphasis on treatment, by examining each headmaster's educational qualifications,¹ such an examination would fail to recognize the main source of his impact and influence, that being his unique approach to his work, his personality, or some particular aspect thereof.²

Finally, the findings of the staff educational qualifications compared favourably with those of the Williams Committee, thereby suggesting that the staffs of the three schools studied were therefore fairly representative of approved school staff with regard to this. But since the Committee found that over half, i.e., 55.1 of the full-time care staff in approved schools had some formal qualification,³ whereas 61.5 per cent of the staff interviewed⁴ for this study had, there is a belief, allowing for the increase of training since the publication of the Committee's report in 1967, that the staff interviewed for this study were actually better qualified than average. This is supported by the fact that the care staff, i.e., teachers/instructors and housestaff, were better qualified than other staff, particularly with regard to professional and directly related qualifications, thereby raising the percentage for care staff well in excess of that for the total staff interviewed (see Appendix G). Of the part-time care staff the Committee

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1. The headmaster of the Junior School had three certificates in education, the Intermediate School headmaster had a Bachelor of Arts degree and a diploma in geography, while the Senior School headmaster had a Bachelor of Science degree, two certificates in education and a diploma in language.
 2. See Howard Jones, "The Approved School: A Theoretical Model", in Sociological Review Monograph No. 9: Sociological Studies in the British Penal Services, ed. Paul Halmos, Keele, 1965, pp. 99-110; Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 179-83; Sinclair, op.cit., p. 136; Street, Vinter, Perrow, op.cit., pp 45-7. Although King, et al, 1971, found that unit heads in children's hospitals with child care training had high rates of interaction with children, whereas those with nursing training had low rates of interaction, the above referred to authors suggest that personality is the more important criteria.
 3. National Institute of Social Work Training, op.cit., p. 106.
 4. 56.4%, 71.4% and 56.1% of the staff interviewed at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools interviewed held some formal qualification.

found only a third had some formal qualification although half of the part-time care staff, i.e., six of the twelve part-time housemothers, in this study held formal qualifications.

(c) Reasons for Coming into Approved School Work

The reasons staff gave as being most important for coming into approved school work could be broadly separated into two distinct categories, one having to do with the intrinsic value and nature of the work itself and the other relating more to practical concerns and considerations. A greater percentage of the staff at all three schools, i.e., 66.7, 64.3 and 58.5, noted that they had come into approved school work because of reasons related to the intrinsic value and nature of the work itself, whereas approximately one-third in two of the schools and somewhat less than half in the other gave reasons related to their own practical concerns and considerations (see Table 3.5). However, a noticeable difference between the schools was that a slightly lower percentage of the Senior School staff gave "intrinsic reasons" and a slightly higher percentage of them gave "practical reasons", than the staff at the other two schools. This difference between the Senior School and the other two has an interesting parallel in each regime's orientation to treatment. As described earlier, the Senior School was least concerned of the three about treatment generally.¹

(d) Length of Time Staff had been Employed at their Respective Schools

Another interesting background detail about staff was the length of time they had been employed at their respective schools. The Junior and Senior School staff had been at their schools for almost the same average length of time, i.e., 5 years, but substantially less than the average length of time the Intermediate School staff had been at theirs, i.e., almost seven years (see Table 3.6). The Junior School had the greatest percentage

1. However, there was not strong enough statistical significance in the data to suspect that there was any trend to support the notion that the Senior School staff had a stronger leaning towards "practical" rather than "intrinsic" reasons than staff at the other schools.

TABLE 3.5

Why Staff Came into Approved School Work: Most Important Reasons

Reasons Related to the Intrinsic Value and Nature of the Work Itself	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
	No.	%*	No.	%	No.	%
Interested in working with children	8	20.5	9	21.4	11	26.8
To do a more socially useful job	6	15.4	7	16.7	3	7.3
To do a more self fulfilling job	6	15.4	7	16.7	6	14.6
Thought the work would suit my temperament	4	10.3	-	-	3	7.3
Other reasons	2	5.1	4	9.5	1	2.4
SUB TOTAL**	26	66.7	27	64.3	24	58.5
Reasons related to Staff's own Practical Concerns and Considerations						
Improve standard of living	2	5.1	6	14.3	6	14.6
Wanted change in career	1	2.6	2	4.8	3	7.3
Working conditions and location of school favourable	4	10.3	-	-	2	4.9
Spouse previously or presently employed at school	2	5.1	1	2.4	1	2.4
Wanted an interest outside own home	-	-	2	4.8	1	2.4
Other reasons	4	10.3	4	9.5	4	9.8
SUB TOTAL**	13	33.3	15	35.7	17	41.5
TOTAL	39	100	42	100	41	100

* Percentages are rounded to the first place of decimal and therefore percentages approximate 100 per cent.

** $\chi^2 = .605$; 2 df; $p < .75$

TABLE 3.6

Total Length of Time Staff Employed at their Respective Schools

<u>Total time employed</u>	<u>Junior School</u>		<u>Intermediate School</u>		<u>Senior School</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
One year or less	12	30.8	5	11.9	4	9.8
One to two years	3	7.7	4	9.5	2	4.9
Two to three years	4	10.3	5	11.9	2	4.9
Three to four years	5	12.8	3	7.1	6	14.6
Four to five years	5	12.8	2	4.8	6	14.6
Five to six years	3	7.7	4	9.5	4	9.8
Six to seven years	-	-	3	7.1	7	17.1
Seven to eight years	3	7.7	5	11.9	5	12.2
Eight to nine years	-	-	4	9.5	5	12.2
Nine years plus	4	10.3	7	16.7	-	-
Number of respondents	39	100	42	100*	41	100*
Average length of time	5	years	6	years 10 months	5	years 1 month

* Percentages were rounded to first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

of new staff, i.e., who had been there one year or less, and a substantially greater percentage of staff with less than five years of employment, i.e., 74.6 per cent as compared to 45.2 per cent at the Intermediate School and 48.8 per cent at the Senior School. This was the result of staff turnover rather than school or programme expansion, and as will be referred to later on, the turnover seemed to be due more to the comparatively greater staff dissatisfaction with their school generally than any other reason. The Senior School, because it had been opened only nine years ago in 1965, had no staff who had been there longer than nine years.¹

(e) Staff Groups

The staff at the schools were categorized in four groups as follows: (1) supervisory/administrative, (2) teachers/instructors, (3) housestaff, and (4) ancillary. This categorization of staff was according both to their observed and acknowledged similarity in roles as well as their general purpose in the school, which in turn served to provide the basis for a number of comparisons between staff groups. The interesting differences between the staff groups at the three schools were that the Junior School had the greater proportion of housestaff, the Intermediate School had the largest proportion of teachers/instructors, while the Senior School had the smallest proportion of its staff in the supervisory/administrative group. (See Table 3.7).

The noteworthy differences in staff structure between the three regimes

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1. The findings of a study carried out by Aldridge Morris comparing long stay residential staff with those who left the profession after a brief spell, suggested that long stay workers were older, less warm, had fewer social interests, tended to restrict their social contacts to those made within their establishment and were more narrowly qualified, which in itself might have accounted for a restriction of interests generally. These findings however have no generality of application to the staff in this study, although they are fairly accurate descriptions of a few long stay staff at each of the three schools studied. See R. Aldridge Morris, "An analysis of the relationship between intelligence, personality, occupational motivation and job satisfaction in a sample of residential care workers", Community Schools Gazette, Vol. 65, No. 3, 1971, pp. 107-116.

TABLE 3.7

Staff Groups per School

<u>Staff Groups</u>	<u>Junior School</u>		<u>Intermediate School</u>		<u>Senior School</u>		<u>All Schools</u>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Supervisory/Administration	7	17.9	6	14.3	5	12.2	18	14.8
Teachers/Instructors	6	15.4	10	23.8	9	22.0	25	20.5
Housestaff	13	33.3	11	26.2	11	26.8	35	28.7
Ancillary	13	33.3	15	35.7	16	39.0	44	36.1
TOTALS	39	100*	42	100	41	100	122	100*

* Percentages are approximated to first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

therefore, were as follows:

The staff at the Junior School tended to be younger and a higher proportion of them were female than staff at the other two schools, and approximately the same percentage as at the Intermediate School were married and single. With regard to educational qualifications, the Junior School staff held the highest percentage of "school based" (although only marginally so) and "indirectly related professional" qualifications and the lowest percentage of "further education" qualifications. Furthermore the Junior School had only a slightly higher percentage of staff who had come into approved school work for reasons related to its "intrinsic" value, than the other schools. It also had the greatest proportion of new staff as well as the highest turnover rate of staff. Finally, the Junior School had the greatest proportion of housestaff of the three schools. In light of the Junior School's comparatively more structured programmes and approach to treatment itself, these findings might be regarded to be of additional interest.

The Intermediate School had the greatest percentage of staff, although only marginally so, who were male, under 25 years of age and single, and the lowest percentage, again only marginally, of married staff. The Intermediate School staff were the best qualified for their work, as reflected by the substantially greater percentage of "directly related" qualifications they held. Also they had the highest percentage of staff engaged in "directly ongoing studies". The Intermediate School staff had on average been longer employed at their school than the staff of the other two schools. Finally, even though two members of staff in the teachers/instructors group had not responded to the staff questionnaire, the Intermediate School had the greatest proportion of its staff in the teachers/instructors group. These findings serve to be recalled in view of the previous indications, which described the Intermediate School's greater emphasis on treatment and its headmaster's encouragement for staff's involvement and concern for it.

The staff at the Senior School had a tendency to be older than at the other schools in that there was no one under 25 and it had the highest percentage of staff over 40 years of age. Furthermore, it had the most married staff, and three who were not married, had been so at one time. With regard to educational qualifications the Senior School staff held the most "further education" qualifications and the least "indirectly related professional" and "directly related" qualifications. Since the Senior School had only been in operation since 1965 the average length of time staff had been employed at the school was relatively shorter than the period for staff at the Intermediate School and just slightly longer than the Junior School staff had been employed at theirs. Lastly, the Senior School had the smallest proportion of staff in the supervisory/administration group. Yet the Senior School's general lack of regard and concern for treatment and its non-concern for organization, are of interest when considering these findings on staff structure.

Work Allocation

"It is important to attempt to identify and separate out the primary tasks and task priorities of the various existing establishments for maladjusted children. Until this can be done, no satisfactory organization can be hoped for in this field."¹

Having discussed the staff structure, the next important area of discussion is that which pertains to the manner and priorities with which each regime allocated its work. In order to reach a clearer understanding of the nature of the work being carried on in each school it was considered that an examination of the tasks the staff performed and their feelings with regard to these, would offer a valuable insight into each of the regimes studied.

It was felt that the most useful focus would be on the proportion of time each regime allotted to the various tasks staff were engaged in as well

1. Richard Balbernie, Residential Work With Children, Oxford, 1966, p. 51.

as considering staff's feelings with regard to the tasks they would like to do more and less of, were of most and least benefit to boys, as well as tasks which they desired to be engaged in.

Both the staff questionnaire interview and the staff diary system were used to obtain the required data for this examination. During the staff questionnaire interview staff were requested to assign their total official working time of a typical week to a number of preselected work tasks,¹ which also formed the basis of the self-administered staff diary system. The use of the same set of preselected tasks² in both the staff questionnaire interview and the staff diary system, allowed for a comparison between these two methods as well as providing a sounder methodological base.

(a) Priorities in allocation

The findings with regard to each regime's priorities of work allocation, as per the staff questionnaire interview, in many regards lived up to the expectations of what had been observed during the initial periods of participant observation. As indicated in Table 3.8 the Junior School regime, as expected, spent more time on domestic duties, i.e., 40.1 per cent,

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1. Although it was considered that this set of work tasks was fairly exhaustive, it was felt that any task not included in this set could be accommodated as a sub-part of the task deemed most appropriate. Within each task, therefore, there were a number of sub-tasks, one of which was an "other" category.
 2. There was, however, one work task, i.e., "extraneous duty", more in the staff questionnaire at the time of the staff questionnaire interview stage, than there was in the staff diary system. Since the task in question consisted primarily of group supervision of boys it was subsequently recoded as this task.

TABLE 3.8

Average Number of Hours per week Allocated by Each School per Work Task

Schools	WORK TASKS							Total Av. No. of hours worked per week No. %
	Administraction and staff supervision No. %	Individual contact with boys No. %	Group Supervision of boys No. %	Community Activities No. %	Classroom activity No. %	Departmental activity No. %	Domestic duties No. %	
Junior	8.2 21.2	2.9 7.5	7.3 18.9	1.4 3.6	3.4 8.8	- -	15.5 40.1	38.7 100
Intermediate	7.0 16.4	5.1 12.0	8.7 20.4	.8 1.9	3.1 7.3	7.1 16.7	10.8 25.4	42.6 100
Senior	7.4 19.0	4.8 12.3	9.2 23.6	.7 1.8	.6 1.5	4.8 12.3	11.5 29.5	39.0 100
Average number of hours per task	7.5 18.7	4.3 10.7	8.4 21.0	1.0 2.4	2.4 6.0	4.0 10.0	12.6 31.4	40.1 100

Note: Figures were derived by totalling hours staff at each of the schools spent on each work task per week and dividing these totals by the total number of respondents to the staff questionnaire interview in each school, i.e., 39, 42 and 41 in the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively. Although not every staff member engaged in every task, the total hours for each task was divided by the total staff interviewed. See Appendix H for the number of staff engaged per task at each of the schools. Percentages of the average number of hours worked are approximated to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

than the other two,¹ although the comparatively greater percentage of time spent on administration and staff supervision, i.e., 21.2 per cent, and the small percentage on individual contact with boys, i.e., 7.5 per cent, was rather unexpected.

The Intermediate School regime's findings were fairly much as anticipated during the participant observation periods. Although the percentage of time spent on individual contact with boys was somewhat lower than expected, the actual time spent on it was greater than at the other schools. This is explained by the greater number of average weekly hours worked at the Intermediate School, i.e., 42.6 compared to 38.7 at the Junior School and 39.0 at the Senior School. Also the Intermediate School allotted more time than had been expected, on group supervision, i.e., 20.4 per cent, and departmental activity, i.e., 16.7 per cent.

Finally, the Senior School regime was higher than expected with regard to time spent on individual contact with boys, i.e., 12.3 per cent. However, the low percentage of classroom activity was expected, considering there was only one teacher at the school who was assisted, now and then, by the deputy

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1. At the Junior School it was anticipated that more time would be spent on domestic duty than at the other two schools. Reasons for this were that the number of staff who performed domestic duties was greater at the Junior School, i.e., 21 compared to 15 at the Intermediate and 17 at the Senior School, and that there was comparatively more complaining by the housemothers at the Junior School about the amount of domestic duties they did. When the figures were examined the 8 housemothers at the Junior School spent an average of 55.6 per cent of their time on domestic duties, whereas 5 housemothers at the Intermediate School spent 37.7 per cent and 6 housemothers at the Senior School spent 43.7 per cent of their time on domestic duties. However, the housemothers at the Intermediate School complained more excessively than those at the Senior School, who spent a larger percentage of their time on domestic duties than they did. But this is explained more in terms of the differential expectations of housemothers at these two schools as with regard to their degree of involvement in the treatment of boys. Intermediate School housemothers prided themselves on being "child care workers" rather than domestics or ancillary staff, and therefore regarded the "domestic duties" aspect of their work as a threat to this status. The housemothers at the Senior School seemed less aware and/or concerned about their status as child care workers, and therefore did not consider the domestic side of their work as a threat or hindrance to this status.

headmaster and one of the housemasters.¹

Considering that there was a staff refusal and non-response rate of 2.5 (1), 10.6 (5) and 2.4 (1) per cent at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, and that the average weekly hours worked were 38.7, 42.6, and 39.0 at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, a more accurate comparison, although less specific in terms of actual time spent, was through a rank order examination of the work tasks by school, from the most to the least percentage of time spent on these (see Table 3.9). This revealed more dramatically what each regime's priorities of time allotment with regard to treatment were, as well as indicating how substantial these priorities, i.e., the percentage of time allotted, were. Cross school comparisons, although somewhat less accurate, could also be made.

Examining Table 3.9 indicates that the one work task to which all schools allotted most time was domestic duties, i.e., 40.1, 25.4 and 29.5 per cent for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, and that the work task to which the second greatest percentage of time was allotted at the Intermediate and Senior Schools was group supervision of boys, i.e., 20.4 and 23.6 per cent respectively. At the Junior School the domestic duties and administration and staff supervision work tasks were the ones on which the greatest percentage of time was spent, i.e., a total of

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1. Another set of interesting differences between the regimes in terms of time spent per work task were as follows: the greatest amount of time spent, both in average weekly hours and percentage of the average weekly hours, on administration and staff supervision, i.e., 21.2 per cent; community activities, i.e., 3.6 per cent; classroom activities, i.e., 8.8 per cent; and domestic duty, i.e., 40.1 per cent, and the least amount spent on individual contact with boys 7.5 per cent; group supervision of boys 18.9 per cent; was at the Junior School. The greatest amount of time spent in average weekly hours and percentage of the average weekly hours, on departmental activity, i.e., 16.7 per cent and the least amount of time spent on administration and staff supervision, i.e., 16.4 per cent; domestic duty 25.4 per cent, were at the Intermediate School. However the average number of weekly hours spent on individual contact with boys was greatest at the Intermediate School, i.e., 5.1, although the percentage of the average weekly hours worked on this task was greatest for the Senior School, i.e., 12.3 per cent. The least amount of time, both in average weekly hours and percentage of the average weekly hours worked, spent on community activities 1.8 per cent and classroom activity 1.5 per cent, was at the Senior School.

TABLE 3.9

Arrangement by School of Work Tasks as Percentage of Average Weekly Hours Worked, in Descending Order

PRIORITY	JUNIOR SCHOOL %	INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL %	SENIOR SCHOOL %
1.	Domestic duties 40.1	Domestic duties 25.4	Domestic duties 29.5
2.	Administration & staff supervision 21.2	Group supervision of boys 20.4	Group supervision of boys 23.6
3.	Group supervision of boys 18.9	Departmental activity 16.7	Administration and staff supervision 19.0
4.	Classroom activity 8.8	Administration and staff supervision 16.4	Departmental activity 12.3
5.	Individual contact with boys 7.5	Individual contact with boys 12.0	Individual contact with boys 12.3
6.	Community activities 3.6	Classroom activity 7.3	Community activities 1.8
7.*	-	Community activities 1.9	Classroom activity 1.5
Average number of hours worked	38.7 100.0**	42.6 100.0**	39.0 100.0

* There were no departments at the Junior School, hence there was no departmental activity.

** Percentages are rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

61.3 per cent of the average weekly hours worked. The Intermediate School spent a combined percentage of 41.8 on these tasks while the Senior School spent 48.5 per cent. Since both these tasks were ones in which there was virtually no contact with boys, it might be stated that the primary time allotment at the three schools was on tasks which seemed to be of least direct importance to the treatment of boys. Furthermore, since there was virtually no contact with boys while the community activities work task was being carried out, this suggests that the percentage of time in which there was no contact with boys might even be somewhat greater than that represented by domestic duties and administration and staff supervision. However, this would only have a marginal effect, since a proportionately small percentage of time is allotted to the community activities, i.e., 3.6, 1.9 and 1.8 per cent by the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively.

The picture that emerges, therefore, is that each regime was spending close to or over 50 per cent of their weekly hours worked on tasks which seemed indirectly related to treatment and during which they have virtually no contact with boys, while tasks of apparently fundamental importance to treatment of boys, such as classroom and departmental activities and individual contact with boys, only accounted for 16.3, 36.0 and 26.1 per cent of the official weekly working time at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively.¹ Interestingly enough, the Intermediate School, being the lowest in the combined percentage of time spent on domestic duties and administration and staff supervision, i.e., 41.8 per cent, was also highest on the combined percentage of time spent on class and

1. Considering that the nature of residential care involves, and in this context particularly so, the catering for most of its clientele's needs, it is therefore not to be unexpected that a great deal of the staff's working time was allocated to tasks which were indirectly related to the treatment and care of boys and directly related to its own organizational needs, upon which its existence as a viable institution depended. What was unexpected and of interest, however, was the comparative proportions of time allotted to these. See also D. Silverman, The Theory of Organizations: A Sociological Framework, London, 1970, pp. 26-43; Howard W. Polsky, "A Social System Approach to Residential Treatment", in Group Work as a Part of Residential Treatment, ed. Henry W. A. Maier, New York, 1965, pp. 116-30; O. Gill, op.cit., 1974(b), p. 47; R. A. Ryall, op.cit., 1971, Vol. 1, pp. 162-3.

departmental activity and individual contact, i.e., 36.0 per cent. This comparison, as it applied to classroom and departmental activity was further confirmed by the combined figures of the actual time boys spent in classroom and Departments (see Table 3.10).

Considering that the percentages of time allotted to the work tasks can be and are in themselves somewhat misleading because of a degree of lack in mutual exclusiveness,¹ it is also necessary to bear in mind the differences in the average hours worked, i.e., 38.7, 42.6 and 39.0; differences in the staff non-response rate to the staff questionnaire interview, i.e., 2.5, 10.6 and 2.4 per cent; and the differences in the number of staff carrying out each of the work tasks (see Appendix H). Hence, these gross percentages for each work task needed to be more intensely scrutinized. Comparative examination of the time assigned to these tasks by the various staff groups,

1. The work tasks and their respective sub-parts were selected and constructed upon observational data, and although each task was designed so as to create a mutually exclusive set of tasks, some methodological shortcomings were inevitable. Since work tasks, individual contact with boys and group supervision of boys, were also sub-parts in work tasks, classroom activity and departmental activity, they measured the same thing. But because it had been observed that those staff carrying out classroom activity and departmental activity found it difficult to separate and see individual contact with boys and group supervision of boys as entities apart from these tasks, it was considered necessary to measure individual contact and group supervision as sub-parts of the work tasks classroom activity and departmental activity.

So then, the work tasks individual contact with boys and group supervision of boys used by those staff who also carried out work tasks classroom activity and/or departmental activity, signified that they also had individual contact with boys and did group supervision of boys outside of their classroom or departmental activity. The result of this dual measure was that those who did classroom or departmental activity tended to spend a lower percentage of their time on work task individual contact and group supervision, than those not engaged in classroom or departmental activity. Although this poses as somewhat of the methodological stumbling block, since it was necessary to examine the degree of individual contact and group supervision occurring during classroom and departmental activity, this problem was partially overcome since each of these work tasks could be examined for the degree of individual contact and group supervision of boys done within them (see Appendix I). This methodological shortcoming, however, is inherent in the research into residential work, in that it is a multidimensional approach to care and treatment and cannot be overlooked as not being so. However, this does not preclude an attempt at coming to grips with what these tasks are and if, as in this study, unidimensionality in terms of work task measurement cannot totally be established, then that in itself offers some degree of evidence and support for the multidimensionality thesis.

Table 3.10
Statistical Breakdown of Time Boys Spent in Classroom and Department, by School.

Statistics	MINUTES IN THE CLASSROOM PER WEEK			MINUTES IN THE DEPARTMENTS PER WEEK	
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School	Intermediate School boys	Senior School Boys
Mean	1385.0	1015.1	221.4	759.5	1471.7
Standard deviation	000.0	414.9	127.8	431.9	127.4
Mode	1385.0	1440.0	180.0	310.0	1515.0
Range	000.0	1130.0	510.0	1250.0	510.0
Maximum	1385.0	1440.0	510.0	1560.0	1695.0
Minimum	1385.0	310.0	000**	310.0	1185.0
Number of boys	74	70*	84**	70*	84

* 71 boys responded to the boys' questionnaire interview at the Intermediate School. However, one boy had been returned to the school under "special conditions" after he had completed his initial stay and had been allowed to return home permanently because he had again offended. Since, during this second stay he was not in the classroom or department and carried out a variety of domestic and other duties, he was not included in the above calculations. But because he partook in most other aspects of the school's programmes which the other boys did, he was included in all other calculations of the boys' data.

** Two boys did not spend any time in class, although they spent all of their time in the departments. Since no special conditions applied to these boys and since they were otherwise both as fully engaged in the schools' programmes as were the other boys, they were included in these calculations.

the proportion of time allocated to them as per the staff diary system and an examination of the distribution of time within each task to its constituent sub-parts, would serve to clarify to some degree the effect of these factors as well as highlight trends within each of the regimes.

An examination of the manner in which the staff groups, both within their own school and across schools, allocated their working time as per the pre-selected set of work tasks, revealed a number of expected findings. Considering the same staff groups from all three schools as one group, comparisons can then be made for all those staff in each of the four categories used to combine staff. Hence all the staff in one staff group can be compared with those of another. So, the combined supervisory/administration group spent most of their time on the administration and staff supervision task, i.e., 70.6 per cent, whereas the combined ancillary group spent most of theirs on domestic duties, i.e., 63.9. The combined teachers/instructors group gave a greater proportion of time than any other group to classroom and department activity, i.e., 26.6 per cent and 30.8 per cent respectively. The combined teachers/instructors and combined housestaff groups gave a greater proportion of their time than the other staff groups to group supervision of boys, i.e., 28.7 per cent and 33.4 per cent respectively, while the combined housestaff allocated the greatest proportion of any staff group to individual contact with boys, i.e., 19.3 (see Table 3.11).¹ This trend for the combined staff groups was reflected in the priorities the staff groups in each of the schools had in allocating their

1. Since the teachers/instructors group's allocation of time to individual contact and group supervision tasks was time they spent on these in addition to what they had spent on them inside classroom and department activity, the proportion of actual time allocated on individual contact and group supervision seemed to be obviously underrepresented. However, it would be necessary to be able to more accurately examine and account for the degree of their involvement in these tasks before it could be firmly concluded that under representation was the case even though observational accounts did not confirm that the teachers/instructors group performed less individual contact and/or group supervision or to the degree indicated by Table 3.10. But since there was a substantially greater difference between the time allotted to individual contact and group supervision by the teachers/instructors than the housestaff group, what is also suggested therefore is that there was a greater tendency for teachers/instructors to engage in group supervision than individual contact outside the classroom and departments. This was confirmed through observation.

TABLE 3.11

Mean Percentage of Weekly hours Staff Groups (across schools) worked per work task

STAFF GROUPS	WORK TASKS							Total % of time worked	Total No. of respondents in each staff group
	Administration and staff supervision %	Individual contact with boys %	Group Supervision of boys %	Community activity %	Classroom activity %	Departmental activity %	Domestic duties %		
Supervisory/ Administration	70.6	7.9	15.3	1.3	1.4	2.3	1.1	100*	18
Teachers/ Instructors	7.2	3.5	28.7	3.2	26.6	30.8	-	100	25
Housestaff	17.6	19.3	33.4	3.7	-	-	26.1	100*	35
Ancillary	5.2	8.9	9.4	1.4	.3	11.1	63.9	100*	44

* Percentages were rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100%

time (see Table 3.12), and was further confirmed, although with a few exceptions, by the priorities staff had and exercised in the allocation of their time during the staff diary system (see Table 3.13).

The key to comparing the findings of these different approaches of describing the priorities staff gave to the allocation of their working time as per the work tasks (see Tables 3.11, 3.12 and 3.13), was to consider the differences in the proportions of time between the staff groups from one approach to the next, rather than exact percentage differences. The importance of these approaches was that they helped to confirm any trends or patterns which might have existed. For instance if one staff group allotted the greatest proportion of its working time to a particular task, as the supervisory/administration group did, or consistently more to one particular task than another, then this pattern would be the important finding, rather than the mere differences in the percentages allocated to the tasks in the various descriptive approaches used.

The important differences between the staff questionnaire interview and the staff diary system data with regard to allocation of time to work tasks was that the supervisory/administration group in all three schools, allotted a greater proportion of their time than any other staff group during the diary period, to individual contact with boys and community activities, whereas the housestaff group in all three schools had done so for individual contact, and in two of the schools, for community activities.

These differences between the two methods of measurement seemed to have been due to either a bias in the sampling of staff who partook in the staff diary system, a change of staff work habits as a result of their daily diary recordings or recording what they considered was most desirable. But since the differences in the findings between the staff questionnaire interview and staff diary system were consistent with regard to both the work tasks and staff groups concerned, it was more likely that the differences were due to bias in the sample selected for the staff diary system.

TABLE 3.12
Mean Percentages of Weekly Hours Staff Groups at Each School Worked per Work Task

SCHOOLS	STAFF GROUPS	WORK TASKS							Total % of time worked
		Adminis- tration and staff supervision	Individual contact with boys	Group supervision of boys	Community studies	Classroom activity	Departmental activity	Domestic duties	
JUNIOR	Supervisory Administration	71.4	6.9	16.1	2.4	3.1	-	-	100*
	Teachers**	9.8	1.5	32.3	2.7	53.7	-	-	100
	Housestaff	20.2	13.5	26.2	5.8	-	-	34.2	100*
	Ancillary	.5	4.3	6.2	2.5	-	-	86.5	100
INTER- MEDIATE	Supervisory Administration	70.3	12.5	7.5	-	-	6.3	3.3	100*
	Teachers/ Instructors	5.1	6.3	23.1	4.6	28.7	32.3	-	100*
	Housestaff	13.5	22.1	43.5	2.2	-	-	18.7	100
	Ancillary	4.3	8.4	7.2	.7	1.0	22.5	55.9	100
SENIOR	Supervisory/ Administration	69.6	4.0	23.4	1.4	.8	.8	-	100
	Teacher/ Instructors**	7.9	1.8	32.5	2.0	6.1	49.7	-	100
	Housestaff	18.6	23.2	31.6	2.7	-	-	23.8	100*
	Ancillary	9.9	13.2	13.1	1.2	-	3.5	59.1	100

* Percentages are rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore percentages approximate 100 per cent.

** There were no instructors at the Junior School and there was only one teacher at the Senior School.

TABLE 3.13

Mean Percentages of Hours Diary Respondents Worked per Work Task During a 14 Day Period

SCHOOL	STAFF GROUPS	WORK TASKS PERCENTAGES								Total % of time worked	No. of respond- ents per group
		Adminis- tration and staff supervision %	Individual contact with boys %	Group Supervision of boys %	Community Activities %	Class- room activity %	Depart- mental activity %	Domestic duties %	Other tasks %		
JUNIOR total N=11	Supervisory/ Administration Teachers** Housestaff	63.2	10.8	7.7	2.3	4.1	-	.1	11.8	100	3
		7.7	4.1	37.8	.8	49.6	-	-	-	100	3
		14.5	2.3	66.2	1.7	-	-	15.0	.4	100*	5
INTER- MEDIATE total N = 11	Supervisory/ Administration Teachers/ Instructors Housestaff	62.4	32.0	3.9	1.7	-	-	-	-	100	1
		6.8	2.4	32.1	-	34.7	22.9	.6	.5	100	5
		11.0	7.5	68.3	-	-	-	13.2	-	100	5
SENIOR total N = 10	Supervisory/ Administration Teacher/ Instructors** Housestaff	66.1	12.7	14.8	3.6	.9	1.0	.9	-	100	2
		19.3	3.0	24.9	1.4	-	51.4	-	-	100	3
		20.1	2.5	65.6	.2	-	-	11.6	-	100	5

Note: The respondents in the Junior School were the Headmaster, Deputy Headmaster and Senior Assistant, 3 teachers and 2 house-wardens and 3 housemothers. The Intermediate School respondents were the Headmaster, 3 teachers, 2 instructors, 3 housemasters and 2 housemothers. The Senior School respondents were the Headmaster and Deputy Headmaster, 3 instructors and 2 housewardens, 1 housemaster and 2 housemothers.

* Percentages were rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore the total percentage approximates 100 per cent.
** There were no Instructors at the Junior School and there was only one Teacher at the Senior School.

The headmaster's diaries also clearly reflected the high proportion of time allotted by the supervisory/administrative group, to which they were assigned, to the administration and staff supervision task (see Table 3.14).

There existed, furthermore, a number of noteworthy differences between the same staff groups across the regimes studied. These are illustrated in Table 3.12 and described as follows: the teachers' group at the Junior School did comparatively more classroom activity and administration and staff supervision than their counterparts, i.e., teachers/instructors group in the other two schools. The housestaff did somewhat more administration and staff supervision and community activities and substantially more domestic duties than their counterparts, but they also did somewhat less group supervision and had somewhat less individual contact with boys. The ancillary staff at the Junior School did less administration and staff supervision, group supervision of boys and had less individual contact with boys, but did spend more time on domestic duties than their equivalents at the other schools. These findings confirmed and reflected what had been observed earlier on in the research process in so far as the supervisory/administration and the teacher staff groups placed a great emphasis and importance on education and that domestic duties comprised a substantial part of the housemothers' and ancillary staff's work.

The supervisory/administration and teachers/instructors groups at the Intermediate School had more individual contact with boys and did less group supervision than their counterparts and the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups did less on administration and staff supervision than their counterparts¹ at the other two schools. Although the housestaff did

1. Of the 42 respondents to the staff questionnaire interview at the Intermediate school, 37 were engaged in the administration and staff supervision task, whereas 30 out of 39 and 30 out of 41 at the Junior and Senior Schools respectively, were. In percentage terms this is 88.1 per cent of the Intermediate School staff, 76.9 per cent of the Junior School staff and 73.2 per cent of the Senior School staff. This indicates that the administration and staff supervision was spread over a greater number of staff at the Intermediate School than at the other two schools. This difference has interesting explanatory value for other data (see also Appendix H).

TABLE 3.14

Headmaster's Allocation of Percentages* of time worked per task as Recorded by the Staff Diary Method

HEADMASTERS	WORK TASKS PERCENTAGES								Total %
	Administration and staff supervision	Individual contact with boys	Group Supervision of boys	Community activities	Classroom activity	Departmental activity	Domestic duties	Other	
Junior School	77.1	5.4	2.2	8.2	-	-	-	7.1	100
Intermediate School	62.4	32.0	3.9	1.7	-	-	-	-	100
Senior School	89.6	7.8	-	.9	-	-	1.7	-	100

* Since the headmasters at the Intermediate and Senior Schools were on vacation for 7 and 2 days respectively during the periods covered by their diaries, the total hours that each headmaster worked during this period differed greatly. It was considered therefore, that a percentage comparison, rather than a comparison of the actual hours worked per task, would offer a more meaningful source of comparison.

substantially more group supervision, it, as the ancillary group, allocated less to domestic duties than their equivalents. Finally, the ancillary staff at the Intermediate School did more departmental activity than the ancillary staff at the Senior School. These findings also reflected and accounted for what had been observed by the researcher as a greater interest and desire on the part of staff to do treatment, and hence this was indicated by the greater amount of time the previously mentioned groups¹ allotted to individual contact¹ with boys, and to department activities and less time to administration and staff supervision and domestic duties.

At the Senior School the supervisory administration group had less individual contact with boys and did more group supervision of boys. The teacher/instructor group did less classroom but more departmental activity; the housestaff had slightly more and the ancillary somewhat more individual contact with boys and the ancillary also did more administration and staff supervision and group supervision of boys, than their counterparts at the other schools. Again these findings paralleled what had been observed, in that the supervisory/administration group's attitude had been one of non concern and perhaps had been even somewhat unsympathetic with regard to individual treatment of boys, hence they had comparatively less individual contact with boys. The substantially lower priority that classroom activity was given by the teacher/instructor group reflected the fact that there was only one teacher in this staff group who engaged in classroom activity and that teaching the boys academic skills was generally not taken seriously.

1. Individual contact of staff with boys has been considered by a number of authors as one of the most important aspects in the care and treatment of delinquents. It has been referred to by one author as "the essential relationship". For a description of the importance and the dynamics of individual contact in the care and treatment of delinquents, see W. L. Herbert and F. V. Jarvis, Dealing with Delinquents, London, 1961, pp. 43-50; Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 112-25; and C. R. Rogers, The Clinical Treatment of the Problem Child, Boston, 1939, pp. 119-34; H. B. Peck and V. Bellsmith, Treatment of the Delinquent Adolescent, New York, 1954, pp. 41-62.

However, the lack of regard for organization and the informality and ease with which staff related, seemed to account or allow for the ancillary staff at the Senior School to do more administration and staff supervision, and individual contact and group supervision of boys than their counterparts at the other two schools.

(b) Examination of Sub-parts

Not only were the work tasks representative of the various activities which had been observed in the schools, as well as of the differences in emphasis and priorities each regime placed on them, but these work tasks were also important indicators of the differences between the regimes. In view of this it was considered that a closer examination of the tasks would also serve to offer a clearer indication as to their purpose. Since tasks could be further divided into their actual constituents or sub-parts, a comparative description of the proportion of time spent on these sub-parts within a task, served to characterize and identify that task and thereby provide an operational description of it. A comparative examination of the sub-parts in the administration and staff supervision task is given below, and for the sake of remaining generally with the topic of work allocation, comparable descriptions are given for the other tasks in Appendix I.

Although there was a great similarity between schools as to which sub-parts had a greater proportion of time spent on them in the administration and staff supervision task, as represented in Table 3.15, "paperwork" was given the highest priority with this regard. However, this high priority was partially expected since "paperwork" usually comprises a major part in any administrative function, although the similarity of priority among the schools was rather less expected. The low proportion of time allocated to class and course preparation by teachers and project selection and preparation by instructors, can be explained by the fact that the number of staff teaching

TABLE 3.15

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task
"Administration and Staff Supervision" as per
time spent in descending order

Sub-parts	PRIORITIES		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Paperwork	1	1	1
Telephone calls	5	2	3
Supervision of staff	4	7	6
Meetings directly related to boys	3	4	2
Meetings indirectly related to boys	2	3	4
Teachers and other staff engaged in classroom activity: class and course preparation	6	8	8
Instructors and other staff engaged in departmental activity: project selection and preparation*	-	6	5
Other	7	5	7
Number of participants	30	37	30

Note: Sub-parts were rated by the staff questionnaire interview respondents on a five point scale and the mean scores for all the sub-parts were arranged in descending order with the sub-part most time was spent on receiving the highest priority, i.e., 1, and the one the least time was spent on, the lowest priority, i.e., 7 or 8 depending on the school.

* Since there were no departments at the Junior School the sub-part "instructors/department staff: project selection and preparation" was not applicable.

and/or instructing boys in the classroom and/or departments consisted of a small proportion¹ of the staff interviewed, and therefore it was obvious that this sub-task received the low priority it did. However, it cannot at this point be further interpreted to mean that those staff who "taught" also tended to give this sub-part a very low priority in terms of the time they allotted to it, as compared to other administrative and staff supervisional sub-parts. Finally, the three sub-parts on which all three schools spent the greatest proportion of time, tended to have a higher degree of similarity in priority rating across the schools than did the remaining ones. What is therefore implied is that all three schools had greater similarity in their priorities of the administrative and supervisional sub-parts they spent more time on, than those they spent less time on.

