A COMPARATIVE-EVALUATIVE STUDY OF
LIST D SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS :
MODES OF TREATMENT
AND SOME EFFECTS UPON GIRLS

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DECLARATION

This thesis and the research which it reports are the
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SUMMARY

The research was designed to assess the comparative
effectiveness of the schools in question with reference
to explicit functions, endeavouring to educe connexions
between effects and patterns of process. The study was
based on observation and testing in the five intermediate
and senior List D schools for girls in Scotland over a
period of eighteen months.

A unified approach was adopted: the same concept was
employed both in assessing the process of carrying out
the functions of the school, and in measuring the diff-
erence between input and output levels in the girls.
This concept was "social adjustment", chosen because
(i) available evidence suggested that enhancement of
social adjustment was a more important explicit function
of the schools than, say, lowering of conviction rates
(ii) the criterion of reconviction as a measure of effect-
iveness was found to be misleading when applied to girls'
schools and thus (iii) the concept of social adjustment
provided a common approach to measuring both process and
effectiveness which should facilitate the interpretation
of any connexions found between the two. Patterns of
process were approached also from a theoretical stand-
point, leading to three 'paradigms of therapeutic
education' differentiated by their basic social values,
and schools were subsequently analysed in terms of these
paradigms.

Some differential improvements in social adjustment were found which could not be explained by any factors considered except those relating to school process. It was concluded that different approaches to the schools' function could influence in certain ways the resulting levels and types of social adjustment in girls. Using the theoretical paradigms, derived from the concept of social adjustment, these relationships between process and effect were explored interpretively. It was concluded that further research would be necessary to establish the relationships more firmly, but that the unified approach and the use of value-based paradigms offered a profitable framework for such a study.

The purpose of the research was to assess certain effects upon girls of passing through a List D school and to examine the process through which they pass, with a view to educing possible connexions between the process and the effects.

The kinds of effects measured and the aspects of process analysed were both to be relevant to the avowed or designated aims of the school. This is at root, therefore, an evaluative study. It sets out to analyse the process and assess the effects of the schools in terms which relate to the manifest purposes of an institution of this kind. Research into unforeseen effects, inmate cultures, latent processes and so on can be both interesting and worthwhile, as may be seen from many important studies of similar institutions (for example, Sykes and Messinger 1960, Mathieson 1965, Morris 1963, to mention only a few). This piece of research, however, has a more simple concern: to decide what the schools are trying to do, how they go about doing it, and to what extent they achieve their objectives.

However, such prima facie simplicity in the questions may obscure a deeper complexity which must be examined before answers are attempted. Before we proceed, therefore, to a review of related research and to the methodology of the present study, it is necessary to

consider certain questions arising from the statement
of intention above, in particular:-

What is a List D school, the subject of the study ?

What is meant by 'effects' in this context ?

What is meant by 'process' ?   and

What sort of connexions do we hope to educe, and why ?

THE LIST D SCHOOL

A List D school is not a simple entity. From reasons of
history, of present-day social organisation and of chang-
ing attitudes towards 'children in trouble', it exhibits
a number of different facets, each contributing its own
slant on the functions of the school, its objectives,
its methods and its ideals. In some respects these
facets coincide, sometimes they complement each other
and sometimes they conflict. And beyond this generic
complexity, there is the highly individualistic nature
of any given List D school, dependent upon the auspices
and composition of the school board and, with equal imp-
ortance, upon the personality, attitudes and ideas of
the incumbent Head of School (cf. Sinclair 1971).
However, I think we can discern three strands which are
present in all List D schools, since they are imposed
by the legal and official status of the schools and by
their position in the present-day social system. These
dictate that the List D school is at once (i) a penal
measure (ii) a welfare provision and (iii) a school.
In this section we shall examine how these three
strands working both with and against each other

determine certain basic characteristics of the List D school.

The List D school is Scotland's provision for the compulsory residential care of children. It descends, as do the English Approved or Community schools, from the industrial and reformatory schools of an earlier era (Hunter 1971). Industrial schools catered for particular poor, needy or homeless children while the reformatories catered for offenders: however, there was inevitably much overlap between the two classes of inmates and apparently not a great deal of difference in the aims and methods employed (Richardson 1969). The Children and Young Persons (Scotland) Act of 1937, equivalent to the 1933 Act for England and Wales, combined the two types into a single provision known as 'approved' schools, which thus inherited the dual functions of care and protection of certain needy children and the reform of offenders. Children (under 17) were committed to these by order of the Juvenile Court, consequent upon an action against the child (for an offence), or against the parent (in need of care and protection), or against either (truancy or beyond parental control).

The Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 did not change the categories under which a child could be considered for compulsory residential care: these remained broadly offences, care and protection, truancy and beyond control. What it did change, following the

recommendations of the Kilbrandon Report (HMSO 1964),
was the medium for examining cases and making committals:
instead of Juvenile Courts the medium was to be, in the
majority of cases, the Children's Hearing: a non-legal
panel of trained volunteers whose brief was to decide
solely upon the form of treatment best suited to the
child's needs. It should be noted that for appearance
at such a Hearing, commission of an offence was in
theory neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition:
"need of compulsory care" was intended to be the only
criterion.

The significance of the Children's Hearing innovation
was that it represented an attempt to remove compulsory
care from the realm of 'penal measures' into the realm
of 'welfare provisions'. (The movement towards a
'treatment-oriented' rather than a 'punishment-
oriented' system for juveniles - and, to some extent,
for adults also - is, of course, an ubiquitous trend,
but it is especially well represented in the Scottish
situation.) To this end, the Social Work (Scotland)
Act provided for only three courses of action consequent
upon a child's appearance at the Hearing: no further
action, supervision, and residential care. Fines,
detention orders, binding-over and other supposedly
punitive measures were abandoned. However, this intended
change to a 'treatment' rather than a 'punishment'
approach was not wholly successful, since elements of
a penal measure nevertheless remained. For example,

the condition that at a Children's Hearing "the facts
must not be in dispute" amounted to the child implicitly
pleading guilty, for if he disputed the facts as presented
by the authorities (police, social workers, parents,
teachers and so on) then he would be sent to court in
the ordinary way. Moreover, the Act continued to dis-
tinguish in several important ways between 'children in
need' simpliciter and those ' in need of compulsory
measures of care', and authorities continued to act in
accordance with this distinction in virtually always
requiring evidence of 'anti-social behaviour' (whether
or not this behaviour would previously have amounted to
an offence) as the criterion for compulsory care. Most
obviously, however, the care itself remained 'compulsory':
where the Act speaks of the local authority's duty to
provide for children in need alone, it speaks of the
requirement of a child to submit to compulsory measures
of care. These measures are to consist of "guidance,
care, control, training and treatment" in a residential
establishment which is specially approved for the purpose.

