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PATTERNS OF COMMUNICATION IN A TRAINING

SCHOOL FOR ADOLESCENT GIRLS

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GWEN F. GARNER

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Finally, I want to thank the girls of Girls' Town, whose cooperation was essential. There was one special girl who provided the idea from which this study emerged. As she watched a group of staff members rather ineffectually hunting for runaway girls, she commented, "That's what wrong with this staff, when anything happens, they lose their cool."

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Girls' Town, a training school for adolescent girls, was an institution in transition at the time of this study.

In 1961, Oklahoma's training schools and homes for dependent and neglected children were transferred to the administration of the Department of Public Welfare as an economy move by the state legislature (Garner, 1962). Since then, treatment methods have been gradually added to routine custodial care in the childrens' institutions (Okla. Dept. of Public Welfare, 1968). Some guidelines for changes were made in Apathy or Action, a study of Oklahoma's Correctional system (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1958).

In July, 1968, a social worker was named to replace the retiring superintendent of Girls' Town. Other changes were made in an effort to implement the recommendations of another study by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (1967). There were facilitated by the transfer of the Oklahoma Rehabilitative Service to the Department of Public Welfare in July of 1968. Departmental and institutional staff also had begun to discuss the major changes

which would come about in departmental policy when the Childrens'
Code became effective in January of 1969.

Episodes of disturbance, including mass runaways and
window breakings, occurred over a period of four months, partic-
ularly in one cottage. Throughout this period, tension remained
high. Girls made predictions of riots, runaways, and invasions
from outside gangs. Both girls and staff predicted uneasily that
"something may happen." This study, made in November of 1968,
emerged as an attempt to describe some of the communication pat-
terns between girls and staff during this troubled time, and
attempted, like the photographer, to freeze the action at the
decisive moment (Cartier-Bresson, 1952) that would reveal the
complex interaction.

The Calculus of Communication

The work of Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967) has
offered a conceptual scheme for describing certain formal pro-
perties of human communication, although the specific contents
of communication may be elaborated in a variety of ways, depend-
ing on the individual and the situation. They have suggested that
there is a calculus of human communication. If enough information
were available about the varieties of communication, a set of high
level abstractions could be made which would describe the prop-
erties of successful contrasted to disturbed communication.

No set of abstractions can now be formulated since so
little is known about patterns of communication. Most of the

research has investigated the communication patterns of the families
of schizophrenic patients (Bateson & Jackson, 1964; Bateson, Jackson,
Haley, & Weakland, 1956; Ferreira, 1960; Haley, 1959, 1961, 1963;
Spiegel, 1958; Wynne, Ryckoff, Day, & Hirsch, 1958).

The authors suggest that if a relationship develops,
characteristic patterns of communication will emerge. This rule
of the relationship (Jackson, 1965) defines acceptable limits of
the relationship. Communication within the schizophrenic family
is characterized by one kind of rule, but it is assumed that the
study of other types of people, such as delinquents,would reveal
different patterns of communication. If information were avail-
able about enough types of communication, the calculus could be
formulated.

The Properties of Communication

According to communication theory, all behavior is a
form of communication. Verbal, tonal, contextual and other com-
ponents are present in a single message, and may confirm or deny
the message contained in the other components. Not only does
communication convey information, but it defines relationships
between individuals. Any message, according to Bateson (1951)
has two components which he labeled as the report and command
components of the message.

The report is the content of the message and conveys
information to another person. The information contained in the
report may be true or false, valid or invalid. The command

contains assertions about the relationships between people: "this is how I see myself, this is how I see you, and how I see myself in relationship to you."

According to Watzlawick and his associates (1967) there is a hierarchy of messages concerning relationships between people. At the first level of communication, the message contains the assertion: "This is how I am seeing myself", and "This is how I am seeing you." The second or metacommunication level comments about the first level: "This is how I see you seeing me" and "This is how I see me seeing myself."

Laing and his associates (Laing, Phillipson, & Lee, 1966) suggest that at the first level of communication, the possibility of agreement or disagreement exists between the partners. The level of metacommunication displays awareness or lack of awareness of the feelings of others, and is the level where understanding or misunderstanding occur.

Students of communication have developed schemes of classifying the kinds of relationships which are developed. One such classification is that of complementary or symmetrical relationships, based on the equality or differences between the participants. Symmetrical relationships are those in which the individuals tend to mirror each other's behavior, while in complementary relationships the individual's behavior complements the other's. In complementary relationships, one individual is in the one-up or superior position, while the other is in the one-down or inferior position. In symmetrical relationships, equality marks the indivi-

duals's positions. No assumptions are made whether these kinds of relationships are good or bad, weak or strong.

Research on Communication in Schizophrenia

The concepts of communication theory have been used to describe patterns of communication in the families of schizophrenics.

First, there appears to be considerable discrepancy between various components of the content or report which is sent to the schizophrenic child (Haley, 1959; 1963; Laing & Esterson, 1964; Laing, et al, 1966; Lidz, Fleck, & Cornelison, 1965, Wynne, Ryckoff, Day & Hirsch, 1958; Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967). The mother may say verbally "Come to me," but by turning her body away she may also say "Do not come to me." The child receives contradictory messages and if he obeys one, he disobeys the other.

Second, commands concerning relationships within the schizophrenic family are as paradoxical as the content level of communication. (Bateson & Jackson, 1964; Bateson et al, 1956; Ferreira, 1960; Haley, 1959, 1961, 1963; Laing & Esterson, 1964; Laing et al, 1966; Lidz et al, 1965; Watzlawick et al, 1967; Wynne et al, 1958). The mother may convey to the child that she wishes him to be dependent on her, but if he tries to be dependent, she withdraws emotionally or urges independence. Analysis of communications suggest that the schizophrenic person eventually develops patterns of communication in which he attempts to avoid defining relationships with others (Ferreira, 1960; Haley, 1959, 1961, 1963, Watzlawick et al, 1967).

The communication pattern in the schizophrenic family was described by Bateson and his collegues as the double-bind. One person, usually the mother, conveys contradictory messages at the first level of communication. The relationship of the mother with the child, or the binder with the victim, is such that he can neither escape the situation nor use the level of metacommunication to comment on the paradoxical nature of the messages (Bateson et al, 1956).

Obviously the conclusions from research on schizophrenia are not directly applicable to other groups of people, but the concepts of communication theory may be used to investigate other groups of people. In order to describe the ongoing interaction of the training school in the concepts of communication theory, an examination must be made of the population of the institution, the nature and function of the training school, and the context of this study.

The Population of a Training School

Legal, psychological, and sociological definitions have been given as descriptions of delinquency. Psychiatric definitions, says Halleck (1967), seem to rely on judgements of the degree of unreasonableness of the delinquent's behavior, and these definitions separate delinquency which is socially learned behavior from that which is seen as related to individual pathology.

There is general concensus that the outstanding feature of delinquency is its alloplastic quality, in which the person

attempts to change the environment rather than himself in his efforts at adaptation (Blos, 1962; Eissler, 1949).

There are also legal definitions of delinquency.

> Delinquency is a legal term, a finding by a court, generally as a result of the child's violation of a law. The term is not diagnostic and is not sufficient to classify the child. Chance sometimes determines whether a child is labeled delinquent, dependent, or neglected. Sometimes another term might easily have been used and the child given a different legal-social status. . . (Childrens' Bureau, 1957, p. 3).

Halleck (1967) notes that the use of the label of delinquency in girls is largely determined by social class.

> . . . This means that punishment is mainly imposed upon those girls who do not have "respectable" homes or access to sufficient resources to protect against institutionalization. Many of the girls end up in a training school because their families are unwilling or unable to care for them and there is nowhere else to send them /p. 138-139/.

Female delinquency, Halleck (1967) says, has been mainly self destructive behavior. The most usual offenses are sexual promiscuity and running away from home, offenses which do not endanger life or property but may harm the girl. But youth workers have noticed that there are recent changes in patterns of female delinquency in that girls are now forming gangs, stealing, drinking and fighting. These delinquent girls are behaving more like the typical male delinquents.

At the time of this study, the state of Oklahoma had a broad definition of delinquency which allowed a wide variety of female offenders to be committed for delinquency. A female delinquent was defined as:

. . . Any female child under the age of eighteen
years who violates any law of the United States, or
of this State, or any city or town ordinance; or who
is incorrigible either at home or in school, or who
knowingly associates with thieves, vicious or immoral
persons, or who, without just cause and without the
consent of its parents or custodians absents himself
from home or place of abode. . . (Oklahoma Statutes,
Title 10, Section 101, 1965).

This definition of delinquency included the possibility

for commitment of many girls who were not defined clinically as

delinquent. In contrast, the Children's Code, effective January

13, 1969, defines the delinquent child as; "1. any child who

has violated any Federal or state law or municipal ordinance,

excepting a traffic statute or ordinance, or any lawful order of

the court made under this act; or 2. a child who has habitually

violated traffic laws or ordinances" (Oklahoma Statutes, Title

10, Section 1101, 1968).

Girls' Town Training School is one of 11 children's

institutions, including four training schools and two homes for

dependent and neglected children, which are administered by the

Oklahoma Department of Public Welfare. At the time of this study,

girls were committed directly to the institutions by the courts,

and the training school had no control over intake. Girls ranged

in age from 12 to 18.

While many of the girls at Girls' Town might be called

clinically delinquent, many others are not characterized primarily

by alloplastic or acting-out behavior. Many of these non-acting-

out girls have personality patterns which are more consistent with

that of the neglected child (Kerfoot, 1968). Many of the girls

were first committed to homes for the dependent and neglected, and were later adjudged as delinquent and sent to the training school (Drake, 1968).

