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THE INFLUENCE OF COTTAGE CARE MANAGEMENT ON

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A RESIDENTIAL TREATMENT SCHOOL

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

<u>General Problem</u>

In order to facilitate and improve treatment methods
in a residential treatment school for delinquent and emo-
tionally disturbed youngsters, it is mandatory to have a
clear understanding of the underlying dynamics and in-
fluences which govern the attitudes and behaviors of the
residents. If some of the boys' attitudes are unacceptable
from the point of view of the therapeutic goals of the
school, then it is these influences which must be averted in
order to restructure the boys' attitudes in line with the
school's therapeutic purpose.

A rapidly developing literature from diverse types
of total institutions (institutions which are generally iso-
lated from society at large) has revealed that the single
most important influence on a resident in a total institu-
tion is his peer group (Boyd, Kegeles, and Greenblatt, 1954;

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Caudill, Redlich, Gilmore, and Brody, 1952; Grosser, 1958; Jones, 1956; Mouledous, 1963; Polsky, 1962; Rubenfeld, and Stafford, 1963; Sivadon, 1957). In a residential treatment school for children, the resident youngster's life revolves a great deal around cottage life. The youngster eats his meals, carries out his chores, prepares his studies, engages in play as well as suffers frustrations and limitations in the midst and part of, a social unit—the interrelation of cottage-mates to one another. In that so much of the youngster's time is spent with cottage-mates, and so many of his needs are met by them, it is small wonder that each cottage develops a rather closely knit social system that is designed to meet the needs of the boys. In directing itself to these needs each social system develops its own self-regulatory norms and places premium on certain values. As the social system becomes increasingly more structured, group values and the personal needs that the boys bring to the social system become translated into roles. Roles may, then, be viewed as more or less coherent and unified systems of behavior (Slater, 1955) directed toward goals that both satisfy personal needs and maintain group values. The more functional certain roles are in meeting these needs and values, the more crucial they are to the survival of the social system.

Roles, as we have implied, are not formed in a vacuum devoid of the personal histories of the members. They

develop day-by-day in the group's struggle to find for the members "a place in the world," to gain for him affection and approval, and the other qualities of living that the members value. In that other groups have not fully met the individual's needs, he comes to a new group with hope of addressing this indigence.

One of the most important needs the group addresses is the conceptualization of one's function in the world. In this sense, roles are developed and employed by the group to help define for the individual: "what is life?"; "what is man?"; "who am I"? True, they do not answer these deep, philosophical questions directly. Nevertheless, since roles within a social system are socially developed and socially sanctioned, they do help to define what is "good," what is "desirable," and do set limits on the means of achieving these goals, as viewed by the society (or group) in which one lives. Bales (1950) points out that the role structure of groups can be understood essentially as a system of solutions for the functional problems of interaction which become institutionalized in order to reduce the tensions growing out of uncertainty and unpredictableness in the actions of others.

Roles are inadequate when they fail to permit individuals socially sanctioned access to desirable goals, because they fail to regard the unique limitations (or, at times, the unique abilities) of the members. When roles fail

to regard the uniqueness of members, they fail to conceptualize for the member "who he is." Such roles cannot be incorporated (internalized) into an ego (self) system because it is obvious to the individual that such roles fail to apply to him. Prolonged maintenance of inadequate roles leads to dysfunction and disintegration of the social system. If a system is to survive it must constantly be in dynamic equilibrium in order to adjust to the needs of the members and the demands of the external system. These group dynamics hold true for the cottage peer group as well as informal groups in the larger community. This is understandable in that the cottage peer group, like other informal groups, supplements the needs that the larger society fails to address. The cottage peer group structure is designed precisely to resist rules and directives that may frustrate the youth's attempts at a consistent conceptualization of self. The cottage peer group arises to address itself to those needs that the formal organization--the cottage staff and the administration--fails to address or addresses itself in a way that frustrates the boys' conceptions of themselves. In line with the ability to attain these ends, the cottage peer group retains the loyalty and energies of its members.

Once having said this, it must be added, that to properly understand the peer group in a residential institution for delinquent and emotionally disturbed youngsters we must keep in clear perspective the power vehicles that

confront it. Whatever other responsibility the institution has in regard to its residents, it must manage the residents in such a way as to avert destructive behavior. Therefore, the institution invests in staff sufficient authority and resources that disruptive behavior by residents can be held to a minimum. By formal structure, the cottage staff is on the bottom of the power hierarchy of the institution. This is largely because the other stratum in the hierarchy--case workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and administrators-- are professional, while for the most part, cottage staff are not. Nevertheless, authorities in the field of residential treatment have pointed out that realistically viewed, the cottage staff is the power vehicle with which the boys are most consistently forced to deal in order to gain their ends (Grosser, 1958; Grusky, 1959; McCorkle, and Korn, 1959; Ohlin, 1958).

Correctional institutions throughout the nation, as Ohlin (1958) has indicated, are currently undergoing a process of change. They are reverting from institutions with the monolithic goal of controlling residents to that of much more complex organizations. Treatment institutions have been found by Zald (1960) to have more complex structure than custodial institutions. Changes in institutional policy from custodial to treatment programs then require fundamental re- definition of roles and orientations of staff members to one another and to their charges. The seeds for increased

conflict are obvious, as has been indicated by Cressey
(1959); Piliavin (1963); Scher (1952); Weber (1957).

Under the old system, the role of the cottage coun-
selor was rather straight-forward:

> He was expected to treat his charges all alike
> without regard to favoritism or special consideration
> arising out of individual need. Only in this way, it
> was thought, could order be maintained and justice be
> done (Ohlin, 1958).

The current movement from this type of institution
to one in which treatment interests are dominant, causes a
form of role conflict for cottage staff.

> On the one hand, they must continue to preserve
> order and discipline since this is essential for keep-
> ing institutions going and a necessary pre-condition
> for effective treatment. On the other hand, they must
> individualize the handling of their charges according
> to the unique personality problems of each, so as to
> aid rather than hinder the therapeutic efforts of the
> professional staff (Ohlin, 1958).

An imposing impediment to change is that recent
emphasis upon the professionalization of the cottage coun-
selor

> represents a criticism of him as he is. He feels,
> rightly or wrongly, that many of the limitations put
> on him are artificial and almost universally represents
> the professional worker's assumption of superior ability
> in child rearing. He gains conviction that something
> is seriously wrong from his knowledge that an institu-
> tion can operate, however inadequately, without profes-
> sional staff (Scher, 1952)

but would soon have to close down if there were no cottage
staff.

If modern systems of institutional care are to have
a fair opportunity to take root in the institution and win

over the old standard bearers of tradition, they must demonstrate their improvement over traditional methods. Currently, there is little direct evidence to either support or contradict the effectiveness of newer methods of institutional care by either professional or non-professional workers. The problem may go deeper than this. There has been little or no research on the effects of different types of staff management in anything approaching a controlled study. That this problem is a serious one can be borne out by a scrutiny of personnel that make up cottage staff in any institution. One may find among the cottage care personnel workers with graduate degrees together with public school dropouts; enthusiastic young adults and tired old timers; those given to authoritarian philosophy and those prone to more democratic self-government by the youngsters. In setting goals for selecting cottage personnel, as well as positing therapeutic goals in the institution, a most obvious and legitimate question is: "What is the result of a given type of staff management as opposed to some other type of management?" For example, what is the differential effect of one set of cottage staff (at one extreme) who manage the cottage in such a way that the greatest emphasis is given to strict obedience to rules, compulsive attention to cottage tasks and routines, activities which are used to keep the boys busy but not interested; or the effect of staff (at the other extreme) who promote group autonomy,

encourage the boys to develop their own group activities and
goals, and serve in more of an advisory than task master
role. Of course, in real life cottage management can never
be so clear cut. If a social system is to survive it must
carry out not only expressive and instrumental tasks but
handle instrumental and expressive problems in the informal
system as well as in the external area (Parsons, 1959).
Consequently, the ideal types here referred to and the cot-
tages studied must be described more explicitly as they ap-
proach one or the other of these ideal types.

Nevertheless, it is not an unreasonable assumption
that cottage staffs which differ markedly in personality,
training, interpretation of the job, or even in energy level
will focus differently on cottage life. On the one hand, it
seems reasonable to assume that the institutional demands
and expectations, in general, in relation to the common needs
and desires of the boys, would foster certain similarities in
the roles played by the cottage staff. At the same time,
however, interpretation of role by each staff member--in
line with his own unique needs and experiences--would allo-
cate a somewhat dissimilar role from that of all other cot-
tage counselors. There is unpublished data from a study of
another unit of the institution which this study is con-
cerned with which tends to support this assumption. One may
assume, therefore, that boys in different cottages are faced
with somewhat different social situations. In order to

master the problems arising from their particular cottage situation, each peer group develops its own unique social system.

The Goals of Child Care

The reason that diversity in orientation can be found among cottage staff becomes more understandable when one scrutinizes the goals of child care that now exist. The impression one gets from probing the literature on child care (Broten, 1962; Burmeister, 1960; Kostick, 1953; Lourre, and Shulman, 1952; Mayer, 1951) is a rather nebulous formulation of desirable goals. Often the goals are set at a level too abstract to render the goals operational for child care workers (as desirable as they often appear to be), in the form of specific programs and specific methods of carrying out a cottage routine. As often, one finds in the literature specific examples of "correct" cottage behavior from the accounts of experienced workers and administrators in child care settings. These account of cottage expectations, unfortunately, are not often explained and expanded in terms of well-thought through theory; too often, no theory at all. The result of such accounts is that goals cannot be generalized from one setting to another, from situation to situation, from one period of time to another. The worker, then, is forced to rely upon his own intuition and experiences in order to make generalizations from one situation to another. Where this is the case, the value of blunders

corrected, insights advanced through trial-and-error by one generation of child care workers are irretrievably lost to all succeeding generations of workers.

Perhaps the two great stumbling blocks to the development of sound theory, spelled out in specific variables and methods, are the very status of the individuals whom staff are trying to help, and the nature of the setting in which staff find themselves. These two sources of pressure on the cottage care workers have prevented him from relating to the youngsters in his charge on a multi-dimensional level. The boys staff are working with have been sent to the school either because of the incorrigibility of their social behavior or because of serious disturbance in their psychological functioning. The labels attached to these boys are that of "trouble maker" or "person who cannot adequately care for himself." Foremost in the minds of the administration is custodial control--the orderly maintenance of a stable institutional structure that minimizes trouble in its internal sphere. To insure this condition the institution requires that the cottage adapt itself within the institutional organization with a minimum of disturbance and conflict. "The cottage parents are very much concerned with the administration's evaluation of their cottage, which is based largely on the cottage parents' ability to maintain order" (Polsky, 1962; p. 123). Where this is the case, the cottage develops a system based primarily on: (1) limitations

on the residents' latitude of acceptable behavior within the institutional environment; and (2) a nuturing and dependent relationship of the youngsters on the institution and its representatives. Under these conditions the custodially-oriented cottage staff enlists the youngsters to control their behavior by offering physical and emotional nuturance as a prize.

Yet, obviously, even emotionally disturbed youngsters have other needs, as urgent as the need to be controlled. To ever actualize a more well-rounded, normal functioning, these youngsters must be actively and challengingly exposed to activities and relationships in which a larger range of interest and needs can become conscious and meaningful to them. The best opportunity for these activities and relationships to be developed is within the cottage setting. To improve his lot in society the youngster first needs to improve his social skills, so that he may gain the respect and admiration of those who are most important to him. He develops this social ability, not unstrangely, in the company of others--his peers--who share the same frustrations and stunted ambitions as he.

Past research in the institution with which this investigation is concerned has revealed that the development of autonomous, group activities was an ability that required considerable staff stimulation and encouragement. In fact, the residents carried out autonomous, group activities

almost identically to the proportion of time staff ini-
tiated group activity. This was not true of any other social
system function. If these youngsters are to be rehabili-
tated, the essential task of cottage life is not to suppress
independence and aspirations, but to help shape the inherent,
teeming energies and potential of these youngsters in con-
structive ways. It is largely due to this rationale that
our institution has proposed in recent years to shift some
of the treatment and rehabilitation emphasis from the
caseworker-individual relationship to the cottage care staff
(Alt, 1953). That this has not yet been put into practice
is evidenced by the low status, poor pay and lack of train-
ing our institution gives its cottage care personnel and the
high status, high pay and extensive training program our
institution offers psychiatrists and psychiatric social
workers.

Literature on the Problem

In one of the few research attempts at specifying
the effect of institutional treatment upon different role oc-
cupants in the inmate peer group, Grusky (1959), in a prison
camp where the goal was therapeutic rehabilitation of the
inmates, found that inmate leaders were likely to receive
higher adjustment ratings and to manifest more favorable at-
titudes toward the camp officials, the camp itself, and its
program of treatment than were non-leaders. The weakness of
Grusky's study is that one cannot be sure that is the

therapeutic rehabilitation that effected more favorable at-
titudes. His findings would have been far more significant
if he had compared another group of inmates to the one he
studied, in which custodial control over inmates was the in-
stitution's major goal. Two studies which corrected this
shortcoming were conducted by Street (1965) and Berk (1966);
both authors called into question the "solidarity opposi-
tion" model of the inmate group usually attributed to it by
observers of total institutions. By studying the attitudes
of inmates of several custodial and treatment institutions,
the solidarity opposition model was found not to prevail in
all institutions. In treatment institutions inmates were
revealed to have more positive norms and perspectives on the
institution and leaders' attitudes were the most positive.
Furthermore, staff in treatment institutions had a higher
level of primary relations with inmates than did their col-
leagues in custodial institutions.

Studies of conventional prisons (Clemmer, 1940;
McCorkle, and Korn, 1954; Weinberg, 1942); of mental hos-
pitals (Belknap, 1956; Goffman, 1961) and training schools
for juveniles (Rubenfeld and Stafford, 1963; Trent, 1957),
where custody is the dominant goal, suggest that interaction
between the staff and the inmates are likely to be charac-
terized by distrust, fear, suspicion and hostility. In one
such prison, Shrag (1959) found that leadership is exercised
by the criminally "sophisticated" inmates who have been

committed for serious crimes of violence. According to Shrag, "Status of an inmate is ordinarily enhanced by acts of violence within the institution, by homosexuality, or by psychoneurotic or psychopathic behavior. Prison culture is organized around the values of its most persistent and least improvable members." Shrag's finding that inmate leaders in custodial oriented prisons are less well-adjusted than non-leaders is exactly opposite to Grusky's finding, namely, that in therapeutic settings leaders are better adjusted than are non-leaders and lends support to opponents of the "solidarity opposition" model of inmate behavior. The validity of these findings becomes clear when we realize that "the custodial goal itself implies a conception of the inmate as one who is unfit for the outside world and cannot be trusted; that re-taliatory norms are typical among status-deprived inmates is therefore not surprising" (Grusky, 1959).

In contrast to custody, the goal of rehabilitation therapy implies a very different relationship between staff and inmates. Staff members are expected to establish recip-rocally friendly and trusting relationships with the inmates. These positively charged, emotional relationships between guards and inmates are mandatory if rehabilitation is to take place. The change from custodial to treatment and milieu rehabilitation results in greater interaction and commaraderie between inmates and staff (Grusky, 1959). In-creasing evidence, then, seems to be mounting that the

"solidarity opposition" description of the peer social system in all total institutions is an inaccurate one. In custodial settings due to the importance attributed to a system of deprivations and narrow latitudes of unrestricted behavior, the peer group is organized to mutually buttress peers in diverting deprivations and allocating illegitimate and legitimate values.

These functions reflect and generate relatively negative and 'prisonized' orientations toward the institution and staff. Although staff control and authority practices increase the need for inmate group solution, they also handicap interaction and group function, so that integration and solidarity are relatively undeveloped. The leaders, highly involved in illicit and secret activities, tend to have a negative orientation toward the institution (Street, 1965).

On the other hand, in a treatment setting

the inmate group is organized more voluntaristically, around friendship patterns. Since the level of deprivation is lower, mutual aid is less necessary, and any ameliorative system tends to lose its market. The group is involved in the allocation of values among its members, but these are positive rewards, more consonant with staff definitions of merit. Staff gives much freer rein to inmate association, so that primary group integration and norms of group solidarity are at a higher level than those in the custodial setting. This cohesiveness does not necessarily imply opposition to staff, however, for the inmate group emphasizes more positive norms and perspectives and greater commitment to the institution and staff. Leaders' orientation is also more positive (Street, 1965).

Finally, the more positive character of staff behavior toward inmates and the positive orientation of the inmate group generates more positive attitudes toward self among the inmates of treatment institutions than among those of custodial organizations (Street, 1965).

A special kind of rehabilitative therapy is concerned with giving the inmates an opportunity to develop their own

self-government which serves as training for leading more
socially and personally acceptable lives outside of the
institution upon release. An early research attempt to com-
pare leadership in peer groups with and without the oppor-
tunity of the group to develop autonomous goals was carried
out in 1935 and 1936 in the Wayne County Training School for
high grade mentally deficient children, many of whom were
also predelinquent (Kephart, 1938; McCandless, 1942). Two
cottages took part in the experiment. One cottage was almost
entirely self-governing, the residents were permitted to
handle their own affairs. Once each week they had a cottage
meeting in which they discussed infractions of the cottage
rules and decided on the proper treatment for the offenders.
All matters of discipline and cottage operation were left to
the group itself, except that the administration retained
the power of veto in case broader aims of the institution
should be lost in any specific case. A second cottage was
set up with boys who were matched in background and person-
ality characteristics. Here, however, cottage routine was
not determined by the residents, but assigned to the cottage
supervisors, who directed these processes autocratically and
completely.

> In the democratic groups, the adult was considered
> as a member of a group--he was listened to, but not
> always agreed with. He was treated with freedom and
> humor, but not with disrespect due to his status and
> possession of superior information and skills. Work
> went on whether he was present or not; group behavior
> did not vary when he left the room, nor did it change
> when he returned (McCandless, 1942).

Dominant behavior of group members over one another,
according to McCandless (1942), was rarely observed in the
self-governing cottages. On the basis of a boy's sociometric
rating of their cottage-mates, dominant boys were decidedly
less popular or socially acceptable in the self-government
cottage than in the autocratic cottage.

In the autocratic cottage meetings were perfunctory
and participation lackadaisical. Few comments or plans
evolved from meetings which lasted from 10 to 15 minutes (in
contrast to meetings that were often over an hour in the
democratic cottage). The boys acted rather passively in the
presence of staff; their conversations were stilted and
there was a certain stillness occurring when an adult entered
the room. Fewer adults were asked to participate in their
activities. We would interpret the fact that dominant boys
were considerably more popular in the autocratic cottages as
meaning that the boys in these cottages, fearful and un-
trusting of adults, respected those dominant boys who were
less fearful and better able to stand up to authority in
order to get their way. To be sure, this is only our in-
terpretation, there is no reported data with which to sub-
stantiate this interpretation.

It is relevant here to discuss the now famous experi-
ment of Lippit and White (1947). In a series of elaborate
conditions, Lippit and White studied the effect of democratic,
authoritarian and laissez-faire leadership on children. Task

groups were set up and directed by adults, who rotated among each of the leadership roles. These task groups meet regularly for a number of weeks. Striking differences in the youngsters behavior was revealed under the various leadership atmospheres. Members of the autocratic clubs were more apathetic and dependent upon the adult leadership than were members of the democratic clubs; they also expressed more aggressive discontentment and were less friendly and confiding in their peers than were democratic members. On the other hand, democratic club members were more group concerned and more personally involved in the task at hand than were autocratic group members. In autocratic situations, the authors concluded, the demand for attention from the adults was greater than in the democratic atmosphere. It appeared that getting the adult leaders' attention remained one of the few sources of satisfying social status in settings where all of the crucial functions of group life were in hands of the adult. On the other hand, members of the democratic club felt freer and more inclined to make suggestions on matters of group policy and took responsibility in getting their own information than boys in the other group atmospheres. The authors claimed that the low level of suggestion in the laissez-faire situation was not because of any feeling of restricted freedom but because of a lack of cooperative working relationship between the adults and other group members.

The Setting for the Study

Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School at Hawthorne, New York, the institution in whose setting the present study took place, has been a custodial institution for wayward youngsters for the past half century. It was one of the trailblazers in inaugurating the cottage system in the United States with an emphasis on resocialization rather than detention (Polsky, 1962). It was also early in introducing trade and professional training (Slavson, 1961). A psychologist became a staff member in 1917; a psychiatrist in 1926 and a psychiatric case-worker in 1928. In 1934 Hawthorne took a revolutionary turn when it reorganized as a unitary institution for both boys and girls, with a single child guidance clinic. The clinic utilized psychological testing and social case-workers, who were supervised by psychiatrists (Polsky, 1962).

In spite of the centralization of the clinic for treatment and diagnosis, throughout the years Hawthorne has been slowly developing a philosophy of milieu treatment with its component, permissiveness. The institution in recent years has encountered considerable opposition to this program and has reverted back to an individual psychiatric casework emphasis (Polsky, 1962).

The resident population of Hawthorne at the time of the study was 206 children, which is close to the average in recent years. The boys range in age from eight to 18 with

98 per cent of the male population 11 years of age or older.

The girls range in age from 11 to 18. Generally, children

are not admitted after the age of sixteen. The institution

accepts children who have presented severe management prob-

lems in the home community due to their acting out or serious

psychological disturbances. Its population is predominately

Jewish (non-Jewish residents average less than 15 per cent).

Most of the children received by the institution come from

the courts. A large proportion is referred by the Depart-

ment of Welfare; a proportionately small number come from

private agencies.

> A major criterion for admission is the judgement
> as to whether or not a child can be treated without
> commitment to an institution. When children are
> screened out at intake, any feasible non-institutional
> plan is given preference, such as placement in a resi-
> dent club or an outpatient clinic treatment program.
> Because of this intake policy, Hawthorne harbors many
> seriously emotionally disturbed children.

> To offset this, much deliberation is given to the
> cottage and the school classes in which the child
> should be placed. A child may have to wait for what
> the staff believes to be a suitable opening in a cot-
> tage for both his and the school's best interest
> (Polsky, 1962, pp. 14-15).

Children who are not able to maintain and care for

themselves because of serious physical disability or low

intellectual capacity are not accepted by the institution.

The distribution of Intelligence Quotients of the residents

is normally distributed, with a cut-off at around 75, unless

a higher potential is indicated. Twelve cottages comprise

the institution. A 168 boys live in four junior, three

intermediate and three senior cottages; 38 girls live in the two girls' cottages. Each houses 15 to 20 children and is staffed by either a married couple or two single counselors. Each unit also has several relief counselors who rotate among the cottages in the unit. In the boys' units, each cottage has both a male and female counselor. In addition to cottage parents, the staff is comprised of case workers, administrators, a research staff, recreational leaders, teachers, a rabbi, a maintenance crew and volunteers. The total number of staff is quite high almost matching the number of children in the institution.

The children attend school on the premises, and most children see their social worker frequently. The school program, the frequency and type of session with social workers are predicated on the individual needs of the youngster. Programs are adapted to meet the child's personality requirements (Polsky, 1962).

Hawthorne Cedar Knoll's Treatment Philosophy

According to its highest administrative official, Hawthorne may be regarded

> as a training school for so-called delinquent children which, under the impact of the child guidance disciplines, with a strong admixture of psychoanalytically oriented psychiatry, has been transformed into a treatment institution for emotionally disturbed children. This has meant gradual and controlled change, liberalization of child management introduced against a background of stability and a well-defined framework of living. Control has more and more been replaced by the free expression of the impulse. The

atmosphere has become one of tolerance for unusual and bizarre behavior (Alt, 1953).

This philosophy has lead to an open community policy. There are no walls, gates or guards despite the enormous cost of recovering "runaways" incurred by Hawthorne (Polsky, 1962).

Together with attention to individual psychotherapy, the institution emphasizes occupational and educational training as well as involvement in community effort. While sickness and accompanying disability are recognized, the institution claims to be concerned with "the building up of the healthy elements of the child's personality and on his capacity for change" (Alt, 1953).

Nevertheless, despite emphasis on total personality change in a "conditioned" rehabilitative milieu, the primary process of induced change is through individualization of the child's problems by staff members. It is regularly observed that whenever a child misbehaves or becomes depressed he is separated and isolated from his peers. Staff view the cottage and the resident peer group "as a holding operation that enables the social worker to develop intensive individual therapeutic relationships with the boys during their eighteen to twenty-four months' stay" (Polsky, 1962, p. 17). Further indication of the lack of actual articulation of the milieu rehabilitative approach is the real paucity of knowledge clinical staff have of what transpires in the cottage. For instance, it is readily admitted by both staff and

youngsters that only the youngsters know what transpires in
the cottage after the lights go out at about 10 p.m. and the
counselors leave, until 7 a.m. the next morning when staff
comes back on duty. Even more critical is the not infre-
quent comment of clinical staff, that the psychotherapeutic
sessions with youngsters are rarely concerned with the
youngster's transactions in the cottage, unless, of course,
some disruptive behavior or crisis occurs in the cottage.
Clinical staff as a rule do not make visits to the cottage
nor are they encouraged to do so. The unit supervisor (a
social worker), who is the administrator for both the clin-
ical staff and cottage care staff, acts as an intermediary
between clinical staff and cottage counselors.

Accepting the findings from the literature of the
crucial importance of the peer group as a compact social
system, we believe that neither the administration, the
clinical staff nor the cottage care workers can ever hope
to understand the youngsters' behavior without a clear under-
standing of cottage life. The cottage, therefore, is the
empirical focus of this study.

Sample Studied

The subjects for this experiment were the eight
regular cottage care workers and 52 resident youngsters who
comprised the three cottages in the intermediate unit of the
institution. Boys in the intermediate unit range from 15 to
17 years of age. While it is generally true that

intermediate boys are somewhat younger than the senior boys, several intermediate boys are often chronically older than some of the senior boys. Cottage placement is predicated on the basis of social maturity as much as it is on date of birth. At the time the experiment was conducted, there were four regularly assigned counselors and 18 residents in Cottage 1. Comprising this staff, was a former professional athlete with a diverse background in the recreational field, who worked in the cottage full-time; two young men, who had served in the Peace Corp, worked approximately half-time and served as relief counselors in the other intermediate cottages on a part-time basis; a middle-aged married woman, who worked in the school principal's office during the day and in the cottage three nights a week.

