WILLIAM C. JASON LIBRARY
DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE
DOVER, DELAWARE
FS 3.209:397

problems in changing programs in institutions for delinquent children

FS3:209:397

CHILDREN'S BUREAU PUBLICATION NUMBER 397—1962

problems in changing programs in institutions for delinquent children

GEORGE H. WEBER
Chief, Technical Aid Branch
Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Social Security Administration • Children's Bureau • 1962

foreword

TRAINING SCHOOLS throughout the country are putting more and more emphasis on treatment services for the children in their care. Treatment specialists, such as psychologists, social group workers, social caseworkers, are being added to institution staffs formerly composed of cottage parents and vocational and academic teachers. But administrators are learning that these new specialists cannot be added to an institution as simply as a new dormitory. To be effective, their work must be integrated into the whole training school program.

Changing from a program that is largely custodial to one that is treatment-oriented is never simple. It inevitably brings with it problems of staff adjustment of the kind discussed in this pamphlet. Unless these are recognized and resolved the change may be self-defeating. Many administrators find it more difficult to recognize the problems that exist in their institution than to resolve them once they have been identified. The material presented here was prepared with this in mind and offers guidance in uncovering problems as well as in disposing of them.

Katherine B. Oettinger

KATHERINE B. OETTINGER
Chief, Children's Bureau

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C. - Price 20 cents

WILLIAM C. JASON LIBRARY
DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE
DOVER, DELAWARE

contents

I. ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING IMPROVEMENTS IN TRAINING SCHOOLS 1

II. RESISTANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTENSIFYING A TRAINING SCHOOL PROGRAM 5

III. THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF EXPANDING SERVICES IN A TRAINING SCHOOL: A CASE REPORT 20

I

ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLYING IMPROVEMENTS IN TRAINING SCHOOLS

TRAINING SCHOOLS for delinquent children have had a stormy history. Faced with a difficult population on the one hand and frequently with a dearth of resources on the other, training schools have often adopted practices that appeared necessary for the control of the youths rather than for their treatment.

In recent years there has been a movement in the training school field to improve this situation. A landmark reflecting this is the standard-setting document: *Institutions Serving Delinquent Children—Guides and Goals* [1] (1962 revision in press), and its predecessor *Tentative Standards for Training Schools,*[2] developed by a joint project of the National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies, and the Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service of the U.S. Children's Bureau. These documents set down the treatment goals of a training school and offer some discussion on how they can be achieved.

After standards of performance for a training school have been set, the job becomes one of meeting them. Among a number of things, this requires a concept of the institution's current condition and its desired future state, a plan to guide its development, resources to effect its modification, and a method to determine how the improvements are proceeding. These requirements are dependent upon various techniques of assessment (that is, devices for determining the condition of an institution and for measuring its improvement), upon knowledge of desirable program goals and practices, a planned strategy to effect this improvement and the necessary budget and personnel.

---

[1] INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp.

[2] TENTATIVE STANDARDS FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS. Children's Bureau Publication 351. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954. 81 pp.

In undertaking to improve an institution, certain general principles should be kept in mind. These should be looked upon as assumptions which have proved helpful in practice.

1. It is strategic to view every institution as having a potential for improvement. This potential can be stimulated into action and guided in its development.

2. It is important to recognize that the desire to improve an institution stems from value premises about how children in trouble should be treated as well as diagnostic and treatment ideas about delinquents.

3. A plan for improvement is necessary for the institution's development. The plan must be based on an analysis of the institution's problems, potentials and resources.

4. The process of improving an institution is fostered, guided and controlled by the knowledge, skill and attitude of the leadership, the degree to which the staff is involved and the amount of community and legislative support that is given.

5. Special help from outside the institution may be necessary to initiate and sustain its development. This help may come from the institution's parent agency, outside consultation or some combination of the two. In a sense, this help is the introduction of a new force into the institutional setting. It should assist in interrupting the status quo by giving help on the study of the problems and the development of the plans for change, as well as in helping to implement new procedures.

6. Improving an institution requires a continuous effort. Short and long term goals can be outlined and the desired achievements be placed in sequence. The effort to improve an institution itself can be made a series of steps; for example, preliminary study and planning, the beginning of a program of improvement, continuing and sustaining the improvements, consolidating the gains, and moving ahead to new problems, etc.

7. Further, the process of improving an institution will be punctuated at various points by the introduction of new ideas, work procedures or attitudes. These may be precipitated by the employment of new personnel, the interaction of people already employed, or even pressures from outside the institution. These forces have important influences on the direction, quality, and speed in gearing up of the program.

8. An institution may be viewed as an organization that has a number of strata in its social and psychological composition. For example, the top stratum of the institution (being the most general) is made up of the institution's ideology, customs and traditions. This stratum will contain the institution's official policies and procedures. However, it will not be restricted to them, as it will also contain many conclusions and opinions ground out informally over a period of time.

Moving from this general level, the other strata become more and more specific; for example, following the social-cultural level are the situational level (that is where things actually occur), the interpersonal level (the relationship between and among people), and finally, the personal level. This perspective of an institution should be taken into account in surveying and planning for its development. An institution can improve simultaneously on these several interrelated levels; for example: on the social-cultural level, the institution's traditions, customs, values and overall pattern of life may move from a restrictive, suppressive program to one that is oriented to understanding the delinquent children and dealing with them on the basis of understanding; on the situational level, the cottage, school or work activities may improve from austere, oppressive locales to settings that have a rich variety of activities carried out in a friendly atmosphere; on the interpersonal level, the system of relationships among and between the staff and the delinquent children may change from formal and impersonal relationships to less formal and friendly relationships; and on the intra-psychic level, the attitudes of the staff may improve and boys may become better adjusted.

9. Resistance in the institution, blocks from the community, inadequate leadership, or lack of adequate resources may cause a slow down, arrest or regression in the institution's improvement.

10. In the course of its development, the institution's potential for doing a better treatment job with the delinquent children grows and differentiates. For example, as the institution improves its receptiveness to new ideas and practices, its interest in experimentation and its willingness to look at itself critically, it becomes more able to analyze and work with the problems of the children.

11. These and other positive developments such as including everyone in the institution's communication processes, helping the staff understand their job more thoroughly, including its relation to other jobs and to the purpose of the institution, encouraging the staff to participate in the problem solving process of the institu-

tion, etc., will help the institution pick up and assimilate new ideas, attitudes and practices.

The improvement of training schools can be faciliated by studying those manacles that have hampered their development. Among these restraints are the negative aspects of the training school's organizational structure and the conflicting relationships among the staff.

This publication deals with efforts to extend the services of institutions. Problems are identified and discussed, and some guidelines are presented for developing training school programs. Part II, Resistance and Its Implications for Intensifying a Training School Program, deals with an enigma. Under most circumstances training school staff would heartily agree that the program of their institution, irrespective of its level of development, needs improvement. However, when institutional improvements are attempted, this initial enthusiasm often wanes and it is not uncommon for staff to resist and actually block the improvement of the program. The section on resistance focuses on the sources of this problem and points to ways of solving it. Part III, The Strategy and Tactics of Expanding Services in a Training School: A Case Report, considers the problems of developing clinical and social services of an institution and integrating them with the already existing program. Its focus is on the institutional leadership and the organization of the training school and the roles that they have in impeding or facilitating the expansion of a program. Case material reflects the complexity of the problem and shows the sections of an institution that can be worked with in developing services.

II

RESISTANCE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTENSIFYING A TRAINING SCHOOL PROGRAM

SOME OF THE QUESTIONS frequently asked by social work or clinical personnel who are considering work in a training school or who have recently accepted such employment are: What happens to the traditional training school program when it is extended to include such personnel as psychologists, psychiatrists, or social workers, whose major functions are studying the delinquent youngsters and working with them on personal problems? How is our work accepted by the staff?

Similar questions are also asked by training school superintendents and personnel such as cottage parents and teachers who have traditionally carried the rehabilitative work in training schools. The people ask these complex questions, usually, because they have some acquaintance with the positive potentials of intensive diagnostic and treatment procedures: clearer understanding of the delinquents and more thorough treatment of their problems. They imply in their questions, if they do not say so directly, that there must be staff and organizational problems involved.

In view of these questions, some of the problems that occur most often will be discussed and certain measures of working with them will be outlined.[1]

---

[1] For a discussion of some of the conflicts involved in this process, see Weber, George H.: Conflicts Between Professional and Non-Professional Personnel in Institutional Delinquency Treatment. THE JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY, AND POLICE SCIENCE, 1957, 48, 26–43 (June).