The List D school is therefore required to serve two
ends - that of penal measure (however little actual
'punishment' is involved) and of welfare provision
(albeit of a compulsory nature). These are ends which
in some ways overlap but in some ways necessarily contra-
dict each other. In particular, the aims of a welfare
provision are basically concerned with the welfare of
the individual. Since the intention is to provide for

the individual amenities and services which are either
held to be his 'natural' entitlement or which the
average member of his community has access to but which
he himself does not possess, and thus to compensate the
individual for deficiencies which he may suffer in these
spheres. As a welfare provision, then, the List D
school sets out to provide certain domestic and social
amenities and opportunities for children who are judged
to have been deprived of them. On the other hand, the
aims of a penal measure, while containing some individual
elements, are (cf. Walker 1968) chiefly concerned with
its benefits to society in the form of delineation and
denunciation of the crimes involved, a reduction in the
number of known criminals at large in the present, and a
reduction in the commission of further crime in the
future, both by individual and general deterrence. Seen
as a penal measure, then, the List D school removes for
a time a troublesome element form society and aims to
reduce such troublesome behaviour in future; it also,
as we have seen from the elements of penality which
have obstinately remained apparently in the teeth of
recent legislation, denotes that special compulsory and
controlling measures need to be taken in the case of
children who are not merely 'troubled' but have engaged
in behaviour of a delinquent or quasi-delinquent nature.

The vehicle chosen to serve these two ends - of penal
measure and welfare provision - is one which by its
very nature allows both types of ends to coexist, and

that vehicle is the school. It is agreed by most general writers on education (as opposed to those having a particular theory to propound) that schools are expected to carry out two broad and complementary functions: in the first place to further the development of the individual child, to prepare him for adult life and to offer him knowledge and skills which will be useful and beneficial to him; and in the second place to transmit the culture and customs of the educating society to its younger generation, training them up in the way they should go, and to cultivate on society's behalf knowledge and skills which will be useful and beneficial to the community. In other words, the school serves both the individual and society as a whole (Collier 1959, Jacks 1950, Lester Smith 1957, Ulich 1961).

Now the List D school is a school in the sense that it 'provides education on the premises', but obviously it is a school of a special type. That the List D school should be thought of as a 'special school for special needs', as a provision for children with social handicaps in the same category as schools for children with physical or intellectual handicaps, has been the burden of much recent writing on Scottish education and indeed of the Kilbrandon Report itself. Hunter (1971), for example, notes with approval the trend of the Kilbrandon Report to regard Approved schools as "part of a flexible system of residential schools for children whose needs could not be met within the normal educational provision."

Mackintosh (1962, speaks of the "public movement away
from the idea of punishment to that of re-education of
the delinquent" (my emphasis). As far as administration
is concerned, the Scottish Child Guidance Service
(unlike its English couterpart) is an integral part of
the educational system and as such is responsible for a
large proportion of the List D school population (up
to a third of all committals) having been recommended
for this form of special education. In the girls'
schools at least, a further third of committals is
accounted for by truancy; that is to say, the List D
schools provide the education according to law for which
the day schools have apparently been unable to retain
the co-operation of their audience. The parallel
between the List D school and other special schools is
not of course exact (as their official status indeed
suggests). Intellectual and physical defects or defic-
iencies are very little a matter of opinion whereas
social defects are evaluatively related to the culture.
However, in Scotland at least, the trend is towards
regarding schools for the 'socially handicapped' in the
category of educational provision.

The List D school, then, is a school, albeit of a
special kind. As a school, it will serve the ends both
of the individual (for development and opportunity) and
of society (for socialisation and the production of
suitable social material). As a special school for
social needs, it will be expected both to offer the

individual the opportunity of growth and development
in social skills and attitudes, and to provide society
with future members who are more acceptably socialised
into its principles and practices. It is at this point
that we see how the elements of penal measure and
welfare provision can continue to coexist within the
List D school: as a welfare provision the school reflects
mainly the individualist aspects of education, while as
a penal measure it reflects mainly the societal aspects.
With these options open, as it were, we may expect to
find that, like any school, one List D school may differ
from another according to the emphasis it places upon
either the individual or the social function of the
institution. We might also predict that schools which
stress the individual aspect may have more in common
with welfare provisions, while schools stressing the
societal aspect may approach more closely the penal
measure.

In general, then, we may identify the List D school
as a school which specialises in social education.
However, the area which will interest us most in a
comparative and evaluative study of these complex
institutions is what may be called the 'dynamic'
area. By this I mean that while the List D school
serves many ends in common with the other public and
private institutions for which it temporarily
substitutes - in particular the emotional and physical
care of the family and the continuing formal education

of the day school - its unique raison d'être is to
bring about certain changes in areas where those other
institutions are held to have failed, viz. to develop
and improve the social functioning of the child (whether
for its own or for society's benefit). These areas in
which positive change (or 'reform' or 'therapy') is
aimed at, I call 'dynamic' areas. Those areas in which
the school aims only to act as substitute and to main-
tain the status quo - such as physical and emotional
care and control - I call 'static' areas. (It may
certainly be argued that the very undertaking of such
a dynamic task as the social therapy of individuals is
misplaced, that where the change really needs to take
place is not in the individuals but in the abnormal
situation to which they are giving a normal (although
censured) response. Whatever the justice of this claim -
and it surely is high - the fact is that the present
official position does, with a few exceptions, entirely
endorse the 'medical model' of delinquency; being still
in some measure ineluctably tied to the penal measure
concept, it thinks in terms of personal transgressions,
passing thence to personal failings and thus to personal
reform.) Here in the dynamic area also, however,
schools may differ from one another. Social therapy
may be directed towards the establishment of behaviour
patterns which are more acceptable to the society which
has committed the child for therapy, or it may be directed
towards the child's own personal development and his
needs in coping with that society. These different

approaches reflect once more the individual and social strands inherent in the institution.