There were two regularly assigned staff members and 17 youngsters in Cottage 3. The male counselor, a young man in his mid-twenties, had worked as a male nurse in a psychiatric ward of a large metropolitan hospital. His female counterpart was in her fifties, and married to the supervisor of the school's security staff.

An elderly husband and wife team were cottage parents in Cottage 2 in charge of 17 youngsters; he in his seventies, she in her late sixties.

Interestingly in this institution operated under the auspices of a Jewish agency, only two counselors were Jewish --the female and one of the young counselors in Cottage 1.

The full-time head counselor in Cottage 1 and the male coun-
selor in Cottage 3 were Negro.

The residents' intake records were analyzed to de-
termine whether there were differences among the Intermediate
cottages in background characteristics--such as intelligence,
psychiatric diagnosis, delinquent record or broken homes--
which might confound differences found in the emergent peer
system in each of the cottages. Of a total of 19 background
characteristics three were found statistically significant
by chi square analysis. Boys in Cottage 3 came from homes
where the father had more often attained at least a high
school diploma than did the fathers of the boys in Cottage 1
and #2 (significant at the .05 level of confidence). Simi-
larly, the mothers of boys in Cottage 3 were more likely to
be housewives rather than to be employed than were the
mothers of boys in Cottage 1 and #2 (significant at the .05
level of confidence). On the other hand, boys in Cottage 2
were more often admitted to the institution because of anti-
social acting out in the community. Boys in Cottage 3,
whereas, were more often admitted because of their own psy-
chopathology or family pathology (significant at the .01
level). Cottage 1 did not differ significantly from each of
the other two cottages. But Cottage 2 did differ signif-
icantly from #3 at the .005 level of confidence.

On the basis of these background factors we charac-
terize the boys in #3 as coming from homes where the father

was better educated and the mother more likely to be a house-
wife. However, this is not enough evidence to maintain that
the boys in Cottage 3 were more middle class than the boys in
the other two cottages. The fathers of boys in #3 did not
earn a higher average salary nor did the home and community
environment prove significantly different from the other two
cottages. Consequently, other than having more acting out,
anti-social boys in #2 than #3, the youngsters appeared
rather similar socially and psychologically in background
characteristics. In support of these findings: the admin-
istration has tried to avoid collecting boys with similar
negative psychological characteristics in a given cottage,
so to eliminate the viciousness of a hardcore "delinquent"
cottage on the one hand and a pervasive "sickie" cottage on
the other.

A comparison of the three intermediate cottages re-
vealed that all three cottages were rather similar in phys-
ical structure. They were rather old and in not too good
repair; they also seemed dirty and a little neglected. In
keeping with the institution's ostensible "progressive"
treatment and social philosophy, one was aware of the "lag"
in the physical plant of the cottages. In all of the cot-
tages, the shower rooms were inconveniently located in the
basement, two flights below the boys' bedrooms. They were
frequently in need of repair. The cottages were painted in
drab, dark colors. There were no doors to the bedrooms;

many boys hung curtains and sheets up in the doorway to insure some privacy. The result was an impression of a transit hotel or rooming house. As far as games and recreational supplies were concerned, all three cottages appeared to have a good quality of resources. Each cottage, in addition, had regular use of the gymnasium and the ball field. They also had ample fields and lawn space behind the cottages which were used for various activities. Each cottage had a cottage fund with more money than the boys appeared pressed to spend. This money was spent on cottage trips, activities, parties or cottage purchases, supplementing what the institution provided each cottage with. Boys brought their own records, radios, phonographs and guitars from home to the cottages, and staff in Cottage 1, seemed particularly generous in letting the boys borrow the staff's own resources.

Each of the three cottages as far as sleeping space was concerned was separated into small rooms holding two or three boys; a few rooms had only a single occupant. Each boy had a large locker in which he hung his clothes and whatever else he could fit in it. The vintage of the furniture in the bedrooms was rather old and not particularly attractive. The cottages, in general, were not at all impressive. In addition to the drab physical structure, many of the boys threw their clothes and personal belongings around in a very unorderly fashion so that even the neater boys were constantly faced with material chaos around them.

While the rooms were small, they were also open, having no
doors. The boys expressed desire for more privacy and ac-
cess for personal effects. When a boy left the room, his
personal effects were accessible to anyone who might wish to
examine them and leave with them. The boys frequently com-
plained of thefts.

The regular daily routine was uniform for all cot-
tages. The boys were awakened at 7 a.m. In the period from
7 to 8 a.m. they were expected to wash, dress and make their
beds. At 8 a.m. they marched to the dining hall for break-
fast. They were usually back in the cottage at 8:15 or
8:20. From the time they returned to the cottage until
9 a.m. they were engaged in completing their cottage tasks.
Nine a.m. to 3 p.m., with a break for lunch at 12:30, was
school time. From 3 p.m. to 5 p.m. most of the boys lounged
around the cottage, usually engaged in their own individual
pursuits: some slept; others read; watched T.V.; completed
cottage tasks; or engaged in informal bull sessions. A few
boys were on school varsity teams and were absent from the
cottage in the afternoon. Boys were scheduled for appoint-
ments with their social workers in the afternoon as well as
during the school day. Supper, like other meals was con-
summated quickly; they started to the dining hall at 5 p.m.
and were back in the cottage 5:20 to 5:30. In the evening
there was a loosely organized recreational program. Most of
the boys in #2 were either engaged in this program or the

coed lounge operating simultaneously. About half the boys in

Cottage 1 were regularly found in one of the two programs,

but only a few boys from #3. The other boys remained in the

cottage pursuing individual or informal sub-group interests.

There was occasionally a cottage meeting, usually to read

"the riot act" on misbehavior committed by the group. A

study period was observed irregularly in Cottage 1 and #3,

but none in #2. Saturdays were given to completing cottage

chores and to a recreational program in the afternoon. Some

boys went on home visits for the weekend and others received

visitors on Sunday.

CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENTAL PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

Experimental Problem

The concept of social system holds that any group, if it is to survive within the larger organization in which it finds itself, must develop specific means for contending with both external demands and potential sources of internal friction. The consequences of such a state of affairs is that the group is differentiated into stratified roles, the configuration of which depends upon the complexity of the situation which confronts the group. What is not know precisely enough are the various types of peer organization, particularly, the leadership roles, which evolve in a residential treatment school setting and how they change over time. This investigation sought to tackle the first problem by formulating a rationale which would:

(a) predict the salient leadership roles that would arise in the three intermediate cottages on the basis of knowledge of the residents' perception of cottage staff's attention to the functional prerequisites of the social system in which they are both found--cottage staff being the

power vehicle which the peer group most consistently faces
in order to gain its ends. For purposes of the study <u>role</u>
was defined as a more or less coherent and unified system of
items of behavior (Slater, 1955), which incurs an enduring
pattern as long as the role holder is within the hold of a
group and which group members are able to identify.

(b) A second purpose of this study was to predict
the relationship between particular leadership roles and the
"respect" or "liking" cottage-mates hold for these role oc-
cupants in different social systems.

(c) Finally, this investigator sought to determine
if certain personality factors that boys brought to the
social system transcend the social system and were saliently
found in the personality of all occupants of the same role
in different social systems. In that the existing social
system of the cottage determines the network of roles avail-
able for occupancy, different cottages may be expected to
require different personality factors for a given role. On
the other hand, certain pervasive personality character-
istics may predominate for a given role regardless of the
social setting.

An understanding of the dynamics of cottage peer
group leadership may be a significant contribution not only
to the therapeutic milieu at Hawthorne, but may also offer a
workable, systematic approach for an understanding of inmate
groups in other total institutions.

Conceptual Framework

In order to properly study the influence of one social system (a cottage staff) upon another social system (a peer group), a sound social system theory must be conceptualized. The Peer Culture Project (of which this study is a sub-project) has modified and developed the Parsons-Bales Structural-Functional theory as its conceptual framework (Parsons, 1959). It is in terms of this conceptual system that the present study tackled the problem of what effect staff management had upon the peer group social system. Nevertheless, this study was not a test of Parsonian theory. Rather, we find this conceptual framework a convenient model for studying persistent problems that confront the social scientist in an institutional setting.

It should be pointed out that the type of analysis we were trying to carry out in determining the effect of staff management is innovative. Typically, in the literature one finds research answering the question of how some component of the institution effects resident behavior in either of two ways:

(1) If the institution in question is a prison, a training school or some other type of institution for delinquents, results of institutional treatment have been answered in terms of recidivism or attitude toward one's self or society, in general, of the individual inmate upon leaving the institution (for example, Empey and Rabow, 1961;

Ferdinand, 1963; Jenkins, and Blodgett, 1960).

(2) If the institution in question is a mental hos-
pital or treatment agency for the emotionally disturbed, the
results have been answered in terms of specific character-
istics of the individual's personality structure (for ex-
ample, Bettelheim, and Sylvester, 1948; Redl, and Wineman,
1957).

With very few exceptions there has been no attempt
to answer the effect of institutional treatment in terms of
interpersonal behavior within the institution itself (Berk,
1966; Street, 1965). In other words, there has been almost
no effort to relate staff management as a social stimulus for
resident behavior in the same social field. Moreover there
appears to be no investigation in the literature, with the
one exception of a study done thirty years ago and reported
by Kephart (1938) and McCandless (1942), that relates differ-
ent kinds of staff management in the same institution under
controlled conditions. It is precisely this indigence that
the present study attempted to fill.

Large strides have been stepped off in earlier re-
search of the Peer Culture Project, first through selection
and articulation of sound social system theory; operation-
alizing of this theory into practical research methods and
development of testing instruments. The rational was first
to devise and demonstrate an approach which would charac-
terize all types of social systems. Consequently, the

research up to now has been largely sociological. The level

of analysis up to this point has been to demonstrate how

changes in the larger organization of the social system

feed back to its smaller components, e.g., roles within the

sub-groups. The approach the present research took was on

a social psychological level of analysis: namely, how per-

ception of the social stimulus situation (staff interaction

with residents, in terms of Parsonian theory) influences

peer group behavior (leadership roles that emerge in the

cottage peer group) and, concurrently, how this behavior is

an attempt to influence the social stimulus situation in

meeting both the personal needs of the individual boys and

the values of the group. Problems of specification of rela-

tionship developed by Lazarsfeld (Kendall and Lazarsfeld,

1950) have bearing here. Lazarsfeld has maintained that the

relationship variables have to one another may be concep-

tualized as being mediated by other variables. This is no

idle matter. "When we interprete a result we try to de-

termine the process through which the assessed cause is re-

lated to what we take to be its effect" (Kendall and Lazars-

feld, 1950, p. 148). We are interested in learning how the

result came about and what are the links among the variables.

For instance, are the ways persons react to others' actions

conditioned and regulated by the norms and values of the

social system in which their behavior takes place? In terms

of our empirical focus--the cottage social system--

specification of relationship explores whether the way the youngsters feel about the kind of roles their peers play in the cottage is effected by other factors such as the type of roles that the counselors play, the relationships between counselors and residents and the resulting social norms that develop in the cottage social system.

The very process of perception is altered after all by shifts and adjustments in the social stimulus situation. An interesting question is whether boys who formerly approved of leaders' delinquent behavior in a custodial setting would change their estimation of such behavior in instances where they perceive staff as now carrying out roles that permit them socially approved access to things they desire. The saliency of this information is obvious. The individual utilizes his perceptions as a basis for action. Perceptions are cognitively organized in the individual's repertoire of meaningful and significant experiences. Klein (1949) has pointed out, that the individual "must continuously bring into harmony needs, impulses, and wishes and buffer these turbulences from within against those from without." Thus, simply knowing what values and standards the staff impose upon the peer culture is not sufficient to tell us why the peer structure takes the form it does. The boys' perceptions of these directives, in line with their personal needs and the social norms governing such behavior are necessary information as well.

The experimental problem this research study sought to answer was whether the kinds of relationships staff had with boys; more specifically, the type of problems and needs staff emphasized in their relationship with residents would effect the kinds of relationships boys had with their peers; more specifically, the respect and liking boys had for cottage-mates who played certain roles in the cottage.

Before more fully developing the conceptual rationale of the present investigation, it is necessary to discuss the conceptual framework of social system theory from which the present research was formulated.

A canvass of the literature on the influence of the social system theory in total institutions, revealed that social scientists posit a small set of organizing principles that characterize all durable human groups.[1] In more complex configurations, to be sure, these principles undergo considerable elaboration. It is precisely because social system analysis cuts across groups with rather diverse configurations, in revealing fundamental system dynamics, that accounts for its great usefulness. Some very helpful distinctions in social system process have been made by Homans (1950) and by Bales (1950). According to Homans an analysis

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[1]The material on the functional imperatives of social system theory to follow is based on a chapter of an unpublished manuscript, Polsky, H.W., Claster, D.S., and Goldberg, C. Social System Perspectives in Residential Institutions. Hawthorne, N.Y.: Peer Culture Project, Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School, 1965.

of a social system reveals two fundamentally distinct problems:

(1) the kinds of procedures a group undergoes in attaining its goals within a social environment. This social environment is referred to by Homans (1950) as the "external system" and the activities necessary to carry out the goals are termed "instrumental" by Bales (1950);

(2) the operations for maintaining satisfying and efficient cooperation among the members of a group which enables it to carry out its goals. For Homans (1950), development of group solidarity and cooperation is part of the group's "internal system," and the activities necessary to bring them about is referred to as "expressive" by Bales (1950).

In other words, every durable functioning social system has a job to get done and also promotes among its members loyalty to each other and the goals of the group. This distinction between task-performance in its relevant environmental situation and system maintenance underlies every social system.

Further analysis of social systems indicates that human groups are not maintained instinctively or automatically. Human beings in interaction act so that differential consequences, the result of individual incentives, are constantly emerging among the parties. Each system must therefore answer to what Parsons (1959) refers to as "Functional

Imperatives," which tend to harmonize the differential conse-
quences for attaining collective goals and mediate the dif-
ferential kinds of gratification individuals receive from
group membership. The functional imperatives which have to
be met at least at a minimum adequate level if continued
existance in the group is to be maintained are:

(1) <u>Adaptation</u>. This is the process whereby the group
organizes itself to meet the requirements of a larger social
system in which it finds itself. The adaptational task is
that of properly perceiving and carrying out of rules and
regulations (expectations) of a larger society. In order to
do so, a certain amount of cooperation or enforced order
must be imposed on the group. The fulfillment of the adapta-
tional requirements often leads to frictions and dissatis-
factions in the group members' relations to one another.

(2) <u>Goal Attainment</u>. Like adaptation, goal attain-
ment is an external system imperative. It refers to the ar-
ticulation and carrying out of the purposes and autonomous
goals of the group. Groups attract and hold members because
they can do certain things that individuals alone cannot.

(3) <u>Integration</u>. Integration is a feature of the
internal system, whereby the group develops a satisfying
social and emotional climate among its members. It is the
ability of groups to reduce the tensions and strains incurred
in executing goals and meeting adaptational requirements as
well as stemming from individual personality problems that

keeps the group functioning.

(4) <u>Latency Management</u>. Latency is the interlude between meeting institutional requirements and attaining goals. It consists of "bucking up" the members so that they carry out the activities connected with goal attainment and adaptation. In essence, the latency sphere is involved with the individual members' personality problems; its management is an attempt to prevent personality problems from disrupting the effective functioning of the group.

The following is a review of the literature which illustrates the problems involved in articulating the functional imperatives.

Adaptation Function

As "no man is an island unto himself," similarly no group or social system is so self-sufficient that its needs and purposes are not in some part directed toward the larger community or surrounding social system. Adaptation refers to the process whereby the group mobilizes itself to meet requirements and expectations of the larger society in which it finds itself. Often this is a rather unpleasant task, in that, the group must impose demands upon its members which restricts their latitude of acceptable behavior, making certain behaviors which are habitual or pleasant to individual members, unacceptable to the group. Dentler and Mackler (1961) have described quite cogently the pressures the larger system, the staff of a well-known school for

mentally retarded children, exerted upon their charges in socializing them to the acceptable modes of institutional behavior. The most frequent methods used to accommodate the child to regulations were unendlessly repeated cues, consisting of simple commands like: "Don't make noise, don't get in trouble, don't get into fights, just be quiet." The primary techniques used to insure their obedience were deprivation of privileges and seclusion. In total institutions where the adaptational sphere is heavily stressed, staff have few privileges to give out. Thus, they try to convert gratifications children customarily expect into privileges. This is the third method that the staff used to socialize children. A fourth was the staff's ability to delegate authority to children who were able to successfully conform to regulations. The success of socialization of the children was reflected in the children's own appraisal of one another. This feature ties in the integrative and adaptive spheres. Initially, it was found that boys with the highest sociometrics choice status received the most frequent disciplinary restrictions. In the second month after arrival, and after the group had become socialized, the status structure had radically changed: The boys who gain the greatest reduction in frequency of discipline had the highest peer group status.

Adaptation is not only a problem for the smaller social system forced to conform, it poses problems for the larger system that imposes the requirements as well.

Mouledous (1963), describing a prison community, argued that, "if an equalitarian approach is held, the administration relinquishes control of the total penal environment and allows for the development of an inmate social system which gradually dominates the environment and becomes the main reference for inmate standards and behaviors." Mouledous' solution assumed that "If administration maintains control of the penal environment by developing an authoritarian rather than an equalitarian approach, the inmate behavior and standards can be oriented to those of the administration." To implement such an approach, Mouledous suggested that the administration maintain its power by "distributing to the inmates various material resources and freedom of movement in exchange for their cooperation." Mouledous' solution to the custodial problem, then, is to replace threat system (still prevailing in many total institutions) with an exchange system as a prize for inmate accommodation to administrative demands. This "solution" is not the only alternative, of course; Grosser (1958), discussing a similar problem in adolescent training schools, preferred to use the inherent resources of the inmate group as a resocializing agent, rather than neutralizing the effectiveness of the inmate group as Mouledous suggested.

Ryan (1962), a psychiatrist, was impressed with the proclivity of patients in a closed ward of a psychiatric hospital to prefer a more structured, custodial atmosphere.

Ryan's article may be regarded as antithetical of the tendency of many modern mental hospitals towards increased freedom and individualization of the patients. Ryan reported that 45 per cent of the patients interviewed on the closed ward indicated that the protective quality of the hospital was its chief therapeutic advantage. At the time of their admission to the hospital these patients felt that they were no longer able to deal with the complications of life and the hospital offered them a refuge protecting them from the worries and threats of the outside world. Patients in the closed ward adhered to a strictly enforced routine. Patients ate and went to bed at specific times. Rules were firmly enforced except for the sickest patients, who were encouraged to conform as much as possible. In this overly structured, protective environment, Ryan reported that 93 per cent of the patients felt a sense of comfort and security. Many of the patients, who had led lonely isolated lives, were able to make contact with other people and develop a sense of identification with the patient group. In social system terms, Ryan's suggestion is that strict enforcement of rules and tasks frees the patient from the need to make decisions and plan his own goals. Where there is no pressure to develop autonomous goals, the patient easily conforms to the structure and integrates comfortably with peers.

An opposing view of hospitals that emphasize custodialism is contained in an article by Deane (1961), a

sociologist. Deane spent a week as a participant-observer
in a mental hospital. He was most unfavorably impressed by
the two most prominent features of a mental hospital--the
overly supervised routine to major activities like eating,
sleeping and jobs, and the absence of a purposeful program
of leisure activities. *Leisure time made up a considerable*
portion of the hospital routine. When the patient was free
from the demands of his schedule, there was relatively
little to command his attention and interest. Under these
conditions, Deane began to develop extreme discomfort and
anxiety, which led to depression and development of psy-
chotic symptoms which he described quite vividly.

Goal Attainment Function

While it is true that each of the functional impera-
tives must be maintained if the system is to survive, in some
respects the goal attainment sphere may be regarded as the
fundamental aim of a social system. Whether fully aware of
the fact or not, individuals enter into group interaction
because groups can attain goals satisfying to its members,
which they cannot obtain separately. In this sense, the
group's goal orientation and accomplishments are not only
the major pay-off for group membership, but actually its
raison d'etre.

This rationale is rather clear when we discuss in-
formal groups, where common motives conducive to interaction

lead to the formation of a group. In informal groups, neo-
phytes enlist and veterans depart as the group's objectives
attract or lose their interest. When one discusses a total
institution where residents are committed often against
their wishes and assigned to resident units (cottages, hos-
pital wards, cell blocks, and so forth) without consulting
the resident about his preferences, peer group dynamics may
have to be re-conceptualized. One point stands out in im-
mediate contrast between informal and inmate groups:

> In the inmate group of total institutions there is
> a strong feeling that time spent in the establishment
> is time wasted or destroyed or taking away from one's
> life; it is time that must be written off . . . as
> such, this time is something that its doers have
> bracketed off for constant conscious consideration in
> a way not quite found on the outside (Goffman, 1961,
> pp. 62-63).

Unless meaningful goals for the inmate can be stimu-
lated, the inmate will persist in thinking of the total in-
stitution as a place of internment, not a place where learn-
ing and resocialization are possible. Without motivating
interest in his own autonomous development, rehabilitation
of the inmate is impossible.

Several authors have indicated conditions under which
development of autonmous goals may be stimulated in a total
environmental setting.

Grosser (1958) has pointed out that many training
school administrations have created a situation which makes
it virtually impossible for the resident group to develop
socially-approved group goals. To begin with, the

administration has set up a status hierarchy which places
the resident in such a low position that spanning the dis-
tance between resident status to one of respect and accept-
ance from the administration is nearly impossible. Secondly,
containment of the inmates within a restrictive latitude of
acceptable behavior is not shared by the resident group.
Furthermore, the inmate group is not encouraged to develop
autonomous goals; in the eyes of the administration the in-
mate group is an unavoidable disability of inmate confine-
ment. Linking these two conditions together, we can say,
that the administration in many total institutions have not
offered the inmate group a means to attain respect and ac-
ceptance from administration by developing goals and values
which are shared by inmates and administration alike. Con-
sequently, operating under a different set of expectations,
feeling rejected and manipulated, the inmate rejects the
goals of the administration and turns rather toward his own
group membership for support, affection and respect; in a
word, a sense of identity.

Grosser has proposed a solution to counteract the
militant, anti-rehabilitation aims of the inmate group. He
has suggested that the administration utilize the inherent
social inducement resources of the inmate group by developing
goals both gratifying to the inmate group and approved by the
administration. These autonomous goals directed towards the
external system are what we mean by the articulation of the

goal attainment sphere.

Sherif (1956) has demonstrated experimentally the type of proposal Grosser has posited, that is, commonality of task orientation, together with the recognition of the need for coordinated efforts can solve collective problems and induce harmonious and mutually gratifying relations.

When groups cooperate in the attainment of super-ordinate goals, leaders are in a position to take bolder steps toward bringing about understanding and harmonious relations. When groups are directed toward incompatible goals, genuine work by a leader to reduce intergroup tension may be seen by membership as out of step and ill advised. The leader may be subjected to severe criticism and even loss of faith and status in his own group. When compelling superordinate goals are introduced, the leader can make moves to further cooperative efforts and his decisions receives support from other group members (Sherif, 1956).

McCullough (1955) has described a program in a psychiatric ward to assist patients in developing their own goals for recovery both inside the hospital and in the community after their release. McCullough's rationale was that through the coordinated efforts of services in the hospital as well as from stimulating volunteers from outside, a patient may come to feel accepted and part of the group. With acceptance the patient is better able to accept himself, a tolerance he extends circularly to others. Finding others in the group have similar problems there is less need for defensive attitudes and more attention to developing autonomous new perspectives about his life situation.

Finally, Clark (1955) has suggested that the proper climate for developing and carrying out comprehensive

improved hospital services depends upon an insightful, flex-
ible leader (the administrator), who pays adequate attention
to all the functional spheres of the social system in which
the social unit is embedded. The leader is a pace setter,
he approaches the "right" personnel with skills needed for
carrying out a particular program (adaptation); he sees that
good morale prevails so that staff can work harmoniously
(integration); he locates the standard bearers of tradition,
the personnel most hostile, most resistant and fearful of
change, (the impediment to goal attainment). He reassures
them and induces their support (latency management). Suc-
cessfully coordinating these functional spheres creates an
atmosphere and provides the resources in the system to de-
velop and implement the goals which will improve the insti-
tutional service.

Integration Function

A spirited rapport, a feeling of well-being in a
group of persons who hold similar interests and accept one
another as important, are essential to group interaction if
the members are to apply themselves to the group's tasks.
In this sense, integration like goal attainment is both an
attraction and a pay-off of group membership. The level of
group integration serves as a barometer of the functional
quality of the other system spheres. Where the other func-
tions are adequately met and the aims of the group carried
out, group cohesiveness appears to be "instinctively"

engendered. Under normal conditions however, strains do
occur in the social system and are reflected by the level of
group integration. Such strains must be "smoothed out" if
the system is to continue functioning.

Boyd, Kegeles, and Greenblatt (1954) have elaborated
on this last point. The authors interviewed staff and pa-
tients after a destructive gang incident in a psychiatric
ward. An analysis of the factors related to the incident re-
vealed that there was a lack of harmonious integration of
patients on the ward. On the same ward were aggressive para-
noid patients, who had been referrals of the court for pur-
poses of diagnosis, together with more severely disturbed
treatment cases. The court-referred patients organized
themselves into a delinquent clique. They were more socially
perceptive and better organized than the treatment patients,
and manipulated the latter for their own anti-social pur-
poses. Integration was also strained on the ward because
staff resented the court-referred patients for taking up bed
space without paying for it and for the patients' neglect of
staff directives. Nursing staff loyalties and favoritism to
certain patients impeded the already poor communication be-
tween the administration and patients, and increased the re-
sentment and frustration of patients on the ward. Finally,
failure to provide outlets for frustration and boredom led
directly to the ward incident. On a weekend when the pa-
tient ratio to staff was higher than during the week, the

patients went on a rampage.