The Resistance of the Superintendent and Staff to Intensifying the Program

Some manifestations of resistance

Many problems arise in intensifying a program, but one of the most basic is resistance.[2] The clinical and social workers—irrespective of whether they are new on the job or people with some experience—as well as the superintendent and the personnel who have been carrying the responsibility for the training school's work, are cautious and hesitate to modify their traditional, or even newly acquired, ideas and change their practices.[3]

Resistance may be expressed in a variety of subtle as well as direct ways: for example, staff members carry out their jobs in perfunctory ways and feign cooperation; they keep a polite but reserved distance from each other, or interact with each other through chronic quarrels and shrewd maneuvers; staff members resign and leave their jobs; the superintendent does not utilize the social workers and psychologists who have been allocated, or assigns them very limited functions.

Some sources of resistance [4]

Perhaps each staff member, potential staff member, and superintendent is hesitant, and perhaps somewhat perplexed, about how to relate to others in a changing institution. More specifically, they may be concerned about their part in an intensive diagnostic and treatment program. These people may believe that each has a somewhat different orientation to delinquency causation and treatment. Some staff members will attribute delinquency to general environ-

---

[2] The concept of resistance stems from the psychoanalytic theory of personality. Freud, Sigmund: NEW INTRODUCTORY LECTURES ON PSYCHOANALYSIS. Translated by W. J. H. Sprott. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1933. 239 pp. Freud defined it as the opposition exerted by the patient when the psychoanalyst attempts to make him conscious of unconscious material. Its meaning has been extended and it has come to be more widely used than just in psychotherapy; for example, Coch, L. and French, J. R. P., Jr.: Overcoming Resistance to Change. HUMAN RELATIONS, 1948, 1, 512–532.

[3] Yet this phenomena is not unusual. Documentation of its occurring with other occupational groups in other settings is described in the following: Ronken, Harriet O., and Lawrence, Paul R.: ADMINISTERING CHANGES: A Case Study of Human Relations in a Factory. Boston: Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration, 1952. 324 pp.; Cumming, John and Cumming, Elaine: Social Equilibrium and Social Change in the Large Mental Hospital. THE PATIENT AND THE MENTAL HOSPITAL. Edited by Milton Greenblatt, Daniel Levinson and Richard Williams. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957. 658 pp. (p. 49–72).

[4] Though not treated in this paper, it is recognized that resistance may also be stimulated by boards of control or administration, town people in the community near the institution, the judiciary, the probation and law enforcement officials, other training schools—particularly their administrators. Also, the delinquent children stimulate resistance, particularly those who are suave, calculating, and able to manipulate adutls.

mental conditions and immediate situational circumstances, others will point to the disturbed personalities of the delinquents, while still others will attribute the delinquent's problems to some combination of these factors. These different ideas about causation have implications for the treatment of delinquency. Those holding a strong "environmental" position might conclude that an educational program rich in activities and opportunities and administered with firmness is sufficient for most of the children. Others holding a strong "personality" position might believe that a rich educational program administered strictly is insufficient. Instead, they support treatment aimed at resolving personal problems and strengthening the youths' personalities. Appropriate group and individual therapy in combination with a good general program would be recommended.

In addition to theoretical differences about delinquency, the staff's sensitivity to the institution's changing structure also stimulates resistance. Shifting authority relationships, changing networks of communication, redividing of work, and different patterns of giving recognition and rewards are especially important.

Some people may be interested in gaining access to authority. Others fear losing it or being adversely affected by it. Questions reflecting this will arise: Who is or will be the supervisor of whom in the organization? Who will direct, coordinate and check whose work?

Closely associated with the staff's and the prospective workers' concerns about the institution's system of authority are their concerns about the ways in which work will be modified in the institution. Prior to intensifying a program, the people who have been carrying the various training school responsibilities—cottage parents, teachers, etc.—have been considered qualified to carry out their assignments. The introduction of specialists with professional training challenges this view. Consequently, the cottage parents and other personnel are wary of any probable change in the work arrangements. The technical people, that is the social and clinical personnel, are aware that refining a program requires some reshuffling of responsibilities. Yet they may be hesitant to infringe on the traditional responsibilities of the cottage parents, teachers and others. The superintendent may know of unsatisfactory institutional practices but be reluctant to change them because of their deep entrenchment. He may appreciate the technical ability of psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers to work with delinquents but may question their understanding of an institution's organizational dynamics and their ability to work harmoniously in one.

Along with concerns about the varied ideas of delinquency causation and the way delinquents should be treated, the realignment

of authority relations and the division of work in an institution, the superintendent, staff, and prospective workers may also fear a change in the institution's communication system. For example, they may wonder who will share what information with whom, when, and under what conditions in an intensified program. New staff members, particularly the clinical and social service staff, may be afraid that they will not be included or consulted on broad institutional matters such as the general program for the boys, management techniques used with them in the cottages, or the institutional proposals that are made to the legislature. Those people who have been in the institution may be afraid of losing their usual participation in the discussion of problems and the institution's planning to meet vital issues. Also, the superintendent may be uncertain about whom he should include in his discussions and planning and what channels of communication he should establish and use.

Moreover, in this area of sources of resistance, the personnel of the institution as well as the superintendent know that any sizeable change in the training school program will lead to a new pattern of prestige. Various people will fear any change because it might downgrade their status. Others may fear the uncertainty of the future arrangement, even though it may hold promise for them.

Economic factors also enter the resistance picture. Perhaps the newly arrived technical personnel and those planning to enter institutional work will be apprehensive about not earning a sum comparable to that of their professional associates in other settings. Maybe they will be interested in securing subsistence arrangements comparable to those received by persons already situated favorably in the training school. The personnel who have been employed at the training school for a considerable length of time, particularly cottage parents and work supervisors, may fear demotion, reduced wages or even dismissal. These nontechnical people may be angry about the higher salaries of the clinical and social service personnel. The superintendent himself may wonder about the fairness of the salary paid to technical staff as compared with that paid to other staff members, as well as with his own. Such concerns will influence the receptiveness of the personnel to differing ideas and practices about delinquency causation and its treatment.

These more objective sources of resistance are often tremendously complicated by the distorted interpretations that personnel give them. These interpretations may stem from the staff members' memories, conflicts, and feelings about their past life experiences. Even though some of these memories, conflicts, and feelings are un-

conscious to the staff member, they have an important influence on how he views situations and how he reacts to them.

Also, if a staff member is having problems with his family or the community, this will undoubtedly color his views about extending diagnostic and treatment practices in the training school.

Several cases in point

To illustrate some aspects of resistance to intensifying a program, a number of examples drawn from the daily operations of a training school will be given.[5] These examples show resistance as expressed by the cottage parents, the clinical and social work staff, and the superintendent.

From the cottage parent: In the following we shall hear two cottage parents expressing resistance to incorporating clinical and social work ideas into their work. First, the illustration shows the cottage parents rejecting a psychologist's recommendation. Second, the cottage parents' conversation reflects their negative work relationships with the clinical and social work staff.[6] In this situation, the specialists had been introduced into the institution over a 3-year period. A psychologist and social worker were brought in first. An additional social worker was added in each of the next 2 years. They were followed by a consulting psychiatrist who spent an afternoon a week at the school seeing children who presented puzzling diagnostic problems and consulting with the staff. The administration had outlined the functions of each individual and group and had made some efforts, through supervision and staff conferences, to work these matters out in ways satisfactory to those involved. However, the institution had problems. For example:

Cottage parent 1: I really don't know how to handle Jim. He will never do what you ask him to do. The psychologist said I should be consistently firm with him.

Cottage parent 2: Well, I know we are supposed to listen to these people but I don't know if I would do that. If I were you, I'd deprive him of his privileges when he won't cooperate.

---

[5] The substance of the verbatim reports are taken from actual situations, though there may be some alteration in detail.

[6] The conversations reflect some of the problems between the cottage parents and the clinical and social work staff. Similar problems also existed between work supervisors and the clinical staff and social workers.

Cottage parent 1: Maybe you're right. I believe in being firm and consistent but sometimes you've just got to be downright tough.

Cottage parent 2: That's what bothers me. I don't think these psychologists should be getting into our business.