The Training School

The training school is a form of a total institution (Donnelly, Goldstein, & Schwartz, 1967), in which all aspects of the girls' lives are scheduled and supervised under the direction of a single authority who carries out the aims of the institution.

After conducting an international survey of correctional practices, Conrad (1965) noted that the basic function of the correctional institution is that of control.

> . . . Once identified as a correctional client, the offender must be controlled until officially restored as a participating member of society. . . A variety of reasons prescribe control. It is the prime consideration in institutions. . . . To reconcile humanitarian and rehabilitative activities to the requirements of control is the first order of business in any kind of correctional planning /pp. 61-62/.

At the most utilitarian level, Conrad noted that if control were not of basic concern, there would be no one left in the training school to rehabilitate.

But many correctional authorities emphasize that control is not incompatible with treatment methods, and is indispensable in dealing with the delinquent.

> The training school cannot achieve anything approaching complete freedom in behavior or leave to the inner controls of the child an unlimited choice. Such methods are particularly inappropriate for work with delinquent children. Without such limitations, their primitive instinctual impulses may well run riot, with

consequent anxiety and additional acting-out behavior
(Childrens' Bureau, 1957, p. 97).

Other authorities point out that children become fear-
ful without discipline.

> . . . Our motto with undisciplined children is
> "control first and then treat." . . . Authority need
> not be a hostile thing. . . . It is an undisputed fact
> that until children have developed their own controls
> they become anxious and frightened in the absence of
> discipline. We know, too, that discipline means to
> a child that someone cares enough to protect him
> (Philbrick, 1967, p. 15).

Disturbances in Institutions

There appears to be little research or consensus as to

the qualities of a good institution (Conrad, 1965). The presence

or absence of disturbance does not provide a criterion. The most

rigid custodial institution may have few disturbances, or as Redl

has documented, even an institution with a total therapeutic

environment may have disturbances due to individual and group

pathology and excitement (Redl & Wineman, 1957).

There is also evidence that disturbances within an

institution can arise when the institution is in a process of

rapid change. In reporting on riots in a girls' training school,

Ruth Eissler (1949) reports:

> . . . It is important to mention that riots
> occurred only during the first period, the period of
> transition from the very rigid discipline to a more
> liberal attitude. Later we found methods of channelling
> these mass reactions into organized ways of expression
> which were socially more acceptable /p. 451/.

Other observations suggest that disturbances are often

linked with change. A clinical psychologist who has worked with

Oklahoma's eleven institutions for almost 15 years observed that administrative changes have often been accompanied by disturbances at the institutions (Elsea, 1968) When Oklahoma's four training schools were transferred to the administration of the Department of Public Welfare in 1961, some severe acting-out episodes occurred at Girls' Town Training School in Tecumseh even though the institution retained the same superintendent as before the transfer.

There is no suggestion intended that students in institutions are directly influenced by administrative changes of a distant state government. But such administrative changes do influence the staff at such an institution. Many uncertainties appear.

This kind of influence has been documented by the work of Stanton and Schwartz (1954). They found that disagreements, conflicts, and uncertainties among staff members are often accompanied by disturbance, acting-out, and runaways among patients in a mental hospital. In Stanton and Schwartz's analysis, a collective disturbance has two stages, an acute or crisis stage, and a subacute or predisposing stage.

The acute stage, say Stanton and Schwartz (1954):

> . . . had a perfectly characteristic structure, even though to the people in the middle of it it seemed to be complete chaos. At the height of the disturbance, several patients, never all of them, simultaneously made violent protests about the inadequacy of their treatment--each for a different reason, but each with a significant undertone of not receiving enough care, attention, or love, in some form. But even though many patients protested simultaneously, their protests were not at all concerted. . . . Nothing approaching a strike or

a riot occurred at these times /p. 394/.

They point out that the acute crisis was always preceded by a period of partial disorganization, when ". . . experienced staff members often could and did predict that 'something is going to happen,' predictions which were not usual at other times" (Stanton & Schwartz, 1954, p. 395). Concerning this predisposing stage, the authors state:

> If now we turn our attention still further back to the situation which preceded this acute stage, we find, again, that it did not arise in a vacuum, but was the outcome of previous conflict. . . (Stanton & Schwartz, 1954, p. 397).

The kind of conflict which was related to general disturbances involves problems of general significance for the staff of the institution.

> More generally, collective upsets seem likely to occur when efforts are made to impose institutional change from above or below without enough knowledge of the implications of the changes (Stanton & Schwartz, 1954, p. 398).

The population of the mental hospital studied by Stanton and Schwartz was predominately schizophrenic. They noted that the patients did not strike or riot even in the acute stage of a crisis. But as Arieti (1955) points out, one characteristic of the schizophrenic patient is his inability to cooperate with others.

> . . . when we read in the newspapers that mental patients have rebelled or mutinied, we may easily conclude that these patients are psychopaths (generally detained as alleged criminally insane), not psychotics. /p. 276/.

In contrast, the delinquent is noted for his peer group code, and is especially cooperative in delinquent behavior (Redl, & Wineman, 1957). Riots and disturbances could be expected at the training school under conditions which would only produce complaints among schizophrenic patients.

Observations suggest that the description given by Stanton and Schwartz of a crisis situation is highly similar to the situation in a training school during disturbed times. Some girls complain of the staff's disinterest, meanness, physical cruelty, lack of trust in, or indifference to the girls. They may threaten window breaking, riot, invasion from outside gangs, etc. Sometimes acting-out behavior occurs, though not among all girls in a single cottage or in the institution.

Characteristics of the Population of a Training School

All of the population of a training school, including staff, come to the institution with a personality structure and history, and must adapt or be modified by the character of the training school (Donnelly, Goldstein & Schwartz, 1967). Each will adapt in his own way.

Staff members of the training school, whether house-parent or treatment staff, have a primary interest in being _in control_. This interest is not only an administrative one, avoiding trouble, but in fulfilling the notion that "children, over and above wanting love, affection, and friendliness, demand an additional role from the adults who have charge of their lives.

This role is that of the adult as a 'protector'" (Redl & Wineman, 1957, p. 298).

But different staff roles make different demands on the individual staff member. The houseparent staff is primarily charged with the responsibility of control, while the treatment staff may encourage expression of feelings and the exploration of problems. As Alt has suggested, these two staffs initially represent two distinct viewpoints.

> . . . The problem lies in the fact that one group comes into the field of residential treatment carrying responsibility for a specific professional function, grounded in an identifiable body of knowledge and specialized practices. The other is the representative of the common culture and the traditional values of child rearing and education (Alt, 1960, p. 211).

The girls, who are often the unwilling recipients of the services of the training school, have fewer clear cut role expectations. They are expected to conform, to adjust, and to become responsible to the demands of society in a way which they may only vaguely understand. Their adaptation to the training school would appear to be even more directly determined by their personality characteristics than by role expectations.

The clinically delinquent child, who is "genuinely and primarily alloplastic" (Eissler, 1949, p. 9) is relatively easy to describe.

> We found that the delinquent child's relationship with his parents was usually resentful and of a sado-masochistic type. . . . This type of relationship is later transferred from the parents on to the child's elders and to society in general, and may be so skillfully and subtly provocative that he invariably arouses similar responses from teacher, foster-parents,

probation officers, other children, the police, or wardens
of hostels and remand homes. . . . We found substantial
evidence that inconsistent handling of the child's
early emotional and instinctual manifestations is
aetiologically linked with the delinquents' repetition-
compulsion to form, with striking regularity throughout
his later life, a type of intense, quarrelsome and
tormenting relationship from which he derives power
and perverse satisfaction (Bennett, 1960, p. 208-209).

Redl and Wineman (1957) have described the delinquent as
being unable to feel dependency on or friendliness for an adult.
Brown described the delinquent as "identified with their own
hostility," (Brown, 1968, p. 57) or, in other terms, they find
their hostility acceptable to themselves.

There are other girls in the training school, as was
noted, who do not fit the picture of the delinquent child, but
who seem to be more like the neglected child. The description
of this kind of child is not so easily found, perhaps because they
do not intrude themselves as troublemakers.

. . . Part of what is involved in being a
neglected (yet non-delinquent) girl is a cooperative,
affiliative notion of herself, a notion which acts as
armor against recognizing and integrating a sub-
structure of hostile experience (Brown, 1968, p. 55).

Leontine Young (1964), in a study utilizing social
workers' reports of over 300 families, described families character-
ized by abuse or neglect of the children. Children of neglectful
parents, she said, are often described as lonely and withdrawing,
often assuming responsibility for their younger siblings. The
parents of these children were themselves severely neglected.
They appear to be neither anti-social nor hostile but simply in-
adequate. A later study (Mulford & Cohen, 1967) demonstrated that

neglecting parents performed poorly in their roles as spouse, care-taker, and in child rearing.

There is little evidence that shows that delinquent and neglected girls in institutions can be differentiated on the basis of the histories of the girls. As Brown notes concerning both delinquent and neglected girls, "The histories of both groups represented here typically reflect exploitation or open rejection from those on whom the subjects needed to depend during child-hood and later" (Brown, 1968, p. 61).

It would appear that, historically and legally, the distinction between the delinquent and the neglected resides less in the quality of their early relationships than upon the extent of the acting-out and aggressive behavior.

In terms of descriptions of themselves, there is evidence that delinquent and neglected girls differ. Brown, (1964, 1968) made two studies of adolescent delinquent and neglected girls. She found that on Level II self ratings on the Interpersonal Check List, which she used among a variety of other measures, delinquent girls described themselves as "hostile and untrusting people" (Brown, 1968, p. 11). The neglected girls "reported themselves (Level II) as more positive than did delinquent girls" (Brown, 1968, p. 73).

