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William McCord

Joan McCord

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TWO APPROACHES TO THE CURE OF DELINQUENTS

William and Joan McCord

William McCord is a Woodrow Wilson fellow and a teaching fellow at Harvard University. Formerly a teacher and counselor at San Quentin Prison, he is now completing his studies in social science.

Joan McCord is a teacher in Concord, Massachusetts. With her husband, she served as co-director of children's camps in California and is continuing her work in child psychology at Harvard.

This article assesses the effects of two training schools on the personalities, values, and leadership patterns of seventy delinquents.—EDITOR.

I. INTRODUCTION

Boston's scholarly Dr. Harry Solomon often remarks to his younger, sometimes discouraged psychiatric colleagues, "The cure usually bursts upon the scene long before we can isolate, let alone explain, the causes of disease." Quinine stopped malaria dead in its tracks long before its responsible carrier, the anopheles mosquito, was trapped. Syphilis had been effectively treated by Paracelsus' mercury three centuries before the discovery of its causes. Today, modern medicine checks the devastation of cancer with radium while researchers still ponder the etiology of the ailment.

Solomon's sapient observations on the course of medical progress offer a modicum of hope for the younger, and in many ways, symbiotic science of criminology. Slowly the devious origins of delinquency are giving way before the onslaught of scientific research. Recent studies by Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, for example, have vanquished the plausible, but unsatisfactory, causative theories of differential association, constitutional types, and neuroticism. As an epochal result of *Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency*, the family milieu emerges as the decisive factor in anti-social behavior.

A delinquency prediction scale developed by the Gluecks has proven 91 percent accurate in startling corroborative studies by Richard Thompson,¹ Selma Glick and Bertram Black.² Nevertheless, the enlightening Glueck studies have not reached completion. Supported by a substantial grant from the Ford Foundation, the Gluecks are continuing their research in predictive scales and into the relation of the family to crime.

1. RICHARD THOMPSON, *JOURNAL OF CRIMINAL LAW AND CRIMINOLOGY*, *A Validation of the Gluecks' Social Prediction Scale*, Vol. 43, Nov.-Dec. (1952) pp. 451-471.

2. SELMA GLICK AND BERTRAM BLACK, *Recidivism at Hawthorne-Cedar Knolls School*, RESEARCH MONOGRAM 2. Jewish Board of Guardians, New York. (1952).

Eventually, Dr. Glueck's aim of "establishing the patterns of factors and interplays which almost inevitably make for delinquency and crime"³ will reach fruition. Until that time, fragmentary studies may be of some value in establishing the relative efficacy of delinquent treatment.

Modern criminologists recognize the vital need for assessing the results of treatment. This paper, although of limited scope, attempts to distinguish the effects of two institutional regimes on the personalities of delinquents.⁴

II. AIM AND SETTING OF THE RESEARCH

Follow-up studies by objective investigators have clearly shown the disheartening failure of the modern juvenile reformatory. There is wide agreement that approximately 80 percent of reformatory "graduates" recidivate after their release.⁵ Old-fashioned training school administrators excuse this paucity of success by asking, "Can any treatment really change juvenile delinquents?"

This study attempts to give a tentative answer to that query by comparing a progressive private training school, the Wiltwyck School for Boys, and a typical public reformatory, the "New England School for Boys".⁶

Follow-up studies of the two schools reveal a significantly higher reformatory rate for the Wiltwyck School (71 percent) than for the New England School (53 percent).⁷ Both inquiries used the same criterion of failure (i.e., re-appearance in court). Therefore, the results seem indicative of the general efficacy of the two treatment programs. Wiltwyck's more rigorous study covered a five year period. New England, however, investigated only the three year parole period. Neither study can be accepted as a totally valid test of recidivism because superficial research failed to uncover undetected crimes and neglected to follow the boys into maturity.⁸

This study aims at uncovering the treatment processes at Wiltwyck

3. SHELDON AND ELEANOR GLUECK, *What Do We Know About Delinquency?* in *ANALYZING SOCIAL PROBLEMS*, John Nordskog et al., Dryden Press, New York. (1950).

4. The interviewers wish to express their sincere gratitude for the advice and help of Dr. Sheldon Glueck and for the full cooperation of the staffs of Wiltwyck and New England.

5. See GLUECK, *FIVE HUNDRED CRIMINAL CAREERS*, Knopf, New York. (1930).

6. The public reformatory studied in this research will not be named but will be referred to as the "New England School". Since the officials of the school have been informed of the results of this study, no professional benefit could result from a public unveiling of their problems.

7. See Appendix 1 for summaries.

8. Wiltwyck is currently conducting a more systematic ten-year follow-up study.

that result in its relatively higher, albeit somewhat inaccurate, figure of success. Three specific questions guided the investigation:

Do meaningfully different patterns of leadership exist within the two reformatories?

Can personality differences be detected and traced to the two treatment programs?

Are the conscious values of Wiltwyck boys significantly different from those of the New England School?⁹

Before discussing the research methods, it is important to sketch in the settings of the two schools and to mark the distinguishing characteristics in the treatment programs, philosophies, and personnel.

A. *The Wiltwyck School—Consequences, Not Punishment*

The Wiltwyck School, on the Hudson River near Poughkeepsie, New York, rests in a forested meadow of two hundred sixty acres. Clustered in an unwallled quadrangle are the living cottages, a classroom building, a gymnasium, a craft shop, an art room, and a dining hall. The main dormitories need repair, after sixteen years of use by emotionally maladjusted and confused children.

The boys range in age from eight to twelve. All are referred to Wiltwyck, a private institution, by New York courts. All are judged incorrigibly delinquent by their parents and their communities. Most of the boys have been previously rejected by other county homes and social agencies. In other words, Wiltwyck treats those boys considered most seriously delinquent.

Wiltwyck's philosophy emphasizes individual and group therapy. Four psychiatric social workers and a resident psychotherapist give each boy understanding counsel. An additional psychologist and an extra psychiatrist treat the more serious cases at Wiltwyck. Skilled workers guide music and art therapy sessions.