Trent (1957) has pointed out, as did Grosser, that
in training schools where the adolescent inmate cannot turn
to the administration for understanding and trust, he seeks
comfort and a sense of identification with peers who are in
the "same boat" as he. Thus, "much of the newly committed
inmate's experiential background helps to both ease his adap-
tation to and increase his readiness to conform to the inmate
sub-culture" (Trent, 1957). The inmate organization achieves
integration by supporting illegal and societal disapproved
values and norms in an environment where the administration
does not consistantly and meaningfully reward societally ap-
proved values and norms. Accommodation to this vicious,
anti-societal inmate subculture provides the only means of
survival for weak, low status inmates. As a member of the
group, he is rewarded with a sense of identity and belonging-
ness.

McCorkle (1954), aware of the criticisms of Trent
and Grosser, has followed up the proposal suggested by Grosser
to employ the social resources of the inmate group in re-
socializing the inmate. In guided group interaction the
major emphasis is on the group and its own development,
rather than on an attempt to analyze individuals in the
group. The rationale behind this technique assumes that the
delinquent will benefit from peer social experiences where,
"he can freely discuss, examine and understand his problems

without threats that have been so common in his previous learning experiences" (McCorkle, 1954). New insights into his own behavior it is hoped will induce the inmate to give up self-defeating peer roles.

Caudill, Redlich, Gilmore, and Brody (1952) have clearly demonstrated how group integration develops in a social setting where the goal-attainment function in under-developed and the custodial orientation is not severe enough to incur "natural" group solidarity. "The patients felt that many of the ordinary conventions and social gestures of the outer world were made temporarily meaningless by hospital life" (Caudill et al., 1952). Among his peers, each patient constructed a role which was nominally functional to the group and enabled him to identify with the informal patient group. In this process, the informal group gained control of patient life.

Latency Function

Social system analysis alerts us that whereas each group member in accord with the goals and norms of the group of which he is currently a member is group-oriented, he is also an individual with a personal history, who acts at least, in part, inconsistently with present group membership. Consequently, at one level a social system is a consolidation of norm-directed individuals, and at another, a matrix of conflicting intra-psychic processes. The latency sphere links together these two levels: group functioning is

generally facilitated by successful reduction of psychic or inter-status conflicts of its members.

Individuals characterized by considerable intrapsychic conflict are severely impeded in employing adequate social skills. They tend to project their conflict onto other individuals and in so doing attribute their own motives as the intention of others. According to Parker (1957), "such an individual is unable to view the situations from the perspective other than his own. Thus it is difficult for him to comprehend the implications of his own social behavior and its consequences for others. The inability to take symbolic roles prevents him from adequately predicting the responses of other people. He finds it difficult to anticipate (or appreciate) how others respond to him because he cannot take into consideration their attitudes and viewpoints." The less able he is in predicting others' behavior, the less successful he will be as a group member, since successful group functioning requires a high degree of implicit understanding of others expectations of one-self. The precipitation of intra-psychic conflict among members, then, leads to a break down in the group's ability to communicate.

Projective behavior by an individual stems from the belief that others pose threats to the individual's instinctual demands. Such a belief leads to a highly stereotyped defensive attitude which is maladjusted to the changing external situation. In order to reduce these defensive

"vigils" Bettelheim, and Sylvester (1948) have implemented a
therapeutic milieu which from the start, provides the problem
child with a stable, undemanding frame of reference. The
staff is highly permissive of deviant behavior and make min-
imum demands; rather, they attempt to satisfy generously the
infantile needs of the children, and induce a positive re-
lationship of the child to adults who are providing for his
well-being. Since the staff members remain consistant and
non-threatening, there is hope that the needs for defensive
attitudes will be reduced, making successful social behavior
appreciably easier.

The practitioner must be clear about the implica-
tions of the therapeutic approach he initiates in working
with the latency problems of residents of total institutions.
McCorkle, and Korn (1959) have maintained that "the impulse
to help has become confused with treatment and seems to re-
quire defense as treatment." The humane handling of inmates,
for example, permitting them to set up their own expectations
for such routines as labor, according to the authors, has
failed along with the tougher techniques of the past. This
is because prison officials have tended to use the inmate
power structure as an aid to prison administration for main-
taining order. They have not realized that in manipulating
the inmate structure, they themselves are "being used."
Under this system of "least effort," prison administration
has surrendered to the distorted realities of inmate

pressures rather than demanding a more realistic and thera-
peutic work situation. By relinquishing custodial demands
to inmate pressure, the prison administration is reinforcing
the inmate power structure's feeling of omnipotence and
therefore preventing rehabilitation.

Gilbert, and Levinson (1956) have viewed latency man-
agement in another way. They have suggested that the staff's
attitude toward mental illness in a mental hospital is an
integral part of the general approach to life problems and
as such is related to deeper-lying personality dynamics. The
authors have conceptualized two ideal types of staff ideol-
ogy:

> custodial ideology has important psychic functions
> for authoritarian hospital members . . . the person who
> has a great defensive need to displace and project ag-
> gressive wishes concerning authority figures to those
> who can be regarded as immoral, custodial ideology has
> special equilibrium--maintaining value through its
> justification of punitive, repressive measures.

> Humanistic ideology has corresponding functions for
> its adherence. By supporting a critical attitude
> toward the established order, it permits many equali-
> tarian individuals to express generalized anti-authority
> hostilities in ego-syntonic form. The principle of 'self
> control through self understanding', applied in the
> treatment of patients, often serves to maintain and
> consolidate the intellectualizing defenses of equali-
> tarian personnel (Gilbert, and Levinson, 1956).

In this sense, the opportunity the mental patient
(or any resident of a total institution) has to develop
autonomous, meaningful goals and directives, depends largely
upon the attitudes staff personnel have about themselves.

Powelson, and Bendix (1951), the former a

psychiatrist, the latter a sociologist, have offered evidence
to support these two ideal type ideologies proposed by
Gilbert, and Levinson in a modern prison. They have presented
the prison as a place where two incompatible ideologies pre-
vail. The first is held by the agents of custody (the
guards and the warden), who think of the prisoner as aspir-
ing above all else to get out of prison, by any means avail-
able and to escape his "just punishment." Having termed the
prisoner as "justly confined," then, any means of punishment
or control becomes justifiable. Custody agents supervise the
activities of prisoners so that a "smooth operation" results,
regardless of the effect on the individual prisoner's op-
portunity for rehabilitation. The agents of rehabilitation
(psychiatrists and social service workers), on the other
hand, look at the inmates' present behavior, not as an in-
dication of his moral depravity (hence reason for punish-
ment), but as an outgrowth of a maladjusted personal history
(latency) and need for treatment. In that custodial agents
run the prison and control the administration of physical and
mental treatment, a heavy custodial orientation militates
against rehabilitation.

Viewing the cottage as a social system alerts us
that both staff and their charges are bound in a system
which requires that certain important social roles be car-
ried out if the system is to be maintained. The major roles
required of the cottage care worker in the cottage social

system correspond to the functional imperative of every social system. This approach indicates that cottage counselors at various times must play the role of custodian (adaptation sphere); counselor and advisor (goal attainment sphere); nurturer (latency sphere); and friend (integration sphere). These four functional role segments emerge in every social system consisting of superordinate and subordinate membership. The cottage care worker is in charge of a large number of youngsters in a total living situation. This automatically brings into play the functional imperative in relation with the entire residential group. The complement of system roles is extremely complicated. The cottage care position is ridden with potential conflict. The cottage worker is encouraged, for example, to individualize in the cottage. He is required to inculcate the youngsters with pride in taking care of the cottage and also punish them when they are not properly fulfilling tasks and routines. He is to be affectionate and loving but also induce independence. To effectively carry out his job the cottage counselor must select the appropriate role in the proper situation. What he considers to be the proper role will obviously be related to his own personality, philosophy and training. It is the variation in emphasis given to these roles and its effect on the peer group that we are investigating.

Hypotheses

Underlying Assumption.--In an institution where cottage counselors are left to their own devices to develop a philosophy of cottage management, greater amounts of emphasis will be asserted toward certain important cottage management functions by cottage staff as a whole in contrast to great attention to other spheres in other cottages.

Rationale.--A survey of cottage staff personnel in residential institutions would reveal rather clearly that cottage personnel differ markedly in philosophy, personality, age, training, interpretation of the job, and even energy level. Findings from a previous study of Hawthorne indicated that the institution has not worked out a training program for cottage staff. A training program might be expected to level these individual counselor differences. Thus, at Hawthorne it is expected that personality differences will crystallize in the mode of carrying out cottage management by staff. Support for this assumption comes from the systematic participant observation of the Senior Unit of Hawthorne, which revealed that staff varying in training and education did differ considerably in their modes of cottage management.

General Hypothesis.--In cottages which differ significantly from each other in functional emphasis (as perceived by the boys) boys who occupy certain roles will be more likely to be chosen as leaders, than will boys who don't

occupy those roles or to a lesser degree. These particular roles will differ among cottages whose staff differ in functioning.

Hypothesis 1.--In cottages where staff emphasize group goals (emphases on goal-attainment and integration) boys who play roles, in the cottage in which they work cooperatively with staff and the peer group, as a whole, as well as promote group goal activities will be chosen leaders by the boys as reflected by being most respected and most liked. It is predicted that leaders in group goal cottages will be high on the following roles:

Number on Guess Who Questionnaire.

1. "Wants to take part in cottage fun"

#26. "Can get other boys to work together in making things for the cottage"

#45. "Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into action"

#50. "Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing"

#51. "Has the best ideas for cottage projects"

#52. "Tries to help staff work with each other"

#53. "Settles arguments before they break out into fights"

#55. "Gets along very well with staff and other boys"

#65. "Able to arrange for and carry through a ball game with no help from staff"

#66. "Gets everyone to contribute his share for the cottage."

Hypothesis 2.--In cottages where staff emphasize group goals, the boys who are chosen as most respected will tend to be the most liked and those most liked will also tend to be most respected in the cottage.

Rationale for Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2.--The more group goal and autonomy-oriented (emphasis on goal-attainment and integration) a resident perceives staff as being, the more will this resident be willing to work co-operatively with staff and work with his group as a whole. The resident who cooperates with staff in a group activity-oriented cottage and who is instrumental in getting the boys to work together is rewarded with things prized highly. He gains recognition from staff (whom he perceives as a friend and not as someone to defend himself against) for his contribution in promoting group spirit and group autonomy (important values to a group-oriented counselor). He gains status in the eyes of his peers for promoting group activities that gives each boy greater access to rewarding group experience and reduces staff restrictions. Thus, cooperation emerges between staff and resident in a group activity-oriented cottage as an arrangement mutually satisfying to both. Boys who are highly instrumental in carrying off these activities and relationships will be highly respected by their peers for their skills and highly-liked personally for the satisfaction it brings to the other boys. In brief, a boy can only gain status in his peer group by occupying

those roles which hold high status for the group.

Hypothesis 3.--In cottages where the peers perceive staff as being more custodial and individualizing their attention to problems and activities in the cottage rather than group goal-oriented (emphasis on adaptation and latency management), boys who play roles in which they control the other boys by power relations and can get by staff and regulations without incurring restrictions will be the most respected boys in the cottage. It is predicted that they will be high in the following roles:

Number on Guess Who Questionnaire.

5. "Gets around staff without actually breaking rules"

6. "Does as much as staff tells him to do in the cottage, but no more"

#10. "Tries to get special favors for himself from staff"

#11. "Talks to staff on behalf of the other boys who have requests or complaints"

#18. "Keeps other boys from getting themselves in trouble with staff"

#21. "Gets other boys to do his job around the cottage"

#24. "Tries to play one staff member against the other to get what he wants"

#38. "Other boys take orders from this boy because they are afraid of him"

#46. "Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage"

#58. "Can get other boys in the cottage to do whatever he wants."

Hypothesis 4.--In custodial and individualizing cottages, boys who play roles in which they nurture personal problems of the other boys and "buck up" the other boys by their presence will be the most liked boys in the cottage. It is predicted that they will be high on the following roles:

Number on Guess Who Questionnaire.

9. "Avoids getting involved in conflicts among boys"

#32. "Cheers up boys who are feeling low"

#33. "Always helpful to other boys in the cottage"

#41. "Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing"

#60. "Smooths over hard feelings between boys after a fight."

Rationale for Hypotheses 3 and 4.--In a custodial-oriented cottage (emphasis on adaptation and latency management), the more a resident perceives staff as controlling the group by strict adherence to rules and routine tasks and individual management of personnel problems and disruptions in the cottage, the less likely the resident will be aware of rewarding group experience. He will, on the other hand, become more aware of the effectiveness of group control through power relations. In such a cottage the resident is less likely to value working cooperatively with staff. In retaliation against restrictions and because direct defiance against staff results in increased restrictions, a resident

is likely to value behavior in which he can defy authority
subtly. In custodial settings, moreover, staff are not
overly concerned with the "why," "how well," or "the way"
tasks are completed and order maintained. In these cottages,
coercive techniques by dominant boys over their peers may,
therefore, be encouraged if it leads to greater control of
the cottage for staff.

Boys in a custodial cottage are less likely to re-
spect others who cooperate fully with staff, in that resent-
ment and mistrust is felt toward staff because of the re-
strictions on their freedom and discouragement of satisfy-
ing activities. Paradoxically, in that staff desires elimina-
tion of trouble and destruction in the cottage routine and
will reward the peers with less restrictions when trouble is
averted, boys who are able to control the other boys and
thereby reduce restrictions, as well as, get around staff
by subtle defiance, are likely to be the most respected boys
in the cottage. However, in reaction to these dominant
boys' coercive relations to the boys, the other boys will
like these boys less personally than other boys in the cot-
tage who are able to cheer them up when they feel low and
administer in other personal ways that are satisfying.

Hypothesis 5.--Some important personality character-
istics of the boys who occupy some of the salient leadership
roles in the cottages that are group goal-oriented (as per-
ceived by the boys) will be different from the personality

characteristics of boys who occupy these same roles in cus-
todial and individualizing cottages.

Rationale for Hypothesis 5.--Role playing may be
broadly conceived as a composite of three general factors:
Personality of the individual, orientation or conception of
the role--the perception of structurally given demands such
as norms, expectations and responsibilities that are set to
the role, and the action or activity resulting from playing
a role (Levinson, 1959). According to social system theory,
if a system is to survive it must adequately address four
functional areas. The roles that emerge in each social
system are in large part a reflection of the way each system
strives to address these spheres. Where emphasis is devoted
in greater degree to certain spheres the roles that relate
to that sphere will be given greater importance than the
roles that relate to a sphere which receives less attention.
Correspondingly, the personal attributes that are needed to
fulfill a role are predicated by the significance of this
role to the entire role system and cannot be evaluated out-
side of this context. Each social system will define the
requirements of a particular role differently from some other
social system. Therefore, where there are different kinds
of staff management and different norms resulting, there will
be different kinds of personal requirements for a particular
role.

Hypothesis 6. In cottages where staff devote more

time to harmonious and pleasant relationships among the peers
(integration sphere) as well as promote group goal activity
(goal attainment), there will result a higher degree of cot-
tage spirit and less disrespect for one another among the
boys in the cottage.

Rationale for Hypothesis 6. In a cottage where the
group as a whole perceives staff as being more group goal-
oriented, there is greater likelihood that the boys will have
access to rewarding group experiences. It is also likely
that more boys will be positive about group experiences and
respect those boys who contribute toward its maintenance.

CHAPTER III

EXPERIMENTAL PROCEDURES

Instruments

Instead of relying on direct observation as a pri-
mary source of peer group data, several pencil-and-paper
questionnaires were constructed by which the peer group
could themselves describe their particular social system.
In addition, direct participant observation by independent
observers were employed as an independent measure as well
as to help clarify and make meaningful the data from the
questionnaires.

In order to ascertain whether cottage management
differed among the cottages, as perceived by the youngsters,
a questionnaire was developed by this investigator, in terms
of the four functional imperatives of social system theory
as described by Parsons (1959). This questionnaire consists
of 24 statements and situations that inquires into each cot-
tage counselor's manner of carrying out his job. The ques-
tionnaire, respondents are asked to indicate which of three
alternatives (three of the four functional imperatives de-
scribed in concrete, situational terms for each item) a

counselor does most often; which behavior he does next most often; and which he does least often. The Cottage Life Questionnaire was so constructed that each of the four functions would appear as often as any other and in the same number of like combinations. Moreover, half of the context of the situations have been judged neutral in function and half in terms of one of the four functions (also equated) by two research persons well acquainted with social system theory.

In order to arrive at a more objective measure of the boys' perception of staff functioning, the respondents were not asked to evaluate how well staff carried out their function, but asked how often the counselor carried out each particular function. The rationale for this kind of query assumes that a different type of social system developed in each cottage on the basis of the attention staff addressed to each of the four functions. The assumption behind this rationale was that information on the amount of time spent on each of the functions were sufficient to enable the investigator to ascertain the type of stimulus situation that confronted the peer group in each of the cottages. This has a prior, underlying assumption that may not be valid. The assumption was that a similar amount of time transpired in every cottage in which functional imperatives were addressed --so that "how often" in regard to the functions has a common baseline for all the cottages. It may be that one or two cottages spent a greater amount of time addressing functions.

Consequently, the residents reporting that staff in one cottage devoted a given proportion of time to a given function in comparison to the other functions might not be equivalent to that same proportion of time spent on that function in another cottage where more time is spent on functional problems per se.

It would be also interesting and valuable to know how *effectively* each counselor was perceived to carry through each of the four functions, when he did address that function. To ask the boys to evaluate counselor roles, however, would be to introduce an additional conceptual step to the process of cognition--the boys evaluating what they perceived in cottage life to the situation confronting them in the questionnaire. This additional step would probably render the cottage life instrument less objective than is desirable in this investigation. It is, of course, evident that the cottage life instrument is not unbiased. Merely asking the boys to indicate how much time staff devoted to functions is tinged at least with some subjective evaluation. The probability of a "halo" effect is always present in questionnaire such as the inventory used in this investigation. Respondents can be expected to make some attempt at evaluating the alternatives. Where there are more "desirable" alternatives--"well liked" counselors are likely to be perceived as carrying out more of the "desirable" functions than they actually do.

In order to check against a "halo effect" in respondent replies to the questionnaire (describing counselors they "like" as doing all the "good" functions and describing counselors "disliked" as carrying out "bad" functions), the social desirability of the items were pretested on a group of former students of the institution, who met regularly at a resident club in New York City. These young men were asked to rate which of the functions when performed by staff are most desirable in the eyes of a resident in the institution; which function is the next most desirable and which activity is the least desirable. Totalling up the composite values of each of the four functions, it was found that the goal-attainment sphere was most highly valued, latency management and integration were next most highly valued, and adaptation was least valued. The differences among these four functions, however, were not large enough, in the opinion of the investigator, to be very meaningful. This is in large part due to the fact that not all the boys rated goal-attainment first, adaptation last, and so forth.

The questionnaires were then pretested on a group of youngsters at Hawthorne, who were slightly younger than the boys in the experimental groups. Employing a split-half technique the level of significance for each function for the entire questionnaire was better than .001. This finding was interpreted as indicating that the boys as a group in the pretest cottage perceived the mode of cottage management

by their counselors in a similar way. Nevertheless, despite
the findings from pre-testing the investigator had fear that
the dynamics of answering the questionnaire might interfere
with what the inventory was intended to measure. Since goal
attainment was most highly valued and adaptation least
valued, a boy, for instance, in a custodial cottage may find
it important to respond as though the counselor were inter-
ested in goal attainment and autonomy. The reasoning for
this is fairly obvious: Youngsters may fear that the ques-
tionnaires are not really anonymous and the counselors in
his cottage might want him to picture them as carrying out
the most socially desirable functions. As an independent
check on the validity of the Cottage Life Questionnaire,
three independent judges were employed. They rated the
functional activity in the cottages by filling out the Cot-
tage Life Questionnaire for each staff member. Two of these
judges were research personnel who had spent considerable
time as participant observers in the cottages and the third
judge was the Unit Supervisor of the cottages that were
studied.

In order to ascertain which roles boys play in the
cottage, a role inventory (called the "Guess Who Question-
naire") was administered to the boys in each cottage. The
68 roles which comprise this questionnaire were found in
previous research in the institution to exist in the cot-
tages. Boys were simply asked to indicate the boy or boys

who fitted each role description. There is abundant evidence
in the literature that even young children are capable of
making very fine discriminations among specific responses
of their age-mates (Hartshorne et al., 1929; Lesser, 1954;
Tuddenham, 1952; Walder et al., 1961; Wiggins, and Winder,
1961). It seems reasonable to assume that more general be-
havior in the form of role occupancy will be even more
clearly perceived. Previous research in the Senior Unit of
this institution has shown a satisfactory level of relia-
bility for these peer group roles. Construct validity has
also been demonstrated by cross-checking by means of other
kinds of questionnaires. The sources of information that
went into the questionnaire were general observations inside
the cottages; approximately a dozen essays written by the
boys describing their own cottage, plus taped focused
interviews--half a cottage at a time. From these procedures
a picture of the range of peer group roles were accumulated.
When this picture was thought to approach comprehensiveness,
the procedure was next to list as many different roles de-
scriptions as possible. From this list was constructed a
questionnaire which listed the roles in random order.

To measure the "respect" and "liking" the youngsters
held for cottage-mates, a traditional sociometric-type ques-
tionnaire (called the "Choice Questionnaire") was employed.
The respondent was asked to indicate the one, two or three
other boys for whom he had the most respect and disrespect

in the cottage and in the institution; whom he liked and
disliked most; and whom he would choose in his cottage to
carry out certain behaviors which would fall under the rubric
of each of the functional imperatives. For purposes of this
investigation, choices received for most respected and
choices received for most liked served as an indice of
leadership. Although leadership was measured on the basis
of sociometric choices received, there was no assumption
made that a boy becomes a leader because he receives socio-
metric choices. Rather a boy becomes a leader because of
the kind of roles he plays in the cottage. Certain roles
are more important to one social system than to another.
Boys who receive many choices on less important roles may be
less influential than boys who receive fewer choices on more
important roles. Thus, by simply counting the number of
choices boys receive on roles one cannot ascertain which
role is a "leadership" role and which is not, nor which boys
are leaders and which are not. However, choices received on
a sociometric questionnaire are a reflection of leadership
in that there is abundant evidence that people follow and
are influenced significantly by people they like and people
they respect (Jennings, 1950).

In order to assess the personality characteristics
of the youngsters, The High School Personality Questionnaire
(HSPQ) developed by Cattell, form A was administered. The
HSPQ measures 14 independent personality factors. See

Table 20 for a description of the HSPQ factors. Because the
HSPQ factors are uncorrelated with one another (orthogonal)
makes it particularly well suited for selecting out those
factors which are most pertinent to the kinds of peer group
behavior concerned with in this investigation. The HSPQ is
able to reveal what differences in personality obtain among
cottages, if any, and it permits the investigator to relate
role differentiation within cottages to personality differ-
ences among the residents.

Procedure for Questionnaire Administration

All the questionnaires were administrated to the
boys in groups of six to eight either during their non-
academic class periods during the school day or after 3 p.m.
Sessions were scheduled each Monday for four weeks. Follow-
up sessions were conducted during the rest of the week for
boys who were reluctant to report to their originally
scheduled session or for some reason could not make sessions.
Scheduling was rather permissive to give the boys every op-
portunity to complete their testing. All the boys were
given two Cottage Life Questionnaires at the first session.
The second week the boys in Cottage 1 took two more Cottage
Life Questionnaires, all three cottages also filled out an-
other inventory during that session which was not utilized
in this study. At the third session the boys answered the
"Guess Who Questionnaire" (the role nomination) and the
"Choice Questionnaire" (sociometric questionnaire). The

boys were given the High School Personality Questionnaire at
the last session.

Several aspects of procedure were aimed at encourag-
ing the boys to cooperate seriously in filling out the
paper-and-pencil instruments. Until the questionnaires were
first administrated, the research staff was primarily as-
sociated in the boys' experience with informal observation
of the cottages over a period of months. During these ob-
servations the research team had interacted with the boys to
a limited degree and tried to establish casual relationships
with the boys so to appear as non-threatening and respecting
of confidence. Boys were released from non-academic classes
--shop, art and so forth--to take the questionnaires. They
received passes from the school attendance officer in the
same way that notification was given for other routine mat-
ters requiring absence from school during the day. They
reported to a research office which was arranged like a
small classroom, with school desks facing the front of the
room. Groups were limited to eight boys or fewer, no more
than three boys from a given cottage were scheduled for any
given time period in order to minimize disruptions by cot-
tage cliques.

In the sessions, themselves, arrangements were made
for two staff members to be present so that one might ad-
ministrate questionnaires and answer questions for the group
as a whole, while the other staff member could take aside

into a private office any boy who was causing a commotion
or refused to answer a questionnaire and try to answer his
complaint.

Assurance of confidentiality were repeated and boys
who asked what the data was to be used for were told in a
general way that the research department was not payed by
the school but through separate funds and were interested
in learning what the cottages were like so that in the future
we could plan a better and more interesting program for the
cottages. In the role nomination and sociometric question-
naire procedures, the boys were asked to enumerate other
boys by using letters instead of names to minimize resist-
ance somewhat to "ratting" on others.

Unfortunately, in spite of all these precautions
the research staff received rather poor cooperation from a
large number of boys. Their lack of cooperation was re-
flected in the downright refusal of two or three boys in
cottage 2 to come down to the research office to answer
questionnaires after the first session; refusal of several
boys to answer one or more questionnaires after having com-
pleted the earlier scheduled tests in cottage 3 and #2 and
the perfunctory and careless manner in which several boys
answered their questionnaires in all three cottages. The
Cottage Life Questionnaire seemed to cause the most resist-
ance among the boys. Because many of these questionnaires
were filled out incorrectly, a number of questionnaires were

discarded and several others were prorated. Since the Cottage Life Questionnaire was filled out anonymously, it was not always known which boy had filled it out incorrectly and, consequently, the "culprit" could not be called back to revise his questionnaire. Since much less difficulty in general was encountered on the other questionnaires, it could be contended that the findings on the Cottage Life Questionnaire are most in suspect. Furthermore, although some lack of cooperation and resistance was encountered in all of the cottages, the greatest resistance was found in #2, which apparently had a "culture" passed down from boys who had already left the institution to the present residents to "screw research."