Important differences between schools, with regard to these sub-parts, were substantiated by observational findings. The Junior School's greater emphasis than the other regimes on meetings² has been described in the previous chapter and was given a high priority within the administration and staff supervision task. With regard to the greater proportion of time spent on supervision of staff by the Junior regime as compared to the other two, a speculative explanation for this could be that because the Junior regime supervised its own boys more closely than the other two regimes, that this closeness of supervision of boys had a carry over into the staff supervision itself. That staff were more closely supervised, however, was evident in terms of timetabling and tasks carried out, and since the boys

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1. Out of the 39 respondents to the staff questionnaire interview at the Junior School, 8 of the staff engaged in teaching; of the 42 Intermediate School respondents a total of 16 taught and instructed; and of the 41 Senior School respondents a total of 12 taught and instructed (see Appendix H).
 2. The Junior School held weekly meetings to decide upon boys' privileges, meetings once every term to reassess each boy's grade, regular "internal review" meetings at which staff discussed, decided and generally agreed on what course of action or line of thought to present at the Local Authority reviews when the child care workers came to the school, and finally not so regularly, staff meetings themselves. In addition to this the teachers and house staff met weekly with the various houses of boys, with regard to setting house policy and activities.

were tightly and rigidly timetabled it would in a sense be difficult for staff to be otherwise. Finally the comparatively higher priority given to the "other" sub-part by the Intermediate regime indicated that this school allocated more time to sub-parts outside those which were prescribed by the staff questionnaire itself, than did the other two schools. However, since this sub-part at all three schools was of a relatively lower priority, analysis and description of what comprised it was considered of minor relevance.

(c) Task Preference and Benefit

Having considered the comparative distribution of time per week each regime allotted to their work tasks as well as having examined, within and across schools, the sub-parts which constituted one of these tasks, the examination of the work preferences staff had with regard to these and the benefit they perceived these tasks had for boys, further served as an important statement upon the care and treatment offered by each regime. Table 3.16 was constructed by combining the tasks staff wanted to spend more time on with those they wanted to spend less time on and those tasks staff considered most beneficial with those they considered least so. The result of this was a percentage index or set of sliding scales from the task the greatest percentage of staff preferred to spend more time on to the task the greatest percentage of staff preferred to spend less time on, and the task which was considered by the greatest percentage of staff to be most beneficial to boys to the task which the greatest percentage of staff considered to be least beneficial. When a score was plus it indicated that staff wanted to spend more time on a category or saw it as beneficial to boys, whereas when a score was minus it indicated the reverse.

Upon viewing Table 3.16 the most important findings were that all regimes considered "individual contact with boys" to be the task that the largest percentage of the staff would not only prefer to spend more time on, but also which the largest percentage of staff considered to be of most benefit

TABLE 3.16

Work Tasks Staff at each School Preferred to Spend More and Less Time on
and Work Tasks Considered to be of Most and Least Importance to Boys, as
Measured by Percentages of Staff per School

WORK TASKS	WORK TASKS PREFERRED TO SPEND MORE-LESS TIME ON			WORK TASKS CONSIDERED MOST-LEAST BENEFICIAL TO BOYS		
	Junior School Staff	Intermediate School Staff	Senior School Staff	Junior School Staff	Intermediate School Staff	Senior School Staff
Administration & staff supervision	- 27.8	- 34.4	- 25.0	- 33.3	- 55.4	- 30.5
Individual contact with boys	+ 36.0	+ 43.4	+ 44.4	+ 58.3	+ 42.1	+ 30.6
Group supervision of boys	+ 11.1	- 13.4	- 5.6	- 5.5	- 5.7	- 8.3
Community activities	+ 16.6	+ 2.6	+ 2.7	- 2.7	- 5.4	+ 2.8
Classroom activity	- 5.6	+ 2.6	+ 2.8	+ 11.1	+ 7.5	+ 2.8
Departmental activity	*	+ 12.8	0	*	+ 15.0	+ 11.1
Domestic duties	- 30.6	- 13.4	- 19.4	- 27.8	+ 1.8	- 8.3
Number of respondents	36	38.5	36	36	39	36

Note: The plus percentages represent the overall percentage of staff who wanted to do "more" of or thought a work task to be of "most" benefit to boys, whereas a minus percentage represents the overall percentage of staff who preferred to do "less" of or felt a task was of "least" benefit to boys. An asterisk* indicates that a work task was not chosen by staff for any of the measures used in this table, and the zero, i.e., "0", indicates that the same percentage of staff preferred to spend more time on a work task as those who preferred to spend less time on it.

- Non-response rate and reasons: (1) Of those staff who responded to the staff questionnaire interview, 3 at the Junior School, 2 at the Intermediate and 4 at the Senior School carried out duties within only one work task and therefore had no choice with regard to which work task they preferred to spend more or less time on and which work task they considered of most and least benefit for boys.
- (2) At the Intermediate School 1 staff member did not know which task category he preferred to spend more time on and 2 staff members did not know which they preferred to spend less time on. Also 2 staff members did not know which task category was of least benefit to boys. Since this difference in the non-response rates among the scales at the Intermediate School existed, when the scales were combined the number of respondents for the "spend more-less time on" scale was fractional.

to the boys themselves. Furthermore, there was similar consensus among the schools that the administration and staff supervision and domestic duties tasks were the categories which the largest percentage of staff wished to spend less time on and which the largest percentage of staff considered of least benefit to the boys themselves. However, it must be noted that domestic duties were regarded by a higher percentage of staff at the Intermediate School as being of benefit to the boys than at the other two schools.

The trend of individual contact being selected by the greatest percentage of staff as being most beneficial to boys, as well as being the task category which the greatest percentage of staff desired to spend more time on, has interesting implications in so far as comparatively less time was allocated to it by all regimes, as indicated in Tables 3.8 and 3.9. A tentative explanation, however, might be that since there was relatively less time allotted to individual contact with boys, that staff for this very reason saw it as needing more time allotted to it and that this led in some unexplained manner to it as being perceived as of most benefit to boys. The fact that domestic duties, and to a somewhat lesser extent, administration and staff supervision, had such relatively large time allotments (see Table 3.8) suggests that the same explanation might be applied but in reverse, in that staff did not wish to spend more time on those task categories on which they already spent the greatest amount of their time. They therefore desired to spend more time on other tasks and had rationalized this desire by considering these other tasks as being of greater benefit to the boys themselves.

However, perhaps the more accurate interpretation had to do with staff's self image with regard to their work. Since it appeared that approved schools today prefer to think more in terms of caring, treatment and other terms such as these,¹ this has in turn or simultaneously brought about a

1. Millham et al have described the recent moves of approved schools toward more "child-centered expressive goals", as distinguished from "instrumental" and "organizational" goals. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 45-72. See chapter 4 of this study entitled "Purposes and Priorities of Regimes" for a description of these goals.

degree of different expectations of the work itself and the staff's orientation to it.¹ Many staff in this study preferred at least to be thought of as being interested and concerned about the caring and treatment side of the work, although a number were sincerely interested in this aspect.² Considering therefore that individual contact with boys could be most clearly and easily associated with caring and treatment while administration and staff supervision and domestic duties least so, staff's consideration of which task was of most benefit and worthy of more time was obvious.

When further comparisons, as to the tasks staff desired to spend more and less time on and considered of most and least beneficial to boys, were made between the same staff groups across schools, another consistent pattern of choice was evidenced. Group supervision of boys received low consideration on both of these measures by the teachers/instructors groups at all three schools (see Appendices J, K and L and Table 3.17). Since the teachers/instructors group gave a greater proportion of their working time than any other staff group to group supervision in two of the schools, and most time after the housestaff group, in the third one (see Table 3.12) it was rather to be expected, given the fact that the housestaff's work was more oriented and geared for group supervision, that the teachers/instructors group regarded this task with some disdain. The teachers/instructors group worked according to a set programme and timetable of which they seemed to

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1. The demands and expectations of staff's orientation to the work is increasingly professional. For the role of professionalism in residential care generally and approved school work specifically see, H. Alt and H. Grossbard, "Professional Issues in the Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Behaviour", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 19, No. 4, 1949, pp. 279-94; E. Burmeister, The Professional Houseparent, Columbia University Press, New York, 1960; E. F. Day, "Professionalism in Approved Schools", Approved School Gazette, Vol. 61, No. 2, 1967, pp. 72-5; J. Franklin Robinson, "The Role of the Resident Professional Worker", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 19, 1949, pp. 674-82; B. Kahan and G. Banner, Residential Task in Child Care: The Castle Priory Report, second edition, Banstead, 1972, pp. 10-15.
 2. For a similar finding see R. Giallombardo, The Social World of Imprisoned Girls: A Comparative Study of Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents, New York, 1974, pp. 249-51.

TABLE 3.17

Work Tasks which Staff Groups Preferred to Spend More and Less Time on and Work Tasks they Considered to be of Most and Least Importance to Boys: as Measured by the Percentage of Staff per Group

WORK TASKS	PERCENTAGE OF STAFF GROUPS PREFERRED TO SPEND MORE-LESS TIME ON WORK TASKS					PERCENTAGE OF STAFF GROUPS CONSIDERING WORK TASK MOST-LEAST BENEFICIAL TO BOYS				
	Supervisory/ Admin.Group %	Teachers/ Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %		Supervisory/ Admin.Group %	Teachers/ Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %	
Administration and staff supervision	- 64.3	- 24.0	- 25.7	- 22.4		- 20.0	- 60.0	- 47.1	- 27.9	
Individual contact with boys	+ 57.1	+ 32.0	+ 57.1	+ 26.5		+ 40.0	+ 20.0	+ 71.4	+ 34.7	
Group supervision of boys	0	- 28.0	+ 8.6	+ 2.5		- 26.7	- 24.0	+ 14.1	- 5.8	
Community activities	+ 14.3	+ 12.0	+ 11.4	- 2.9		0	+ 8.0	- 9.0	- 2.9	
Classroom activity	- 7.1	+ 4.0	*	*		*	+ 32.0	*	*	
Departmental activity	+ 7.1	+ 4.0	*	+ 5.2		0	+ 24.0	*	+ 8.0	
Domestic duties	- 7.1	*	- 51.4	- 9.0		+ 6.7	*	- 29.5	- 6.3	

Note: In all instances plus percentages indicate more or most and minus percentages indicate less or least.

Zeros, i.e., "0", indicate that the same percentage of staff in a group preferred to spend more time on a work task as those who preferred to spend less time on it or considered it of most benefit to boys as those who considered it of least benefit. See Table 3.16 for a description of the origin of the figures in this table and the non-response rate.

* Indicates that a work task was not chosen by the staff group in question for any of the measures used in this table.

have comparatively clearer expectations as to their tasks, purposes and goals, whereas housestaff seemed to have a less well defined work context than this in addition to their relationships with boys having a less specific raison d'etre. The teachers/instructors group therefore seemed to consider themselves first and foremost teachers and instructors in that they regarded their role to be primarily that of teaching and instructing and not of group supervising boys.

What became more apparent with further comparisons between staff groups and previously presented data, was that the proportion of time a group allocated to a task was not the only factor which decided or influenced how that group regarded the benefit of that task for the boys or whether they desired to spend more or less time on it. Factors or a factor related to the nature of the work within the task itself was strongly suspected to also have had an influence. Support for this came from the finding that the teachers/instructors group spent 30.8 per cent and 26.6 per cent of their time in classroom and department activity respectively, yet 4.0 per cent of this staff group desired to spend more time on both classroom and department activity and 32.0 per cent and 24.0 per cent considered classroom and department activity, respectively, to be of most benefit to the boys. Yet the teachers/instructors group spent a smaller proportion of time on administration and staff supervision, i.e., 7.2 per cent, but 24.0 per cent of the staff in this group desired to spend less time on this task and 60.0 per cent considered it of least benefit to boys. Administration and staff supervision was notoriously unpopular with all staff groups and not one group desired to spend more time on it or considered it of benefit to the boys, yet each staff group spent a different proportion of time on it. What could be concluded, therefore, is that another factor in addition to the amount of time allocated to a task seemed to have had a bearing on staff's feelings and perceptions about that task. These factors or factor, for that matter, were strongly suspected to have been related to the nature of

the work within the task¹ and perhaps even to staff's self image with regard to their work.

However, further support for the suggestion that it was the proportion of time already spent, the nature of the work itself and perhaps also staff's self image with regard to the work generally that influenced whether staff desired to spend more or less time on a task or considered it of benefit to boys, was clarified as follows: When staff were asked what they would like to be doing that they presently were not, a substantial percentage at all three schools, i.e., 33.3 at the Junior and Intermediate Schools and 31.7 per cent at the Senior School, selected a task which all three regimes spent very little time on, that being community activities (see Tables 3.8 and 3.18). Furthermore, the greatest proportion of staff who selected tasks they liked to be engaged in which they presently were not, were from the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups and most of the staff in these groups wanted to be engaged in community activities (see Appendix M). The explanation for this trend seems to relate to staff's expectations and self image with regard to the work. They claimed that the effect of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, whereby Local Authority Child Care Officers replaced probation officers, had been a loss of contact with boys' homes and families and the boys once they left the school. Considering that the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups did proportionally most of the work in the tasks related directly to care and treatment of the boys, i.e., individual contact, group supervision, classroom/department activity, they felt somewhat of a loss when this had been severely curtailed and for most practical purposes had ceased to be part of their work and part of the community activities task. Their desire to be engaged in community activities such as visiting boys' homes and families, boys' child care officers and doing after care, seemed not only to be an indication of their self image

1. For a description of the nature of the work within the administration and staff supervision task see Table 3.15 and for the other tasks see Appendix I.

TABLE 3.18

Work Tasks Staff were not doing, but which they would like to do

SCHOOLS	WORK TASKS									Total number of staff*
	Administ- ration and staff supervision	Individual contact with boys	Group super- vision of boys	Community activities	Classroom activity	Departmental activity	Domestic duties	Other tasks		
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %		
JUNIOR	5 12.8	- -	2 5.1	13 33.3	- -	- -	- -	1 2.6	21	
INTER- MEDIATE	7 16.7	2 4.8	3 7.1	14 33.3	- -	1 2.4	- -	2 4.8	29	
SENIOR	2 4.9	- -	1 2.4	13 31.7	2 4.9	- -	- -	1 2.4	19	
No. of staff per task	14	2	6	40	2	1	-	4	69	

* Since several staff selected more than one of the above tasks, the total number of staff making these selections of individual tasks were greater than the number of staff who wanted to engage in work tasks other than the ones they were already doing. Of the Junior School staff 17 out of 39 or 43.6 per cent wished to engage in task(s) other than the ones they were presently doing, whereas 22 out of 42, or 52.4 per cent of the Intermediate School staff and 16 out of 41, or 39.0 per cent of the Senior School staff, desired to do so. See Appendix M for breakdown of the above figures by staff group for each school.

with regard to care and treatment, but also served to point out that they had not as yet ceased to see the benefits of this aspect of care and treatment. They claimed they had done substantially more of these community activities in the past, in which external bodies like the probation service had been of great assistance and had served as a vital link between the school and the boy and his family. A comparable satisfactory relationship had not developed with the local authority child care workers.¹

Summary

This chapter examined two important aspects of the three regimes studied. The first of these was staff structure in terms of age, sex, marital status, educational qualifications, reasons for coming into approved school work, length of time employed at their respective schools and finally staff group organization, which served to offer a descriptive comparison of staff at each of the schools. The important points of reference with regard to these descriptive measures of staff structure were that the Junior School had generally younger, most female and new staff, who held the highest proportion of school based and professional indirectly related educational qualifications and had the highest turnover rate, than the other two schools. The Intermediate School had the highest proportion of single and male staff and the lowest proportion of married staff. It also had the highest proportion of staff in the teachers/instructors group. Its staff were best educationally qualified for approved school work and they had been employed longer at their school than their colleagues at the other two schools had been at theirs. The Senior School's staff tended to be older, a higher proportion of them were married, they held most further education qualifications and least professional and directly related ones, more of them had come into approved school work for practical than for reasons

1. See M. Berlins and G. Wansell, op.cit., pp. 60-1.

related to the intrinsic value and nature of the work and they had been employed at their school for a shorter time than their colleagues at the other two schools had been at theirs. Finally the Senior School had the smallest proportion of staff in the supervisory/administration group.

With regard to work allocation, the second and most important aspect examined by this chapter, the noteworthy findings were as follows: to begin with all three regimes allocated roughly around half or more of their working time to tasks only indirectly related to the care and treatment of boys, i.e., tasks in which there was virtually no contact with boys, as opposed to tasks directly related to these. When a further examination was made as to which groups performed which tasks, a number of similarities were indicated across the regimes. The greatest proportion of administration and staff supervision was carried out by the supervisory/administration group and the greatest proportion of domestic duties by the ancillary and housestaff groups. Practically all the classroom activity and most of the departmental activity was done by the teachers/instructors group and most of the group supervision of boys and community activities were done by the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups. The staff which seemed to have most individual contact with boys were the housestaff group, but it was difficult to be absolutely certain of this. Furthermore, although the staff diary system generally supported the findings of the staff questionnaire interview method, it noted that it was the supervisory/administration group which had the greater amount of individual contact with boys and performed the greater proportion of community activities.

The major differences between the same staff groups across schools were as follows: the teachers' group at the Junior School did the greatest proportion of classroom activity of the three teachers/instructors groups and the housestaff and ancillary groups did the most domestic duties. This confirmed and supported what had been previously observed, which was that the Junior School placed a greater emphasis on classroom activity and domestic duties than the other two. The supervisory/administration group at the

Intermediate School had the greatest proportion of individual contact with boys of the three supervisory/administration groups and the housestaff and ancillary groups at the Intermediate School allocated a comparatively small proportion of their time on domestic duties. This again reflected and helped to identify the generally greater emphasis which the Intermediate School placed on care and treatment. Finally, the supervisory/administration group at the Senior School gave the smallest proportion of the three supervisory/administration groups to individual contact with boys and allocated the greatest comparative proportion of time to group supervision of boys. Also the teacher/instructor groups at the Senior School allocated the smallest proportion of the three teachers/instructors groups to classroom activity. These findings also confirmed the observational account in that the school was generally least concerned of the regimes about care and treatment generally and about individual contact and classroom education particularly. The Senior School regime gave classroom activity a fairly low status in terms of programme time, staff allocation, and ideological support.

The greatest proportions of staff in all three schools and usually in all staff groups within and across schools, considered individual contact with boys to be the task of most benefit to boys and desired to spend more time on it, whereas they considered administration and staff supervision and domestic duties to be of least benefit and desired to spend less time on these. Also the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups at all three schools were the most eager groups to engage in tasks other than the ones they were already doing, and the majority of the staff in these groups desired to be engaged in community activities. Explanation for this pre-dominance of choice in the tasks staff considered most and least beneficial, wanted to spend more and less time on and wanted to be engaged in, seemed to be related to and influenced by the proportion of time they already allocated to these tasks, the nature of the work within them, and their self image and expectations with regard to their work.

CHAPTER 4

PURPOSES AND PRIORITIES OF REGIMES

Although the examination of the regimes at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools according to their work allocation and related concerns, served as an operational description of care and treatment, this was only one approach within this study of exploring, assessing and describing each of the regime's regard for care and treatment. The specific areas which are covered by this chapter are those which can be considered to be directly related to the goals¹ of each regime or perhaps, more widely stated, what Millham et al have termed "residential styles".² These areas are comparative descriptions of treatment components, purposes and aims emphasized by each regime.

Of relevant guidance in making these comparative descriptions, were a few studies which categorized the institutions they studied according to types, as a means of identifying purposes, goals and beliefs. Rose has provided a useful overview of the systems of institutional training for young offenders, as conceptualized by Murlock Houwer, which served to provide a broad frame of reference for identifying the regimes of the schools in this study.³ However, studies by Street, Vinter and Perrow,⁴ Gill⁵ and Millham, Bullock and Cherrett⁶ utilized more condensed and varied sets of conceptions to describe these institutions, and it was found that, because of their

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1. For a description of the concept and definition of organizational goals, as might be considered relevant to approved schools, see A. Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations: on Power, Involvement and their correlates, New York, 1961; E. Gross, "The Definition of Organizational Goals", British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1969, pp. 277-94; and R. Lambert, S. Millham and R. Bullock, Manual to the Sociology of the School, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1970, pp. 45-89.
 2. According to Millham et al, "the goals pursued by the schools are reflected in the residential styles they adopt. Goals influence the way people perceive their jobs ...", Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 94.
 3. G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 183-5.
 4. Street, Vinter, and Perrow, op.cit.
 5. Gill, op.cit., 1974(b).
 6. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit.

conciseness, these conceptions proved to be convenient and manageable models against which to compare and describe the findings of this chapter.¹

The conceptual approach used by Street, Vinter and Perrow in considering differences with regard to treatment between regimes of institutions for delinquents was to classify them according to a number of basic goal types along a "custody-treatment continuum". In the goal type termed "obedience-conformity" it was assumed that the orientations of the inmates could not be altered basically but that the inmates could be conditioned to behave properly (or would learn to conform out of fear of the consequences).² The emphasis of this type of regime was on respect for authority, training in conformity habits and the technique used to achieve these was conditioning. The "re-education-development" type assumed that inmates possessed personal resources which could be developed and which would provide them with a chance of ending their delinquent ways. This goal type placed a greater concern on training and development of capabilities such as changing attitudes, values and behaviour, acquisition of skills and development of personal resources.³ The treatment type considered that deviance could be corrected "only by a thoroughgoing reorientation or reconstitution of the inmate",⁴ and that the inmate had substantial personal potentialities for this. Focus, in the

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1. Another useful model, although not altogether as directly relevant or readily applicable to this study as those considered by Street et al, Gill, 1974(b), and Millham et al, was that posed by King and Raynes. They considered that the nature and determinants of patterns of care provided in residential establishments for children could be regarded as institutionally oriented practices, which were those practices which disregarded the individual and unique circumstances in favour of an emphasis on the routine running of the institution, and inmate oriented practices, which were those that gave recognition to individual differences, unique circumstances and tolerated variations in routine. R. D. King and N. V. Raynes, "An Operational Measure of Inmate Management in Residential Institutions", Social Science and Medicine, Vol. 2, March, 1968, pp. 41-53.
 2. Street, Vinter and Perrow, op.cit., p. 63.
 3. According to Taylor the re-education-development type seems to be representative of many approved schools. See I. Taylor, "Sociological Approaches to Juvenile Institutions: the Beginnings of Research at 'Green Hill' Approved School", Approved School Gazette, Vol. 62, No. 9, 1968, pp. 487-92.
 4. Street, Vinter and Perrow, op.cit., p. 64.

treatment goal type, therefore, was more on psychological treatment and personality change than in any of the other types. Finally, the mixed goal type emphasized custody and treatment goals simultaneously.¹ The interesting point with regard to these various types, with the exception of the mixed goal type, was the inherent implication that since they were on a custody-treatment continuum, a regime placing a greater emphasis on treatment would place a lesser emphasis on custody and vice versa. Although this categorization of goal types is of general informative and descriptive interest to this study, of greater significance to this chapter, however, is the conception that these were considered to lie along a continuum, thereby implying a relative degree of mutual exclusiveness with regard to goals. Further reference will be made to this point later on.

Another useful approach of considering the regard the staff and boys of the three regimes studied had for the treatment components, and the schools' purposes and aims, was the approach which was formalized and used by Lambert, Millham and Bullock² in educational research and applied to approved school research by Gill³ and Millham, Bullock and Cherrett.⁴ According to Lambert et al, the three useful and important goals to distinguish between when considering schools' goals are instrumental, expressive and organizational. Instrumental goals are concerned with the acquisition of skills, information qualifications etc., and which serve further ends. Expressive goals are those concerned not with things which are means, but which are ends in themselves such as the transmission of norms and values. Organizational goals are those which serve to ensure the maintenance and survival of the school itself. The value of Lambert et al's goal distinctions as well as Street, Vinter and Perrow's goal type continuum, was that these served as evaluative

1. Ibid., pp. 21-3, 63-4.

2. Lambert, Millham and Bullock, op.cit., p. 56.

3. Gill, op.cit., 1974(b), p. 46.

4. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 57.

constructs against which comparisons and description of staff and boys' feelings with regard to the components of approved school treatment and school purposes and aims, could be made.

However, in the light of the complexity and many functions residential care and treatment was considered able to perform, as suggested by the Advisory Council on Child Care and Maier's outline of essential components in the Introduction of this study, it seemed that in addition to the two just previously described goal models by Lambert et al and Street et al, that the following statement by Carlebach needs to be reflected upon.

"In the case of the approved schools, however, the nature of their goals appear to be much more complex, not least because they are almost by definition contradictory. They also have to be 'multi-functional', that is to say, the goals of approved schools are not 'clear and explicit', but rather they are products of complex social pressures all of which must find expression in the ultimate formulation of goals."¹

Support for this statement, in so far as it concerns the multi-functional and the unclear character of approved school goals is offered by Tutt² and by Schur,³ Handler⁴ and Zald⁵ for comparable American institutions, and by Vinter⁶ for treatment organizations in general. The problem also seemed to be applicable to the goals of probation hostels.⁷

It was not the object of this study to describe the actual process of policy and goal formation, but rather to offer a descriptive account of the

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1. J. Carlebach, Caring for Children in Trouble, London, 1970, p. 182.
 2. Tutt, op.cit., pp. 49-51.
 3. E. M. Schur, Radical non-intervention: Rethinking the Delinquency Problem, Englewood Cliffs, 1973, pp. 64-70.
 4. E. Handler, "Residential Treatment Programs for Juvenile Delinquents", Social Work (Albany, New York), Vol. 20, No. 3, 1975, pp. 217-22.
 5. M. N. Zald, "The Correctional Institution for Juvenile Offenders: An analysis of organizational 'character'", Social Problems, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1960, pp. 59-67; and "Comparative Analysis and Measurement of Organizational Goals: the case of correctional institutions for delinquents", the Sociological Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1963, pp. 206-30.
 6. R. D. Vinter, "Analysis of Treatment Organizations", Social Work (Albany, New York), Vol. 8, No. 3, 1963, pp. 3-13.
 7. Sinclair, op.cit., pp. 11-17.

relational and identifying qualities that these, as reflected by staff's and boys' regard for treatment components and the schools' purposes and aims, had for each of the regimes studied. Although the most recent account as to what the important influencing aspects in goal and policy formulation were, comes out of the research by Millham, Bullock and Cherrett,¹ it still remains most succinctly stated by Rose as that of "... balancing the needs of the individual against those of the community, and both sets of needs against the objectives of training."²

The purposes and priorities of the regimes are identified and described in this chapter, as per three separate sections, according to, 1) the staff and boys' feelings with regard to the various components of approved school treatment; 2) staff and boys' regard for their school's purposes; and 3) treatment aims of the schools and boys' satisfaction with their stay at the schools. The first section with regard to the components of approved school treatment, sought to make a comparative examination as to which components were considered to be of greater and lesser importance according to similarities and differences between the schools, staff and colleagues, boys (as per their schools), and staff and boys. The object was to more closely scrutinize each regime's treatment orientation as reflected by its preferences regarding these treatment components. The second section of this chapter sought to offer a comparative description as to which of the schools' purposes were considered most and least important, according to similarities and differences between schools, staff and colleagues and boys (as per their schools) with regard to these, in addition to the purposes which staff thought should have been more and less strongly emphasized. Finally, the last sections in this chapter deals with a comparative description of two distinct, although not unrelated areas, concerned with the treatment aims and the satisfaction boys experienced from their stay at each of

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 45-72.

2. G. Rose, op.cit., p. 187.

the schools, according to a number of measures related both to staff and boys.

a. Treatment Components: Staff and Boys¹

When staff's own feelings with regard to treatment components were examined in comparison with their considerations of their colleagues' feelings for these, it became evident that staff, regardless of regime, tended to view certain components more favourably than they thought their colleagues considered them. Although this is of rather greater interest and application to the material discussed with reference to staff relations in Chapter 6, the important point here has to do with the actual treatment components staff considered themselves and their colleagues to regard differently. However, an important reference to understanding this difference between staff and colleagues concerned the fact that staff, so as to indicate that they were in keeping with the recent approved school trend of increasing emphasis on more child-centred child care, considered themselves to be more enlightened with regard to treatment generally than they considered their colleagues to be. They therefore tended to have a higher regard for the component which seemed to be more reflective of Lambert et al's expressive goal type, i.e., individual contact with boys, than those components which

1. The method of measurement used to examine staff's views with regard to components of treatment and schools' purposes in this chapter, and indicators of progress in Chapter 5, was that of requesting staff to rank pre-selected sets of treatment components and indicators of help as to how they personally felt about them, from most to least importance, and to rank a pre-selected set of schools' purposes as to the degree they thought these were emphasized at their schools. These pre-selected sets of components, purposes and indicators were composed of relatively evenly distributed numbers of, what were considered by the researcher, "important", "moderately so" and "low importance" variables. The selection of these variables was based on a variety of impressions, intuitions and witnessed incidents during the initial observation periods, and it was felt that these variables would serve to discriminate and indicate a number of differences between the schools.

seemed to be more reflective of their instrumental and organizational types.¹

The important differences, therefore, between staff's own feelings and what they considered their colleagues' feelings to be with regard to the various treatment components are outlined in Table 4.1, and are described as follows. First of all the tendency for staff to relegate individual contact with boys, which implied an individual treatment emphasis with boys, as being of less importance to their colleagues than for themselves, suggested that staff considered themselves more concerned with the individual treatment of boys than they considered their colleagues to be. This could safely have been said to be true for the Junior and Intermediate School staff, since there was a substantial difference in the priority staff rated themselves at and where they considered their colleagues would rate themselves, while this difference was not so great for the Senior School staff. Secondly, there was a tendency of staff at all three schools to rate group supervision of boys higher in importance for their colleagues than themselves, and the Junior and Senior School staff even rated their colleagues as considering this component of greater importance than the individual contact with boys.

In recalling the findings in Chapter 3, that the greatest percentage of staff at all three schools thought that the work task individual contact with boys was the task they preferred to spend more time on and was also considered by them to be of most benefit to boys, whereas the work task of group supervision was less enthusiastically received in this respect (see Table 3.16), served to support this tendency of staff to regard their

1. The treatment components which seemed to more accurately account for the instrumental goal type were social and academic education, departmental activity, recreation and group living, whereas those for the organizational type seemed to be provision for physical needs, group supervision of boys and daily school routine. However, considering that approved school goals were "multi-functional", "unclear" and "implicit", it is conceivable that any one treatment component could be reflective of more than one type and in some instances perhaps all three types of goals. Because of this the relationship between treatment components, school purposes (as described later), and goal types, is tenuous, and further interpretation to the above comparisons with regard to goal types would have been unduly speculative and misleading.

TABLE 4.1

Degree of Importance of Treatment Components by School, ranked according to Staff's Own Personal Feelings and Staff's Perception of their Colleagues' Personal Feelings Towards them

Treatment Components	JUNIOR Respondent's own position of colleagues' positions	INTERMEDIATE Respondents' own position of colleagues' positions	SENIOR Respondents' own position of colleagues' positions
Social education; teaching positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces	1st	4th	1st
Provision for physical needs; food, clothing, shelter	2nd	1st	3rd
Academic education; teaching academic skills	4th	6th	4th
Group living: a group of boys living together	5th	2nd	6th
Individual contact with boys	3rd	3rd	7th
Daily school routine	6th	7th	2nd
Departmental activity*	-	5th	5th
Group supervision of boys	8th	9th	9th
Recreation	7th	8th	8th
No. of respondents for each and every component	39	42	40 ⁼
		36 ⁺	32 [@]

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School this Treatment Component did not apply there.

+ Six respondents to the staff questionnaire interview did not respond in ranking any of the components.

= One respondent to the staff questionnaire interview did not respond in ranking any of the components.

@ Nine respondents to the staff questionnaire interview did not respond in ranking any of the components.

Reasons for non-response were similar for all non-respondents; that being inability to rate components in a priority relation, be it for themselves or their colleagues. Note: As in this and a number of other tables in this study, mean scores served to indicate each component's or variable's relative position in the table. Since these relative positions were the measures which were of importance and not the actual mean score the components or variables had been rated by, the mean scores were not included in these tables. Furthermore, because the variations among the standard deviation for these mean scores were usually quite similar and few were noticeably wide, again warranted not including them.

colleagues' treatment sentiments and aspirations less favourably than their own. The third important observation was that staff at all the schools perceived their colleagues felt provision for physical needs to be of greater importance than individual contact with boys and academic education.¹ Finally, the fourth observation was that staff at all the schools felt and perceived their colleagues to feel, that recreation was not considered to be of much importance in treatment, even though boys at all of the three schools spent a great deal of time in recreational activities (see pp. 20, 40, 58). Referring to the findings of Chapter 3 again (see Table 3.16), since the work task group supervision of boys was primarily carried on while boys were involved in recreational activities, and since comparatively few staff regarded this task of benefit to boys or aimed to spend more time on it, staff's low regard for the treatment components, recreation and group supervision, was rather self evident. In addition to the differences in rankings of individual contact with boys and group supervision of boys between staff and colleagues, there was relatively less difference among the remaining treatment components in the Junior and Senior Schools than there was in the Intermediate School. The only important remaining difference at the Senior School was that staff rated their colleagues as feeling that departmental activity was of substantially greater importance than they felt it to be for themselves. The reason for this is rather unclear. However, a plausible

1. Since the provision for physical needs was the treatment component which most closely approximated and reflected the work task domestic duties, an interesting contradiction develops. Table 3.16 indicates that the staff at all the schools gave domestic duties a fairly low rating with regard to its benefit to boys as well as being desirous to spend more time on it. What is suggested by this contradiction is that what is being compared, i.e., work task domestic duties, and treatment component provision for physical needs: food, clothing and shelter, are either two quite different aspects of approved school life or they are quite similar but only viewed in different contexts. Drawing on the observational data with regard to this, it seemed that the more plausible and likely explanation for this contradiction was that the aspects in question were relatively similar, but were viewed in two quite unrelated contexts. What was measured by the work tasks and the time spent on these, were the constituents of staff's roles, whereas the ranking of the treatment components was a measure of the values staff held with regard to their work.

explanation might be that staff considered themselves to be more analytical about treatment and felt that departmental duty had no treatment value per se, other than it being a vehicle for other treatment components such as "social education"¹ or "daily school routine". But then, as has been mentioned on a number of previous occasions, Senior School staff were least concerned with regard to treatment generally.

In examining the Intermediate School for staff's own feelings in comparison with their perceptions of their colleagues, there existed an additional three important choice differences to individual contact with boys, in the order the components were ranked. Staff tended to feel that group living was more important than they considered their colleagues to feel it was, and they considered their colleagues to feel "social" and "academic education" was more important. Although explanations of these trends might be considered as somewhat tenuous, however, it seemed that staff interpreted group living to imply a setting or a number of settings in the school where group therapy and group work was and could be carried out, as was already being done to a degree during classroom activity and in the specially segregated intensive care unit. Furthermore, the treatment ethos of the school also seemed to have alerted them to a variety of living situations within the school which could be geared and/or manipulated towards therapeutic ends. The higher rating by staff for their colleagues than themselves on academic and social education might be interpreted therefore that staff considered their colleagues as being unable to appreciate the more subtle and implicit side of treatment, as described and suggested by Lambert et al's expressive goal and hence staff considered that their colleagues felt that the education components were more important than group living. In other words, staff felt that their colleagues interpreted treatment narrowly and specifically in what seemed to approximate Lambert et al's

1. For a general description of social education as a means of treatment see Howard Jones, "Social Education", The New Era, Vol. 53, No. 4, 1972, pp. 98-102.

instrumental and organizational goals and they could not appreciate the more subtle potentialities which the group living component inherently contained.

When staff's own ratings for treatment components were combined¹ with the ratings they perceived their colleagues would have given to these, the already established trends for each school in Table 4.1 were further clarified (see Table 4.2). Since some of the combined ratings for the components were fairly close (similar) in a number of cases, a difference of one priority place seemed to have had a fairly random chance of occurring and therefore basing interpretive value on such a small difference must be considered as unsound and misleading.

The outstanding and most important findings of the combined ratings, as presented in Table 4.2, were that there was a consensus among the regimes as to which were the most and least important components in care and treatment. All three of these considered that social education and provision for physical needs were of greatest importance and that group supervision and recreation were of least importance.

However, as was not unexpected, the Senior School considered the daily school routine of greater importance and individual contact with boys and academic education of lesser importance than the other regimes. Interestingly enough, as discussed in Chapter 3, the Senior School also allocated least time of the three regimes to the work tasks, individual contact with boys and classroom activity, which accounted for these components being considered by them as being of lesser importance (see Table 3.8). Both of these supportive findings therefore sought to further establish the Senior

1. In consideration of this trend at all three schools, of staff rating themselves more positively than their colleagues with regard to these components, a combination of the staff's and their colleagues' mean scores on this measure, had a sound rationale in that it produced a measure which could be considered to more accurately and honestly reflect each regime's priorities. If staff had rated themselves somewhat less "socially desirable" and therefore more accurately, and had rated their colleagues somewhat less disparagingly and thereby also more accurately, the two measures of staff and colleague emphasis would have been much more similar, and theoretically might even have been exact, in the matching by priority for each component.

TABLE 4.2

Degree of Importance of Treatment Components by School, Ranked According to Combined Means of Staff's own Personal Feelings and Staff's Perception of Their Colleagues' Feelings

Treatment components	Priority positions of treatment components		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Social education: teaching positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces	1st	2nd	1st
Provision for physical needs: food, clothing, shelter	2nd	1st	3rd
Academic education: teaching academic skills	3rd	5th	4th
Group living: a group of boys living together	6th	3rd	6th
Individual contact with boys	4th	4th	7th
Daily school routine	5th	7th	2nd
* Departmental activity: working, training in departments	-	6th	5th
Group supervision of boys	7th	8th	8th
Recreation	8th	9th	9th
Average number of respondents for each and every component	39	39 ⁺	36 ⁼

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School there was no "Departmental activity" and therefore this was not a treatment component of the Junior School.

+ Six respondents to the staff questionnaire interview did not respond to ranking any of the components with regard to their perceptions of their colleagues' feelings towards these.

= One respondent to the staff questionnaire interview did not respond to ranking any of the components with regard to his personal feelings towards them, and nine respondents did not respond to ranking any of the components with regard to their perceptions of their colleagues' feelings towards them.

Note: Reasons for non-response rate above were similar for all non-respondents; that being, inability to rate components in a priority relation, be it for themselves or colleagues.

School as having the regime which was least interested or concerned about treatment. However, the Senior School's regard for treatment was not unusual, in that Millham et al found that many senior school staff maintained that their boys' problems were insoluble and that two-thirds of the boys in senior schools were "pastorally isolated". They also found senior schools dominated by instrumental and organizational goals at the expense of expressive ones.¹ Furthermore, of direct relevance to these differences between the Senior and the other two schools were the findings of Zald and Street,² who noted that staff in institutions emphasizing treatment goals were less distant and domineering with inmates than staff in institutions emphasizing custodial goals or treatment goals less. Again, as has been previously described, in Chapter 2, the staff and boys at the Senior School were more distant from each other than they were in the other two schools. They considered boys responsible for their delinquency, were more impatient, intolerant, irritated and generally critical of them, and they intellectually and emotionally assaulted them into obedience (see p.63).