Wiltwyck recognizes the critical importance of the gang. Trained cottage counselors, each supervising ten youths, guide the boys in interracial group activities. Wiltwyck's one hundred students are urged to participate in their community affairs. An elected student council, a Food Committee, Job Committee, Canteen Committee, and Sports Committee cooperate with the staff in the discussion of common problems. Cottage living, student governments and weekly assemblies give the boys a chance to work out tensions, air hostilities, and train themselves

9. Specific research techniques used to answer these questions are discussed in a later section.

in democratic procedure. Wiltwyck's dynamic executive director, Ernst Papanek, cogently summarized the school's therapeutic orientation:

Children who have never known understanding, social acceptance, prestige, friendship or love, or who have misinterpreted or misused them when offered in an over-protective and unchallenging way, would find (in Wiltwyck) a community of understanding grownups and children among whom they can gain security and status by social experience.¹⁰

Wiltwyck bases its healing techniques on a tenet of non-punishment. The children are allowed to express their pent-up bitterness and antagonism in a permissive atmosphere. No disciplinary cottages, no sadistic beatings, no disgruntled scoldings pervade Wiltwyck. Instead, Papanek and his expert staff attempt to impress upon the child the true consequences of his acts. For example, an aggressive newcomer to Wiltwyck broke thirty-two windows in the school dining room. After waiting for the lad to "cool off," Papanek explained that some money would be deducted from the boy's weekly allowance to help pay for the damage. Three weeks later, the Director called the contrite boy to his office and quietly reinstated the full allowance. Thus Papanek soothed the boy's bitterness and taught him a fundamental lesson in social living. For the first time, the youth saw that authority can help an individual as well as hurt him.

Although all of its boys are toughened delinquents and 60 percent are diagnosed as pre-schizophrenic, Wiltwyck runs smoothly along a course of loving guidance. Why does the "Consequence" method function effectively? Director Papanek explains:

Punishing teaches the child only how to punish; scolding teaches him how to scold. By showing him that we understand, we teach him to understand; by helping him, we teach him to help; by cooperating, we teach him how to cooperate.¹¹

Wiltwyck recognizes the more formal aspects of education through the maintenance of an accredited school, under the direction of the New York City Board of Education. Teachers, skilled in the instruction of emotionally maladjusted children, conduct the ungraded classes.

The staff, under the direction of Papanek, consists of a psychiatrically trained resident director, an assistant director (social worker), four psychiatric social workers, the psychiatrist, ten counselors, six teachers, an art therapist, and a music therapist. All the staff members are college graduates and many have gone on for Masters' degrees in the behavior

10. ERNST PAPANEK, *Training School—Program and Leadership*, in FEDERAL PROBATION, Washington. (June, 1953).

11. *Ibid.*

sciences. In-service training, weekly conferences, and classes, constantly enlarge their professional horizons.

The staff, representing several ethnic groups, promotes a spirit of tolerance within the school. One new boy with a Southern background complained of his distaste for his predominately colored cottage group. "The only really good guy in my whole cottage is the counselor. He's from the South and he understands about Negroes." It was days before the boy admitted that his counselor, too, was Negro. The discovery that human love is not a white prerogative opened new paths of tolerance.

After an average residence of eighteen months, a boy returns to New York and Wiltwyck's after-care center in the city. There psychiatric social workers counsel parents and boy in the establishment of a new relationship. If the family situation remains hopeless, Wiltwyck leads the boy into a receptive foster home or private school.

Because of its emotionally healing environment, 70 percent of Wiltwyck's boys do not return to court within five years after discharge.

B. *New England School—Discipline and Education*

The New England School crowns a wooded hill near the Atlantic Coast. Financed by the state, the interracial, unwallled school offers vocational and academic education to its two hundred delinquents. The boys issue from a predominately Catholic, lower socio-economic, slum background. Many inmates exhibit feeble-minded, neurotic, and even psychotic symptoms. Ages of the inmates range from eight to sixteen.

The spacious campus of thirty-five buildings includes a school, an auditorium, a swimming pool, a roller-skating rink, individual dormitories, and a complete farm. The boys sleep and eat in separate cottages organized on the basis of age, with thirty-five boys and two counselors in each cottage.

The treatment program strongly emphasizes formal education. The school's "philosophy" demands inculcation of the "3 R's" in their traditional setting. Although the school conducts three ungraded classrooms for especially retarded children, the dominant attitude toward education is summarized by the principal:

I don't know whether you agree and I don't care. The real cause of juvenile delinquency is all the fol-de-rol of progressive education. Modern kids need firm discipline. Their social relations can take care of themselves.

New England officials give a nod of reluctant respect to psychological therapy but, unfortunately, fail to use it. The one trained psychologist

of the school, an intelligent, well educated young woman, is saddled with the administration of I. Q. tests to new comers. Personality diagnosis can be used with only the most disturbed cases. The psychologist holds a limited number of therapeutic sessions with one hundred and fifty of the year's population of six hundred. The largely untrained, seriously underpaid, cottage masters supposedly conduct "group therapy". In reality, the masters concern themselves with the maintenance of cleanliness and order among the boys.

The school puts full faith in a credit system. Each boy, upon admittance to the reformatory, receives a sentence of three thousand credits which he must work off by good conduct before his release. The "perfect" boy can check off four hundred and eighty credits per month (three hundred for good conduct in the cottage and one hundred eighty for an unblemished school record). However, when the school is overcrowded, credits are granted more freely. In some instances, credit requirements are raised. Since credit totals can be reshuffled, the boy's release date remains shrouded in mystery. Typically, each boy spends six months in the school.

When a boy escapes, as many do, he automatically receives one thousand additional credits plus a sentence in the disciplinary cottage, usually for three weeks.¹² During that period the boy is not permitted to work off credits. Consequently, an escapee acquires an additional sentence of nearly three months.

Boys are sentenced to the disciplinary cottage not only for escape but also for smoking, "stubbornness and disobedience," petty thievery, and sex offenses. The boys in the disciplinary cottage are forbidden to attend school, see movies, play games, or indulge in other social activities. They spend their days shoveling a "goodly crop" of manure at the farm. The discipline master maintains absolute silence at all times.

In addition to formal education and the credit system, the New England reformatory process includes religious services and a work program in which the boys assist in the maintenance of the school. No student government exists. One teacher commented, "We don't give the boys authority because they always start banging around. It especially goes to the heads of the colored boys." The good boys, those who roll off the monthly credits, are admitted to the Service Corps. This Corps entitles members to special privileges including office work, trips to football games, and leaves from the school.

12. Five boys from an original interviewing list of thirty-five attempted escape from New England in one week. The boys were replaced by new subjects. No one attempted escape from Wiltwyck during the interview period.

The New England staff includes the Superintendent (a former public school administrator), the psychologist, sixteen teachers, the cottage masters, and a staff of maintenance workers. When questioned about the qualifications of cottage masters, the Superintendent replied, "We get the best we can. Most of them have finished high school." Technical knowledge about juvenile delinquency is practically non-existent. One school teacher showed the range of his understanding when he trumpeted, "Nobody can tell me a full moon doesn't affect these boys. Why, this school goes to pieces when a full moon comes up. It's no accident that the word 'lunatic' comes from the Latin name for the moon."