It may be asked why, if all are List D schools inheriting the same complex nature, one school should differ from another in the respects we have mentioned. This question could be tackled in a number of different ways. We could cite such facts as different histories (as outlined at the beginning of this section), different personalities at the head, or different organisational methods. We could make judgements about the competence, strength, flexibility or idealism of those concerned with the schools. We could attribute differences to theories of treatment held by the personnel or to differing opinions as to the effectiveness of various methods. Underlying all those things, however, I think we may profitably look for a difference in value systems which give direct rise to the various theories and opinions, have links with the personalities and histories involved, and are modified by such general qualities as flexibility and competence (cf. Phillips 1971).

EFFECTS

A List D school, then, is for our purposes a school specialising in social therapy. What effects might we expect from such an institution ? As previously mentioned, we are interested here in the intended effects, those relating to the avowed aims and official functions of the schools. If we look again at the three strands

involved in this institution - that of welfare provision
and that of penal measure, united by education into a
special school - we may develop a plan for enquiring
into its intended effects. Some of the effects will
be those we have designated as 'static' - that is,
directed at maintenance only - and some will be those
designated 'dynamic' - that is, directed at achieving
change in various areas.

A number of the intended effects of the welfare prov-
ision are chiefly static: the provision of emotional
and physical care and a place of safety; some, however,
may be dynamic: such as training in domestic and work
skills and (more importantly for our purpose) the
development of social living and the learning of
socially acceptable behaviour. With the penal measure
also, there are a number of static effects, such as
removal of a troublesome element of society into a
controlling environment; the dynamic effect chiefly
required is, of course, a reduction in unacceptable
behaviour. (It may not be without significance that
the same end appears to be expressible in positive
terms for the welfare provision but in negative terms
for the penal measure.) It is obviously the dynamic
areas which concern us here, since it is precisely
change of various kinds that we are aiming to assess.
Both these dynamic areas - in welfare and in penality -
can be seen as different facets of the List D school
qua school, but again we see that the emphasis may

differ. On the one hand we have an approach to social therapy which is directed towards the personal development of the child in the area of social living; on the other hand we have an approach directed towards the establishment of correct or acceptable behaviour patterns and the elimination of undesirable ones. There will be a substantial area, of course, where these two approaches overlap in their aims to achieve changes in behaviour and attitude, but there will also be more extreme areas where they diverge. Where the effects aimed at are common to all shades of emphasis, they can be assessed by the same measures; where they differ, a more subtle examination of effects may be required.

It is clear that since we are going to measure intended effects, what we are in fact measuring is the effectiveness or success of the school in achieving them. Effectiveness will not here be measured in terms of an independent criterion (cf. Cornish & Clarke 1975) but in terms of the schools' own objectives and functions. Measuring success in institutions is sometimes thought to be a fairly simple matter: the success of a hospital may be measured by the proportion of patients it discharges as cured, the success of a college can be measured by the proportion of students who pass their exams; and the success of a prison may with some justification be judged by the proportion of ex-prisoners who are not subsequently reconvicted. However, it can only be such a straightforward matter to measure success of effects when no doubt at all is entertained about what effects

are manifestly desired and intended. In other words, how effectiveness is measured depends heavily upon how the institution and its goals are perceived.

Process and effects, in this sense, are intimately bound up from the moment we approach their study, since we shall be looking at effects as the desired results of a process, and looking at the process as the intended agent of the effects. At the same time, however, we are concerned with assessment, with evaluation and with comparison between the effects of different versions of the process. To carry out these objects we must employ quantitative measurements of effects: we must think in terms of the values of variables before and after exposure to different versions of the process. If effects are the end results produced by the school process in a desired direction, we therefore need to know first the state of certain variables on entry to the process. In other words, we shall measure the chosen variables on input to the process and re-measure them on output: the differences between the two measurements will be nominated "the effects". This can be represented in a simple diagram, therefore, as :-

input $(V_1) \longrightarrow$ $\boxed{\text{process}}$ $\longrightarrow$ output (V_2)
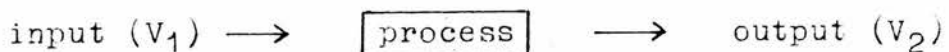
the difference between V_1 and V_2 being the supposed effect of the process, as far as these particular variables are concerned.

I say the 'supposed' effect because several questions of interpretation arise here. In the first place there are, in a real situation, a number of other things which may

intervene between V_1 and V_2 besides the process itself, such as the mere passage of time. We should also beware of over-simple notions that the process itself is wholly responsible for the difference between input and output: some methods of measurement, for example, can produce fig-ures for which the methods themselves are responsible rather than the situation. Thirdly, there is the quest-ion at what points of time to take the measurements of input and output - when, especially, can output be said to have been achieved or crystallised ? All these prob-lems will be further examined in Chapter Three on method.

It might be argued here again that this model of assess-ment merely endorses the 'medical model' of compulsory care upon which so much discussion has recently been centred in criminological literature (see especially Clarke & Sinclair 1974). However, it should be clear from the foregoing discussion that the justification in the present case is not that the medical model is to be upheld as an appropriate and desirable conception of compulsory care in that the inmate can most suitably be seen as a sick individual who is there to be 'cured'. It is rather that certain features of the model are un-deniably present in the given situation: in particular, the criterion (already noted) of some kind of unaccept-ability in the individual for admission to the process, and the manifest aim of the school authorities involved to carry out some corrective - 'therapeutic' - process

on the individual (rather than altering his situation, altering the perceptions of others and so on). It would be unrealistic, therefore, in evaluating the effectiveness of the schools according to their own manifest goals, not to employ the model that they themselves evidently employ. Were we to be concerned with evaluating, for example, the success of the schools in deterring others from being committed there, or in altering the perceptions of those concerned in disposal (parents, teachers and so on) towards the individuals who have been designated as in need of a 'cure', then the model of research would be quite different. As it is, we are explicitly accepting the model of the situation which is actually in use in order to evaluate success in precisely those terms.