As had been the case with staff, an across regime comparison indicated that boys also had a tendency for similar preferences with regard to the treatment components they considered of most and of least importance (see Table 4.3). The three components the greatest percentage of boys considered as being most important were similar, with one exception. Academic education,³

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 64, 81, 125.

2. N. Zald and D. Street, "Custody and Treatment in Juvenile Institutions: an Organizational Analysis", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 10, No. 3, 1964, pp. 249-56.

3. In contrast to this Dunlop found that school work or academic education as it is referred to here, did not greatly appeal to the boys; few appreciated its importance and overall it was the aspect of their training which they claimed to have learned least about. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 82. However, the boys in this study also did indicate a low regard for classroom activity with regard to enjoyment. Substantial proportions in all three schools noted that they enjoyed classroom activity least of the schools' programmes (see Table 4.14).

TABLE 4.3

Treatment Components Boys at Each School Considered
Most and Least Important

Treatment parts considered most to least important	Junior School % of boys	Intermediate School % of boys	Senior School % of boys
Academic education	+ 29.7	+ 24.0	+ 13.1
Departmental activity*	-	+ 12.7	+ 38.1
Provision for physical needs	+ 28.3	+ 24.0	+ 26.2
Social education	+ 6.7	- 9.9	- 1.2
Individual contact with staff	+ 5.4	+ 9.9	+ 3.5
Recreation	- 5.4	+ 7.1	- 10.7
Daily school routine	- 16.2	- 26.8	- 19.0
Group living	- 22.9	- 7.1	- 28.6
Group supervision by staff	- 25.7	- 33.8	- 21.4
No. of respondents	74	71	84

Note: This table was constructed by combining the components boys thought most important with those they thought were least important, which formed a sliding percentage scale from the treatment component the greatest percentage of boys thought was most important, to the component the greatest percentage of boys considered as least important. Plus percentages denote treatment components considered most important and minus percentages denote treatment components considered least important. *Since there were no departments in the Junior School there was no "departmental activity" and therefore this was not a treatment component of the Junior School.

provision for physical needs and departmental activity¹ were selected as the three components rated as most important by the largest percentage of boys at the Intermediate and Senior Schools, while the first two of these were the two components ranked as most important by the largest percentages of boys at the Junior School. Since departmental activity was a component not applicable to the Junior School, the third highest selected component at this school was social education, which, however, lacked a similarly favoured position at the other two schools. However the Junior School boys' high regard for academic education and the Intermediate and Senior School boys' high regard for departmental activity is supported by similar findings by Millham et al.²

With regard to components considered as least important by the largest percentages of boys, again there was a degree of consensus among schools. Group supervision by staff was rated as least important by the greatest percentage of boys at the Junior and Intermediate Schools and was only surpassed in this regard by group living at the Senior School. Daily school routine and group living also had comparatively high percentages of boys considering them of least importance. Recreation³ and individual

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1. The high regard that boys had for departmental activity was further supported by findings in Table 4.14, which indicate that substantial proportions of boys enjoyed departmental activity aspects, and by Dunlop's study, which found that very few boys wanted to spend less time in the departmental activity and the majority of boys would have liked more and that this was the single aspect of training which was appreciated by the largest number of boys. Also almost exactly half of the boys believed trade training was one of the most important parts of training. A. B. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 28, 36 and 101. An explanation for this trend is found in Millham et al.'s description of the departments in that they helped to build confidence, changed aspirations and self perceptions and assisted boys to perceive of themselves as adults, and enabled them to handle responsibility. Furthermore, what seemed most applicable to this study was Millham's et al. consideration that boys felt more at ease with adults in a working situation where problems could be more easily discussed than in a more formal setting such as the housemaster's office. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 136-7. For related findings also see Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 54-62, 70-2.
 2. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 144-5.
 3. Recreation, however, was regarded as the programme aspect the greatest proportion of boys in two of the schools and the second greatest proportion in the third one, enjoyed most (see Table 4.14). In contrast Dunlop found that boys regarded leisure activities, or recreation as it is termed here, as being of low preference in their training. Dunlop, op.cit., p. 80.

contact with staff stabilized towards the middle of the scale for all schools, although individual contact with staff was regarded by a greater percentage of boys at all schools as the most important component than the least important component, while recreation was considered as such only at the Intermediate School.

When Tables 4.2 and 4.3 were combined¹ to form Table 4.4, clearer comparisons between staff and boys' priorities with regard to treatment components were apparent and a number of important similarities and differences² with regard to these were evidenced. Perhaps one of the most important findings was that boys in all three schools and staff in two of them, considered individual contact with boys to be of the same priority of importance in treatment. The Senior School staff's lower regard for it can well be understood in the light of their lack of interest and disregard for treatment generally.

Although both staff and boys at the Junior and Intermediate Schools rated the daily school routine fairly low in priority, the Senior School staff rated this component fairly high, but the boys there gave it a low rating. This disparity between staff and boys, could be best explained by the observational findings which noted that the Senior School was least organized and structured programmatically and was lackadaisical with regard to treatment. The headmaster at the Senior School considered treatment to be that of providing boys with an opportunity to grow up, and out of their problems and delinquent ways, of which removal from the community where they lived and had offended was of primary and of greater importance than the provision of an organized and structured treatment programme.

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1. The purpose was to transfer the scale used in Table 4.3, whereby components were rated according to the highest percentages of boys considering these components most and least important, into a priority rating scale such as has already been used for staff, in Table 4.2 for instance.
 2. A comparable finding by Millham et al was that the boys' perspectives on school goals differed from those of staff. See Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 140-54.

TABLE 4.4

Priority Order of Importance of Treatment Components: Staff-Boy
Comparison by School (a Combination of Tables 4.2 and 4.3)

Treatment Component	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
	Staff	Boys	Staff	Boys	Staff	Boys
Social Education	1st	3rd	2nd	7th	1st	5th
Provision for physical needs	2nd	2nd	1st	1st/2nd ⁺	3rd	2nd
Academic education	3rd	1st	5th	1st/2nd ⁺	4th	3rd
Departmental activity*	-	-	6th	3rd	5th	1st
Individual contact with staff	4th	4th	4th	4th	7th	4th
Daily school routine	5th	6th	7th	8th	2nd	7th
Group living	6th	7th	3rd	6th	6th	9th
Group supervision by staff	7th	8th	8th	9th	8th	8th
Recreation	8th	5th	9th	5th	9th	6th
Number of respondents	39	74	39 ⁼	71	36 [@]	84

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School there was no "Departmental activity" and therefore this was not a treatment component of the Junior School.

+ Each component was chosen by the same percentage of boys as being the most important component and for the purpose of this table are therefore considered of equal importance.

= and @ see footnotes of Table 4.2 for explanation as to derivation of staff response and non-response rates.

Another difference in priorities deserving attention, was that the Intermediate School and the Senior School staff rated group living substantially higher than their boys, while the boys at the Junior School rated it quite closely to that of staff. Although the particular difference might be explained by the supposition that older boys had a greater desire and/or need for privacy, this was contradicted by other findings, and not substantiated observationally.¹ However, the more likely explanation seemed similar to the reason why staff had rated themselves as having a higher regard for this component than they considered their colleagues to have for it. This reason was that staff felt themselves to be more able than their colleagues to appreciate the subtle treatment potentialities inherent in the component group living. Similarly, therefore, staff were expected to be more sophisticated in their judgement than boys as to the treatment value of group living. That staff and boys judged group living to be quite different in terms of treatment value, is evident and therefore served as an indication of the perceptual difference between staff and boys with regard to treatment.

Staff at all three schools had a high regard for social education, although the boys at the Intermediate and Senior Schools had a fairly low regard for it. This difference between the staff and boys at these two schools might well be explained by the fact that the boys at the Intermediate and Senior School were older than the boys at the Junior School and because they were older they were more socially sensitive and aware of staff's not so subtle lectures at times, on their lack of manners, social graces, negative values and attitudes, etc., the natural consequence of which was increased

1. It was found that a higher percentage of Junior School boys wanted to be by themselves during their free time than did Intermediate and Senior School boys, i.e., 20.3 per cent of Junior School boys as compared to 15.5 per cent and 10.7 per cent of Intermediate and Senior boys, respectively. As a matter of fact, these findings suggest just the opposite, and might be considered as further supported by the finding that the percentage of Junior School boys wanting to be in a group of boys, as compared to being with one or a few friends or by themselves, during their free time, was lower than at the other two schools, i.e., 12.2 per cent compared to 18.3 per cent and 17.9 per cent for Intermediate and Senior School boys.

resentment. Supportive findings for this were that Junior School boys considered staff to be comparatively more helpful and that they considered themselves to be comparatively more in need of staff's help, with regard to helping them change their behaviour and stay out of trouble, than the boys at the other two schools (see Table 4.10).

Another trend of importance was that the staff at all three schools rated academic education lower than their boys, while the boys at all three schools rated social education lower than staff. In addition to the previous explanation that this was due to boys' resentment for change with regard to their attitudes, values, etc., it also needs to be mentioned that boys seemed to have a less clear idea as to what was exactly inferred by social education, whereas this was much less so with academic education. Yet it was this lack of clarity and understanding superimposed upon a pervasive degree of mistrust, it could be argued, that elicited the resentment, and at times hostility, towards social education. Staff of course, saw this change of the personal side of boys which social education was trying to achieve, as being of greater importance than the learning of academic skills. This was further supported in that the staff involved in work task classroom activity at two of the three schools, rated social education as being of greater importance than academic education (see Table I.4 in Appendix I).

Boys at the Intermediate and Senior Schools rated departmental activity higher than did staff. Of a variety of findings able to explain this, the most pertinent one, as has been mentioned previously, was that a great percentage of boys considered the departments to be one of the programme aspects which they enjoyed most (see Table 4.14). Departmental activity also offered boys an opportunity to be with adults in a working situation, which according to Millham et al,¹ was a more natural setting than elsewhere in the school for boys to discuss their problems. Furthermore, another

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 137. See also footnote on p. 128.

finding was that those staff engaged in departmental activity considered that the learning of the practical aspects of a trade was of greater importance than the learning of theory, thereby implying that boys enjoyed practical activities.

Finally, the fact that staff at all three schools rated recreation lower than their boys, although the amount of time boys spent on recreational activities was a substantial part of what staff simultaneously spent on group supervising them, served to explain why the staff at all schools rated group supervision only just ahead of recreation. Interestingly enough, staff apparently did not consider either of these two categories to have much scope in treatment potential, otherwise a higher rating would have been more certain. However, in view of the great amount of time allocated to recreation, this is of interest in view of the low degree of importance staff attached to it (see pp. 20, 40, 58).

To summarize the important findings in this section concerning treatment components, those worthy of mention first are as follows:

- 1) In a variety of ways staff in each of the regimes indicated a lower consideration for the feelings of their colleagues with regard to treatment than their own.

- 2) Staff's and boys' priorities as to the treatment components, regardless of regime, differed. Although there was more agreement as to the components which both of them considered of least importance, there was least agreement on those which each of them considered to be of most importance. More specifically, the actual priorities which were assigned by staff and boys to the various components can be summarized as follows:

- 1) Provision for physical needs was considered by the staff and boys of all three regimes as being of a fairly high priority of importance in treatment, whereas they considered group supervision to have a very low priority.

- 2) Group living was considered by the staff in the Junior and Senior Schools and the boys at all three schools as having a low priority of importance

in treatment.

3) The daily school routine was considered by the staff in the Junior and Intermediate Schools and the boys at all three schools, to have a low priority of importance in treatment.

4) Social education was more highly regarded by the staff than the boys of all three regimes, whereas academic education and departmental activity were more highly regarded by the boys than the staff of all three regimes.

5) Individual contact with boys was considered to be of moderate importance in treatment by the staff in the Junior and Intermediate Schools and by the boys in all three schools.

6) Recreation was considered by the staff of all three regimes to have the lowest priority with regard to its importance in treatment although the boys of all three regimes considered it to be of moderate importance.

So, the treatment components which the staff of all three regimes seemed most clearly to agree on as being of most importance were social education, provision for physical needs and academic education, while the components they most clearly seemed to consider of least importance were recreation and group supervision. The boys of all three regimes were clearly agreed that the most important components were provision for physical needs, academic education and departmental activity; whereas they most clearly agreed that the least important ones were group supervision, group living and the daily school routine.

The importance of this examination of treatment components was actually two-fold, in that its purpose was to identify the differences and similarities with regard to those between regimes and to illustrate how the components were perceived by the givers of treatment, i.e., staff, and the receivers, i.e., boys. That boys had some different priorities with regard to these treatment components than staff had, could be generally described, in lieu of any one distinct observational impression, as having been influenced by their

peer group relations and their own basic values and social backgrounds.¹

b. School Purposes: Staff and Boys

There was a greater degree of similarity by school, with regard to the purposes staff considered were emphasized in their schools and the purposes they felt their colleagues considered were emphasized, than there had been for staff's own and their ratings of their colleagues, as to the previously discussed treatment components. Staff felt that their colleagues had a similar regard for a number of the purposes emphasized in the schools, as they had themselves, and for those purposes which they considered their colleagues regarded differently from themselves, this difference was only marginal (see Table 4.5)²

All three regimes were first and foremost in agreement, both with regard to what the staff themselves considered and what they felt their colleagues considered were the two purposes which were least emphasized by their respective regimes. The purposes were protecting the community from delinquents and punishing delinquent behaviour.³ But since these least

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1. See Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 169-78; H. W. Polsky, op.cit., 1962, pp. 168-74; E. M. Schur, op.cit., p. 65; and Paul W. Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1949, p. 434.
 2. Marginal meant one priority place of difference for all except one purpose, which had two priority places of difference, between staff's own and their ratings of their colleagues.
 3. Even though all three regimes were in agreement as to the two purposes they emphasized least, a greater number of Senior School staff than Intermediate or Junior School staff, rated themselves and their colleagues as considering that punishing delinquent behaviour and protecting the community from delinquents, were the first and second most emphasized purposes at that school. Secondly, the Intermediate and Junior School were fairly similar as to the number of staff who themselves considered and the number of staff who rated their colleagues as considering, punishing delinquent behaviour as being the most and second most emphasized purpose in these schools. Finally, no one in the Intermediate School rated protecting the community from delinquents as first or second most emphasized, whether for themselves or their colleagues, thereby making the Intermediate School the lowest of the three to rate this purpose as first or second most emphasized. This undoubtedly has direct implications in the examination and description of treatment.

TABLE 4.5

Degree School Purposes were Emphasized, Ranked According to Staff's own Perception and Staff's Perception of their Colleagues Ranking of them

School purposes	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	Staff's own perception	Staff perception of colleagues' ranking	Staff's own perception	Staff perception of colleagues' ranking	Staff's own perception	Staff perception of colleagues' ranking
Provide boys with a routine to live and work by	1st	1st	5th	4th	1st	1st
Teach boys positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces, i.e., social education	2nd	2nd	2nd	1st	2nd	2nd
Teach boys academic skills: reading, writing, arithmetic & other subjects	4th	3rd	4th	3rd	4th	3rd
Provide boys with a substitute home and family	5th	5th	3rd	5th	6th	5th
Help boys gain understanding of their own behaviour	3rd	4th	1st	2nd	5th	6th
Teach boys vocational skills*	-	-	6th	6th	3rd	4th
Protect community from delinquents	6th	6th	7th	7th	7th	7th
Punish delinquent behaviour	7th	7th	8th	8th	8th	8th

Note: There was a difference in all three schools in the non-response rate of the staffs (who had responded to the staff questionnaire interview) ranking of their own perceptions and their perceptions of how they considered their colleagues would rank these purposes. In the Junior School 1 and 2 respondents failed to rate any of the purposes according to their own perceptions of them and how they considered their colleagues would, respectively. At the Senior School 1 and 7 staff failed to rate any of the purposes according to their own perceptions and how they considered their colleagues would, respectively. However, the non-response rate at the Intermediate School in addition varied according to purpose, resulted in 1 and 2 respondents failing to rank 5 and 3 of the purposes respectively, according to their own perceptions and 6 and 7 respondents failed to rank 5 and 3 purposes, respectively, as they considered their colleagues would rank them. The reasons for the non-response rate in all instances were the same: inability of staff to rate purposes in a priority relation to one another.

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School teaching of vocational skills did not apply here.

emphasized purposes were least emphasized by all three regimes, whereas the two most emphasized purposes, i.e., providing boys with a routine to work and live by and social education, were both clearly most emphasized in two of the schools and one of these in all three schools, it might be stated that there existed a somewhat higher consensus or greater agreement across the three regimes as to the purposes which they least emphasized than those they most emphasized.

The tendency for staff to rate their schools more favourably with regard to the purposes they considered were more important in their school's treatment ethos, than they considered their colleagues did, had less pronounced differences than had been the case when staff rated the treatment components for themselves and their colleagues. Because these differences were less pronounced, less interpretive value could be placed on them. However, since these differences were in the same direction, i.e., staff rating themselves more favourably than their colleagues, what is suggested is that staff also regarded themselves to be more enlightened with regard to treatment when it came to selecting their school's purposes.

The logic behind the idea that these differences in priorities with regard to school purposes reflected staff's greater regard for treatment, was as follows. It would seem that when staff were asked to rate the degree of emphasis a particular purpose had in the school, that this judgement carried with it a fair degree of projection as to the degree the staff member considered it as being personally emphasized by himself. It seemed extremely difficult for staff to think of the school as an abstraction apart from themselves and their colleagues who composed it. So then, what staff considered to be the degree the purposes were emphasized by the school, was actually the degree they themselves emphasized these purposes. Furthermore, the degree staff considered their colleagues were perceiving the school as emphasizing these purposes, was actually the degree they (the staff) considered their colleagues to be emphasizing them.

Hence, the most obvious example with regard to these differences between staff's own and their perceptions of what their colleagues considered, was that the staff in all three regimes saw themselves higher than their colleagues on helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour, while they considered their colleagues as being higher than themselves on emphasizing teaching of academic skills. This suggests that staff viewed their colleagues as emphasizing this purpose to a greater extent than they did themselves. And because staff tended to see themselves as being more enlightened than their colleagues, with regard to the treatment, they therefore rated themselves higher on emphasizing helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour, thereby confirming that this purpose was considered to be of greater importance than the teaching of academic skills. This tendency of staff can furthermore be regarded as an indication of their desire to keep up with the recent approved school trend of increased emphasis on a more child centred child care. Their higher emphasis on helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour therefore, was in itself supportive of their tendency to regard themselves as more enlightened treatment wise as well as placing a greater emphasis than they considered their colleagues did, on a purpose most clearly reflective of Lambert et al's expressive goal type.¹

When staff's own ratings were combined with their ratings of their colleagues, as in Table 4.6, the important comparisons between the three regimes was that there again existed a unanimous agreement as to the two purposes which were least emphasized at the schools, i.e., protecting the

1. Helping boys gain an understanding of their own behaviour seemed to be the one purpose which could be considered to accurately reflect the expressive goal type, whereas the other purposes (see Table 4.5) all seemed to more accurately reflect the instrumental goal type. None of the purposes were considered to account for the organizational goal type. However, keeping in mind that approved school goals were "multi-functional", "unclear", and "implicit", it is conceivable that any one purpose could be reflective of more than one type and in some instances perhaps all three types of goals. Because of this, the relationships between school purposes and goal types, is tenuous and further interpretation to the above comparisons with regard to goal types would have been unduly speculative and misleading.

TABLE 4.6

Degree of Emphasis of School Purposes by School, Ranked According to Averaged Means of Staff's Own Perception and Staff's Perception of Colleagues Ranking Measures

School Purposes	Degree of Emphasis ⁺		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Provide boys with a routine to live and work by Teach boys positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces, i.e., social education Teach boys academic skills: reading, writing, arithmetic and other subjects Provide boys with a substitute home and family Help boys gain understanding of their own behaviour * Teach boys vocational skills such as painting, joinery, etc. Protect community from delinquents Punish delinquent behaviour	1st	5th	1st
	2nd	2nd	2nd
	3rd	3rd	4th
	5th	4th	5th
	4th	1st	6th
	-	6th	3rd
	6th	7th	7th
	7th	8th	8th

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School, there was no teaching of vocational skills, and therefore this was not a purpose of the Junior School.

+ The degree of emphasis of each "school purpose" is the result of the combination of what each respondent considered to be the most and least emphasized purpose and what each respondent considered his colleagues thought would be most to least emphasized. Since there was a difference in the response rate for the respondents themselves and what they considered their colleagues thought, the average number of respondents for each of the purposes within the combined measures was 37.5 for every purpose at the Junior School; 38.5 for five and 37.5 for three of the purposes at the Intermediate School; and 37 for every purpose at the Senior School.

The non-response rate for the purposes at each school may be calculated by subtracting the number of staff who responded to the staff questionnaire interview itself, i.e., 39, 42 and 41 at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, from the number of staff who responded as indicated above. The reasons for the non-response rate above were the same for all "purposes" and schools: which was that the respondents were unable to rate the purposes in a priority relation to one another.

community from delinquents and punishing delinquent behaviour, but rather less agreement as to those which were most emphasized. All regimes ranked social education as the second most emphasized purpose and they were fairly similar as to the degree of emphasis they rated teaching of academic skills and providing boys with a substitute home and family.

However, there existed a number of noteworthy differences among the regimes' priorities of the other school purposes. The Junior School regime (as the Senior School one), placed the highest emphasis on providing boys with a routine to work and live by which reflected the observed rigidity and tightly programmed and scheduled organization with which the Junior School was run.

The Intermediate School regime considered that it emphasized helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour more than any other purpose, again was an accurate indication of what had been observed. Furthermore, the Intermediate School regime placed a relatively higher emphasis on teaching boys academic skills than vocational ones, whereas the emphasis on these was reversed at the Senior School. This higher emphasis on teaching boys academic skills in the Intermediate School was explained by the fact that the classroom served, for a number of teachers, as a treatment setting in which individual counselling and group work were practised, whereas the departments did not emphasize these to the same extent. (See Appendix I). However, as is indicated later on in Table 4.14, and as was also shown by Dunlop's study,¹ the programme boys at both the Intermediate and Senior School enjoyed most, was departmental activity.

Hence, the greater emphasis of the Intermediate School on helping boys understand their own behaviour than the other regimes, and the greater emphasis on teaching boys academic skills and a lesser emphasis on teaching vocational skills than the Senior School, further served to highlight the

1. A. B. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 28 and 101.

observed differences with regard to these purposes between the three regimes. However, as an additional point, it should also be remembered that the Intermediate School spent substantially more time and had allocated more staff to teaching boys academic skills than the Senior School (see "Classroom activity" in Table 3.8 and Appendix H).

The Senior School's low emphasis on helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour and its high emphases, like the Junior School,¹ on providing boys with a routine to work and live by, served to reflect its lack of concern and regard for treatment generally, in so far as the degree these purposes were emphasized implied less work for staff. The reasoning behind this was that if the Senior School were to have emphasized helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour more than it did, the implication would have been that it would also have more strongly emphasized individual treatment, which in turn would have meant a substantial increase in the amount of time and effort than was given to this. Furthermore the high emphasis which was given to providing boys with a routine to live and work by, actually implied less individual contact with boys, since once boys were into a routine at the school they could rely and be guided by it rather than to refer to staff. This left staff freer of boys than their counterparts in the other two schools. The greater emphasis on teaching vocational skills and the lesser emphasis on teaching boys academic skills at the Senior School than the other two regimes, was further supported by other findings previously presented as well as what had been observed. The major programme at the Senior School was departmental activity and of substantially lesser importance was classroom activity (see Table 3.8 and Appendix H).

In consideration of the varying degrees of emphasis which the regimes placed on these purposes, what seemed rather evident was that the Intermediate

1. Although the Senior School was not as rigidly programmed and organized as the Junior School, they both placed the same emphasis on providing boys with a routine to work and live by. Furthermore, both schools emphasized this purpose as a means for controlling boys, but the Senior School emphasized it less in this regard than the Junior School, and considered this purpose more as a means of gaining greater ease in their job.

School could be most clearly regarded to be the regime which seemed to have placed greatest emphasis on expressive goals, whereas the Senior School could be considered to have placed the greatest emphasis of the three regimes on instrumental and perhaps even organizational goals. The Junior School's position in all this was less clear. However, what can be stated is that the Junior School seemed to more clearly have a lesser regard for expressive goals than the Intermediate School, although whether it had a lesser regard than the Senior School seemed to have ~~for~~ instrumental and organizational goals, was less certain. These results parallel those of Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, in so far as they found that expressive goals were beginning to assume importance in Junior Schools, although instrumental goals still predominated and were accompanied by a high stress on organizational goals, whereas instrumental and organizational goals dominated the Senior Schools, with instrumental goals being given the greatest priority. Although they made less distinct and specific reference to Intermediate Schools as such, when describing goal emphasis, they noted that the staff at the intermediate schools felt that their schools were achieving some balance between instrumental, organizational and expressive areas.¹ Furthermore, Zald noted that staff in juvenile correctional institutions which were more treatment oriented, had a higher regard for the "modern treatment philosophy" which may be considered analogous to expressive goals, whereas staff in more custodial oriented institutions had a higher regard for the "traditionalistic concept of rehabilitation", which may be considered analogous to instrumental goals.²

The boys, however, seemed to perceive the main purposes of their schools to be fairly much the same, in that there was no statistical significant difference between the three schools as to the proportion of selections the boys made per purpose (see Table 4.7). The greatest percentage of boys at

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 62, 64, 81, 84.

2. Zald, op.cit., 1963, pp. 206-30.

TABLE 4.7

Main Purposes of School as Perceived by Boys

Main Purposes	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
To help boys	53	71.6	59	83.1	56	66.7
To keep boys out of trouble by sending them away from home	18	24.3	7	9.9	19	22.6
To punish boys	3	4.1	5	7.0	9	10.7
Total number of respondents	74		71		84	

$$\chi^2 = 8.58; \text{ df } 4; \text{ p } < .08$$

all three schools, 71.6, 83.1 and 66.7 per cent at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, perceived that the main purpose of their schools was to help them, whereas 4.1, 7.0 and 10.7 per cent of the boys at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools perceived that the main purpose was to punish them. Also 24.3, 9.9 and 22.6 per cent at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, perceived the main purpose of their school to be that of keeping them out of trouble. Although these differences between the boys' perceptions were not significant, it was felt that these did warrant further comment in consideration of the general differences between the regimes and the boys themselves.

As was described earlier in Chapter 2, the boys in the Junior School were more impressionable, gullible, naive and tended to see the world around them primarily in literal terms. Because this was so, it seemed obvious that these boys would be more subject to manipulation, as was suggested by Millham, Bullock and Cherrett as follows: "In the junior school training styles there were more conscious efforts to break up the boys' world to manipulate their values, than in the senior training styles."¹

In consideration of the high proportion of Junior School boys who perceived their school's main purpose was that of helping them, the question which arose was "were the boys influenced, manipulated, etc., so that as many as 71.6 per cent of them considered this as their school's main purpose?" Although influence and manipulation were in evidence, their impact and effect were difficult to substantiate, especially in consideration of Millham, Bullock and Cherrett's impression: "It is important to remember that what seems custodial and repressive to the observer may not appear so to the child and that it may be accepted by him as legitimate or even sought after."²

The Intermediate School staff's high consideration of helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour (see Tables 4.5 and 4.6), seemed not only

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 85.

2. Ibid., p. 122.

to account for the schools' greater concern and emphasis on treatment generally, but was also reflected in the finding that the Intermediate School had the greatest proportion of boys who perceived its main purpose to be that of helping them and the smallest proportion who perceived that its main purpose was that of keeping them out of trouble. Considering that helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour implied a strong emphasis on individual contact and treatment of boys, the important findings by Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, were that the greatest proportion of boys who found the most rewarding aspects of approved school life to be that of contact with individual staff and a chance to talk about problems, were those in the intermediate schools.¹ Furthermore, they noted that

"When work, i.e., departmental activity in this study, and academic skills are linked with more expressive ends such as pastoral care and close staff-pupil relationships the boy moves towards these expressive features and the ratings for instrumental advantages are depressed."²

However, Dunlop's study of nine intermediate schools indicated that more than half the boys upon arrival at their schools expected their stay to be a punishment and by the end of their stay they had come to believe that the instilling of obedience was the main function of their schools, although at some schools boys considered their schools to have other priorities.³ Gill's study of an intermediate school found boys perceived their contact with staff to be primarily in terms of obedience and that their perceptions of the school's purposes were primarily that of helping them stay out of trouble.⁴ What is evident, therefore, in consideration of these findings with regard to intermediate schools, be they from the literature or this

1. Ibid., pp. 147-8.

2. Ibid., p. 148.

3. A. B. Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 37, 41.

4. O. Gill, "Residential Treatment for Young Offenders: the Boys' Perspectives", British Journal of Criminology, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1974(a), pp. 318-35.

study itself, is that there seems to be a great variation as to how intermediate school boys perceived their school's purposes.

In contrast to the Intermediate School, the Senior School staff placed a comparatively lower emphasis on helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour which also seemed to be reflected in the boys' perceptions of their schools' main purposes. The Senior School had the smallest percentage of boys who considered that its main purpose was to help boys and the largest percentage which considered that its main purpose was to punish boys, i.e., 66.7 and 10.7 per cent respectively. However, Millham, Bullock and Cherrett have pointed out that boys in Senior Schools perceived their approved school experience no more punitive and actually less custodial than boys in junior and intermediate schools did.¹

These overall findings with regard to the boys' perceptions of their schools' purposes have an interesting parallel to those of Millham, Bullock and Cherrett in so far as boys in intermediate schools were more committed in all areas of school life than those in junior and senior schools. Furthermore, boys in senior schools perceived their schools to be far less successful in most areas - in basic educational skills, pastoral relations and moral teaching, the former two of which can be considered as comparable to work tasks classroom activity and individual contact with boys, in this study.²

Having considered the similarities and differences of each school with regard to purposes emphasized, the general questions which would naturally follow would be what purposes staff thought should be more or less emphasized and how well the schools were fulfilling their purposes.

To begin with, considering what purposes staff thought should be more and less emphasized, Table 4.8 gives a comparison of these by school. The figures in Table 4.8 represent the combination of the percentage of staff who wanted to have a purpose more emphasized, which was represented as a plus

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 144.

2. Ibid., p. 144.

TABLE 4.8

School Purposes Staff Considered should be More and Less Emphasized

School purposes	Junior School % of staff	Intermediate School % of staff	Senior School % of staff
Helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour	+ 35.9	+ 52.2	+ 14.5
Teaching boys positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces, i.e., social education	+ 25.6	+ 23.8	+ 17.1
Providing boys with a substitute home and family	+ 5.1	0*	- 7.7
Teaching boys academic skills: reading, writing, arithmetic and other subjects	+ 2.6	- 2.5	+ 19.5
Providing boys with a routine to live and work by	- 5.2	+ 4.8	+ 12.2
Teaching boys vocational skills such as painting, joinery, etc.	-	- 9.8	+ 2.3
Protecting the community from delinquents	- 35.9	- 26.9	- 15.1
Punishing delinquent behaviour	- 28.2	- 41.5	- 42.7
Number of respondents wanting purposes more emphasized	39	42	41
Number of respondents wanting purposes less emphasized	39	41**	40**

Note: Plus values identify the overall percentage of staff who considered these purposes should be more emphasized and minus values identify the overall percentage of staff who considered these purposes should be less emphasized.

* The zero rating for this purpose meant that a similar number of staff considered it should be more emphasized as those who considered it should be less emphasized.

** The lower number of respondents in these categories is due to one respondent to the staff questionnaire interview at each school considering that none of the school's purposes should be emphasized less.

value, and those who wanted a purpose less emphasized, which was represented by a minus value. The outcome of this combination, therefore, is in terms of plus and minus percentages. A plus percentage indicates that there were a greater percentage of staff wanting the purpose in question more emphasized than less emphasized, and vice versa, if the percentage is a negative one.

There was a great degree of similarity across schools as to the purposes to be more emphasized; these were helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour and social education, as there was with regard to the purposes to be less emphasized; these were punishing delinquent behaviour and protecting the community from delinquents. There was relatively much less similarity among the other purposes. However the most important finding that emerged was as follows: the work task which staff considered to be of most benefit to the boys and on which they wanted to spend more time, as described in Chapter 3, was individual contact with boys (see Table 3.16), and the purposes staff thought should be more emphasized were first of all helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour and secondly, social education, both of which are highly indicative of a great deal of individual contact. The vehicle for helping boys understand their own behaviour requires individual contact with boys rather more than any other work task, although social education might be considered to have been more diversified in that a variety of work tasks could have been operative and necessary for it to be carried out.¹ However, the fact that the percentage of staff who wanted helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour more strongly emphasized, was lowest at the Senior School and highest at the Intermediate, again clearly reflected the marked difference in treatment ethos at these two schools. As expected, large percentages of staff noted that the two purposes they wanted less emphasized were punishing delinquent behaviour and protecting the community from delinquents.

1. See Howard Jones, op.cit., 1972, pp. 98-102.

Another difference of importance between schools was that the Junior School had the highest proportion of staff who wanted more emphasis on providing boys with a substitute home and family, while the Senior School was lowest on this. This finding supported others that the Junior School had a higher percentage of staff considering themselves as parent replacements than at the Senior School, and that a higher percentage of the Junior School staff felt boys considered them as parent replacements and that a higher percentage of boys at the Junior School actually did so.

Another interesting finding was that although the Junior School staff, like the staff at the Senior School, considered that providing boys with a routine to live and work by was the purpose most strongly emphasized in their schools, the Junior School staff, rather unexpectedly noted that they preferred it to be less strongly rather than more strongly emphasized.

At the Intermediate School there was a somewhat greater proportion of staff who considered that teaching boys academic and vocational skills should be less strongly emphasized than the proportion who considered these should be more strongly emphasized, and therefore the Intermediate School was the only school to consider that these should overall be less emphasized. This seemed to reflect the Intermediate School's treatment ethos, in so far as teaching academic and vocational skills in themselves were considered as being of little help or therapeutic value for boys.

The status of emphasis staff considered that providing boys with a substitute home and family should have, reflected the ongoing debate at the Intermediate School with regard to the function that this purpose had in treatment. The zero rating for this purpose meant that a similar number of staff considered this purpose should be more emphasized as the number who considered it should be less emphasized.

Greater proportions of staff at the Senior School considered the teaching of academic and vocational skills should be more rather than less strongly emphasized. This could be taken to suggest that the shortage of

time and manpower allocated by the Senior School to classroom activity (see Tables 3.8 and Appendix H) and the comparatively shorter combined total time allocated by it to both classroom and departmental activity per week (see Table 3.10), were the very reasons why they thought these purposes should be more strongly emphasized. Although this suggestion is analogous to the one in Chapter 3, where it was considered that staff desired to spend more time on tasks which they were spending relatively less time on, the more likely explanation, again as in Chapter 3, seemed to be that staff desired to spend more time on those tasks which they considered supported their self image, or rather ideal self image, with regard to their work. However, such an analogy is very tenuous and therefore cannot be relied on for further interpretation. As was expected, a comparatively high proportion of staff at the Senior School considered that providing boys with a routine to live and work by should be more strongly emphasized.

When staff were further queried with regard to how they felt their schools were fulfilling their purposes, the Intermediate School staff were more positive as to what they themselves felt and what they perceived their colleagues felt, as to how their school was fulfilling its purposes, whereas the Senior School was least positive in both respects. These findings are supported by the observational data, in that the Intermediate School was most favourably predisposed towards treatment, the Senior School was least so, while the Junior School ranged somewhere in between these two.

A summary of the important findings for this section on school purposes may be considered as follows:

1. As was the case in the previous section, where staff ranked a set of treatment components, staff again, although not as pronounced, considered themselves as more enlightened with regard to treatment than they considered their colleagues to be. This was more clearly evident by the higher consideration that the staff at all three schools gave to helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour, the one purpose which accurately

reflected the expressive goal type, than they regarded their colleagues gave it. Their greater consideration for the expressive goal type was thought of by staff as an indication that they were keeping up with the movement in approved school treatment toward greater emphasis of expressive goals.

2. Again as was the case with staff's rankings of the treatment components, there was a greater similarity across regimes with regard to the purposes which were considered least rather than most emphasized. All three regimes noted that punishing delinquent behaviour and protecting the community from delinquents were least emphasized, whereas just two regimes, i.e., the Junior and Senior Schools, considered providing boys with a routine to live and work by were most emphasized, although all three regimes considered that social education was the second most emphasized purpose.

3. The Intermediate School considered that the purpose most emphasized by their regime was that of helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour. This purpose was more strongly emphasized at the Intermediate School than the others and was least emphasized at the Senior School. The Intermediate School regime, therefore, seemed more clearly to have placed a greater emphasis on expressive goals than the other regimes, whereas the Senior one seemed to have placed least emphasis of the three regimes, on expressive goals and most on instrumental and perhaps even organizational goals. The Junior School on the other hand, seemed to have a lesser regard than the Intermediate School for expressive goals although whether it had had a lesser regard than the Senior School for instrumental and organizational goals, was less certain.

4. The boys at all three schools tended to regard the main purpose of their schools as being fairly much the same, in that most of them regarded that their schools' main purpose was to help rather than to punish them or keep them out of trouble. However, the greatest proportions of boys who considered that the main purpose of their school was to help them was at the

Intermediate School, whereas the lowest proportion was at the Senior School. Although these differences did exist between the schools, they were not statistically significant and hence were explained in terms of observational and literature references.

5. There was a substantial similarity among the regimes as to the purposes they considered should be more and less strongly emphasized. Helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour and social education were the purposes which the greatest proportion of staff at all three schools considered should be more strongly emphasized, whereas protecting the community from delinquents and punishing delinquent behaviour were the purposes which the greatest proportion of staff at all three schools considered should be less strongly emphasized. However the highest proportion of staff who considered helping boys gain understanding of their own behaviour should be more strongly emphasized, was at the Intermediate School and the lowest proportion was at the Senior School.

6. Concerning the feelings of staff and their considerations of the feelings of their colleagues as to how the schools fulfilled their purposes, the staff at the Intermediate School were most positive and the staff at the Senior School were least so, whereas the Junior School staff's considerations were somewhere in between these.

What seems evident, therefore, from the findings in this section on school purposes, is that the Intermediate School not only seemed to have a higher regard for expressive goals than the other two schools, but that its staff, and to a somewhat less clearly defined extent, its boys, were most positive in their considerations that their school was fulfilling its purposes. The Senior School fared least favourably of the three with regard to the findings in this section, while the Junior School's position could be described as being somewhere between these two.

c. Treatment Aims and Boys' Satisfaction

The treatment aims of each of the three regimes were considered to be direct indications of the nature and the style of treatment that each of them practised. As was the case with the measures described in the previous two sections of this chapter, those measures which were felt to be related to treatment aims and the degree of satisfaction boys received from their stay at their schools, as described in this section, served to provide another approach of describing each regime's treatment orientation. Since the importance of the data being considered in this section is of obvious relevance to the other sections of this chapter, a degree of arbitrariness in the assignment of data to this section therefore exists. The major focus within this section will be on the varying degrees of helpfulness (in relation to treatment) each school and its staff were perceived to exude and exercise.