New England lacks an in-service training program for the staff. Consequently, the cottage masters oppose "snooping" by researchers. The school librarian spoke for his colleagues when he said, "Most of these criminologists—How do you say it?—should spend some time behind bars. Then they'd learn something. All these boys need is a father with a good strong razor strap!"

In 90 percent of the cases, the New England graduate returns, upon release, to the same home environment that precipitated his anti-social acts. Supervision by an over-loaded staff of parole officers rounds out the boy's "reformatory" experience.

Plagued by political influence, overcrowded, and hampered by a shallow philosophy, the New England School has stumbled through its one hundred year history. The miracle of the reformatory is that a handful of ardent staff members has presumably managed to reform 53 percent of the boys. The New England School, neither better nor worse than the average American training school, typifies the methods (and success) of firm discipline.¹³

C. WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

In Philosophy

Wiltwyck inculcates a new conscience by example and through use of the "consequence" method.

Wiltwyck focuses upon human relations, permissiveness, and child-centered therapy.

New England aims at remolding the child through discipline, the credit system, and the silent disciplinary cottage.

New England methods center around education and hard work.

13. A number of boys complained privately during the interviews about frequent beatings. Top officials forbid corporal punishment but apparently cannot control the cottage masters.

In Treatment

Wiltwyck offers an intensive program of individual, group, and art therapy to all of its boys.

Wiltwyck supplements its therapeutic functions with instruction by trained teachers in ungraded classes.

Wiltwyck boys earn allowances by doing school chores under the direction of elected committees.

New England's one psychologist gives sporadic counseling to one third of the boys.

New England demands a traditional grounding in the formal studies, regardless of personality effects.

New England boys maintain the school's buildings under the direction of a staff of plumbers, painters, and carpenters.

In Staff

Wiltwyck's staff is composed of college graduates, skilled in the theory and practices of the behavior sciences.

Wiltwyck furnishes constant in-service training.

New England's staff is composed predominantly of grade and high school graduates.

New England offers no in-service training.

In Practice

One counselor lives and plays with ten boys at Wiltwyck.

Wiltwyck boys elect representatives to manage current problems.

71 percent of Wiltwyck's boys have made a successful adjustment to society.

Two counselors supervise thirty-five boys at New England.

New England officials rule the student activities without aid from the boys.

53 percent of New England's boys have made a successful adjustment to society.

III. RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND TECHNIQUES

Do these startling differences in philosophy and treatment affect the leadership patterns, personalities, and values of the delinquents? To answer these three vital points, the authors and school psychologists selected thirty-five boys from each school for intensive investigation.

The two groups included a proportional representation of severe personality problems in both schools. The sample represented 36 percent of the Wiltwyck population and 18 percent of the New England reformatory. The two groups were relatively homogeneous in age (nine to thirteen), ethnic origin, intelligence, socio-economic status, and residential origin (New York's and Boston's slums). Wiltwyck I.Q.'s averaged 92 and New England's averaged 91.

Two criteria limited the sample. Boys with Stanford Binet I.Q.'s below 80 were excluded because of their possible misunderstanding of test questions. Boys who had not resided in the school for at least two months were also excluded. Measurement of the personality trends of

newcomers would have been irrelevant since the study aimed at uncovering the effect of the treatment process.

The boys were individually (and privately) interviewed by the authors, who utilized several research aids.

A. *Sociogram*

Before beginning the interviews, each group of thirty-five was asked the question, "If permanent seats are assigned in the dining room, near which four people would you like to sit?" The interviewers tabulated the responses and included the leaders of each group in the interviewing schedule. The sociogram aimed at delineating the social patterns in the schools and the personal characteristics of the leaders.

B. *Adult-Child Interaction Test (A.C.I.)*

The interviewers presented a series of eight provocative, but vague pictures of children and adults. The test, developed by Theron Alexander and based on the classic Murray style,¹⁴ is designed to reveal "children's perceptions of adults, the forces in their world, their conceptions of themselves . . . and their own emotional composition."¹⁵ The interviewers asked each child to tell a story about each picture and then noted these responses as an indication of personality composition. Test scoring centered on two traits: anxiety and aggressiveness.

C. *Word Association Test*¹⁶

The interviewers read to every child a list of neutral and charged words, specifically constructed for this study. The child responded with the first word that came to his mind. The interviewers followed the Kent-Rosenoff technique and noted the reaction time for each word and the aggressiveness of response. The reaction time presumably indicated areas of anxiety.¹⁷

D. *Questionnaire on Authoritarianism*¹⁸ (Scale 1)

The interviewers read a list of fourteen statements to each boy. The sentences expressed such thoughts as, "What the child needs most is strict discipline," and, "Most of our problems would be solved if we could somehow kill off the crooked and dumb people." The boys could

14. HENRY A. MURRAY, *T.A.T. MANUAL*, Cambridge. (1943).

15. THERON ALEXANDER, *ADULT-CHILD INTERACTION MANUAL*, Florida State University. (1952) p. 30.

16. See Appendix 2 for a complete copy of the test.

17. G. H. KENT AND A. ROSANOFF, *A Study of Association in Insanity*, *AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC JOURNAL*, issue 67. (1910) pp. 37-96.

18. See Appendix 2 for complete copy of test and grading scale.

choose one of five responses ranging from "all correct" to "all wrong". The statements, based on the *Authoritarian Personality* scales, were simplified to fit a boy's world.¹⁹ A high score indicates personality trends of punitiveness, authoritarian submission, stereotypy, and projectivity.²⁰

E. *Questionnaire on General Prejudice and Hostility*²¹
(Scale 2)

A set of ten statements, again based on those used in the *Authoritarian Personality*, was designed to reveal the intensity of ethnocentrism and hostility toward outgroups in each boy.²² The statements included, "If it weren't for the rich, the world would be headed toward peace and happiness by now," and, "Negroes have their rights but they should be kept in separate schools and districts." As in Scale 1, the boys chose one of five responses ranging from "all correct" to "all wrong". A high score indicated a generalized tendency to reject various outgroups such as negroes, foreigners, Jews, and other minorities and to idealize corresponding ingroups.²³

F. *Projective Personality Questions*²⁴
(Scale 3)

This set of fourteen open-ended questions is fundamentally similar to other projective tests in that it brings to light the basic personality of the individual.²⁵ Most of the questions were designed by the Berkeley group and include such queries as, "What desires do you have difficulty controlling?" and, "What feelings are most unpleasant for you?" The responses of each boy were related to his A.C.I. record as an indication of anxiety and hostility.

G. *Conscious Values Questionnaire*²⁶
(Scale 4)

Designed specifically for this project, Scale 4 consists of fourteen direct questions concerning the boys' conscious systems of morality, ego ideals, and views of the world. The questions ranged from, "What is Jesus' most important teaching about good and evil?" to, "Do you think that cheating is sometimes a good thing?"