For the present, then, the proposal is to assess the effects of the school process by measuring appropriate variables on input to the process and again on output, the variables being chosen on the grounds that they are closely relevant to the manifest purposes of the process itself.

PROCESS

The term 'process' has a rich and widely disseminated field of usage in sociological and other literature, although its precise intension and extension vary considerably from one usage to another. In the present thesis it is used in a relatively common-sense manner

to refer to the total series of actions and operations carried on in the schools, where the girls are the subjects of the process. At the same time, however, we have said that process is to be looked at particularly as that which has the desired effects as its end result. From this point of view, when we speak of process, we mean to imply more than simply the domestic programme, the educational curriculum or even the counselling sessions which may be administered to girls, although all these can form part of the process. The process which results in desired effects consists not merely of what is done - what operations take place in the school with girls as subject - but even more importantly of how it is done; and how it is done will depend heavily upon the perceptions and attitudes of the agents. Process, therefore, includes both the operations performed, and what we may call the affective environment in which they develop, the latter determining to a large extent the actual mode of actions.

This affective environment has, of course, many facets but there are some which have more influence in the process than others. Three of these facets have been selected for particular attention in this study, because of their close relation to the production of the effects in question, that is, to social therapy. One of the factors which will determine the affective environment most immanently is necessarily the definition

or model of the situation by the agents of the process.
How do the agents perceive themselves, their work, the
subjects of their work and the circumstances under which
the subjects are submitted to the process ? Secondly,
what sorts of changes in the subjects is it thought to
be necessary or desirable to make, in view of 'what
they are like' at the outset ? We have spoken about
the designated objectives of the process, but a second
important facet of the affective environment is the
conception of goals by the agents themselves: exactly
what is aimed at in practice in the way of change or
improvement of some kind ? These goals may or may not
reflect the 'official' view, but in either case they
will have important consequences for the operations
performed and the methods by which they are carried
out. Finally, we have the methods themselves: the
same goals may be pursued in a variety of ways. We
want to investigate that vital area of process in
which the translation from ideas of therapy into
concrete actions intended to bring that therapy about
is actually carried out. These, then, are the aspects
of process with which we shall be chiefly concerned
in the present study: models, goals and methods. At
the same time, other facets will be noted in passing
where they contribute to our overall understanding of
a given process.

The three facets of process we have chosen to study
are, it is clear, interdependent to some degree. The

model of the subjects and the goals for the subjects are likely to influence each other strongly; and together they will have a marked influence upon the methods used. Because of this interdependence, the present research hopes to be able to discern something amounting to patterns of process, of the form :-

model A tends to be found with goal P and both with method X

model B tends to be found with goal Q and these two with method Y

etc.

Since the study deals with only a small number of schools, no firm conclusions can be drawn about these patterns, but a supporting non-empirical investigation will also be carried out to try to establish some theoretical relationships among the elements of certain patterns.

One question which should be dealt with before we leave this section on process is the problem of attributing a single or chief model (or goal, or method) to a composite entity - a school - by examining the activities and utterances of a number of individuals, the members of staff. When we ask, for example, "How does this staff group perceive the compulsory care subject ?" or "What is this school's conception of the therapeutic process ?" we are not asking the same sort of question as "what is the mean score of this staff group on an objective measure of goals which offers a choice between a number of clearly defined goals ?"

Even if we were to devise instruments to test per-
ceptions or models quantitatively (cf. McHugh 1968)
this would not solve the problem, since the model
entertained by the people forming a fairly closed
social group (such as the staff of a residential
school) is to some extent necessarily a group model,
not simply the mean of a number of individual models.
We must accept that there is negotiation, influence
and feedback among the members - particularly, in the
case of List D schools, from top to bottom of the
hierarchy, since the Head is usually a very powerful
cultural figure, as we shall see later on - but that
a composite picture nevertheless emerges which can be
said to be characteristic of that particular school.
Obviously there will be deviations, dissensions and
conflicts, but a well-established general model can
take account of these, unless or until they become
powerful enough to bring about a change in the composite
model itself. In fact, the degree of stability and
integrity of the model may prove to be a useful dim-
ension for describing it. We shall judge it a valid
procedure, therefore, to collect observational and
verbal data concerned with process and allow concepts
to 'emerge' from the mass of data presented. However,
as with all non-quantitative material, the researcher's
interpretation of the data is open to challenge from
others.

It has been stressed throughout this chapter that connexions between process and effect are central to the study, since process and effect are seen as intimately related when studied in the way which has been described here. Establishing connexions, therefore, in the sense of making straightforward correlations between variables is only one aspect of the research (although it is an important one in its own right). Equally important is the task of interpreting and understanding the connexions made.

The present research approaches this problem from two directions, therefore - the empirical and the theoretical. At the same time as it assesses effects and patterns of process, using statistical methods to elicit such connexions as may be found, it also attempts to predict certain effects that could be expected from a theor-etical consideration of the patterns. Where the predictions and the empirical findings agree, there must be a strong case for a genuine association between process and effect, given the premises on which the study is based. Further than this, however, both the theoretical and empirical parts of the study (and within the latter both the measurement of effects and the assessment of process, as already suggested) are all to be located within the framework of a unified concept. What precisely that concept is will be

explained in Chapter Two and its operationalisation detailed in Chapter Three. The use of such a concept, it is argued, takes the empirical findings beyond the stage of fortuitous correlation and towards a deeper understanding, from one point of view at least, of what is involved in this particular relationship between process and effect.