Cottage parent 1: If they want to do some work with Jim, that's O.K. with me—the more, the better, but I'm not for having them tell me how to run my cottage.

Cottage parent 2: That's something I can't understand. You know those case meetings we have when a boy first comes to the school and before he goes out? Well, before we started them they said they were interested and needed to know what we thought about a boy and his problems, but I haven't seen it work that way. It's mostly them telling us. I don't think they're really interested in hearing what we have to say.

Cottage parent 1: Well, we'll have to do the best we can. I guess with Jim I'll just keep doing as I have always done.

Conspicuous in this incident is the cottage parents' need and apparent desire for help in working with Jim. Also clear are the signs of resistance they have to working with social work and clinical ideas, and with these specialists. It is possible that the psychologist's recommendation was narrow and perhaps inconclusive. Perhaps there was some confusion about the duties and responsibilities of each worker in the institution. Also the communication among these people was poor. However, there were some additional things stimulating the cottage parents to resist working with the clinical and social work staff. Their conversation suggests that they resented the consultation because they saw it as having some type of authority or supervisory implications. Also, they express a dislike for any infringement on their work. Further, they seem to feel that they are not receiving adequate recognition and respect and that their knowledge of delinquency is being ignored. Associated with this, the cottage parents may well have been reacting to an awareness of certain deficiencies of their own. As a culmination of all this, they resisted what the psychologist, as well as others, had to contribute and continued to work as they had previously done, with an apparent mixture of resignation and conviction that their techniques were the correct ones.

From the clinical and social work personnel: The next situation emphasizes the resistance of the clinical and social work personnel to considering the contribution that the cottage parents might make to the boy's treatment. A psychologist and social worker are presented in conversation. As in the previous situation, the psychologists and social workers had been introduced into an institution where the staff had some understanding of the function of these specialists but were unfamiliar with the details of their work. The psychologist and social worker shown below were new to institutional work, this being their first positions in an institution for delinquents.

Psychologist: I can't see what Mrs. K. feels she is contributing when she talks with Joe about his folks and the fact that they do not want him to come home. I have told her not to do this but she doesn't seem to understand. I don't understand her.

Social worker: If the boy is upset about his folks, he should see you. If it looks like it's going to affect his placement plan, he should see me.

Psychologist: Well, this kind of work isn't for her. Like I said, I can't see her part in this. She's over there to take care of the kids and run some activities.

Social worker: That's right, and we're here to work with the kids and their personal problems and planning for the future.

Psychologist: Now, Mr. —— (superintendent) said the cottage parents should continue to give some of this kind of help to the boys. He sees them as being close to the boys and knowing how they feel. He also said it's a kind of first aid until they can see us. He told me that he wants us to work this out with them.

Social worker: I don't agree with that kind of an approach. I've already told him and some of the cottage parents that we need a clearer definition of our jobs.

Psychologist: I don't think there is anything more I can do or say. I feel it's their job to take care of the kids and it's our job to do the counseling.

To be sure, this situation reflects many issues, including confused job definitions, poor communication, different theories of treatment and an indefinite authority and work structure. These problems all contributed to the impasse. The psychologist's conclusion, supported by the social worker, gives the impression of being final. There was no indication that they would consider changing their ideas or modifying their practices. They did not evaluate their failure to communicate with Mrs. K. These two men also failed to evaluate their concepts of the cottage parents' function or their own and, as has been indicated, resisted the efforts of the superintendent to develop a broader point of view about the cottage parents' contribution to the treatment of the boys.[7]

From the superintendent: In the following incident, a conversation between a training school superintendent and his assistant is given. They recognized the need for some social work and clinical help in their institution and, at the insistence of their board, employed several people. The superintendent and his assistant were generally familiar with the goals of the specialists' work. However, the methods used by the specialists in handling the problems of the boys were not clearly understood by the superintendent and his assistant and they were at a loss as to how to integrate the specialists' work with the other staff members' efforts. During the previous several years, these two men had improved several aspects of the school program. They both knew that some of the improvements had precipitated some staff disturbances. However, the disturbances were not great. Those changes had taken place in established educational and work activities that were well understood and part of an on-going process. Also, the advantages of the changes were easily apparent and provided stimulation and satisfactions to the staff. The effects of social work and clinical psychology were less tangible. Furthermore, they were new activities in the institutional setting and involved a somewhat different orientation to the treatment of delinquents than the traditional training school activities.

Superintendent: What did you say happened now? You know, Jack, I can see the need for this additional diagnostic and treatment work and our board is pressing for it, but it seems to be shaking up the institution.

Assistant superintendent: Well, the cottage parents over at "A" Cottage are objecting to the boys coming back upset to the cot-

[7] In view of their advanced training, it might be reasoned that such self-critical evaluations could be expected and the insight employed in the resolution of the problems.

tage after one of those social work interviews and the school is complaining about dismissing boys for the special testing and this counseling. They think the boys should stay in school and study.

Superintendent: They'll have to get used to that part. What did you say about the boys being upset? . . . It seems to me they could talk to the boys about their behavior without getting into their past lives. I believe in letting a boy forget his past and start over—not throwing his past up to him. . . . You know Mr. Jones (maintenance man) says some of the men feel these fellows really don't earn their salt. Mr. Jones is a hard worker and I hate to see him get disgruntled and touch off the rest of those fellows that work with him. Along with the cottage parents, they are the backbone of this school.

Business manager: (walks into the office and interrupts) . . . When can you sit down so we can discuss this budget? From what I've heard through the grapevine, I think the central office would support us if we went for more social workers.

Superintendent: How about three this afternoon? (business manager leaves)

Assistant superintendent: Are you going to try and get money for those additional people?

Superintendent: I had thought I would, but maybe I shouldn't. Perhaps this venture should prove itself first. What do you think?

The superintendent and his assistant had come to the point where they were hesitant about proceeding with the extension of the diagnostic and treatment program. It appeared that they did not understand the techniques of the social workers and psychologist. They disapproved of some of the things that were done and were very much concerned about the disquieting effects of these things on the institution. Their doubts were climaxed when the superintendent divested himself of some of his administrative responsibility by refusing to work with the problems that accompanied intensifying the institution's program.

The point of view of the administrator is critical

Facing the superintendent are several unavoidable questions: To what point does he favor intensifying a program to include diagnostic and treatment procedures? To what length will he go to get the staff and money to bring this about? What will he do to make the venture a success? [8] Is he willing to do the necessary painstaking planning and careful administrative work that is required? To be sure there are limiting circumstances, such as a disinterested public or board, inadequate financial resources, shortage of specialized staff, the superintendent's interests and abilities, etc. However, these questions remain basic for it is highly improbable that an adequate budget can ever be obtained or the changes be thoroughly planned for or successfully introduced unless the superintendent is personally committed to work actively and continuously for their realization.

Once the superintendent decides to develop the diagnostic and treatment services in his institution and has obtained authorization for some specialist personnel, he, undoubtedly, will be interested in preventing staff resistance from developing and in resolving it when it does.

The institution's structure can be helpful

The goals of the institution must be in general harmony with each other to facilitate the development of its services. They must be explicit. If the goals are sufficiently detailed they can serve as a guide for the development of the activities of the program and indicate the jobs needed to carry out these activities. The institutional program that is developed must be systematic, integrated and related to the goals. The program should incorporate: the planned activities, such as work, recreation, counseling, etc.; the daily routines of the school; the relationships among the staff and between staff members and the boys; and the social and emotional tone to be developed. The positions which incorporate the tasks and responsibilities necessary for the institution to achieve its goals must be related to each other in a non-contradictory way and tied to the

[8] For major program goals for institutions helping delinquent children, see INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp.

organization's activities. The institution's division and coordination of work, the arrangement of authority and supervision, the communication network, the prestige or status system and the distribution of rewards pervade the goals, activities, and positions in the organization.[9] These components should be consistent and mutually complimentary if the program is to develop satisfactorily.

Administrative Methods and Techniques Can Be Helpful

Some administrative methods [10]

As has been indicated, the structure of an institution is important in preventing and overcoming resistance to the intensification of a program. Also, the superintendent is in a position to prevent and work out some of these problems of resistance by employing a variety of administrative methods and by involving the staff, when appropriate. Several methods, among many, standout. In selecting his methods, the superintendent should consider their implications for the institution's personnel—will these people see the methods and their intent as being in the best interests of the training school's goals, and of their own?