19. ADORNO, FRENKEL-BRUNSWIK, LEVINSON, AND SANFORD, *Authoritarian Personality*, HARPER, New York. (1950) pp. 222-279.

20. DAVID J. LEVINSON, *Intergroup Relations Workshop*, unpublished paper, Harvard. (1952).

21. See Appendix 2 for complete copy of test and grading scale.

22. AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY, *op. cit.*

23. LEVINSON, *op. cit.*

24. See Appendix 2 for complete copy of questionnaire.

25. AUTHORITARIAN PERSONALITY, *op. cit.*

26. See Appendix 2 for complete copy of questionnaire.

H. *Leadership Patterns Questionnaire*²⁷ (Scale 5)

The interviewers asked eleven questions designed to reveal the leadership patterns within the school and to determine the amount of "positive transference" between staff and boys. Typical questions were: "Who is the big shot in your cottage?" and, "Whom do you look up to most in the whole school?"

I. *Summary of Research Procedure*

Two groups of boys from Wiltwyck and New England Schools were intensively interviewed in an attempt to differentiate the characteristics peculiar to each group.

Leadership patterns were differentiated through sociograms and a questionnaire on leadership patterns.

Personality differences were assessed through use of the Adult-Child Interaction Test, a word association test, projective personality questions, a scale on authoritarianism, and a questionnaire on general prejudice and hostility.

Value differences were investigated through a questionnaire on morality.

The specific research tests were chosen with three purposes in mind: objectivity, intensity, and scope. Except for the A.C.I. and the projective personality questions, the tests could be easily translated into numerical grades. This allowed objective comparisons of the results. The A.C.I. and the projective personality questions added depth to the analysis. Although not as easily standardized as the other techniques, these two tests did lend themselves to a rough categorization.

The questionnaires were chosen to cover the broad range of authoritarian trends, aggressiveness, anxiety, personal values, leader-follower relations, and out-group hostility. At all times the interviewers attempted to choose the techniques that were simplest and most objective, yet relevant to the study.

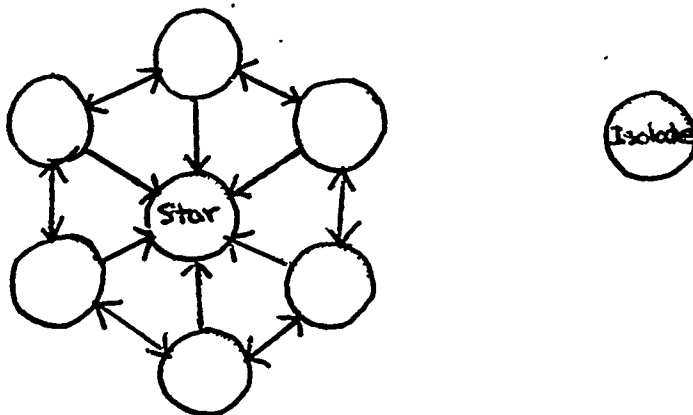
IV. RESEARCH RESULTS

A. *Leadership Patterns*

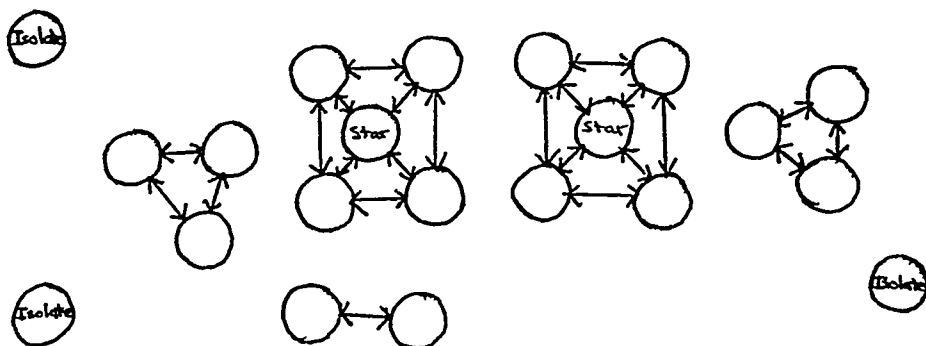
Startling dissimilarities exist between the types of leaders chosen by the boys in the two schools. The sociogram at Wiltwyck revealed that one boy is overwhelmingly the most popular leader in the group. Only 6 percent of the Wiltwyck boys emerged as "isolates," unchosen by

27. *Ibid.*

their fellows. The Wiltwyck pattern of friendship roughly resembles a spoked wheel, gathered around the leader:



The sociogram at New England showed a very different pattern. Two leaders, each surrounded by his own cohorts, dominate the group. In contrast to Wiltwyck, many trio friendships exist and more than 14 percent of the New England boys are isolates.



Since children absorb ideals from their leader, his character is of importance in their development.

John Lincoln,²⁸ Wiltwyck's Negro "star," came to the school seven years ago as an incorrigible delinquent who refused to talk to anyone. Because he exhibited schizophrenic tendencies, the Wiltwyck psychiatrist gave him a year of intensive psychotherapy. At the time of the research interview, thirteen year old John was making plans to return to New York to live with a married sister. On the personality tests he appeared well integrated, with little anxiety or hostility. On the questionnaires, he demonstrated a basic tolerance and egalitarianism by

28. Names of inmates have been changed throughout the study.

achieving the lowest scores of anyone at Wiltwyck. When queried about his values, John answered with a rational, optimistic view of the world. In other words, Wiltwyck officials could not have chosen a better example for their boys.

At New England a radically different type of leader was encountered—Patrick O'Donoll, a white thirteen year old boy was serving his second term at the school for "breaking and entering". Though without neurotic traits, Patrick unveiled a bitter aggressiveness on the projective tests. Strong punitive and authoritarian tendencies appeared on scales 1 and 2. One of O'Donoll's gang observed how the New England leader controlled his cottage, "Two boys escaped yesterday from our cottage. They've spoiled our record. Boy, is O'Donoll going to smash their heads in when they're captured!"

Leaders like O'Donoll may aid the New England authorities in maintaining discipline, but they surely do nothing toward healing the basic insecurity and aggressiveness of their followers.

In his pioneering book, *Wayward Youth*, August Aichhorn, the Viennese educator observed:

The therapeutic work of the institution for re-education will be the more effective the more the grouping itself is utilized to relieve the delinquency.²⁹

Undoubtedly much of Wiltwyck's reformatory success stems from social osmosis. At Wiltwyck, the gang leader's example instills social "virtues". At New England, the gang leader only confirms the delinquents' punitive views of the world.