This thesis is by no means intended to be located within a symbolic interactionist perspective; however, it is interesting to note that the approach of the symbolic interactionists to the subject of deviance in the 1960's is closely paralleled in a number of respects by the approach taken here. Albert Cohen (1965), for example, says that :-

"Until recently .... the dominant bias in American sociology had been towards formulating theory in terms of variables that describe initial states, on the one hand, and outcomes, on the other, rather than in terms of processes whereby acts and complex structures of action are built, elaborated and transformed."

Most previous research on the effectiveness of compulsory care institutions has indeed been in terms of outcomes (virtually always the presence or absence of post-treatment convictions) without reference to the intervening process except as itself a discrete variable - for example, open versus closed institution. This kind of approach inevitably gives rise to a

hiatus between the variable and the outcome which can
be bridged only by confidence in the levels of stat-
istical probability achieved. In the present thesis
it is intended to employ, in a small way, an approach
that sees the dynamics of treatment and the effects of
that treatment as all part of a single 'process'.
Understanding of the complete process, therefore, will
be more meaningful than would be simple acceptance of
the significance of a given correlation of variables.

Schur (1971) says of the labelling approach that it is :
  "an emphasis on process; deviance is viewed not as a
   static entity but rather as a continuously shaped and
   reshaped outcome of dynamic processes of social
   interaction."
Where the symbolic interactionist perspective mainly
studies the process of becoming deviant we are, as it
were, studying the opposite process - that of becoming
undeviant. It has been well argued by protagonists of
the labelling approach that reactions to deviance
which are couched in terms of hostile definitions
tend to confirm the deviant in his 'career' (see, for
example, Becker 1964, Young 1971, Goffman 1970). It
seems reasonable to suggest that the same principle
might hold good for a career in the reverse direction.
That is to say, redefinitions by the agents of social
therapy of the deviant as 'normal', 'good' and so on,
may influence the self-definition sufficiently to
bring about some movement in the desired direction
(cf. Grygier 1965, Wilkins 1969).

However, the traditional approach has by no means
been rejected in this piece of research; it is not
believed that the two are as incompatible as is often
implied. The thesis does not argue exclusively for
a 'process' approach, but merely suggests that some
elements of this perspective can be fruitful in ob-
serving and interpreting the relations between treat-
ment and effect upon the subjects of compulsory care.
We measure input and output variables quantitatively,
and make use of statistics to establish certain cor-
relations between variables; at the same time, all the
variables - both of effects on subjects and of aspects
of the school process - are chosen with reference to
a single concept which has meaning both for process
and for effects (cf. Clarke 1974).

CHAPTER TWO : APPROACHES TO THE EMPIRICAL AREA

Chapter One proposed a basic outline for the study: to assess the differential effects of classifiable patterns of process. It also made the condition that effects and process should be studied in such a way that both were relatable to a single theoretical concept. We now have to choose an approach towards studying effects and an approach towards studying process which best satisfy these proposals.

Part A of this chapter looks at the various ways in which effects of institutions similar to List D schools could be or have been studied in the past. Part B looks at various ways of studying process in such institutions. In Part C, conclusions are drawn about the most suitable approach for the present study.

A : Approaches to studying effects

Effects, in the sense in which we are concerned with them here as 'outcome in a desired direction', have been defined for our purposes as the difference between input and output. It is therefore necessary to characterise the input in such a way that one can assess it in some kind of quantifiable terms, assess the output in the same terms, and measure the difference between them. The fundamental question, therefore, is how to characterise the input. If the input and output are to be measured in the same terms, and the difference between them is to be quantifiable as 'effect in a desired direction', then it is clear that the input

must be characterised in such a way that it can be read as a low level of V, an absence of V, a failure in V, and so on, where desired output will be a higher level of V, the presence of V, success in V and so on. (Although there are some kinds of variable on which an optimal level is more relevant than a maximal level, the changes anticipated in this research are not so great as to make this an important distinction at the outset. That is to say, where only small changes towards a desirable level are involved, 'over-success' is not likely to be achieved.)

As far as compulsory care institutions are concerned, this approach has led to two main methods of assessing effects: one by overt events (countable as discrete units) and the other by personality characteristics or attitudes (measurable on a continuous scale). The first method is obvious enough: it can either be assumed that the official classification of subjects provides a meaningful framework for assessment - which in this case will mean that the overt event counted is the incidence of convictions (see, for example, Hood 1965, Dunlop in HMSO 1975, Banks 1964) - or, more subtly, the researcher may argue that official conviction rates give at best a partial and possibly biassed picture and so do his own counting of behaviour units that he selects as indications of 'delinquency' (for example, Millham et al. 1975, Richardson 1969, Cowie 1968). In either case, output is measured in the same terms as input, and the improvement of actual

or possible conviction/misbehaviour rates is evidence of success. A variation of this method is to compare actual output conviction rates not with input itself, but with predicted output rates, based on an established correlation (such as the Mannheim-Wilkins scale, 1955) between conviction rates and other measurable factors such as age, home circumstance, etc. besides previous convictions. (See, for example, HMSO 1967, Benson 1959). Here again, the success looked for is in terms of the behavioural events of delinquent activity.

Personality or attitude scales, however, can be used in two quite different ways. In the first, the researcher's point of interest is still, in fact, in the overt events of delinquency and conviction, but he uses personality scales as an indirect or substitute method of addressing them. This is possible if a correlation has previously been established between the scale or variable in question and delinquency rates, thus giving the scale predictive value for delinquency. If subjects are measured on the scale at input and again at output and it is found that they have moved up the scale, then (with a degree of conviction corresponding to the strength of the correlation already established) the researcher can predict the future incidence of delinquency with a great deal more convenience than if he had waited to measure it. This method may, in fact, be combined with a behavioural measure as additional support for its conclusions (Warren 1965).