Considering Table 4.9, staff at the Intermediate School rated themselves highest in terms of average percentage of staff believing boys were receiving treatment at the school as well as believing in giving treatment to boys themselves. The Senior School staff had rated themselves lowest on these while the Junior School's percentages were in between these two schools. This trend was further reflected in the estimates staff gave for the average percentages of boys whose behaviour worsened and who remained unaffected while at the school. The Intermediate School average percentages were lowest for both these measures while the Junior School's were highest and the Senior School's were in between these.

However, quite a different trend appeared when the boys themselves gave their perceptions of staff's helpfulness. Table 4.10, which consists of a number of statements which offer a comparative measure of the boys' perceptions, indicates that the Junior School boys not only considered staff as most helpful, but also considered themselves in greatest need of their help. The Senior School boys seemed to regard their staff as least helpful, while the Intermediate

TABLE 4.9

Exposure and Reaction of Boys to Treatment: Mean Staff Estimates

STATEMENTS	JUNIOR Number of respondents = Mean %*	INTERMEDIATE Number of respondents = Mean %*	SENIOR Number of respondents = Mean %*
Percentage of staff believing boys were being helped, i.e., receiving treatment	39 62.7	41 70.5	41 49.2
Percentage of staff who believed in helping boys, i.e., giving treatment	39 72.6	41 80.3	41 65.2
Percentage of boys who became worse behaviour-ally while at the school	38 11.6	39 8.9	38 11.2
Percentage of boys who remained unaffected behaviourally while at the school	38 33.2	40 19.9	38 28.4

* Staff at each of the schools were requested to give an estimate with regard to each statement above, which were then totalled and averaged.

= Non-response rate for the above statements may be calculated by subtracting from the staff questionnaire interview response rate of 39, 42 and 41 for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, the number of respondents in each of the columns. Reasons for non-response were similar in all cases: inability to answer the questions.

TABLE 4.10
Comparative Measures of Boys' Perceptions of Staff's Helpfulness

Measures	Scales	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Staff understand your problems	Very well/Well Sometimes Not well/Not at all	48 22 4	64.9 29.7 5.4	39 22 10	54.9 31.0 14.1	39 32 13	46.4 38.1 15.5
Number of staff understand your problems	All/Many Some Few/None	28 36 10	37.9 48.6 13.5	8 35 28	11.3 49.3 39.4	12 42 30	14.3 50.0 35.7
Staff know your good points	Very well/Well Sometimes Not well/Not at all	57 16 1	77.0 21.6 1.4	46 16 9	64.8 22.5 12.7	57 16 11	67.9 19.0 13.1
Staff help you find out ways you get into trouble	A lot Some Very little	52 16 6	70.3 21.6 8.1	32 22 17	45.1 31.0 23.9	32 23 29	38.1 27.4 34.5
Staff help you change your behaviour	A lot Some Very little	63 11 -	85.1 14.9 -	41 21 9	57.7 29.6 12.7	45 24 15	53.6* 28.6* 17.9*
Need help from staff so you can change and stay	A lot Some Very little	35 27 12	47.3 36.5 16.2	26 24 21	36.6 33.8 29.6	28 27 29	33.3* 32.1* 34.5*
Staff help you as much as they can	Yes No	73 1	98.6 1.4	67 4	94.4 5.6	74 10	88.1 11.9
Number of respondents		74		71		84	

* Percentages are rounded to nearest place of decimal and therefore totals approximate 100 per cent.

School boys perceived their staff to be somewhere between the Junior and Senior School staff's degree of helpfulness. This rather unexpected higher regard by the Junior School boys might be explained by the observational data which indicated that staff tended to create the impression with boys that they were there to help boys and by implication therefore, that boys were in need of their help. Considering the comparatively greater degree of immaturity, dependency and naivety of the Junior School boys, this impression was easily created and maintained more through explicit than subtle means. The other two schools tended to be much less concerned with having boys feel that staff were helping them and that they needed staff's help. A final note of importance with regard to Table 4.10 was that boys who considered themselves more in need of staff's help, also regarded staff as being more helpful. (Comparison of findings on measures "need help from staff so you can change and stay out of trouble" with those of "Staff help you as much as they can". See Table 4.10).

There were a number of additional interesting associations in the data, obtained by the staff and boys' questionnaire interview, which seemed to give an indication of the degree of satisfaction boys experienced during their stay. The Intermediate School boys seemed to indicate through a number of measures that they were more satisfied with their staff at the school than were the other boys. Although the percentage of boys considering that their stay should be shorter than average was larger for all three schools than the percentage of boys considering that their stay should be longer than the average stay, the Intermediate School had the highest percentage of boys feeling that their stay should be longer than the average and the lowest percentage feeling that their stay should be shorter than the average (see Table 4.11). Interestingly enough, there were more staff at all three schools who felt that boys should stay longer than staff who felt boys should stay a shorter time than they did.

The most plausible reason as to why staff favoured a longer stay, seemed

TABLE 4.11

Staff and Boys' Perceptions on Length of Boys' Stay, By School

Schools	STAFF PERCEPTIONS			BOYS' PERCEPTIONS				
	Staff perceptions of average length of stay Months No.*	Staff considering stay should be longer Months No.*	Staff considering stay should be shorter Months No.	Length of stay should be			Longer than average No.	Total number of respondents
				Shorter than average No.	%	About average No.	%	
JUNIOR	23.5 36	31.9 11	15.1 8	23	31.1	49	66.2	74
INTER-MEDIATE	13.1 41	18.8 9	8.3 4	15	21.1	44	62.0	71
SENIOR	13.7 39	20.6 18	- .8 ⁺ 2	27	32.1	49	58.3	84

* Non-response rate for this measure may be calculated by subtracting from the staff questionnaire interview response rate of 39, 42 and 41, for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, the number of respondents for each of these schools on this measure. Reasons for non-response were similar in all cases: inability to answer.

+ Since only two respondents stated that a boy's stay should be shorter, one stating 5 months and the other 24 months, this produced a range of 19 months, and an average of 14.5 months, which was greater than the average number of months of a boy's stay, i.e., 13.7 months, and produced a total of -.8

to be related to their previously described desire to spend more time on individual treatment, in that, if boys were at their schools for a longer period of time, staff would have a greater opportunity, certainly in terms of time, to do more individual and perhaps even other forms of treatment. An important implication here, as in Wheeler et al's¹ findings with regard to why juvenile court judges favoured longer sentences in institutions for delinquents, seemed to be that staff were guided by the thought that the schools offered more suitable environments for boys than did the disorganized and impoverished family and community settings from which many of them came and would return to upon leaving the school. Hence, the schools and institutions for delinquents seemed to be perceived by their staff and the juvenile court judges, respectively, as providing a healthier and more therapeutic alternative, and that a longer stay, therefore, was justified.

The trend of more boys desiring a shorter stay than a longer one is also reflected in Table 4.12, which points out that substantially greater proportions of boys at all three schools would rather not think about returning to the school, than look forward to coming back to the school when they were on home leave. As a matter of fact, the percentage of boys absconding while on home leave was greater at all schools than the percentage looking forward to returning to the school. But the important point in this table was that the highest percentage of boys who looked forward to coming back to the school and the lowest percentage of boys who did not like to think about coming back, were at the Intermediate School. Yet the Intermediate School also had the highest percentage of boys absconding while on home leave and the Junior School had the lowest. However, these abscondings were generally regarded by staff at all three schools to be a reflection of boys' own shortcomings rather than any dissatisfaction they felt with their

1. S. Wheeler, E. Bonacich, M. Richard Cramer and I. K. Zola, "Agents of Delinquency control: a comparative analysis", in Controlling Delinquents, ed. S. Wheeler, New York, 1968, pp. 31-60.

TABLE 4.12

Boys' Feelings During Home Leave, By School

When on home leave	Junior School		Intermediate		Senior School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Look forward to coming back to the school	7	9.5	17	23.9	5	6.0
Don't like to think about coming back	57	77.0	31	43.7	59	70.2
Have at times not returned, i.e., absconded while on home leave	10	13.5	23	32.4	20	23.8
Total no. of respondents	74		71		84	

TABLE 4.13

Boys' Perceptions with Regard to Free Time Activities, By School

Schools	Allowed to do the things you like in free time			Enough things to do during free time		
		No.	%		No.	%
Junior	Very often/Often	29	39.2	Yes	60	81.1
	Sometimes	34	45.9			
	Rarely/Never	11	14.9	No	14	18.9
Inter- mediate	Very often/Often	36	50.7	Yes	42	59.2
	Sometimes	29	40.8			
	Rarely/Never	6	8.5	No	29	40.8
Senior	Very often/Often	31	36.9	Yes	47	56.0
	Sometimes	39	46.4			
	Rarely/Never	14	16.7	No	37	44.0

schools.¹

Although the Junior School had the highest percentage of boys feeling they had enough activities to engage in during their free time, while the Senior School had the lowest, the Intermediate School boys seemed to have the greatest freedom in being allowed to do what they liked during their free time (see Table 4.13). Of importance here, was that when considering the influences which bear upon the satisfaction boys experience during their stay, being allowed to engage in what activities boys liked, was regarded to be more influential in determining their satisfaction, than the feeling that there were enough activities to engage in. Another finding which seemed to offer support to this higher rating of the Intermediate School boys, on being allowed to do the things they liked during their free time, was that the Intermediate School staff emphasized the theme, "freedom of expression", substantially higher than the staff at the other two schools (see Table 5.8).

Related to these considerations of boys' satisfaction, were those findings with regard to the various aspects of the school's programme enjoyed most and least (see Table 4.14). The percentages of boys who enjoyed a particular aspect most, indicated by a plus percentage, were combined with those who enjoyed it least, indicated by a minus percentage. When the combination resulted in a plus percentage, a greater proportion of boys most enjoyed this aspect than the proportion enjoying it least. The findings which were of importance were that the programme aspects that the greatest proportion of boys in all three regimes enjoyed most was recreation, as well as departmental activity² at the Intermediate and Senior

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1. There was a greater tendency for staff to place the blame with regard to absconding with the boys rather than on their schools, or for that matter, on themselves. However, Clarke and Martin have suggested that the best way of reducing absconding would seem to be through the manipulation of factors in the school regime and that the practical suggestions of dealing with it would arise from further research, particularly with regard to school regimes and staff attitudes. R. V. G. Clarke and D. N. Martin, op.cit., pp. 95 and 102.
 2. Also see Dunlop, op.cit., pp. 28, 36, 101; and Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 136-7.

TABLE 4.14

Programme Aspects Boys Enjoyed Most and Least

Programme Aspects	Junior School boys %	Intermediate School boys %	Senior School boys %
Recreation	+ 54.0	+ 24.0	+ 20.2
Departmental activity*	-	+ 21.1	+ 26.2
Chores, i.e., working in the houserooms or elsewhere	- 35.1	- 18.3	- 15.4
Classroom activity	- 18.9	- 26.8	- 31.0
Number of respondents	74	71	84

Note: Plus percentages denote programme aspects which were enjoyed most and minus percentages denote those enjoyed least.

* Since there was no departmental activity at the Junior School, this aspect does not apply.

Schools, and those they enjoyed least were chores and classroom activity.¹ This is interesting in view of the fact that substantial proportions of boys from all three schools regarded academic education as an important treatment component (see Tables 4.3 and 4.4).

The finding that a greater proportion of boys at the Junior School than at the Senior School enjoyed recreation most and that a greater proportion of them than at the Senior School enjoyed doing chores least, suggests that the answer to this difference between the boys of these two schools might be accounted for by the difference in their age and/or maturity. As had been observed, the older boys in the Senior School, as well as some of the boys in the Intermediate School, being older than the Junior School boys, seemed less enthusiastic about recreation as well as having less of a dislike for work or chores generally. Table 4.14 further confirms this lesser degree of enthusiasm for recreation for the Senior School boys in that greater proportions of them than at the Junior School considered there were not enough things to do during free or recreational times or were allowed to do the things they liked.

Another indication of boys' satisfaction with their stay, although somewhat more tenuous than the previously stated ones, was the correspondence between staff's perceptions of the degree boys were settled and the boys' perceptions as to the degree they were unsettled. As indicated by Table 4.15, the greatest proportion of staff in all three regimes considered that boys adapted quickly to their respective schools and that all or most of them were settled all or most of the time. Although the greatest proportions of boys in all three regimes felt that they were unsettled some of the time, they also considered that it was only some of them who were unsettled (see Table 4.16). Furthermore, as was to be expected, greater proportions of boys in all three schools were unsettled when they first

1. Also see Dunlop, op.cit., p. 82.

TABLE 4.15
Staff Perceptions Related to Boys' Settledness

Measures	Scale	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Rate of adjustment of boys to the school	Very quickly/Quickly	29	76.3	32	78.1	22	53.7
	Moderately	8	21.1	8	19.5	16	39.0
	Slowly/Very slowly	1	2.6	1	2.4	3	7.3
	No. of respondents	38	100	41	100	41	100
Frequency boys are settled	All/Most of the time	26	66.7	27	65.9	25	61.0
	Some of the time	11	28.2	14	34.1	16	39.0
	Seldom/Never	2	5.1	-	-	-	-
	No. of respondents	39	100	41	100	41	100
Number of boys settled	All/Most	25	64.1	22	55.0	21	51.2
	Many	9	23.1	14	35.0	12	29.3
	Some/None	5	12.8	4	10.0	8	19.5
	No. of respondents	39	100	40	100	41	100

Note: The non-response rate may be obtained by subtracting the number of respondents to the staff questionnaire interview, i.e., 39, 42 and 41 at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, from the totals in the number of respondents columns. Reasons for non-response were identical in all instances: inability to answer the questions.

TABLE 4.16

Boys' Perceptions Related to their Unsettledness

Measures	Scale	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Frequency boys are unsettled	All/Most of the time	11	14.9	11	15.5	21	25.0
	Some of the time	48	64.9	41	57.7	47	56.0
	Seldom/Never	15	20.3	19	26.8	16	19.0
	No. of respondents	74	100 ⁺	71	100	84	100
Number of boys unsettled	All/Most	11	14.9	2	2.8	9	10.7
	Many	7	9.5	10	14.1	15	17.9
	Some/None	56	75.7	59	83.1	60	71.4
	No. of respondents	74	100 ⁺	71	100	84	100
When boys unsettled*	When first arrived	58	78.4	59	83.1	70	83.3
	Since then	23	31.1	24	33.8	24	28.6
	Recently	24	32.4	27	38.0	39	46.4

* Since boys were unsettled during more than one of these periods, the number of boys exceed the number interviewed.

+ Percentages are rounded to first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

arrived than at any time subsequent to this period. Interestingly enough, this finding serves to illuminate the discussions by Rose and Clarke and Martin, which pointed out that more absconding took place shortly after boys' arrival and before they settle in.¹

Perhaps one of the most relevant of all the findings with regard to the degree of satisfaction boys derived from their stay, is the perception boys had of the schools' purposes. Referring back to Table 4.7, the highest percentage of boys who considered the main purpose of the school was to help boys, were at the Intermediate School, whereas the lowest percentage were at the Senior School, i.e., 83.1 per cent as compared to 66.7 per cent. Also the lowest percentage of boys considering the purpose keeping boys out of trouble by sending them away from home, was again at the Intermediate School, while the highest percentage was at the Junior School, i.e., 9.9 per cent as compared to 24.3 per cent. However, the Junior School had the lowest percentage of boys who considered their school's main purpose was to punish boys, while the Senior School had the highest percentage and the Intermediate School ranked in between these two, i.e., 4.1 per cent, 7.0 per cent and 10.7 per cent for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively. The implication in all this was that the greater percentage of boys regarding the purpose of their school as being that of helping them, and the smaller the percentage of boys considering its purpose to be that of punishing and/or depriving them of their homes, the greater will be the likelihood for boys to gain satisfaction and enjoyment from their stay at the school.

Finally, a most obvious indication as to the satisfaction and enjoyment boys received from their stay were the scores obtained from the question, "How many of the boys do you feel like being here?" which was rated highest, and substantially so, by the Intermediate School boys and lowest by the

1. R. V. G. Clarke and D. N. Martin, op.cit., 1971, p. 61; and G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 67-8.

Junior School boys, with the Senior School boys coming in between these two scores.¹ What is evident from all these findings was that Intermediate School boys received the most satisfaction and enjoyment from their stay, whereas it was less clear as to which boys least enjoyed their stay - those at the Junior or Senior School.

As a means of highlighting the important findings of this section, a summary presentation of the important similarities across regimes and of the distinctions between them follows. The important similarities were as follows:

1. The greatest proportion of boys in all three regimes considered that the main purpose of the schools was that of helping boys, whereas smaller proportions in all three regimes considered it to be either that of punishing boys or keeping them out of trouble.

2. The aspect of the schools' programme which was most enjoyed by the greatest proportion of boys in all three regimes was recreation and departmental activity at the two schools with departments, whereas the aspects which were least enjoyed by the greatest proportion of boys in all three regimes was doing chores and classroom activity.

3. There was a greater number of staff in each of the three regimes who considered that the boys' stay should be longer, than there were who thought that it should be shorter.

4. There was a correspondence in all three regimes between the staff and boys with regard to the boys' degree of settled and unsettledness, respectively.

The important differences between the schools can be grouped according to regime as follows:

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1. Question: "How many of the boys do you feel like being here?" was rated on a 5 point scale, 0 to 4, which had corresponding values of "none", "some", "many", "most", "all". Scores obtained by 74 Junior School boys, 71 Intermediate School boys and 84 Senior School boys were 0.5, 1.5 and 0.9 respectively, with corresponding standard deviations of 0.9, 1.0, 0.8

1. Although the boys at the Junior School had the highest regard for their staff's helpfulness and had the smallest proportion of boys, in comparison to the other regimes, who regarded its purpose as that of punishing boys, the Junior School staff were highest in their estimates of the proportion of boys who remained unaffected by treatment. Furthermore, the degree of satisfaction boys received from their stay at the Junior School was more difficult to determine than it was for the other two schools, and there was some evidence to suggest that the Junior School boys were least satisfied with their staff.

2. The staff at the Intermediate School were more optimistic and convinced than their counterparts in the other two schools, that their boys were being helped and were highest in their estimates of the proportions of their staff who believed in helping boys. Furthermore, they were lowest in their estimates of the proportion of boys whose behaviour became worse since their arrival. The Intermediate School also had the greatest proportion of boys who felt that its main purpose was that of helping boys and the smallest proportion of boys who regarded its main purpose to be that of keeping them out of trouble.

As to the length of the boys' stay, the Intermediate School as compared to the other two, had the greatest proportion of boys who considered that their stay should be longer, although it had the least number of staff who considered their stay should be thus. This was further supported by the finding that a greater proportion of its boys looked forward to coming back to the school while they were on leave and that it had the smallest proportion who did not like to think about returning to the school during this time. However, strangely enough, it had the largest proportion of boys who absconded while on leave. Finally, the boys at the Intermediate School seemed to be allowed more freedom during their free time to do what they wanted. In addition to all this, there was a fairly clear indication that the Intermediate School boys enjoyed their stay at their school more than

did the boys at the other two schools.

3. The Senior School staff, in contrast to their counterparts at the other schools, were least optimistic that their boys were being helped and they were lowest in their estimates of the proportion of staff who believed in helping boys. The Senior School also had the greatest number of staff who considered that the boys' stay should be longer and the smallest number who believed that their stay should be shorter. Also it had a greater proportion of boys than the other two schools, who considered that there were not enough things to do during their free time, and a smaller proportion who appeared satisfied with the things they were allowed to do during this time. Finally, the Senior School had the smallest proportion of boys who considered that its main purpose was that of helping them.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

In consideration of summarizing the various findings described in this chapter, there was a danger of losing focus as to the main themes these represented. Rather than reconsider the individual findings at this point, since they may be consulted at the end of their respective sections in this chapter (see pp. 133-5, 150-2, 166-8), a number of overall statements as to their general meaning might be stated as follows:

1. The staff in all regimes had a higher regard for treatment generally than they considered their colleagues to have.
2. Staff's and Boys' perceptions and considerations with regard to treatment, in all regimes, differed from each other and staff had more in common with each other than they did with their boys and vice versa.
3. The Intermediate School was clearly the one which was most concerned and serious about treatment generally, while it was evident, although not to the same degree of clarity, that the Senior School was least so. The Junior School's general concern for treatment was also somewhat more difficult to ascertain.

Although these statements may be further examined with reference to goals, it must be noted that where there was a degree of ambiguity or lack of supportiveness among the findings, that this may be accounted for by the "multi-functional" aspect and the general lack of clarity and explicitness of approved school goals, or as has been concluded by Heal et al, that "approved school training was not a homogeneous form of treatment."¹

1. K. Heal, I. Sinclair, J. Troup, "Development of a Social Climate questionnaire for use in approved schools and community homes, British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1973, pp. 222-31.

CHAPTER 5

THE INDIVIDUAL AS THE FOCUS OF TREATMENT

"But we have the boy, and we have to live together, sometimes at very close quarters and in this 'living together' we begin to have one of our best helps and hopes. Again the whole school comes into the picture in this living together each able to offer something and any one may become the important one in the boy's mind, in the establishing of those so necessary relationships."

A Housemaster's comments¹

An important criticism of the care and treatment carried on in approved schools and comparable institutions is that of the general lack of concern for the individual. This criticism is made and reflected by much of the literature and a number of writers, noting that there should be a greater individual treatment emphasis, also indicated and implied that this should be the underlying theme or motivation in the various methods and approaches to treatment, be it taking part in boys' activities or group supervision.² Hence the complexity of the effect and the many functions residential treatment was able to provide for and perform, as described by the Advisory Council on Child Care and outlined by Maier's essential residential treatment

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1. B. L. Boast, "Is Personal Relationship one of the Answers?", Approved School Gazette, Vol. 55, No. 4, 1961, pp. 141-2.
 2. For a variety of descriptions with regard to the importance of the treatment of the individual, the methods used and the problems preventing it, see Advisory Council on Child Care, Department of Health and Social Security, op.cit., pp. 16-17, 20-2, 26-9; C. Beedell, "The Residential Settings and the Workers' Task within it", in D. Lambert (ed.), Residential Staff in Child Care: Annual Review of the Residential Child Care Association, Leeds, Vol. 16, 1968, pp. 69-71; Children's Bureau, United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare, op.cit., pp. 694-8; B. Flint, The Child and the Institution, London, 1967, p. 142; G. Konopka, "The Social Group Work Method: Its use in the Correctional Field", in Sheldon Glueck, The Problem of Delinquency, Boston, 1959, pp. 882-8; "Institutional Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children", Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 8, No. 1, 1962, pp. 52-7; H. Maier, op.cit., 1965, pp. 660-5; G. Patterson, R. Schwart, E. Vanderwart, "The Integration of Group and Individual Therapy", in Sheldon Glueck, op.cit., pp. 899-907; C. R. Rogers, op.cit., 1939, pp. 109-46; G. Rose, op.cit., 1967, pp. 172-4; D. H. Stott, Saving Children from Delinquency, London, 1952, pp. 139-87; W. Lumsden Walker, "The Limit of Therapeutic Methods in Approved Schools", in R. F. Sparks and R. G. Hood (eds), The Residential Treatment of Disturbed and Delinquent Boys, Cambridge, 1968, pp. 51-62.

components in the Introduction of this study, served to indicate and confirm the treatment potentialities in other aspects of residential life than individual treatment. But since the pressures toward conformity routine, group treatment and supervision etc., seemed to be the norm in care and treatment of boys in approved schools, it was considered, therefore, that the differences among the three regimes of this study as to their practice of treatment of the individual, would be of importance in indicating some basic differences in treatment style and thinking between them.

The concept of fundamental importance in the treatment of the individual in residential care, is that of relationship, and in this study the relationship of staff with individual boys. The degree of its importance has been widely recognized¹ and its purpose in residential treatment has perhaps been most concisely expressed by Bowers to be that of "serving as a relationship exercise or learning experience with the objective of enabling the client to carry the gains made in it out to a broader environment."² Relationships therefore are the mechanism for the treatment of the individual, in that, according to Maier, it "serves as the means and the context for the introduction of activities geared toward desired changes."³

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1. For an account of relationship in residential treatment and treatment generally see, S. Adessa and A. Laatsch, "Extended Residential Treatment: Eight Year Anxiety", Social Work (Albany, New York), Vol. 10, October 1965, pp. 16-24; G. Alpin and R. Bamber, "Groupwork counselling: the case for a Specialist Provision in Intermediate Treatment", Social Work Today, Vol. 3, No. 22, 1973, pp. 5-9; S. Bowers, "The Social Worker in a Children's Residential Treatment Program", Social Casework (New York), Vol. 38, No. 6, 1957, pp. 283-8; R. Brooks, op.cit., pp. 33, 61-70, 169-75; W. L. Herbert and F. V. Jarvis, op.cit., pp. 43-50; H. Jones, Reluctant Rebels: Re-education and Group Process in a Residential Community, London, 1960, pp. 95-102; H. Maier, Three Theories of Child Development, revised edition, New York, 1969, pp. 243-63; C. R. Rogers, op.cit., 1957, pp. 95-103; C. Winnicott, Child Care and Social Work, London, 1970, pp. 28-39.
 2. S. Bowers, op.cit., pp. 283-8.
 3. H. Maier, op.cit., 1969, p. 255.

Up to this point there has been conclusive evidence from the previous two chapters, that the staff in all three regimes had a fairly high regard for individual treatment. A more thorough look at what treatment of the individual, as reflected by the staff-boys relationships, entailed is therefore in order. The manner of presenting this particular aspect of treatment is through a number of descriptive sections within the chapter as follows: degree and initiation of individual contact; staff-boys conversations and relationships; parental replacement; and finally, indicators of progress.

a. Degree and Initiation of Individual Contact

To begin with the degree of individual contact and initiation thereof, the indication was that both the average number of boys seen individually per week and the average length of time of this contact, was greatest at the Intermediate School and least at the Junior School (see Table 5.1). This trend offers further evidence to the already clear indication that the Intermediate School was the most concerned and interested in treatment, and directly reflects the findings in Table 3.8, i.e., that the greatest amount of time given to the work task, individual contact with boys, was by the Intermediate School whereas the least amount given to this task was by the Junior School.

In addition to this difference in time allocation, an interesting fact revealed by Table 5.1 was that it was the boys themselves, more so than the staff, who requested that they be seen individually, and staff were lowest in requesting each other to see boys individually. Why staff seemed to be relying more on boys to request individual contact than on their colleagues or themselves, posed a number of interesting questions. Since this trend was similar at all three schools, the implication was that whatever the reason for this similarity, it could well be the same one at all three schools. Although judging from observation, the nature of approved school life was very much that of group living without much privacy, and therefore individual

TABLE 5.1

Individual Contact with Boys per Week

Schools	Average number of boys seen individually	Average number of minutes spent with each boy	Average number of boys who			Arrangement in order from most to least, of staff groups requesting staff to see boys individually
			Themselves requested to be seen individually	Staff themselves requested to see individually	Colleagues requested staff to see individually	
JUNIOR	7.6	19.0	4.6	4.2	0.9*	1.Housestaff (most) 2.Teachers @ 3.Ancillary 4.Supervisory/Admin.(least)
INTERMEDIATE	13.2	36.9 ⁺	8.3	6.5	1.8	1.Housestaff (most) 2.Supervisory/Admin. 3.Teachers/Instructors 4.Ancillary (least)
SENIOR	9.9	22.6 ⁺	6.0	5.1 ⁼	1.1	1.Housestaff (most) 2.Teacher./Instructors @ 3.Supervisory/Admin. 4.Ancillary (least)

The number of respondents for each of the above columns is 39, 42 and 41 for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools, respectively, with the following exceptions:

- * Since one respondent did not know how many boys his colleagues requested him to see individually, this figure is based on 38 respondents.
- + Since one respondent did not know what amount of time he usually spent when having "individual contact with boys", this figure is based on 41 respondents for the Intermediate School and 40 respondents at the Senior School.
- = Since one respondent did not know the number of boys he himself requested to see, this figure is based on 40 respondents.
- @ There were no instructors at the Junior School and only one teacher at the Senior School.

contact of staff with boys would not go unnoticed, rather than single out individual boys for counselling sessions or heart-to-heart talks, staff seemed to rely more on the boys themselves to approach or request this treatment. Furthermore, staff also seemed to regard their own lesser degree of requests as a means of preventing boys from considering that they (staff) had favourites¹ as well as preventing an over-dependence of some boys on them. Finally, since the greatest degree of requests for individual contact came from boys, what was evident was that boys in all three regimes had a fair degree of freedom, even in the face of peer group pressure, to choose individual treatment.

With further regard to the requests of boys to be seen individually, another noteworthy finding as indicated in Table 5.1 was that there existed large differences in the figures between colleagues' requests of staff, compared to boys' own requests and staff's own requests to see boys individually. The explanation for this comparative difference comes from the observational data, which suggested that staff worked fairly autonomously as to how they handled and related to boys, and when situations demanding individual contact arose it was often dealt with by the staff member himself, rather than being referred to someone else. However, what could also have been responsible for this trend, although not as readily observed, was that boys themselves selected who they approached for individual contact. What is therefore implied was that individual treatment had both a voluntary aspect to it, in that boys themselves requested individual contact, and an involuntary aspect, in that staff requested boys to see them individually.

Since staff's capacity and ability to use individual treatment

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1. Individual treatment implied different treatment for each boy. Because it was not always possible, desirable or wise to have boys know why they were treated differently, this according to a number of writers, may cause boys to consider staff as exercising "favouritism", being unjust and unfair, etc. However, there was no observational evidence of this in any of the three regimes studied. See E. Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Penguin, Middlesex, 1968, p. 76; D. Matza, Delinquency and Drift, New York, 1964, p. 115; R. A. Ryall, op.cit., 1971, Vol. 2, p. 371.

effectively differed,¹ as did the boys' capacity and need for it,² this seemed in itself to be a fundamental deciding factor with regard to the greater degree of requests by boys to be seen individually by staff. However, the low degree of colleagues' requests seems indicative of boys going directly to the staff they want individual contact with, rather than through other staff. This generality of contact with staff is symptomatic of residential treatment in that boys at all three schools had relatively easy access to most staff in their schools. It was primarily because of this generality of contact, that it was considered not to undertake further analysis of boys' data according to their housestaff, instructors or teachers.

Although the housestaff group at all three schools received most requests from staff to see boys individually, whereas the ancillary group received least in two of the schools, the important difference among the schools was that the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate School had more requests than this same group had at the other two schools. As a matter of fact, the supervisory/administration group at the Junior School had less requests to see boys individually than any other staff group in that school and was the supervisory/administration group which was least requested to do so. That the housestaff group at all three schools received most requests to see boys individually and the ancillary received least in two of them, was rather expected, as was the difference with regard

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1. For a description of some of the concerns and the dynamics which influence staff's capacity and ability to use individual treatment in the residential context effectively, see G. Konopka, "The Role of the Group in Residential Treatment", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 25, October 1955, pp. 679-84; R. L. Morrison, "Modern Approaches to the Residential Treatment of Difficult Cases of Delinquency", International Child Welfare Review, Vol. 17, No. 3-4, 1963, pp. 73-4, 96; F. Redl, "Strategy and Techniques of the Life Space Interview", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 29, January 1959, pp. 1-18; E. Studt, "Therapeutic Factors in Group Living", Child Welfare, Vol. 35, No. 1, 1956, pp. 1-6.
 2. See T. A. Ratcliffe, "Juvenile Delinquency: Is Treatment or Training the Solution?", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 60, No. 3, 1966, pp. 81-6.

to this between the supervisory/administration group at the Junior and Intermediate Schools. These differences between these two supervisory/administration groups, however, are important in that they again served to reflect the differences that the Junior and Intermediate School regimes placed on individual treatment, as was indicated in Table 3.8, as well as their headmasters' concern for it.

b. Staff-Boys Conversations and Relationships

"That communication and relationship are interconnected is becoming generally accepted today: it is indeed obvious that there can be no fruitful communication without good relationships."¹

Having considered the degree of individual contact and its initiation, a closer look as to what really constitutes individual contact through an examination of what is discussed during individual contact and how frequently, would be in order. When the schools were compared as to what topics are most discussed during individual contact with boys, there was a similar pattern with regard to their choices (see Table 5.2). All schools selected topics, home and family, future, weekend and other leave and personal problems as the four topics which were most discussed, although they differed within this in their order of priorities. There was also a degree of similarity across schools with regard to which topics were least discussed, although not as much as for topics which were most discussed. Work and behaviour in the classroom, and delinquency held low positions at all three schools, as did Local Authority review at both the Junior and Intermediate Schools, and rewards in the school at the Intermediate and Senior Schools.

Considering the number of boys the topics were discussed with, the four topics which were discussed most frequently at all the schools were also discussed with the greatest average number of boys, and usually with the

1. L. A. E. Shaw, "The Approved School as a Therapeutic Community", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 51, No. 3, 1957, pp. 109-13.

TABLE 5.2

Comparative Frequencies of Topics Staff Discussed with Boys during Individual Contact and the Average Number of Boys these were Discussed with

Topics of Discussion	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	Comparative Frequency Discussed	Av. No. of Boys discussed with	Comparative Frequency Discussed	Av. No. of Boys discussed with	Comparative Frequency Discussed	Av. No. of Boys discussed with
Weekend and other leave	1st	4.9	3rd	6.6	1st	6.8
Home and Family	2nd	4.6	1st	8.2	4th	5.7
A boy's future	3rd	4.2	2nd	8.4	3rd	6.1
A boy's personal problems	4th	4.9	4th	9.8	2nd	6.1
Work and behaviour in the House	5th	4.2	7th	6.7	6th	4.4
Work and behaviour in the Department*	-	-	6th	5.7	11th	4.6
Friends back home	9th	2.4	5th	5.5	9th	4.6
Obtaining permission to do something	8th	3.0	8th	5.9	8th	4.6
Misbehaviour and punishment in the school	7th	3.5	12th	3.6	7th	4.3
Rewards in the school	6th	3.6	11th	3.9	12th	3.7
Delinquency	10th	3.1	10th	4.7	10th	4.6
A boy's local authority review	12th	2.7	13th	4.3	5th	5.0
Work and behaviour in the classroom	11th	2.7	9th	5.3	13th	2.7
Average number of boys per topic		3.7		6.0		4.9
Number of respondents	39	39	42	42	41	41

* Since there were no departments in the Junior School, "Work and Behaviour in the Department" was not applicable at the Junior School.

greater numbers of staff (see Table 5.3). This pattern also existed for those topics least discussed, although the trend was somewhat weaker for the four topics least discussed at each of the schools than for the four which were most discussed.¹

One final important finding in Table 5.2 was with regard to the frequency of certain topics which tended to be discussed more than others, at all three schools. The topics in Table 5.2 were easily divisible into two groups; those which were personally related to the boys and those which were school related. Home and family, future, personal problems, friends back home, and delinquency were the personally related topics, while the remainder were school related. A greater number of the personally related topics than school related ones were not only more frequently discussed at all three schools, but were also discussed with a greater number of boys at each of them. Home and family, future, personal problems were all rated within the four most discussed topics by all schools, although friends back home and delinquency had generally much lower ratings.

So the following can be concluded:

1. there existed a greater similarity of topics among those topics staff most frequently discussed than those least frequently discussed, with boys, i.e., this compares the four most discussed topics with the four least discussed;
2. the greater the frequency a topic was discussed by staff the greater the number of boys it was discussed with and usually the greater number of staff who discussed it;

1. See Table 5.2. In one instance the average number of boys a topic was discussed with, for the four least discussed topics, was greater than two of the topics which were more frequently discussed than these. This occurred at the Senior School, where the topics which held sixth and seventh priority in frequency discussed, were discussed with lower average numbers of boys than the topics which had the eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh priority positions. This did not occur among the four most frequently discussed topics at each of the schools. All of these were discussed with higher average numbers of boys than any of the topics with lower priority positions for frequency discussed.

TABLE 5.3

Proportion of Respondents to the Staff Questionnaire Interview
who Discussed Topics with Boys During Individual Contact

	JUNIOR SCHOOL		INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL		SENIOR SCHOOL	
	No.	%	Staff discuss with boys	No.	Staff discuss with boys	%
Weekend and other leave	36	92.3		39	92.9	87.8
Home and family	34	87.2		40	95.2	87.8
A boy's future	35	89.7		39	92.9	85.4
A boy's personal problems	33	84.6		38	90.5	87.8
Work and behaviour in the House	31	79.5		35	83.3	82.9
Work and behaviour in the departments	-	-		38	90.5	73.2
Friends back home	31	79.5		39	92.9	85.4
Obtaining permission to do something	33	84.6		37	88.1	85.4
Misbehaviour and punishment in the school	31	79.5		36	85.7	82.9
Rewards in the school	34	87.2		35	83.3	82.9
Delinquency	32	82.1		38	90.5	85.4
A boy's local authority review	27	69.2		32	76.2	78.1
Work and behaviour in the classroom	30	76.9		35	83.3	73.2

3. personally related topics were substantially more frequently discussed by staff than school related topics.

Of further importance to these frequency differences in staff's discussion of personal and school related topics with boys, was the fact that the Junior School had the lowest percentage of boys unwilling to discuss the personal and school based topics, and the Senior School had the highest percentage on both these sets of topics (see Table 5.4 and Appendix N). What is implied therefore was that Junior School boys were most forthcoming with regard to discussion, be it with regard to themselves personally or with regard to the school, while the boys at the Senior School were least forthcoming.¹ Although this was somewhat contrary to expectation, since it was considered that the Intermediate School boys would be most forthcoming, it does confirm the expectation that the Senior School would be least forthcoming.² The explanation of the Junior School boys' forthcomingness seemed to be due to their lack of restraint and inhibition in establishing and carrying on conversation, which in turn explained their comparatively greater need for reassurance and lack of self-consciousness/awareness. Junior School boys, besides being more childish than the other boys, were also more insecure and least able to restrain or delay their gratification.³ However an explanation which casts doubt on the accuracy of this finding was the conclusion reached by Millham et al, that boys who enjoyed their life at their school used pastoral care more than those who

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1. The boys at the Junior School seemed to be most forthcoming with regard to discussions during individual contact, yet they had less individual contact than boys at the other two schools (see Tables 3.8 and 5.1).
 2. Millham et al noted that pastoral care was high in all intermediate schools, but they found great differences in its emphasis in junior schools, whereas it was least emphasized in the senior schools. See Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., pp. 115-6.
 3. Howells, op.cit., pp. 134-7.