The great differences in personality, techniques, and education of the two staffs were reflected by the boys in their answers to the leadership questionnaire. When asked, "Whom do you like best in the whole school?" the boys answered:

	<u>Wiltwyck perc't</u>	<u>New England perc't</u>
³⁰ A staff member:	63	40
Everyone:	16	0
A boy:	15	27
No one:	6	33

From the above figures, it is evident that more than six out of ten boys at Wiltwyck respect and identify with staff members as against only four out of ten at New England. Perhaps even more importantly, more than five times as many New England as Wiltwyck boys expressed the conviction that they have no best friends in the school. In being able

29. AUGUST AICHORN, *Wayward Youth*, Viking Press, New York. (1947) p. 167.

30. Of those who chose staff members as best friends, 40 percent at Wiltwyck chose two counselors. At New England, 60 percent chose three counselors. These figures indicate that a personality syndrome, which consistently wins the respect of the boys, may exist.

to establish a close relationship with a staff member, Wiltwyck boys have the opportunity to absorb beneficial ideals through example. Either because of the brief period spent at the school or, because of the personality of staff members, most of the New England boys are denied this chance.

Aichhorn, drawing upon a psychoanalytic background, early recognized the crucial importance of boy-staff relationship:

The cure of delinquency is fundamentally a problem of libido; that is to say, the most important thing is the child's feeling for the counsellor or, more generally for the people of his environment.³¹

To indicate the ideals absorbed by the boys from the staff, each interviewee was asked, "What type of person makes a good counselor or cottage master?" The boys described:

	<u>Wiltwyck perc't</u>	<u>New England perc't</u>
<i>A loving person:</i> (e.g., "understanding," "plays with the boys," "stands up for us," "puts group ahead of himself.").....	54	21
<i>A disciplinarian:</i> (e.g., "hits you when you need it," "makes you obey.").....	16	52
<i>Unclear or don't know:</i> (e.g., "a nice man," "well-educated.")	30	27

At Wiltwyck, the "male ego ideal" is seen as a loving person. At New England, the ideal is a disciplinarian. Once again, Aichhorn's experience offers an understandable explanation of Wiltwyck's success and New England's failure:

What helps the worker most in therapy with the dissocial? The transference! It is above all the tender feeling for the teacher that gives the pupil the incentive to do what is prescribed and not to do what is forbidden.³²

Before passing on to the personality and value differences between the two schools, one interesting result should be noted. When asked whom they *disliked* the most at the school, 61% of the New England boys refused to answer. No one declined an answer at Wiltwyck. Such a striking contrast must be attributed to the New England atmosphere of discipline and restriction.

B. Personality Differences

1. *Scoring System:* The Adult-Child Interaction Test was scored for only two variables: anxiety and aggressiveness. In order to make

31. AICHORN, *op. cit.* p. 153.

32. *Ibid.* p. 235.

the two groups statistically comparable, the authors assigned one of three grades to each boy:

Anxiety

- 1-Little or no evidence of anxiety.
- 2-Evidence in at least three pictures of some anxiety.
- 3-Evidence of very strong anxiety, neurosis, or psychosis.

Aggressiveness

- 1-Little or no evidence of overt hostility.
- 2-Evidence in at least three pictures of some hostility.
- 3-Evidence of very strong overt hostility.

An independent judge checked the ratings of the original scorer and agreed with the judgments in 95% of the cases.

The Projective Question Test was marked on the same basis as the A.C.I. The independent judge reached 87.5% agreement with the ratings of anxiety and aggressiveness.

The Word Association Test, too, was scored for signs of anxiety and aggressiveness. Following the Kent-Rosanoff technique, the interviewers noted the number of long pauses and "don't know" responses as an indication of insecurity. Also, the interviewer listed the number of overtly aggressive replies as a mark of hostility. A response was considered aggressive only if it was directly hostile (e.g., to the word "neck," the boy responded, "I'll break that nigger's neck."). The independent judge agreed in 96 percent of the cases.

On the Authoritarian Questionnaire, each boy could respond with one of five possible answers. The interviewer assigned a numerical grade for each phrase:

All right	plus 2
Mostly right	plus 1
Partly right and partly wrong.....	zero
Mostly wrong	minus 1
All wrong	minus 2

Since the statements were couched in authoritarian terms, any boy who achieved an average plus score presumably shows authoritarian trends. A minus average score, on the other hand, indicates "equalitarian" trends.

The interviewers graded the prejudice scale on the same basis as the authoritarian questionnaire. Possible averages ranged from plus two to minus two. A mean plus score shows ethnocentric and hostile tendencies; a minus score evidences tolerance of outgroups.

2. *Anxiety at Wiltwyck and New England:* On the three tests that measure anxiety (A.C.I., Word Association, and Scale 3), 29 percent of the Wiltwyck boys showed definite signs of neurosis or psychosis. In the New England group, 21 percent fell in that category.

In order to calculate the effect of school treatment in reducing anxiety and insecurity, the group scores were correlated with the number of

months spent in the school. *On all three tests, anxiety of the Wiltwyck boys significantly decreased the longer the boy was exposed to the school program.*³³ *At New England, insecurity and inner conflict remained stable and even showed slightly increasing trends on some tests.*

At Wiltwyck, the average anxiety score on the Adult-Child Interaction Test significantly *decreased* from a mean of 2.7 for boys in residence two to six months to an average of 2.0 for boys in residence for two years or longer. At New England, however, anxiety as shown on the A.C.I. *increased* from 1.9 to 2.0 during the same period.

On the projective personality questionnaire (Scale 3), the Wiltwyck anxiety scores *decreased* with length of stay from 2.0 to 1.7. New England mean anxiety scores *increased* from 1.9 to 2.0.

On the word association test, the same trend occurred. At Wiltwyck, the number of "anxiety" responses per boy significantly *decreased* from 6.0 to 3.0. Although New England averages decreased from 5.0 to 3.6, this decrease is not statistically significant.

On all three measures, newcomers to Wiltwyck appeared to have a higher level of anxiety than do new inmates at New England. However, boys who had remained at Wiltwyck for twenty-four months showed lower anxiety than boys who remained at New England for the same period of time.

Wiltwyck's program of loving support and permissiveness evidently erases much of the basic insecurity and conflict of the delinquents. The New England program of "disciplined education" probably returns its boys to society with heightened anxiety and increased inner tensions.

3. *Aggressiveness at Wiltwyck and New England:* On the three tests which measured overt hostility, 8 percent of the Wiltwyck group showed extreme aggressiveness compared to 10 percent of the New England boys.

Aggressiveness did not decrease significantly with length of stay at either Wiltwyck or New England.

The three tests showed the following changes in aggressiveness:

Adult-Child Interaction Test:

Wiltwyck aggressiveness decreased from 1.5 to 1.2.