The second method of using personality scales is,
however, quite distinct. In this method, the res-
earcher is not interested in the relation between the
scale and incidence of delinquency. He is interested
in overt behaviour only of the kind with which the
scale itself is presumed to be concerned. This is
because he has chosen to define success in terms of
that variable itself (the one measured by the scale)
rather than in terms of one with which the scale var-
iable may have been found to be correlated. His
criterion of success is improvement upon that scale,
rather than the presence or absence of other overt
events such as acts of delinquency. The relation,
of course, between measurements on a verbally-defined
scale and actual behaviour called by the same name
(not to mention 'underlying personality characteristics'
which are postulated to give rise both to the behaviour
and to the verbal responses) is complex and even
obscure and we shall be looking in a later chapter
at some problems in this area. However, the distinction
must be kept clear between the use of a personality
scale to predict something connected with it by dis-
covered statistical association (though theoretical
relations may, of course, be postulated between the
two) and use of the same scale to predict behaviour
only in the area in which it is specifically designed
to do so.

Attitude scales can also be used for another purpose:

that of drawing up a typology of subjects. In this
case, the effects of treatment can be subdivided into
effects upon different groups of subjects; moreover,
if different methods of treatment are also available
then a matrix may be drawn up to discover whether
different methods of treatment are more successful
with different types of subject. This use of scales
does not alter the distinction made above, however,
since input and output can still be characterised in
the usual way, viz. input consisting of all those
committed for treatment on account of convictions,
output or 'success' being measured by subsequent
convictions. That is to say, the scales are used only
for initial grouping purposes on the given input and
for comparing groups with each other; they are not used
to compare input levels with output levels using the
scale itself as the criterion of improvement. (For
examples of studies of this kind, see Grant and Grant
1959, Argyle 1961, Adams 1962, Hewitt and Jenkins
1944, among many others.)

Now let us examine the findings of some of the studies
mentioned above, in discussing how to measure effects
in the present piece of research. Let us look first
of all at the suitability of using reconviction rates
for the assessment of the girls in our study.

RECONVICTION RATES

The question that occupies us here is not whether
assessment by reconviction rates is a reliable and

efficient method as such, but whether it is in fact
relevant to our population. Hood (1971) asserts that
"all studies of the effectiveness of punishments and
treatments use reconviction as a criterion of failure"
(p.169) and goes on to suggest that in fact a comparison
of 'before and after' or 'predicted and actual' con-
viction rates is the only legitimate method for assess-
ing the effectiveness of correctional institutions,
since the chief purpose of committal, with regard to
the subjects themselves, is to cut down convictions.
"Treatment is not given" Hood says, "to make the
offender a 'better person' simply on the grounds of
humanity but because it is considered that if he is a
better person - in work habits, leisure pursuits and
personal relations etc. - he will be less likely to
offend again" (op.cit. p.171). The great majority
(though not "all") of studies of effectiveness in
compulsory care institutions have indeed used such a
criterion, from the earliest days when borstals were
found by this method to be enjoying considerable
success, up to the present when reconviction rates
are much less encouraging (Hood 1965).

However, while it may be reasonable to assert that in
the case of boys the only meaningful criterion of effect-
iveness is that of reconviction, the situation is
rather different in the case of girls. It is common
to refer to all children committed to compulsory care
under the general heading of 'delinquents', and the

word 'delinquent' in its turn suggests a person habitually involved in activities which either are against the law or run very close to being so. If, indeed, one of the avowed purposes of the compulsory care institution is to reduce conviction rates and if the large majority of those committed to it have been, or at least could have been, convicted of offences, then at a minimum it can be said to make sense to measure effectiveness in terms of subsequent convictions. But do these conditions hold in the case of List D schools for girls ? As previously mentioned, the official statistics of child care in Scotland, before the implementation of the Social Work (Scotland) Act, classified compulsory care subjects by reason for committal under three heads: 'offenders', 'truants' and 'care and protection' - the latter being really a catch-all for anything that was not one of the other two. The statistics for senior and intermediate girls committed to List D schools in the years 1967 and 1970 (the last two occasions on which these figures were compiled: HMSO 1967, HMSO 1970) were as follows:

	Inter.		Senior		Total	
	'67	'70	'67	'70	'67	'70
Offenders	7	9	42	30	49	39
Truants	1	4	2	1	3	5
C & P	23	24	62	63	85	92
Total	31	37	106	99	137	136

TABLE 2.1   REASONS FOR COMMITTAL 1967 and 1970

From these figures it will be seen that in 1967, 63%
of those girls committed to compulsory care in Scotland
had not been committed specifically for a legal offence
(even if we generously include truancy as an offence)
and in 1970 the figure was 68%. To assume that all
these girls on committal were therefore undiscovered or
incipient law-breakers, or that in a large majority of
cases offences had been overlooked in favour of a 'care
and protection' classification, would surely be going
well beyond the evidence at hand.

For boys, in contrast, offending is a much more rel-
evant criterion. In 1968, for example (HMSO 1968),
of 851 boys committed to senior and intermediate
approved schools in Scotland, over 90% (775) were
classified as offenders, and this figure does not
include the truants. The Home Office Research Unit
(HMSO 1972) of girls in borstals and detention centres
aged 17-20 (thus rather older than our population)
produced, it is true, a worthwhile study by following
up their sample exclusively in terms of reconvictions:
however, a much larger proportion of their sample than
the younger girls we are considering - about two-thirds
in all - had previous convictions before the residential
experience in question.

If the proportion of convictions on entry is low, it
can also be positively misleading to use reconviction
rates as a criterion of success. The Scottish child
care statistics quoted earlier also reported a three-

year follow-up study which had been carried out on all girls leaving List D schools in 1964. They used subsequent conviction as an indicator of failure, though they also counted as non-successes those girls who were neither married nor in regular employment. The report gives 82% (not subsequently convicted) and 69% (married/in regular work) as the respective 'success rates' on this basis. However, it is important to note that if the 1964 committal categories were distributed in much the same proportion as those of 1967, viz. 63% non-offenders, then the percentage quoted as not being subsequently convicted - 82% - represents a 'success rate' in fact of only 50% as far as offenders are concerned. That is to say, out of a population of 100, containing 37 offenders, 18 would have been convicted after leaving - a rate of 50%, if we are permitted to assume that those who were not convicted before their stay were not convicted afterwards (and if they were, of course, then the 'success rate' figures are even more misleading). This figure certainly contradicts the view so often put forward that girls are much more successfully 'rehabilitated' than boys, for whom figures from 35% to 48% are recently quoted (West 1967, McClintock and Bottoms 1973). In other words, the success rate for girls' schools may be something of a statistical artefact, brought about by using reconvictions as the main measure of assessment, when convictions did not constitute a significant enough proportion of the input.