TABLE 5.4

Percentages¹ of boys preferring discussions with
Staff as per Topics and Staff Group

Schools	Staff Groups	Average % of Boys		
		Personal topics	School Related topics	Personal and school related topics
JUNIOR	Supervisory/Administration	32.4	29.0	30.7
	Teachers ²	41.6	47.9	44.8
	Housestaff	70.3	75.7	73.0
	Ancillary	1.9	2.5	2.2
	No-one	13.8	3.7	8.8
INTERMEDIATE	Supervisory/Administration	50.4	51.2	50.8
	Teachers/Instructors	48.2	36.8	42.5
	Housestaff	30.1	42.3	36.2
	Ancillary	3.4	3.7	3.6
	No-one	20.0	10.8	15.4
SENIOR	Supervisory/Administration	28.8	28.0	28.4
	Teacher/Instructors ²	13.1	24.0	18.6
	Housestaff	70.2	73.2	71.7
	Ancillary	3.1	1.5	2.3
	No-one	22.6	9.4	16.0

Note: Since the percentage difference between the staff groups selected by the highest and second highest proportions of boys was substantially smaller at the Intermediate than the other two schools, it can be considered that the comparatively smaller percentage difference at the Intermediate School indicated that there existed a greater "similarity" of preference between the highest and second highest selected group, than there was between these groups at the other two schools. For the purposes of the analysis the highest and second highest groups at the Intermediate School could perhaps be considered interchangeably as the group selected by the highest percentage of boys.

1. These percentages are based on the preferences made by 74, 71 and 84 boys at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively.
2. There were no instructors at the Junior School and there was only one teacher at the Senior School.

did not.¹ That the boys at the Intermediate School enjoyed their stay more than the boys at the other two schools did, was clearly evident from the findings described in Chapter 4. Another point of interest in view of this explanation was that the individual treatment context within which these conversations took place was of a lesser intensity, i.e., seemed to deal more superficially with boys' problems and concerns, at the Junior than at the Intermediate School.

Considering the findings in Table 5.2, that personal related topics were discussed more and with more boys than school related ones, are not supported by the findings of Table 5.4 (also see Appendix N), but actually what is suggested is the very opposite, in that substantially larger proportions of boys at all three schools preferred to discuss school related topics than personal topics. This distinct difference in findings indicates that staff at all three schools tended to consider themselves as more frequently discussing personal related topics than school related ones, whereas the boys at all three schools indicated just the opposite. This represents an important difference between staff and boys with regard to how this aspect of individual treatment was perceived. Because staff's considerations in all three schools were different from the boys and in the direction which may be taken to suggest that they had a higher regard for boys' personal rather than school concerns, it again seems evident that staff were eager to indicate that their priorities and concerns were those of a more child-centered form of child care.

The important findings in Table 5.4 were therefore as follows:

1. Junior School boys were least hesitant to discuss both personal and school related topics, while the Senior boys were most hesitant;
2. boys at all three schools displayed a greater hesitancy to discuss personal topics than school related topics;
3. the housestaff group was the group most preferred to discuss both personal

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 118.

and school related topics with at the Junior and Senior School, whilst the supervisory/administration group was preferred at the Intermediate School. The ancillary staff was least preferred by all boys for both personal and school related topics.

As a further examination of the topics discussed during individual contact, a comparison by school of the staff groups boys preferred to discuss these with, served to highlight the role the various staff groups played in the treatment process. First of all, the staff groups which were most preferred by boys seemed also to be the groups which were most influential in their treatment, as well as in boys' relationships with staff.

The housestaff groups at the Junior and Senior Schools and the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate School, were the staff groups most boys preferred for the discussion of both personal and school related topics during individual contact (see Table 5.4 and Appendix N). Interestingly, the housestaff group at the Junior and Senior Schools were also the ones boys most frequently had conversations with and were considered by them to be most helpful. Boys at the Intermediate School more frequently had conversations with their supervisory/administration group than boys did at the other two schools, and they also considered this group to be more helpful than the other boys did (see Tables 5.5 and 5.6). The ancillary staff groups were not only least preferred by the boys at all three schools to discuss these topics with, but were also considered by them to be least helpful of the staff groups.

These findings, that the staff groups boys preferred to discuss both personal and school related topics with, tended also to be the groups they regarded as most helpful as well as the groups they more frequently had discussions with, are of importance in relation to those findings previously presented by Tables 5.2 and 5.3. Relying on the observational data for further explanation for this pattern, it appeared that the frequency of discussions seemed to determine what topics were discussed, rather than vice

TABLE 5.5

Comparative Frequency* of Conversations Boys had with
Members of their School's Staff Groups

Staff Groups	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Supervisory/Administration	4th	3rd	4th
Teachers/Instructors	2nd	1st	2nd
Housestaff	1st	2nd	1st
Ancillary	3rd	4th	3rd
Number of respondents	74	71	84

* First equals the greatest frequency whereas fourth equals the lowest frequency.

TABLE 5.6
Boys' Perceptions of Staff-Boys Relationships as per School and Staff Groups

School	No. of resps.	Staff groups	Member(s) of Staff feel helps you most	Member(s) of Staff prefer (like) to do things with	Member(s) of Staff like for own father	Members(s) of Staff like for own mother	Member(s) of Staff want to be most like when older	Member(s) of Staff most influence over boys
			No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
JUNIOR	74	Supervisory/Admin.	21 28.4	10 13.5	1 1.4	1 1.4	13 17.6	32 43.2
		Teachers *	48 64.9	66 89.2	24 32.4	-	33 44.6	35 47.3
		Housestaff	70 94.6	58 78.4	23 31.1	30 40.5	32 43.2	69 93.2
		Ancillary	3 4.1	9 12.2	1 1.4	3 4.1	3 4.1	4 5.4
		No-one	-	1 1.4	37 50.0	41 55.4	18 24.3	1 1.4
INTER-MEDIATE	71	Supervisory/Admin.	37 52.1	13 18.3	11 15.5	1 1.4	20 28.2	43 60.6
		Teachers/Instructors	54 76.1	60 84.5	20 40.8	-	43 60.6	33 46.5
		Housestaff	40 56.3	40 56.3	11 15.5	35 49.3	12 16.9	50 70.4
		Ancillary	2 2.8	16 22.5	2 2.8	4 5.6	4 5.6	4 5.6
		No-one	-	1 1.4	32 45.1	35 49.3	15 21.1	1 1.4
SENIOR	84	Supervisory/Admin.	24 28.6	8 9.5	6 7.1	1 1.2	7 8.3	37 44.0
		Teacher /Instructors*	30 35.7	49 58.3	7 8.3	1 1.2	25 29.8	44 52.4
		Housestaff	81 96.4	67 79.8	27 32.1	27 32.1	34 40.5	78 92.9
		Ancillary	3 3.6	20 23.8	6 7.1	6 7.1	8 9.5	5 6.0
		No-one	2 2.4	3 3.6	49 58.3	52 61.9	23 27.4	2 2.4

Note: Since boys chose staff for each of the above measures from more than one staff group, the number of choices exceed the number of boys choosing, i.e., number of respondents.

* There were no instructors at the Junior School and only one teacher at the Senior School.

versa. This in itself implied, that the greater the degree of staff contact with boys the greater the degree of discussion with them, which in turn meant that different staff groups had different degrees of individual contact with boys. The frequency of discussion boys had with particular groups, therefore, also had a bearing on the degree of preference for discussion with these groups.

Furthermore, this finding, that the staff groups with which boys preferred to have discussions during individual contact were the same groups that they regarded as most helpful, placed an importance on individual contact in that the quality of individual treatment itself seemed to influence whether or not staff were perceived as being helpful. Hence those groups which therefore seemed to do more individual treatment were regarded as being most helpful and these groups also tended to be the ones boys preferred as parent replacements or substitutes, as well as being regarded as having most influence over them.

Referring more specifically to the measures describing staff-boys relationships in Table 5.6, it appeared that boys in all three schools considered the housestaff and teachers/instructors staff groups to be most important in their relationships with staff.¹ The housestaff group seemed more important to boys in the Junior and Senior Schools, whereas the teachers/instructors group was in the Intermediate School. But the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups seemed to be more closely rivalled in the Intermediate School than they were in the other two schools. The supervisory/administration group which clearly played the most important role in staff-boys relationships, was the one at the Intermediate School. The ancillary group at all three schools were regarded to be of least importance in staff-boys relationships.

1. The findings were comparable to those of Dunlop's and Glaser's study in that Dunlop found that boys considered housemasters and instructors to be the most helpful staff, and Glaser found the work supervisor, the prison equivalent of an approved school instructor, in four out of five prisons studied, were the officers best liked by inmates. See Dunlop, op.cit., p. 68; and D. Glaser, The Effectiveness of a Prison and Parole System, Indianapolis, 1964, pp. 133-4.

Closely related in importance to the frequency these topics were discussed and with how many boys, was the degree these discussions were enjoyed. Table 5.7 offers a somewhat indirect measure of this by describing the ease with which boys felt they could talk about themselves to staff and to a number of significant others. The Intermediate School had the highest proportion of boys who found it harder to talk to their own family than to staff and the lowest proportion who found it easier to talk to their family than staff, whereas the position was just the reverse at the Junior School. Judging from the observational data, it seemed that there was more of an acceptance of individual treatment on the part of staff and boys at the Intermediate School, which in itself had set a norm and made staff more approachable and amenable to using individual treatment and boys more receptive and positive to partaking of it. Millham et al, however, seem to suggest that it is the boys themselves rather than the staff who determine the nature of pastoral care,¹ but since many staff at the Intermediate School claimed that their school received a proportionately greater number of disturbed boys and/or boys with more severe disturbances, this would further account for the greater emphasis on treatment and in turn for the greater degree of ease boys had when in conversation and relationship with staff.²

Boys at the Senior School on the other hand, were more reticent, shy and mistrusting, while boys at the Junior School seemed, perhaps due to their lack of maturity, younger age and what appeared to be a stronger and closer attachment to their own families, to have less of a need for intense individual treatment.

1. Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 118.

2. According to Millham et al, support and use by boys of pastoral care was reflected more to their general commitment of their school's goals and appeared to be influenced "by only a few background factors among which attitudes to staff at day school, absence of parents, length of stay in school and relationships at classifying school seem important." Ibid., p. 118.

TABLE 5.7

Ease with which Boys Talked About Themselves with Significant Others as Compared to Staff, Measured by Percentages of Boys

Schools		Significant Others		
		Family (Father, Mother, Siblings)	Friends (Back home and at the school)	
JUNIOR	Harder to talk to than staff	18.0	45.3	
	Same	19.4	23.0	
	Easier	59.0	31.7	
	Not applicable*	3.6	-	
	Total percentage of respondents	100	100	
INTERMEDIATE	Harder to talk to than staff	32.2	42.3	
	Same	14.5	21.8	
	Easier	46.5	35.9	
	Not applicable*	3.8	-	
	Total percentage of respondents	100	100	
SENIOR	Harder to talk to than staff	21.4	26.2	
	Same	15.1	28.6	
	Easier	58.7	45.2	
	Not applicable*	4.8	-	
	Total percentage of respondents	100	100	

* Not applicable refers to instances when parents were deceased and/or there were no siblings.

Finally, an examination of the themes staff emphasized during their contact with boys provided a comparative description of the values staff had with regard to treatment of boys. Table 5.8 indicates that the three most emphasized themes at all three schools, were self respect, respect for other people's property and possessions, and responsibility for one's own behaviour. It was felt by the researcher that the greater emphasis on these themes and a lower emphasis on respect for the law and need to change from previous delinquent ways, in some ways again serve to reflect staff's desire to be regarded as practising a more modern form of child centered child care.

An important observation, however, was that the Junior and Intermediate Schools gave respect for the law, and need to change from previous delinquent ways, a fairly low degree of emphasis in comparison with the Senior School. The explanation for this seemed to be that the boys at the Junior and Intermediate Schools, being younger, as well as at the Intermediate School a greater proportion of them were disturbed and of these more were severely disturbed, were regarded as being less responsible for their delinquency than the older boys at the Senior School.

Taking this explanation one step further, would be to state that the younger boys were considered too young and/or disturbed to be able to understand and appreciate the meaning of law and order in addition to being considered victims of broken homes, poverty, etc. Older boys were considered, because they were older, to have been able or should have been able, to overcome that which victimized the younger boys, thereby making their delinquent behaviour less excusable and more reprehensible.

Freedom of expression was least emphasized by both the Junior and Senior Schools but for what was thought to be very different reasons. At the Junior School this theme was taken literally, i.e., boys being free to verbally say what they wanted, whereas the Senior School staff interpreted it more widely. Staff at the Junior School felt that they did not need to

TABLE 5.8

Comparative Degree of Theme Emphasis by Staff During
Individual Contact with Boys

Themes	Priority Positions of Degree of Emphasis		
	Junior School Staff	Intermediate School Staff	Senior School Staff
Respect for other people's property and possessions	3rd	2nd	1st
Self respect	2nd	1st	3rd
Responsibility for one's own behaviour	1st	3rd	2nd
Compliance	5th	4th	5th
Self discipline and restraint	6th	8th	7th
Being independent	4th	6th	8th
Respect for the law	9th	9th	4th
Need to change from previous delinquent ways	8th	10th	6th
"Getting on" and being liked	7th	7th	9th
Freedom of expression	10th	5th	10th
Number of respondents	39	40*	40*

* Two and one of the respondents to the staff questionnaire interview at the Intermediate and Senior Schools, respectively, failed to rank these themes.

encourage boys to be free to verbally express themselves, since they were already quite verbose. If anything, they desired boys to be less talkative and noisy. The Senior School regarded boys as having already been too free to express themselves, literally through cheekiness, swearing etc., and figuratively through their delinquency.

However, although the themes which were most emphasized by all three schools were the same, as mentioned above, perhaps the most important finding, as was felt and observed by the researcher, was that the Intermediate School presented an atmosphere more conducive for staff to attempt to utilize these themes in treatment, and that a greater number of staff were attempting to do so, than at the other two schools. The fact that the Intermediate School had the highest regard for self respect probably supports this observed and felt difference in atmosphere at this school.

c. Parental Replacement

"Distorted intra familial relationships involving lack of affection and hostility or discord are associated with the development of later anti social behavior and delinquency. Although the presence of a deviant parental model and inefficient discipline may be contributing factors, the lack of a stable, persistent, harmonious relationship with a parent appears to be the crucial variable."¹

"... it is obvious that there are many potential parental figures within the institution who have a different degree of parental influence and authority."²

That family and home life have an important and direct contributing influence on delinquency has been well illustrated by the Glueck's,³ West,⁴ Andry,⁵ and Hirschi,⁶ and that there is a need among delinquents,

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1. M. Rutter, Maternal Deprivation Reassessed, Harmondsworth, 1972, p. 118.
 2. M. F. Mayer, "The Parental Figures in Residential Treatment", Social Service Review (Chicago), Vol. 34, No. 3, 1960, pp. 273-85.
 3. S. Glueck and E. Glueck, Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency, New York, 1950, pp. 79-133.
 4. D. J. West, Present Conduct and Future Delinquency: First Report of the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development, London, 1969, pp. 60-98.
 5. R. G. Andry, Delinquency and Parental Pathology: A Study in Forensic and Clinical Psychology, London, 1971, pp. 119-33.
 6. T. Hirschi, Causes of Delinquency, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 83-109.

both in and out of institutions, for positive home and family relationships is clearly evident. Although care in the best institutions has been noted by Rutter to fall short of that of an average home, when children were provided with a regular parent surrogate or replacement this served to enhance their social adjustment.¹ In view of this positive effect parental surrogates or replacements were considered to have, an examination of staff's and boys' regards concerning parental replacements served to point out and further confirm a number of differences between the three regimes studied here, as well as providing an important description of the function parental replacements had in treatment.

Staff discussions with regard to parental replacement, often stirred an intense degree of emotion, ranging from resentment of being considered as a replacement of boys' own parents, to a deep concern and respect of how important and essential this aspect was in treatment. Although the Junior School staff were observed as most overtly resentful about being regarded as parent replacements, when staff were queried as to whether they considered themselves as parent replacements, it was the Senior School staff which had the lowest regard for this while the Intermediate School staff had the highest (but the Junior School staff were fairly close to the Intermediate School staff in their regard for this).²

Since older boys could be logically assumed to be in less need of parenting or parent replacement, while younger boys would be much more so,

1. M. Rutter, op.cit., pp. 26-7, 68-71; for further readings on parental replacement in residential treatment, see Milford E. Barnes, "The Concept of 'Parental Force'", in Children Away from Home: A source book of Residential Treatment, eds James K. Wittaker and Albert E. Trieschman, Chicago, 1972, pp. 132-9; Beedell, op.cit., 1970, pp. 17-79, 133-6; Alfred Kadushin, Child Welfare Services, New York, 1967, pp. 521-4, 535-6, 545; Mayer, op.cit., 1960, pp. 273-85.

2. 28 (71.8%), 31 (73.8%) and 25 (61.0%) staff who responded to the staff questionnaire interview at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools, respectively, considered themselves to be parent replacements for boys.

served to explicate why the Senior School staff were lowest in considering themselves as parent replacements, while the Junior School staff were fairly high. The fact that Intermediate School staff were highest in considering themselves as parent replacements can only be partially explained in terms of boys' age. It seems however, to have been primarily due to the Intermediate School's greater emphasis on individualized treatment, as well as that this school had more disturbed boys and boys with more severe disturbance than the other two schools.

Staff perception of the extent to which boys considered them as parent replacements, indicated that Junior School staff, although they were high on considering themselves parent replacements, were lowest of the three schools in their views of boys considering them as parent replacements.¹ This can perhaps be accounted for by the greater immaturity and lack of depth of the Junior School boys and perhaps even, because of their younger age, boys considered themselves as being closer to their own parents than the older boys. Staff at the Intermediate School again were highest on boys considering them as parent replacements, which again could be explained by the increased individualized treatment emphasis there.

As was described in Table 5.6, just under half of the Intermediate School boys and over half of the boys at the other schools did not prefer to have any of the staff as replacements for their own parents. Since the lowest proportion of boys who did not want staff for their own parents was at the Intermediate School and the highest proportion at the Senior School,² it can again be stated that the degree boys considered staff as parent

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1. 27 (69.2%), 33 (78.6%) and 30 (73.2%) staff who responded to the staff questionnaire interview, at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, considered that boys felt them to be parent replacements.
 2. 45.1 and 49.3% of the Intermediate School boys did not want any members of staff for their own father or mother, respectively, while the comparative percentages for the Senior School boys were 58.3% and 61.9%, and 50.0% and 55.4% for the Junior School boys.

replacements was not entirely related to the age of the boys,¹ but that each school's particular treatment ethos had the more substantial influence on this.

The boys' ratings, therefore paralleled those of staff in that the highest proportion of staff who considered themselves as parent replacements were at the Intermediate School while the lowest proportion were at the Senior School.

When parental replacement was more closely examined as to what part staff considered it to play in treatment, there was a fairly clear agreement in all three regimes that it had primarily a relationship or expressive value, i.e., affection, encouragement, etc., as opposed to a functional one, i.e., rules, control, etc. (see Table 5.9). However, as would be expected in consideration of the above comparisons between regimes, the Senior School staff had a relatively lower regard for the relationship or expressive than the functional value of parental replacement. This position however, was unexpectedly the reverse for the staff at the Junior School. Finally, when the reasons as to why staff did not consider themselves as parent replacements were considered, there was a greater tendency for them to offer personal reasons or reasons related directly to the boys than reasons related to the school or the work itself. What is implied by these findings outlined in Table 5.9 and 5.10, is that parental replacement seems to be a quality which is central to the nature of staff-boys relationships rather than to something abstract as the school or the work itself. In view of this it is quite clear why parental replacement might serve to enhance boys' social adjustment.

1. Less boys at each of the schools chose female staff than male staff as parent replacements, yet the distribution of males and females was different for each of the schools: i.e., 56.4% and 43.6% males and females at the Junior School; 42.9% and 57.1% at the Intermediate School and 46.3% and 53.7% at the Senior School. This difference of choice seems to be attributable to the fact that female staff at all three schools tended to have less meaningful contact with boys than male staff.

TABLE 5.9

Most Important Aspects of Parental Replacement which Staff
Considered as to why Boys regarded them as Parent Replacements

Aspects	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Relationship or expressive aspects</u> i.e., affection, encouragement, concern and caring, advice and guidance, willingness to listen etc.	23	85.2	26	78.8	22	73.3
<u>Functional aspects</u> i.e., supervision, rules, control, discipline, food, clothing, shelter, etc.	4	14.8	7	21.2	8	26.7
Number of respondents	27	100	33	100	30	100

Note: Since not all staff responding to the staff questionnaire interview felt boys considered them as replacements for their parents, the number of respondents for this table is lower than for the staff questionnaire interview itself. Twelve (30.8%) of Junior School staff, nine (21.4%) of the Intermediate school staff and eleven (26.8%) of the Senior School staff felt boys "never" considered them as parent replacements.

TABLE 5.10

Reasons why Staff did not Consider Themselves Parent
Replacement for Boys

Reasons	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Reasons related to staff and boys</u> i.e., "Being a parent replacement is not part of my self image/job", "Don't want to encourage over- dependency", "parents can't be replaced", "boys don't consider staff as parent replacements".	17	70.8	6	50.0	13	68.4
<u>Reasons related to the school and the work</u> i.e., "The school isn't conducive for staff to be parent replace- ments", "Don't have enough contact with boys"	7	29.2	6	50.0	6	31.6
Total number of reasons	24	100	12	100	19	100

Note: Since some of the staff who did not consider themselves as parent replacements, i.e., 11 (28.2%), 11 (26.2%) and 16 (39.0%) at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, gave more than one reason for this, the numbers of reasons exceeded these numbers of staff.

d. Indicators of Progress

"We may reasonably ask, however, what this 'progress' really consists of; and the answer must be primarily in terms of work and conduct. This is inevitable, since these two factors are the easiest measures of what is going on in a boy. But it is an answer which, while it may possibly account for much of the significance of the relationship with subsequent behaviour, is not the whole answer and therefore has its own dangers."¹

In an effort to determine what staff took into consideration when they assessed a boy's progress and the importance they assigned to the various aspects which went into this assessment, staff were requested to rate a pre-selected set of statements reflecting a boy's progress, as to how important they personally felt these to be and how important they perceived their colleagues felt these to be. But as in Chapter 4, staff's own ratings, compared to their ratings of their colleagues again seemed to be guided by the thought that staff themselves were more concerned with treatment than their colleagues. The indicators staff considered their colleagues to give lower priority to in assessing a boy's progress, were indicators more directed towards boys' adjustment, satisfaction, and personal involvement in the school, whereas the indicators they considered their colleagues to give a higher priority to were ones which might be considered, if boys exhibited these more than the others, to make staff's work easier and relatively effortless (see Table 5.11).

Staff at all three schools considered that their colleagues regarded boys' co-operativeness and politeness to staff as of most importance in assessing boys' progress in the schools, whereas staff themselves considered this to be of comparatively lesser importance. This did not speak highly of one's colleagues' concern for treatment and it served to imply that they were more interested in boys' compliance and politeness than any personal or more subtle indications that boys were being helped. Additional support for this was the lower regard staff considered their colleagues to have than themselves, for indicators, adjusting quickly after home leave, involved

1. A. G. Rose, Five Hundred Borstal Boys, Oxford, 1954, p. 147.

TABLE 5.11

Indications of Progress, Ranked by Degree of Importance Staff Personally felt these had, and by their Perceptions of their Colleagues' Feelings of Importance for These

	JUNIOR		INTERMEDIATE		SENIOR	
	Respondents' own position	Respondents' perception of colleagues' positions	Respondents' own position	Respondents' perception of colleagues' positions	Respondents' own position	Respondents' perception of colleagues' positions
Indicators of Progress						
Gets along well with most boys	1st	2nd	1st	2nd	5th	9th
Co-operates and polite with staff	4th	1st	6th	1st	3rd	1st
Seems genuinely interested in class, department, house	6th	7th	2nd	3rd	1st	3rd
Good influence on other boys	3rd	3rd	3rd	5th	2nd	7th
Adjusts quickly after home leave, i.e., settles down	2nd	5th	4th	8th	6th	6th
Behaves well in class, department, house	8th	4th	8th	4th	4th	2nd
Involved in various optional activities, i.e., sports, additional chores, etc.	5th	9th	5th	7th	8th	8th
Seldom needs to be reminded to do something	7th	8th	7th	6th	10th	5th
Seldom punished or loses privileges	9th	6th	10th	9th	9th	4th
Writes home regularly	10th	10th	9th	10th	7th	10th
Number of respondents*	39	38	40	37	40	35

* The non-response rate was the same for each indicator in each of the above columns. Since the response rate to the staff questionnaire interview was 39, 42 and 41 for the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools respectively, the non-response rate for the above measures in each of the columns can be reached by making the appropriate subtraction. Reasons for non-response were the same in all cases; questionnaire respondent unable to rate indicators in a priority relation to one another.

in various optional activities, good influence on other boys, gets along well with other boys, seems genuinely interested in class, department and house, and writes home regularly.

Staff's lower regard than their colleagues for indicators, behaves well in class and seldom is punished or loses privileges, further supports this theme that staff had a more positive opinion of themselves where it concerned treatment, than they had of their colleagues. However, the overall implication here, as elsewhere, was that their colleagues' commitment and engagement in treatment was more in terms of convenience and whim than it was to benefit or help boys.

A clearer idea as to how staff felt with regard to these indicators of a boy's progress, was obtained when staff's own feelings were combined with their perceptions of their colleagues' feelings. As has been mentioned previously, when combinations¹ of staff and colleague scores were made, the degree of favouritism, i.e., social desirability, contained in staff's own ratings and the disparagement contained in staff ratings of their colleagues, served to control the effect each of these had on the data, or perhaps even served to cancel each other out.

Considering the combined staff colleague ratings in Table 5.12, there seemed to be a greater consensus across regimes as to which indicators of a boy's progress were least rather than most important in showing that he was being helped by the various treatment programmes. Writing home regularly, seldom being punished or losing privileges, seldom needing to be reminded, and being involved in optional activities, were clearly of lowest importance in all three regimes.

The Junior School (as well as the Intermediate one) placed the highest emphasis on boys getting on well with each other and a fairly high regard

1. "Combinations" here refers to the addition of mean scores obtained from staff's own ratings to those obtained from staff rating their colleagues, ordering them from the lowest total to the highest and then assigning these totals priorities one to ten (for indicators of help). The lowest total represents the highest priority and vice versa.

TABLE 5.12

Indicators of Progress, ranked as per Combined Staff-Colleague
Measures by School and Combined Schools Measure

Indicators of Progress	Priority positions of Indicators by School		
	Junior	Intermediate	Senior
Gets along well with most boys	1st	1st	5th
Co-operative and polite with staff	2nd	4th	1st
Seems genuinely interested in class, department, house	6th	2nd	3rd
Good influence on other boys	3rd	3rd	6th
Adjusts quickly after home leave, i.e., "settles down"	4th	7th	4th
Behaves well in class, department, house	7th	5th	2nd
Involved in various optional activities, i.e., sports, additional chores, etc.	5th	8th	9th
Seldom needs to be reminded to do something	8th	6th	8th
Seldom is punished or loses privileges	9th	10th	7th
Writes home regularly	10th	9th	10th
Number of respondents	38.5	38.5	37.5

* The non-response rate of the respondents to the staff questionnaire was the same for each and every indicator at each of the schools. However, the rates were different for each of the two scales, i.e., staff's own feelings as to the importance of these indicators and their perception of their colleagues' feelings, although the same within each scale. The two different response rates were combined and averaged which explains the fractioned numbers in this table. See Table 5.11 for actual response rates for the "respondents' own positions" and "respondents' perception of colleagues' positions" at each school.

for boys being a good influence on each other, in their considerations as to whether a boy was being helped by his stay. Although this served to highlight the Junior School's comparatively greater concern for the boys themselves in treatment, than the Senior School had, however, the Junior School as well as the Senior School had a greater regard than the Intermediate School for boys adjusting, i.e., settling down quickly after returning to their schools from home leave. The importance of these apparently contradictory indicators of a boy's progress can be explained in view of the Junior School's treatment style itself. Although the Junior School placed a great deal of emphasis on the treatment of the boys, at the same time it was highly organized and rigidly programmed, allowing for the minimum of disruption, including those of boys not fitting in. Furthermore, the Junior School's lower regard for boys' interest in their treatment programmes in the class and houses, seemed to further indicate that there was comparatively less concern as to whether boys were genuinely interested in their treatment than boys at the other two schools were. It seemed that the Junior School Boys' disinterest was more accepted and excused, perhaps because they were considered to be too young to be sincerely interested, leave alone being able to comprehend what was happening to them at the school. What seems to be confirmed and further highlighted by this finding is that the Junior School's treatment style or approach, although boy-centered, was highly controlled and allowed little room for individual interests.

The Intermediate School (as well as the Junior) considered whether boys got on well with each other as being of greatest importance and whether boys had a good influence on each other, of fairly high importance, in determining if they were being helped by their stay. These findings are further complemented in that the Intermediate School also had the highest regard of the three regimes, as to whether boys were genuinely interested in the treatment programmes in class, departments and houses. Not only therefore can it be considered that there was a greater emphasis on boys in the

treatment programmes at the Intermediate than at the other schools, but that there was also a greater concern as to their sincerity with regard to treatment.

The Senior School considered that a boy's co-operativeness and politeness with staff was of greatest importance in assessing if he was being helped by his stay at the school. This, in addition to its similar high regard at the Junior School, for boys' quick adjustment upon return from home leave, served to highlight the already well established picture that the Senior School was keen that boys fit in and adjust to the school with the least possible disruption of routine or aggravation of staff. However the comparably high regard at the Senior School for boys' interest in their treatment programmes in their class, departments and houses, seemed to suggest that the older boys' disinterest in their treatment was less tolerated and excused than that of the younger ones at the Junior School.

SUMMARY

This chapter served to give a closer scrutiny of that aspect of treatment which staff in all three regimes had shown highest regard for in Chapter 3. Although it had been well documented prior to this chapter, that individual treatment was differently regarded by each of these regimes, it was the purpose of this chapter to present a clearer and more specific description of the underlying reasons and dynamics for this.

A number of approaches were used to carry out this purpose, the findings of which, for the most part, supported and confirmed the already obvious differences between regimes with regard to individual treatment, as well as highlighting a number of additional similarities and differences. The important findings of this chapter therefore can be summarized according to the various sections of this chapter, as follows:

1. Degree and interaction of individual contact:

- a. The Intermediate School had most individual contact with boys

whereas the Junior School had least.

- b. Boys more frequently contacted staff for individual contact than staff contacted boys, and staff contacted boys more frequently for individual contact than they requested their colleagues to do.
This pattern seemed to reflect the nature of residential treatment context in that, not allowing for privacy, it led staff to primarily rely on boys to come forward for individual treatment.
- c. Housestaff in all three regimes played a predominant part in individual contact in that they received more requests from their colleagues to see boys individually than any other group. The ancillary staff by and large was the group which had least requests, and the supervisory/administration group with most requests to see boys individually was the one at the Intermediate School.

2. Staff-boys conversations and relationships

- a. The topics staff most frequently discussed with boys at all three schools were also the ones they discussed with the greatest number of boys. Although personal topics were more frequently discussed by staff, boys preferred to discuss school related topics rather than personal ones. These findings served to once again illustrate not only the difference in staff/boys' perceptions with regard to treatment, but to point out again staff's desire to be regarded as being more concerned with the boy than the school, and thereby being in the forefront treatmentwise.
- b. Housestaff were the staff group most preferred by boys at the Junior and Senior Schools to discuss both personal and school related topics with, whereas the supervisory/administration group was most preferred at the Intermediate School. Ancillary staff were least preferred for discussion of these by boys at all three schools.
- c. Boys at the Junior and Senior Schools considered housestaff to be

the most important group in their relationships with staff, whereas the boys at the Intermediate School considered the teachers/instructors group to be, although it was closely rivalled by the housestaff group. The supervisory/administration group which was regarded as most important was the one at the Intermediate School. The ancillary staff was considered least important by boys at all three schools, in their relationship with staff.

- d. Intermediate School boys found it easiest to talk to staff about themselves while the Junior School boys found it least so.
- e. There was a greater agreement across regimes as to the themes which each of them most emphasized in treatment, i.e., self respect, respect for other people's property and possessions, and responsibility for one's own behaviour, than the themes each of them least emphasized.

3. Parental Replacement

The quality of parental replacement or substitution seemed to be central to the nature of staff-boy relationships. Both staff and boys at the Intermediate School had the highest regard for its place in treatment while the staff and boys at the Senior School had the lowest regard for it.

4. Indicators of Progress

- a. Comparable to the evidence in Chapter 4, staff considered themselves more enlightened in assessing boys' progress in the school, than they considered their colleagues to be.
- b. There was greater agreement across regimes as to the indicators of boys' progress which each of them considered of least importance, than those which were regarded most important by each regime, which in turn further served to reflect the already well described unique treatment ethos at each of them.

In view of this summary of the main findings in this chapter, it is

evident that the Intermediate School had the highest regard and commitment to individual treatment whereas the Junior School had the lowest. Although there were a number of descriptive points to substantiate this within the chapter itself, the two most important ones in this summary are that the Intermediate School had most individual contact with boys, while the Junior School had least, and that the boys at the Intermediate School found it easiest to talk to staff about themselves whereas the boys at the Junior School found it hardest. The Senior School's regard for individual treatment, however, was somewhat more diffuse than this.

CHAPTER 6

STAFF RELATIONS AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THE DYNAMICS OF REGIME

"A residential treatment institution is a mixture of personnel, ranging from professional to unskilled, who must interrelate as a team before they can function with the precision needed for an effective program. Each has his purpose and function and each is dependent on the other."¹

The reason for considering the relations between staff was that the major emphasis of this study was on staff's views and perceptions of treatment, but more important, that staff relations were considered to directly account for or reflect the type or quality of treatment that staff practised. Although it was difficult to observe the actual effect that staff relations had on treatment, what seemed evident, however, was that staff relations and the manner treatment was practised tended to have a reciprocal effect on each other. In other words, the manner of treatment practice was in itself a source which shaped and influenced staff relations.

It has been noted and suggested that the status of staff relations had an important influence on treatment.² Furthermore, a number of writers have been specific as to the factors which were considered to have a substantial effect on staff relations, and can be listed as follows:

- a. flux and instability of an institution's goals;³
- b. conflicting role expectations;⁴

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1. H. Lindall Rich, "A Philosophy of Education in Residential Treatment Institution for Delinquents", Journal of Correctional Education, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1967, pp. 6-8.
 2. See R. Balbernie, op.cit., pp. 187-9; D. Edwards, "Specific Objectives for the Institutional Treatment of Juveniles", Federal Probation, Vol. 35, No. 3, 1971, pp. 26-9; Millham, Bullock and Cherrett, op.cit., p. 201; J. F. Phelan and R. O. Pancost, "An Examination of Factors of Stress Inherent in the Integration of Staff Within a Residential Treatment Center", Child Welfare, Vol. 43, November, 1964, pp. 465-71; N. Tutt, op.cit., p. 166; M. F. White and C. W. Dean, "Problems in Operationalizing Theoretical Ideas in Correction", Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1969, pp. 87-98.
 3. M. Zald, op.cit., 1960, pp. 57-67.
 4. L. E. Ohlin, "The Reduction of Role Conflict in Institutional Staff", Children, Vol. 5, No. 2, 1958, pp. 65-9.

- c. differential status, i.e., professional and non-professional, and value orientations of staff to their work;¹
- d. differences in staff power and influence;²
- e. "density of interaction" (with staff) and isolation from staff;³
- f. personal problems, unrealistic expectations and competition for affection and loyalty of the children;⁴
- g. barriers in staff communication.⁵

With regard to these factors, it was decided to examine the staff relations in each of the three regimes in this study, according to the patterns of staff communication and staff influence in treatment.

In view of this, staff relations in this chapter are approached and examined in three different levels. The first is a general examination of staff relations which are both directly and indirectly related to boys; the second examines staff relations along lines more specifically related to treatment and the third considers an overall measure of the quality of relations, that being the satisfaction staff experienced and obtained from their work. The first level concerns itself with describing which staff were most and least influential in treatment and which staff were most and least esteemed by their colleagues, according to a number of criteria related to the discussion of treatment and boys, and staff's ability to work with

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1. G. H. Weber, "Conflicts Between Professional and Non-Professional Personnel in Institutional Delinquency Treatment", Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology and Police Science, Vol. 48, No. 1, 1957, pp. 26-43; and R. Vinter, and M. Janowitz, "Effective Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents: a research statement", Social Service Review (Chicago), Vol. 33, No. 2, 1959, pp. 118-30.
 2. M. Zald, "Organizational Control Structures in Five Correctional Institutions", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 68, No. 3, 1962, pp. 335-45.
 3. Polsky, op.cit., 1962, p. 123.
 4. I Piliavin, "Conflict Between Cottage Parents and Caseworkers", Social Service Review (Chicago), Vol. 37, No. 1, 1963, pp. 17-25.
 5. B. Montalvo and S. Pavlin, "Faulty Staff Communications in a Residential Treatment Center", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 36, July 1966, pp. 706-11; and Morrison, op.cit., p. 93.

each other. The second level, more specifically concerned treatment and describes staff consultation and agreement related to rewarding and punishing boys, control over boys, influence in treatment decisions, and staff regard for their own and their colleagues' views on treatment. Finally, the last level deals with the satisfaction staff received from their work as indicated by their feelings about their school as a place to work, where they preferred to work if they changed jobs, their enthusiasm and enjoyment for their work and lastly the complaints with regard to their work.

a. Staff relations generally related to treatment

"In the peer groups, moreover, the free flow of communication that contributes to problem solving also creates an informal differentiation of status as some members earn the respect and deference of others and this differentiation, once established, creates obstacles to communication."¹

As a means of describing staff relations in each of the regimes studied, it was regarded that an indication of staff's pattern of communication concerning boys' and staff's perceptions of their ability to work together, served to offer a general impression of the status of staff relations.² In Table 6.1 a number of measures with regard to these two areas were grouped according to staff relations which were directly and indirectly related to boys and examined as to how the various staff groups compared on these.

The important findings concerning staff relations directly related to boys were that the housestaff groups were considered by staff to be the group they discussed boys most with as well as the group they perceived as most likely to discuss the treatment of boys amongst itself, i.e., with its own members. The housestaff groups, with the exception of the one at the

1. P. M. Blau and W. R. Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach, London, 1963, p. 244.

2. Also see H. Jones, op.cit., 1960, pp. 184-6; Zald, op.cit., 1962, pp. 22-49; Montalvo and Pavlin, op.cit., pp. 706-11; and Morrison, op.cit., p. 93.