Planning the action

An inventory of resources must accompany the identification of the problem, and the formulation of a plan of action should follow this. In other words, what does the institution have or what can it get to meet the problem? The inventory and plan need not be elaborate, but they must be carefully considered. Further, any resources that the superintendent intends using must be organized and deployed to meet the resistance and the general problem. The action must be deliberate and be made clear to the staff. It should be gauged to the problem and modulated to adapt to fluctuations in the situation. If staff indicate that certain problems are getting out of their control

---

[9] It is recognized that the boys in a training school also have their organization. Though informal, it will have many of the characteristics implied by the organizational concepts that have been presented. It, however, will not be treated here.

[10] These administrative methods and techniques are detailed in many books on administration; for example, Barnard, C. I.: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948. 334 pp.; Gulick, Luther and Urwick, L. (eds.): PAPERS ON THE SCIENCE OF ADMINISTRATION. New York: Institute of Public Administration, Columbia University, 1937. 195 pp.; and Pfiffner, John M. and Sherwood, Frank P.: ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION. Englewood, Calif.: Prentice-Hall, 1960. 467 pp.

the superintendent will move to give strong support or take greater control himself. Then as the staff gets in better condition, he will move gradually toward letting members take greater responsibility, finding their own solutions, etc. Any action should be followed through and false starts as well as piecemeal efforts avoided.

Initiating the action

The administrative methods may include directives, conferences with staff, coordination of various activities, or direct changes in the institution's structure, such as its division of work or salary system. In any of these approaches, "ticklish" questions will be inevitable. These should be asked straight-forwardly and naturally. Asked in this manner, they will tend to bring responses in kind. Further, the superintendent should anticipate questions which might be directed to him. Here it is important to talk things through; getting involved in arguments should be avoided tactfully.

Adjusting the action

Some major adjustments and countless minor ones must be made in order to cope with the developments that emerge in the process of intensifying a program. For example, it might be necessary to delay the employment of psychologists and social workers until the future of the cottage parent position has been worked out. Or, as an institution progresses in developing its program, certain activities may require further coordination after it has been decided that the division of work between the cottage parents and social workers needs greater refinement.

Balance is required

Intensifying a program means innovations and modifications. Yet a changing program, including problems of resistance, must also be controlled. The innovations and modifications must be paced because, if changes occur too rapidly, resistance will set in to maintain the institution's current status—whatever it may be. This is likely to happen even though the current set-up may not provide the best services for the children in the institution's care. Such resistance is aimed at maintaining an equilibrium and balance for the institution and for the individual staff members. Without it, anxiety and fear among the staff might turn to panic, and discouragement and frustration to disillusionment and withdrawal.

Some administrative techniques [11]

Along with the general methods of administration that a superintendent uses, there are more refined techniques that can also be helpful to him as he works with a developing program and the resistance that is associated with it.

Encourage people to participate. Resistance may be lessened by having the staff participate in the change. The mechanics of this involvement—meetings and discussions among the social work and clinical people, the administration, the cottage parents and teachers—may be arranged without difficulty. It may be difficult in an initial meeting, however, to get these people to respond in an open manner and express their hesitancies and negative feelings, even if they are consciously aware of them. But if the administration continues to invite and respect the opinions of the staff, their resistance and defensiveness will undoubtedly be reduced.

Invite people to work on problems important to them. Institutions developing their programs usually have a multitude of unresolved problems—about work responsibilities, staff relationships, and case problems of the children—that the staff experience vividly in their work. Resistance to improving the situation may be intertwined among these problems. However, if the staff are sufficiently uncomfortable about their dilemma, they may respond to opportunities for working them out. For example, even though the psychologists, social workers and cottage parents resisted looking at the others' possible contribution to the program, they may become concerned enough about the lack of progress to sit down together and consider their common problems. Such a move can be the point of departure in resolving their resistance to working out a satisfactory division of work.

Permit people to contribute to decision making. The superintendent, by virtue of his position, makes the final decisions on policy, planning, and major operational matters and he should be fully cog-

---

[11] Several references elucidate the point of view taken here. Alpert, Burt and Smith, Patricia: How Participation Works. JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES, 1949, 5, 1–13 (winter); Anderson, W. A.: Some Participation Principles. CORNELL UNIVERSITY EXTENSION BULLETIN 731, 1947; Baxter, Bernice and Cassidy, Rosalind: GROUP EXPERIENCE—THE DEMOCRATIC WAY. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943. 218 pp.; Festinger, Leon: The Role of Group Belongingness. SYMPOSIUM ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: Experiments in Social Process. Edited by James Grier Miller. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1950. 205 pp. (Chapter 3); Lindeman, Edward C.: Leadership With a Light Touch. AUTONOMOUS GROUPS BULLETIN, 1949, 4 (summer); and Roethlisberger, F. J.: MANAGEMENT AND MORALE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. 194 pp.

nizant of any controversial issues involved in these matters. Consequently, he can use the ideas of the staff on these issues before he makes his decisions. On less significant issues, the staff can be delegated the authority to handle them.

Participation by the staff in decision making does not mean that authority is taken from the superintendent. Indeed, in some instances, the situation requires direct, forceful action on his part. However, giving the staff a chance to contribute where possible, without confusing the limits of administrative authority and responsibility, utilizes their abilities to the greatest extent. It also has a positive influence on their morale. Their sense of having a real part in forging the institution's policies is likely to stimulate and encourage them. Further, with this type of participation, in the institution, they are more likely to feel committed to striving for its goals.

Provide opportunities for people to relate to each other. The several preceding points imply that the staff need opportunities to meet and relate themselves to each other. Chances for the staff to meet socially and informally, as well as in work conferences, should be facilitated by the superintendent; for example, the provision of a canteen or lounge for the staff, perhaps an occasional institutional picnic, and a staff party on particular occasions.

Act on the problem as indicated. As resistance will be expressed in a variety of ways, the superintendent should maintain a sensitivity to it. When it is seen, for example, in complaining, the superintendent should help the people involved to bring out the factors that underlie it. He should give the people a chance to express themselves, their feelings as well as their ideas. He must interpret the rationale of the treatment approach to the delinquents for those who need that type of help. With others, he must encourage tolerance and cooperation. With still others, he must be supporting and encouraging. Also, the superintendent must keep his mind open to the possible contribution that the institution, and he the superintendent, are making to the problem of resistance. He must review the conditions of work and the leadership that he is offering.

The problem may need continuous attention. Diagnostic and treatment procedures have implications for all aspects of the institution. These procedures are apt to be contrary to some of the staff's beliefs and, as a result, their resistance may be intense. This would imply that new ideas are apt to be accepted by degrees and the efforts at putting them into practice must be continuous. The more elementary problems are usually resolved first and perhaps then more complex problems can be handled.

The approach should be sensitive. In handling the problem of staff resistance, the superintendent's general attitude is of great importance. A consistently calm and friendly attitude always has much to recommend it. Firmness, when indicated, will add strength to his approach. The institution will be influenced directly by the superintendent's actions whether they be in the form of direction, coordination or anything else. The institution will also be affected by the manner in which he approaches the development of good services and the problems of accomplishing these. If he acts judiciously, others will be encouraged to do likewise.

Control is an important ingredient. If all the efforts within the training school were appropriate for the ends it is attempting to achieve, there would be no need for control. Every individual and department within the institution would find its place. They would also develop a suitable way of working that would help the children and tie into a team approach. This is almost never the case.

Consequently, the superintendent must be distinctly clear, and in many instances direct, in setting the standards of performance expected of the staff, as well as in evaluating their performance.

In the realm of control, it is important that the superintendent differentiate sharply between those matters wherein the staff are delegated the authority to make decisions and those matters wherein the staff contributions will only be suggested to him. This delineation will assure the staff's participation and contributions but still maintain the leadership of the superintendent.

III

THE STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF EXPANDING SERVICES IN A TRAINING SCHOOL: A CASE REPORT

EXPANDING the clinical and social services of a training school and integrating them with the already existing services are complex tasks which require that the institution's division of work and work relationships be reviewed, its systems of authority and communication be surveyed, and its methods of according recognition and rewards be studied. These aspects of the training school must be viewed in the light of any change that has been made in its goals and the available means of achieving them. The operation demands special attention from the various supervisors because of their positions of leadership and particularly from the superintendent, who has the basic responsibility for uniting all the services into an effective program for delinquent children.