OTHER BEHAVIOURAL MEASURES

As already stated, reconviction rates have been used
overwhelmingly as the criterion of effectiveness in
boys' schools - sometimes after discussion, partially,
and for confessed lack of anything better (Millham et
al. 1975) sometimes with totally unquestioning confid-
ence (Dunlop - HMSO 1975). However, some studies of
boys' schools and most studies (few though there are)
in girls' schools have used other behavioural measures
either in addition to reconviction rates or instead of
them. One recent piece of research in boys' schools,
for example, the very thorough comparative study of
eighteen Boys' Approved Schools in England by the
Dartington Social Research Unit (Millham et al. 1975)
compared the success of various schools in terms of
reconvictions somewhat reluctantly and found that
"although results from individual schools vary, it is
difficult to establish a general conclusion about the
effectiveness of junior, intermediate or senior schools,
or of schools of particular styles, in preventing boys
from getting into trouble with the law after release."
These authors noted, however, that "reconviction is only
one criterion of success .... Can the impact of con-
trasting regimes differently affect work experience,
family and peer-group relationships ?" The difficulty
here was that of establishing conclusions about success
with these factors which do not lend themselves so
easily to statistical analysis. Such correlations as
they were able to establish showed that schools did

differ in their ability to improve a boy's work aspir-
ations and performance and his family and peer-group
relationships; that is to say, in this particular case,
other behavioural measures were more successfully used
to differentiate schools than were crude reconviction
rates. Another study which was dissatisfied with
reconviction rates as the sole measure of effectiveness
is that of McClintock and Bottoms (1973). This study
compared a modified borstal regime stressing an indiv-
idual approach with the more traditional discipline-
oriented regime which preceded it. Besides comparing
reconviction rates in the two samples, the authors
constructed a 'social problems score' consisting of
factors such as work patterns, use of leisure and drink
and drugs problems. Unfortunately it was not possible
to compare the two samples on this measure, but within
the experimental sample, only one-fifth were found to
have sustained improvement after treatment. In this
case, therefore, measures other than reconviction were
not very fruitful in deciding whether the new regime
was more successful than the old.

In girls' schools, the Scottish child care study (1967)
counted also, as we have already seen, the percentage of
girls who were married and/or in regular work as
'successes', besides those who had not been reconvicted.
Richardson (1969), in her study of a girls' Classifying
School remarks that "the criterion of reappearance in
Court is a useful but very inadequate one. A girl
could thus be classed as a success if she had produced

one illegitimate child per year, or cohabited with a
series of men and had mental breakdowns at intervals,
while the girl who stole a ball-point pen from the
hospital supervisor would be recorded as a failure."
Richardson included in her follow-up survey, therefore,
the reports from the Training Schools up to the end of
the time girls were out on licence after their resid-
ential period was over. The disadvantage of this -
or indeed any method employing reports by after-care
agents - is the unknown factor of subjectivity plus the
influence of expectations upon perceptions and thereby
upon judgments.

The Cowies (1968) in their comparative study of girls'
approved schools, followed up their subjects on a
number of aspects: subsequent delinquency, work records,
sexual life and psychiatric after-care, although they
do not explain their reasons for choosing these part-
icular criteria and do not in fact use them in any very
systematic manner to assess the relative effectiveness
of different schools.

The Cowies believed, however, that they had found a
feature other than law-breaking which specifically
distinguished the main bulk of girls committed to
compulsory care and which could therefore be used
as an important factor in assessment. They concluded
from their reading of other research and from their
own experience that "a large part of the delinquencies
of girls consists in sexually ill-regulated behaviour,

of a type not to demand social sanctions in the case
of an adult" (op. cit. p43). They lay a good deal of
emphasis on this point and there seems no solid reason
to doubt the evidence they quote. However, some of it
is couched in rather vague terms; for example, "A large
majority of our girls answer the question 'why have you
been sent to an approved school ?' by saying 'because
I ran away from home.' A disconcertingly large number
of them say they ran away from home because of the
sexual advances made by near relatives," and "When a
girl is on the run, promiscuous sexual relations are
almost inevitable." (p112, my emphasis throughout).

The argument which the Cowies build upon this 'evidence'
of sexual delinquency seems even less sound than its
foundation. In fact, I feel bound to point out that
they actually appear to distort the weight given to
sexual delinquency in their table of 'Reasons for
Committal' (op. cit. p67) which they divide into two
overall sections: 'Indictable offences' (n = 81) and
'Sex delinquencies' (n = 241). The heading 'Sex
delinquencies' in fact covers such diverse categories
as 'care or protection', 'beyond control', 'non-
attendance at school' and the like, sex itself not
being mentioned at all. It is hardly self-evident
that even 'care and protection' necessarily implies
some sort of sexual involvement.

The sound evidence that the Cowies and others cite -
such as it is - on sexual delinquency in girls has