TABLE 6.1

Staff Relations Directly and Indirectly Related to Boys as Measured
by Overall Staff Percentages¹ by Staff Groups and Schools

SCHOOLS	STAFF GROUPS	STAFF RELATIONS DIRECTLY RELATED TO BOYS					STAFF RELATIONS INDIRECTLY RELATED TO BOYS		
		Groups boys were discus- sed most to least with.	Groups per- ceived most likely to informed about boys	Groups per- ceived most likely to discuss treatment amongst themselves	Groups per- ceived most likely to keep staff informed about boys	Groups per- ceived most likely to informed about the school generally	Groups per- ceived to work best to least well with their own members	Groups per- ceived most to least co-operative with staff	
JUNIOR	Supervisory/Admin. Teachers ²	- 5.3	+ 17.9	+ 12.8	+ 20.5	+ 66.7	+ 4.9	+ 9.8	
	Housestaff	- 3.0	+ 20.5	+ 20.0	+ 25.6	+ 12.8	+ 41.0	+ 7.3	
	Ancillary	+ 32.4	+ 33.4	+ 46.2	+ 15.5	-	.9	+ 19.9	
	No. of Respondents ³	- 24.1	- 71.8	- 79.5	- 61.5	- 79.5	- 44.9	- 37.1	
		38.5	39	39	39	39	38.5	38.5	
INTER- MEDIATE	Supervisory/Admin. Teachers/Instructors	- 7.8	+ 37.4	+ 25.6	+ 17.9	+ 69.9	- .1	+ .4	
	Housestaff	+ 4.4	+ 20.0	+ 17.9	+ 12.8	+ 9.9	+ 47.3	+ 31.3	
	Ancillary	+ 33.8	+ 24.7	+ 35.9	+ 28.2	+ 15.0	- 56.8	- 29.5	
	No. of Respondents ³	- 30.4	- 82.1	- 79.5	- 59.0	- 94.9	+ 9.6	- 2.2	
		40.5	39.5	39	39	39.5	39.5	39.5	
SENIOR	Supervisory/Admin. Teachers/Instructors	- 22.6	+ 31.7	-	+ 14.3	+ 73.1	+ 22.0	+ 24.6	
	Housestaff	+ 14.5	+ 17.1	+ 34.1	+ 19.3	- 7.6	+ 28.4	+ 14.0	
	Ancillary	+ 65.7	+ 39.0	+ 46.4	+ 31.3	+ 2.0	- 36.9	- 24.7	
	No. of Respondents ³	- 57.7	- 87.8	- 80.5	- 65.0	- 67.6	- 13.4	- 13.8	
		40.5	41	41	40.5	40.5	40	39	

1. The two measures combined per column were the percentages of staff who rated group(s) "most" on a criteria (which was assigned a positive notation) with the percentages of staff who rated group(s) "least" on that criteria (which was assigned a minus notation). The figures in the above columns were arrived at by subtracting these sets of percentages, by staff groups.
2. There were no instructors at the Junior School and only one teacher at the Senior School.
3. Since this table combined two measures per column, both of which usually had different numbers of respondents, the "number of respondents" figures are an average of these two response rates.

Intermediate School, were also perceived to be most informed about boys. Although it seemed evident from these findings that the housestaff groups were the staff group which was regarded to be most influential in that aspect of staff relations which was concerned with staff communication about boys, it was, however, the ancillary groups which were clearly least influential in this aspect. These findings are of particular interest for those in Chapter 5, which indicated that the housestaff, by and large, played the predominant role in the individual treatment of boys, whereas the ancillary staff were least important in this aspect of treatment.

The finding that the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate School was the staff group which seemed to be most informed about boys, supported the observational evidence in that the headmaster there (who was part of the supervisory/administration group) carried on an intense individual treatment programme, whereby he had regular individual contact with most boys.¹ He was therefore more informed about boys than housestaff were, and hence this reflected itself in staff considering the supervisory/administration group as being most informed, rather than the housestaff. Again this finding parallels those of Chapter 5, in so far as the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate School was the staff group which was most preferred by boys for discussion and the supervisory/administration group which boys regarded as most important in their relationships with staff.

Upon examining those measures in Table 6.1 which pertained to staff relations indirectly related to boys, the most noteworthy findings were that the supervisory/administration groups, as was expected, were regarded as most informed about their schools generally, whereas the ancillary staff were

1. For a general account of the special function and position of the administrator with regard to individual treatment, see D. A. Bloch and E. Silber, "The Role of the Administrator in Relation to Individual Psychotherapy in a Residential Treatment Setting", American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, Vol. 57, January 1957, pp. 69-74.

least so. The teachers/instructors groups were perceived as working best together, i.e., with the members of their own group, whereas the housestaff with the exception of those at the Junior School, were perceived as working least well together. Finally the two groups which were perceived as most co-operative with staff were the supervisory/administration group at all three schools and the teachers/instructors group at two of them, and the two groups which were perceived as being least co-operative were the ancillary staff at all three schools and the housestaff at two of them. What seemed evident from this later finding was that the staff groups which were considered to work best together were generally also the groups considered to be most co-operative with staff, and those which were considered to work least well together were seen as being generally least co-operative with staff.

That the teachers/instructors group was perceived as working best together, whereas the housestaff were perceived by and large as least able to do so, can be explained primarily by the very difference of approach and emphasis each of these staff groups had towards treatment. Teachers, somewhat more so than instructors, worked according to a set programme and timetable, of which they had comparatively clearer expectations than the housestaff, as to their tasks, purposes and goals.¹ Furthermore, they had available to them, through their curriculum, timetables and projects, the means of motivating and engaging boys' interests and testing their expectations of them, for which the housestaff had no comparable equivalent. The housestaff's relations with boys occurred in a much less defined context than did relations with the teachers and instructors, in addition to the reasons for

1. For a further comparison of a number of specific as well as general differences between teachers (and this may also be considered to apply for instructors) and housestaff roles see: M. K. Connelly, "The Teaching Angle", Community Schools Gazette, Vol. 64, No. 8, 1970, pp. 464-7; A. A. Jacka, "The Concept and Status of Housemasters", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 58, No. 4, 1964, pp. 149-51; J. Gittins, "Housemastering and Housemasters", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 56, No. 12, 1963, pp. 541-6; Housemother, "What is a Housemother?", Approved Schools Gazette, Vol. 63, No. 12, 1970, pp. 547-9; J. Tollan, "The Role of the Teacher in the Approved School", Community Schools Gazette, Vol. 66, No. 3, 1972, pp. 132-8.

these relations being much less specific. And because housestaff's relations with boys were also dominated more by a general emphasis on the boys' social life at the school, these relations were more open to individual interpretation and had a less feasible testability. Hence, there was less of a need for housestaff to be as reliant and dependent on each other as were the teachers/instructors group, whose timetables, curriculum and expectations with reference to these, thoroughly enmeshed them and identified them as a comparatively more homogeneous group.

With regard to staff group differences in co-operation as per the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups as described above, a number of explanations serve to clarify why the teachers/instructors group, by and large, were perceived as being more co-operative with staff than the housestaff. First of all, housestaff tended to work different hours of the day than the teachers/instructors group, and in a different physical proximity when they did work the same hours. Housestaff were often less well academically qualified than staff in the teachers/instructors group (see Appendix G) and this might be speculated to have had further consequences in terms of commitment to treatment, professional identity, esprit de corps etc.¹ But even though it could be argued that the training received by teachers and instructors was designed to deal with different concerns, situations and problems than the training received by housestaff, i.e., teaching academic and vocational skills versus the practice of social work or something akin to this, it must be remembered that the clientele served by both these staff groups were the same and that emotional disturbances etc., were as likely to

1. Zald has considered that differences in goals between staff groups are a function of professional training and perspectives and demands of the respective roles, and Weber has noted that the level of academic achievement staff had reached influenced the degree of prestige accorded to them. See Zald, op.cit., 1963, pp. 206-30; and G. H. Weber, "Emotional and Defensive Reactions of Cottage Parents", in The Prison: Studies in Institutional Organization and Change, ed. D. R. Cressy, New York, 1961, pp. 189-228. Furthermore, for an account of the actual dynamics as well as a number of other factors which influence and shape staff group interaction in a correctional setting, see E. Studt, S. L. Messinger and T. P. Wilson, C-Unit: Search for Community in Prison, New York, 1968, pp. 138-91.

occur in the classroom and departments as in the houserooms. However, since the teachers/instructors' emphasis and approach to their work seemed to be basically different, the question which might be asked is, "How might the formal training for teachers, instructors and housestaff be integrated and made to be of optimal relevance and benefit to both these groups and the work?"¹

An interesting comparison between measures in Table 6.1 was that the teachers at the Junior School and housestaff at the Intermediate and Senior Schools were perceived as most likely to keep staff informed about boys. The housestaff group at the Junior School was perceived as being most co-operative with staff, yet at the Intermediate and Senior Schools they were perceived as being least co-operative with staff. The implication therefore was that being perceived as most likely to keep staff informed about boys did not mean or was no guarantee for being perceived most co-operative with staff. Apparently this depended on factor(s) other than keeping staff informed about boys.

Finally, the ancillary staff were the ones who were regarded as playing the least important part in staff relations, although they had a somewhat more important role in staff relations indirectly rather than directly related to boys. These findings parallel those of Chapter 5, in so far as the boys at all three schools least preferred to have discussions with the ancillary staff (see Table 5.4).

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1. For a description of the issues and the problems concerned in this see: M. Craft, "Education and Social Work", Education and Social Work, ed. F. H. Pedley, Oxford, 1967, pp. 1-27; M. Craft, "A Broader Role for Colleges of Education", in The Future of Teacher Education, ed. J. W. Tibble, London, 1971, pp. 27-33; N. Gibbs, "Reflections on the Conference at Keele and Leicester", in The Sociological Review Monograph No. 2: The Problems Arising from the Teaching of Personality Development, ed. P. Halmos, Keele, 1959, pp. 113-28; P. Halmos, "Decisions in Professional Education", Ibid., pp. 129-49; H. Himmelweit, op.cit., pp. 77-92; C. A. Reid, "Educational Therapy and Educational Practice", in The Sociological Review Monograph No. 3: Moral Issues in the Training of Teachers and Social Workers, ed. P. Halmos, Keele, 1960, pp. 129-40; G. Rose, op.cit., pp. 174-6; J.W. Tibble, "Problems in the Training of Teachers and Social Workers", in The Sociological Review Monograph No. 2, op.cit., pp. 47-57; A. Tropp, op.cit., pp. 27-32.

When a further analysis of the figures in Table 6.1 was made as to the regard the various staff groups had for each other with reference to staff relations directly related to boys, a greater clarity of staff relations between staff groups was evidenced. The findings in Appendices O through to R with regard to staff relations directly related to boys, may be viewed as an indication of how knowledgeable and helpful staff were with each other where boys were concerned, and they may be stated as follows:

1. The supervisory/administration group considered the housestaff to be most knowledgeable about boys but considered the teachers/instructors group most likely to keep staff informed about boys.

2. The teachers/instructors group considered themselves to be most knowledgeable with regard to boys as well as the group which was most likely to keep staff informed about boys.

3. The housestaff group considered themselves to be most knowledgeable about boys as well as most likely to keep staff informed about them.

4. The ancillary group was split as to which staff group they regarded as being most knowledgeable about boys. They considered housestaff to be the group which was most likely to discuss the treatment of boys amongst themselves, i.e., with the members of its own group, and to be the group which they (ancillary staff) were most likely to discuss boys with. However, the ancillary staff considered the supervisory/administration group as most informed about boys and most likely to keep staff informed about them.

5. The ancillary group was regarded by all groups, including themselves, as the group which was least knowledgeable about boys, least likely to discuss the treatment of boys amongst themselves, i.e., with members of their own group, and least likely to keep staff informed about boys.

What again seemed to be suggested by these findings was that housestaff played the most important role in treatment and the ancillary staff the least important one. However, the teachers/instructors and housestaff groups each indicated a higher regard for themselves where it concerned staff

relations directly related to boys, than they did for each other. Considering that these two staff groups were responsible for most of the treatment of boys, and that as previously described, their approach and emphasis to their work and qualifications for it differed, it was not unusual therefore that a degree of rivalry and/or pride between these two groups existed or that each of them regarded themselves as most important in the treatment of boys.

The important findings with regard to the consideration staff groups had for each other as per staff relations related indirectly to boys, are outlined in Appendices S through to U and can be stated as follows:

1. The supervisory/administration group as was expected, was considered by all staff groups, including its own, as the group most informed about the school generally, whereas the ancillary group, also as expected, was considered by all groups including its own, to be least so.
2. The teachers/instructors group was perceived by all groups, including its own, as working best together, whereas the housestaff and the ancillary groups were considered by all groups, including their own, as the two groups which worked least well together with staff.
3. The teachers/instructors and the housestaff groups both felt that each was not particularly co-operative with staff. The ancillary group was regarded by all groups, including its own, as being low in their co-operation with staff.

What seemed evident from these findings of staff relations indirectly related to boys was that they confirmed or paralleled those pertaining to staff relations directly related to boys, in so far as that the housestaff were regarded as most influential in treatment and that the ancillary staff were least so, and that there seemed to be a degree of rivalry between the teachers/instructors and the housestaff groups. That the supervisory/administration group was most informed about the school generally and that the teachers/instructors group was most co-operative with staff and the

housestaff and ancillary least so, were not unexpected findings in consideration of the observational data.

b. Staff relations specifically related to treatment

In order to approach staff relations somewhat more directly in so far as these were related to treatment, a number of specific measures which described staff relations as to the degree of consultation and the influence in treatment there was among staff, were considered. To begin with, a particularly interesting approach to considering staff relations was an examination of staff consultation before boys were rewarded or punished. As indicated in Table 6.2, the Junior School had the greatest proportion of staff who consulted before rewarding and punishing boys, whereas the Intermediate School had the lowest proportion who consulted before punishing and the Senior School had the lowest proportion before rewarding boys. Although these findings did not have a particularly strong statistical significance, the fact that the Junior School had the highest proportion of staff who consulted before rewarding and punishing boys, may be explained by the fact that this school held weekly meetings to decide on what privileges boys should receive on the basis of their behaviour during that week. There were no equivalent meetings at the other two schools.

When further consideration was given as to the degree the various staff groups were selected by staff for consultation before rewarding and punishing boys, the housestaff group was consulted most and the ancillary staff least at all three schools, while the supervisory/administration group most consulted was the one at the Intermediate School (see Table 6.3).¹

1. The housestaff at all three schools in addition to the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate one, were also most preferred by boys to discuss rewards and punishments with (see Appendix N). A possible explanation for this is found in Table 5.6, in that housestaff at all three schools in addition to the supervisory/administration group at the Intermediate one, were regarded by boys to have most influence over them. Hence, the implication was that boys preferred to discuss rewards and punishments with those staff groups they considered to have most influence over them.

TABLE 6.2

Staff Consultation Before Rewarding and Punishing Boys, by School

Consultations	Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School		All Staff	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Do consult before rewarding	31	83.8	29	69.0	25	61.0	85	70.8
Do not consult before rewarding	6	16.2	13	31.0	16	39.0	35	29.2
TOTALS	37	100	42	100	41	100	120	100
Do consult before punishing	21	77.8	22	52.4	25	61.0	68	61.8
Do not consult before punishing	6	22.2	20	47.6	16	39.0	42	38.2
TOTALS	27	100	42	100	41	100	110	100

Non-response rate: 2 and 12 respondents to the staff questionnaire interview at the Junior School did not reward and punish respectively; because the above measure, therefore, did not apply to these staff, they were excluded from them.

Reward data $\chi^2 = 4.997$; $df = 2$; $p < .08$

Punish data $\chi^2 = 4.511$; $df = 2$; $p < .11$

TABLE 6.3
Staff Groups Consulted Before Rewarding and Punishing Boys

		Junior School		Intermediate School		Senior School	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Staff Groups consulted before rewarding boys	Supervisory/administration	18	58.1	21	72.4	14	56.0
	Teachers/instructors	16	51.6	17	58.6	16	64.0
	Housestaff	28	90.3	24	82.8	22	88.0
	Ancillary	4	12.9	13	44.8	2	8.0
	Number of respondents	31	100	29	100	25	100
Staff Groups consulted before punishing boys	Supervisory/administration	15	71.4	20	90.9	17	68.0
	Teachers/instructors	13	61.9	12	54.5	17	68.0
	Housestaff	20	95.2	20	90.9	23	92.0
	Ancillary	2	9.5	7	31.8	2	8.0
	Number of respondents	21	100	22	100	25	100

Since staff consulted more than one staff group, the total number of consultations exceeded the number of respondents who consulted.

An additional comparison of the degree staff groups consulted each other, as outlined in Appendices V and W, supported these findings, in that all staff groups consulted the housestaff group as much or more than they consulted other groups before rewarding boys, and with the exception of the ancillary group, all staff groups consulted the housestaff more than any other group before punishing boys. All groups, including its own, consulted less with the ancillary staff than any other group. The supervisory/administration group was consulted more by all groups, with one exception, before rewarding and punishing boys. What seemed evident from these findings, and those described in the previous section of this chapter, as well as in the previous chapter, was that the housestaff was generally most influential in the treatment process, while the ancillary staff was least so and the supervisory/administration group which was most influential was at the Intermediate School.¹

There was a somewhat greater agreement at all three schools as to the behaviour that was to be rewarded and to the degree it was to be rewarded than there was for the behaviour that was to be punished and the degree to which it was to be punished. However there was an overall clearer distinction with regard to these measures between the Junior and Senior Schools than there was between the Intermediate School and either one of the other two. The Senior School staff were less in agreement as to what behaviour should be rewarded and punished and the degree these should be rewarded and punished, than the Junior School staff were (see Table 6.4), and furthermore the proportion of Senior School staff providing information

1. Considering these variations in staff group consultations prior to rewarding and punishing boys and the effect this seemed to have had upon staff's influence in the treatment process, Blau and Scott have discussed the importance of reciprocal and unilateral regard in staff consultation as a means of explaining staff power and prestige. Their reasoning was as follows: "By recurrently requesting a colleague's advice a person socially acknowledges that the other's standing as an expert is superior to his own. Moreover, receiving advice creates social obligations, which constrain a person to return the favour by deferring to his consultant's wishes and suggestions. Hence power as well as prestige becomes differentiated as a result of one-sided consultations." Blau and Scott, op.cit., p. 134.

TABLE 6.4

Staff Agreement with regard to behaviour to be rewarded and punished and degree of reward and punishment

Measures of agreement	Scales	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School staff		Senior School Staff	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
As to what behaviour should be rewarded	Always/often	10	25.6	17	41.5*	9	22.0*
	Sometimes	25	64.1	20	48.8*	22	53.7*
	Seldom/never	4	10.3	4	9.8*	10	24.4*
As to what behaviour should be punished	Always/often	11	28.2	14	34.1	14	34.1
	Sometimes	23	59.0	18	43.9	17	41.5
	Seldom/never	5	12.8	9	22.0	10	24.4
As to the degree of reward	Always/often	9	23.1	11	26.8*	8	19.5
	Sometimes	22	56.4	19	46.3*	15	36.6
	Seldom/never	8	20.5	11	26.8*	18	43.9
As to the degree of punishment	Always/often	6	15.4	5	12.2	6	14.6
	Sometimes	23	59.0	23	56.1	17	41.5
	Seldom/never	10	25.6	13	31.7	18	43.9
Number of respondents		39	100	41**	100	41	100

* Percentages are rounded to first place of decimal and therefore percentages approximate 100 per cent.

** Non-response rate of one respondent to the staff questionnaire interview. Reason for non-response: inability to answer questions related to the above measures.

and recommendations influencing the decisions which were made about boys were somewhat higher than at the Junior School.¹ The most apparent explanation for this difference between the two schools is that of difference in atmosphere at the two schools. The Junior School, as has been mentioned many times previously, was a comparatively much more rigidly organized and administered school in terms of programmes. However, the staff who had to work within this rigidity of timetables etc., applicable both to themselves and the boys, tended to become caught up in this routine itself, to the point of defending and rationalizing it.

This rigidity, it may be argued, had its benefits. Among these was the greater staff agreement on the behaviour to be punished and rewarded and the degree of punishment and reward this behaviour warranted, which in turn had the benefit of providing boys with a degree of consistency and stability. The comparatively less organized and structured programme at the Senior School had quite the opposite effect on staff there. Staff at the Senior School were more outspoken and critical of treatment, their school's programme etc., and although they went about their work with a sense of ease and a degree of nonchalance, the general lack of direction and commitment to their school was much in evidence.²

Two other important indicators of the nature of staff relations with regard to treatment, were the perceptions staff had with regard to the degree of control over boys they felt was necessary for the various staff groups and the influence in treatment decisions the various staff groups had. The important findings, as per Table 6.5 which were similar for all

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1. 78.0 (32) and 80.5 (33) per cent of the Senior School staff provided information and recommendations, respectively, which influenced the decisions which were made about boys, whereas 74.4 (29) per cent of the Junior School staff did so with regard to both of these.
 2. This description of the staff at the Senior School seems to account for and reflect White and Dean's finding that "a lack of staff solidarity made it impossible for the staff to relate to the residents in a consistent way." M. F. White and C. W. Dean, op.cit., pp. 87-98.

TABLE 6.5

Staff Perceptions of Control Necessary by Staff Groups over Boys
and Influence Staff Groups had in Treatment Decisions

Staff Groups	Degree of Necessary Control over Boys			Degree of Influence in Treatment Decisions		
	Junior School Priority Position	Intermediate School Priority Position	Senior School Priority Position	Junior School Priority Position	Intermediate School Priority Position	Senior School Priority Position
Supervisory/ administration	3rd	3rd	2nd	1st	1st	1st
Teachers/Instructors	1st	1st	1st	2nd	2nd	3rd
Housestaff	2nd	2nd	3rd	3rd	3rd	2nd
Ancillary	4th	4th	4th	4th	4th	4th
Number of respondents	39	41**	41	39	41**	41

** Non-response rate to these measures of staff responding to the staff questionnaire interview was 1.
Reasons for non-response were similar in both instances: inability to answer the questions related to these measures.

three schools, were that the supervisory/administration staff group was perceived as being most influential in treatment decisions, and the ancillary group was perceived least so. Also the teachers/instructors group was perceived to be in need of the greatest degree of control over boys and the ancillary group was perceived as needing least control. It was rather self evident that the supervisory/administration group was perceived as being most influential in the making of decisions regarding treatment, considering that the final responsibility of those decisions rested with them. Furthermore, in a sense it was also self evident that the teachers/instructors group was perceived as in need of most control over boys, considering their special responsibilities for boys with regard to the development of their academic and vocational skills, which often called for, among many other things, the boys' undivided attention.

However, staff's perceptions of housestaff needing a lesser degree of control over boys than the teacher/instructor group, and having less influence in treatment decisions than the administration group at all three schools in addition to the teacher/instructor group at two of them, has interesting comparative value to earlier findings of housestaff being by far the most consulted group before punishing and rewarding boys (see Tables 6.3 and Appendices V and W) as well as the most active and influential in staff relations directly related to boys (see Table 6.1). But, the finding that housestaff did not have the most influence in the making of treatment decisions, was based on a question in the staff questionnaire interview which had directly requested staff to indicate how staff groups compared with regard to the influence they had in treatment decisions. Considering this in view of the findings described in the previous section of this chapter, which indicated that housestaff were not particularly co-operative with staff or worked all that well with members of its own group, it is hardly surprising that staff rated housestaff, on this occasion, where they did.

To conclude this section, an interesting finding with regard to staff relations and treatment, was that staff at all three schools considered their colleagues to have a fairly positive regard for their (staff's) views on treatment (see Table 6.6). This paralleled earlier findings described in Chapters 4 and 5, which indicated that staff thought themselves to be more enlightened treatment wise than they considered their colleagues to be. Seeing that this was so, in a sense it was not surprising therefore, for staff to regard their colleagues to have this positive regard for their (staff's) views on treatment, even though the degree to which staff accepted their colleagues' views, appeared to be somewhat lower than this

c. Satisfaction Staff Received from their Work

Another approach or indication thought to have an effect on treatment and how it was carried out, was the degree of satisfaction staff received from their work. The measures for a comparative examination between schools, selected to determine this, were with regard to how staff felt about their school as a place to work, where they preferred to work if they changed jobs, their ability to work together, the degree of enthusiasm they had for their work and the degree they enjoyed it, and finally, the complaints they had with reference to their work.

To commence with the perceptions staff had about their school as a place to work compared with other approved schools, it seemed evident from the findings in Table 6.7 that the Intermediate School staff felt more positive about their school in this regard than did the staff at the other two schools about theirs. The Senior School staff felt more positive about their school as a place to work than did the staff at the Junior School, who felt least positive about this. However, since there existed a great variation between the three schools in the proportions of staff who did not know how their schools compared with other approved schools as a place to work, these results must be accepted with this in mind.

TABLE 6.6

Degrees of Acceptance of Views on Treatment

Measures	Scales	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School staff		Senior School Staff	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Degree staff views on treatment were accepted by colleagues	Very well/well	18	46.2	19	46.3	17	43.6
	At times	17	43.6	16	39.0	19	48.7
	Not well/not well at all	4	10.3	6	14.6	3	7.7
		39	100**	41*100**		39*	100
Degree colleagues' views on treatment were accepted by staff	Very well/well	13	33.3	24	58.5	18	43.9
	Moderately	24	61.5	15	36.6	22	53.7
	Low/very low	2	5.1	2	4.9	1	2.4
		39	100**	41*100		41	100

* Non-response rate: one respondent to the staff questionnaire interview at the Intermediate School and three at the Senior School did not answer the questions related to both and one of the above measures, respectively. Reasons for non-response were similar in all instances: since non-respondents were not involved in treatment of boys, they considered themselves to have no views with regard to treatment, and since the non-respondent at the Intermediate School had very little contact with the staff, he was unable to remark on how he regarded his colleagues' views on treatment.

** Percentages are rounded to first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

TABLE 6.7

Staff Attitudes with Regard to their School, as Compared
with other Approved Schools, as a place to work

School as a place to work	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School staff		Senior School Staff	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Much better/better than most	15	40.5	27	84.4	20	80.0
About the same as most	17	45.9	4	12.5	2	8.0
Somewhat/Much worse than most	5	13.5	1	3.1	3	12.0
Number of respondents	37	100*	32	100	25	100

Non-response rate: 2, 10 and 16 respondents to the staff questionnaire interview at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools, respectively, could not answer the questions related to this measure, because they felt unable to compare their own schools with others as a place to work.

* Percentages were rounded to the nearest first place of decimal and therefore approximate 100 per cent.

Although there was not a great deal of difference as to how the various staff groups felt about their school as a place to work, the supervisory/administration group, however, felt most positive, whereas the housestaff felt least positive in this regard (see Appendix X). The most plausible explanation for this difference seemed to be due to the fact that the supervisory/administration group were in the ultimate sense more responsible and accountable for the school and because of this, were also most likely to be in the public eye. Hence, they desired to create a positive impression both with staff and the public, whereas housestaff, being regarded as the group which was least co-operative with staff as well as the group which worked least well together (see Table 6.1), felt less positive about their school than any other group. The fact that in addition to this, housestaff felt burdened with a great deal of domestic work (see Tables 3.10 to 3.12), which they desired to spend less time on and considered of least benefit to boys (see Table 3.16) and which they in turn regarded as diminishing their status as child care workers, seemed to further intensify the lower regard they had for their school as a place to work.

Considering where staff preferred to work if they were to change their jobs, Table 6.8 indicates that the greatest proportion of staff desiring to stay at their own school was at the Intermediate School, i.e., 40.5 per cent, while the lowest was at the Junior School, i.e., 28.2 per cent. This trend was further supported in that the Junior School had the highest proportion of staff of the three schools who desired to leave the approved school service if they were to change jobs, while the Intermediate School had the lowest. These findings can be interpreted to signify that a greater proportion of staff at the Junior School was dissatisfied than there was at the other two schools, and that this dissatisfaction was carried over to the approved school service in general. But since the Junior School staff had the lowest proportion of staff desiring to move into

TABLE 6.8.

Alternatives Preferred by Staff if Changed
Jobs Presently Engaged in

Preference if changed jobs	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School Staff		Senior School Staff	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Stay in this particular school	11	28.2	17	40.5	14	34.1
Stay in the approved school service	4	10.3	6	14.3	10	24.4
Leave the approved school service but stay in a related field	22	65.4	14	33.3	14	34.1
Move into a non-related field	2	5.1	5	11.9	3	7.3
Number of respondents	39	100.0	42	100.0	41	100.0*

* Percentages were rounded to the first place of decimal and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

a non-related field and the highest desiring to stay in a related field, this would further support the just previously stated argument, that it was first and foremost the school itself and secondly the approved school service which the Junior School staff were dissatisfied with, rather than their jobs within the school.

That the Junior School staff felt least positive and the Intermediate School staff felt most positive about their school as a place to work, and that the Junior School staff seemed to least prefer staying at their school and in the approved school service, while the Intermediate School most preferred to stay at their own school, was further supported by findings in Appendices Y and Z. What seemed evident was that a relationship existed between the attitudes staff had with regard to their school and the preferences they had as to where they preferred to work if they were to change their jobs.

As a means of more clearly substantiating the differences in staff's job satisfaction at the three schools, a comparison of staff's enthusiasm for and enjoyment in their work, served to further support the previously described findings of Tables 6.7 and 6.8, in that staff at the Intermediate School seemed to enjoy their work more and had a higher degree of enthusiasm for it than the staff at the other two schools. However, although the Senior School staff seemed to enjoy their work more than the staff at the Junior School, the Junior School staff seemed to have a greater degree of enthusiasm for their work than them (see Appendices Y and Z).

A plausible explanation for these differences in staff enthusiasm, might be related to the degree of demands made upon staff with regard to treatment, in so far as when none or very few treatment demands were made of staff, that staff did not carry out or attempt to carry out treatment, and because of this were relatively less enthusiastic about the work than those who had more treatment demands placed upon them. As was evident

during the observation periods, the Senior School was least concerned with treatment and demanded least from their staff in terms of this, while the Intermediate School was most concerned with treatment and was most demanding of their staff in terms of this.

The indication that the staff at the Senior School seemed to enjoy their work more than the staff at the other two schools appeared contrary to the finding which noted that they had a lower degree of enthusiasm for their work. However, the most plausible explanation for this seemed to be as follows. Because Senior School staff had comparatively fewer treatment as well as other demands placed upon them, and having a less rigid work and programme schedule, they correspondingly had less frustrations and stress and hence enjoyed their work more, even though they were least enthusiastic about it. Because of the staff's greater demands and regard for treatment at the Junior and Intermediate Schools, they seemed to have a comparable degree of enthusiasm for their work, and because they did, this further supported the finding mentioned earlier, where it appeared that the Junior School staff were more dissatisfied with their school and the approved school service than they were with the work itself (see Table 6.7).

Finally, an examination of the degree a pre-selected set of complaints with regard to the work, was felt by staff to be applicable (i.e., how often they occurred) to their schools, served as another description of the variation in staff attitudes between the three schools (see Table 6.9).

The staff at the Junior and Intermediate Schools considered all complaints which were directly related to treatment, as occurring more frequently than the one which did not directly relate to the treatment, i.e., "staff having difficulty getting on with each other", whereas the Senior School staff regarded this complaint as being somewhat more applicable to their school. What these findings suggest is that staff at the Junior and Senior Schools had more difficulty with the actual work than

TABLE 6.9

Staff Complaints with regard to their Work: Degree
of Applicability to Each School

COMPLAINTS	DEGREE OF APPLICABILITY		
	Junior School Staff Priority Position	Intermediate School Staff Priority Position	Senior School Staff Priority Position
Do not have enough time and energy to do proper child care, i.e., treatment of boys	1st	1st	4th/5th*
The work is "emotionally draining*", i.e., too exhaustive	2nd	2nd	4th/5th*
The work not having a tangible outcome, i.e., "you never really see the results of what you are doing with boys"	3rd/4th/ 5th*	3rd	1st
Not really knowing what is the most effective way to help boys, i.e., treatment	3rd/4th/ 5th*	4th	2nd
Staff having difficulty getting on with each other	3rd/4th/ 5th*	5th	3rd
Number of respondents	39	42	41

* Complaints received the same mean scores, therefore were assigned similar priority positions.

they did getting along with their colleagues. A closer examination of these complaints at the Junior and Intermediate Schools, suggested that staff were most concerned with the practical issues of not having enough time and energy to do the proper treatment and the emotional stress involved in the work itself, than they were with how to do their work, i.e., the work not having a tangible outcome and not really knowing what was the most effective way to help boys. What was further implied, therefore, was that Junior and Intermediate School staff had less problems and frustrations in the actual treatment of boys than they did with regard to the time and emotional and physical energy necessary to do the treatment. In other words, the Junior and Intermediate School staff's complaints were more with regard to the situation and system in which they carried on treatment than with the practice of treatment itself.

Considering the occurrence of these complaints at the Senior School, the staff there rated the complaints concerned with the actual practice of treatment, i.e., not really knowing the most effective way to help boys and the work not having a tangible outcome, as occurring more frequently than those concerned with the practical issues of not having enough time and energy to do proper treatment and the emotional stress involved in the work itself. The greater frequency of complaints with regard to these practical issues at the Senior School could be explained by the relatively lower emphasis on organization and direction in their treatment programmes, which in turn reflected their general lack of serious concern for treatment. The finding that the complaints, of not having enough time and energy to do proper treatment and the work being emotionally draining, occurred least of the five complaints at the Senior School, suggests that staff there had more time and physical and emotional energy available, than the staff at the other two schools, probably because they put less effort into treatment in the first place. Furthermore, because there was less emphasis on staff

at the Senior School to be seriously engaged in treatment or to aim for specific treatment goals, they had a greater deal of freedom than staff at the other schools, in deciding what programme or project to emphasize. The degree of freedom staff were allowed in addition to the lack of concern for treatment by the supervisory/administration group at the Senior School, seemed detrimental in that it left staff directionless, unconcerned and unenthusiastic about treatment itself (see Appendix Y). Hence the predominance of the complaints; not really knowing what is the most effective way to treat boys and the work not having a tangible outcome.

The complaint about staff having difficult getting on with each other occurred least at the Intermediate School and was supported by additional findings which indicated that the Intermediate School staff considered themselves to work most positively together, whereas the staff at the other two schools considered themselves as doing comparably less so.¹

SUMMARY

This chapter sought to describe those aspects of staff relations which were considered to be related to and to reflect the unique approach each regime had with regard to treatment. The findings in this chapter served to support, confirm and elaborate upon those in previous ones, and the important findings in this chapter may be considered, therefore, to be as follows:

1. Housestaff seemed to be regarded to have the most important role in treatment, whereas the ancillary staff were regarded to be least important in treatment.
2. The housestaff and teachers/instructors groups each regarded themselves as being more influential in treatment than they considered each other

1. 85.7 (36) per cent of the Intermediate School staff felt that they worked either very well or well together, whereas 56.4 (22) and 51.2 (21) per cent felt this way at the Junior and Senior Schools, respectively.

to be.

3. The supervisory/administration group which was perceived as being most influential in the treatment of boys was the one at the Intermediate School.
4. The Intermediate School staff seemed to receive the greatest degree of satisfaction from their work, although which staff at the other two schools received more satisfaction from their work was less clear. However, various other indications seemed to favour the Junior School staff.
5. Finally, comparable to findings in chapters 4 and 5, staff appeared to consider that their colleagues had a somewhat higher regard for their (staff's) views on treatment than staff had for theirs.

Although housestaff were regarded as having the most important role in treatment and the ancillary the least, it was the supervisory/administration group who felt most positive about their school while the housestaff felt least so. What seems evident from this, was that the way staff felt about their school seemed to be independent from how they felt about treatment itself. That this was so, is further exemplified by the finding that the Senior School staff enjoyed their work more than the Junior School staff, although they (the Senior School staff) were least enthusiastic about their work.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

"Because there has usually been little systematic attempt to study or monitor the 'black box' of treatment it has been easy to conceive of treatment as a single unitary factor, and the label it is given is invoked to account for the results. It is only, as was done in the present research, that its complexity is recreated and the inappropriateness of the experimental design is fully appreciated."¹

In terms of coming to and offering a concluding statement to this study, a restatement of the important findings, an elaboration upon these as they related to each other, and the implications which may be derived from them, was regarded to provide an overview of both the purpose and the essential value of the study itself. As was stated in the introductory chapter, the purpose and scope of this study was to examine and describe residential treatment for delinquency, give an operational account of the important components within the residential context and to consider these components with regard to staff and boys' views of them. That this study was considered satisfactorily to have achieved this end, was felt by the researcher to be in evidence. Furthermore, that this study provided an indication of the treatment potential within the various components which comprised the residential context, as was noted by the Advisory Council on Child Care and Henry Maier in Chapter 1, was also substantiated.

As was witnessed throughout this study, the difference in treatment orientations and practice of each of the regimes seemed to be primarily influenced by each headmaster's own priorities and his general attitude to treatment, although staff's attitudes also seemed to have a substantial impact upon each regime's treatment orientation and practice. However, these two sources of influence did not seem to operate independently of

1. R. V. G. Clarke and D. B. Cornish, Home Office Research Studies 15: The Controlled Trial in Institutional Research - Paradigm or Pitfall for Penal Evaluators?, H.M.S.O., London, 1972, p. 21.

one another, since the headmaster's attitude toward treatment seemed to have a direct bearing upon his staff's, although the actual or exact extent of his influence was not always entirely clear. The type of boys (as per their age, maturity and disturbance) which a school received, also appeared to have a strong effect upon a regime's treatment effort, in that this seemed to determine whether boys were considered responsible or not for their delinquency.

In addition to these major sources of influence upon treatment, which appeared adequately to account for most of the measured and observed treatment differences between the regimes, it seemed that the school type, i.e., junior, intermediate and senior, was of importance where it concerned these differences, in that it regulated a school's programme emphasis and the age of boys it accepted for admission. Although these particular effects of different school types had an obvious influence upon treatment, there were indications that a regime's priorities and attitudes towards treatment seemed to be in some way related to the boys' age, in that younger boys were regarded as less responsible for their delinquency, and that emphasis on certain programmes instead of others, to some extent, defined the kind of treatment boys were considered to need. But the major influences, however, were still those of the headmasters' and staff's attitudes towards treatment. It might be hypothesized, therefore, that the different attitudes each regime had for treatment would still have existed even if all schools had been dealing with the same age group of boys.

In addition to these influences upon a regime's priorities and attitudes toward treatment, there were a number of what might be termed accidental or idiosyncratic influences, the effect of which was beyond the scope and control of this study. These ranged from a number of tangible factors such as a school's facilities, size, physical layout, location, etc., to more intangible ones such as unique events and

circumstances. Although in consideration of Clarke and Cornish's statement that "there are many variables in the treatment situation (including those connected with the staff) which it would be impossible to isolate and manipulate ..." ¹ it cannot be ruled out that there might have been additional sources of influence upon treatment. But since none of a similar substantial influence as those described above were detected, it might be assumed, for all practical purposes, that none other with comparable influence existed.

To present the actual findings obtained from the staff and boys' questionnaire interview and staff diary system, these may be arranged according to the similarities and differences between the regimes studied. To commence with the similarities between the regimes, these were as follows.

1. Concerning work allocation, all regimes, regardless of the emphasis each of them gave to individual treatment, considered that individual contact with boys was the part of their work which they regarded to be of most benefit to boys and which they desired to spend more time on. Staff interest in the individual treatment of boys seemed to be influenced by their desire to be looked upon as keeping up with the change in the approved schools, toward a greater child centered form of child care.