New England aggressiveness decreased from 1.3 to 1.2.

Projective question test:

Wiltwyck hostility decreased from 1.7 to 1.4.

New England hostility decreased from 1.5 to 1.2.

Word Association test:

Wiltwyck aggressive responses per boy increased from 1.0 to 1.4.

New England aggressive responses per boy increased from .85 to 1.0.

33. All "significant" personality differences mentioned are statistically significant at the 5 percent level or better.

Although both schools apparently reduce aggressiveness, none of these variations are statistically significant at the 5 percent level. Consequently, Wiltwyck's reformatory success cannot be explained in terms of reduction in overt aggression.

Aggressiveness at New England usually reaches its greatest intensity during the six to twelve month interval. Since the school releases most of its boys during this critical period, it releases to society delinquents with uncurbed, if not increased, hostility.

4. *Authoritarian Trends at Wiltwyck and New England*: Wiltwyck boys averaged plus .74 and New England boys averaged plus .98 on Scale 1. In other words, both groups showed an intense longing for support and care from a strong authority as well as marked tendencies toward punitiveness, stereotypy, and projectivity.

Authoritarian tendencies among Wiltwyck boys decreased significantly with length of residence in the school. New England delinquents, too, evidenced a slight, but non-significant decrease.

5. *Prejudice at Wiltwyck and New England*: Wiltwyck inmates achieved a mean score of plus .14 on the ethnocentrism scale. New England boys scored an average of plus .006. Both groups give evidence of hostility toward a variety of outgroups.

At Wiltwyck, the school treatment program, implemented by an interracial staff, effects a significant decrease in prejudice. At New England, however, prejudice increases with length of stay. Mean score at Wiltwyck decreased from plus .37 to minus .45. At New England, mean scores increased from plus .06 to plus .16.

6. *Conclusions about personality differences*: Wiltwyck orients its treatment around Aichhorn's dictum that "Dissocial behavior is the result of disturbed psychic patterns, of abnormal accumulation of affect."³⁴ Consequently, by attacking the "psychic" roots of behavior Wiltwyck's program soothes the basic insecurity of the delinquent, reduces his authoritarian tendencies, and alters his ethnocentric stereotypes.

At New England, the superficial triad of discipline, work, and school leaves the delinquent conflicts unresolved. The strict regimen does not touch (and may increase) anxiety, authoritarian tendencies, and ethnocentric trends.

34. AICHORN, *op. cit.* p. 41.

Neither school conquers the overt aggressiveness of its boys. Aichhorn has noted, however, that the task of the training school is to "remove the cause rather than to eliminate the overt behavior".³⁵ *In all probability, Wiltwyck's success stems from "removing the cause" and turning the unchanged delinquent aggressiveness to new goals.*

Naturally, the small sample of seventy boys forbids rigid judgments on the personality differences. Nevertheless, the divergent trends seem to trace a significant pattern.

C. Value Differences

The most important task of the training school lies in changing not only the personalities but also the ideals of delinquents. Through their answers to Scale 4 (the values questionnaire), the boys revealed startling value difference between Wiltwyck and New England.

1. *View of the World*: Wiltwyck boys more often judged the world as a happy environment where men are willing to be of service. New England boys more frequently looked at the world as an evil battleground where men fight for their own selfish interests.³⁶

This contrast appeared in answer to, "Do you think the world is a bad place where men are mostly looking out for their own pocketbooks?"

	<u>Wiltwyck perc't</u>	<u>New England perc't</u>
World is good:	55	33
World is evil:	41	53
World is both good and evil:	0	10
Don't know:	4	4

The same differences emerged on the query, "Do you think that those who 'get ahead' in the world have to fight?"

	<u>Wiltwyck perc't</u>	<u>New England perc't</u>
Yes:	17	57
No:	60	32
Sometimes:	13	8
Don't know:	10	3

Such variant outlooks on their environment must reflect the boys' treatment within the schools.

2. *Ego Ideals*: The delinquent's conception of himself, his parental image, and his hopes for the future seem vitally important in reformation. As in their views of the world, the two groups showed highly significant differences that probably result from the teachings and atmospheres of Wiltwyck and New England.

35. *Ibid.* p. 39.

36. All values differences mentioned are statistically significant at the 1 percent level or better.

To the question, "If you could be anyone in the world, whom would you be?"

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Myself:</i>	50	22
<i>Power Figure:</i>	16	37
(e.g., Samson, God, president)		
<i>Positive Ideal:</i>	16	11
(e.g., Franklin, Carver, a counselor)		
<i>Worst Enemy:</i>	10	5
(e.g., "The guy who beats me")		
<i>Don't Know:</i>	8	25

These figures show that twice as many Wiltwyck boys expressed satisfaction with their own "egos" or were striving toward a positive ideal (66 percent to 33 percent). In categories revealing punitiveness and power seeking (i.e., Power Figure) and showing possible masochism (i.e., Worst Enemy), New England was nearly twice as numerous.

When asked, "What are good boys like?"

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Positively:</i>	40	5
(e.g., "kind" or "loving")		
<i>Negatively:</i>	55	76
(e.g., "doesn't steal" or "doesn't fight")		
<i>Unclear:</i>	5	19
(e.g., "healthy" or "nice")		

Once again, the Wiltwyck group showed a significantly clearer and more affirmative self-concept. Eight times as many Wiltwyck boys possessed consistent and verbalized image of the "good" boy (40 percent to 5 percent), though even at Wiltwyck less than half of the boys interviewed had a clear and positive concept of the "good" boy.

In an attempt to tap the boys' attitudes toward their families and their parental images, the interviewees were asked, "What are good parents like?"

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Loving Ideal:</i>	55	23
(e.g., "Treats you good," "respects you")		
<i>Disciplinarian Ideal:</i>	40	54
(e.g., "Mother doesn't baby you when Father hits you")		
<i>Unclear:</i>	5	23
(e.g., "healthy," "rich")		

More than twice as many of the Wiltwyck boys possessed images of a kind and loving parent. Research by the Gluecks has shown the poor family relations of an overwhelming number of delinquents.³⁷

37. UNRAVELING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, *op. cit.* pp. 108-133.

Therefore, it must be assumed that Wiltwyck's image of a "loving" parent stems from the school's atmosphere rather than from realistic memories.

In attempting to discover the future ideals (and the present fantasies) of the boys, the authors asked, "What do you want to be when you grow up?"