The superintendent's responsibility for this particular function is intricately related to all of his work, as it cuts across the general activities of planning, organizing, directing and coordinating the total institutional operation. As an activity that has considerable breadth, it can be laden with problems.

In the interest of focusing on some of the concrete aspects of expanding the clinical and social services and integrating them with the various services in a training school, a case study will first be given.[1] This will describe the problems that faced a superintendent and his efforts to accomplish these complex tasks. Some general administrative guides to facilitate the extension of services follow the case study.

[1] The identity of the institution cannot be disclosed for professional reasons.

A Problem Situation

On Monday morning these conversations were taking place at the "Central Training School"[2]:

In the superintendent's office

Assistant superintendent: "Mr. Snow (director of the cottages) doesn't think that he can get the cottage supervisors to go along with the assignment of a social worker or psychologist to each cottage to work with the boys in it, at least not really go along. The cottage supervisors say that they want to keep the social workers in a general pool and if a boy has a problem, they will send him over to the social worker or psychologist."

Superintendent: "I don't understand. A lot of work went into this plan."

Assistant superintendent: "Mr. Jones (director of clinical services, which included the psychologists and social workers) says that he's having trouble having his people really move into this plan. They keep hanging back."

In the office of the director of cottages

A supervisor: "I wish we could get the cottage supervisors to take more responsibility. Another one failed to send their kids over for that special testing."

Another supervisor: "I don't blame them. They already have enough to do without getting into more dispatching work."

First supervisor: "Maybe so, but we sent written instructions about this testing program to them last week. The trouble with them is they won't read."

In the office of the clinical director

A psychologist: "I've about had it. At our last conference on Jim, Mr. Allen (a cottage supervisor) agreed that a pass might help him. Now he says that Jim's behavior has been so poor, he won't go along with the pass plan."

A social worker: "I know what you mean."

In one corner of the school's canteen

First cottage supervisor: "I'm worn out. We have been fighting the school teachers again. They should handle their own discipline

[2] The substance of this verbatim report is correct though there may be some deviation in detail.

problems. Why should those teachers send every boy back to the cottage who isn't quite making it in school? Then, I had a meeting with those people from the front office. I just can't see how some of the things they want us to do will ever work."

Second cottage supervisor: "Some of those new social workers and psychologists will try anything."

In another corner of the same canteen

A social worker: "I know that some of the staff here are resisting us and our ideas; what do you think we can do about it?"

Psychologist: "I think that the superintendent has to take some action on this thing."

Forerunners to the problem

This concrete problem situation is taken from an institution which had recently extended its clinical and social services and was experiencing difficulties in coordinating its program. The superintendent had been in institutional work for a considerable number of years. However, he had been at this particular institution less than a year. He had recruited some new workers, who possessed a high degree of technical skill—social workers and psychologists—from outside the institutional field, but the majority of the general institutional staff—cottage and work supervisors—had been at this particular institution for several years and had been recruited from the local groups of tradesmen and laborers.

When the superintendent began work at the institution, he faced the problem of pulling together an operation that was in serious trouble with its business administration and under public pressure to improve its program for the boys.[8] The superintendent decided that he and several of his key staff members would focus their immediate energies on clearing up the business administration problems. He also planned to improve the program for the boys and, as a beginning step, hired a psychologist to head a newly created department of clinical services. Social workers were added soon thereafter.

In an effort to direct and coordinate his total staff, the superintendent held weekly staff meetings that included all department

[8] For a discussion of some aspects of this general problem, see Miles, George W.: The Relationship Between Community Pressures and Institutional Treatment of Delinquents. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAINING SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE AGENCIES, 1958, 54, 140–151. For a discussion of the relationship of the training school to the community, see INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp. (p. 25–29).

heads. As a result of these meetings, he had some general knowledge about the problems the staff were having in accomplishing their work. However, he was not aware of the problems in detail because his time and energy were invested heavily in the business administration area.

The public pressure for solving the school's financial problems had mounted to the point where the superintendent had to devote most of his attention to problems outside of the institution, particularly in the local community and the central office of the institution's parent agency. As a result, much of the responsibility for internal matters was delegated to the assistant superintendent.

This temporary measure did not provide the desired "stop-gap" arrangement. The assistant superintendent was interested in administering the institution but was unable to grasp its problems and could not cope with them. Under his inadequate leadership, the institution faltered and the personnel, along with being unable to function effectively, were not able to maintain a cordial feeling for the superintendent's office.

The various staff groups, their daily efforts uncoordinated, jostled one another to advance their own limited causes. The cottage and work supervisors actually in charge of the children were generally motivated to help the boys; however, they found themselves working in a disrupted institution. They attempted to help the boys meet the newer treatment aims set by the psychologists and social workers but these were generally beyond their knowledge and skills. In addition, the directions given by these technical people were sometimes inconsistent. Consequently, the cottage and work supervisors tried to juggle the different demands of the various psychological and social work personnel. At the same time, the cottage and work supervisors had the sizeable job of supervising the children in their care. In their efforts to meet all these demands, they began to feel frustrated and defeated.

The few members of the staff who performed specialized service and maintenance jobs—plumbers, electricians, etc.—had some contact with, but very little interest in, the children. They asked mainly for a pleasant work setting. This desire was thwarted daily by requests to repair damage caused by the boys' vandalism. These workers had a close work relationship with the cottage and work supervisors and proved to be a discouraging influence on them. The technical people—psychologists, social workers, etc.—who had come to treat the children found their work being questioned, attacked and undermined by others. They experienced difficulty in communicating and relating to other staff members and became confused about their function and the extent of their authority.

Superintendent makes some observations

The assistant superintendent became increasingly concerned about the growing tensions among the staff and the inadequate functioning of the program and talked to the superintendent about it. The superintendent, in turn, also talked to the staff, and saw that the situation was critical. He had worked out some of the school's financial problems and, in view of his appraisal of the total situation, shifted his attention to the institution's program problems. These are some of the things he saw.

People had different work orientations

One obvious difficulty among the institutional people was the variety of their work orientations.[4] The maintenance and service people focused on handling and constructing things. The teachers were oriented toward conveying information, academic and trade skills, and to some extent positive attitudes, to the children. The cottage supervisors were directing their efforts toward managing the overt behavior of the children and seeing that they complied with the demands of the immediate situation. The clinical people were concerned with the motivation of the children and the resolution of some of their personal problems by getting at the causal factors, particularly those that had affected the youngster's development.

These different work orientations influenced the way the workers judged the problems of the children—and each other. For example, the maintenance workers tended to evaluate the boys on the basis of how they worked and handled tools and equipment. The cottage supervisors considered chiefly how the boys got along in the cottages and related activities. The teachers were generally concerned with how the boys were responding to instruction and what they were achieving. The teachers saw their work as being different from that of the cottage personnel and work supervisors. However, they seemed to be more closely allied to the work orientation of these people than to the clinical and social work personnel, whose efforts were not clear to them. The psychologists and social workers, with their orientation toward understanding the delinquents in terms of their underlying problems, were critical of the other staff members' concern about the delinquent's daily performance.

[4] Different value orientations of institutional personnel and varied conceptions of status and role are related to this point and may lead to misunderstandings. See Weber, George H.: Conflicts Between Professional and Non-Professional Personnel in Institutional Delinquency Treatment. THE JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY, AND POLICE SCIENCE, 1957, 48, 27–35.

Increased internal interdependence

The previous division of work in the institution gave broad responsibilities to a limited number of people. At one time the boys were assigned to a program by the school principal after a simple review of a boy's commitment paper, transcript of credits (if available) and a short interview. Often his program was limited to two major assignments: half day school and half day cottage. The cottage assignment included work with the cottage "father" in some institutional service or maintenance job. In that program the cottage "fathers" carried these additional institutional assignments along with their cottage duties. Now however, each boy was assigned to a program by a staff committee after a thorough study of his background and problems and consideration of his prognosis. His program could include a variety of things: school, work, recreation, casework or psychotherapy. Each activity was carried out by one or more staff members. The cottage "father" spent full time in the cottage working on cottage programs and problems. The detailed breakdown of diagnostic and treatment tasks made the organization more complex and created an interdependence among the workers. However, many problems remained in defining the tasks, succinctly relating them to each other, as well as in explaining the various procedures to the staff.[5]

Increased external interdependence

Along with the increased interdependency of the workers upon each other, the institution had also become increasingly interdependent with the community outside. Previously, the institution secured social histories on the boys directly from various community agencies. The training school personnel also maintained some contact with a boy's family during his institutional stay. To complete its continuing responsibilities, the institution developed placement plans and supervised the boys in the community after they were released from the institution. Now the pattern was considerably different. The social history was sent to the school by agents who were attached to the same parent agency as the institution. These workers were also responsible for the aftercare. However, these persons were not responsible to the institution.