2. Staff and boys' perceptions with regard to treatment differed in all three regimes in that staff's perceptions had more in common with each other than with those of the boys and vice versa.

3. Housestaff in all three regimes, by and large, seemed to be most influential in the treatment of boys whereas the ancillary staff were clearly least so.

4. Staff in all three regimes felt that their own views and perceptions on treatment were somewhat more enlightened or progressive than they felt their colleagues to be.

These similarities between the regimes might be considered to represent similarities common to treatment in any approved school, thereby

1. Ibid., p. 20.

implying that the type of school, i.e., junior, intermediate and senior, did not affect the consideration a school had for individual treatment, differences between staff and boys' perceptions of treatment, which staff groups would be most and least influential in treatment and finally, staff's feelings for their colleagues' views and perceptions on treatment.

Differences in findings between regimes, on the other hand, seemed to be accounted for by factors relating primarily to the headmasters' own priorities and attitudes toward treatment, secondly by his staff's, and then only thirdly by the type of school, which determined the age, although not the type of boys which it accepted,¹ and finally by a variety of idiosyncratic or accidental factors which were beyond the scope of this study. The important differences were as follows:

1. The Intermediate School placed the greatest emphasis upon and was most concerned and committed to treatment, and particularly to individual treatment, whereas the other two schools were less so, of which the Senior one was least concerned and committed to treatment.

2. The Junior and Intermediate Schools seemed to regard their boys more as the victims of their own and other shortcomings, such as their young age, immaturity, emotional and other disturbances, broken homes, etc., whereas the Senior School, whose boys being older, more mature and noticeably less disturbed, were looked upon as being more responsible for their delinquency. What seemed evident from this finding was that if a school was concerned about treatment, it also tended to be more understanding of its boys, whereas if it was not, the tendency was for a lack of understanding to co-exist.²

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1. The type of boys the schools accepted seemed to be influenced to an extent by the headmaster's assessment of their treatability.
 2. This finding is comparable to those of Street et al and Zald and Street, in that they found that staff in institutions stressing treatment were less distant and domineering and more tolerant and understanding of inmates than those staff in institutions emphasizing custodial aims. See Street, Vinter and Perrow, op.cit., pp. 142-6; and Zald and Street, op.cit., 1964, pp. 249-56.

What was evident, therefore, was that the degree boys were regarded to be responsible for their own delinquency seemed to account for the degree of concern a school had for treatment. Judging from the comparatively different approach the Junior and Intermediate Schools had towards treatment, it could not be considered, therefore, to account for the particular approach a school took.

3. The staff at the Intermediate School received greater satisfaction from the work and the boys there enjoyed their stay more than their counterparts at the other two schools.¹ The most plausible explanation in this case, for both staff and boys, seemed to be in terms of staff's greater commitment and belief in treatment.

4. The supervisory/administration group which was most influential in treatment was the one at the Intermediate School. Since each of the headmasters were included in this staff group at their school, the finding could be explained by the personal involvement and considerable influence of the Intermediate School's headmaster in the treatment of boys.

Although these differences between the schools seem to be more clearly the result of the different attitudes and concern the headmasters and staff had for treatment rather than the type their school was, this does not deny that the type a school was, i.e., junior, intermediate and senior, had an influence. Referring back to the findings in Tables 4.7 and 4.10, the boys who were most convinced that the main purpose of their school was to help and not to punish them and who considered their staff to be most helpful, were also the youngest and were at the Junior School. The Intermediate School boys, older than those at the Junior but younger than those at the Senior School, felt less convinced than the boys at the Junior School with regard to these, whereas the Senior School boys, being oldest, were least convinced. Both these tables pointed out that the boys'

1. This finding is supported by those of B. B. Berk, and Zald and Street, in so far as inmates' attitudes and groupings were more positive in institutions stressing treatment than they were in those institutions emphasizing custodial aims. See B. B. Berk, "Organizational Goals and Inmate Organization", American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 71, No. 5, 1966, pp. 522-34; Zald and Street, 1964, op.cit., pp. 249-56.

ages, which were a direct indication of the school type, seemed to also be an important reflection of a school's regard and concern for treatment. What emerges, therefore, is that the important factors which influence treatment in a particular school are not only the headmasters' and staff's attitudes and concern for treatment but also, although to a lesser extent, the age of the boys themselves, which in itself seems to partially account for whether or not boys are regarded as responsible for their delinquency.

Although the purpose of this study was to describe rather than to evaluate the effectiveness of approved school treatment, the researcher felt, however, that a number of characteristics of the treatment as well as how it was carried out, seemed to curtail rather than facilitate the immediate benefit it had on boys and perhaps even adversely affected any long term benefit it might have had. The aim here, therefore, is to offer some evaluative statements upon the nature and operation of approved school treatment. What the apparent effects of these characteristics of treatment and the manner it was carried out, were, can first be described according to the general ones which applied to all three regimes, as follows:

1. There was in all three regimes, a general lack of or appreciation for the planning, co-ordination and to some degree the monitoring of treatment. Because of this, in addition to an unclear and often poorly articulated overall policy as to the objectives of treatment, there was little actual concern for treatment outcome. It often seemed that involvement in programmes and other work tasks became and were ends in themselves, and the essential concern of who and what treatment was for, seemed to be frequently disregarded. That all three regimes spent around half of their time on work tasks which did not involve or directly pertain to the treatment of boys and of those which did, each regime spent the greatest proportion of time on the group supervision of boys (see Table 3.8), within which each of them again spent the greatest proportion of time

on observing them (see Table I.4 in Appendix I), in a sense served to exemplify this lack of concern.

2. An important observation arising out of point 1 above concerns the degree of accountability and the expectations with regard to treatment, which were made upon the regimes. Since it often seemed that a regime was not really expected to carry on treatment beyond that of teaching academic and vocational skills, group supervising boys and maintaining control and order in the school and having the odd individual encounter with a boy, this further served to heighten the neglect for the planning, co-ordination and monitoring of treatment. This neglect, however, seems ironical in view of staff's high regard for the individual treatment of boys.

In consideration of these two points, it seems that approved school treatment as far as can be discerned by this study, has a number of specific shortcomings, which if they were to be overcome would appear to enhance its immediate as well as perhaps even its long-term benefit. Considering that the headmaster sets the tone of treatment, higher expectations of his staff's involvement in treatment, and individual treatment particularly, should be made by him, rather than rely upon the impetus for this to come from the staff themselves. Although within this lies the danger that staff either try too hard or not hard enough (half-heartedly) to relate to boys and thereby create an artificial and strained environment, nevertheless the changeover to greater individual treatment must be taken gradually as the boys presently at the schools leave. This would allow for both a smoother integration of individual treatment with the other programmes and for staff to adjust to the idea. Finally, even though there is a general shortage of people who desire to work in approved schools, if particular regard is given in the hiring of new staff, to their ability and willingness to relate and work with disturbed, deprived and delinquent boys, this should further serve to ensure

an increased concern for the individual treatment of boys.

More specifically, with regard to the characteristics of treatment in each of the three regimes and the manner in which each of them carried out treatment, it seemed that they could have enhanced the benefit of their treatment, as follows:

1. Appreciating the fact that in view of the Junior School boys' greater immaturity, inability to control themselves, etc., the Junior School needed greater scheduling and organization than the others, it seemed, however, that with a somewhat lesser emphasis on this and a somewhat greater emphasis on individual treatment of boys, that a greater range of boys' needs might have been met and that a wider variety of treatment methods would have been developed and used to do so. That there was a need for a greater emphasis on individual treatment, was evident in the findings that the Junior School boys appeared to have been the most forthcoming in their discussions during individual treatment, yet the Junior School staff gave least time to individual treatment (see Tables 3.8 and 5.1).

2. Although there is no guarantee that the Intermediate School's greater degree of commitment and concern for treatment would have been as beneficial, necessary, or even possible at the other schools, a number of its staff, as described in Chapter 2, did not fully or clearly comprehend the approach the headmaster had towards treatment, nor the expectations he had of staff with regard to this. Furthermore, a few staff even disagreed with the headmaster's approach and degree to which he was personally involved in treatment. This lack of comprehension and disagreement, being evident only in the observational data, needs to be overcome so as to clarify the headmaster's approach to and expectations of treatment, and thereby improve the general understanding and acceptance of these among his staff.

3. The most obvious remedy for the Senior School's lack of regard

for treatment and organization generally, would be for staff to develop a greater willingness, concern and direction in the treatment of boys, which would in turn require stronger leadership and commitment to treatment from the headmaster himself. Seeing that staff at the Senior School were very co-operative with each other, this would certainly help to bring about greater staff concern and commitment for treatment, yet it may in turn serve to affect the degree of staff co-operation itself. Although it would not be feasible for the Senior School boys to be as rigidly programmed and scheduled as the Junior School ones, it seemed that a somewhat more structured approach than they had, in addition to greater staff commitment and concern for treatment generally, would serve to indicate to boys that staff were concerned for their welfare and thereby would help to reciprocate their (boys) interest and commitment to treatment.

Having made these specific comments as to how each regime's endeavours in treatment might be improved, it again needs to be restated that each regime did what it did, treatment wise, for a variety of reasons, not all of which could be considered to have been tapped by this study. Their unique and differing approach and emphasis to the treatment of their boys, might be regarded, as described by Rose, to be that of "balancing the needs of the individual against those of the community, and both sets of needs against the objectives of training."¹

In addition to both the general suggestions with regard to approved school treatment and specific ones pertaining to treatment within the schools of this study, an intuitive conclusion reached by the researcher was that the best that approved schools could hope to offer treatment wise was that of greater staff concern for individual boys. Even though there are a number of writers² who warn against the dangers of greater

1. G. Rose, op.cit., p. 187.

2. See E. Goffman, op.cit., p. 76; D. Matza, op.cit., p. 115; R. A. Ryall, op.cit., 1971, Vol. 2, pp. 371-4.

individuation of treatment, it seemed that the fundamental aspect which was lacking in approved school treatment and the one most needed by boys was that which approximated the unconditional love and concern of parent for child. It might be argued, that anything short of this leads to unfulfilment and lack of any positive change in boys and that it is too much to expect of staff to give to their work. However, it would not be unrealistic, in view of the great proportion of time that was spent in tasks not concerned with treatment, to expect staff to have a greater regard and concern for the needs of the individual boys, the hopeful effect of which would be a greater and more sincere understanding and appreciation of each boy's unique circumstances. If we accept Cochrane's claims that "training school experience has little impact on the value systems and what impact there is may be interpreted as a retardation of the development of a mature and independent set of values",¹ this would place an important ultimatum upon the change toward a greater individualized treatment emphasis, as well as upon the other suggested changes in approved school treatment discussed earlier on in this chapter.

1. R. Cochrane, "The Impact of a Training School Experience on the Value Systems of Young Offenders", British Journal of Criminology, vol. 14, No. 4, 1974, pp. 336-44.

APPENDIX A

AGE OF BOYS

AGE	Junior School Boys		Intermediate School boys		Senior School Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
10 years	1	1.4	-	-	-	-
11 years	5	6.8	1	1.4	-	-
12 years	24	32.4	2	2.8	-	-
13 years	33	44.6	.8	11.3	-	-
14 years	8	10.8	23	32.4	3	3.6
15 years	3	4.1	33	46.5	34	40.5
16 years	-	-	4	5.6	37	44.0
17 years	-	-	-	-	10	11.9
TOTALS	74	100*	71	100	84	100
MEAN AGE IN YEARS	12.7		14.4		15.6	

* percentages are rounded to the nearest decimal place and therefore their total approximates 100 per cent.

APPENDIX B

Length of Boys' Stay at Their Respective Schools, at the time of Boys' Questionnaire Interview

Length of Stay in Months	Junior School Boys			Intermediate School Boys			Senior School Boys		
	No.	%	cumulative %	No.	%	cumulative %	No.	%	cumulative %
Less than 1 month to 3 months									
4	12	16.2	16.2	21	29.6	29.6	23	27.4	27.4
6	14	18.9	35.1	16	22.5	52.1	27	32.1	59.5
7	11	14.9	50.0	12	16.9	69.0	24	28.6	88.1
10	13	17.6	67.6	8	11.3	80.3	7	8.3	96.4
13	9	12.2	79.1	5	7.0	87.3	2	2.4	98.8
16	3	4.1	83.8	6	8.5	95.8	-	-	-
19	5	6.8	90.5	1	1.4	97.2	1	1.2	100.0
22	5	6.8	97.3	2	2.8	100.0	-	-	-
25 +	2	2.7	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	74	100.0*	100.0*	71	100.0	100.0	84	100.0	100.0

* Percentages are rounded to the nearest decimal place and therefore their total approximates 100 per cent.

APPENDIX C

Number of Other Approved Schools Boys had been to and Length of Stay There,
By School

No. of other Approved Schools Been to	Junior School Boys		Intermediate School Boys		Senior School Boys	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	71	95.9	57	80.3	67	79.8
1	3	4.1	13	18.3*	15	17.9
2	-	-	1	1.4*	2	2.4
TOTALS	74	100	71	100	84	100**
Total Length of Stay at Other Approved Schools						
6 months or less	1	1.4	4	5.6	8	9.5
7 to 12 months	2	2.7	1	1.4	2	2.4
13 to 18 months	-	-	3	4.2	1	1.2
19 to 24 months	-	-	2	2.8	-	-
25 to 30 months	-	-	3	4.2	3	3.6
31 to 36 months	-	-	1	1.4	1	1.2
37 to 42 months	-	-	-	-	1	1.2
43 months plus	-	-	-	-	1	1.2
TOTALS	3	4.1	14	19.6*	17	20.3

* Percentages are rounded to the nearest decimal place and therefore approximate each other when compared.

** Percentages are rounded to the nearest decimal place and therefore their total approximates 100 per cent.

APPENDIX D

Distribution of Intermediate School Boys by Department

Department	No. of Boys
Building	3
Engineering	12
Farming	27
Joinery	24
Maintenance	4
Painting	6
Not in any Department	1
Total number of boys	77

Of the 71 boys interviewed, six were in two different departments, thereby increasing the "total number of boys" by 6 to 77.

APPENDIX E

Distribution of Senior School Boys by Department

Department	Boys	
	No.	%
Bricklaying	9	10.7
Building	1	1.2
Farming	21	25.0
Joinery	12	14.3
Maintenance	6	7.1
Painting	12	14.3
Plastering	11	13.1
Plumbing	12	14.3
Total number of boys	84	100.0

APPENDIX F

Senior School Boys: Relationship of Number of Points
Maintained to Number of Leaves Allowed

Total number of points per four week period	Number of local leaves* allowed per month	Number of Privilege leaves allowed per year**
200	4	5
180	2	5
170	1	4
160	-	3
140	-	2
120	-	1
100	-	-

* Local leaves referred to weekend home leaves for boys who lived locally or day leaves from 12.45 p.m. to 9 p.m. in the area during the weekend, for boys whose homes were not in the vicinity or who did not have families to go to.

** Privilege leaves were for periods of approximately one week in duration once in every eight weeks, if boys maintained at least 180 points for each of the two four week periods prior to the leave.

APPENDIX G

Number of Educational Qualifications Held by Staff per Staff Group

Staff Group	School Based		Further Education		Professional but Indirectly Related		Directly Related		Directly Related ongoing study		Total number of staff per staff group
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Supervisory/ Administration Teachers/ Instructors	13	72.2	2	11.1	3	16.7	8	44.4	1	5.6	18
	14	56.0	12	48.0	6	24.0	21	84.0	2	8.0	25
Housestaff	17	48.6	1	2.9	6	17.1	20	57.1	2	5.7	35
	5	11.4	3	6.8	1	2.3	1	2.3	1	2.3	44
	49		18		16		50		6		122

See Table 3.4 for the actual qualifications comprising each of the above categories.

Note: Since staff in each group had qualifications in more than one of the above categories, the number and percentage of staff exceed the number of respondents, i.e., 122.

APPENDIX H

Number of Staff Participants per Work Task per Week

SCHOOLS	WORK TASKS										Number of Staff Respondents
	Administration and staff Supervision	Individual Contact with boys	Group Supervision of boys	Community Activities	Classroom Activity	Departmental Activity+	Domestic Duties				
	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %				
Junior	30 76.9	34 87.2	32 82.1	21 53.8	8* 20.5	- -	21 53.8	39			
Intermediate	37 88.1	35 83.3	24 57.1	16 38.1	6@ 14.3	10 ^{&} 23.8	15 35.7	42			
Senior	30 73.2	32 78.0	30 73.2	21 51.2	2 ⁼ 4.9	10" 24.4	17 41.5	41			
Total Staff Engaged per task per week	97 79.5	101 82.8	86 70.5	58 47.5	16 13.1	20 16.4	53 43.3	122			

* Consists of 6 teachers, 1 deputy headmaster, 1 senior assistant

@ Consists of 5 of the 6 teachers who responded and 1 ancillary staff, i.e., the school priest.

= 1 teacher, and deputy headmaster

& Consists of 5 instructors, 1 senior assistant, 4 ancillary staff

" Consists of 8 instructors, 1 senior assistant, 1 ancillary staff

+ There were no departments at the Junior School, therefore no departmental activity

Percentages of number of staff engaged per work task have been rounded to the nearest first place of decimal, and therefore total percentages approximate 100 per cent.

APPENDIX I

Description of Priorities Among Sub-parts of the Work Tasks

It was considered that a comparative description of the priorities among the components or sub-parts of the various work tasks as per the proportion of time spent, served as an operational account of each of the tasks which further supported and highlighted a number of observed as well as measured similarities and variations between the regimes. The sub-parts of the administration and staff supervision task have already been discussed in Chapter 3 and hence are excluded here.

1. Individual Contact with Boys

The similarity between the regimes as to the proportion of time which each of them spent on the sub-parts of this work task, were greater than had been expected during the participant observation and interviewing stages of the research. The only difference between the regimes was that the Senior School gave a higher proportion of time to advising and giving guidance and disciplining and a lower proportion to praising, than the other two schools. The Junior and Intermediate Schools gave the same proportion of time to all of the sub-parts of this work task (see Table I.1, p.259). This difference between the Senior School and the other two might best be explained by the fact that boys at the Senior School were older and because they were seemed to be regarded as being less in need of praise and more in need of advice, guidance and discipline than the younger boys at the Junior and Intermediate Schools were.

2. Group Supervision of Boys

As with individual contact with boys above, there was a comparable degree of similarity between the regimes as to the proportion of time each allocated to its sub-parts (see Table I.2, p.259). All schools spent their greatest proportion of time when group supervising boys on observing

them, followed by talking to them and joining in on their activities. Least time was spent on contact with other staff, individual contact with boys and a number of other activities, although the Intermediate and Senior Schools spent more time on individual contact with boys during this task than the Junior School. The importance of this later finding was that it served to support other ones which noted that the Intermediate and Senior Schools spent more time on individual contact with boys (see Table 3.8) and to reflect the Intermediate School's greater emphasis on individual treatment of boys.

3. Community Activities

All three regimes spent the greatest proportion of time within this task on arranging for boys' outings. Although aside from this and visiting boys' child care officers, which they all spent practically least time on, there was a great variation in the proportion of time each of the regimes allocated to the remaining sub-parts of this work task, some of which can be best explained by their different treatment emphasis. (see Table I.3, p. 260).

The finding in Table I.3, which indicated that the Junior School spent a greater proportion of time on visiting boys' families, supported the observed difference between the Junior and the other two schools with regard to this, in that the Junior School was seen to actually spend more time and effort on this activity than the other two.

The low proportion of time given by the Junior School to helping boys find employment and courses of study in polytechnics etc., and the comparatively greater amount spent on both of these at the Intermediate and Senior Schools, can be explained by the fact that the boys at the Junior School were younger (see Appendix A) and had a much longer stay than the boys at the other schools (see Table 4.11). It was considered therefore that the shorter time boys stayed at their schools the sooner and/or more

likely it was that staff would begin to consider where they would go next and the older the boys were the greater the likelihood that this supposition would thus be enhanced.¹ Furthermore, since helping boys find employment had a clear aftercare connotation, it seemed, considering that the older and apparently more emotionally mature boys were at the Senior School, that these boys would more likely be in need and more able to benefit from this help than the boys at the other schools.

A final comment with regard to the arranging for boys' outings, was that although staff at all three schools spent most time preparing for outings, there was no indication that they went on these outings themselves. This of course was not so. Since most outings occurred during the evenings when boys were primarily group supervised, the outings were considered by staff as part of the group supervision work task, just previously discussed.

4. Classroom Activity

There were a number of distinct differences between the schools as to the proportion of time each of them gave to the various sub-parts of classroom activity, which in turn served to highlight each school's particular approach and emphasis with regard to classroom activity. The important variations between the schools was that both the Junior and Senior Schools spent the greatest proportion of their time during classroom activity on group supervision of boys, whereas the Intermediate School spent comparatively less time on this and spent most of its time during classroom activity on

1. Yet this did not explain why the Intermediate School, having a younger group of boys than the Senior School, spent more time on helping boys find employment, than the Senior School, whose boys were closer to the school leaving age and therefore more likely to be ready to commence employment. Furthermore, considering that the Intermediate School staff noted that their school received a greater proportion of disturbed boys and boys with more severe disturbances, it might be argued that these boys, because of their greater handicap, would have greater difficulty obtaining employment and thereby, in a sense, stand to gain less from their staff's efforts than those at the other two schools. However, since the Intermediate School did spend more time on helping boys find employment, the most satisfactory explanation for this seemed to be with reference to its greater emphasis on treatment generally.

individual contact with boys regarding their personal concerns (see Table I.4, p. 261). Hence this difference between the Intermediate School and the other two again parallels the greater emphasis that the Intermediate School placed on the individual treatment of boys.

It was expected that the greater the amount of time a school spent on the actual work tasks, individual contact with boys and group supervision of boys, the greater would be the time spent on individual contact regarding personal concerns and group supervision within classroom activity. But this supposition was only partially supported by previously discussed data (see Table 3.8). What seemed, however, to also account for these different priorities of time allocation within classroom activity, appeared to be related to the personal preferences of the teaching staff themselves, as to what they thought should be emphasized in class and how they took it upon themselves to do this.

The Junior School's high priority with regard to time spent on group supervision in the classroom can be explained by the boys' relatively frequent and at times uncontrollable outbursts of childishness and their general lack of maturity and self control. The classroom setting therefore seemed to use group supervision as a method of group and individual control. The low regard for individual contact regarding personal concerns, supports the observational finding, in that it was difficult for staff to be concerned with boys' personal problems and concerns when group supervision in the classroom or rather group control, was of primary importance. Furthermore, aside from the assumption that the boys at the three schools might have differed in their need for individual treatment, it also seemed that this atmosphere and emphasis on control during class time did not encourage or invite boys at the Junior School to discuss their personal concerns during class time.

The greater emphasis by the Intermediate School, within the classroom, on individual contact regarding boys' personal concerns and on social

education, seemed to stem not only from the headmaster's belief and emphasis of these in his own treatment practices, but also from the conviction by a number of teachers that these were valuable methods and approaches both in and outside of the classroom, to the treatment of boys. The boys' needs, according to the headmaster, were not primarily academic but rather social and emotional. Therefore, to enable staff to reach boys in a classroom setting these needs often had to be dealt with first, preferably on an individual basis, before any meaningful academic work could be done.

The Senior School's greater allocation of time within the classroom to the group supervision of boys than any one of the other parts of this work task, seemed to be directly related to a number of circumstances and conditions which were unique to the Senior School. First of all, there was only one teacher at the Senior School who, being female and teaching boys older than those at the other schools, needed a fair degree of control and supervision over them.¹ Furthermore, since all but two of the eighty-four boys at the school were in class at one time or other and the amount of time they spent therein varied immensely,² in addition to many of them being at different levels of academic development, not only made it necessary for this teacher to give a high priority to group supervision but also to the actual teaching of academic subjects. Because of these conditions there was a greater emphasis on individual contact regarding academic concerns than there was on social education or on individual contact with reference to personal and school concerns. Finally, in addition to these conditions and circumstances and perhaps even as a result

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1. This teacher, however, was at times given assistance in her duties by the deputy headmaster and one of the housemasters.
 2. The amount of time the Senior School boys spent in class per week varied from 1 hour to $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours, with the average being 3 hours and 41 minutes (see Table 3.10).

of them, the Senior School did not have much regard for classroom activity as a means of treatment.¹ However, since a smaller proportion of time was allocated to classroom activity at the Senior School than at the other two,² this necessitated that the classroom time at the Senior School was used sparingly and efficiently with the main purpose of teaching academic skills in mind.

5. Departmental activity³

In noting the comparisons in Table I.5 on page 262 , with regard to the proportions of time the Intermediate and Senior Schools spent on the various sub-parts of this work task, of greatest interest is the similar high priority that both of them gave to group supervision and the teaching of the practical side of a project. The importance of these in departmental activity can best be explained by the observational data in that the departments, being places where boys often operated dangerous and expensive tools and equipment and simultaneously performed a variety of different tasks, made constant group supervision both imperative and inevitable. The greater priority on teaching the practical side of a task or project was also very much in evidence at both schools during the participant observation stages.

Finally, the greater emphasis on individual contact with reference to

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1. The attitude towards academic education was that it was considered useful in the remedial sense for those boys who were semi-literate or intellectually backward, but it was not taken seriously by the staff and the teacher herself, as having a useful purpose beyond this stage. Furthermore, the headmaster saw the school's treatment objectives more in terms of providing boys with a place away from the community where they had offended, where they could work through their problems and "grow up", rather than a place for them to acquire academic or trade skills.
 2. An average of 0.6 hours per staff member per week, as compared with 3.4 and 3.1 hours at the Junior and Intermediate Schools, respectively (see Table 3.8).
 3. Because there were no departments at the Junior School there was no departmental activity for boys to engage in.

a project by the Intermediate School, however, might be considered to have been a reflection of that regime's greater emphasis on treatment generally.

6. Domestic Duties

Since this work task was used for a variety of tasks completed primarily by the ancillary staff and since the completion of these tasks involved virtually no contact with boys, an examination of its sub-parts was considered unnecessary.

TABLE I.1

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task
"Individual Contact with Boys" as per Time Spent in Descending Order

SUB-PARTS	PRIORITIES		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Advising and giving guidance	4	4	3
Listening	1	1	1
Encouraging	2	2	2
Praising	3	3	5
Disciplining	5	5	4
Other	6	6	6
Number of participants	34	35	32

TABLE I.2

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task
"Group Supervision of Boys" as per Time Spent in Descending Order

SUB-PARTS	PRIORITIES		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Observing Boys	1	1	1
Talking to Boys	2	2	2
Joining in on their activities	3	3	3
Contact with other staff	4	5	5
Individual contact with boys	5	4	4
Other	6	6	6
Number of participants	32	24	30

Note to Tables I.1 and I.2: Sub-parts were rated by the staff questionnaire interview respondents on a five point scale and the mean scores for all the sub-parts were arranged in descending order, with the sub-part most time was spent on receiving the highest priority, i.e., 1, and the one the least time was spent on, the lowest priority, i.e., 6.

TABLE I.3

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task "Community Activities" as per Time Spent in Descending Order

SUB-PARTS	PRIORITIES		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Visiting boys' families	3	4	6
Visiting boys' child care officer	7	7	7
Helping boys find employment	6	2	5
Helping boys find courses of study in polytechnics, etc.	8	5	4
Arranging for boys' outings	1	1	1
School displays and shows	2	8	3
Community charity work	4	3	2
Other	5	6	8
Number of participants	21	16	21

Note: Sub-parts were rated by the staff questionnaire interview respondents on a five point scale and the mean scores for all sub-parts were arranged in descending order, with the sub-parts most time was spent on receiving the highest priority, i.e., 1, and the one the least time was spent on the lowest priority, i.e., 8.

TABLE I.4

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task "Classroom Activity" as per Time Spent in Descending Order

SUB-PARTS	PRIORITIES		
	Junior School	Intermediate School	Senior School
Teaching academic subjects	3	3	2
Teaching positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces (social education)	2	2	6
Individual contact with preference to academic concerns	4	6	3
Individual contact with reference to personal concerns	5	1	4
Individual contact with reference to school concerns	6	4	5
Group supervision in the classroom	1	5	1
Other	7	7	7
Number of Participants	8	5	2

Note: Sub-parts were rated by the staff questionnaire interview respondents on a five point scale and the mean scores for all the sub-parts were arranged in descending order, with the sub-part most time was spent on receiving the highest priority, i.e., 1 and the one the least time was spent on, the lowest priority, i.e., 7.

TABLE I.5

Arrangement by School of Sub-parts of Work Task "Departmental Activity" as per Time Spent in Descending Order

SUB-PARTS	PRIORITIES	
	Intermediate School	Senior School
Teaching the theory behind a project (formal instruction)	6	3
Teaching the practical side of a project	2	2
Individual contact with reference to the project	3	5
Individual contact with reference to boys' personal concerns	4	4
Individual contact with reference to school concerns	5	6
Group supervision in the department	1	1
Other	7	7
Number of participants	10	10

Note: Sub-parts were rated by the staff questionnaire interview respondents on a five point scale and the mean scores for all the sub-parts were arranged in descending order, with the sub-part most time was spent on receiving the highest priority, i.e., 1, and the one the least time was spent on, the lowest priority, i.e., 7.

Since there were no departments in the Junior School, the departmental activity task did not apply to this school.

APPENDIX J

Work Tasks Junior School Staff Groups Preferred to Spend More and Less Time on and Work Tasks they Considered to be of Most and Least Importance to Boys, as Measured by the Percentage of Staff per Group.

WORK TASKS	WORK TASKS PREFERRED TO SPEND MORE-LESS TIME ON				WORK TASKS CONSIDERED MOST-LEAST BENEFIT TO BOYS			
	Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %	Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %
Administration and staff supervision	- 83.3	- 16.7	- 23.1	- 9.1	0	- 66.7	- 46.2	- 18.2
Individual con- tact with boys	+ 66.7	+ 33.3	+ 46.2	+ 9.1	+ 66.7	+ 16.7	+ 76.9	+ 54.5
Group supervision of boys	+ 33.3	- 33.3	+ 30.8	+ 18.2	- 50.0	- 33.3	+ 23.1	0
Community activity	+ 33.3	+ 33.3	+ 7.7	+ 9.1	- 16.7	+ 16.7	- 15.4	+ 9.1
Classroom activity	- 16.7	- 16.7	*	*	*	+ 66.7	*	*
Domestic duties	*	*	- 61.5	- 27.3	*	*	- 38.5	- 45.5

Note: * Indicates that a work task was not chosen by the staff group in question for any of the measures used in this table.

0 Indicates that the same percentage of staff in a group considered the work task of most benefit to boys as those who considered it of least benefit. Since there were no departments at the Junior School there was no departmental activity work task. See Table 3.15 for a description of the origin of the figures in this table and the non-response rate.

APPENDIX K

Work Tasks Intermediate School Staff Groups Preferred to Spend More and Less Time on and Work Tasks They Considered to be of Most and Least Importance to Boys, as Measured by the Percentage of Staff per Group

WORK TASKS	WORK TASKS PREFERRED TO SPEND MORE LESS TIME ON					WORK TASKS CONSIDERED MOST-LEAST BENEFIT TO BOYS				
	Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %		Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %	
Administration and staff supervision	0	- 40.0	- 27.3	- 46.2		- 20.0	- 60.0	- 50.0	- 69.2	
Individual contact with boys	+ 50.0	+ 40.0	+ 72.7	+ 19.8		+ 20.0	+ 20.0	+ 72.7	+ 42.3	
Group supervision of boys	- 50.0	- 30.0	- 9.1	+ 7.1		- 40.0	0	- 0.9	*	
Community activity	*	*	+ 9.1	*		*	- 10.0	- 10.9	*	
Classroom activity	*	+ 10.0	*	*		*	+ 30.0	*	*	
Departmental activity	+ 25.0	+ 20.0	*	+ 13.7		+ 20.0	+ 20.0	*	+ 21.4	
Domestic duties	- 25.0	*	- 45.5	+ 5.5		+ 20.0	*	- 10.9	+ 5.5	

Note: * Indicates that a work task was not chosen by the staff group in question for any of the measures used in this table.
 0 Indicates that the same percentage of staff in a group preferred to spend more time on a work task as those who preferred to spend less time on it or considered it of most benefit to boys as those who considered it of least benefit. See Table 3.15 for a description of the origin of the figures in this table and the non-response rate.

APPENDIX L

Work Tasks Senior School Staff Groups Preferred to Spend More and Less Time on and Work Tasks they Considered to be of Most and Least Importance to Boys, as Measured by the Percentage of Staff per Group

WORK TASKS	WORK TASKS PREFERRED TO SPEND MORE-LESS TIME ON				WORK TASKS CONSIDERED MOST-LEAST BENEFIT TO BOYS			
	Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers/ Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %	Supervisory Administration Group %	Teachers/ Instructors Group %	Housestaff Group %	Ancillary Group %
Administration and staff supervision	- 100.0	- 11.1	- 27.3	- 8.3	- 50.0	- 55.6	- 45.5	+ 8.3
Individual contact with boys	+ 50.0	+ 22.2	+ 54.5	+ 50.0	+ 25.0	+ 22.2	+ 63.6	+ 8.4
Group supervision of boys	+ 50.0	- 22.2	0	- 16.7	+ 25.0	- 44.4	+ 18.2	- 16.7
Community activity	*	+ 11.1	+ 18.2	- 16.7	+ 25.0	+ 22.2	0	- 16.7
Classroom activity	*	+ 11.1	*	*	*	+ 11.1	*	*
Departmental activity	*	- 11.1	*	+ 8.3	- 25.0	+ 44.4	*	+ 8.3
Domestic duties	*	*	- 45.5	- 16.6	*	*	- 36.4	+ 8.3

Note: * Indicates that a work task was not chosen by the staff group in question for any of the measures used in this table.

0 Indicates that the same percentage of staff in a group preferred to spend more time on a work task as those who preferred to spend less time on it, or considered it of most benefit to boys as those who considered it of least benefit. See Table 3.15 for a description of the origin of the figures in this table and the non-response rate.

APPENDIX M

Work Tasks Staff were not doing but which they would like to do

SCHOOLS STAFF GROUPS	WORK TASKS										Total No. of Staff*
	Administration and staff supervision No.	Individual contact with boys No.	Group supervision of boys No.	Community activities No.	Classroom activity No.	Departmental activity No.	Domestic duties No.	Other tasks No.		%	
JUNIOR Supervisory/ Admin. Teachers Housestaff Ancillary No. of staff per task	1 3 1 5		1 1 2	2 2 9 13				1	14.2		4 3 13 1 21
INTER- Supervisory/ MEDIATE Admin. Teachers/ Instructors Housestaff Ancillary No. of staff per task	4 2 1 7	1 1 2	3 3	6 8 14		1 10.0		2	18.2		1 12 12 4 29
SENIOR Supervisory/ Admin. Teachers/ Instructors Housestaff Ancillary No. of staff per task	1 1 2		1 1	2 8 3 13	1 11.1 1 9.1 2			1	9.1		- 3 11 5 19

* See Table 3.17 for method of calculation of these figures.

APPENDIX N

Percentages* of Boys Preferring Discussions with Staff as per Topics and Staff Groups

SCHOOL	STAFF GROUPS	PERSONAL TOPICS										SCHOOL RELATED TOPICS									
		Home & Family	Friends Back Home	Personal Problems	Delinquency	Future	Review	Permission to do things	Classroom	Work and Behaviour in Department	House	Misbehaviour & Punishment at school	Rewards at School	Weekend & other leave							
		No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %							
JUNIOR	Supervisory/ Administration Teachers**	28 37.8	6 8.1	27 36.5	41 55.4	18 24.3	21 28.4	37 50.0	9 12.2	-	8 10.8	23 31.1	21 28.4	31 41.9							
	Housestaff	36 51.4	31 41.9	36 48.6	18 24.3	31 41.9	30 40.5	33 44.6	56 75.7	-	40 54.1	22 29.7	34 45.9	33 44.6							
	Ancillary	65 87.8	35 47.3	65 87.8	50 67.6	45 60.8	67 90.5	56 75.7	25 33.8	-	66 89.2	53 71.6	59 79.7	66 88.2							
	No one	3 4.1	2 2.7	1 1.4	-	1 1.4	1 1.4	2 2.7	-	-	5 6.8	2 2.7	-	3 4.1							
		3 4.1	26 35.1	1 1.4	11 14.9	10 13.5	2 2.7	1 1.4	6 8.1	-	1 1.4	4 5.4	3 4.1	2 2.7							
INTER-MEDIATE	Supervisory/ Administration Teachers/ Instructors	52 73.2	18 25.4	43 60.6	32 45.1	34 47.9	47 66.2	58 81.7	18 25.4	23 32.4	12 16.9	44 62.0	39 54.9	50 70.4							
	Housestaff	44 62.0	27 38.0	35 49.3	31 43.7	34 47.9	21 29.6	18 25.4	53 74.6	42 59.2	9 12.7	23 39.4	27 38.0	11 15.5							
	Ancillary	33 46.5	17 23.9	17 23.9	19 26.8	24 33.8	40 56.3	36 50.7	9 12.7	7 9.9	57 80.3	10 14.1	27 38.0	54 76.1							
	No one	2 2.8	3 4.2	2 2.8	2 2.8	3 4.2	2 2.8	1 1.4	1 1.4	9 12.7	1 1.4	2 2.8	3 4.2	2 2.8							
		3 4.2	34 47.9	6 8.5	15 21.1	13 18.3	8 11.3	-	12 16.9	10 14.1	9 12.7	11 15.5	8 11.3	3 4.2							
SENIOR	Supervisory/ Administration Teachers/ Instructors	32 38.1	16 7.1	28 33.3	24 28.6	31 36.9	29 34.5	44 52.4	11 13.1	12 14.3	5 6.0	44 52.4	22 26.2	21 25.0							
	Housestaff	11 13.1	11 13.1	5 6.0	6 7.1	22 26.2	21 25.0	9 10.7	54 64.3	62 73.8	-	10 11.9	4 4.8	1 1.2							
	Ancillary	78 92.9	31 36.9	69 82.1	57 67.9	60 71.4	77 91.7	77 91.7	18 21.4	33 39.3	75 89.3	56 66.7	73 86.9	83 98.8							
	No one	3 3.6	5 6.0	1 1.2	1 1.2	3 3.6	-	-	-	6 7.1	1 1.2	1 1.2	2 2.4	-							
		6 7.1	48 57.1	12 14.3	20 23.8	9 10.7	3 3.6	2 2.4	24 28.6	4 4.8	9 10.7	12 14.3	8 9.5	1 1.2							

* These percentages are based on the preferences made by 74, 71 and 84 boys at the Junior, Intermediate and Senior Schools, respectively.

** There were no instructors at the Junior School and there was only one teacher at the Senior School

+ Since there were no departments in the Junior School there was no "Departmental Activity" and therefore this was not a topic of discussion.