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Realistically:</i>	42	54
(e.g., carpenter, cop, machinist, house painter)		
<i>Unrealistically:</i>	25	26
(e.g., president, movie star) ³⁸		
<i>Unclear:</i>	12	15
(e.g., a man, a worker)		
<i>Don't Know, Undecided:</i>	21	15

Of those who answered realistically, two thirds of the 54 percent at New England wanted to be a "cop" or a soldier; no one at Wiltwyck gave that response. Such an overwhelming preponderance of punitive desires might well be considered a result of New England's aggressive, authoritarian, and restrictive atmosphere.

To summarize: Wiltwyck boys seem to have absorbed clear and affirmative ego ideals and parental images from the care (and example) of the staff. Since the differences between the two groups are so distinctive, it can be assumed that Wiltwyck's therapeutic influence accounts for the startling improvements. In psychoanalytic terms, Wiltwyck's treatment not only integrates the boy's ego, but also furnishes him with a sturdier superego.

3. *Action Orientations:* The delinquent's quarrel with society centers around his destructive behavior. The training school must face the task of giving the boy new standards of action and some understanding of society's moral code. As in their views of the world and their ego ideals, Wiltwyck and New England showed highly significant differences to this aspect of re-education.

When the boys answered the question, "What do you like to do best in the school?" they replied with innocuous responses of, "play basketball," and, "go to school." When asked, "What do most of the boys in the school like to do best?" however, the delinquents partially lowered

38. One boy at Wiltwyck said he wanted to be a girl and mentioned the "Christine Jorgensen case".

their inhibitive guards. The answers seem revelatory both of the actual conditions within the school and of the respondents' projected desires:

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Constructive Activities:</i>	74	29
(e.g., sports, school work, read, work with horses)		
<i>Destructive Activities:</i>	11	48
(e.g., smoke, fight, steal)		
<i>Neutral Activities:</i>	15	23
(e.g., see movies, play marbles, fool around)		

The preoccupation of New England boys with smoking, fighting, and stealing reveals the ineffectiveness of firm discipline. New England's strict punishment fails to alter delinquent destructiveness and apparently increases the desire for "forbidden fruit."

When asked to verbalize ethical standards, both groups of delinquents indicated an abyssmal misunderstanding of the "accepted" moral code. To the question, "What is Jesus' most important teaching about good and evil?"³⁹

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>Altruistic:</i>	19	3
(e.g., "kindness," "Golden Rule")		
<i>Authoritarian:</i>	34	59
(e.g., "keep out of trouble," "obey your parents")		
<i>Unclear or Don't Know:</i>	47	38
(e.g., "attend mass," "be nice")		

The high percentage of authoritarian and unclear responses indicates that the delinquents do not comprehend, and often misinterpret, society's dominant Christian standards. Six times as many Wiltwyck boys, however, showed some understanding of Jesus' altruistic ethics (19 percent to 3 percent).

When asked, "What is your biggest problem?"

	<u>Wiltwyck</u> <u>perct answered:</u>	<u>New England</u> <u>perct answered:</u>
<i>With Insight:</i>	17	11
(i.e., concerned with personal, inner problems)		
<i>With Avoidance:</i>	50	65
(i.e., blamed others for problems, desired to leave the school)		
<i>No Problems:</i>	23	13
<i>Don't Know:</i>	0	11

Both Wiltwyck and New England boys show strong escapist tendencies. Nevertheless, a significantly higher proportion of the Wiltwyck

39. At the time of the research no Jewish boys resided in either of the two schools.

boys have conscious insight into their emotional conflicts. The reformatory rate of Wiltwyck "graduates" reflects this increased sensitivity.

4. *Conclusions about values:* Through personal kindness, example, and psychiatric therapy, the Wiltwyck staff molds the values of the delinquents. With the psychological roots of their behavior problems resolved, the Wiltwyck boys change their estimation of the environment, develop new self-ideals, and orient their action around constructive activities. Most of America's delinquents face life with a warped set of values—or with no set at all. Wiltwyck's healing treatment apparently results in the establishment of new values, acceptable to the greater society.

V. SUMMARY

Seventy delinquent boys were interviewed at the Wiltwyck and New England schools in an attempt to discover why Wiltwyck's program achieves a higher reformatory rate. The Wiltwyck School emphasizes psychological therapy, non-punishment, and a loving environment. The New England School, typical of American training schools, centers around formal education, strict discipline, and vocational training.

A sociogram was secured from each school. The interviewers analyzed each delinquent through the use of projective personality tests and questionnaires on authoritarianism, prejudice, personal values, and leadership patterns.

Although the sample was small, statistically significant trends appear to differentiate the two schools.

The Wiltwyck boys chose exemplary student mentors whereas New England's charges followed punitive and authoritarian leaders. The Wiltwyck boys showed significantly greater affection toward and identification with the school counselors.

Wiltwyck's therapy decreases prejudice, anxiety, and authoritarianism. New England's program does not affect (or, actually increases) prejudice, anxiety, and authoritarian tendencies. Neither school significantly reduces aggressiveness.

The values of the Wiltwyck boys centered around constructive activities, affirmative ego ideals, and optimistic views of the world. The New England boys evidenced a preoccupation with destructive activities, negative and confused ego-ideals, and a punitive view of the world.

Wiltwyck's experience with seriously maladjusted youths shows that delinquents can be "cured". The school grounds its work on three axioms:

1. Delinquent behavior often springs from psychic roots: from unconscious guilt feelings, unintegrated traumas, pressing desires for love and recognition.

2. Delinquent behavior symptoms can be erased only when emotional conflicts are resolved. The essential ingredient in the treatment of the anti-social is "disciplined love" or, psychoanalytically, a positive transference. As Aichhorn observed in 1925, "remedial treatment can begin only when the transference is established."⁴⁰

3. Treatment of delinquents must focus on the consequences of action, not punishment; on democratic group living, not authoritarian supervision. Here again, Wiltwyck follows the path outlined by August Aichhorn:

Specific educational methods are far less important than an attitude which brings the child into contact with reality. We must give the pupils an experience which fits them for life outside and not for the artificial life of an institution.⁴¹

Wiltwyck's successful experiments in reformation bring new hope and, possibly, new directions to the training school movement.

Admittedly, this project has only scraped the surface in assessing institutional effects on delinquents. The interviewers hope to corroborate and extend the present research and hope, too, that this paper will serve as a stimulant to other investigators.

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY OF WILTWYCK FOLLOW-UP STUDY.

The study, carried out by Lois Wiley of the New York School of Social Work, investigated court and social agency records in New York City in an attempt to trace the behavior of sixty-five Wiltwyck boys after five years of freedom. The study, completed in January, 1941, secured the following results:

43.2 percent (28 boys) :	<i>complete successes.</i> (No further court appearances occurred on any charge after the original remittance to Wiltwyck.)
27.6 percent (18 boys) :	<i>partial successes.</i> (Court appearances occurred in these cases for three reasons: boy requested return to Wiltwyck, boy ran away from home, or boy truanted irregularly.)
<hr/>	
Total: 70.8 percent (46 boys) :	had benefited from Wiltwyck's program, had avoided anti-social behavior, and had made an adjustment to society.
29.2 percent (19 boys) :	<i>complete failures.</i> (This group had one or more appearances before court for severe delinquent behavior including assault, burglary, robbery, and sex offenses.)