Background of this Study

This study was made in November of 1968, about four and one-half months after the new superintendent assumed his duties.

Both because of changes at the departmental level and the inevit-

able changes which occur with new superintendents, this period

was one of particularly rapid change. Staff and girls knew that

something was happening to the accustomed ways, although they were

not always sure of the outcomes of the new directions.

One chief houseparent said, in retrospect, "We all wonder-

ed about the changes and worried about what they would mean to us.

We knew there would be changes but we didn't know what. I never

thought about losing my job, but in the old days, before the merit

system, I'm sure they worried about it" (Rose, 1969).

The treatment staff spent much of their time as a plan-

ning committee. The NDDC report (National Council on Crime and

Delinquency, 1967) had recommended the establishment of a cottage

system with social workers or psychologists as coordinators, and

the establishment of a chief houseparent system. The treatment

staff worked out administrative details of these moves, and planned

other policy changes in the training school.

As the treatment and houseparent staffs worked more

closely together and shared their affection for the new superintend-

ent, a mood developed similar to the one described by Stanton and

Schwartz as collaboration.

> At these times they might work overtime on their
> own volition. They enjoyed solving problems and thought
> about improvements in the hospital which would help it
> better to fulfill its aims. They enjoyed their work,
> and many of the values gained were in the work itself
> (Stanton & Schwartz, 1954, p. 399).

In spite of the high hopes of the staff, tension remained

high. Sometimes the disturbance involved the whole training
school. Girls might be found in small groups, whispering, until
a staff member approached. At such times, staff members often
greeted each other by asking, "what's going on?" Rumors swept
the campus of major changes in the institution or its policy, and
staff continually had to check the accuracy of the rumors.

Sometimes the disturbance was restricted to one cottage
and the other cottages became disturbed later, usually within min-
utes. Staff members often met to learn the facts of what happened
so they might allay some of the fears in the other cottages.

Although there was much apprehension for a period of
several months, there were few major episodes of disturbance.
Gradually the disturbances became fewer and the training school
returned to normal, a state characterized by countless small
crises which may occur day or night on any day of the year (Burn-
ham, 1958).

Questions to be Raised

The training school is a microcosm created by society
to control the delinquent. No matter how varied its population
or how intensive its treatment program, control remains the major
function of the training school. But not all girls in the train-
ing school are delinquent, and even the most delinquent child has
quiet moments. Most of the time the girls go quietly about their
business of school or work, recreation or leisure. A complete
description must include the quiet times as well as the times of

trouble.

According to communication theory, a rule of the relation-
ship develops in groups in ongoing interaction. Certain patterns
of communication are acceptable in the smooth functioning of a
group, while other patterns are characteristic of disturbed
communication.

What is the rule of the relationship in the training
school? In quiet times does it reflect the dominance of the staff
and the non-dominance of the girls? Do staff and girls describe
themselves in complementary relationships with each other? Is
this kind of relationship characteristic of the communication
patterns at the level of verbal report?

What happens to communication patterns between girls and
staff when the training school is disturbed? Do communication
patterns change so that girls and staff report symmetrical relation-
ships with no group dominant in the training school?

Difficulties of prediction arise since so little is
known of the characteristic communications of the various sub-
groups in the training school. Descriptions of delinquent behavior
focus on the symptoms of delinquency, but do not appear to describe
the delinquent when he is not characterized by acting-out behavior.
The neglected or non-acting-out girl is described when she is being
responsible and cooperative but not during periods of disturbed
communication.

How do the girls of the training school describe them-
selves? Do they say they are docile and dependent, hostile, or

dominant? Do these girls who tend toward acting-out behavior say that they are different from those girls in whom acting-out behavior is not characteristic? In what ways are they different?

How do the girls describe the staff, the authority figures of the training school? During quiet times, do they describe the staff as dominant and themselves as less dominant? During disturbed times do they describe themselves in a symmetrical relationship with the staff? Do self descriptions change or do they describe changes in ratings of others when communication is disturbed?

What of the staff at the training school? They must perform the task which is assigned by society, and they may also see themselves as the protectors of the girls who are their charges. How do they describe themselves and the girls they assume responsibility for? What happens in their descriptions during disturbed times? What kinds of relationships with the girls do they describe?

Is there agreement or disagreement about what the staff and girls think of themselves and each other? Do both acting-out and non-acting-out girls agree in their views of themselves and the staff, and do they agree with what the staff thinks of the girls?

CHAPTER II

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Human communication consists of a series of messages between individuals or groups (Watzlawick et al 1967). Each message contains the report, which conveys information, and the command, which defines relationships between the individuals.

Communication theory has found that a rule of the relationship is developed in any ongoing interaction between individuals or groups, and is characterized by patterns of communication between the participants. The details of the communication are specific to the individual or group, and may be altered by the context of the communication.

According to many authorities in the field of corrections, the primary function of the training school is that of control, even in those institutions which maintain an intensive treatment program (Conrad, 1965). When a training school, or certain cottages, are functioning smoothly, it seems predictable that the communications between girls and staff would reflect that the staff are in control or dominant, and that the girls are in a dependent or non-dominant position. When the context changes and the training school is disturbed, communication patterns would probably be more ambiguous about the locus of dominance.

Laing and associates (1966) have contributed a research method, based on communication theory, which allows for the investigation of the verbal components of messages at the levels of communication, metacommunication, and meta-metacommunication. The Interpersonal Perception Method can be used to investigate either reciprocally or non-reciprocally matched comparisons; that is, either one or both partners' accounts of their interactions. In reciprocally matched comparisons, the investigator can find if there is conjunction or disjunction between the respective partner's descriptions of their relationship.

While the IPM would seem to offer many research possibilities, there are three limitations in its use. First, it is a fairly complicated instrument which could probably be used only with adults of average or above average intelligence. (The authors found difficulties in use at the level which describes "this is how I see you seeing me seeing you"). Second, the IPM probably has its greatest usefulness with the individual dyad or triad, and its length (720 items requiring an average of 70 minutes for administration) would probably limit its application. Third, since the IPM focuses primarily on the relationship aspect of communication, it would be limited if part of the research interest lies in the investigation of the content or report aspect of communication.

A method which allows the investigation of both the content or report and the relationship or command aspects of communication is Level II of the Interpersonal Check List as developed by

Leary (1956, 1957). Level II, according to Leary, is the level of conscious communication.

> The interpersonal context of everything that is said about oneself or one's world can be translated into a generic attributive form: "I am a _____ person, in relationship to _____. (Leary, 1957, p. 133).

The Interpersonal Check List consists of 128 words and phrases descriptive of interpersonal action and attitudes (Appendix A). An individual is asked to describe himself and other individuals or groups, and his scores are plotted on the circular grid (Appendix B).

Distributions of scores on the ICL may be investigated in several ways. The grid may be divided into halves along either the horizontal or vertical axes. Scores falling in octants lying above the midpoint of the dominance or vertical axis (8123) would be described as dominant, while scores falling below this point (octants 4567) would be called non-dominant. Other divisions are possible, such as hostile (2345) and non-hostile (6781), with the division being made on the horizontal or love axis.

Further subdivisions can be made by investigating quadrants rather than grid halves. Both quadrants 18 and 23 lie in the dominant half of the circle, but quadrant 18 is on the loving side of the horizontal axis, and 23 on the hostile side. Quadrants 45 and 67 reflect non-dominance, with 45 as hostile and 67 as loving.

In terms of communication theory, the point on the grid would represent the individual's verbal report, "This is how I am

seeing myself" and "This is how I am seeing you." The location of
the individual score would represent the content level of communic-
ation. The relationship aspect of communication would be determined
by the distance and direction of the _self_ and _other_ scores from each
other in relation to the two major axes of the grid, dominance and
love.

This study attempted to describe patterns of communication
between girls and staff at a training school. These patterns were
measured in two contexts of their interaction: during times which
were identified as disturbed and times which were identified as
quiet.

Two general hypotheses, with various specific predict-
ions, were presented. The general hypotheses served both to group
the specific predictions and as avenues of exploration. Each gen-
eral hypothesis was evaluated from three perspectives, once for
each of the groups described.

Hypothesis 1. In quiet times, girls and staff report their
relationship to be complementary.

A. The staff, who function both in a caretaking and a control
role:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as (a)

        dominant (octants 8123) and (b) moderate (M).

    2. At the content level, describe the girls as

        (a) non-dominant (4567) and (b) non-hostile (6781).

    3. At a relationship level, describe themselves as being

        in a complementary relationship with the girls, with

the girls in an inferior position.

B. Acting-out girls, who have been described as hostile and unable to be dependent:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as

       (a) hostile (2345) and (b) dominant (8123).

    2. At the content level, describe the staff as

       (a) non-dominant (4567) and (b) moderate (M).

    3. At a relationship level, report a complementary relationship with the staff in the inferior position.

C. Non-acting-out girls, who have been described as cooperative and affiliatory:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as (a) non-dominant (4567) and (b) non-hostile (6781).

    2. At the content level, describe the staff as

       (a) dominant (8123) and (b) moderate (M).

    3. At a relationship level, describe a complementary relationship, with the staff in the dominant position.

Hypothesis 2. In disturbed times, girls and staff report their relationships as symmetrical.

A. The staff:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as dominant (8123).

    2. At the content level, describe the girls as

       (a) dominant (8123) and (b) hostile (2345).

    3. At a relationship level, describe a symmetrical relationship with both girls and staff as dominant.

B. Acting-out girls:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as

       (a) dominant (8123) and (b) hostile (2345).