In the earlier program, delays were common in obtaining social history material because high priority was given the placement of the boys and their aftercare supervision. However, these delays were not serious because the institutional programming of a child was not

---

[5] For a basic discussion of the division of labor and the interdependence among workers, see Durkheim, Emile: DIVISION OF LABOR IN SOCIETY. Translated by George Simpson. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947. 439 pp. (p. 371–373).

dependent on a thorough diagnostic study. Now the institution's program was changed. Diagnostic studies were considered necessary prior to working out a program with a boy and delays resulted in a disruption of the entire procedure. Planning for a boy's placement, no longer the sole responsibility of the institution, still had to be tied in with treatment and training in the institution. Delays also occurred here and a backlog of boys were retained in the institution waiting placement. The supervision of boys on aftercare status was no longer done by institutional personnel. However, they were occasionally contacted about receiving boys back at the institution if they were adjusting poorly in the community.[6]

Limited experience, training or viewpoint

Many of the cottage and work supervisors had been in the institution for a considerable length of time and had a wealth of experience. However, their viewpoints were limited. They had not had an opportunity to learn about delinquency and its treatment because their education was meager and their on-the-job supervision had been only routine, emphasizing custody. Also, they lacked the advantages that in-service training could give them. One of their favorite ideas was that delinquency was a form of deliberate orneriness. The cottage personnel and work supervisors acknowledged the effects that a series of difficult experiences could have on a child but did not reconcile this with their basic attitude. Many had a basically punitive point of view about the function of the training school. They believed that the shock of commitment to the institution, its routine, restrictions and supervision, combined with some opportunities to continue their education, would help all the children.

The psychologists and social workers who had come to the institution more recently were well trained. They were also highly specialized, and this specialization sometimes narrowed their conceptions. Their training, coupled with interest in becoming experienced in their specialization—casework, psychotherapy, psychological testing—and the pressure to accomplish the routine tasks of their job, played into the problem by encouraging activities that supported their highly specialized approach. They tended to over-individualize the delinquent's problems and treatment. Disproportionately heavy consideration was given to motivations, emotions, unconscious conflicts and the permissive management of the children, in contrast to their placement in constructive activities and active supervision of

[6] For a more detailed discussion of these problems, see Weber, George H.: Explorations in the Similarities, Differences and Conflicts Between Probation, Parole, and Institutions. JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW, CRIMINOLOGY AND POLICE SCIENCE, 1958, 48, 587–588.

them. As a result, some of what they gained by the depth of their insight was offset by its limited breadth.

In a limited sense, the various institutional people had become specialists of sorts in different fields—child care and training in the case of cottage and work supervisors and teachers, and clinical and social diagnosis and treatment in the case of the psychologists and social workers. The former were particularly concerned with operational and concrete problems, while the latter directed their attention to theoretical and abstract issues.[7]

Communication problems

The social workers and psychologists often used technical language peculiar to their fields. The cottage supervisors, and others who had been at the institution over a period of time, also had some local expressions which were understandable only to those who had been in the setting sufficiently long to have learned them. In either case, those unaccustomed to the language of the others were often at a disadvantage because they had to ferret out the meanings before they could understand the ideas under discussion.[8]

Along with this communication problem, the members of each group were unaware that they did not always report the objective facts of a problem but tended to interpret a case in a subjective way. Consequently, they presented their own mental and emotional impressions and colored the problem at hand. This tendency was often coupled with a disposition to speak with a voice of authority rather than present evidence in a discussion and to talk rather than to listen and exchange ideas.

As has been indicated, the actual language that the various types of workers used made understanding difficult. It also had other negative influences. Sometimes the use of a word or groups of words offended a person emotionally and he or she would stop listening. Sometimes certain words would call forth biases and limited ideas in

---

[7] Merton, Robert K.: The Machine, the Worker and the Engineer. SCIENCE, 1947, 105, 79–81 (January 24) shows some of the specialists' particular limitations and how they develop. The analysis is in terms of the engineer, but the generalizations have implications for the entire range of specialists or experts in any field. Larki, Harold T.: The Limitations of the Expert. HARPER'S MAGAZINE, 1930, 162, 102–106 (December) also discusses this question.

[8] The importance of communications to institutions is outlined in INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp. (p. 21). For emphasis on the importance of communication in any setting, see Simon, Herbert, writing on shared knowledge and teamwork in ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR: A Study of Decision-Making Processes in Administrative Organization. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947. 259 pp. (p. 71–73). Goldsmith, Jerome M. discusses some aspects of communication in a correctional institution in Communication of Diagnostic and Treatment Information in a Correctional Setting. THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAINING SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE AGENCIES, 1955, 51, 47–58.

the listener's mind—stereotypes which did not correspond to the intended meaning. Further, the specialized language of each group tended to reaffirm their group identity and retard communication and team work.

Besides this confusion in the communication of ideas, the institution's lines of communication were not clearly established. Those that existed were often by-passed as the various people attempted to work out their problems.

Jurisdictional problems

The staff members had been informed about their responsibilities but in many instances the outlines of the job responsibilities were too general to be of any help to the worker. Sometimes the job responsibilities were adequately outlined, but the people filling the jobs were not adequately trained to carry them out. In some instances, the jobs were inadequately supervised. These problems, when joined with the individual conceptions that the people had about their jobs and the jobs of others, often led to jurisdictional disputes. Thus, in countless day-by-day ways the various groups often got into each other's areas of work and, conversely, failed to carry out tasks for which they were primarily responsible.

Conflicts over who should counsel boys about their personal problems and the part to be played by the psychologists and social workers in the management of boys in their daily activities were special jurisdictional issues. The psychologists and social workers took the position that most of the boys needing help with personal problems should be referred to them. Many of the cottage supervisors and some of the work supervisors said that they had been handling many of the problems the boys presented as a matter of routine. They argued that this was natural because the boys felt close to them as a result of their constant association with them. At the same time, cottage supervisors and others complained that the psychologists and social workers were attempting to take over the daily management of the boys by their frequent criticism of the cottage program. The psychologists and social workers stated they were only giving advice, suggestions and consultation.

The delegation of a particular function to one group did not keep the other from wanting it. There was a tendency for each group to assume some function that belonged to the other when they had a strong interest in it, especially where there was indefiniteness in the organization. There was a tendency to undermine the group that held the desired function when feelings ran high. Many times they seemed to do this unwittingly, without realizing they were being disruptive and uncooperative.

Tension and some personality problems

Tension was shown by the staff when the institution was in this state of flux. Some tried to handle this tension by returning to their former practices after trying new ones. Others reacted with belligerence. Many persisted in placing blame on others. A few withdrew in an attempt to avoid people who held different ideas. All of these efforts seemed aimed at reducing personal tension and preserving security and equanimity.

Certain of the staff seemed especially resistive to the expansion and integration of services. The intensity and inconsistency of these particular staff members' reactions suggested that some of the basis for their dissatisfaction had its origins in personal preoccupation and conflict—problems that stemmed from their personal histories or family and community relationships. Some of these people appeared to be emotionally disturbed. Others had inflexible and uncompromising personalities.

Some staff reactions related to the superintendent's activity

In the process of making his observations, the superintendent learned many things, some of which have already been described. He planned to do several things to improve the situation. First, he was interested in gaining an appreciation of the relationship between his activity and the attitude and behavior of the staff. With this in mind, he talked with several staff members closest to him and learned a number of additional things.

Staff were not committed to the program

Many of the staff did not feel committed to an intensive diagnostic and treatment program. They had not had an opportunity to share in planning the improvements. Only the general idea of expanding the program had been conveyed to the staff. The implications were not discussed in a give and take manner. Consequently, the staff members did not have a clear idea of their daily function. They had doubts as to how this program would help the children. More personally, they wondered how it would affect them. The department heads had emulated the superintendent's failure to attend to the improvement of services. This resulted in a lack of direction for the personnel. The staff concluded that the expanded program was mainly someone else's idea—someone else's program.