It was finally decided to pay each cottage in order to complete the testing. We notified the boys in each cottage that we would pay each cottage $25 provided that every boy in the cottage completed all of the questionnaires scheduled. In cottage 1, all 18 boys were able to complete all their questionnaires. In cottage 3, 15 boys completed all their questionnaires. In cottage 2, 12 boys completed the questionnaires. Although the questionnaires were not completed in two of the three cottages, each cottage was paid $25, nevertheless.

Ideally, it would have been desirable to retest the youngsters several additional times in order to tap changes over time. Unfortunately, the administration of the

institution has had a very poor recruitment program. They
were from time to time unable to recruit a sufficient number
of workers to staff the cottages. Not many months after the
questionnaires were administrated, the male counselor in #3
resigned and several of the other counselors were periodi-
cally out on sick leave. Not being able to hire new person-
nel, one of the young male counselors in #1 was assigned to
be the regular male counselor in #3; and all of the other
counselors in #1 have rotated among all three cottages.
Fortunately, the boys were tested prior to much of this tur-
moil. However, this stage of testing came only a few months
after some of the staff had begun working in the cottages;
this meant that the impact of their management on the boys'
perception may not have had enough time to emerge. In spite
of the desirability of repeated test administration, resig-
nation and fluctuations in staff coverage made additional
meaningful testing impossible.

Methodology and Statistical Procedures

The Cottage Life Questionnaire was administrated to
49 boys in the intermediate unit. Two boys, both from cot-
tage 2, refused to fill out these questionnaires. Each boy
was asked to fill out a separate questionnaire for every
regular staff counselor in his cottage. There were four
regular counselors in cottage 1; two in #3, and two in #2.

The questionnaires were constructed in the following
way: there are 24 items in the questionnaire. In each item

three of the four functional imperatives appear, every function appears 18 times in the same number of like combinations throughout the scale. Each item must add up to 6; that is, the respondent is told in the instructions to rank the function that the staff member does most often in each item as "1"; the function he does next most often as "2," and least often as "3." The total score for the entire scale is 144 (24 x 6). The lowest possible score for a function for the entire scale is 18 (18 x 1)--which as far as the interpretation of this questionnaire is concerned means that the staff member devoted highest possible emphasis to this function. The highest possible score is 54 (18 x 3)--which for the purpose of this questionnaire means that the counselor devoted lowest possible emphasis to this function.

In cases where the respondent was not able to rank the functions in any item "1," "2" and "3," the ranks were prorated so that in every case the item would total 6 and the entire scale added to 144. For instance, in items where the respondent indicated that the counselor did all three functions equally often, that is, where he marked three functions all "1," or all "3" each function was prorated as "2." In items where the respondent indicated that a staff member did two of the three functions equally as frequently, it was also prorated to total 6. In cases where the respondent left an item blank, each of the three functions was scored as a "2."

In cases where the respondent left blank and/or
marked all three functions in an item with the same frequency
in at least half of the items of the questionnaire his ques-
tionnaire was discarded from the data. Of 72 questionnaires
filled out in cottage 1, 57 were employed as data; in #3 of
37 questionnaires answered, 33 fulfilled requirements and
were included in the data; in #2 of 28 filled out, 21 were
used.

For each cottage a group average was computed for
each counselor on the emphasis the respondents saw the coun-
selor carrying out on this function. The group averages of
each counselor was then prorated on the basis of the amount
of time--number of days--he spent on duty in the cottage in
the month prior to the administration of the questionnaire.
As one might expect, this prorating gave greater weight to
staff members who spent the greatest amount of time on duty.
Parenthetically, while staff were prorated for the time they
spent in the cottage in the month prior to test administra-
tion, counselors regularly spend about the same amount of
time in the cottages from week-to-week.

In order to ascertain whether there were significant
differences in the functional modes among staff in any of
the cottages chi squares were computed for within cottages.
Finding no significant differences within cottages there
would be justification in claiming that in each cottage each
of the counselors managed his charges--as far as functional

emphasis is concerned--in a consistant way with his col-
leagues in that cottage. It would, then, be legitimate to
combine the individual counselors' scores together to get
the functional emphasis of the cottage as a whole.

Having ascertained whether or not there was con-
sistency within cottages, the next determination sought to
discover whether staff management among cottages differed,
or if staff in all of the cottages managed their charges in
a similar way. A chi square was computed for all three cot-
tages and separate chi squares comparing each cottage to
every other cottage.

If significant differences were found in the emphasis
cottage staffs addressed their charges with, it would then
be possible to describe each cottage management configura-
tion as a particular typology. Ideally, it was hoped that
it would be possible to represent the functional emphasis
among the three cottage staffs from one extreme of main em-
phasis on adaptation and latency management to the other
extreme of main emphasis on goal-attainment and integration.
It was impossible to know in advance whether all or any of
the cottages would fit these typologies. It would be theo-
retically possible for any cottage to either devote rather
evenly distributed attention to all four functions; or to
devote more marked attention to only one function; or to
address three spheres evenly and one minimally; or even to
address two functions more than the other two but in a

configuration dissimilar to the one sought ideally. Further-
more, the present approach to the boys' perception of cottage
life is necessarily comparative. In discussing the amounts
of emphasis a cottage devoted to particular functions one can
only claim it to be large or small in comparison to the other
cottages, since there is no absolute standard available which
would enable an investigator to know how much a cottage
should spend on a function.

Because of the present investigator's apprehension
that the very relationship that staff had with youngsters in
the cottage might affect the validity of the youngsters' re-
port of staff management on the Cottage Life Questionnaire,
it was decided to utilize an outside measure of counselor
management. Three independent persons were employed as
"judges." Two of these judges were research persons, who had
spent considerable time observing in the cottages, and the
other judge was the Supervisor of the unit being studied.

Some background on the method of observation the re-
search personnel employed is in order: the members of the
research team were constantly in contact with the cottages;
they made several weekly visits to the cottages and tried to
spend some time in each cottage at least once a week. Often
they were able to see each cottage several times during the
week. At the time this study was conducted, the observers
spent about an hour to an hour and a half an observation pe-
riod in the cottage. These observations took place

generally in the evening after supper; frequently, in shorter observation periods the observers were able to spend time in the cottages in the afternoon--3 to 5 p.m. when the boys were back from school.

The observers tried to focus their attention on the staff member on duty and the boys in his immediate vicinity. They were mainly concerned with trying to relate staff-resident interaction in terms of the functional imperatives. Usually the two observers worked the same evening; they observed in different cottages--rotating systematically among the cottages--and then went back to the research office and recorded their observations in detail on tape.

The observers were concerned also with peer behavior outside of staff-resident interactions. Aside from studying the behavioral interaction of the youngsters transpiring during their cottage observations, the observers were able to study the residents at extra cottage activities, such as a recreational program and a coed social lounge. One of the observers also participated in athletics with the boys during their lunch and recess hour in the gym. In this way the observers were able to keep abreast of counselor and resident behavior over a period of months.

The research personnel were not involved in the running of the cottages and could be expected to be objective in their report of counselor management. The third judge, the Unit Supervisor, to whom the counselors were responsible,

might be expected to be more subjective or ego-involved in his report of counselor management. His judgments were employed, however, because it might reasonably be expected that he would have access to more of the staff's behavior because of his close relationship with staff. His observations then might be "biased" because of his relationships with staff and the research team's observation might be "biased" because of our more limited access to staff yet, on the other hand, we could offer more objectivity due to our detachment from cottage management and the unit supervisor could offer greater breadth due to greater knowledge of cottage life. Therefore, if a high reliability were found among all three observers there would be a reasonable basis for confidence in the data.

The three judges employed the Cottage Life Questionnaire as a rating scale. Similar to residents they filled out a separate questionnaire for every counselor. There was one exception. One of the research persons did not have the opportunity to observe the female counselor in #3 and so did not fill out a questionnaire for her.

The judges' rating of each staff member were compared on each function by means of correlation. Each judge's ratings were compared with that of each of the other judge's. The one exception was that only two judges' ratings of the female counselor in #3 were compared.

Each judge's ratings on separate counselors were

then combined for an overall cottage total and separate chi
squares between each of the cottages were computed. In
setting up the chi square comparing counselors within #3
only two of the judges' ratings were used. It was decided
to discard the one observer's rating of the male counselor in
#3 since he had not observed the female counselor and there
were only two counselors in the cottage. Finding no sig-
nificant differences among observers on the chi squares, it
could be confidently contended that the judges saw staff
management in a consistent manner. Furthermore, finding no
significant differences within staffs, there would be justi-
fication in combining all three judges' ratings for each
cottage--with only two judges being combined in #3.

The next procedure sought to ascertain whether the
judges perceived different kinds of management among each of
the cottages. A chi square was computed comparing all three
cottages and separate chi squares comparing each of the cot-
tages with each other. An adjustment had to be made in #1's
and #2's scores when they were compared to #3. Because only
two observers' scores were combined in #3, its scores were
one-third less than #1's and #3's. This inequality was
eliminated by prorating each of the functional scores in
cottages 1 and #2 by one-third so that the column totals in
all three cottages would be identical.

In order to ascertain which roles leaders played in
the cottage, "leadership" was measured in terms of choices

received on the "Choice Questionnaire." In tallying choices, each boy was given one choice regardless of whether he was chosen first, second or third. There were two kinds of choices allocated on the Choice Questionnaire: Choices of "most respect" and choices received of "most liked." Each boy in each cottage was ranked in two separate lists: for respect and for liking. The number of choices each boy received for each of the 25 leadership roles which we predicted leaders in the two "ideal" cottages would allocate was then tallied. For each cottage a correlation was computed between the leadership criterion--either liking or respect (depending on the prediction for that role)--and role occupancy.

Roles

For purposes of this discussion, the following roles are referred to as Role Set I: 5, 6, 10, 12, 18, 21, 24, 38, 46, 58. Role Set II: 9, 32, 33, 41, 60. Role Set III and IV: 1, 26, 45, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 65, 66.

It was predicted that in custodial and individualized cottages, boys high on respect would be high on Role Set I occupancy and that boys high on liking would be high on Role Set II occupancy; in group-goal cottages, boys high in liking or respect would be high in Role Set III-IV occupancy. In order to ascertain whether the differences between any two of the cottages was significant the r score was transformed to a Z score. A two-tailed .05 level of

confidence was used to test the hypotheses.

To ascertain the amount of cottage spirit in the cottages, a chi square was computed comparing the three cottages. On the Choice Questionnaire, the respondent was asked to rate the spirit in his cottage as either "high," "average," or "low." However, in order to compute a chi square, because of the low number in the "high" category of cottage 2 and #3, the "high" and "average" categories were collapsed and ran against the "low" cottage spirit category.

A second, but less direct method of ascertaining cottage spirit, was obtained by comparing the amount of disrespect each cottage group had for boys in their own cottage in relation to the amount of disrespect for boys in other cottages. Caution must be raised, however, not to equate these two measures, as the amount of "outgoingness" or "isolation" of the youngsters in the cottage from peers in other cottages might be expected to heavily effect the second measure, but not necessarily the first measure of "cottage spirit."

This investigation was also concerned with determining whether certain personality characteristics that the boys brought to the cottage transcended their particular cottage social system and were therefore found to weigh heavily in the personality make-up of all occupants of the same role in different cottages. As has already been discussed, simply looking at a social system role does not

enable one to determine if it is a salient role for any par-
ticular cottage social system. This was the reason for em-
ploying choices received on most respected and most liked
on the sociometric questionnaire as a measure of leadership.
In order to analyze peer group roles that indicated a high
degree of leadership only roles from the role sets which had
at least a .60 correlation coefficient between choices re-
ceived on a role and choices received on either sociometric
liking or respect for at least one of the three cottages were
selected. This correlation coefficient was arbitrarily se-
lected, but it was assumed that it indicated that, for at
least one of the cottages, the role reflected leadership.

The procedure was next to correlate the number of
choices boys received for roles on the Guess Who Question-
naire with scores they received on the Cattell High School
Personality Questionnaire, by cottages. To have correlated
each role with each of the fourteen HSPQ factors would have
been a task which required more of our resources than we
could allocate to it. Instead, for each of the salient
leadership roles found in the role set--roles having a .60
or higher correlation with sociometric choices--the one
personality factor which appeared to be related to the role
was selected. This was done, admittedly, on an intuitive,
common sense basis. The exploratory nature of the problem
of comparing personality factors, with empirically derived
peer group roles, where there are no systematic guides to

the investigator's knowledge in the literature to match these two kinds of factors, justified this bold, tender-minded approach.

Several additional adjustments had to be made. Two boys in cottage 3 did not take the HSPQ so they were dropped from the sample. This offered no problem since neither of these boys received choices on the roles selected for the correlation. On the other hand, four boys in cottage 2 did not take the HSPQ. Several of these boys received choices on a number of the roles selected. For the roles on which any one or more of these boys received more than one choice no correlation was computed for the role and the HSPQ factor. Correlations were computed for roles on which these boys each received no more than one choice. As with the role and sociometric correlations, the correlation coefficients were transformed to Z scores to ascertain if a significant Z score could be obtained between each of the cottages.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Since it is important to know if the residents in
each of the three Intermediate Cottages perceived counselors
in a consistent manner, it was appropriate to determine the
reliability of the emphasis staff were perceived to carry
out on the functional spheres. A reliability coefficient
was computed based on correlating the scores a counselor re-
ceived on a particular function from one random half of cot-
tage respondents with the score reported from the other half,
corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula. A description of
this kind of application of split-half correlation has been
discussed by Mouton, Blake, and Fruchter (1955).

No function for any counselor in any of the cottages
had a greater probability of error than at the .05 level of
confidence. This high reliability indicated that there was
a high degree of consistency in the way the respondents per-
ceived any one staff member as managing the cottage in terms
of the functional imperatives.

In order to ascertain if the residents' perception
of staff management revealed significant differences in the

functional modes among individual counselors in each of the cottages, as they carried out their job, chi squares were computed. Chi square analysis indicated that staff within cottages in all of the cottages fulfilled their functional requirements in a statistically similar manner. Staff in each of the cottages were extremely similar among their colleagues in the cottage. Table 1 reveals that the probabilities of error were $p < .995$ for Cottage 1; Table 2 indicates the level of confidence at $p \le .99$ for Cottage 2; for Cottage 3 it was $p < .75$, as reported in Table 3. On the basis of this finding claim can be made that staff in each cottage carried out their functional imperatives in a unified manner.

TABLE 1

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 1 COUNSELORS'
EMPHASIS ON THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Counselor				
	Rex	Edna	Walter	Buddy	Total Staff
Adaptation	33.41	36.75	35.32	38.71	144.19
Goal Attainment	36.53	37.38	37.79	37.21	148.91
Latency	39.24	33.08	37.32	33.50	143.14
Integration	34.82	36.88	33.57	34.57	139.84
Total Functional Emphasis	144.00	144.09	144.00	143.99	576.08

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = 1.35 \qquad df = 9 \qquad P < .995$$

TABLE 2

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 2 COUNSELORS'
EMPHASIS ON THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Counselor		
	Mr. Doolittle	Mrs. Doolittle	Both Counselors
Adaptation	28.90	29.86	58.76
Goal Attainment	38.50	38.82	77.32
Latency	41.75	39.14	80.89
Integration	34.85	36.09	70.94
Total Functional Emphasis	144.00	143.91	287.91

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = .12 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .99$$

TABLE 3

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 3 COUNSELORS'
EMPHASIS ON THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Counselor		
	Mrs. O'Tiddy	Maurice	Both Counselors
Adaptation	28.27	36.58	64.85
Goal Attainment	40.37	41.61	81.98
Latency	39.67	31.22	70.89
Integration	35.70	34.58	70.28
Total Functional Emphasis	144.01	143.99	288.00

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention. $X^2 = 2.10 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .75$

The salient measurement was whether there was sig-
nificant differences among cottages in their modes of resident
management as perceived by the youngsters. On the basis of
chi square analysis, there were no significant differences
among the three cottages nor between any two cottages.
Table 4 reports that the difference among all three cottage
staffs was $<$ .98; between Cottages 1 and #2 was $<$ .90
(Table 5); between #1 and #3 $<$ .95 (Table 6); #2 and #3 was
$<$ .95 (Table 7).

TABLE 4

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF ALL INTERMEDIATE COTTAGES
ON EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES AS
PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Cottage			
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	Total Cottages
Adaptation	35.62	29.38	32.43	97.43
Goal Attainment	37.07	38.66	40.98	116.71
Latency	36.66	40.45	35.45	112.56
Integration	34.66	35.47	35.14	105.27
Total Functional Emphasis	144.01	143.96	144.00	431.97

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff
devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range
from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible at-
tention to a given function and 54 the least possible atten-
tion.

$X^2 = 1.15$ $\qquad\qquad$ df = 6 $\qquad\qquad$ P$<$ .98

TABLE 5

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 1 AND COTTAGE 2
ON EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTION IMPERATIVES AS
PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Both Cottages
Adaptation	35.62	29.38	65.00
Goal Attainment	37.07	38.66	75.73
Latency	36.66	40.45	77.11
Integration	34.66	35.47	70.13
Total Functional Emphasis	144.01	143.96	287.97

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = .82 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .90$$

TABLE 6

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 1 AND COTTAGE 3
ON EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES AS
PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Both Cottages
Adaptation	35.62	32.43	68.05
Goal Attainment	37.07	40.98	78.05
Latency	36.66	35.45	72.11
Integration	34.66	35.14	69.80
Total Functional Emphasis	144.01	144.00	288.01

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = .37 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .95$$

TABLE 7

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 2 AND COTTAGE 3
ON EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES AS
PERCEIVED BY RESIDENTS

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	Both Cottages
Adaptation	29.38	32.43	61.81
Goal Attainment	38.66	40.98	79.64
Latency	40.45	35.45	75.90
Integration	35.47	35.14	70.61
Total Functional Emphasis	143.96	144.00	287.96

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 54 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = .51 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .95$$

In regard to the judges' rating of the cottages, a high level of reliability was found between each judge and every other judge for all counselors on all functions. No reliability coefficient was more likely to be in error than at the .05 level of confidence. This finding indicates that there was a high level of similarity in the way the judges rated the functional emphasis of any given counselor.

Furthermore, all the observers appeared to see each of the cottage staffs carrying out their managerial duties in a unified manner, as there were no significant differences among any of the cottage staffs on the basis of chi square analysis. The probability of error was $< .95$ in #1 (Table 8); $< .95$ in #2 (Table 9); and $< .90$ in #3 (Table 10).

TABLE 8

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF JUDGES' RATING OF EMPHASIS
COTTAGE 1 STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED TO THE
FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Judge			
	I	II	III	Total Judges
Adaptation	30.60	29.59	30.40	90.50
Goal Attainment	34.60	38.60	42.80	116.00
Latency	41.60	37.60	33.00	112.20
Integration	37.00	38.40	37.80	113.20
Total Functional Emphasis	143.80	144.10	144.00	431.90

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff
devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range
from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible at-
tention to a given function and 54 the least possible atten-
tion.

$x^2 = 1.90$ $df = 6$ $P < .95$

TABLE 9

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF JUDGES' RATING OF EMPHASIS
COTTAGE 2 STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED TO THE
FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Judge			
	I	II	III	Total Judges
Adaptation	21.00	19.59	22.00	62.50
Goal Attainment	47.00	43.25	50.00	140.25
Latency	39.50	43.50	35.00	118.00
Integration	36.50	37.75	37.00	111.25
Total Functional Emphasis	144.00	144.00	144.00	432.00

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff
devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range
from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible at-
tention to a given function and 54 the least possible atten-
tion.

$x^2 = 1.58$ $df = 6$ $P < .975$

TABLE 10

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF JUDGES' RATING OF EMPHASIS
COTTAGE 3 STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED TO THE
FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Judge		Total Judges
	I	III	
Adaptation	33.00	26.50	59.50
Goal Attainment	47.50	53.00	100.50
Latency	27.00	25.50	52.50
Integration	36.50	39.00	75.50
Total Functional Emphasis	144.00	144.00	288.00

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff
devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range
from 18 to 54. Eighteen represents the highest possible at-
tention to a given function and 54 the least possible atten-
tion.

$$X^2 = 1.12 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .90$$

Unlike the residents, the judges rated the three

cottages as significantly differing in their functional

emphasis. The chi square comparing the cottage management

among the three cottages (Table 11) was significant at .05

level of confidence. Similarly, the chi square between cot-

tage 2 and #3 was also significant at the .05 level (Table

12); the chi square between #1 and #3 was at the $<$ .10 level

(Table 13); while the chi square between #1 and #2 was at

the $<$ .10 level of confidence (Table 14).

TABLE 11

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF ALL INTERMEDIATE COTTAGES ON
EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Cottage			
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	Total Cottages
Adaptation	60.40	41.70	59.50	161.60
Goal Attainment	77.30	93.40	100.50	271.20
Latency	74.80	78.60	52.50	205.90
Integration	75.50	74.20	75.50	225.20
Total Functional Emphasis	288.00	287.90	288.00	863.90

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 36 to 104. Thirty-six represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 104 the least possible attention.

Rating of cottage 3 was available from only two judges; while ratings were available from all three judges for cottages 1 and #2. Therefore, functional emphasis scores were prorated for the latter two cottages to equate scores.

$$X^2 = 13.06 \qquad df = 6 \qquad P < .05$$

TABLE 12

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 2 AND COTTAGE 3 ON
EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	Both Cottages
Adaptation	41.70	59.59	101.20
Goal Attainment	93.40	100.50	191.90
Latency	78.60	52.50	131.10
Integration	74.20	75.50	149.70
Total Functional Emphasis	287.90	288.00	575.90

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 36 to 104. Thirty-six represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 104 the least possible attention.

Ratings of cottage 3 was available from only two judges; while ratings were available from all three judges for cottages 1 and #2. Therefore, functional emphasis scores were prorated for the latter two cottages to equate scores.

$$x^2 = 8.60 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .05$$

TABLE 13

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 1 AND COTTAGE 3 ON
EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 1	Cottage 3	Both Cottages
Adaptation	60.40	59.59	119.90
Goal Attainment	77.30	100.50	177.80
Latency	74.80	52.50	127.30
Integration	75.50	75.50	151.00
Total Functional Emphasis	288.00	288.00	576.00

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 36 to 104. Thirty-six represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 104 the least possible attention.

Ratings of cottage 3 was available from only two judges; while ratings were available from all three judges for cottages 1 and #2. Therefore, functional emphasis scores were prorated for the latter two cottages to equate scores.

$$X^2 = 6.92 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .10$$

TABLE 14

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF COTTAGE 1 AND COTTAGE 2 ON
EMPHASIS STAFF AS AN ENTITY ADDRESSED
TO THE FUNCTIONAL IMPERATIVES
AS PERCEIVED BY JUDGES

Functional Imperative	Cottage		
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Both Cottages
Adaptation	90.50	62.50	153.00
Goal Attainment	116.00	140.25	256.25
Latency	112.20	118.00	230.20
Integration	113.20	111.25	224.45
Total Functional Emphasis	431.90	432.00	863.90

Note: Scores on this table represent emphasis staff devoted to a function. Each function has a possible range from 54 to 162. Fifty-four represents the highest possible attention to a given function and 162 the least possible attention.

$$X^2 = 7.58 \qquad df = 3 \qquad P < .10$$

In comparing the residents' perception of staff management with the rating of the judges (Tables 4 and 11) some interesting findings were revealed. Most global, perhaps, is that except for the integration sphere in a comparison among cottages, both residents and judges agreed that Cottage 2 was highest in custodial functioning; #3 second and #1 least attentive to this sphere. Cottage 3 was more frequently involved with latency management; #1 next and #2 last. Cottage 1 was the most attentive toward the goal attainment sphere; #2 next and #3 last. There was some disagreement about the integrative sphere. The youngsters saw Cottage 1 as most integrative, #3 second and #2 least attentive; while

the judges saw Cottage 2 as most involved in integration, with #3 and #1 tied. The disagreement is minor, however, in that both residents and observers rated all three cottages as carrying out integration in a very similar amount of the time. There is more similarity in the amount of time cottages devoted to integration than on any of the other functions.

There are, however, important disagreements concerning staff emphasis within cottages. Both sets of respondents agreed that Cottage 2 was most concerned with adaptation; with a secondary emphasis to integration; they disagreed as to the third highest and lowest functional emphases. Residents saw staff in Cottage 2 as devoting more attention to goal attainment than to latency (Table 4), while the opposite was true of judges (Table 11). There was considerable disagreement about the functional emphasis in Cottages 1 and #3, although both judges and residents agreed that both cottages spent less time on goal attainment than on the other functions (Tables 4 and 11).

There was one trend that both respondents seemed to agree upon. Although they didn't seem able to agree about the order of emphasis, both residents and judges consistently saw the Cottage 1 staff as devoting a rather balanced emphasis to each of the four functions (Tables 4 and 11). There appeared to be rather minimal difference among functions in Cottage 1. This may account in part for the different order

respondents reported Cottage 1 as emphasizing. Both sets of respondents also saw #2 as devoting a greater amount of emphasis to adaptation and considerably less attention to the other functions. Similarly both perceived #3 as deemphasizing goal attainment, with more emphasis on the other functional spheres.

In regard to the typology proposed in the methodology section, there was agreement between residents and judges that Cottage 1 and Cottage 3 were the extremes in this typology, with #2 falling in between these extremes (Tables 4 and 11). Both saw Cottage 1 emphasizing a group-goal orientation--articulation of goal attainment and integration--more than the other two cottages. There was also agreement that Cottage 3 articulated a custodial and individualizing orientation--emphasis on adaptation and latency management--more than the other cottages. Judges and residents also agreed that the custodial and individualizing orientation was carried out in different ways in the two cottages that emphasized it most. Staff in Cottage 3 attempted to control and rehabilitate youngsters by attending mainly to such things as individual problems and personality disturbance--latency management--while Cottage 2 attempted to control and rehabilitate by insisting that the boys attend to rules and regulations--adaptation.