    2. At the content level, describe staff as

       (a) dominant (8123), (b) hostile, (2345) and

       (c) extreme (E).

    3. At a relationship level, describe a symmetrical

       relationship with both themselves and the staff as

       dominant and hostile.

C. Non-acting-out girls:

    1. At the content level, describe themselves as

       (a) non-dominant (4567) and (b) non-hostile (6781).

    2. At the content level, describe the staff as

       (a) non-dominant (4567) and (b) hostile (2345).

    3. At a relationship level, describe a symmetrical

       relationship with both themselves and staff in a

       non-dominant position.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

The Institution

Girls' Town Training School is located on the outskirts
of Tecumseh, Oklahoma, and has a resident capacity of 140 and a
staff of 85. At the time of this study in November of 1968,
about four and one-half months after the new superintendent assumed
his duties, there were approximately 120 girls in the institution.

The Staff

Staff members used for this study included houseparents,
treatment staff, superintendent, administrative assistant, and
clinical director. To insure privacy for the staff, job titles
rather than names were used, and certain job titles were amended
to conceal identities. The few staff members who were identified
agreed to the identification prior to testing. Since for ad-
ministrative reason the staff could not be tested as a group, and
they could not ordinarily complete testing while on duty, they
were asked to fill out the Interpersonal Check List at their
convenience. Staff members were not required to participate in
the research, and were informed that the research was personal and
that the results would remain confidential.

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The Girls

Group testing was conducted in five of the institution's
six cottages. (The sixth cottage is used as a reception center
and detention area and thus has no stable population.) For both
research and administrative reasons, girls were not required to
participate. They were told that the research was personal, and
that the results would remain confidential. In three of the five
cottages, at least 80% of the girls completed testing. About 20%
openly refused or returned unusable test forms. The refusal rate
reached a high of about 33% on one cottage where the girls were
in a particularly angry mood.

Two of the five cottages were judged to be disturbed.
One of these, which contained a high proportion of aggressive girls,
had been recognized as disturbed for about two months before the
testing was conducted. About three weeks earlier, additional
houseparents were assigned to the cottage to cope with the dis-
turbance, and the girls were placed on restrictions. At the time
of the testing, the additional houseparents had been removed, some
of the most disturbed girls had been moved to other cottages, and
restrictions were removed. Nevertheless, some houseparents and
treatment staff of the cottage were apprehensive, and on the
evening of the testing, the girls appeared loud, hostile, and were
difficult to control. The refusal and spoilage rate was about 25%.

The other disturbed cottage had been the scene of a
fight only two days earlier. There was still a good deal of anger

and scapegoating of one of the girls. One of the houseparents reported that she was finding more difficulty in controlling the girls than she had for several months. The refusal and spoilage rate in this cottage was 33%.

Selection of Subjects

Two groups of subjects were established among the girls: acting-out and non-acting-out. A list of girls who had completed testing was submitted to three judges: the superintendent, the administrative assistant, and the clinical director of the training school. These three are in direct administrative contact with every girl in the institution. The judges were asked to assign independently one of three possible ratings: (A) she tends to react with agressive and/or acting-out behavior, (B) she does not tend to react with aggressive and/or acting-out behavior, or NO rating, she is impossible to characterize (Appendix C). None of the judges knew of the hypotheses or details of this study.

Examination of the judge's ratings showed that all three judges concurred in their ratings in 50% of the 82 cases. Two judges were in agreement in their ratings in 41% of the cases, and in only 9% of the cases were the judge's ratings split three ways. All girls were included in the study if at least two judges agreed in their assignment of an A or a B rating. Of the 82 girls who returned completed ICL's, 75 were included in the groups, 46% in the acting-out group and 54% in the non-acting-out group. Further analysis showed that all three judges had agreed in their ratings

on 57% of the acting-out girls and 52% of the non-acting-out girls.

The Testing

Both students and staff were asked to make three ratings on the Interpersonal Check List.

The staff were asked to describe: (1) what the staff is like, (2) what the girls are like, and (3) what the girls think the staff is like.

The girls were asked to describe: (1) what I am like, (2) what the staff is like, and (3) what the staff thinks the girls are like. In both staff and student ratings, the third of the ratings formed part of a larger research project, and were not analyzed as part of this study.

All Interpersonal Check List forms were scored according to instructions given by Leary (1956). Two scores for each girl and staff member were plotted on the circular gril: a self score and an other score. The chi-square method was used to analyze the data, and a significance level of .05 was used.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1A predicted that the staff, in quiet times, would describe themselves as dominant, and would describe the girls as non-dominant and non-hostile. Table 1 presents scores from two groups of houseparents, those from cottages which were judged to be disturbed (Hypothesis 2A), and those from cottages which were not disturbed (Hypothesis 1A). Quadrants rather than grid halved were used to explore differences in houseparent's views. As Table 1 shows, all houseparents from both groups (100%) described themselves as dominant (Quadrants 18 and 23), while only 46% described the girls as dominant. Eighty-six percent of the houseparents described the girls as hostile (quadrants 23 and 45), and 40% described themselves as hostile. Differences between houseparents from quiet and disturbed cottages, in either view of staff or view of girls, were found to be nonsignificant. (In this table, among others, cells with an expected frequency of less than five were greater than 20 percent. This situation tends to inflate the derived Chi square and render it invalid (Siegel, 1956). In none of these cases did the possibly inflated Chi square reach the level of significance, so no further analysis was conducted). In

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEPARENT SCORES

DURING QUIET AND TROUBLED TIMES

	Quadrants 18	23	45	67	x^2	P
Self View						
Disturbed Times	4	2	0	0		
Quiet Times	5	4	0	0	2.34	NS
					Not Valid	
View of Girls						
Disturbed Times	0	2	4	0		
Quiet Times	0	5	2	2	2.34	NS
					Not Valid	

summary, the prediction that the staff, in quiet times, would describe themselves as dominant received support; the staff's predicted tendency to describe the girls as non-dominant and non-hostile was not supported. The predicted relationship, a complementary one with the girls in the inferior position, was supported in that the houseparent staff saw themselves as clearly dominant, and the girls not so dominant as themselves.

Hypothesis 1B predicted that acting-out girls would describe themselves as hostile and dominant. Acting-out girls split even in their self reports as dominant and non-dominant, and no significant proportion of the group described themselves as hostile $(X^2 = 1.32$ NS). In comparison with the non-acting-out group, however, the acting-out girls reported themselves as more hostile (Table 2).

It was also predicted that the acting-out girls would describe the staff as non-dominant and moderate. As Table 3 shows, almost all girls (96%) in both groups in quiet cottages described the staff as both dominant and extreme. The two groups differed in that only the acting-out girls showed a significant tendency to describe the staff as hostile. This prediction was not supported.

In terms of the relationship between acting-out girls and staff, it was predicted that acting-out girls would describe a complementary relationship with themselves dominant. Clearly the data does not support this prediction, but shows that acting-out girls described the staff as more dominant, hostile and extreme

TABLE 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF SCORES FOR ACTING-OUT

AND NON-ACTING-OUT GROUPS IN QUIET TIMES

	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-Out	x^2	P
Dominant	6	20		
Non-Dominant	6	6	7.54	$<.01$
Hostile	8	8		
Non-Hostile	4	18	4.49	$<.05$
Extreme	6	16		
Moderate	6	10	1.38	NS

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF GIRLS'SCORES FOR

VIEW OF STAFF IN QUIET TIMES

	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-Out	X^2	P
Dominant	12	25		
			0	NS
Non-Dominant	0	1		
			Not Valid	
Hostile	10	17		
			7.80	$<.01$
Non-Hostile	2	9		
Extreme	11	22		
			.97	NS
Moderate	1	4		
			Not Valid	

than themselves.

Hypothesis 1C predicted that non-acting-out girls in quiet times would describe themselves as non-dominant and non-hostile. As Table 2 shows, they did describe themselves as non-hostile, but the prediction that they would describe themselves as non-dominant was clearly reversed.

It had been predicted that the non-acting-out girls would describe the staff as dominant but moderate. As Table 3 shows, they described the staff as both dominant and extreme, but they differed from the acting-out group in that they did not describe the staff clearly as hostile (X^2 = 2.46, NS). Parts of the hypothesis received support.

In terms of the relationship between non-acting-out girls and staff, the non-acting-out girls described both themselves and the staff as dominant, but they reported themselves as less hostile and less extreme than the staff. While this describes a complementary relationship in some senses, the predicted complementarity on the basis of dominance was not supported.

Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2A predicted that the staff, in disturbed times, would describe themselves as dominant, and the girls as dominant and hostile. As the discussion of hypothesis 1A showed, there were no differences in the self reports or descriptions of the girls by the houseparent staff in disturbed and non-disturbed cottages. All houseparents described themselves as dominant, as

predicted, and they did not differ in their reports of the girls on the dimension of hostility. If grid halves were used as the measure of dominance, the predicted symmetrical relationship received no support.

Hypothesis 2B predicted that acting-out girls in disturbed times would describe themselves as dominant and hostile. The acting-out group showed no tendency which was statistically significant to describe themselves as hostile or dominant ($X^2 =$ 2.14), at least in terms of the measures used, nor did they differ from the non-acting-out group on these dimensions (Table 6).

The acting-out girls, according to prediction, would describe the staff as dominant, hostile, and extreme. The data of Table 5 shows that all of these predictions were supported.

At a relationship level, the prediction of a symmetrical relationship with the staff in the dominant position was not supported on the basis of dominance as defined by grid halves.

Hypothesis 2C predicted that the non-acting-out group would describe themselves as non-dominant and non-hostile. The non-acting-out group (Table 4) described themselves as dominant ($X^2 = 10.28$, P $<.005$), and showed no tendency to describe themselves as non-hostile ($X^2 = 0$, NS).