Staff believed they received sporadic leadership

From department heads on down, the staff felt they received only occasional help from the periodic directives the superintendent

WILLIAM C. JASON LIBRARY
DELAWARE STATE COLLEGE
DOVER, DELAWARE

issued. They were usually left to work out their problems somehow by themselves. Not appreciating the complexity of the superintendent's position and the many demands on him, some people reasoned that if he were more "sold" on the new developments he would spend more time on them. They reasoned that this sporadic leadership indicated a lack of concern and interest on the part of the superintendent and, when frustrated by the institution's problems, some questioned the superintendent's conviction and ability to intensify the program.

Staff observed the absence of a detailed plan

The staff were not aware of any detailed plan for developing the program. As has been indicated, they had been informed about the general aims of expanding the services but these were remote: over a period of time the more intensive services were supposed to be of assistance to the children; and over a period of time staff differences would work themselves out. They did not know of any intermediate goals: What might be achieved in this biennium? In this year? With this child? Or that child in the next several months? Or today, if a certain technique were applied? They felt the superintendent had failed to share the strategy and tactics of the plan for program change with them and they even questioned whether there was one.

Staff noted a special system of communication

Because the superintendent had been pressed with other problems and was frequently unavailable to the staff, individuals and groups attempted to get his attention whenever they could. This pattern of operation set in motion a system of communication that was considerably different from that outlined in the institution's plan of operation. Once initiated, this practice was continued as others tried to reach the superintendent when they were faced with difficult problems. This catch-as-catch-can system of communicating nurtured the feeling among the staff that the superintendent had time for only certain people—those who sought his attention. Criticism followed, the morale of the staff was affected and, of course, communication was hampered.

Staff were confused about own jobs

The staff generally understood the more routine aspects of their jobs. However, as has already been indicated in connection with the jurisdictional problems, they were not clear about the outer limits of their responsibilities. They also had difficulty in the choosing, using, and switching of techniques and skills to achieve the results they wanted in their work. The cottage staff and others having direct

supervisory responsibility for the boys were confused by the idea of permissiveness and the newly employed technical people were ill at ease with the use of authority in the treatment of delinquents. Both groups looked to the superintendent for direction and help in resolving the situation.

Staff felt favoritism

The psychologists and social workers were paid salaries considerably above those paid the other training school staff members. This was seen as favoritism by those who did not receive these more attractive salaries, particularly since the clinical work of the technical staff was somewhat intangible and did not lend itself to easy demonstration. The cottage supervisors pointed to their responsibility for custody as well as for carrying out a therapeutic cottage program. On the other hand, many of the cottage personnel and other long term institutional employees had more attractive subsistence arrangements than the psychologists or social workers, and this brought criticism from them. Endless discussion occurred as the various staff members attempted to equate the advantages and disadvantages of the various plans. Here again the staff looked to the superintendent for leadership.

The immediate remedial work of the superintendent

Immediate objectives

After considering the problems of his institution, the superintendent decided that the issue of work responsibility needed immediate clarification. Along with this he planned to help the workers relate more satisfactorily to each other. He recognized that they needed reassurance about the desirability of this development of the program and, where possible, opportunities to participate in its planning.

Technique and timing

As the superintendent was planning, he wondered how he could make the extended diagnostic and treatment program more acceptable. He knew that logical explanation alone was not enough. This had been tried, at least to some extent. Criticism of the present state of affairs would be even worse. This would be an attack on long standing beliefs and thus an attack on the personnel involved. Besides, in giving vent to such criticism, he probably would make himself thoroughly disliked and render himself ineffective, no matter how meritorious his subsequent proposals might be.

Realizing that much of the uncertainty among the staff was related to his own lack of direct action in expanding and integrating

the institution's program, the superintendent decided that he would begin by tackling the next problem that came to his attention and continue handling the others as they arose. He would try to resolve the immediate aspects of the problem, as well as strike at the larger issues from which they stemmed. He realized that he would have to blend his active leadership with involving and giving responsibility to the staff.

Attitudes and mechanics

As has been indicated, the superintendent decided that with the current state of affairs some problems relevant to the extension of the program would come up at the next staff meeting, if not before. He planned to permit the staff to express their ideas, to discuss their differences, work on their problems and contribute to the planning. However, the superintendent planned to take a more active part in crystallizing the issues and in setting forth the various implications. He knew that he must give directions, make decisions, share and, when necessary, interpret the purposes and techniques of various program developments. The superintendent recognized that the institution's line of supervision and communication had to be set and that the people needed help in clarifying the duties of their work. In addition to his weekly conference with all department heads, he scheduled individual weekly conferences with each department head, to learn more about their problems, to give specific help, and to develop the institution's structure. Along with these steps, he decided to visit the various departments more than occasionally, in order to encourage the staff to achieve the standards of the program and to provide corrective help when their performance deviated from the agreed-upon procedures. Lastly, the superintendent resolved to keep his door open to all the staff.

Immediate measures taken

No problem of significance occurred prior to the next staff meeting. However, at that meeting the group raised, as its major consideration, the problems involved in planning for the boys' care after release from the institution. More specifically, the clinical staff criticized the release of boys at the end of a semester and advocated placement throughout the year. Their position was based on the idea that boys should be placed when they are ready. The principal of the school encouraged the continuation of the current plan that released boys at the end of semesters. He cited as one advantage of this the completion of a unit of work at the institution and entrance into the community school. He was supported by the director of the cottages who felt that "irregular placements" would continually

disturb the group life of the boys and by the business manager who did not want the inconvenience of closing out boys' accounts on an individual basis. Considerable discussion followed. The superintendent encouraged the school principal, director of cottages and business manager to consider a more individualized approach and suggested they evaluate its problems, results, and alternatives.[9] This seemed to soften their resistance. At the close of the meeting, he summarized the discussion. Also, the superintendent then suggested he meet twice weekly with the department heads in order to revise the method of selecting boys for release. He also arranged to meet with the personnel outside the training school actually responsible for providing the aftercare. Lastly, to avoid any precipitous action, the superintendent announced that the current procedures would continue in effect until another plan was developed. He then suggested planning the other aspects of the treatment program in a similar manner, and scheduled a meeting on intake and orientation of new boys following the meetings on aftercare planning. His rationale was that of developing a structure in which the staff could develop their skills and point of view.

The future plans of the superintendent

Future objectives

In addition to coping with the institution's immediate problems, the superintendent was interested in evaluating the staff, including its leadership, in planning some in-service training and in strengthening the institution's organization. He believed these were important for the institution's future.

Review the staff and its leadership

The superintendent was faced with reviewing the work of the staff, particularly the department heads. Their current contribution to the school's work required evaluation and their potential for work in the emerging program had to be assessed. He believed that skilled or potentially skilled department heads with a generally favorable attitude were necessary. He saw the institution at present as limping along on the verge of serious disorganization. In preparing to review the institution's staff, the superintendent planned to consider the administrative alternatives available for filling the gaps between the desirable and the actual level of staff performance. In some critical

[9] For detailed principles on planning for aftercare, see INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp. (p. 111–117).

positions, like that of the assistant superintendent, he believed that considerable help should be given. However, if the assistant superintendent failed to improve, he should be replaced at an early point. Also, he saw in-service training as a general need for the staff.

Implement in-service training

The staff needed to understand the duties of their jobs and to tie them in with the work of others doing related tasks. They also needed opportunities to increase their competence by keeping abreast of recent developments. He thought that the most effective means of achieving this would be through helping the staff to identify their job problems and develop the skills to meet them under good training leadership.[10]

Review the economic and other rewards of the workers

The complaints about the great differences in salaries and in subsistence arrangements indicated the need for a thorough review of the economic aspects of the worker's employment. In addition, the various ways the staff were being given recognition required study. The particular practices that were giving prestige needed to be evaluated for their implications in the developing program. The superintendent also planned to check into the possible fears that people might have about being released or demoted because of the new developments.