In sum, only if the data from the judges' rating are employed is there a basis for maintaining that the differences

among cottages are real, as the comparison of staff manage-
ment in the intermediate unit as perceived by residents
proved statistically insignificant. Use of the judges' rat-
ings of the cottages (Table 12) revealed that there was a
significant difference between the manner staff in #2 and
#3 carried out their functional imperatives. The difference
was insignificant (P∠.10) between the manner #1 and #3 car-
ried out their duties (Table 13). The difference between #1
and #2 also closely approached significance at P∠.10
(Table 14).

The amount of spirit in the cottage as reported by
the residents and analyzed by chi square revealed consider-
able variance among cottages. The chi square was significant
at the .001 level (Table 15). Cottage spirit was reported
minimal in #3, with all 15 boys indicating very little
spirit. On the other extreme, in Cottage 1 of 18 boys five
indicated a great deal of spirit and six a fair amount. Of
12 boys reporting in #2, two claimed the cottage had a
great deal of spirit, and two reported a fair amount.

The chi square that related the amount of disrespect
boys in the cottages had for their cottage-mates in relation
to the disrespect they held for boys outside the cottage
proved statistically insignificant at the ∠.50 level of
confidence (Table 16).

If there is validity to the conceptualization of
cottages fostering different kinds of roles due to its

TABLE 15

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF RESIDENTS' RATING
OF SPIRIT IN THEIR COTTAGE

Amount of spirit in Cottage	Cottage			
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	All Cottages
Moderate to much spirit	11	4	0	15
Not much spirit	7	8	15	30
Total Spirit (N)	18	12	15	45

Note: Scores in this table represent the number of boys choosing a given category.

The questionnaire asked the respondents to rate his cottage as having: "a great deal"; "a fair amount"; or "very little spirit." The first two categories combined for statistical purposes.

$$x^2 = 13.75 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P < .001$$

TABLE 16

CHI SQUARE COMPARISON OF CHOICES GIVEN TO MOST
DISRESPECTED RESIDENTS AMONG COTTAGEMATES
AND RESIDENTS IN OTHER COTTAGES

Resident Disrespect	Cottage			
	Cottage 1	Cottage 2	Cottage 3	All Cottages
In Cottage	20	11	25	56
Out of Cottage	4	7	11	22
Total Disrespect (N)	24	18	36	78

$$x^2 = 2.68 \qquad df = 2 \qquad P < .50$$

particular social systems than status positions of youngsters

should be predictable on the basis of nominations received

on these roles and the group's evaluation of the roles. "To

be seen by many of one's peers as occupying a highly evalu-
ated role makes a positive contribution toward his general
status in the group, and to be selected for a disvalued role
detracts from one's status. The effect of an individual's
enactment of a given role on his total esteem or disesteem
in the group is, then, a function of the number of people
who perceive him in that role and the group evaluation of
that role."[2]

The specification variable, which determines in large
part the desirability or undesirability of certain peer
roles, was conceptualized to be the impact of cottage man-
agement on the youngsters. It was maintained that where
staff emphasized custodialism and individualizing of young-
sters, two kinds of peer group leadership roles would be
most highly valued: roles that called for power relation-
ships among the youngsters--occupants of which would be the
most respected--and roles that enabled boys to nurture the
personal problems of other youngsters in the cottage--occu-
pants of which would be the most liked. On the other hand,
in cottages where staff emphasized group goals and activ-
ities, boys who encouraged close relations between staff and
other boys and contributed to group activities of the cot-
tage as an ensemble would be both most respected and the

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[2]Quoted from page 226 of an unpublished manuscript:
Polsky, H.W., Claster, D.S., and Goldberg, C. Fairline,
hearthstone and concord--a social system analysis of three
residential cottages. Hawthorne, N.Y. Peer Culture Project,
Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School, 1966.

most liked.

In order to test these hypotheses roles from the Guess Who (role nomination) Questionnaire that appeared to reflect these relationships were selected. These roles were grouped into four role sets in the following way: Role Set I predicts a high relationship between roles in which the occupants control the other boys by power relations and can get by staff and regulations without incurring restrictions, and a high degree of respect for these boys by their peers in custodial and individualizing cottages. Role Set II predicts a high relationship between roles in which the occupants nurture the personal problems of the other boys, and a high amount of liking in a custodial and individualizing cottage. Role Set III predicts a high relationship between roles whose occupants are willing to work cooperating with staff and his group as a whole, and a high degree of respect in group goal oriented cottages. Role Set IV predicts for the same roles as role set III there will be a high degree of liking in group goal oriented cottages.

An inspection of Table 17 reveals that Cottage 3 had a higher relationship between power relations roles and being most respected on eight roles; while #2 had a higher relationship on one role--"does just as much as staff tells him to do in the cottage, but no more"; #1 was highest on one role--"can get other boys in the cottage to do whatever he wants." Only three of the Z scores were found significant,

TABLE 17

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHOICES RECEIVED FOR LEADERSHIP ROLES
AND SOCIOMETRIC CHOICES RECEIVED BY COTTAGES

Role Set I Role	Most Respected	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z 12	Z 13	Z 23
5.	Gets around staff without actually breaking rules.	.15	.14	.25	.03	.27	.29
6.	Does just as much as staff tells him to do in the cottage, but no more.	-.11	.12	.07	.61	.50	.11
10.	Tries to get special favors for himself from staff.	-.13	.03	.61	.43	2.23*	1.77
12.	Talks to staff on behalf of others who have requests or complaints.	.07	.24	.62	.45	1.77	1.29
18.	Keeps other boys from getting themselves in trouble with staff.	.37	.41	.82	.15	2.06*	1.88
21.	Gets other boys to do his job around the cottage.	.12	-.02	.21	.36	.25	.60
24.	Tries to play one staff member against the other to get what he wants.	.06	-.12	.07	.49	.01	.50
38.	Other boys take orders from this boy because they're afraid of him.	.41	-.02	.48	1.23	.22	1.42
46.	Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage.	.64	.23	.76	1.41	.65	2.02*
58.	Can get other boys in the cottage to do whatever he wants.	.56	.06	.20	1.55	1.17	.38

TABLE 17--<u>Continued</u>

Role Set II Role	Most Liked	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z 12	Z 13	Z 23
9.	Avoids getting involved in conflicts among boys.	-.17	.16	.61	.89	2.35*	1.43
32.	Cheers up boys who are feeling low.	.38	.68	.43	1.17	.16	.98
33.	Always helpful to other boys in the cottage.	-.02	.34	.55	1.01	1.71	.68
41.	Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing.	.47	.54	.76	.28	1.29	.99
60.	Smoothes over hard feelings between boys after a fight.	.45	.30	.19	.48	.79	.30
Role Set III Role							
1.	Wants everyone to take part in the cottage fun.	.56	-.01	.48	1.73	.30	1.41
26.	Can get boys to work together in making things for the cottage.	.69	.17	.10	1.84	2.02*	.18
45.	Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into action.	.47	.03	.53	1.29	.19	1.46
50.	Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.	.28	.59	.40	1.05	.36	.68
51.	Has best ideas for cottage group projects.	.26	.29	.42	.09	.50	.40
52.	Tries to help staff work with each other.	.25	.43	.39	.53	.41	.13

TABLE 17--<u>Continued</u>

Role Set III Role	Most Liked	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z 12	Z 13	Z 23
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	.61	.48	.41	.49	.73	.24
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	-.27	.67	.72	2.94**	3.20*	.26
65.	Able to arrange for and carry through a ballgame with no help from staff.	.58	.40	.24	.63	1.11	.47
66.	Gets everyone to contribute their share for the cottage.	.70	.21	.12	1.76	.33	.24
Role Set IV Role	**Most Respected**						
1.	Wants everyone to take part in the cottage fun.	.56	.41	.70	.60	.63	1.17
26.	Can get boys to work together in making things for the cottage.	.72	.51	.25	.93	1.75	.81
45.	Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into action.	.38	.20	.71	.55	1.28	1.80
50.	Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.	.56	.73	.72	.78	.76	.02
51.	Has best ideas for cottage group projects.	.02	.44	.72	1.22	2.38*	1.13
52.	Tries to help staff work with each other.	.00	.51	.73	1.53	2.50*	.95

TABLE 17--Continued

Role Set IV Role	Most Respected	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z 12	Z 13	Z 23
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	.70	.54	.81	.71	.67	1.35
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	.08	.91	.62	3.86**	1.76	2.06*
65.	Able to arrange for and carry through a ballgame with no help from staff.	.65	.78	.65	.73	.01	.71
66.	Gets everyone to contribute their share for the cottage.	.60	.61	.65	.05	.21	.15

*P   .05
**P   .01

however. Cottage 3 had leaders who were significantly more respected than leaders in #1 for "getting special favors from staff" (.05 level of confidence). Leaders in #3 were also significantly more respected for "keeping others from getting into trouble" than were leaders in #1 (.05 level of confidence). In addition, role occupants in #3 were significantly more respected than occupants in Cottage 2 in having "staff asking boys to get other boys to do things in the cottage" (.05 level).

By way of relating the findings to cottage management it will be recalled that cottage 3 was perceived by residents and observers to be the most custodial and individualizing, and #1 to be the least in this regard (Tables 4 and 11).

An inspection of Table 17 indicates on three roles in #3; one role in Cottage 1--"smoothes over hard feeling between boys after a fight"; and one role in #2--"cheers up boys who are feeling low"--there are correlation coefficients for that cottage which were higher for that role and being most liked than for the other two cottages. Only one Z score between cottages was significant, however, Role occupants in #3, who were most liked were more clearly seen as "avoids getting into conflicts with other boys."

An inspection of Table 17 reveals that boys who were most liked in Cottage 1 carried out group goals or worked cooperatively with staff significantly more than the other

two cottages on five roles; #3 on three roles; and #2 on two
roles. Z scores between cottages were significant on only
two roles, however, Boys who helped other boys work together
for the cottage were significantly more liked (.05 level of
confidence) in Cottage 1 than occupants of this role in Cot-
tage 3. Boys in Cottage 3, on the other hand, who were able
to get along well with staff and other boys were signif-
icantly more liked than occupants of this role in #1 (.01
level) and #2 (.01 level). It will be recalled that cot-
tage 1 was the cottage in which both residents and ob-
servers perceived the greatest attention devoted to group
goal activities, and Cottage 3 where this attention was most
underemphasized (Tables 4 and 11).

An inspection of Table 17 indicates that in #3 boys
who carried out group goals or worked cooperatively with
staff were highest on six roles; #2 on two roles and #1 on
one role--"can get boys to work together in making things
for the cottage." There were significantly different Z
scores on three of these roles. Boys in #3 who had the best
ideas for cottage projects were significantly more respected
than occupants of this role in Cottage 1 (.01 level of con-
fidence). In addition, boys in #3 who helped staff work
with each other were significantly more respected than boys
in #1 (.01 level). On the other hand, boys in Cottage 2 who
"get along very well with staff and other boys" were sig-
nificantly more respected than in #1 (.01 level of confidence)

and than in #3 (.05 level of confidence).

It would be interesting at this point to assess
which leadership roles among the four role sets emerged as
the most highly evaluated in each cottage. This information
can be uncovered by simply noting which roles had the highest
correlation coefficient in relation to choices received on
the sociometric inventory. For this purpose, we have ar-
bitrarily chosen .70 as the cut-off point and will discuss
only roles that correlated .70 or better with the socio-
metric data.

From the listing in Table 18 it will be noted that
Cottage 3 appeared to have more leadership roles than do the
other cottages, as far as roles hypothesized to be leader-
ship roles are concerned. Whereas Cottage 2 had three roles
at .70 or higher, and #1 also three, Cottage 3 has nine
highly salient leadership roles. On the surface, this sug-
gests that leadership was more diffusely allocated among
several roles in Cottage 3, and more narrowly centralized in
few roles in Cottage 1 and #2. By inspecting the correla-
tion coefficients this interpretation is found inaccurate.
While Cottage 2 had a role with a .91 coefficient, highest
among all of the leadership roles, Cottage 3 had two roles
which had the second and third highest coefficients among
all three cottages. More salient is the observation that
Cottage 3 had six roles with coefficients higher than on any
leadership role in Cottage 1.

TABLE 18

LEADERSHIP ROLES WITH HIGHEST CORRELATION COEFFICIENT BETWEEN CHOICES RECEIVED FOR ROLE AND SOCIOMETRIC CHOICES RECEIVED BY COTTAGES

Role		Sociometric Criterion	Role Set	r
	Cottage 1			
26.	Can get boys to work together in making things for the cottage.	Most Respected	IV	.72
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	Most Respected	IV	.70
66.	Gets everyone to contribute their share for the cottage.	Most Respected	IV	.70
	Cottage 2			
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	Most Respected	IV	.91
65.	Able to arrange for and carry through a ball-game with no help from staff.	Most Respected	IV	.78
50.	Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.	Most Respected	IV	.73
	Cottage 3			
18.	Keeps other boys from getting themselves in trouble with staff.	Most Respected	I	.82
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	Most Respected	IV	.81
46.	Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage.	Most Respected	I	.76
41.	Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing.	Most Liked	II	.76
52.	Tries to help staff work with each other.	Most Respected	IV	.73
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	Most Liked	III	.72
51.	Has the best ideas for cottage group projects.	Most Respected	IV	.72

TABLE 18--<u>Continued</u>

Role	Sociometric Criterion Cottage 3	Role Set	r
45. Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into action.	Most Respected	IV	.71
1. Wants everyone to take part in the cottage fun.	Most Respected	IV	.70

Note: Roles selected as salient leadership roles had a .70 or higher correlation in relation to choices received on the sociometric inventory (the "Choice Questionnaire").

Analyzing the specific roles reveals that all of Cottage 1's and Cottage 2's roles with a correlation coefficient of .70 or higher were Role Set IV roles, which are involved in getting other boys to work constructively for the cottage and promoting harmonious relations among staff and residents. On the other hand, five of Cottage 3's nine roles with a correlation coefficient of .70 or higher were similar Role Set IV items; yet, the role with the third highest coefficient in #3 was a Role Set I item--"Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage." This reflects some distance between boys and staff in the cottage and use of power relations by leaders to keep boys in line. This interpretation is supported by the .82 coefficient for the role "Keeps others from getting into trouble with staff." Interestingly, Cottage 3 also had a correlation coefficient of .61 for role occupants who "tries to get special favors for himself from staff" and .62 for the role "talks to staff on behalf of boys" also reflecting distance between boys and staff so that an intermediary was required in the cottage (Table 17). Apparently, the peer leaders served in this capacity in Cottage 3.

Overall, it was found that Cottage 1 and #2 differed more from Cottage 3 than they do from each other. These two cottages which we found to have more staff attention to group goal activity than did #3, had predominately clear leadership roles in the cottage which were concerned with the

development of cottage group activities. Cottage 3, on the other hand, while it also had some distinct leadership roles concerned with group goals, had considerably more distinct leadership roles in their social system in which the occupants kept other boys from getting into trouble, spoke as intermediaries between staff and residents as well as were involved in coercive leadership on their peers.

The correlation coefficients for leadership in the cottages between choices received on being most respected and choices received on being most liked revealed that there was a rather close similarity between these sociometric measures; the z scores were not significant (Table 19).

TABLE 19

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHOICES RECEIVED FOR MOST RESPECTED
AND CHOICES RECEIVED FOR MOST LIKED BY COTTAGES

Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z_{12}	Z_{13}	Z_{23}
.70	.72	.77	.08	.38	.30

In order to determine if certain personality factors that boys brought to the cottage social system transcended the social system and were found salient in the personality of all occupants of the same role in different cottages, correlations between choices received on all those leadership roles that had a correlation coefficient of .60 or better with one of the sociometric measures--15 such roles

were derived--and the Cattell personality factor which it was felt was related to this role was computed. See Table 20 for a description of the personality characteristics that make up these factors and the leadership roles that are related to these factors.

In comparisons between cottages three such correlations were found to be significant--all three at the .05 level of confidence (Table 21). Leaders in Cottage 1 who were clearly seen by their peers as "tries to get special favors for himself from staff" were revealed by the Cattell Personality Inventory to be boys who had inclinations toward being "casual, careless of social rules, untidy, and following their own ways." On the other hand, boys in Cottage 2 who were perceived "as tries to get special favors for himself from staff" were revealed to be boys who tended toward being "controlled, socially-precise, self-disciplined and compulsive."

Leaders who were clearly seen by their peers in #1 as "is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into practice" were revealed as inclined toward being "doubting, obstructive, individualistic, reflective, internally restrained, and unwilling to act." Boys in #3 who were salient in this role inclined towards being "vigorous, going readily with group, zestful, and given to action." Boys in Cottage 1 who were clearly seen as "has the best ideas for cottage group projects" tended toward being "less

TABLE 20

INFERRED RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATTEL FACTORS AND SALIENT LEADERSHIP ROLES

	Role	Related Personality Factor	Low Score Description	High Score Description
1.	Wants everyone to take part in the cottage fun.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, participating (Cyclothymia)
9.	Avoids getting involved in conflicts among boys.	A-	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, participating (cyclothymia)
10.	Tries to get special favors for himself from staff.	Q3-	Casual, careless of social rules, untidy, follows own urges (low integration)	Controlled, socially-precise, self-disciplined, compulsive (High self-concept control)
12.	Talks to staff on behalf of other boys who have requests or complaints.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, participating (cyclothymia)
26.	Can get other boys to work together in making things for the cottage.	J-	Vigorous, goes readily with group, zestful, given to action (Zeppia)	Doubting, obstructive, individualistic, reflective, internally restrained, unwilling to act (coasthenia)

TABLE 20--<u>Continued</u>

Role	Related Personality Factor	Low Score Description	High Score Description
41. Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, participating (cyclothymia)
45. Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into practice.	J-	Vigorous, goes readily with group, zestful, given to action (zeppia)	Doubting, obstructive, individualistic, reflective, internally restrained, unwilling to act (coasthenia)
46. Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage.	I-	Tough-minded, self-reliant, realistic, no-nonsense (Harria)	Tender-minded, dependent, over-protected, sensitive (Premsia)
50. Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.	J-	Vigorous, goes readily with group, zestful, given to action (zeppia)	Doubting, obstructive, individualistic, internally restrained, unwilling to act (coasthenia)
51. Has best ideas for cottage group projects.	B+	Less intelligent, concrete-thinking (lower scholastic mental capacity)	More intelligent, abstract-thinking, bright (higher scholastic mental capacity)

TABLE 20--<u>Continued</u>

	Role	Related Personality Factor	Low Score Description	High Score Description
52.	Tries to help staff work with each other.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, partici-pating (cyclothymia)
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, partici-pating (cyclothymia)
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	Q4-	Relaxed, tranquil, torpid, unfrus-trated (low ergic tension)	Tense, driven, over-wrought, fretful (high ergic tension)
65.	Able to arrange for and carry through a ballgame with no help from staff.	J-	Vigorous, goes readily with group, zestful, given to action (zeppia)	Doubting, obstructive, individualistic, re-flective, internally restrained, unwilling to act (coasthenia)
66.	Gets everyone to contribute their share for the cottage.	A+	Reserved, detached, critical, cool (sizothymia)	Outgoing, warmhearted, easy-going, partici-pating (cyclothymia)

TABLE 21

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN CHOICES RECEIVED FOR SELECTED[a] LEADERSHIP ROLES
AND CATTELL PERSONALITY FACTORS BY COTTAGES

Role		Re-lated	Personality Factor	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z12	Z13	Z23
1.	Wants everyone to take part in the cottage fun.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.15		.34		.53	
9.	Avoids getting involved in conflicts among boys.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.06		.32		.70	
10.	Tries to get special favors for himself from staff.	Q3	Control-casualness	-.28	.55	.04	2.21*	.82	1.37
12.	Talks to staff on behalf of other boys who requests or complains.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.26		.38		.33	
26.	Can get boys to work together in making things for the cottage.	J	Doubting-vigorousness	-.07		-.10		-.09	
41.	Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	-.10	-.33	.13	-.59	.59	1.10

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TABLE 21--_Continued_

Role		Re-lated	Personality Factor	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z12	Z13	Z23
45.	Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into practice.	J	Doubting-vigorousness	.17		-.67		2.54*	
46.	Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage.	I	Tender-minded-Tough-minded	-.08	.11	.23	.47	.82	.29
50.	Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.	J	Doubting-vigorousness	.30		-.31		1.60	
51.	Has the best ideas for cottage group projects.	B	Scholastic capacity	-.13		.69		2.51*	
52.	Tries to help staff work with each other.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.37	.33	.56	.12	.61	.67
53.	Settles arguments before they break out into fights.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.16		.32		.42	
55.	Gets along very well with staff and other boys.	Q4	Tenseness-relaxedness	-.10		-.10		.51	

TABLE 21--<u>Continued</u>

Role	Re-lated	Personality Factor	Cottage 1 r	Cottage 2 r	Cottage 3 r	Z12	Z13	Z23
65. Able to arrange for and carry through a ballgame with no help from staff.	J	Doubting-vigorousness	-.14		-.26		1.04	
66. Gets everyone to contribute their share for the cottage.	A	Outgoingness-Reserve	.34	-11.	.35	1.14	.02	1.10

[a]Leadership roles that had a correlation coefficient of .60 or high with sociometric choices were selected.

*P .05

intelligent, and concrete-thinking" while leaders salient in this role in #3 were more inclined toward being "more intelligent, abstract-thinking and bright."

Unfortunately, a comparison between Cottage 2 and each of the other two cottages was possible on only one-third of the salient roles. This not only restricts the amount of information accessible for personality-role correlations, but also limits the generalizability of any significant finding uncovered.

An inspection of the direction of the correlation in comparison with how one might intutitively expect the selected roles and personality factors to relate offers only a few surprises (Table 21). Boys in both Cottage 3 and #1, particularly #3, who "avoids getting involved in conflicts among boys" were more outgoing and warm, rather than reserved and detached; the opposite was predicted. This finding, nevertheless, is no major surprise. Boys who tried to get special favors from staff in Cottages 2 and #3, #2 in particular, tended to be controlled and self-disciplined. It was predicted that occupants of this role would be casual and careless of social rules and occupants of this role in #2 were revealed to confirm this prediction. The differences between #1 and #2 was significant at the .05 level of confidence. Boys in #1 and #2 who other boys liked to have in on whatever they're doing, particularly boys in #2, tended toward being reserved and detached; it was predicted that

they would be outgoing and warmhearted as was found true in Cottage 3. Boys in #1 who were good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into practice were found to tend toward unwillingness to act and reflectiveness, while boys in #3 for this same role were zestful and given to action as predicted. The difference was significant at the .05 level. Boys in #1 who often united others in the cottage in whatever they were doing tended toward being unwilling to act and reflective; while in #3 toward zestfulness and action as predicted. Boys in #1 who had the best ideas for the cottage were less scholastically capable, whereas it was predicted, as found in #3, occupants of this role would be more scholastically capable. The difference was significant at the .05 level. Boys who were able to get everyone to contribute their share for the cottage were found in #2 to be more reserved and detached, while in #1 and #3, as predicted, they were more outgoing and participating.

Participant Observation of the Intermediate Unit

The following is a summary of general impressions of the way individual counselors carried out their cottage care functions and a general impression of the resident peer group in each of the three intermediate cottages. These impressions were engendered from participant observation conducted by two members of the research department at Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School. One of the observers is an

experienced methodologist with a doctorate in Social Psy-
chology, and the second is the present investigator. These
observations were conducted on a regular basis from late
September, 1965 until early January, 1966--when the admin-
istration of questionnaires was completed.

Cottage 1 had two young counselors who had been
formerly volunteers in the Peace Corp; one of them, Buddy,[3]
had some previous experience as a cottage care worker in a
training school. Of the two, Buddy was considerably more
active, flexible and innovative. Walter was more apt to
wait for boys to approach him with requests and complaints.
Even when sought out, we sensed that Walter was unsure of
his role with the youngsters and appeared unable to get very
involved with them.

Buddy, foremost among the staff observed, appeared
intently involved in treating the residents as youngsters
who were capable of developing their own autonomous goals
given the proper encouragement and guidance. He held fre-
quent cottage meetings in which he discussed with youngsters
diverse activities that they might be interested in. One of
these activities--a vocal group--developed into an activity
which the boys took over and completely carried out on their
own. Unlike staff in other cottages, Buddy held cottage
meetings which dealt with gratifying activities for the

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[3]The names of staff members and residents have been
changed.

youngsters. In other cottages, cottage meetings were argumented almost entirely to address misbehavior issues and to inform the cottage group of new institutional and cottage regulations. Consequently, in Cottage 2 and #3 meetings had a negative association. Rather than call meetings when boys were involved in misbehavior, Buddy appeared to relate to the youngsters problems as they arose in the "living situation." In handling these situations, Buddy seemed to be trying to impress upon the boys that every course of action needed a certain amount of planning and preparation. For instance, when one of the youngsters, Marconi, told Buddy of his aspiration for a rather skilled job after leaving Hawthorne, Buddy inquired about Marconi's previous vocational training in the field and worked out with the youngster a strategy for getting extra experience prior to leaving the institution. Buddy was also able to involve other boys who were in the living room of the cottage (the place where the discussion occurred) in the discussion and there was a lively give-and-take among the youngsters and Buddy. The boys treated Buddy as a peer in reciprocation of his peer-like role with them. They seemed to admire him, perhaps because he appeared very relaxed and the boys may have perceived this as indication that he was at ease with them. Due to his relaxed, yet active rapport and his ability to get interesting activities started, there appeared to be a high rate of cohesiveness in the cottage when Buddy was on

duty--boys laughed more and were more frequently involved in activities that appeared gratifying.

Walter, although not as enthusiastic, skilled or confident as Buddy, often did respond to the boys' personal and group interests. He was interested in their athletic teams and gave support and guidance to them; he gave advice on building projects (usually at an individual level) and discussed at length with individual boys school work and academic plans. More than Buddy, however, he spent his time aloof from the boys carrying out custodial tasks and other "busy-work."