Non-acting-out girls, it was also predicted, would describe the staff as non-dominant and hostile. Table 5 shows that both acting-out and non-acting-out groups described the staff as dominant, but only the acting-out girls described the staff as hostile.

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF SCORES FOR ACTING-OUT AND

NON-ACTING-OUT GROUPS IN DISTURBED TIMES

	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-Out	X^2	P
Dominant	15	13	2.59	NS
Non-Dominant	8	1		
Hostile	13	7	.45	NS
Non-Hostile	10	7		
Extreme	9	7	1.08	NS
Moderate	14	7		

TABLE 5

DISTRIBUTION OF GIRLS' SCORES FOR VIEW

OF STAFF IN DISTURBED TIMES

	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-Out	X^2	P
Dominant	22	13		
Non-Dominant	1	1	0	NS
			Not Valid	
Hostile	18	8		
Non-Hostile	5	6	7.62	$<.025$
Extreme	19	10		
Moderate	4	4	1.18	NS
			Not Valid	

In terms of the relationship between the non-acting-out girls and the staff, the girls described both themselves and the staff as dominant, neither as hostile, and neither as extreme. This describes a symmetrical relationship with both groups being dominant. The predicted relationship was a symmetrical one with both groups being non-dominant.

Exploratory Data

Since dominance, as defined by octants 1238, was used so often by both girls and staff and appeared to offer so little differentiation between groups, the data was examined in terms of quadrants rather than grid halves. As the distribution of scores in Table 6 shows, the use of quadrants appears to reveal some differences between groups of girls.

Acting-out girls in disturbed times described themselves (48%) in quadrant 23 (dominant and hostile), while non-acting-out girls, in quiet times, tend to report themselves (54%) in quadrant 18 (dominant and loving). Within the other two groups (Table 7), no such proportion of self reports occurred in these quadrants.

Table 7 compares the distribution of scores by quadrant of the groups of girls in their views of the staff. The acting-out group assigns a significantly greater proportion of scores (48%) in the quadrant 23 (dominant-hostile) than do the non-acting-out group (23%).

When quadrants were used instead of grid halves, it was found that acting-out girls in disturbed times described both them-

TABLE 6

DISTRIBUTION OF GIRLS' SELF VIEWS BY QUADRANT

Quadrant	18	23	45	67	TOTAL
Acting-Out					
Quiet Times	3	3	4	2	12
Disturbed Times	4	11	2	6	23
Non-Acting-Out					
Quiet Times	14	6	2	4	26
Disturbed Times	5	5	2	2	14
Totals	26	25	11	13	75

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF GIRLS'

VIEW OF STAFF BY QUADRANT

	Quadrant	18	23	x^2	P
Acting-Out		7	27	14.42	$<.001$
Non-Acting-Out		15	23		

selves and staff in quadrant 23. Thus, in opposition to the earlier report that the expected symmetrical relationship of hypothesis 2B was not supported, there was evidence of a symmetrical relationship when quadrants were used.

Table 8 presents the scores for self views and views of girls of two groups of staff members, the treatment staff (those who had functioned as small-group leaders) and the administrative staff (those who had no active treatment role, but functioned in the administrative aspects of the training school). These two groups did not differ in their view of the staff, but did show a significant difference in their view of the girls. The treatment staff described the girls almost exclusively (91%) in quadrant 45 (non-dominant and hostile), while only 55% of the administrative staff and 46% of the houseparent staff described the girls in this quadrant.

Since part of the predictions of this study were concerned with the girls' unwillingness to be dependent on others, an exploratory question examined how much these groups view themselves as able to be dependent. While the groups in Table 9 show significant differences, the major variance comes from the non-acting-out girls. In quiet times at the institution, these girls tended to describe themselves as dependent (62%), but in times of trouble, 79% say that they are non-dependent. While more than half of the acting-out girls described themselves as non-dependent, the proportion is not statistically significant ($X^2 = 1.40$, NS).

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF STAFF SCORES: TREATMENT

STAFF AND ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

	Quadrant	18	23	45	x^2	P
View of Staff						
Treatment St.		4	6		.60	NS
Administrative St.	11		9			
View of Girls						
Treatment St.			1	12	8.56	$<$.005
Administrative St.			8	10		

TABLE 9

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES OF GIRLS' SELF REPORTS

ON DEPENDENCY AND NON-DEPENDENCY

	Dependent	Non-Dependent	x^2	P
Acting-Out				
Quiet Times	4	8		
Disturbed Times	10	13		
			8.87	$<.05$
Non-Acting-Out				
Quiet Times	16	10		
Disturbed Times	3	11		

Agreement and Disagreement

Table 10 presents a comparison of staff, acting-out, and non-acting-out groups' views of the girls. As is apparent, there is considerable disagreement between staff and girls on what the girls are like. A significant proportion of the staff say that the girls are non-dominant, hostile, extreme and non-dependent. The groups of girls, however, show little such clear consensus. The non-acting-out group, in significant proportion (75%), describe themselves as dominant, but on no other dimension does a group describe itself in such a distinct way.

When comparing the girls' and staffs' reports of what the staff is like, there is much less disagreement (Table 11). All groups agree that the staff is dominant and non-dependent, and there is some consensus that the staff is extreme. Both the non-acting-out group and the staff are split in their views of the staff as hostile or non-hostile, but significant disagreement comes when a large proportion (80%) of the acting-out group describes the staff as hostile.

Comparisons with Brown's Study

Table 12 presents the distribution of scores from this study and the level II Self Scores obtained by Brown (1968). Her delinquent group was selected from the same institution, and the ratings were made almost 11 months earlier.

In Table 13 comparison is made between the acting-out group of this study and Brown's delinquent group. The groups did

TABLE 10

DISTRIBUTION OF GIRLS' AND STAFF SCORES

ON RATINGS OF GIRLS

	Staff	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-Out	x^2	P
Dominant	9	21	30	19.33	$<.001$
Non-Dominant	24	14	10		
Hostile	30	21	15	21.13	$<.001$
Non-Hostile	3	14	25		
Extreme	24	15	23	6.03	$<.05$
Moderate	9	20	17		
Dependent	4	14	19	9.92	$<.01$
Non-Dependent	14	21	21		

TABLE 11

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES FOR GIRLS AND

STAFF ON RATINGS OF STAFF

	Staff	Acting-Out	Non-Acting-out	X^2	P
Dominant	30	34	38		
				1.06	NS
Non-Dominant	3	1	2		
				Not Valid	
Hostile	16	28	25		
				15.90	< .001
Non-Hostile	17	7	15		
Moderate	10	10	14		
				.24	NS
Extreme	23	25	26		
Dependent	4	0	5		
				5.08	NS
Non-Dependent	29	35	35		
				Not Valid	

TABLE 12

DISTRIBUTION OF SCORES FOR GIRLS' SELF REPORT

vs BROWN'S LEVEL II SELF SCORES

Quadrant	18	23	45	67	T
Brown's Delinquents	10	7	4	10	31
Brown's Neglected	22	2	0	5	29
Acting-out	7	14	7	7	35
Non-Acting-Out	19	11	4	6	40
	58	34	15	28	135

TABLE 13

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF SCORES FOR ACTING-OUT

AND BROWN'S DELINQUENT GROUPS

	Acting-Out	Delinquents	X^2	P
Dominant	21	17		
Non-Dominant	14	14	.25	NS
Hostile	21	11		
Non-Hostile	14	20	3.90	$<.05$
Dependent	14	19		
Non-Dependent	21	12	3.89	$<.05$

not differ in their self reports on the dimension of dominance, but the acting-out group of this study described themselves as significantly more hostile and less dependent than did Brown's group.

The non-acting-out group was compared with Brown's delinquents,(Table 14) and while they described themselves as more dominant, they did not differ from the delinquents on the dimensions of hostility or dependence. A significant proportion of the girls of the two groups described themselves as non-hostile (X^2 = 5.08, P $<$.025).

Since the non-acting-out group of this study had been predicted to be similar in personality structure to the neglected child, Table 15 compares the self scores of the non-acting-out group with Brown's neglected. While only 7% of Brown's group had described themselves in quadrant 23 (dominant and hostile), 28% of the non-acting-out girls were in this quadrant. The neglected girls had 79% of their self reports in quadrant 18 (dominant-loving), while only 48% of the non-acting-out girls described themselves in this quadrant.

TABLE 14

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF SCORES FOR NON-ACTING-OUT

GROUP AND BROWN'S DELINQUENT GROUP

	Non-Acting-Out	Delinquents	x^2	P
Dominant	30	17	4.12	$<.05$
Non-Donimant	10	14		
Hostile	15	11	0.0	NS
Non-Hostile	25	20		
Dependent	19	19	.91	NS
Non-Dependent	21	12		

TABLE 16

DISTRIBUTION OF SELF SCORES FOR NON-ACTING-OUT

GROUP AND BROWN'S NEGLECTED GROUP

Quadrant	18	23	4567	x^2	P
Non-Acting-Out	19	11	10	6.89	$<.05$
Brown's Neglected	22	2	5		

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The Girls

The results of this study have indicated that there are
patterns of communication among acting-out and non-acting-out
groups of girls which are characteristic of quiet and troubled
times at a training school. But the specific predictions made
for this study considerably oversimplified the patterns which
emerged.

The assumption was made that the groups of girls would
show characteristic communications about themselves during both
quiet and disturbed times. A group is a group under all cond-
itions. But the data clearly do not support such a notion, but
seem to favor the idea that the emergence of a distinctive group
occurs when that group expresses the dominant mood which is
present. In times of smooth functioning, the non-acting-out
girls described themselves as non-hostile and capable of being
dependent. During these quiet times, the acting-out group was
not characterized by any predominant view of self.