APPENDIX O

Staff Relations Directly Related to Boys: Percentage of Staff Groups with whom Boys were Most-Least Discussed

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS WITH WHOM BOYS WERE MOST-LEAST DISCUSSED			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 5.9	+ 5.8	+ 47.1	- 58.8
Teachers/ Instructors	- 4.0	+ 48.0	+ 32.0	- 76.0
Housestaff	- 8.6	+ 2.8	+ 71.5	- 65.7
Ancillary	- 27.2	- 17.9	+ 27.9	+ 17.2

APPENDIX P

Staff Relations Directly Related to Boys: Percentage of Staff Groups who were Perceived Most-Least Informed about Boys

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED AS MOST-LEAST INFORMED			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 11.7	+ 23.5	+ 58.8	- 94.1
Teachers/ Instructors	+ 27.8	+ 32.0	+ 23.5	- 83.3
Housestaff	+ 34.3	+ 14.3	+ 34.3	- 82.9
Ancillary	+ 32.5	+ 14.0	+ 25.5	- 72.1

Note to Appendices O and P: Plus percentages represent the overall percentages of staff in each staff group who indicated most, and minus percentages indicated those overall percentages of staff in each group who indicated least.

APPENDIX Q

Staff Relations Directly Related to Boys: Percentages of Staff Groups Perceived Most-Least Likely to Discuss the Treatment of Boys Amongst Themselves

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED MOST-LEAST TO DISCUSS TREATMENT OF BOYS			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 18.7	+ 12.8	+ 50.7	- 82.4
Teachers/ Instructors	+ 12.0	+ 76.0	- 4.7	- 83.3
Housestaff	+ 2.8	+ 11.4	+ 71.4	- 85.7
Ancillary	+ 18.6	+ 9.3	+ 44.1	- 72.1

APPENDIX R

Staff Relations Directly Related to Boys: Percentages of Staff Groups Perceived Most-Least Likely to Keep Staff Informed About Boys

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED MOST-LEAST LIKELY TO KEEP STAFF INFORMED			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 31.6	+ 37.5	+ 1.5	- 70.6
Teachers/ Instructors	+ 15.3	+ 31.8	+ 23.7	- 70.8
Housestaff	+ 11.1	+ 14.2	+ 48.2	- 73.5
Ancillary	+ 18.6	+ 9.3	+ 16.3	- 44.2

Note to Appendices Q and R: Plus percentages represent the overall percentages of staff in each staff group who indicated most and minus percentages indicated those overall percentages of staff in each group who indicated least.

APPENDIX S

Staff Relations Indirectly Related to Boys: Percentage of Staff Groups Perceived as Most-Least Informed About the School Generally

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED MOST-LEAST INFORMED			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 70.6	+ 17.6	- 23.5	- 64.7
Teachers/ Instructors	+ 66.7	+ 12.5	+ 12.5	- 91.7
Housestaff	+ 71.4	- 6.1	+ 17.0	- 82.4
Ancillary	+ 70.4	+ 4.5	+ 4.2	- 79.1

APPENDIX T

Staff Relations Indirectly Related to Boys: Percentage of Staff Groups Perceived as Working Best-Least Well Together

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED AS WORKING BEST-LEAST WELL TOGETHER			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 41.2	+ 52.9	- 35.3	- 58.8
Teachers/ Instructors	- .2	+ 71.5	- 54.3	- 17.0
Housestaff	- .2	+ 42.6	- 18.6	- 23.7
Ancillary	+ 9.2	+ 11.1	- 28.5	+ 8.2

Note to Appendices S and T: Plus percentages represent the overall percentages of staff in each staff group who indicated most or best and minus percentages represent the overall percentages of staff in each staff group who indicated least or least well.

APPENDIX U

Staff Relations Indirectly Related to Boys: Percentage
of Staff Groups Perceived as Most-Least Co-operative
with Staff

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS PERCEIVED AS MOST-LEAST CO-OPERATIVE			
	Supervisory/ Administration	Teachers/ Instructors	Housestaff	Ancillary
Supervisory/ Administration	+ 29.4	+ 41.2	- 29.5	- 41.2
Teachers/ Instructors	- 7.3	+ 54.7	- 27.7	- 19.7
Housestaff	- 2.9	- 5.9	+ 23.5	- 14.7
Ancillary	+ 27.2	+ 5.2	- 24.1	- 8.5

Note: Plus percentages represent the overall percentages of staff in each staff group who indicated most and minus percentages indicated those overall percentages of staff in each group who indicated least.

APPENDIX V

Proportions of Staff Groups Consulted Before Rewarding Boys

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS WHICH WERE CONSULTED								Number of Staff who consulted No. %	
	Supervisory/ Administration		Teachers/ Instructors		Housestaff		Ancillary			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Supervisory/administration	9	90.0	5	50.0	9	90.0	1	10.0	10	100
Teachers/Instructors	13	61.9	19	90.5	21	100.0	1	4.8	21	100
Housestaff	17	56.7	16	53.3	30	100.0	5	16.7	30	100
Ancillary	14	58.3	9	37.5	14	58.3	12	50.0	24	100
Total number of staff consulted	53	62.4	49	57.6	74	87.1	19	22.4	85	100

Note: Since the groups which did the consulting, consulted more than one staff group, the number of consultations was greater than the number of staff who consulted.

APPENDIX W

Proportions of Staff Groups Consulted Before Punishing Boys

STAFF GROUPS	STAFF GROUPS WHICH WERE CONSULTED								Number of Staff who consulted No.	No. %
	Supervisory/ Administration		Teachers/ Instructors		Housestaff		Ancillary			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
Supervisory/administration	7	70.0	5	50.0	9	90.0	2	20.0	10	100
Teachers/instructors	19	90.5	17	81.0	21	100.0	1	4.8	21	100
Housestaff	19	70.4	15	55.6	27	100.0	4	14.8	27	100
Ancillary	7	70.0	5	50.0	6	60.0	4	40.0	10	100
Total number of staff who consulted	52	76.5	42	61.8	63	92.6	11	16.2	68	100

Note: Since the groups which did the consulting, consulted more than one staff group, the number of consultations was greater than the number of staff who consulted.

APPENDIX X

Attitudes of Staff Groups with Regard to Their Schools
as Compared with Other Approved Schools, as a Place to Work

School as a place to work	Supervisory/ Administration		Teachers/ Instructors		Housestaff		Ancillary	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Much better/better than most	10	71.4	15	68.2	16	59.3	21	67.7
About the same as most	3	21.4	5	22.7	7	25.9	8	25.8
Somewhat/much worse than most	1	7.1	2	9.1	4	14.8	2	6.5
Number of respondents	14	100*	22	100	27	100	31	100

Non-response rate: 4, 3, 8 and 13 of the respondents to the staff questionnaire interview in the supervisory/administration, teachers/instructors, housestaff and ancillary staff groups, respectively, could not answer the question related to this measure because they were unable to compare their own school with others, as a place to work.

* Percentages were rounded to the nearest place of decimal and therefore total approximates 100 per cent.

APPENDIX Y

Degree of Enthusiasm Staff had for their Work

Degree of Enthusiasm	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School Staff		Senior School Staff	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Very High/High	22	56.4	28	66.7	12	36.6
Moderate	16	41.0	14	33.3	24	58.5
Low/Very Low	1	2.6	-	-	2	4.9
Number of Respondents	39	100	42	100	41	100

APPENDIX Z

Degree Staff Enjoyed Their Work

Degree of Enjoyment	Junior School Staff		Intermediate School Staff		Senior School Staff	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Immensely/Very much	31	79.5	34	81.0	37	90.2
Moderately	7	17.9	7	16.7	3	7.3
Slightly/Not at all	1	2.6	1	2.4	1	2.4
Number of Respondents	39	100	42	100*	41	100*

* Percentages are rounded to first place of decimal and therefore percentages approximate 100 per cent.

CODE NUMBER: _____

APPENDIX AA

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

TIME STARTED: _____

STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire contains a variety of questions with regard to approved school work. A special effort has been made to keep the questions brief and several types of question have been used to provide variety and interest.

If there are any questions or answers you would like repeated or clarified please do not hesitate to ask me to do so.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

PLEASE LEAVE BLANK

1. What is your job title?

Headmaster	-
Deputy Headmaster	8
*Third in charge	9
Matron	8
Assistant Matron	7
Teacher	6
Instructor	5
House warden	4
Housemaster	3
Housemother full-time	2
Housemother part-time	1
Ancillary - please specify	0
* Specify if other duties are performed such as teaching or instructing	

2. Age?

Under 25	0
25 to 40	1
Over 40	2

3. Sex?

Male	1
Female	0

4. Marital status?

Single	0
Married	1
Divorced	2
Separated	3
Widowed	4

5. Education?

	Length of study	Area of study
Degree(s)		
Certificate(s)		
Diplomas		
Advanced levels		
Ordinary levels		
Commercial training		
Apprenticeship training		
Other		

6. A The following are reasons why people may want to come into approved school work. Please answer yes if a statement applies to you and no if it doesn't.

		YES	NO
1.	Thought the work would suit your temperament	0	1
2.	Wanted a change from the business world	0	1
3.	Was interested in working with children	0	1
4.	Your training qualified you for it	0	1
5.	Had prior experience in this type of work, such as youth clubs, boy scouts, etc.	0	1
6.	Wanted to do a more socially useful job	0	1
7.	Meant an improvement in your standard of living	0	1
8.	Wanted a more self fulfilling job	0	1
9.	Other	0	1
		0	1
		0	1
		0	1
		0	1

- B. Of the reasons you have answered YES to which ONE was most important?

--

7. Generally speaking, do you enjoy your work -

Immensely?	4
Very much?	3
Moderately?	2
Slightly?	1
Not at all?	0

8. How long have you been employed at this school?

--

9. How long have you done the job you are doing now?

--

- 4 -

10 A. Have you done any other job(s) at this school?

YES	0
NO	1

B. If YES, which job(s) and for how long?

JOB(S)	LENGTH OF TIME

11 A. Have you worked in any other approved school(s) before coming here?

YES	0
NO	1

B. If YES, which job(s) did you do and for how long?

JOB(S)	LENGTH OF TIME

12. If you were to change your job would you prefer to -

Stay in this particular school?	0
Stay in the approved school service?	1
Leave the approved school service but stay in a related field?	2
Move into a non-related field?	3

13. A Since you have been at this school have your views about approved school work changed -

Immensely?	4
Very much?	3
Moderately?	2
Slightly?	1
Not at all?	0

13 B How have your views changed?

14. As a place to work do you feel this school is -

Much better than most?	5
Better than most?	4
About the same as most?	3
Somewhat worse than most?	2
Much worse than most?	1
Don't know?	0

15. HOUSE STAFF ONLY:

A. Which house are you assigned to?

--

B. How many boys are there in your house?

--

16. TEACHERS, INSTRUCTORS, DEPARTMENT STAFF ONLY:

How many boys are there in your class/department?

--

17. ANCILLARY ONLY:

How many boys do you usually have working with you?

--

ALL STAFF:

18. What are your official number of hours of work per week?

--

19. ALL EXCEPT HOUSE STAFF:

- A How many of these hours are extraneous duty?

--

- B In which house(s) do you usually do extraneous duty?

--	--	--	--

TIME-TASK ROLE ANALYSIS

20. The following categories A to H, represent a way of looking at various parts of your work. What percentage of your total official working time (as per question 18) would you spend on each of the categories and how do you allot your time to the sub parts of each category?

USE CUE CARDS

PLEASE LEAVE BLANK

A ADMIN. AND STAFF SUPERVISION

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	"Paperwork": reports, letters, notices etc.	4	3	2	1	0
2	Telephone calls	4	3	2	1	0
3	Supervision of staff	4	3	2	1	0
4	Meetings directly related to boys, such as reviews, parents, etc.	4	3	2	1	0
5	Meetings indirectly related to boys, such as staff, school visitors etc.	4	3	2	1	0
6	Teachers: class and course preparation	4	3	2	1	0
7	Instructors/Dept. staff: project selection and preparation	4	3	2	1	0
8	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

B INDIVIDUAL CONTACT WITH BOYS

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Advising and giving guidance	4	3	2	1	0
2	Listening	4	3	2	1	0
3	Encouraging	4	3	2	1	0
4	Praising	4	3	2	1	0
5	Disciplining	4	3	2	1	0
6	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

C GROUP SUPERVISION OF BOYS

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Observing boys	4	3	2	1	0
2	Talking to boys	4	3	2	1	0
3	Joining in on their activities	4	3	2	1	0
4	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

D COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Visiting boys' families	4	3	2	1	0
2	Visiting boys' child care officer	4	3	2	1	0
3	Helping boys find employment	4	3	2	1	0
4	Helping boys find courses of study in polytechs, etc.	4	3	2	1	0
5	Arranging for boys' outings	4	3	2	1	0
6	School displays and shows	4	3	2	1	0
7	Community charity work	4	3	2	1	0
8	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

E **EXTRANEOUS DUTY**

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Individual contact with boys	4	3	2	1	0
2	Group supervision of boys	4	3	2	1	0
3	Contact with other staff	4	3	2	1	0
4	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

TEACHERS ONLY:

F **CLASSROOM ACTIVITY**

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Teaching academic subjects	4	3	2	1	0
2	Teaching positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces (social education)	4	3	2	1	0
3	Individual contact with reference to academic concerns	4	3	2	1	0
4	Individual contact with reference to personal concerns	4	3	2	1	0
5	Individual contact with reference to school concerns	4	3	2	1	0
6	Group supervision in the classroom	4	3	2	1	0
7	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

10 -

INSTRUCTORS & DEPARTMENT STAFF ONLY:

G DEPARTMENTAL ACTIVITY

PERCENTAGE

		All	Most	Moderate	Little	None
1	Teaching the theory behind a project (formal instruction)	4	3	2	1	0
2	Teaching the practical side of a project or task	4	3	2	1	0
3	Individual contact with reference to the project or task	4	3	2	1	0
4	Individual contact with reference to boys' personal concerns	4	3	2	1	0
5	Individual contact with reference to school concerns	4	3	2	1	0
6	Group supervision in the department	4	3	2	1	0
7	Other	4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0
		4	3	2	1	0

HOUSEMOTHERS & DOMESTIC STAFF ONLY:

H DOMESTIC DUTIES, SUCH AS WASHING, IRONING, CLEANING ETC.

PERCENTAGE

21. Which one of these categories, A to H that you perform -

		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
1	Would you like to spend <u>more</u> time on?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
2	Would you like to spend <u>less</u> time on?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
3	Do you think is of <u>most</u> benefit to the boys?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
4	Do you think is of <u>least</u> benefit to the boys?	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

22 A Are there any things which are presently not part of your job which you would like to be doing?

YES	0
NO	1

B If YES, please list

[illegible]

DESCRIPTION OF TREATMENT AND AIMS OF THE SCHOOL

23. A What is the Average length of a boy's stay in the school?

MONTHS

B Do you think it should be -

Longer?	2
Shorter?	1
The same	0

C If longer, by how much?

MONTHS

D If shorter, by how much?

MONTHS

- 24 A During a regular working week how many boys would you see individually?

- B How many of these boys you see individually during a regular work week, would you see -

	Number
Twice?	
Three times?	
Four times?	
Five times?	
More than five times?	

- C On the average, how long would you spend with each boy?

MINUTES

- D How many of the boys would have themselves requested to see you individually?

- E How many of these boys would other staff have requested you to see individually?

- F How many of these boys would you yourself have requested to see individually?

- G Which of the following groups of staff request you to see -

U S E C U E C A R D

		Many boys individually?	Some boys individually?	Few boys individually?	None
1	Administration	3	2	1	0
2	Teachers	3	2	1	0
3	Instructors	3	2	1	0
4	Housewardens	3	2	1	0
5	Housemasters	3	2	1	0
6	Housemothers full-time	3	2	1	0
7	Housemothers part-time	3	2	1	0
8	Ancillary	3	2	1	0

- 14 -

25 A How frequently do you discuss the following with boys when you see them individually?

U S E C U E C A R D

		Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
1	Home and family	4	3	2	1	0
2	Friends back home	4	3	2	1	0
3	His personal problems	4	3	2	1	0
4	His Local Authority review	4	3	2	1	0
5	Obtaining permission to do something, in or out of school	4	3	2	1	0
6	Delinquency	4	3	2	1	0
7	His future	4	3	2	1	0
8	His work and behaviour in the classroom	4	3	2	1	0
9	His work and behaviour in the department	4	3	2	1	0
10	His work and behaviour in the house	4	3	2	1	0
11	Misbehaviour and punishment in the school	4	3	2	1	0
12	Rewards in the school	4	3	2	1	0
13	Weekend and other leave	4	3	2	1	0

B With how many of the boys you see individually during a regular working week (as indicated in Question 24A) would you discuss the following?

	No. of boys
1 Home and family	
2 Friends back home	
3 His personal problems	
4 His Local Authority review	
5 Obtaining permission to do something in or out of school	
6 Delinquency	
7 His future	
8 His work and behaviour in the classroom	
9 His work and behaviour in the department	
10 His work and behaviour in the house	
11 Misbehaviour and punishment in the school	
12 Rewards in the school	
13 Weekend and other leave	

U S E C U E C A R D

[illegible]

- 27 A The following statements have been considered as parts of the treatment boys receive in approved schools. Would you please rank them in descending order as to the importance you personally feel these parts have in the treatment of boys, by selecting first the most important part and lastly the least important one

U S E C U E C A R D

		A Respondent	B. majority of staff
a	Physical needs of food, clothing, shelter		
b	Academic education: reading, writing, arithmetic and other subjects		
c	Work and training in the departments		
d	Group living: a group of boys living together		
e	Social education: the teaching of positive attitudes & values, manners & social graces		
f	Individual contact of staff with boys		
g	Group supervision of boys		
h	Daily routine of getting up, washing, working, learning, eating, playing, sleeping		
i	Recreation, on and off the school grounds		

- B Now rank these parts as you think the majority of staff would

- 28 A The following represent a variety of indicators that a boy is being helped through his stay at the school. Would you please rank them in descending order as to the importance you personally feel these have in showing a boy is being helped, by selecting first the most important indicator and lastly the least important one

U S E C U E C A R D

		A Respondent	B majority of staff
a	He is co-operative and polite with staff		
b	He gets along well with most boys		
c	He is involved in various optional school activities, such as sports, additional chores etc.		
d	He seems genuinely interested in his class, department and house		
e	He behaves well in his class, department and house		
f	He is a good influence on other boys		
g	He writes home regularly		
h	He seldom needs to be reminded ("asked twice") to do something		
i	He seldom is punished or loses privileges		
j	He adjusts quickly ("settles down") after returning from home leave		

- B Now rank these indicators as you think the majority of staff would

- 17 -

- 29 A Different schools have different ideas of what their purposes are. Please rank in descending order the following purposes by selecting first the one which you think is most emphasized in this school and lastly the purpose which is least emphasized.

USE CUE CARD

		A Respondent	B majority of staff
a	To teach boys positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces (social education)		
b	To punish delinquent behaviour		
c	To teach boys academic skills: reading, writing, arithmetic and other subjects		
d	To provide boys with a substitute home and family		
e	To provide boys with a routine to live and work by		
f	To protect the community from delinquents		
g	To help boys gain understanding of their own behaviour		
h	To teach boys vocational skills such as painting, joinery, etc.		

- B Now rank these purposes as you think the majority of staff would

- C Generally speaking, do you think the school is fulfilling its purposes -

USE CUE CARD

Very well?	Well?	Adequately?	Not well?	Not well at all?
4	3	2	1	0

- D Do you think the majority of staff feel the school is fulfilling its purposes -

Very well?	Well?	Adequately?	Not well?	Not well at all?
4	3	2	1	0

- E Which one purpose do you think should be more strongly emphasized?

USE CUE CARD

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- F Which one purpose do you think should be less strongly emphasized?

a	b	c	d	e	f	g	h
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- 30 A What percentage of boys can a member of staff realistically expect to help change ("behaviourally") for the better?

PERCENTAGE

- B What percentage of boys actually become worse ("behaviourally") while at the school?

PERCENTAGE

- C What percentage of boys remain unaffected ("behaviourally") while they are at the school?

PERCENTAGE

- D Generally speaking, boys adjust to the school -

Very quickly?	4
Quickly?	3
Moderately?	2
Slowly?	1
Very slowly?	0

- 31 When you are with boys which of the following themes do you emphasize -

U S E C U E C A R D

		Always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Never
1	Self-discipline and restraint?	4	3	2	1	0
2	"Getting on" and being liked?	4	3	2	1	0
3	Doing what he is told (compliance)?	4	3	2	1	0
4	Freedom of expression ?	4	3	2	1	0
5	Respect for other people's property and possessions?	4	3	2	1	0
6	Respect for the law?	4	3	2	1	0
7	Self respect?	4	3	2	1	0
8	Responsibility for one's own behaviour?	4	3	2	1	0
9	Need to change from previous delinquent ways?	4	3	2	1	0
10	Being independent?	4	3	2	1	0

32 A Do you feel the boys here are settled ("feel secure") --

All of the time?	4
Most of the time?	3
Some of the time?	2
Seldom?	1
Never?	0

B How many of the boys here are settled ("feel secure")?

All	Most	Many	Some	None
4	3	2	1	0

33 TEACHERS ONLY:

A How important do you think is teaching in terms of passing on academic skills to the boys?

USE CUE CARD

Very important	Important	Unsure	Unimportant	Very unimportant
4	3	2	1	0

B How important do you think is teaching in terms of passing on positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces to the boys (social education)?

Very important	Important	Unsure	Unimportant	Very unimportant
4	3	2	1	0

34

I N S T R U C T O R S & D E P A R T M E N T S T A F F O N L Y :

- A How important do you think it is that boys here learn the practical aspects of a trade or occupation?

U S E C U E C A R D

Very important	Important	Unsure	Unimportant	Very unimportant
4	3	2	1	0

- B How important do you think it is that boys here learn the theory behind a trade or occupation?

Very important	Important	Unsure	Unimportant	Very unimportant
4	3	2	1	0

- C What do you think boys gain from being in the departments?

U S E C U E C A R D

		Always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Never
1	An opportunity to be exposed to a variety of new things	4	3	2	1	0
2	A particular skill such as painting, joinery, etc.	4	3	2	1	0
3	The self discipline required to do a particular task or job	4	3	2	1	0
4	Understanding of their own personal problems	4	3	2	1	0
5	Self confidence in being able to do a particular task or job.	4	3	2	1	0

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS

35. How much control over boys do you feel the following groups of staff need to do their job "right"?

USE CUE CARD

		A lot	Some	Very little
1	Administration	2	1	0
2	Teachers	2	1	0
3	Instructors	2	1	0
4	Housewardens	2	1	0
5	Housemasters	2	1	0
6	Housemothers full-time	2	1	0
7	Housemothers part-time	2	1	0
8	Ancillary	2	1	0

- 36 A Do you consult with any other staff before you reward boys?

USE CUE CARD

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- B Do you consult with any other staff before you punish boys?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- C With whom do you consult?

		Reward		Punish	
		YES	NO	YES	NO
1	Headmaster	0	1	0	1
2	Deputy Headmaster	0	1	0	1
3	Third-in-charge	0	1	0	1
4	Matron	0	1	0	1
5	Assistant Matron	0	1	0	1
6	Teacher(s)	0	1	0	1
7	Instructor(s)	0	1	0	1
8	Housewarden(s)	0	1	0	1
9	Housemaster(s)	0	1	0	1
10	Housemother(s) full-time	0	1	0	1
11	Housemother(s) part-time	0	1	0	1
12	Ancillary - specify who	0	1	0	1
		0	1	0	1

37. A Do you think staff are in agreement as to what behaviour should be rewarded?

USE CUE CARD

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- B Do you think staff are in agreement as to what behaviour should be punished?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- C Do you think staff are in agreement as to the degree of reward?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- D Do you think staff are in agreement as to the severity of punishment?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

38. Every member of staff has his own manner of working with boys. Which of the following comes closest to your own?

Very strict	Strict	Firm	Permissive	Very Permissive
4	3	2	1	0

STAFF RELATIONS

The manner in which staff work together varies from school to school and plays an important part in the everyday operation of the school. The purpose of the following questions is to obtain your thoughts on this.

39. Please choose only one staff group for each of the statements

U S E C U E C A R D

		Administration	Teachers	Instructors	Housewardens	Housemasters	Housemothers F.T.	Housemothers P.T.	Ancillary
1	The group you spend most time with	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
2	The group you spend least time with	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
3	The group with whom you discuss boys most	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
4	The group with whom you discuss boys least	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
5	The group most informed about boys	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
6	The group least informed about boys	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
7	The group most likely to discuss treatment of boys amongst itself	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
8	The group least likely to discuss treatment of boys amongst itself	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
9	The group most informed about what is happening in the school generally	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
10	The group least informed about what is happening in the school generally	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
11	The group most likely to keep others informed about boys	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
12	The group least likely to keep others informed about boys	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
13	The group which works best together	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
14	The group which works least well together	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
15	The group most co-operative with other staff	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
16	The group least co-operative with other staff	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0

40. How much influence do you think each of the following groups have in making decisions about how boys should be treated?

U S E C U E C A R D

		More than Anyone else	About the same as Anyone else	Less than Anyone else
1	Administration	2	1	0
2	Teachers	2	1	0
3	Instructors	2	1	0
4	Housewardens	2	1	0
5	Housemasters	2	1	0
6	Housemothers full-time	2	1	0
7	Housemothers part-time	2	1	0
8	Ancillary	2	1	0

41. A Do you provide information which influences the decisions that are made about boys?

U S E C U E C A R D

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

- B Do you provide recommendations which influence the decisions that are made about boys?

Always	Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
4	3	2	1	0

42. A How well do you think your views on the treatment of boys are accepted by the majority of the staff?

Very well	Well	At times	Not well	Not well at all
4	3	2	1	0

- B Your regard for the views of the majority of staff on the treatment of boys is -

Very high?	High?	Moderate?	Low?	Very low?
4	3	2	1	0

43. A What percentage of the staff do you think believe the boys here are "being helped" (receiving treatment)?

PERCENTAGE

- B What percentage of staff do you think believe in "helping" boys (giving treatment)?

PERCENTAGE

44. On the whole, do you think that the staff in the school work -

Very well together?	4
Well together?	3
At times?	2
Not well?	1
Not at all well?	0

45. On the whole, the degree of enthusiasm that staff have for their work is -

Very high?	4
High?	3
Moderate?	2
Low	1
Very low?	0

46. The following are staff complaints with regard to approved school work. To what degree do you think these complaints apply (would be relevant) to this school?

U S E C U E C A R D

		Always	Often	Some- times	Seldom	Never
1	The hours of work being "too long" (too many)	4	3	2	1	0
2	The hours of work being too spread out during the day or week	4	3	2	1	0
3	Lack of privacy from boys, when not on duty	4	3	2	1	0
4	Lack of privacy from staff, when not on duty	4	3	2	1	0
5	Difficulty in keeping up with or an interest in the "world" outside the school	4	3	2	1	0
6	Staff having difficulty getting on with each other	4	3	2	1	0
7	Teachers having a better chance of changing jobs and advancing themselves than other staff	4	3	2	1	0
8	Not having enough time and energy to do proper "child care" (treatment of boys)	4	3	2	1	0
9	The work not having a tangible outcome; ("you never really see the results of what you are doing with boys")	4	3	2	1	0
10	Teachers having too much influence, (more influence than other staff members)	4	3	2	1	0
11	The work being emotionally draining (too exhaustive)	4	3	2	1	0
12	Not really knowing what is the most effective way to help boys, (treat them)	4	3	2	1	0

THANK YOU FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

TIME FINISHED _____

CODE NUMBER: _____

APPENDIX BB

DATE OF INTERVIEW: _____

TIME STARTED: _____

BOYS' QUESTIONNAIRE

I would like to ask you a number of questions about your stay here at the school. The questions are quite easy, so don't feel worried about not being able to answer them correctly. But if you don't understand a question please ask me to explain it and I'll be glad to.

PLEASE LEAVE BLANK

1. How old are you?

--

years

2. A How long have you been at this school?

--

Months

- B How many other approved schools have you been at besides this one?

0	1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---	---

- C If YES to B above, for how long in total?

--

Months

3. A What house are you in?

--	--	--	--

- B How long have you been in this house?

--

Months

4. A How many hours per week are you in the classroom?

--

SENIOR AND INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS ONLY:

- B What department are you in?

--

- C How many hours per week are you in your department?

--

5. A Below are a number of opportunities and things which are available to boys here in the school. I would like to know how important you feel these are to you

USE CUE CARD

		Very Imp.	Imp.	Unsure	Unimp.	Very Unimp.
1.	Food, clothing, shelter	4	3	2	1	0
2.	Education; i.e. reading, writing, arithmetic and other subjects	4	3	2	1	0
3.	Working and learning (training) in the departments	4	3	2	1	0
4.	Living with a group of boys i.e. group living	4	3	2	1	0
5.	Being shown and told what is important and of value in life; i.e. social education	4	3	2	1	0
6.	Staff you can turn to and talk with (discuss) about yourself; i.e. individual staff contact	4	3	2	1	0
7.	Staff who are with you when you are in a group of boys; i.e. group supervision	4	3	2	1	0
8.	The school timetable, i.e. set times of getting up, washing, working, being in class and or department, eating, playing and going to bed; i.e. daily routine	4	3	2	1	0
9.	Free time on an off the school grounds; i.e. recreation	4	3	2	1	0

- B. Which one of these in A above is of most importance to you?

- C. Which one of these in A above, is of least importance to you?

U S E C U E C A R D

	Easier	The Same	Harder
1 With your father, than it is with staff here?	2	1	0
2 With your mother, than it is with staff here?	2	1	0
3 With your brother(s) or sister(s) than it is with staff here?	2	1	0
4 With your friends back home, than it is with staff here?	2	1	0
5 With your friends here in the school, than it is with staff?	2	1	0

- U S E C U E C A R D

None						
Ancillary						
Other Housemother(s)						
Your own Housemother(s)						
Other Housemaster(s)						
Your own Housemaster						
Other Housewarden(s)						
Your own Housewarden						
Instructor(s)						
Teacher(s)						
Assistant Patron						
Matron						
Third-in-Charge						
Deputy Headmaster						
Headmaster						
1 Which member(s) of staff do you prefer (like) to do things with?						
2 Which member(s) of staff do you feel helps you most?						
3 Which member(s) of staff would you like to have for your own father?						
4 Which member(s) of staff would you like to have for your own mother?						
5 Which member of staff would you want to be most like when you are older?						
6 Which member(s) of staff do you think have most to say about you while you are here, i.e. influence?						

8. A. How well do you feel staff understand your problems?

USE CUE CARD

Very well	Well	Sometimes	Not well	Not at all
4	3	2	1	0

B. How many staff understand your problems?

All	Many	Some	Few	None
4	3	2	1	0

C. Do you feel staff know what your "good points", i.e. abilities and talents, are?

Very well	Well	Sometimes	Not well	Not at all
4	3	2	1	0

D. Do you think that staff have helped you find out why you get into trouble?

USE CUE CARD

A lot	Some	Very little
2	1	0

E. Do you think that staff have helped you change your behaviour?

A lot	Some	Very little
2	1	0

F. Do you think you need help from staff so that you can change and stay out of trouble?

A lot	Some	Very little
2	1	0

G. Do you feel that staff do as much as they can to help you change and stay out of trouble?

Yes	0
No	1

H. How many of the boys here, do you feel, want to change and learn to stay out of trouble?

USE CUE CARD

All	Most	Many	Some	None
4	3	2	1	0

9. A About strictness, do you feel staff here are -

Too strict?	Pretty fair?	Not strict enough?
2	1	0

B How many of the boys do you feel like being here?

USE CUE CARD

All	Most	Many	Some	None
4	3	2	1	0

C Do you lose your privileges -

USE CUE CARD

Very often?	Often?	Sometimes?	Rarely?	Never?
4	3	2	1	0

10. A Did you feel unsettled, i.e. insecure, uneasy, restless, when you first came to this school?

Yes	0
No	1

B Have you felt unsettled since you first came?

Yes	0
No	1

C Have you felt unsettled recently?

Yes	0
No	1

D Are any of the other boys unsettled?

USE CUE CARD

All	Most	Many	Some	None
4	3	2	1	0

E Are the other boys unsettled -

All of the time?	4
Most of the time?	3
Some of the time?	2
Seldom?	1
Never?	0

11. A During your free time, i.e. when you're not in class, departments or working, are you allowed to do things you like -

USE CUE CARD

Very often?	Often?	Sometimes?	Rarely?	Never?
4	3	2	1	0

- B Do you feel there are enough things for you to do during your free time?

Yes	0
No	1

- C During your free time do you usually prefer -

Being with a group of boys?	2
Being with one or a few of your friends?	1
Being by yourself?	0

12. Where do you enjoy yourself most and where do you enjoy yourself least?

	Most	Least
In the classroom	4	4
In the department	3	3
Working in the house or elsewhere	2	2
Free time in the house	1	1
Free time on the school yard and grounds	0	0

- 13 When you are home at the weekend do you -

Look forward to coming back to the school?	2
Don't like to think about coming back?	1
Have at times not returned, i.e. absconded?	0

14. Do you think your stay here should be -

Shorter than average?	0
About average?	1
Longer than average?	2

- 15 Which one of the following do you think is the main purpose of the school?

To help boys	2
To keep boys out of trouble by sending them away from home	1
To punish boys	0

THANK YOU FOR HELPING ME WITH THESE QUESTIONS.

TIME FINISHED _____

APPENDIX CC

STAFF DAILY DIARY:

The purpose of the daily diary is to gather some ideas as to what approved school staff see are the tasks they are performing and the time they spend on these tasks. Since this information is difficult to obtain from the school's time schedules, I have used the "self report approach" whereby you yourself report what tasks you are doing, and how long for. Attached are fourteen diary sheets, one for each day of the next two weeks. Would you please complete one diary sheet for each day of the next two weeks, starting from _____, according to the instructions given below.

I would greatly appreciate it if you would fill in the appropriate time slots whenever possible or convenient during the day, but not less than once or twice a day.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING DIARY SHEETS:

PART 1: Please fill in the date and time when both your official and unofficial duty began and ended.

PART 2: This part contains within its categories, A to H inclusive, most, if not all, of the tasks which you perform. The tasks are grouped under categories in order to make it easier for you to see what things go on in the department (category F) or classroom (category E), or what things make up administration and staff supervision (category A) or community activities (category D). However, it wasn't thought necessary to break individual contact with boys (category B), group supervision of boys (category C) and domestic duties (category G) down into special tasks.

Now, if you perform tasks that are not listed in any of these categories, A to H inclusive, please list each task opposite one of the small letters, a, b, c, d, e, f, or g, in category H (Other Tasks and Breaks).

PART 3: To the immediate right of the half hour time blocks, please list the category or categories and task or tasks you performed during that time. When you perform one task or one category during a half hour block, please make an entry as follows. For example -

A₃, or B.

When you perform more than one task in the same category or tasks in more than one category (or more than one category), please enter the category and task or the category which you felt you spent most of your half hour on. However, if you felt you spent equal time on all of them (task(s) and categorie(s)), please enter all of them.

PART 4: This part is for any comments you might care to make about your day's duty. Comments as to how typical you felt your day was, if anything unusual happened which may have changed your routine, or if you felt or approached your work any differently from the usual, would be welcomed. Any other types of comments would also be of interest.

Finally, as mentioned before, it would be greatly appreciated if you would fill in the diary sheets whenever possible or convenient during the appropriate day, but not less than once or twice a day.
Thank you.

STAFF DAILY DIARY

PART 1

DATE _____

* Official duty began _____

** Unofficial duty began _____

* Official duty ended _____

** Unofficial duty ended _____

* Official duty includes extraneous duty and any paid overtime

** Unofficial duty is unpaid and performed on your own time.

PART 2

DESCRIPTION OF CATEGORIES

CATEGORY A: ADMINISTRATION AND STAFF SUPERVISION:

1. "Paperwork" and telephone calls
2. Supervision of staff
3. Meetings and "reviews"
4. Teachers: Class and course preparation
5. Instructors: project selection and preparation

CATEGORY B: INDIVIDUAL CONTACT WITH BOYS:

Please use this category when you are in close contact with individual boys, such as when you are having a "heart to heart" talk with a boy, doing individual counselling, etc. If you are a **TEACHER** or **INSTRUCTOR** please use this category **ONLY FOR TIME** spent in this way, **OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM OR DEPARTMENT.**

CATEGORY C: GROUP SUPERVISION OF BOYS:

Please use this category when you are supervising a group of boys. If you are a **TEACHER** or **INSTRUCTOR** please use this category **ONLY FOR TIME** spent in this way, **OUTSIDE THE CLASSROOM OR DEPARTMENT.**

CATEGORY D: COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES:

1. Visiting boys' homes and families.
2. Visiting the boys' child care officer in the community
3. Helping boys find employment, courses of study in schools, polytechnics, etc.
4. Arranging for boys' outings
5. Schools displays, shows and charity work

CATEGORY E: CLASSROOM ACTIVITY:

1. Teaching academic subjects
2. Teaching positive attitudes and values, manners and social graces (social education)
3. Individual contact with reference to academic concerns
4. Individual contact with reference to a boy's personal concerns
5. Individual contact with reference to school concerns
6. Group supervision in class

CATEGORY F: DEPARTMENT ACTIVITY:

1. Teaching the theory behind a project or job (formal instruction)
2. Teaching the practical side of a project or job
3. Individual contact with reference to project or job
4. Individual contact with reference to personal concerns
5. Individual contact with reference to school concerns
6. Group supervision in the department

CATEGORY G: DOMESTIC DUTIES:

Please use this category when doing duties such as washing, ironing, mending, cleaning, cooking, sorting and moving supplies, etc.

CATEGORY H: OTHER TASKS AND BREAKS:

1. Meal, Tea, Coffee, and other breaks
2. Other tasks which are not included in categories A to G above, **PLEASE LIST**

a
b
c
d
e
f
g

PART 4

COMMENTS ON THE DAY'S DUTY

PART 3

Time	Categories
A.M.	
12.00 to 12.29	
12.30 12.59	
1.00 1.29	
1.30 1.59	
2.00 2.29	
2.30 2.59	
3.00 3.29	
3.30 3.59	
4.00 4.29	
4.30 4.59	
5.00 5.29	
5.30 5.59	
6.00 6.29	
6.30 6.59	
7.00 7.29	
7.30 7.59	
8.00 8.29	
8.30 8.59	
9.00 9.29	
9.30 9.59	
10.00 10.29	
10.30 10.59	
11.00 11.29	
11.30 11.59	
P.M.	
12.00 to 12.29	
12.30 12.59	
1.00 1.29	
1.30 1.59	
2.00 2.29	
2.30 2.59	
3.00 3.29	
3.30 3.59	
4.00 4.29	
4.30 4.59	
5.00 5.29	
5.30 5.59	
6.00 6.29	
6.30 6.59	
7.00 7.29	
7.30 7.59	
8.00 8.29	
8.30 8.59	
9.00 9.29	
9.30 9.59	
10.00 10.29	
10.30 10.59	
11.00 11.29	
11.30 11.59	
Total hours worked minus breaks (Category H)	

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