Rex, a former professional athlete, was assigned the head counselor role because he had been in the cottage several months before Buddy and Walter, and because the unit supervisor believed that he could present a strong, steady influence on the youngsters. Despite his background in sports, and recreational, Rex dealt more exclusively with custodial problems in the cottage--seeing that the boys did their assigned tasks and did not get into trouble or an-tagonize other youngsters. At times when he appeared to feel that the cottage was in good order he would play cards or other table games in the living room with the boys or en-gaged in bull sessions--especially when it involved sports.

Edna Buston, a rather buxom middle-aged woman, who worked for the school as a secretary during the day, worked several nights a week in Cottage 1. She was expected to

nurture the youngsters' needs for tender, affectionate care,
which these emotionally disturbed youngsters appeared to
crave. Although she proved to be neither very warm nor giv-
ing, the boys' need for a relationship with a maternal fig-
ure apparently colored their perception. To a boy, they
contended that Edna was "the best counselor in the unit,"
because she was "always doing things" for them, "making and
preparing things" for them and so forth. Neither of the
observers, nor the unit supervisor, who worked closely with
each of the staff members, had observed evidence of this
nurturing behavior. We saw Edna spending her evenings in
the cottage at the front desk engaged in cottage adminis-
trative matters--such as taking care of cottage records, the
boys' financial accounts, or giving out snacks. Only on
rare occasions did she prepare a meal or bake something
special for the boys. When she did respond to the young-
sters, we felt, that she did so in a rather open and sar-
castic manner. We have trouble reconcilling the apparent
hostility in her manner with the youngsters' high regard for
her.

Maurice, the male counselor in Cottage 3, had
formerly been a male nurse in a large psychiatric hospital.
Whether rightly or not, he considered the boys in his cot-
tage "crazy as bedbugs." To these youngsters he applied the
gamut of his psychiatric interests, insulating them in fre-
quent private sessions which he conducted as psychiatric

interviews. He informed the observers that he was most con-
cerned with fantasies, pathology and idiocyncratic features
of the youngsters and how a highly structured, minimally de-
manding environment could redirect these problems to a more
reality-oriented level. Maurice held cottage meetings when
serious problems developed in cottage routine. At such
times he would diagnose the problem, hand out "deprivations"
(punishments) and afterwards permit the boys to vent their
emotions in what appeared to be a very unstructured and
aimless way. Except for these meetings, Maurice did not
interact with any resident gatherings; rarely was he ob-
served in the boys' bull sessions. More frequently, he ig-
nored peer discussions in which the youngsters were dis-
cussing common grievances and concerns. These situations
appeared to us to be germane opportunities for Maurice to
work through problems and concerns the boys were most pressed
by, as they, themselves, had brought up the issues. Maurice
expressed dismay that the institution did not provide enough
aid in the cottage so that he could have individual sessions
with each of the boys. Maurice's preoccupation with path-
ology and deemphasis of group activity, enhanced the
psychiatric-treatment climate of the cottage. Maurice, in
taking the role of the diagnostician--pointing out the boys'
pathology--placed himself in a dictating role, since a
"psychotic" boy is not in a position to know what is best
for himself.

Mrs. O'Tiddy, a woman in her late 50's, was Maurice's female counterpart in Cottage 3. The observers regarded her as playing an "interested aunt" role with the boys; a person who liked the boys but was quite a bit older than they. Although the boys seemed to respect Mrs. O'Tiddy, there was some distance in their relationship. Her major concern was overseeing the cottage's proper maintenance--which she did in a rather absolute, no nonsense manner. Yet she was able to respond to the youngsters on an informal, give-and-take basis more so than was Maurice. When not engaged in custodial concerns, she played cards, watched T.V. with the youngsters and participated to a degree in their open discussions.

Cottage 2 was managed by the Doolittles, an elderly husband and wife team. It was freely admitted by staff and residents that the Doolittles were frequently intoxicated while on duty. The boys claimed that "Pop" Doolittle slapped them around when they got out of line. The boys in this cottage, far from being soft, feared the consequences of hitting a man of "Pop" Doolittle's age and physical condition. Periodically, the administration claimed they were getting rid of them; the Doolittles have remained, nevertheless, in the institution for over 15 years. The boys received rather minimal attention from these elderly people. One rarely saw a boy in #2 approach the Doolittles, except as authority from whom permission must be obtained in order to move about

in the institution. Furthermore, even when scheduled to be
on duty, they were not found in the cottage during several
visits by the observers. The boys in private have expressed
to the observers their disdain toward the Doolittles and
claimed that the cottage was a more calm and comfortable
place to live when the Doolittles were not on duty. The
administration pointed out, however, that the Doolittles
kept the boys in line and saw that they did not break im-
portant institutional rules and regulations. Almost re-
ligiously when the Doolittles left the cottage for an ex-
tended period of separation there resulted a wave of runa-
ways. The administration claimed that this attested that
their "tough" method was the only effective method for keep-
ing the boys from going on a rampage. Furthermore, the cot-
tage was probably the best maintained in the unit, as the
Doolittles seemed the most intent among staff to impress the
administration, the research team and others of the "good
job" they were doing. They did not seem to care, however,
how maintenance was carried out in the cottage, so long as it
was taken care of. The result of this attitude was that
certain boys did most of the work, while several others did
very little.

Since our interest is in relating the impact of
staff management on the resident peer group, we will now
discuss our general impressions of the three peer groups.

The feeling tone appeared most clear to us in

Cottage 3. There were a number of boys who kept to themselves--either individually or in a small group. As a group they were frequently heard to gripe about their unhappiness at Hawthorne. In Cottage 1 and #2 boys also complained about the conditions at Hawthorne. But more frequently they confronted staff and the unit supervisor with their complaints rather than brooding over it as in #3. These depressed boys in Cottage 3 went to bed early at night and were often seen lying face down on their beds soon after returning to the cottage in the afternoon. The more active boys in this cottage wandered around aimlessly or devoted long periods of time to television watching. Although there were card games and informal discussions, there was a total absence of planned and organized group activities.

Cottage 1 throughout our observation appeared to be the most active as far as the development of group and sub-group activities was concerned. For instance, there was a group of four or five youngsters who were actively involved in a guitar and vocal ensemble. They had regular practice sessions and were completely autonomous of staff intervention. They also performed before extra--cottage audiences. Heated and enthusiastic discussions, involving a large number of boys were also more frequently witnessed in #1 than in either of the other cottages.

Cottage 2 fell between the "extreme" climates of Cottage 1 and #3--it had neither a particularly lively nor,

on the other hand, a depressed atmosphere. These boys appeared more self-reliant as individuals, more often than boys of other cottages going about their business independently of adult and peers. They seemed to pass their time in the cottage in a rather carefree manner, with a minimum of exertion. Furthermore, many of the boys in Cottage 2 did not spend a great deal of time in the cottage. There were more boys on athletic teams in this intermediate cottage than even from any of the senior cottages on campus. Soon after returning to the cottage after supper, most of the boys were again out of the cottage for the recreational program for most of the evening.

In cottage 3, in immediate contrast, most of the boys spent the evening in the cottage watching T.V. or retiring early. Most of the interaction in the cottage centered around the male counselor. The boys appeared to aimlessly wait around until Maurice appeared on the scene, at which time they followed him with complaints, requests and abuse. Boys in #3 did not exercise much initiative to do things on their own. They seemed to want to be led, taken care of, and told what to do. Staff, discernably, complied with these wishes.

In Cottages 1 and #2 there was more specific activities: a lot of card playing and team sports in #2; team sports, card playing and table games in #1. Staff in Cottage 1 took part frequently in these games; while in #2

staff occasionally played cards with the boys but did not participate in other informal activities.

Clearly apparent conflicts between staff and youngsters were observed in Cottage 3. There was a great deal of bickering and insulting of the head counselor, who claimed he accepted such behavior because of its "therapeutic" value. Cottage 1, on the other hand, was the scene of occasional episodes of youngsters trying to play one counselor off against another. This may be due to the boys' awareness of staff disagreements. We felt that staff in #1 had trouble integrating with one another and differed in cottage management philosophy. Although we were told by the youngsters in #2 that they intensely disliked the Doolittles, their feelings was rarely manifested. Boys simply want their own way and avoided staff.

A common complaint against staff in all three cottages was the lack of trust youngsters felt staff regarded them with. They claimed that staff were always checking up on them and felt this demeaning. They also resented the strict and unbending obedience they claimed staff insisted upon; maintaining that these rules were in large part outdated and did not take into consideration the changing population at Hawthorne.

Boys in all of the cottages also complained of the lack of things to do at Hawthorne. They often remarked to the observers, "if you are going to make changes at Hawthorne

get us more things to do." When questioned about precisely
what they wanted to do, however, the youngsters were vague.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Discussion of Results

The present research sought to answer several em-
pirical questions which appear to have important implications
for the present-day, milieu-oriented residential treatment
school.

Specifically, it was assumed that in an institution,
without a training program, where cottage care staff are
left to their own devices to develop a philosophy of cot-
tage management, greater amounts of emphasis will be as-
serted toward certain important cottage management func-
tions by cottage staff as a whole, in contrast to greater
attention to other spheres by staff in other cottages. This
assumption is based on the rationale that cottage personnel
in residential institutions differ markedly in philosophy,
personality, training and other salient individual differ-
ences.

Means of Testing Hypothesis

Participant observation of cottage life over a
period of several months indicated that there were rather

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vivid differences in involvement with youngsters, standards emphasized and contents of interaction with youngsters among the eight counselors observed in the three cottages. The assumption that differential cottage management would result from individual differences in staff background, however, was not tested on these observations, but rather on the youngsters' perception of staff functioning as reported on a cottage life questionnaire. This inventory inquired into the amount of emphasis counselors spent on the four Parsonian functional imperatives of social system theory.

Analysis of the youngsters' perceptions of staff functioning revealed that there were no significant differences among the three cottages, nor between any two of them.

As an independent check on the validity of the residents' perceptions, three judges independently rated the functional emphasis of the counselors. These judges, in contrast, to the youngsters, reported that there were significant differences at the .05 level of confidence among the three cottages, and that the differences between #2 and #3 were also significant at the .05 level. Differences between #2 and #3, and between #1 and #2 were close to significance, reaching the .10 level of confidence. Participant observation tended to support the judges' rating of staff functioning rather than the residents' report.

Support of the judges' rating by participant observation must be taken with some reservation, however. Two of

the judges who rated the cottage life questionnaire also carried out the participant observation and therefore could not judiciously validate the judges' ratings. Furthermore, findings from participant observation of the cottages was not completely congruent with the judges' ratings of the cottages. On the basis of observation, it would have been predicted that Cottage 1 and #2 were most closely fitting the typologies previously conceptualized; #1 being a cottage where staff were most concerned with stimulating the residents to develop their own autonomous group interests; and #2 being the cottage observed to have staff most vested in strict attention to rules and regulations and individualizing problems of disruption in cottage routines. Cottage 3 was observed to more closely approximate the custodial and individualizing typology than it did the group goal orientation.

On the positive side, both residents and judges reported Cottage 3 and #1 as the most contrasting cottages and in modes consistent with observation. Furthermore, while there was considerable variation between residents and judges in regard to the reported magnitude of differences among cottages on the functional spheres, the relative attention each cottage devoted to the functions in comparison to the other cottages was seen similarly by residents and judges. In general, both sets of respondents saw Cottage 1's counselors as devoting a rather balanced emphasis to

each of the four functions. Both agreed that #3 and #2
directed a rather unbalanced amount of attention to the
spheres, with #3 heavily emphasizing latency management and
deemphasizing goal attainment, and #2 mainly concerned with
custodial regulation and minimally involved with nurturance
of the boys' personal problems.

Cottage 3, more than the other cottages, resembled
the traditional institutional cottage where a custodial
routine is heavily stressed to keep the boys in line and the
administration "off the backs" of staff and a corresponding
heavy emphasis spent on relieving personality problems that
abrupt from this suppressive atmosphere. Since so much
time and energy is taken up with routine and nurturance,
little time is left over for promoting indigenous group goal
interests. Interestingly in #3 the traditional male and fe-
male roles were reversed, with Maurice handling most of the
latent problems of the boys and Mrs. O'Tiddy setting the
pace for custodial routines.

Explanation for Discrepancies in Data

There are several plausible reasons for the dis-
crepancies between the reports of the residents and the
judges. The boys may have been deeply ego-involved in cot-
tage life. They may have been too threatened by a task which
required them to "evaluate" adults--where they interpreted
the test to require evaluation--who have considerable power
and authority over them to have marked their questionnaire

accurately. Since they may have been highly ego-involved, it cannot be assumed confidently that the residents perceived their counselors' functional activity in the cottage accurately. Granting that the residents did perceive staff accurately, a undisguised inventory such as The Cottage Life Questionnaire is highly susceptible to "faking," unless the climate between the residents and the research personnel is imbued with rapport and trust and not merely requests from the research people for information that offers the resident no tangible reward in return. Unfortunately, this trust did not obtain with a number of the boys. For youngsters with weak egos, the fear that cottage staff or administration may see the data and use it against them cannot be easily dissipated by the insistence that the data was to be kept confidential.

On the other hand, the judges were--except for the unit supervisor--uninvolved in daily cottage life and had no vested interest in the implications of their report. While it is true that the unit supervisor might be expected to be less objective than the other two judges, the fact that his ratings correlated highly with those of the other two judges may be regarded as confirming the accuracy of all three reports.

Inherent Weakness of Cottage Life Questionnaire

The incongruence between the questionnaire and that

of participant observation may be due to an inherent weakness of the questionnaire. One of the underlying assumptions of the questionnaire was that a similar amount of time transpired in every cottage in which functional imperatives were addressed--otherwise "how often" any given function was addressed would have no common baseline for comparison with other cottages on that function. It may be that one or two of the cottages spent a greater amount of time addressing functional imperatives in general than did the other cottages. In this case, residents reporting that staff devoted a given proportion of time to a given function may not be equivalent to the residents' report that in another cottage staff devoted the same proportion of time to that function.

Means of Assessing Validity of Data

One means of assessing the validity of The Cottage Life Questionnaire would be to compare the findings it elicited with previous work in the field. Unfortunately, it is rather difficult to interpolate the present data with previous research since the present methodology is unique to the literature. A previous study done by the Research Department of Hawthorne Cedar Knolls School, however, may be helpful. Using a systematic observation schedule and participant observers the time spent by staff in the senior unit cottages in emphasizing the functional spheres was assessed. In the senior unit as an entity staff spent about 50 per cent of the time engaged in custodial activity; about

30 per cent of the time directed toward satisfying the young-
sters individual needs; 9 per cent working toward group goals
and 5 per cent promoting group integration. The ratios of
time spent on the functional spheres reported by the judges
for the intermediate unit in the present investigation can
be seen in Table 11 to fit precisely this same order of
functional emphasis. In comparison, there was more reported
attention to goal attainment and integration and correspond-
ingly less involvement with adaptation and latency for the
intermediate unit reported by the judges as compared to
staff in the previous study of the senior unit. Differences
may be due to the different kinds of testing instruments.
Nevertheless, an inspection of Table 4 in comparison to the
ratios of functional attention reported in the earlier study
reveals a large discrepancy between the residents' report of
the intermediate unit and the previous findings of the senior
unit. The residents saw staff as emphasizing adaptation most
and integration next, which is extremely inconsistent with
the previous finding, since the observers in the previous
study saw senior unit staff carrying out integration least
and only 5 per cent of the time. The difference is too large
to be explained away by the difference in measurement in-
struments or the investigation of an older boys' unit. In
general, then, there was considerably more agreement between
the findings of the previous study and the judges than be-
tween the previous study and the residents.

Interpretation of Data

The whole tenor of the subsequent discussion pivots on whether the residents' report that there were no significant differences among the three cottages is accepted, or instead, the judges' report, supported by participant observation and in agreement with a previous study, that difference in staff management were significant is accepted. The limitations of the Cottage Life Questionnaire and the conditions of administration, together with the extremely vivid impression of variation in staff management compels this investigator to accept the judges' report as more accurately describing cottage life in the intermediate unit.

The interpretation of the cottage life data, then, is that although the residents did not report differences in management among the cottages, differences did exist and these differences could have had impact on peer group behavior. Nevertheless, the differences were not as distinct as it was hoped it would be. Particularly, discouraging was the finding that the differences between staff management did not differ significantly between Cottage 1 and #3, although it approached significant ($P < .10$). Therefore, it must be admitted that the cottages did not clearly fit the typologies previously conceptualized; although Cottage 1 approximated the group goal orientation and #3 the custodial and individualizing orientation.

Peer Group Data

The discussion will now turn to the peer group data. It was hypothesized that in cottages which differed significantly from each other in functional emphasis by staff--as perceived by the residents--boys who occupied certain roles would be more likely to be chosen leaders than would boys who did not occupy these roles or occupied them to a lesser degree.

Clearly, it is impossible to directly test this hypothesis since one of the major conditions of the hypothesis --that residents perceived variation among staff management-- could not be experimentally verified. Accepting the judges' ratings of the cottages it would, however, be possible to ascertain the impact of differential cottage management on the cottage peer group in a situation where boys reported that they perceived no differences.

Since minimal differences in background characteristics were found among the cottage resident groups, small differences among the peer groups after the boys have been exposed to cottage management would tend to support the contention that staff management was similar in the cottages. If, however, wide variation in leadership roles were found it would be rather strong evidence to both support the judges' ratings and confirm the hypothesis that functional emphasis by staff resulted in different kinds of peer organization.

Specifically, it was hypothesized that in cottages where the youngsters perceived staff as being more custodial and individualizing of youngsters rather than group activity oriented, boys who played roles in which they controlled the other boys by power relations and could get by staff and regulations without incurring restrictions would be the most respected boys in the cottage. Both residents and judges reported Cottage 3 as being the most custodial and individualizing and Cottage 1 as being the least in this respect. Both sets of respondents also perceived #2 as being closer to #3 than to #1. This determination may be obtained by adding together the scores on the adaptation and latency spheres for each cottage from Table 11. Data from Table 4 supports this finding.

It was predicted on the basis of this information that Cottage 3 would have the most leadership roles that involved power relations or subtle manipulation of rules and regulations by the role occupants, and that #1 would have the fewest. Inspection of Table 17 strongly confirmed this hypothesis. For Cottage 3 leadership roles that called for certain boys to mediate between staff and the other boys--presumably because the other boys could not stand up to staff or because staff wished to keep other boys in line by means of the existing peer group pecking order--was most salient to its social system than in Cottage 1 and #2. This finding tends to verify participant observation that there

was the greatest manifest friction, hostility and strained rapport between staff and residents in #3 than in the other cottages. Boys in Cottage 3 were constantly in difficulty with staff. The participant observers also felt that boys in #3 were the most dependent and lacking in self-reliance. It is small wonder, then, that the residents in this cottage highly respected those boys who were able to stand up to staff and fight for their "rights" even if it meant that at times these leaders manipulated other boys and secured special considerations from staff. This finding is also consistent with the results of McCandless's study (1942) which revealed that boys in an adult-manipulated cottage more highly respected leaders who were dominant, while in a resident-governing cottage dominant boys were less respected. Studies of prisons (Clemmer, 1940; Shrag, 1959) and of training schools for juveniles (Rubenfield, and Stafford, 1963; Trent, 1957) which revealed that in custodial settings leaders were the most aggressive and manipulating members of the inmate group also supports this finding.

Explanation for the lack of salience of power and mediating roles of leaders in #2, a cottage revealed from the cottage life data to have heavy custodial attention from staff, may be attributed to the boys' greater personal independence and self-reliance noted in participant observation. The boys in #2 appeared to have evolved an effective modus operandi for getting around staff, whom they reported

in private to dislike--they simply avoided these cottage

parents as much as they could and spent most of the day out

of the cottage. Furthermore, when there was conflict in the

cottage, boys in Cottage 2 appeared better able to stand up

for their rights and, consequently, may have had less need

for leaders to fight for their rights or keep the other

boys in line as did leaders in Cottage 3, where boys spent

most of their day in the cottage and seemed unable to stay

out of trouble with staff.

In respect to other leadership roles, it was hy-

pothesized that leaders in custodial and individualizing

cottage who played roles in which they nurtured personal

problems of the other boys would be the best liked boys in

the cottage. It was predicted on the basis of the cottage

life data that Cottage 3 would have the most salient leader-

ship roles that involved a nurturing and individualizing re-

lationship between the role occupant and other boys in the

cottage, and that Cottage 1 would have the fewest of these

roles important to its social system.

An inspection of Table 17 indicated support for this

hypothesis, in so far as differences emerged. Salient

leadership in custodial and individualizing cottages occurs

from both roles that involve power related behavior, as well

as from roles that involve gratifying the personal needs of

other boys in the cottage. This finding congruently fits

the picture of Cottage 3 that has so far emerged. In a

cottage where boys were frequently in trouble with staff and where peer relations were pock-marked with manipulation and domineering interaction, there were always boys in the cottage unhappy and troubled. Furthermore, staff in #3 spent a relatively low amount of attention toward activities that the boys, themselves, were eager to engage in. The reader will remember that Maurice, the head counselor, was interminably engaged in individual therapy sessions with the boys; such that when the boys were not involved in difficulty with staff or peers there was little opportunity to engage their energies in satisfying activities. Observation of Cottage 3, supported by their report of low cottage spirit (Table 15), revealed it to be a rather depressed atmosphere where boys spent much of their free time watching television or sleeping. The need for nurturing and pleasant relationships with other boys might be expected to have been more pressing in this cottage than it would have been in Cottage 1 and #2, where greater involvement in pleasant group activities would more naturally incur positive and satisfying peer relations.

Qualification on Findings

One point of caution must be made. The fact that a higher correlation of the leadership criterion--being most liked or most respected--and occupancy on a given role in a particular cottage was found, does not indicate that this role occurred more frequently in that cottage than it did in

the other cottages. It does mean, however, that boys who
played this role in that cottage were more likely to be
leaders than occupants of the same role in the other cot-
tages. Consequently, it is possible that boys in Cottage 1
and #2 played nurturing roles as frequently as boys in #3,
but because the need for a comforting, "bucking" up rela-
tionship was most pressing in #3, boys who played these
roles were more appreciated in Cottage 3.

Salient Leadership Roles

In order to investigate the influence of staff who
encouraged more democratic government in the cottage, it was
hypothesized that in cottages where staff emphasized group
goals, boys who played roles in which they worked cooper-
atively with staff and the peer group as an ensemble in
order to promote cottage goals would be the leaders in the
cottage. It was predicted on the basis of the cottage life
data that Cottage 1 would have more salient leadership roles
that involved working cooperatively with staff and peers and
that #3 would have the least; Cottage 2 would tend to more
closely resemble #1 than it would #3.

The finding that Cottage 3 had more salient leader-
ship for cottage group goal roles than did #1 tends to re-
pudiate the hypothesis. It does not, however, do violence
to social system theory. It may be that boys in Cottage 3
did not actually play group goal-oriented roles more fre-
quently than boys in #1 and #2, but precisely because these

roles were more infrequently played in #3--by both counselors
and residents--the boys appreciated peers when they carried
out group goals more than did youngsters in other cottages.
In formulating hypotheses, it was assumed that group activ-
ities are events of such a nature that the youngsters learn
to appreciate it through repeated satisfactory experience in
concert with peers and counselors. It would appear, how-
ever, from the present data that the desire and high regard
for indigenous group interests needs less stimulation than
this investigator thought; nevertheless, considerable guid-
ance by staff may be needed in order to implement goal ac-
tivities.

In an attempt to assess which leadership roles
emerged as most salient in each cottage, any role that ob-
tained a .70 or higher correlation coefficient between a
given role and one of the sociometric leadership criterions
was arbitrarily regarded as constituting a highly salient
role for that cottage social system.

From Table 18 the reader will note by inspection
that in certain respects there was a great deal of similar-
ity in the salient leadership roles among all three cot-
tages. In Cottage 1 and #2, as well as Cottage 3, instru-
mental leadership that leads to positive group goals were in
the majority. In Cottage 1, two of the three roles were of
an instrumental nature lending to the goals of the cottage as
an cooperative entity. The third role "settles arguments

before they break out into fights" although being an expressive role, is a role of such a nature that the capacity of leaders to carry it out means that heavy attention to expressive, informal roles are less indigenous in the cottage. Fights and disturbances which can be soothed out before they explode means that personal ill-feelings and unhappiness among the boys are less likely to be present or to need address.

Similarly, in Cottage 2, two of the salient roles were instrumental roles which tend to contribute to the cottage as a cooperative ensemble. One of these roles--"able to arrange for and carry through a ball game by himself with no help from staff"--reflects the high importance that athletics had for boys in #2. The reader will remember that more boys in Cottage 2 were on varsity teams than in any other cottage on campus. The third role--"gets along very well with staff and other boys"--is an expressive, informal system role, which if promoted in the cottage would, like Cottage 1, decrease the need for nurturing, mediating or power relation oriented roles.

Cottage 3, similar to Cottage 1 and #2, had three salient leadership roles which involved instrumentally facilitating the promotion of cottage group goals. On the other hand, however, Cottage 3 had additionally three salient roles that involved mediating trouble: among the boys; between boys and staff; and among staff. Furthermore,

Cottage 3 had two expressive roles that involved promoting pleasant relations among the youngsters and getting along well with the whole cottage--including staff. Additionally, and most contrastingly with the other cottages, #3 had a salient leadership role that implies coercive relations between the role occupant and his peers--"staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage."

The finding that all three cottages had most respect for boys who played roles that involved promoting the interests of the cottage ensemble, verifies this investigator's contention as to the importance of the peer group for youngsters in a residential treatment setting. It is congruent with an earlier investigation of the senior unit at Hawthorne, as well as studies of groups in other total institutions--both those of custodial and of treatment orientations (Boyd, Kegeles, and Greenblatt, 1954; Caudill, Redlich, Gilmore, and Brody, 1952; Polsky, 1962; Rubenfeld, and Stafford, 1963; Trent, 1957).

The finding that boys in Cottage 3 had considerable respect for boys who worked together for group interests is particularly striking, since staff in #3 devoted relatively minimal attention to the cottage ensemble. The head counselor, Maurice, the reader will remember, regarded the existence of a cottage group as a disability and worked rather exclusively with individual youngsters' problems.