In disturbed times, the opposite occurs. The acting-out
girls say they are competitive and hostile. The non-acting-out
group is no longer distinctive in their views of themselves as

non-hostile, and say that they are no longer dependent.

The concept of dominance as measured by Leary's use of octants 1238 was inappropriate to measure the patterns of the girl's views of themselves and the staff. Sixty-eight percent of the girls described themselves as dominant and 96% described the staff as dominant. Only when quadrants were used as the unit of measurement did the differences between groups become apparent. While both quadrants refer to dominance, quadrant 18 reflects a more loving, responsible orientation, and quadrant 23 refers to a more hostile and competitive aspect.

In fact, when discussing the results of hypothesis 2B, it was necessary to state that there was no evidence of the predicted symmetrical relationship between acting-out girls and staff. This conclusion is accurate only if one uses grid halves rather than quadrants as units of measurement. The significant differences between groups lie between quadrants 18 and 23. When these units were used, it is possible to say that acting-out girls describe the staff in quadrant 23, and in disturbed times they also describe themselves in the same quadrant. This finding makes it possible to say that acting-out girls, in disturbed times, describe a symmetrical relationship with the staff of a hostile, competitive nature.

This relationship with the staff is reminiscent of Bennett's description of the delinquent's "intense, quarrelsome" relationship with others (Bennett, 1960, p. 209). The same kind of relationship is described by a former Girls' Town superin-

tendent in <u>Born</u> <u>Innocent</u> (Burnham, 1958). While she felt that the girls were products of poor home environments, she said that they were continually plotting and scheming to cause trouble in the training school.

The non-acting-out group, during quiet times, described themselves as dominant, but their self description is of the more loving and responsible aspects of dominance (quadrant 18).

The prediction that the non-acting-out group would describe themselves as non-dominant because of their assumed similarity to the neglected child, was clearly inaccurate in terms of the findings of Brown (1968). Eighty-three percent of Brown's neglected group described themselves as dominant, while 75% of the non-acting-out group described themselves as dominant. While this study did find differences between the non-acting-out group and Brown's neglected group, they were not on the dimension of dominance.

While it was predicted that the non-acting-out group's view of the staff would change, actually the self views were different in disturbed and quiet times. In quiet times, a significant proportion described themselves as loving (69%) and dependent (62%). In disturbed times, they moved out of this loving, dependent relationship, with only 50% saying that they were loving and 21% saying that they were dependent. This movement might be described as a kind of withdrawal, but it would seem to be a withdrawal out of a dependent relationship rather than a withdrawal into any particular defensive stance.

The Staff

The predicted changes in the staff's view of girls during quiet and disturbed times received no support in this study. If the predictions had validity, testing conditions may have partly accounted for the lack of differences between groups. The staff were not compelled, as were the girls, to react to the immediate mood of the group, but had time for reflection and modification of their views. Further, this study assumed a good deal of insularity among the houseparents of different cottages. Actually, the training school is continually filled with gossip and rumors (Burnham, 1958), and houseparents hear a great deal about conditions in other cottages even when they have little direct contact with other houseparents.

But the prediction itself may have been untenable due to the assumption underlying it. It was assumed, though not explicitly stated, that the staff would be as reactive to the difficulties of the training school as the girls were. Most of the houseparents had relatively clearly defined roles, and were seasoned veterans in their responsibilities. Many had been employed from 5 to 15 years, and had seen many difficult times with the girls. In retrospect, it might be questionable that the houseparent staff would show the same lability as did the girls.

The concept of control may also have been an over-simplification in the predictions of this study. The staff had been described as basically oriented toward maintaining control

in the institution. Both the girls and the staff describe the
staff as dominant, both during quiet and disturbed times. It
would appear, from the analysis of the results, that control is
not of concern to either girls or staff, since all agree that the
staff is dominant at all times.

But the description of Stanton and Schwartz, as well as
clinical experience, suggests that the content of complaints dur-
ing crisis periods is related to the lack of "care, attention,
and love" which the staff could provide. Thus the content of the
communications is not expressed in terms of dominance.

Child care workers make the assumption that children,
and presumably others, become anxious when they do not have, or
do not feel the presence of outer controls. This study was based
on the notion that disturbances would result when the staff did
not feel firmly in control. The predictions made the assumption
that the underlying matter of control would be expressed directly
in the dimension of dominance. As the results have shown, the
differences between groups of girls lie less on the axis of
dominance than on the axis of hostility. But the verbal level of
description might not reflect that the underlying issue might be
one of control, not hostility. Certainly the finding that the
acting-out girls, in disturbed times, described a hostile compet-
itive relationship with the staff would suggest that dominance and
control were matters of concern at times.

There is some evidence that control is of concern at
least to the administrative staff, and less so the treatment staff,

and that this interest is expressed indirectly through both the content and relationship aspects of their view of the girls.

The treatment staff of the training school was compared to the administrative staff, and these two groups differed mainly in that the treatment staff (91%) described the girls as non-dominant, while only 55% of the administrative staff and 46% of the houseparent staff described the girls as non-dominant.

The houseparent staff, ordinarily one to a cottage, has the primary responsibility, 24 hours a day, to maintain order in the training school. While the houseparent staff describe themselves as dominant (100% in contrast to the 77% of the treatment staff who describe themselves as dominant), they do not describe the girls as non-dominant, as do the treatment staff. In terms of relationship, both the treatment staff and the houseparent staff see themselves in a complementary relationship with the girls, with the staff as dominant, but the houseparent staff (54%) is more likely than the treatment staff (9%) to see themselves in a competitive and hostile relationship with the girls.

These differing views of girls expressed by the two staffs may reflect some of the often observed hostilities between the treatment staff and the administrative staff in many institutions. The treatment staff may encourage the expression of hostility, fear, and resentment, and leave the institution at the end of the day. A single houseparent may be left on the night shift to maintain order among 30 frightened or rebellious girls.

While the girls' groups may differ, both in self view

and view of staff, along the horizontal love axis, the two staff groups appear to differ in their view of girls along the vertical or dominance axis.

Agreement and Disagreement of Girls and Staff

As was pointed out earlier, the use of Level II reports of the self and other ratings of the ICL allow the investigation of reciprocally matched comparisons of agreement and disagreement. As the analysis of the data showed, there was a high level of agreement between girls and staff as to what they thought of the staff. Both girls and staff agreed that they saw the staff as dominant, not dependent, and to some extent extreme. On only one dimension did the girls disagree with the staff, and this was then the acting-out girls described the staff as more hostile (quadrant 23) than did the staff and non-acting-out girls.

When the question is raised of whether the staff and girls agree in their views of the girls, a different picture emerges. The staff sees the girls as non-dominant, and the girls, particularly the non-acting-out girls, say they are dominant. The staff sees the girls as hostile, while the girls, especially the non-acting-out girls, say they are not. The staff says that the girls are not dependent, but the girls are split in their self descriptions of dependence. Seventy-three percent of the staff assign scores of extreme to the girls, while only 51% of the girls describe themselves as extreme.

In summary, there is a high degree of agreement about the

kinds of people the staff are, and general disagreement about what
the girls are like. The non-acting-out girls show the most dis-
agreement with the staff in their descriptions of the girls.

From the analysis of this data, there would appear to
be tendencies for the staff to describe the girls as delinquent
girls, those that are expected to cause trouble in the institution.
This tendency is particularly strong among the houseparent staff,
who have the realistic problems of maintaining order in the in-
stitution. This tendency of the staff to view the girls as trouble-
makers may underlie the complaint of some girls that "you don't
trust us enough." In terms of role responsibility and past history
of disturbances, the staff's tendency to see the girls as trouble-
makers may be a realistic outlook. But many of the girls simply
do not see themselves as fitting the rather stereotyped views
of the staff. It would seem predictable that many girls, especially
the non-acting-out group, would describe themselves as generally
misunderstood by the staff.

The staff may hold stereotyped views of the girls, but
the acting-out group appear to hold equally stereotyped views of
authority figures which are not shared by others. The acting-out
group's view of the staff as hostile and competitive is shared
neither by the staff nor the non-acting-out group.

Change in the Girls' Description of Self

Perhaps the most unexpected and puzzling finding of this
study was the shift in self view in this study from the Level II

self ratings given by Brown's delinquents at the same institution almost 11 months earlier. In the two groups which would be expected to be comparable, the acting-out girls of this study and Brown's delinquents, the acting-out group described themselves as more hostile and non-dependent than did the delinquents. The non-acting-out group of this study described themselves as more dominant than did the delinquents, but did not differ on the dimensions of hostility and dependence. Both groups described themselves as more loving than hostile. These same non-acting-out girls, who were predicted to be similar to Brown's neglected group, described themselves as more hostile than did the neglected group. Assuming that the non-acting-out girls in the training school at the time of Brown's study would have described themselves as less hostile and more dependent than did the delinquents, there appeared to be a shift, in both acting-out and non-acting-out groups, toward a more hostile and less dependent self description than in Brown's study.

Perhaps the differences may be explained by a difference in test conditions. All were tested in groups, but by different examiners, at different times, and under different conditions. Perhaps the girls were different; judges might have committed different kinds of girls to the training school than they had a year earlier, or the adolescent population might have been more hostile or more free to express hostility. At the time of the testing there were more Negroes in the institution, especially in those cottages described as disturbed. The change might have come in

part from the impetus given to the treatment program by the appoint-
ment of a social worker as superintendent. The treatment goals of
freer expression of feelings and assumption of greater feelings
of choice in the girls may have caused shifts in the description
of self.