The major faults of the study are:

1. Failure to investigate undetected crimes.
2. Failure to follow boy into maturity.
3. Failure to interview the boy or his family directly.
4. Failure to check with social agencies not registered with the Social Service Exchange.

Wiltwyck is currently conducting a ten-year follow-up study in an attempt to correct these deficiencies.

40. AICHORN, *op. cit.* p. 167.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

SUMMARY OF NEW ENGLAND FOLLOW-UP STUDY.

In 1947, a citizen's committee undertook the investigation of former inmates of the New England School. The investigation, initiated at a time when the School's appropriation was before the legislature, unsystematically included former inmates of another school.

The study traced 228 boys through a three-year parole period after release from New England and showed the following results:

48.3 percent (110 boys): *complete successes*. (No further court appearances occurred during the three-year period and the boys were "honorably discharged" from parole.)

5.1 percent (12 boys): *partial successes*. (This group was "administratively discharged" from parole into the army. No attempt was made to discover their success within the army.)

Total: 53.4 percent (122 boys): were thought to have benefited from the school program and to have made an adjustment to society.

33.3 percent (76 boys): *complete failures*. (This group was currently serving sentence either in correctional institutions or in mental hospitals.)

13.3 percent (30 boys): *unknown outcomes*. (Three boys had died. The rest had disappeared, left the state or, for some other reason, were untraceable.)

The major faults of the study are:

1. Failure to extend the investigation beyond the three-year parole period.
2. Failure to investigate undetected crimes.
3. Failure to interview the boys or their families directly.
4. Failure to check with social agencies other than the courts and correctional institutions.
5. Failure to trace 13.3 percent of the boys.
6. Failure to follow "administratively discharged" boys.
7. Failure to check with agencies outside of Massachusetts.

APPENDIX II

WORD ASSOCIATION TEST

<u>Time</u>	<u>Response</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Response</u>
1. Dark	25. Home	.....
2. Red	26. Lie	.....
3. Sugar	27. Stool pigeon	.....
4. Table	28. Grind	.....
5. Mother	29. Smoke	.....
6. Teacher	30. Sissy	.....
7. Gang	31. Crazy	.....
8. Me	32. Cop	.....
9. Hate	33. Drunk	.....
10. Steal	34. Laugh	.....
11. Secure	35. (Name of superintendent)	.....
12. Power	36. Alibi	.....
13. Fame	37. Goy	.....
14. Love	38. Guilt	.....
15. Leader	39. Pen	.....
16. Man	40. Gun	.....
17. Money	41. Jew	.....
18. Sex	42. Slug	.....
19. God	43. Neck	.....
20. Fight	44. Nigger	.....
21. Girl	45. Mugging	.....
22. Kill	46. Honest	.....
23. Percy	47. Kike	.....
24. Swear		

SCALE 1

AUTHORITARIANISM

1. What the child needs most is strict discipline.
2. Some boys have ideas about doing things their own way, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
3. Crimes such as murder deserve even more severe punishment than they get now.
4. Most of our problems would be solved if we could somehow kill off the crooked or dumb people.
5. The best teacher is the one who tells us just exactly what is to be done in every detail.
6. No decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
7. More than anything else, it's good hard work that makes life worthwhile.
8. A child should never be allowed to argue with his parents or he will lose respect for them.
9. Any mother whose children are messy or noisy at all has failed in her duty as a mother.
10. If a child is different, his parents should get him to be more like other children.
11. A child should love and respect his parents, no matter what they do.
12. Those who fail, usually deserve to fail.
13. A person is usually right if he can win a fight or argument.

SCALE 2

GENERAL PREJUDICE AND HOSTILITY
TOWARD OUTGROUPS

1. The worst danger to America has come from people who come from other countries.
2. Religions that do not believe in saluting the flag should be forced to carry out this patriotic act.
3. If it weren't for the rich, the world would be headed toward peace and happiness by now.
4. It is right for a person to feel that his country or religion is better than any other.
5. Foreigners should not be allowed to come to the United States because there will be less for Americans.
6. Anyone who lives in the United States and is not a real American in his thinking should be punished.
7. Negroes have their rights but they should be kept in separate schools and separate districts.
8. There may be some exceptions but in general, Jewish people are pretty much alike.
9. There are some exceptions, but most people are just trying to get more money in a crooked way.
10. It is somehow unnatural to place women in positions of leadership over men.

SCALE 3

PROJECTIVE PERSONALITY QUESTIONS

1. What feelings are most unpleasant for you?
2. What desires do you have difficulty controlling?
3. What great people do you admire most?
4. What might drive a person nuts?
5. What are your most embarrassing moments?
6. What do you think are the worst crimes?
7. If you knew you had only six months to live, how would you spend your time?
8. What gives you the greatest feeling of awe?
9. Do you think the world is a bad place where men are mostly looking out for their own pocket-books?
10. Which do you fear more—a bully or a cheater?
11. Have people ever been so mean to you that you could have killed them without good self-control?
12. If you could be anyone in the world, whom would you be?
13. What are good parents like?
14. What are good boys like?

SCALE 4

CONSCIOUS VALUES OF THE CHILD

1. Do you think that cheating is sometimes a good thing?
2. In order to have things you needed, did you sometimes have to steal?
3. Do you think tough guys should be punished strictly?
4. What do you like to do best in the school?
5. What do most of the boys in the school like to do best?
6. Do you usually win in fist fights or gang fights?
7. What is your biggest problem? What caused it? Can it be solved?
8. What type of person makes a good counselor or cottage master?
9. What do you enjoy most about the school?
10. What do you like least?
11. If you were superintendent, how would you run the place?
12. What happens to a boy if he does something wrong? Is this right?
13. What do you want to be when you grow up?
14. What is Jesus' most important teaching about good and evil?
15. Do you think that those who "get ahead" in the world have to fight?

SCALE 5

LEADERSHIP PATTERNS

1. Whom do you like best in the whole school? Why? (Who is your best friend?)
2. Whom do you dislike most at the school? Why?
3. Which staff member do you like best?
4. Who is the "big shot" in the school? Who is the "big shot" in your cottage?
5. What person do you admire the most in the school? (Whom do you look up to most in the whole school?)
6. When you grow up, which person in the school would you most want to be like?
7. What is the main thing friends have to offer?