Relationship of Personality
Factors and Leadership

In an effort to gain some understanding of how the cottage social system employed the youngsters' resources in carrying out behavior it regarded as essential to the maintenance of the system, the personality characteristics of boys who occupied salient leadership roles in the cottage were studied. It was predicted that the personality characteristics of the boys who occupied some of the more important leadership roles in a group goal-oriented cottage would be different from personality characteristics of boys who occupied these same roles in custodial and individualizing cottages.

On the basis of the cottage life data it was predicted that differences would be greatest between the personality characteristics of role occupants of salient leadership roles between Cottage 1 and #3, than between #1 and #2, and #2 and #3. Unfortunately, incomplete data from Cottage 2 made full comparisons between #2 and each of the other cottages impossible.

Nevertheless, several comparisons of personality characteristics did prove significant among the cottages. It was found that boys in #1 who tried to get special favors from staff were revealed by the personality inventory to be high in such factors as being "casual, careless of social rules, untidy, and follows their own urges." On the other hand, boys in Cottage 2 who tried to get special favors from

staff were high on being "controlled, socially-precise and self-disciplined." Boys in Cottage 1 who were good at organizing others to put their ideas for the cottage into practice tended toward being "doubting, reflective, unwilling to act and internally restrained." On the other hand, boys in Cottage 3 who occupied the same role were "vigorous, zestful, and given to action." Boys in #1 who had the best ideas for cottage group projects were less bright and more concrete-thinking; on the other hand, boys in #3 occupying this group promoting role were more intelligent and more abstract-thinking.

An inspection of the remainder of salient roles and their personality counterparts in Table 21 reveals an interesting trend consistent with the role-personality factors comparisons already discussed. Although the differences were not statistically different between Cottage 1 and #3 on the remaining roles, leadership was carried out in Cottage 3 only by boys who exhibit such "positive" characteristics as being: zestful, vigorous, more intelligent, given readily to the group, easy going, outgoing, unfrustrated, relaxed and so forth. In other words, in Cottage 3, only "socially mature," and more "adjusted" boys seemed able to carry out leadership qualities--whether these roles are involved with promotion of group goals, mediation between staff and residents or manipulative relations between boys and staff.

In Cottage 1, however, it was found that boys who

occupied <u>some</u> of the leadership roles exhibited such person-
ality proclivities as being: less intelligent, more inter-
nally restrained, doubting, sensitive, dependent, over-
protected, reserved, careless of social rules and so forth.
In other words, some of the leadership roles in Cottage 1
were occupied by less "socially mature" and more "dependent"
youngsters. To be sure, however, most of the leadership
roles in Cottage 1, as in the other cottages were fulfilled
by the more mature, more dominant boys. '

This investigator would interprete this finding, in
concert with the impressions from participant observation,
as meaning that in #3 the weaker, more dependent boys were
submerged by the anxiety, hostility and strained rapport be-
tween staff and youngsters. Furthermore, when staff treated
these dependent boys as being incapable of taking responsi-
bilities and lacking skills for participating in organized
activities, the passive boys responded to these suggestions
with acquiescence. Leadership, consequently, was left to the
stronger and more mature boys, who were capable of standing
up to the belittling and "babying" attitude of staff, and
articulating their's and their cottage-mates' complaints and
requests. This interpretation is congruent with studies of
non-institution children. In one such study, for instance,
Murphy <u>et</u> <u>al</u>. (1963) demonstrated that parents of children
rated low in autonomy and relatedness lacked confidence in
their child's ability to achieve independence. The parents

were not confident that the child would be successful or
able to get along without them. The parents were not able
to respond to their child's growth by a shift in their own
image of the child from dependent child to a young adult.
These children often fell back on rather extreme forms of
negativism as a means of attempting to define themselves as
separate from their parents. These negative behaviors mani-
fested itself in not only being unable to make full use of
their assets, but also part of a retalitory struggle with
parents.

In Cottage 1, on the other hand, where staff played
more of a "counselor-friend" role, and where was greater
emphasis on group interests and close rapport between staff
and youngsters, there may have been greater pressure on each
boy to contribute to the cottage ensemble. Whatever his
personal capacities, he was encouraged to do as much as he
could to contribute to the group's interests. Apparently,
boys in #1 responded readily to these directives. In several
roles which contributed toward the mobilization and promo-
tion of cottage group interests, less socially mature boys
were recognized as leaders by their cottage-mates. Conse-
quently, a more "balanced" allocation of leadership respon-
sibilities is seen among both mature and less stable boys in
Cottage 1 than in #3.

A caution should be mentioned. Significant differ-
ences were found on a few select leadership roles and there-

fore the interpretation of the results here presented does not deserve a clear mandate. This interpretation is also restricted by the finitudes in the present method, which have already been discussed. Nevertheless, the evidence uncovered on the influence of cottage management on peer group leadership, this investigator feels, deserves attention as it offers exciting possibilities for future exploration.

Recommendations for Future Investigators

It would be suggested that future investigators, who might be interested in this problem, devise an instrument which can avoid the limitations of The Cottage Life Questionnaire in assessing staff management--"faked" responses, and the assumption that the total amount of functional activity is equivalent in all cottages. A behavioral assessment such as a systematic observation of cottage life, if time and resources were available would avoid the limitations of The Cottage Life Questionnaire, although it might present other problems. Several retests would give the investigator greater confidence in his findings than this investigator could afford. Perhaps, most importantly, future investigators of this problem should insure stable sets of cottage staff for the entire course of the intended research.

Implications for Resocializing Youngsters

Now that the specific hypotheses have been tested

some of the more general questions posed can be answered,
namely, the implications the findings have for residential
treatment.

One rather important question is whether staff with
different personalities and backgrounds focus differently on
cottage life. While it is true that the hypothesis was
accepted--with some reservation--that staff management dif-
fered in the intermediate unit, it is also true that from
participant observation of the individual cottage staff per-
sonnel what appeared to be great variation in training,
philosophy, skills and energy level were found. It was felt
that these differences were not reflected equally as vividly
in the cottage life report as they appeared from participant
observation. It may be due, as already discussed, to in-
herent limitations in the testing instruments and the ra-
tionale upon which they are based. Yet, on the other hand,
a second explanation seems plausible. Common institutional
demands and expectations, in general, in relation to the
common needs and desires of the boys in the three cottages
may have fostered certain similarities in the problems that
staff were forced to confront and handle. Although the
strategies or styles used to implement problem solving may
have been different, confrontation of staff to common prob-
lems may have heavily influenced the frequency of any of the
roles counselors played. Where the institution requires
that emotionally disturbed youngsters confine themselves

with heavy attention to rules and regulations, staff are
forced to spend most of their time supervising and keeping
youngsters in line. Whatever time is left is spent nurtur-
ing the many personal difficulties these youngsters bring to
the cottage or incur from their inability to meet custodial
demands. Little time is available for cooperative group
goals. As emerged so clearly in Cottage 3, marked attention
to latency, even where the promotion of informal relations
among peers is relatively high, does not remove friction and
hostility from the cottage. Apparently, indigenous group
activities must also be promoted.

Some counselors it was noticed have the skill to
more successfully mediate a balance among the functional im-
peratives of cottage life. Nevertheless, it was observed
that frequently a staff member was on duty in the cottage
alone. The reader will realize the impossibility of one
counselor handling the tremendous log of necessary and re-
quired routines and tasks, the ever-present personal problems
and still be able to promote group activities. This inves-
tigator contends that one of the prime necessities of an ef-
fective cottage staff, operating under a milieu treatment
philosophy, is not only having well trained--that goes with-
out saying--but having enough staff available so that
several staff members can be on duty at all times--regardless
of illness or other exigencies in the cottage. With suffi-
cient staff, certain counselors can address whatever

custodial tasks are necessary or take aside youngsters with
pressing problems so to handle them before they erupt and
disturb cottage harmony. Other staff, being freed of custo-
dial and individualizing tasks, can devote their full atten-
tion to developing youngsters' skills and promoting autono-
mous group interests. Under these conditions the cottage
would not be merely a holding operation but an effective
therapeutic milieu.

Support for this kind of cottage management comes
from a previous study of Hawthorne. It was found that in
two of the senior cottages, which had only two full-time
staff members, staff spent their time rather exclusively on
the custodial and nurturing roles. The third cottage, not
only had three full-time counselors, but the head counselor
had a mandate from the administration to run the cottage
along lines less restricted by institutional demands than
other cottages on campus. Under these conditions the head
counselor in the third cottage was able to involve himself
to a far greater extent in comparison to the counselors in
other cottages in promoting cottage group activities and the
development of youngsters' skills. He delegated much of the
custodial supervision to his female assistants. Even more
germane was the finding that although staff in this activity-
oriented cottage, in general, spent less time on getting
youngsters to meet rules and regulations and cottage tasks,
the youngsters, themselves, devoted more time to meeting

adaptational requirements than did boys in the other senior

cottages. Furthermore youngsters in this third cottage were

less concerned with nurturing their own personal problems

and more involved in group activities.

Finally, since it is a residential treatment school

that is being discussed, what important implications has cot-

tage life for the resocialization of these emotionally dis-

turbed children? These youngsters being yet adolescent are

in the process of developing a self-identity. A study of the

Hawthorne intake policy reveals that each cottage is as-

signed children with a rather diverse assortment of person-

alities: some are aggressive; others passive and withdrawn;

some possess what the larger society considers "commendable"

social skills; still more are residents at Hawthorne pre-

cisely because of their "anti-social" inclinations. Role

playing in any cottage social system is regarded as a compro-

mise between the personality characteristics the youngsters

bring to the cottage and the latitude of acceptable role be-

havior existing in the cottage. It is reasonable to expect,

as much as possible, that each boys will attempt to find

available roles that most closely approximates his personal

proclivities. In cottages where power relations and manipu-

lating roles are important to the maintenance of the existing

cottage social system, more dominant and self-reliant boys,

with the values and attitudes staff are trying to change,

will find roles that will comfortably fit their manipulative

tendencies. These roles because they serve important func-

tions for the group--keep boys from getting into trouble

with staff and mediate between staff and youngsters--are ac-

ceptable and supported by the peer group. Where this hap-

pens, these manipulative and coercive roles are likely to

become reinforced upon the youngster's basic personality and

internalized by the role occupant. Upon leaving the insti-

tution, these roles will be rather entrenched frames of ref-

erence in the youngster's interaction with others.

However, were these same boys to enter a cottage

social system where these manipulative coercive roles were

not effective--because they were not necessary to achieve

important values for the cottage social system--they would

not be acceptable or supported by the peers. If these "anti-

social" boys wanted to gain status and importance in the

group they would have to find roles that effectively gained

the cottage's interests. In a group goal-oriented cottage,

consequently, leaders are more likely to carry out, be re-

warded for and finally internalize behavior which the larger

society regards as "socially acceptable."

Furthermore, even in respect to nonleaders, it is not

unreasonable to believe that boys who observe while at Haw-

thorne, the effectiveness of "manipulating" and "authori-

tarian" leadership, and respect this kind of leadership be-

cause of its hegemony, will continue to respect it once they

leave the institution. On the other hand, boys in cottages

where leaders deal fairly and cooperatively with staff and peers and get approval from staff for so doing will find "manipulative" behavior unnecessary. Moreover where group action is positively regarded by adult authority, not viewed as "solidarity opposition" or rebellion, belief in democratic principles finds firm roots in youth.

In conclusion, it was seen that the kind of cottage management obtaining in a cottage appeared to influence the roles emerging in the cottage peer group. The nature of these available roles seems to have deep implications for the development of the youngsters' self-identity. With this consideration, cottage life cannot be justified as a holding operation for once-a-week individual therapy sessions, but necessitates the hiring and training of staff who can stimulate the youngsters towards independence and away from installing themselves in a passive, dependent role in the institutional setting. Likewise, the cottage program must be organized so that institutional and cottage custodial requirements can be held to a minimum and attention directed toward the development of social and personal skills and interests. While a cottage staff is forced by the conditions of its setting to orient itself to the routine of adaptation to the institution, it must in addition, conceptualize the cottage as a unit of treatment, in such a way that it can truly become a social system which is able to promote new and emergent interests, activities and programs. In short,

a human existence more in congruence with life outside of the institution; which, afterall, is the life for which staff should be attempting to motivate these youngsters to develop skills.

Summary

The concept of social system theory as conceptualized from Parsons' theoretical work holds that any group, if it is to survive within the larger organization in which it finds itself, must develop specific means for contending with both external demands and potential sources of internal friction. The consequences of such a state of affairs is that the group is differentiated into stratified roles, the configuration of which depends upon the complexity of the situation which confronts the group.

From the above rationale, this investigation sought to predict the salient leadership roles that would arise in three boys' cottage in a residential school for delinquent and emotionally disturbed youngsters on the basis of knowledge of the residents' perceptions of cottage staff's attention to the functional prerequisites of the social system in which they are both found--cottage staff being the power vehicle which the peer group most consistently faces in order to gain its ends.

A second purpose of this investigation was to predict the relationship between particular leadership roles and the "respect" or "liking" cottage-mates hold for these role

occupants in different social systems.

Finally, this investigation sought to determine if certain personality factors that boys brought to the social system transcended the social system and were solvently found in the personality of all occupants of the same role in different social systems. In that the existing social system of the cottage determines the network of roles available for occupancy, different cottages may be expected to require different personality factors for a given role. On the other hand, certain pervasive personality characteristics may predominate for a given role regardless of the social setting.

Although significant differences in the manner in which the youngsters perceived their counselors carrying out their roles could not be verified in the youngsters' questionnaire report, significant differences among cottages (when all three were compared together) were found by independent observers.

Certain similarities were revealed in all three cottages. All three cottage peer groups valued most highly those boys who contributed toward organizing and promoting cottage group goals and activities, regardless of whether staff gave greater attention to strict obedience to rules and regulations and related to the youngsters' individual personal problems more than to cottage group activities, or whether staff gave relatively greater attention to promoting

group autonomy and cooperative relations between staff and boys. In the custodial and individualizing-oriented cottage, however, several important peer group roles were revealed which involved mediation between staff and residents by peer leaders and roles in which staff controlled the peer group through the influence of peer leaders. These roles were not found salient in the group goal attainment oriented cottages.

Most germane was the finding that leaders in the "sickness" oriented cottage were the most "socially mature" and "stable" boys in the cottage. In the cottage where greatest attention was directed to group goals, the predominance of leadership was also carried out by the more "mature" and "stable" boys; however, on several salient leadership roles, more "passive" youngsters were recognized as leaders by their peers.

Important implications for the development of self-identity and a rationale for resocializing youngsters in a residential treatment institution were discussed.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 22

CHOICES RECEIVED FOR LEADERSHIP ROLES
BY SUBJECT, BY COTTAGE

Subject	Role											
	1	5	6	9	10	12	18	21	24	26	32	33
Cottage 1												
A	2		1			3	1			1		
B												
C	2		1			2			1	1	1	
D			2			1						1
E							1	1	1			
F	2		1									
G	4			1			1		1	2	1	
H	1	2		1	1		1		1	1		
I			1			2		2				
J				5				2		1	1	
K		2		1					1		1	3
L		1	1		1							
M		1	3					1			2	
N		1	2	1				1	1			1
O	1	1	2		2	4		1				
P		1	3						3		1	
Q		2	2	1	10	2	3	1	3	1	1	2
R	2	1	2	1		1	4	2		4	3	1
Cottage 2												
A	2	1	1	4	1	2					1	1
B	1	1	3	3	1					2	1	
C	1		1	3		3	4		1	2	4	2
D			4	1								
E			2	1								
F	2	2	1			2	1	2	1	4	1	
G					1				1			
H		1		2			1	1				
I		1							1			
J	1	1					1				3	1
K		1								1	1	
L		1	2	1		2	1			1	2	
M	4	1								2		2
N			1									
O	1	1									1	1
P			1	1	1	5			1	2		
Q	1	6	1	1	7	3	3	5	3	4	1	

TABLE 22--Continued

38	41	45	46	50	51	52	53	55	58	60	65	66
		3			1			1				
	2							1				
		2	3	1			3		1		2	1
1					1		1		1	1		
						2						
							1	1				1
	3	3	1	2	3				1		3	1
				1		1	1	1		2		1
				2					1		2	
	1							1			1	
							1	3	1			
	1			1								
1			1									
					1						1	
		3		1		1		1				
	1											
		5	3	1	6	2	1		1	4		2
8	4	4	5	3	1	1	3		8	2	8	4
						1	1	1			1	
			1		1		1	4		1	2	1
		2	1	4	1	1	2	4		3	1	1
			1	1								
1												1
2	1				1		1	1	2	2	3	
								1				
1		1		1								
1												
										3		
	2				1					1	1	
	8		1	3	2	2	1	4			3	1
	5	2	1	4	1	1		2		4	3	2
		1		1								
		4	2	1	4			1		1		2
9	2	4	7	3	1	3	2	1	7	1	1	2

TABLE 22--Continued

Subject	1	5	6	9	10	Role 12	18	21	24	26	32	33
Cottage 3												
A			2	2		1		1				
B			3							1	1	
C			2						1			
D				2			2			1		1
E	2	3			6	1		5	1		6	4
F		1		7	1						1	
G	3		1	5	3	1	3			1	3	5
H			4	3					1			
I	3	4				2		2	2	4	2	
J			2				1			2	2	1
K	1						1		1			1
L			1	1					1			
M	4	3	2		4	5	4	1	2	3	2	
N	2	2	3		2	2	7	1	1	1	5	3
O	1		2	1				1				
P				1								
Q	1	8	3	1	7	1	1	5	9			

TABLE 22--Continued

38	41	45	46	50	51	52	53	55	58	60	65	66
				1								
	1				1				1			
									1			
		1					1					
			1		1	3	2	2		3		2
	4					1		4		1		
	3	3	1	2	2		1	2				
								1	1			
2		2	2	2	2				3			4
4		1	3	1	1	1	1		4	2	2	2
		1				1			1	1		1
2	4	3	6	6	2	3	4	1	3	1	5	4
7	4	3	4	4	3	3	5	3	2	3	5	5
										1		
							1				1	
	2	3		1	1	1			2			

TABLE 23

CHOICES RECEIVED ON SOCIOMETRIC INVENTORY FOR MOST
RESPECTED AND MOST LIKED BY SUBJECT BY COTTAGE

Subject	Most Respected	Most Liked
Cottage 1		
A	1	1
B	0	1
C	6	5
D	0	1
E	0	1
F	1	1
G	4	5
H	4	6
I	1	1
J	3	0
K	3	1
L	0	3
M	2	1
N	0	2
O	2	2
P	2	2
Q	1	3
R	6	6
Cottage 2		
A	0	1
B	4	0
C	5	8
D	0	0
E	0	1
F	2	2
G	1	3
H	0	1
I	0	1
J	1	2
K	1	2
L	6	8
M	5	2
N	0	0
O	0	0
P	1	1
Q	2	1

TABLE 23--<u>Continued</u>

Subject	Most Respected	Most Liked
Cottage 3		
A	0	0
B	0	1
C	0	0
D	2	3
E	4	3
F	2	5
G	6	6
H	1	2
I	0	1
J	2	1
K	1	1
L	0	0
M	6	4
N	6	3
O	1	1
P	0	2
Q	2	3

TABLE 24

DETERMINANTS OF COTTAGE SPIRIT--SUBJECT'S RATING OF
SPIRIT AND CHOICES RECEIVED AS MOST DISRESPECTED
BOY BY SUBJECT, BY COTTAGE

Subject	Rating[a] of Spirit in Cottage	Most Disrespected
Cottage 1		
A	1	2
B	2	2
C	3	0
D	3	5
E	2	1
F	1	1
G	3	1
H	1	0
I	2	1
J	2	1
K	2	0
L	3	1
M	3	0
N	1	1
O	2	1
P	3	2
Q	3	1
R	1	0
Cottage 2		
A	2	1
B	-	0
C	-	0
D	-	3
E	1	0
F	3	1
G	-	0
H	3	0
I	3	0
J	-	0
K	3	1
L	2	0
M	1	0
N	3	1
O	3	0
P	3	1
Q	3	3

TABLE 24--<u>Continued</u>

Subject	Rating[a] of Spirit in Cottage	Most Disrespected
Cottage 3		
A	3	0
B	3	0
C	3	3
D	3	0
E	3	2
F	3	0
G	3	0
H	3	0
I	3	2
J	3	5
K	3	0
L	3	5
M	--	0
N	3	2
O	--	0
P	3	0
Q	3	0

[a]A rating of "1" represents "a great deal of spirit in the cottage"; "2" represents "a fair amount"; and "3" means "very little spirit."

TABLE 25

PERSONALITY SCORE RECEIVED BY EACH BOY IN EACH
COTTAGE OF FACTORS PREDICTED TO RELATE
TO SALIENT LEADERSHIP ROLES

Subject	Personality Factor					
	A	B	I	J	Q3	Q4
Cottage 1						
A	16	9	10	7	14	6
B	10	8	7	7	11	14
C	9	6	12	8	13	11
D	9	5	12	13	10	13
E	7	5	2	7	9	7
F	14	6	11	6	9	10
G	8	6	11	10	11	8
H	16	8	10	13	15	3
I	3	6	12	12	6	11
J	11	5	9	9	12	9
K	10	5	12	7	17	10
L	8	5	9	11	10	12
M	7	6	9	11	14	14
N	8	7	9	8	11	12
O	13	8	11	13	9	15
P	13	5	11	9	10	5
Q	19	5	4	13	8	13
R	11	4	10	8	8	10
Cottage 2						
A	14	9	8	10	8	8
B						
C						
D						
E	10	8	8	8	11	8
F	12	8	4	9	5	15
G	13	8	8	9	14	6
H	11	7	6	6	10	12
I	9	7	11	11	9	12
J						
K	9	9	9	13	8	15
L	10	6	9	9	12	8
M	9	6	6	9	11	14
N	12	5	0	8	10	8
O	12	7	8	11	8	11
P	10	7	7	9	7	14
Q	14	8	8	11	15	6

TABLE 25--<u>Continued</u>

Subject	Personality Factor					
	A	B	I	J	Q3	Q4
Cottage 3						
A	10	6	4	13	15	9
B	5	7	10	13	12	14
C	6	3	11	9	10	11
D	13	7	3	9	9	7
E	14	8	16	12	8	12
F	6	4	9	9	9	7
G	5	10	10	8	13	14
H	6	6	11	12	10	13
I	9	8	10	10	10	10
J	5	9	11	8	13	9
K	14	7	12	10	10	12
L						
M	12	7	10	11	11	14
N	13	9	11	5	12	8
O						
P	2	6	7	15	6	15
Q	16	9	10	5	12	3

Note: Scores in this table are raw scores.

TABLE 26

COTTAGE LIFE QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out the different ways in which the counselors at Hawthorne do their jobs. No one activity is necessarily more important than any other. Each is important if cottage life is to run smoothly.

For each question choose the activity which you think _____ does most often. Next to the most usual activity of this counselor write in the box the number 1. Then choose the activity which is next most usual and write in the box the number 2. Then choose the activity which is least usual, and put the number 3 in the box. Since you may often see counselors performing all three activities listed in each item, remember to write in number 1 in the box next to his most usual activity.

EXAMPLE:

When I am doing homework, Mr. _____ helps me by:

(_) a. Telling me I can do it well if I stick with it.

(_) b. Giving me some hints while I am working on the problem.

(_) c. Checking it over after I've finished.

Suppose Mr. _____ most often checks your home-work, then you would put number 1   (2) a in box c, as indicated to the right.

If he gave hints least often, a number 3 would be put in box b.   (3) b

And, if telling you that you could do it by sticking with it was in between, you would put the number 2   (1) c in box a.

Do not write your name anywhere on this paper. By not writing your name on the paper you may be sure that no one will be able to tell who filled out your particular questionnaire.

1 = most usual
2 = next most usual
3 = least usual

1. When it comes to doing a cottage job, _____:

    (‾) a. Wants everyone to do an equal share of the work.

    (‾) b. Is keen about seeing that it is done properly.

    (‾) c. Is interested in getting the boys to work together.

2. _____ seems to feel that he can help the boys most by:

    (‾) a. Guiding them in developing their own cottage activities.

    (‾) b. listening to their personal problems.

    (‾) c. keeping them from breaking important rules of Hawthorne.

3. In helping a boy with a personal problem, _____:

    (‾) a. tries to get the boy in a group activity to take his mind off his problem.

    (‾) b. tries to get other boys to buck up the boy.

    (‾) c. encourages the boy to bring it up with his social worker.

4. _____ tries to:

    (‾) a. get the boys to be cooperative with one another.

    (‾) b. get the boys to respect the rules of the institution.

    (‾) c. cheer up a boy who is feeling low.

5. In order to get along well in the cottage, _____ feels that a boy must:

    (‾) a. learn how to follow the rules.

    (‾) b. learn how to work together with other boys to get things done.

(‾) c. learn to be considerate of the other boys'
feelings.

6. A boy in our cottage would most likely go to _____
in order to:

(‾) a. discuss a personal problem that is bothering
one of the boys.

(‾) b. to get a special favor from the administration
on the cottage's behalf.

(‾) c. Get some ideas about a project a group of boys
are interested in.

7. The boys don't get upset about cottage jobs when _____:

(‾) a. organizes the boys to get the work done.

(‾) b. talks sympathetically to a boy who feels angry
or unhappy about having to do a job.

(‾) c. sees that everyone has some say about how jobs
are going to be carried out.

8. _____ keeps up cottage spirit by:

(‾) a. planning interesting activities.

(‾) b. treating everyone equally.

(‾) c. being concerned about the boys' personal
problems.

9. Something that is noticeable about _____ is that
he:

(‾) a. works with the whole group to solve problems.

(‾) b. knows how to approach the administration to
get things done for the cottage.

(‾) c. knows how to kid around with the boys without
hurting anyone's feelings.

10. Largely due to _____:

(‾) a. Boys in our cottage are involved in interest-
ing activities.

(‾) b. everyone in our cottage gets equal treatment no
matter who he is.

( ) c. boys in our cottage feel someone takes a deep personal interest in them.

11. When there is a conflict within the cottage, _____:

( ) a. settles it fairly.

( ) b. sees that no one's feelings are hurt.