But whatever the reason, the training school was in a
state of tension, in which girls and staff alike expressed the
feeling that "something may happen" in the way of increased dist-
urbance. There is a question, then, if this study was a sample
of quiet and disturbed times in the training school, or whether
it was an investigation of precrisis and crisis periods in an in-
stitution.

Indeed, it seems possible that one of the preconditions
for increased tension and disturbance in the training school might
be an increased proportion of hostile, non-dependent self views
among the girls. Since there is no comparative data about the
girl's view of the staff, a prediction would be only speculation.
But the results of this study do offer other grounds for speculation.

Possible Implications

Redl and Wineman (1957) speak of the delinquent's search
for delinquency support so that he may feel less guilt in his
delinquent behavior. The delinquent is uncannily sensitive in
being able to find the elements of the group atmosphere which would
provide the support for his delinquent acts.

In this study, when a distinct group of loving and

dependent girls were present, acting-out behavior did not occur. Conversely when acting-out behavior was occurring, or was extremely likely, no such group of loving and dependent girls was distinct. It seems possible that the presence of a group of such law abiding girls would militate against an atmosphere that would support delinquent behavior.

When the distinct group of loving and dependent girls was gone, the acting-out girls showed a significant increase in their self views as hostile and competitive. Could it be that the acting-out girls had found their delinquency support, not by the active aid of the non-acting-out girls, but by the loss of the inhibitory effect of the loving and dependent group?

If these speculations have validity, there would seem to be implications to be drawn when one considers the populations of training schools.

Girls' Town, at the time of this study, had a population of girls who were committed under delinquency laws which allowed girls to be sent to the training school for a wide variety of offenses. Many girls were there who would not be defined as clinically delinquent. Under the Children's Code, effective in January 1969, delinquency is defined as violation of some law: local, state or federal. When the Children's Code reaches its maximum effectiveness, the population of Girls' Town will be clinically delinquent to a much greater degree.

In Girls' Town at the time of this study, the non-acting-out girls probably provided a significant inhibitory influence on

the behavior of the acting-out girls. At the same time, the non-acting-out group was probably subject to the impact of group psychological intoxication (Redl & Wineman, 1957) which led to behavior which they would not have used except with more delinquent girls. As many girls have stated, "This place is making me worse."

In a training school with a considerably more delinquent population, there would probably be a more volatile situation, with delinquency support easier to find. At the same time, there would be less seduction of the innocent, and the staff's views of the girls as troublemakers would probably be more fitting to most of the girls.

As the training school is filled with girls who would react more readily with acting-out behavior, the views of the staff would probably become of more crucial importance. As Stanton and Schwartz have shown, disturbance comes about when there is significant disagreement, whether overt or covert, among the staff. As this study has shown, treatment and administrative staff may have differing views which are reflective of their differing orientations and conceptions of their roles. Communication theorists have suggested that difficulties in communication can be resolved most effectively by stepping outside the system, by talking about communication at the level of metacommunication (Haley, 1963, Watzlawick et al, 1967). When administrative and treatment staffs can talk about their disagreements, can explain to each other that their different views are reflective of different responsibilities and purposes of treatment, perhaps they could understand each other in

their respective roles. With mutual support and understanding, a staff might be effective in providing what Bettelheim has called "an experiment in therapeutic living" (1950, p. 9).

Limitations of this Study

Perhaps the major limitation of this study is illustrated by the contrast between the findings of this study and those of Brown (1968). What was revealed, in the significant shift in the self view, is that little definitive can be said, on the basis of these studies, about the delinquent. The most that can be said is in terms of relative position: that the delinquent and acting-out groups describe themselves as relatively more hostile and less dependent than did the non-acting-out and neglected groups. And it may be said that the non-acting-out and neglected groups described themselves in quadrant 18 (loving and responsible dominance) more (48% and 76% respectively) than did the acting-out and delinquent (20% and 31% respectively).

Another major limitation, in terms of communication theory, is that the ICL represents only the verbal report, a small part of the total communication. Since this study did not tap Level I (public communication) and Level III (private perception) of the Interpersonal system of Leary, there is no data whether changes which were apparent at Level II also occurred at other levels since the time of Brown's study.

There would appear to be some evidence, however, that the verbal aspect of communication is not discrepant from the behavioral

aspect, especially with some of these girls. In quiet times, many
non-acting-out girls describe themselves as loving and dependent,
a view which is often shared by some of the staff. During disturbed
times, when the acting-out girls are on the brink of aggressive
behavior, they often describe themselves as hostile and non-depend-
ent.

Because the changes in the ICL patterns appear to change
with the behavior of the girls, there would appear to be little pre-
dictive power in the use of the ICL or perhaps any instrument of
self report. In the midst of an acting-out episode, one would not
need any probably could not administer the ICL in order to find
out who were the acting-out girls. Because of the considerable
overlap between the groups in their self scores, there would appear
to be little discriminatory power in the use of the ICL within the
training school groups.

Significance of this Study

This study has offered support to the notion that there
are characteristic patterns of communication within acting-out and
non-acting-out girls during disturbed and quiet times at a train-
ing school, and that these communication patterns are tapped by
the level of verbal report. There was also evidence that the staff's
views of the girls was reflective of the role responsibilities of
the treatment and administrative staff.

There is also some very tentative evidence that there may
be a significant shift in self views which accompanies times of

tension and disturbance.

One implication of this study might be that it revealed patterns of communication which might point up future directions for research. For instance, in the two disturbed cottages in the institution, observers felt that the dynamics of the two situations were quite different. In one, three months of chronic disturbances with the staff suggested that the major battle lines were drawn between students and staff, while in the other cottage, it was felt that the conflict lay primarily between students. From some limited data, not presented in this study, patterns of communication in the acting-out groups of these cottages were significantly different.

Other approaches are possible. Is there a difference, for instance, in patterns of communication of those houseparents who are considered to be competent from those that are felt to be inadequate to their responsibilities? Another investigation might be of the acting-out girls, who are characteristically described as showing a good deal of heterogeneity. Some of these girls, for instance, usually _fake_ _good_ and lead most observers to describe them as non-delinquent. Others are obviously delinquent. What distinguishes these groups in terms of the messages they send?

Later research might make significant improvements in research methodology and technique. Other aspects of communication besides the verbal report are necessary in order to describe patterns of communication fully.

This study has offered some demonstration that with first hand knowledge of an institution and careful planning, research

can investigate, however crudely, elusive aspects of communication which appear most clearly only during certain significant moments. As the work has demonstrated which investigated communication patterns of the schizophrenic, a great deal of detail must be accumulated in order to specify the patterns of human communication in their many varieties.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

The purpose of this study was to investigate patterns
of communication between girls and staff at a training school
for adolescent girls. The institution was in a period of rapid
change, and episodes of disturbance were frequent. Patterns of
verbal communication were investigated in two contexts: in some
cottages of the training school which were disturbed, and in others
which were quiet.

Girls were divided into two groups, acting-out and non-
acting-out, on the basis of ratings by three judges. Groups
were further subdivided on the basis of their being in quiet or
disturbed cottages. Two staff groups were used, an administrative
staff and a treatment staff.

Level II of the Interpersonal Check List was used to
measure content and relationship components of verbal communic-
ation. Girls rated themselves and the staff, and the staff rated
themselves and the girls.

Two general hypotheses were presented with a number of
specific predictions. The first hypothesis suggested that in
quiet times, both girls and staff would report their relationships
as complementary, reflecting that the staff was dominant in the

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institution. The second proposal was that in disturbed times the relationship described would be symmetrical, reflecting ambiguity about which group was dominant.

The major findings of the study were that in quiet times, the predicted complementary relationship was supported by the staff and the acting-out group. The non-acting-out group did report a complementary relationship, but on the love axis rather than the predicted dominance axis of the Interpersonal Check List. In disturbed times, the predicted symmetrical relationships were supported by both groups of girls, but not by the staff.

Exploratory findings suggest that among the girls, a distinct group emerged when that group expressed the dominant mood which was present. A group of loving, dependent, non-acting-out girls was apparent during quiet times, while a group of hostile and competitive acting-out girls emerged during disturbed times. Administrative and treatment staffs did not differ in self views, but the administrative staff described the girls as more competitive and hostile than did the treatment staff.

Girls and staff generally agreed on what they thought the staff was like, but there was general disagreement about what the girls were like. Comparisons were made with a study of delinquent girls at the same institution eleven months earlier (Brown, 1968), and a significant shift in self description was found.

This study of verbal communication offered a beginning in the specification of communication patterns in the complex interaction of girls and staff at a training school.