Modify the pattern of authority and communication

The institution's procedures for supervising its staff and communicating with them required overhaul. The superintendent's immediate attack on the staff's confusion about their work responsibilities would also clarify some problems that existed in the institution's pattern of communication and lines of authority. However, the extent of the supervisory and communications problems indicated that corrective work would be required over a protracted period of time. Each of these two problem areas furthered the complexity of the

---

[10] For various ideas about in-service training, see INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp. (p. 21–24); TRAINING PERSONNEL FOR WORK WITH JUVENILE DELINQUENTS. Children's Bureau Publication 348. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1954. 90 pp.; Studt, Elliott and Russell, Bernard: STAFF TRAINING FOR PERSONNEL IN INSTITUTIONS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS. Children's Bureau Publication 364. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1958. 56 pp.; Weber, George H.: The Use of the Conference Method in the In-Service Training of Cottage Parents. INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY, 1957, 3 (summer); and Weber, George H.: Organization for Staff Training in Institutions Serving Delinquents, and Bernard Russell's discussion of this article, in THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAINING SCHOOLS AND JUVENILE AGENCIES, 1958, 54, 173–195.

other; for example, the lines of communication were unclear because the lines of authority and supervision in the institution were poorly structured. In addition to improving the mechanics of these operations, the staff needed to be infused with confidence in and support for each other.

Some Guides to Expanding Services

After some efforts at extending and integrating the services of the training school, the superintendent began to organize his ideas about what had been happening in his school in an effort to see which ideas might be used as guidelines for others. It seemed to him that a tentative list would look something like this:[11]

The plan must be developed

1. A superintendent must want to improve the services in his institution. He should work out a satisfactory program and develop a plan to bring it about.

2. The training school's resources, actual and potential, for developing a program should be surveyed as a part of the planning.

3. In expanding services and integrating them with the existing program, a plan should have several things: long, as well as short-range goals for the institution; general and detailed means to achieve the various goals; a timetable indicating when the different goals should be achieved; and a number of progressive phases in which the major improvements would be introduced. Implied in this series of operations is the necessity to divide the training school's total activity into groups of activity having to do with program (such as group life, social and clinical services, etc.) and business management (such as budget accounting, etc.). Or the activities may be divided by breaking them into program resources (group life, recreation, education, etc.), clinical services (casework, psychology and psychiatry), and business management (budget, accounting, etc.).

4. As soon as the first steps are taken toward dividing up the work of the institution into operating units, some methods of coordinating the divided parts or units into an integral whole must be initiated. This is usually best accomplished by establishing pol-

[11] These points were developed by the writer in cooperation with the superintendent.

icies, procedures, systems and other devices for controlling the interrelated activities of the program.

5. To reduce the impact of expanding services, new procedures should be woven into the existing broader pattern of things or associated with the traditional practices which are generally acceptable to the staff.

6. The superintendent has the responsibility for planning the expansion of a program and tying the improvements into the regular program, but he should involve the staff in developing those aspects of the plans that are appropriate to their ability and their particular jobs.

7. Adequate measures for evaluating the developments in the program must be included in a plan to improve services. The superintendent can judge the implementation of improvements and take corrective action when he is furnished information on how developments are proceeding. Such material also contributes to the accumulation of knowledge in this specialty.

8. Some of the key personnel must be recruited, and the total prospects for hiring such people must be appraised before a plan is initiated. Proceeding in this manner will increase the chances of improving the services. It also will provide a realistic appraisal of the number and type of personnel the institution will be able to employ.

The plan must be initiated

1. The announcement that a plan to improve a program is being introduced should do no more than set out the major goals of the plan and some of the steps needed to achieve them.

2. The more factual and direct the superintendent is in presenting the plan, the more likely it is that the plan will be understood and supported.

3. Conventional, non-technical language is adequate to convey most ideas and is most likely to be understood by the total staff.

4. The advantages of improving the services should be pointed out in order to stimulate the staff's interest in the new developments. The staff should also be given a frank statement about the likelihood of problems lying ahead so they will not be misled. Their participation should be invited.

The plan must be administered

1. Certain aspects of developing a plan and initiating it overlap. Once planning is started, or even word gets around that the program will be expanded, some institutional changes begin to occur. However, once a plan that has been developed is initiated, the process of improving services is accelerated. In the administration of a plan the superintendent must direct and coordinate the institution's various activities. He must intervene when problems emerge and help the staff to make changes.

2. The institution's new division of work and other organizational arrangements, such as the lines of supervision and communication, must be translated into the daily procedures of the staff at an early point. These organizational arrangements can provide a milieu that makes a direct contribution to the treatment of the children as do the specialized treatment measures such as social work, special education, psychotherapy, etc.

3. The superintendent must appreciate the staff member's anxieties and resistances when they occur. He should encourage their expression. Such problems might be worked out through a discussion. Perhaps other remedial measures will be necessary.

4. The staff must be included in working out daily problems. These ought to be approached without undue exercise or fanfare. Meetings should be scheduled and held within the institution's regular administrative structure to deal with the general work problems, as well as specific issues that arise in connection with the extension and integration of the diagnostic and treatment program. These meetings should not consider all problems. Rather, most problems should be met on the level on which they occur and be worked out through supervisory and other conferences.

5. Perhaps it might be wise for the superintendent to draw up a list of the administrative problems that are likely to be met. This approach will prepare him to cope with them if they should arise.

6. It must always be remembered that people should be treated with respect. If their ideas and feelings are given respect and consideration, they will not only make better contributions of their own but be in a better frame of mind to consider and accept change.

7. The personnel must be provided training opportunities if they are to make their best contribution to the program.

A plan must become a part of the program

1. The ideas contained in a plan to improve the services of an institution should become a part of the institution's customary way of approaching things. They should become the accepted and supported aims of the training school as well as part of its policies and procedures.

2. The manner in which individuals work must be guided by confidence in the theory of treatment that the institution is following. In a sense, the theory of treatment should become a part of the staff's system of ideas and beliefs as well as of its practice.

3. The values of the institution, its system of giving rewards and recognition must support the institution's preferred way of approaching the problems of delinquent children.

4. The authority of the institution must continually interpret its treatment goals and methods, and support and sanction them.

5. The ideas in the plan should be implemented throughout the institution. Such a spread or coverage will help each department sustain its improvement.

6. Lastly, it should be recognized that it takes time and persistence to bring about an improvement in services.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY on ADMINISTRATION and CHANGE

Benne, Kenneth D. and Muntyan, Bozidar (eds.): HUMAN RELATIONS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE. New York: Dryden Press, 1951. 352 pp.

Bennis, Warren G., Benne, Kenneth D., and Chin, Robert (eds.): THE PLANNING OF CHANGE: Readings in the Applied Behavioral Sciences. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. 711 pp.

Bernard, C. I.: THE FUNCTIONS OF THE EXECUTIVE. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. 334 pp.

Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: INSTITUTIONS SERVING DELINQUENT CHILDREN: Guides and Goals. Children's Bureau Publication 360. Washington 25, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957. 119 pp.

Coch, Lester and French, John R. P., Jr.: Overcoming Resistance to Change. HUMAN RELATIONS, 1948, 1, 512–532.

Cressey, Donald R. (ed.): The Prison. STUDIES IN INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION AND CHANGE. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. 392 pp.

Dubin, Robert: Human Relations in Administration. THE SOCIOLOGY OF ORGANIZATION. New York: Prentice Hall, 1951. 563 pp.

Greenblatt, Milton, Levinson, Daniel J., and Williams, Richard H.: THE PATIENT AND THE MENTAL HOSPITAL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957. 649 pp.

Jacques, Elliott: THE CHANGING CULTURE OF A FACTORY. New York: Dryden Press, 1952. 336 pp.

Jones, Maxwell: THE THERAPEUTIC COMMUNITY. New York: Basic Books, 1953. 186 pp.

Lewin, Kurt: RESOLVING SOCIAL CONFLICTS. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948. 216 pp.

Lippitt, Ronald, Watson, Jeanne, and Westley, Bruce: THE DYNAMICS OF PLANNED CHANGE. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1958. 305 pp.

Maier, Norman R. F.: PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN RELATIONS. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1952. 456 pp.

Metcalf, Henry C. and Urwick, L.: Dynamic Administration. THE COLLECTED PAPERS OF MARY PARKER FOLLETT. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1942. 320 pp.

Miel, Alice: CHANGING THE CURRICULUM. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1946. 242 pp.

Pfiffner, John M. and Sherwood, Frank P.: ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION. Englewood: Prentice-Hall, 1960. 467 pp.

Ronken, Harriet O. and Lawrence, Paul R.: Administering Changes. A CASE STUDY OF HUMAN RELATIONS IN A FACTORY. Boston: Harvard Business School, 1952. 324 pp.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1962

CHILDREN'S BUREAU PUBLICATION NUMBER 397—1962

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Social Security Administration
Children's Bureau