( ) c. gets the boys to settle it by themselves.

12. When the boys think of _____ they think of someone who:

( ) a. clearly knows the rules.

( ) b. goes out of his way to do small favors for the boys.

( ) c. helps the boys plan activities they are interested in.

13. _____ spends a great deal of time in the cottage:

( ) a. discussing personal problems with the boys.

( ) b. being "one of the boys."

( ) c. helping the boys plan projects for the cottage.

14. When our cottage is a cheerful place to live, it is because _____:

( ) a. Knows what to do to settle conflicts among the boys.

( ) b. encourages the boys to find the best way to do cottage jobs.

( ) c. cheers up boys who feel unhappy or upset.

15. When it comes to planning cottage activities _____:

( ) a. helps the boys organize activities they are interested in.

( ) b. sees that the boys work well with each other.

( ) c. gets supplies and permission from the administration.

16. If someone walked into our cottage some weekday evening, he would probably find _____:

( ) a. kidding around with a bunch of boys.

( ) b. discussing a personal problem with one of the boys.

( ) c. helping a group of boys with a project of their own choosing.

17. If _____ were coaching us during a ball game, he would probably emphasize:

( ) a. the importance of good team work and spirit.

( ) b. playing the game according to the rules.

( ) c. doing everything the team could to win.

18. When it comes to necessary jobs around the cottage _____:

( ) a. assigns jobs fairly to everyone.

( ) b. gets the boys to do the job efficiently.

( ) c. can always be counted on for help if a boy has trouble with the job.

19. _____ sees that things run smoothly in our cottage by:

( ) a. seeing that arguments never break out into fights.

( ) b. making sure the boys do the jobs they are assigned.

( ) c. helping the boys plan activities that they enjoy.

20. _____ seems happiest in the cottage when:

( ) a. He can help a boy with his personal problems.

( ) b. the boys take a major share in running cottage activities.

( ) c. jobs are done by the boys in time and without trouble.

21. _____ would become angry if a boy:

( ) a. embarrassed or hurt another boy's feelings.

( ) b. failed to do his cottage job.

( ) c. interferred with a group activity.

22. In our cottage, when _____ has a discussion
    with one of the boys _____ is most
    likely talking about:

( ) a. rules and regulations in the cottage.

( ) b. an emotional problem the boy has.

( ) c. getting along with other boys in the cottage.

23. In planning group activities, _____:

( ) a. helps a boy get the group to listen to his
          ideas.

( ) b. puts everyone in a good mood by just being
          there.

( ) c. helps the boys decide on their own and carry
          it through.

24. _____ would be satisfied as long as:

( ) a. the boys don't get into trouble.

( ) b. boys are not upset over personal problems.

( ) c. everyone is taking part in group activities
          that they're really interested in.

TABLE 27

"GUESS WHO" QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____
                                        YR

In this questionnaire you are being asked to <u>guess</u> <u>who</u> the following descriptions fit, among boys in your cottage at the present time.

So that we can keep this anonymous, you have been given a list of boys in your cottage, with a letter, A.B.C. etc., next to each name.

For each description that fits a boy in your cottage, write his letter on the line next to the question. If any description fits two or three boys, write in their letters. But do not write more than three letters for each question. If the description applies to more than three boys, write the letters for the three boys it fits best.

If you honestly think that you yourself fit the description you may include your own letter.

Give your own best guess in each case, not the letters you think other boys will give.

There may be some descriptions that do not exactly fit any boy in your cottage. In that case, indicate who comes close to the description when possible.

Your answers will be kept confidential and known only to the research staff.

_____

1. Wants everyone to take part in the
    cottage fun.   _____
2. Could beat anyone else in the cot-
    tage in a fair fight.   _____
3. Avoids making friends with other
    boys.   _____
4. Big joker.   _____
5. Gets around staff without
    actually breaking rules.   _____
6. Does just as much as staff tells
    him to do in the cottage, but
    no more.   _____
7. Refuses to help other boys with
    house jobs.   _____
8. Has to be a leader, or he won't
    participate.   _____

9. Avoids getting involved in con-
flicts among boys.
10. Tries to get special favors for
himself from staff.
11. Takes advantage of other boys
who try to be nice to him.
12. Talks to staff on behalf of
other boys who have requests
or complaints.
13. Causes other boys to be blamed
by staff for what he has done.
14. Doesn't know who to do any-
thing right.
15. Is ignored by most boys in the
cottage.
16. Can be influenced by other boys
to do things he's not supposed
to do.
17. Can't be trusted to stay out of
other boys' lockers if no one
is around.
18. Keeps other boys from getting
themselves in trouble with
staff.
19. Gets good grades with very
little work in school.
20. Stirs up arguments among boys
but stays out of it himself.
21. Gets other boys to do his job
around the cottage.
22. Plays his heart out on cot-
tage teams, but wouldn't be a
good Captain.
23. Never argues with staff.
24. Tries to play one staff member
against the other to get what
he wants.
25. Unwilling to lend things to
other boys.
26. Can get boys to work to-
gether in making things for
the cottage.
27. Is hardly ever asked to join
other boys in activities.
28. Knows the most about sports.
29. Always does his share in house
jobs.
30. Doesn't care about doing his
share of work in the cottage.
31. Picks on boys weaker than him-
self, but not on anyone he's
not sure he can lick.

32. Cheers up boys who are feeling low.

33. Always helpful to other boys in the cottage.

34. Turns thumbs down on any new ideas or constructive suggestions from other boys in cottage meetings.

35. Best all-around athlete.

36. Ranks other boys but can't take it himself.

37. Sticks with his own clique and doesn't pay much attention to other boys in the cottage.

38. Other boys take orders from this boy because they're afraid of him.

39. Always getting into fights with boys he can't beat.

40. Will give up something he wants to help other boys.

41. Other boys like to have this boy in on whatever they're doing.

42. Argues with other boys about the least little thing.

43. Tries to bum out of work all the time.

44. Staff members like him more than any other boy.

45. Is good at organizing boys to put their ideas for the cottage into action.

46. Staff members ask this boy to get other boys to do things in the cottage.

47. More friendly with staff than with other boys in the cottage.

48. Very popular with girls at Hawthorne.

49. Often picked on by other boys.

50. Often unites the boys in the cottage in whatever they're doing.

51. Has the best ideas for cottage group projects.

52. Tries to help staff work with each other.

53. Settles arguments before they break out into fights.

54. Staff members dislike him
    more than any other boy in the
    cottage. _____
55. Gets along very well with
    staff and other boys. _____
56. Best all around student in
    school. _____
57. Seems to enjoy it when other
    boys don't get along with each
    other. _____
58. Can get other boys in the cot-
    tage to do whatever he wants. _____
59. Doesn't start fights but can
    take care of himself if anyone
    gets tough with him. _____
60. Smooths over hard feelings be-
    tween boys after a fight. _____
61. Helps other boys with homework. _____
62. Encourages other boys to get
    in arguments with staff. _____
63. Argues the most with staff
    members. _____
64. Does house jobs without ever
    being reminded by staff. _____
65. Able to arrange for and carry
    through a ballgame with no
    help from staff. _____
66. Gets everyone to contribute
    their share for the cottage. _____
67. Best all-around leader. _____
68. Tries to sabotage cooperation
    among boys in the cottage. _____

TABLE 28

CHOICE QUESTIONNAIRE

Name _____
     X

     In the first part of this questionnaire you are asked to indicate the boys in your cottage you would personally choose for different kinds of activities, if you knew that your choice would come true.

     In the second part you are asked to indicate which boys in your cottage you personally like and dislike most, and those you have the most respect and disrespect for.

     In the third part, indicate which boys, of all boys you know at Hawthorne, you personally like and dislike most, and those you have most respect and disrespect for.

     Indicate your first, second and third choices in each case.

     All answers will be kept confidential by the research staff.

_____

Part I.

  1. Which boy in your cottage would you choose to be in charge of settling disagreements among other boys?

     1st choice _____

     2nd choice _____

     3rd choice _____

  2. Which boy in your cottage would you choose to organize the other boys to work on projects that the boys want?

     1st choice _____

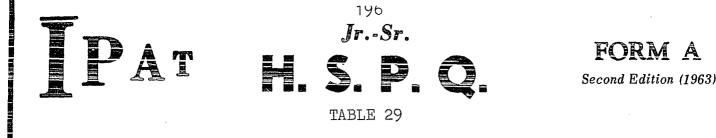   2nd choice _____

     3rd choice _____

  3. Which boy in your cottage would you choose to talk to when you are feeling low?

     1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

4. Which boy in your cottage would you choose to act as spokesman for the others if the boys in the cottage wanted a special favor from Mr. Helfer?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

Part II

1. Which boy in your cottage do you personally like most?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

2. Which boy in your cottage do you personally dislike most?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

3. Which boy in your cottage do you personally have the most respect for?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

4. Which boy in your cottage do you personally have the most disrespect for?

1st choice _____

2nd choice _____

3rd choice _____

Part III

1. Which boy at Hawthorne do you personally like most?

    1st choice _____

    2nd choice _____

    3rd choice _____

2. Which boy at Hawthorne do you personally dislike most?

    1st choice _____

    2nd choice _____

    3rd choice _____

3. Which boy at Hawthorne do you personally have the most respect for?

    1st choice _____

    2nd choice _____

    3rd choice _____

4. Which boy at Hawthorne do you personally have the most disrespect for?

    1st choice _____

    2nd choice _____

    3rd choice _____

Part IV

1. In some cottages there seems to be more cottage spirit than in others. Do you feel that your cottage has (CHECK ONE)

    _____a) a great deal of spirit?

    _____b) a fair amount of spirit?

    _____c) very little spirit?

I P A T

Jr.-Sr.
H. S. P. Q.

FORM A
Second Edition (1963)

TABLE 29

WHAT TO DO: You have a Booklet and an Answer Sheet. Write your name, age, etc., on the Answer Sheet where it tells you to.

We want to know what sort of a person you are. The paper before you has questions about your interests and your likes and dislikes. First, we shall give you two examples so that you will know exactly what to do. After each question there are three answers. Although you are to read the questions in *this* Booklet, *you must put your answers on the Answer Sheet*, alongside the same number as in the Booklet. Read the following examples and mark an x for your answers on the Answer Sheet where indicated:

EXAMPLES:

1. Which would you rather do:
   a. visit a zoo,
   b. uncertain,
   c. go up in an airplane?

2. If you have a quarrel, do you make friends again quickly?
   a. yes, b. in between, c. no.
   (or uncertain)

As you see from these examples, there are usually no right and wrong answers. Each person is different and has only to say what is true for *him*. You can always find one answer that suits you a *little* better than the others, so never leave a question without marking one of the answers.

Inside you will find more questions like the ones above. When you are told to turn the page, begin with number 1 and go on until you finish all the questions. In answering them, please keep these four points in mind:

1. Answer the questions frankly and truthfully. There is no advantage in giving the wrong impression. Never give an untrue answer about yourself because you think it is the "right thing to say." There are ways of detecting such unfair answers.

2. Please answer the questions as quickly as you can. Do not spend time puzzling over them. Give the first, natural answer as it comes to you. Some questions are a bit similar to others but no two are exactly alike and your answers will often differ in these cases.

3. Use the middle answer *only* when it is *absolutely impossible* to lean toward one or the other of the answer choices. In other words, the "yes" (or "a") or the "no" (or "c") answer should be used for *most* cases.

4. Do not skip any questions. Occasionally a statement may not seem to apply to you or your interests, but answer every question, somehow.

If there is anything you want to ask about what you have to do, ask now. If there is nothing now, but you meet a word later on you do not understand, stop and ask then.

DO NOT TURN PAGE UNTIL TOLD TO DO SO

1. Have you understood the instructions?
   a. yes, b. uncertain, c. no.

2. At a picnic would you rather spend some time:
   a. exploring the woods alone,
   b. uncertain,
   c. playing around the campfire with the crowd?

3. When you write an essay about your personal thoughts and feelings, do you:
   a. enjoy telling about yourself,
   b. uncertain,
   c. prefer to keep some ideas to yourself?

4. When you do a foolish thing, do you feel so badly that you wish the earth would just swallow you up?
   a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

5. Do you find it easy to keep an exciting secret?
   a. yes, b. sometimes, c. no.

6. Compared to other people, do you make up your mind:
   a. with hesitation,
   b. in between,
   c. with certainty?

7. When things go wrong and upset you, do you believe in:
   a. just smiling,
   b. in between,
   c. making a fuss?

8. If friends' ideas differ from yours, do you keep from saying yours are better, so as not to hurt their feelings?
   a. yes, b. sometimes, c. no.

9. Do you laugh with your friends more in class than other people do?
   a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

10. Do most people seem to enjoy your company?
    a. yes, a lot, b. just average, c. no.

11. Which of these says better what you are like?
    a. a dependable leader,
    b. in between,
    c. charming, good looking.

12. Do you sometimes feel, before a big party or outing, that you are not so interested in going?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

13. When you rightly feel angry with people, do you think it's all right for you to shout at them?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

14. When classmates play a joke on you, do you usually enjoy it as much as others without feeling at all upset?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

15. Are there times when you think, "People are so unreasonable, they can't even be trusted to look after their own good"?
    a. true, b. perhaps, c. false.

16. Can you always tell what your real feelings are, for example, whether you are tired or just bored?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

17. Do you think there is a fair chance that you will be a well-known, popular figure when you grow up?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

18. When you are given higher grades than you usually make, do you feel that the teacher might have made a mistake?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

19. Would you rather be:
    a. a traveling TV actor,
    b. uncertain,
    c. a medical doctor?

20. Do you think that life has been a bit happier and more satisfying for you than for many other people?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

21. Do you have trouble remembering someone's joke well enough to tell it yourself?
    a. yes, b. sometimes, c. no.

(End, column 1 on answer sheet.)

22. Have you enjoyed being in drama, such as school plays?
a. yes,   b. uncertain,   c. no.

23. "Mend" means the same as:
a. repair,   b. help,   c. patch.

24. "Truth" is the opposite of:
a. fancy,   b. falsehood,   c. denial.

25. Do you completely understand what you read in school?
a. yes,   b. usually,   c. no.

26. When chalk screeches on the blackboard does it make you feel queer?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

27. When something goes badly wrong, do you get very angry with people before you start to think what can be done about it?
a. often,   b. sometimes,   c. seldom.

28. When you finish school, would you like to:
a. do something that will make people like you, though you are poor,
b. uncertain,
c. make a lot of money?

29. Do you dislike going into narrow caves or climbing to high places?
a. yes,   b. sometimes,   c. no.

30. Are you always ready to show, in front of everyone, how well you can do things compared with others?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

31. Do you like to tell people to follow proper rules and regulations?
a. yes,   b. sometimes,   c. no.

32. Can you talk to a group of strangers without stammering a little or without finding it hard to say what you want to?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

33. Do some types of movies upset you?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

34. Would you enjoy more watching a boxing match than a beautiful dance?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

35. If someone has been unkind to you, do you soon trust him again and give him another chance?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

36. Do you sometimes feel you are not much good, and that you never do anything worthwhile?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

37. In the first grade, did you always go to school without your mother's having to make you?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

38. Do you tend to be quiet when out with a group of friends?
a. yes,   b. sometimes,   c. no.

39. Do people say that you are a person who can always be counted on to do things exactly and methodically (carefully)?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

40. If someone puts on noisy music while you are trying to work, can you still go on working?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

41. Would you rather spend some spare pocket money on:
a. a popular dance record,
b. uncertain,
c. a book to show how you can earn more pocket money?

(End, column 2 on answer sheet.)

42. Do you feel hurt if people borrow your things without asking you?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

43. "Firm" is the opposite of:
a. hard,   b. kind,   c. loose.

44. "Rich" is to "money" as "sad" is to:
a. trouble,   b. friends,   c. land.

45. Have you always got along really well with your parents, brothers, and sisters?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

46. If your friends leave you out of something they are doing, do you:
a. think they made a mistake,
b. in between,
c. feel hurt and angry?

47. Do people say you are sometimes careless and untidy, though they think you are a fine person?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

48. Have you ever told your parents that some teachers are too old-fashioned to understand modern young people like you and your friends?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

49. Which would you rather be:
a. the most popular person in school,
b. uncertain,
c. the person with the best grades?

50. In a group of people, are you generally one of those who tells jokes and funny stories?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

51. Are you usually patient with people who speak very fast or very slowly?
a. yes,   b. sometimes,   c. no.

52. Are your feelings easily hurt?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

53. In a play, would you rather act the part of a famous teacher of art than a tough pirate?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

54. Which course would you rather take:
a. practical mathematics,
b. uncertain,
c. foreign language or drama?

55. Would you rather spend free time:
a. by yourself, on a book or stamp collection,
b. uncertain,
c. working under others in a group project?

56. Do you feel that you are getting along well, and that you do everything that could be expected of you?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

57. Do you find yourself humming tunes someone else started?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

58. When a new fad starts, for example, in dress or way of speaking, do you:
a. start early and go along with it,
b. uncertain,
c. wait and watch before deciding if you will follow it?

59. Would you like to be extremely good-looking, so that people would notice you wherever you go?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

60. Do you feel that most of your wants are reasonably well satisfied?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

61. When you read an adventure story, do you:
a. get bothered whether it is going to end happily,
b. uncertain,
c. just enjoy the story as it goes along?

(End, column 3 on answer sheet.)

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62. In dancing or music, do you pick up a new rhythm easily?
a. yes, b. sometimes, c. no.

63. "Picture" is to "scenery" as "novel" is to:
a. locality, b. history, c. book.

64. If Joan's mother is my father's sister, what relation is Joan's father to me?
a. father, b. brother, c. uncle.

65. Do you often make big plans and get excited about them, only to find that they just won't work out?
a. yes, b. occasionally, c. no.

66. Can you work hard on something, without being bothered if there's a lot of noise around you?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

67. Do you often remember things differently from other people, so that you have to disagree about what really happened?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

68. Do you prefer having teachers tell you how things should be done?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

69. When you are ready for a job, would you like one that:
a. is steady and safe, even if it needs hard work,
b. uncertain,
c. has lots of change and meetings with lively people?

70. In group activities, which do you prefer?
a. to be a good leader,
b. in between,
c. to be a good follower.

71. If you found another pupil doing a job you had been told to do, would you:
a. ask him to let you do it,
b. uncertain,
c. let him keep on until the teacher could come to decide?

72. Can you work just as well, without making more mistakes, when people are watching you?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

73. When you see something very sad in a play, do you:
a. find it hard to keep the tears away,
b. in between,
c. say, "Oh, this is just a lot of make-believe"?

74. Would you rather spend an afternoon by a lake:
a. watching dangerous speed boat racing,
b. uncertain,
c. walking by the lovely shore with a friend?

75. When you are in a group, do you spend more time:
a. enjoying the friendship,
b. uncertain,
c. watching what happens?

76. Which of these changes in school would you rather vote for:
a. putting slow people in classes of their own,
b. uncertain,
c. doing away with unnecessary punishment?

77. When things are going wonderfully, do you:
a. actually almost "jump for joy,"
b. uncertain,
c. feel good inside, while appearing calm?

78. Would you rather be:
a. a builder of bridges,
b. uncertain,
c. a member of a traveling circus?

79. When something is bothering you, do you think it's better to:
a. try to hold it until you're in a calmer state,
b. uncertain,
c. blow off steam?

80. Do you sometimes say silly things, just to see what people will say?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

81. When you do badly in an important game, do you:
a. say, "This is just a game,"
b. uncertain,
c. get angry and "kick yourself"?

(End, column 4 on answer sheet.)

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82. Do you go out of your way to avoid crowded buses and streets?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

83. "Usually" means the same as:
a. sometimes,   b. always,   c. generally.

84. If all firs are coniferous trees, and all coniferous trees are evergreens, which of the following is true?
a. all firs are evergreens,
b. all evergreens are firs,
c. all coniferous trees are firs.

85. Are you satisfied that you come up to what people expect from someone of your age?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

86. If you keep breaking and accidentally wasting things when you are making something, do you keep calm just the same?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no, I get furious.

87. Do you tell schoolmates who are getting too noisy to keep quiet?
a. often,   b. sometimes,   c. seldom.

88. In a trip with naturalists, would you find it more fun to:
a. catch birds and preserve them in a collection,
b. uncertain,
c. make artistic photos and paintings of birds on the wing?

89. Would you rather:
a. read a story of wild adventure,
b. uncertain,
c. actually have wild adventures happen to you?

90. Are you "steady and sure" in what you do?
a. seldom,   b. sometimes,   c. always.

91. With people who take a long time to answer a question, do you:
a. let them take their own time, however long,
b. in between,
c. try to hasten their answer, and get cross if they take a long time?

92. Do you sometimes feel unwilling to try something, though you know it is not really dangerous?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

93. Do you stand up before class without looking nervous and ill-at-ease?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

94. Which would you rather watch on a fine evening:
a. car racing,
b. uncertain,
c. an open-air musical play?

95. Have you ever thought what you would do if you were the only person left in the world?
a. yes,   b. not sure,   c. no.

96. When you have to wait in line, do you often:
a. wait patiently,
b. uncertain,
c. fidget and think of going away instead of waiting?

97. Do you wish you could learn to be more carefree and light-hearted about your school work?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

98. Are you, like a lot of people, slightly afraid of lightning?
a. yes,   b. perhaps.   c. no.

99. Do you ever suggest to the teacher a new subject for the class to discuss?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

100. Would you rather spend a break between morning and afternoon classes in:
a. a card game,
b. uncertain,
c. catching up on homework?

101. When you are walking in a quiet street in the dark, do you often get the idea you are being followed?
a. yes,   b. perhaps,   c. no.

(End, column 5 on answer sheet.)

102. In talking with your classmates, do you dislike telling your most private feelings?
a. yes, b. sometimes, c. no.

103. When you go into a new group, do you:
a. quickly feel you know everyone,
b. in between,
c. take a long time to get to know people?

104. Look at these five words: mostly, gladly, chiefly, mainly, highly. The word that does not belong with the others is:
a. mostly, b. gladly, c. highly.

105. Do you sometimes feel happy and sometimes feel depressed without real reason?
a. yes, b. uncertain, c. no.

106. When people around you laugh and talk while you are listening to radio or TV:
a. can you listen without being bothered,
b. in between,
c. does it spoil things and annoy you?

107. If you accidentally say something odd in company, do you stay uncomfortable a long time, and find it hard to forget?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

108. Are you known among your friends for going "all out" for things that take your fancy?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

109. Are you best regarded as a person who:
a. thinks, b. in between, c. acts?

110. Do you spend most of your allowance each week for fun (instead of saving much of it for future needs)?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

111. Do other people often get in your way?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

112. How would you rate yourself?
a. inclined to be moody,
b. in between,
c. not at all moody.

113. In school, do you feel your teachers:
a. approve of you,
b. uncertain,
c. hardly know you are there?

114. Do your interests:
a. roam widely over many things,
b. in between,
c. settle strongly on one or two important things?

115. Do you get in trouble more often through saying to a group wanting to do something:
a. "Let's go!"
b. uncertain,
c. "I'd rather not join in"?

116. When you were growing up, did you expect the world to be:
a. more kind and considerate than it is,
b. uncertain,
c. more tough and hard than it is?

117. Do you find it easy to go up and introduce yourself to an important person?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

118. Do you think that the average committee of your classmates often makes poorer decisions than one person would do and also takes too much time?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

119. Do you usually:
a. follow your own ideas of what is right,
b. uncertain,
c. do the same as other people?

120. Do you sometimes go on and do something you very much want to do, even though you feel a bit ashamed of yourself?
a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

121. When someone is disagreeing with you, do you:
a. let him say all he has to say,
b. uncertain,
c. tend to interrupt before he finishes?

(End, column 6 on answer sheet.)

122. Would you rather live:
    a. in a deep forest, with only the song of birds,
    b. uncertain,
    c. on a busy street corner, where a lot happens?

123. When a new teacher comes to your class, does he or she soon notice who you are and remember you?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

124. Look at these five words: below, beside, above, behind, between. The word that does not belong with the others is:
    a. below, b. between, c. beside.

125. If someone asks you to do a new and difficult job, do you:
    a. feel glad and show what you can do,
    b. in between,
    c. feel you will make a mess of it?

126. When you raise your hand to answer a question in class, and many others raise their hands too, do you get excited?
    a. sometimes, b. not often, c. never.

127. In school would you rather be:
    a. a librarian, looking after the reading books,
    b. uncertain,
    c. an athletic coach?

128. On your birthday, do you prefer:
    a. to be asked beforehand, so that you can choose the present you want,
    b. uncertain,
    c. to have the fun of getting a present as a complete surprise?

129. Are you very careful not to hurt anyone's feelings or startle anyone, even in fun?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

130. If you were working with groups in class, would you rather:
    a. walk around to carry things from one person to another,
    b. uncertain,
    c. specialize in showing people how to do one difficult part?

131. Do you take trouble to be sure you are right before you say anything in class?
    a. always, b. generally, c. not usually.

132. Are you so afraid of consequences that you avoid making decisions one way or the other?
    a. often, b. sometimes, c. never.

133. Do you have periods of feeling just "run down"?
    a. seldom, b. sometimes, c. often.

134. When a close friend prefers someone else's company to yours on a special day, do you:
    a. complain to him for neglecting you,
    b. in between,
    c. take it in a "matter of fact" way?

135. Would you like better, when in the country:
    a. running a class picnic,
    b. uncertain,
    c. learning to know all the different trees in the woods?

136. In group discussions, do you often find yourself:
    a. taking a lone stand,
    b. uncertain,
    c. agreeing with the group?

137. Do your feelings get so bottled up that you feel you could burst?
    a. often, b. sometimes, c. seldom.

138. Which kind of friends do you like? Those who like to:
    a. "kid around,"
    b. uncertain,
    c. be more serious?

139. If you were not a human being, would you rather be:
    a. an eagle on a far mountain,
    b. uncertain,
    c. a seal, in a seal colony by the seashore?

140. Do you think that to be polite you must learn to control your feelings?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

141. Do small troubles sometimes "get on your nerves" even though you know that they are not very important?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.

142. Are you sure you have answered *every* question?
    a. yes, b. perhaps, c. no.