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APPENDIX A

INTERPERSONAL CHECK LIST CLASSIFICATION OF

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR BY VECTORS.
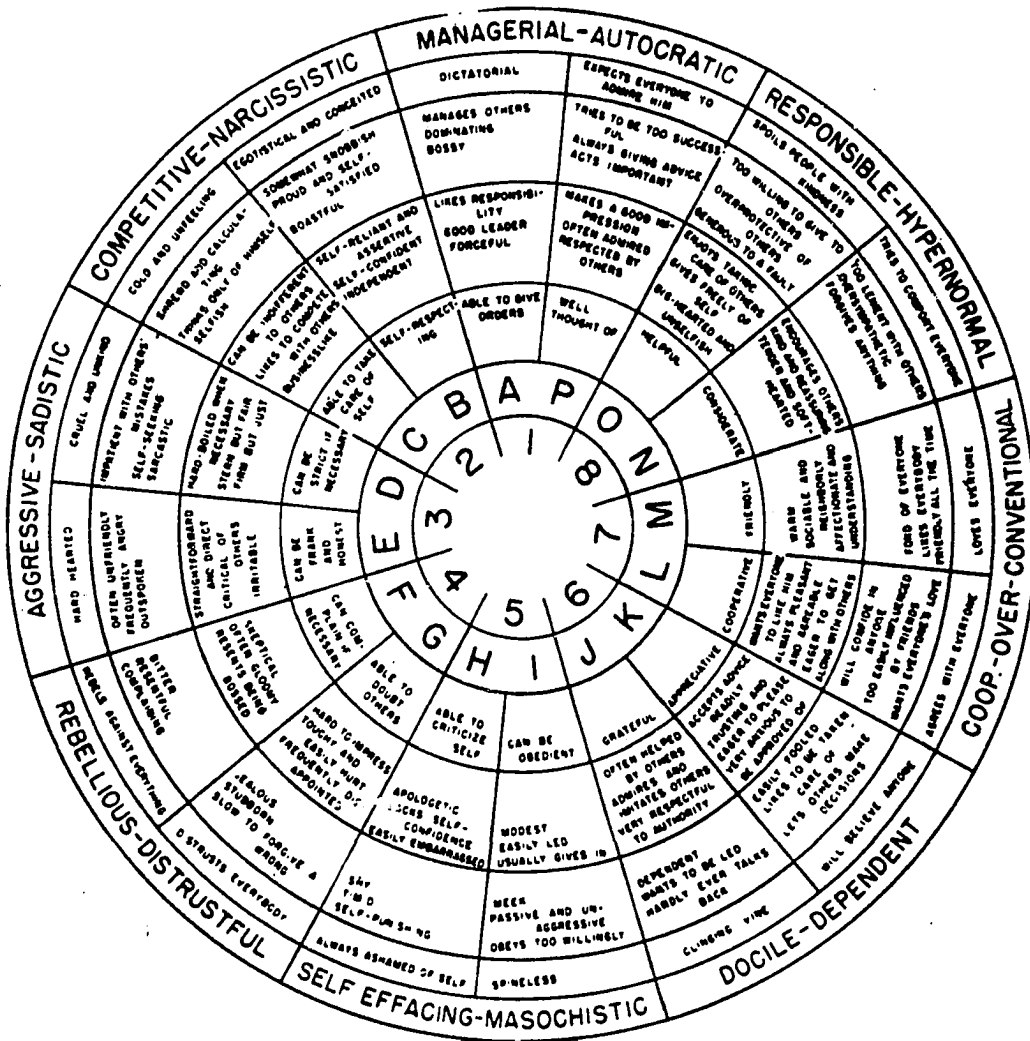
INTERPERSONAL CHECK LIST DIAGNOSTIC

GRID OF EIGHT VECTORS.
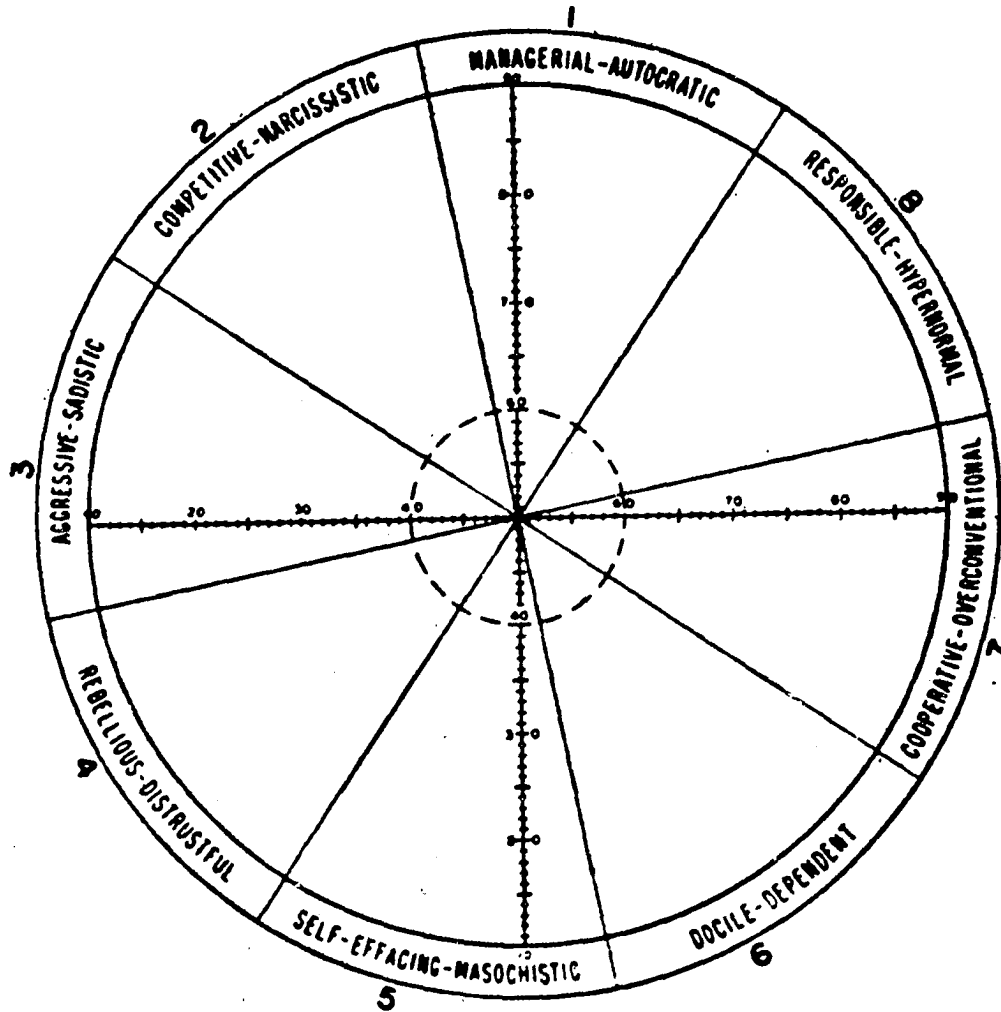
APPENDIX C

INSTRUCTIONS FOR JUDGES

Here is a list of girls of Girls' Town. From your judgement and experience, would you rate these girls in one of two ways.

A. Girls with tendencies for aggressive and/or acting-out behavior.

B. Girls who do not tend to react with aggressive and/or acting-out behavior.

Some girls will not fit easily into either category. If you feel that you cannot make a clear rating of their behavior, do not classify them. But try to make a judgement of as many girls as you can.

APPENDIX D

GIRL'S SCORES

Group	Subject No.	Self	Staff	Staff's View of Girls
	1	5	2	0
	2	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Quiet times:	3	7	<u>3</u>	0
Acting-out group	4	4	<u>3</u>	0
	5	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	0
	6	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	1
	7	2	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	8	1	<u>2</u>	2
	9	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	10	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
	11	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	3
	12	4	<u>2</u>	0
	13	1	<u>1</u>	0
Quiet times:	14	4	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Non-Acting-Out	15	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Group	16	3	3	3

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Group	Subject No.	Self	Staff	Staff's View of Girls
Quiet times :	17	8	<u>2</u>	0
Non-Acting-Out	18	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	0
Group (con't)	19	<u>8</u>	1	<u>8</u>
	20	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	21	<u>1</u>	2	3
	22	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	2
	23	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	2
	24	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	25	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	26	8	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	27	7	2	<u>2</u>
	28	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	8
	29	3	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	30	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	2
	31	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
	32	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	0
	33	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	34	2	<u>1</u>	2
	35	2	<u>2</u>	5
	36	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	0
	37	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	38	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	39	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>

Group	Subject No.	Self	Staff	Staff's View of Girls
Disturbed times :	40	1	2	2
Acting-Out	41	6	<u>1</u>	4
Group	42	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	43	6	<u>2</u>	7
	44	7	<u>1</u>	1
	45	8	3	7
	46	6	<u>2</u>	2
	47	6	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>
	48	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	49	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	50	2	2	2
	51	2	2	0
	52	4	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	53	8	<u>3</u>	2
	54	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	55	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	56	8	<u>2</u>	3
	57	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	58	3	<u>2</u>	2
	59	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	60	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	5
	61	3	<u>2</u>	4

Group	Subject No.	Self	Staff	Staff's View of Girls
Disturbed times:	62	1	2	1
Non-Acting-Out	63	4	2	3
Group	64	2	1	2
	65	1	1	1
	66	1	2	6
	67	6	2	3
	68	8	1	3
	69	7	1	3
	70	2	2	2
	71	3	2	0
	72	3	2	0
	73	1	4	2
	74	4	1	3
	75	3	8	8

APPENDIX E

STAFF SCORES

Group	Subject No.	Self	Girls	Staff's View of Girls
Administrative	1	<u>1</u>	3	<u>1</u>
Staff:	2	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	1
Houseparent Staff	3	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
of Quiet Cottages	4	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	5	1	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	6	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
	7	<u>1</u>	3	<u>1</u>
	8	<u>3</u>	7	<u>4</u>
	9	3	3	<u>2</u>
Administrative	10	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Staff: Houseparent	11	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Staff of	12	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
Disturbed Cottages	13	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	14	2	4	<u>2</u>
	15	3	4	1

Group	Subject No.	Self	Girls	Girls' View of Staff
Administrative	16	8	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
Staff: Others	17	3	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	18	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	19	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	20	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
Treatment Staff	21	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>
	22	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	23	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>
	24	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	25	<u>1</u>	7	<u>2</u>
	26	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	27	7	<u>3</u>	2
	28	<u>2</u>	4	<u>2</u>
	29	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	30	<u>1</u>	4	<u>1</u>
	31	3	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	32	2	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	33	2	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>