given rise to an argument which runs roughly thus:-
if girls' officially-recorded delinquency is mainly
sexual, it can only (logically) occur at an age when
certain sexual behaviour by girls is legally prohibited;
thus the sudden reduction in female delinquency figures
after the 'age of consent' suggests that girls' delin-
quency is largely a statistical artefact. This is a
neat argument, but of course it only follows if girls'
delinquency can indeed be shown to be mainly sexual.
The importance of this argument for the present study
is partly that it is one of the three main possibilities
for explaining positive success rates, the other two
being spontaneous remission of some kind, and the
genuine efficacy of treatment. However, there is the
further question whether the picture of girls' delin-
quency is even what the argument suggests; the Cowies
speak of a sharp drop after the age of sixteen, but
the following graph compiled from figures in the
Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1965 (quoted
in West 1967) certainly suggests otherwise, although
it is true that the Cowies may not have had indictable
offences in mind.
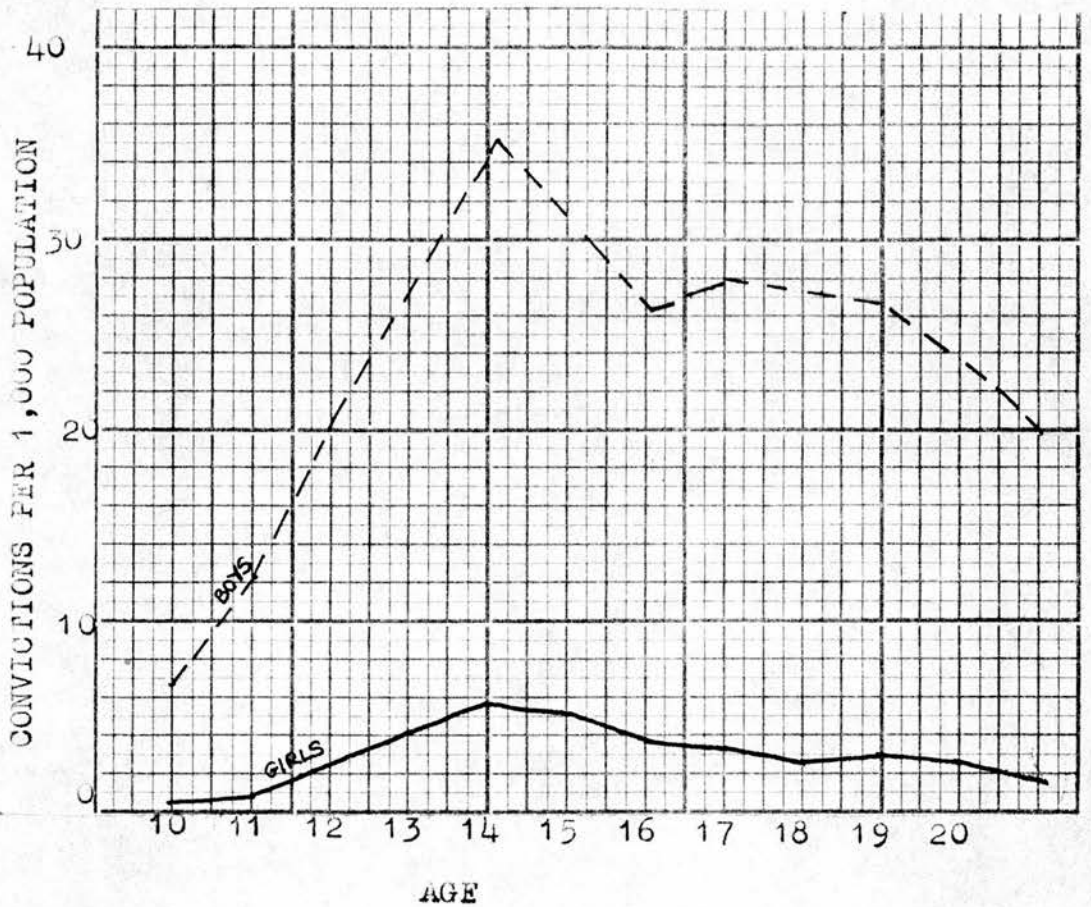
TABLE 2.2   CONVICTIONS BY AGE

The belief in the sexual nature of girls' delinquency
seems to be widespread. Richardson (1969) quotes a
document from the Approved Schools Association as
saying that girls committed for care and protection are
"usually those of shallow personality, to whom prom-
iscuous living appears attractive" (op. cit. p84) and
the Ingleby Report as saying that "almost all adol-
escent girls sent to Approved schools (whether as
offenders or not) have a history of sexual immorality."
Gibbons (1965) also remarks that the main feature of
girls' 'delinquency' is its sexual character.

2 : 15

However, no reliable quantitative evidence for this
belief seems to have appeared in print, with the ex-
ception of Schofield's (1965) finding that a record
of court appearances of sexually experienced girls (E)
was significantly higher than that of non-experienced
(N) and inceptive (I) girls. The figures he gives are:

Court appearances	N(%)	I(%)	E(%)
None	99	99	87
One	1	1	8
Two +	0	0	5
N	205	186	73

TABLE 2.3   COURT APPEARANCES & SEXUAL EXPERIENCE

From this table we can calculate that of fourteen girls
with court appearances, ten were in the sexually-
experienced group. Schofield also points out that the
most promiscuous of girls were probably not in his
sample, being in care already. So on these grounds
it would be accurate to describe delinquent girls in
general as considerably more sexually experienced
than their peers; what we have no proof of is whether
the activities which earned them the 'delinquent'
label were these same sexual activities, and thus
support the Cowies' 'statistical artefact' argument.
We shall observe when the 'reasons for committal' for
the sample in the present research are analysed that
this seems to be very far from the case. While bearing

in mind the possibility of Scottish girls differing
in this respect from English ones (or a difference in
Scottish reporting and classifying) it must be said
that the 'statistical artefact' argument is not proven.
We may thus continue with our prosecution of a method
of characterising compulsory care girls in some mean-
ingful and substantive manner.

ATTITUDE SCALES

Attitude and personality scales and their kin have been
used extensively in compulsory care studies. Those
used include particularly the 'I-level' scale developed
by the Grants (1959), the Jessness inventory (1965),
the amenable versus non-amenable distinction made in
the PICO project (Adams 1961), Argyle's four 'delinquent
types' developed from various personality tests (1961),
Friedlander's use of Freudian theory for classification
(1947) and so on. However, all these, along with
other more behaviour-based methods of classification
(e.g. Hewitt and Jenkins 1944, Empey 1964, Goodman and
Price - HMSO 1967) have been used exclusively in draw-
ing up categories or typologies of offenders, where
the subjects to be classified were identifed in the
first instance by their presence in a compulsory care
institution and/or their convictions for law-breaking.
The typologies were then used - occasionally with
significant results - for analysing the effects of
treatment upon the various types in question, including
if relevant the effects of different methods of treat-

ment, where effects themselves were actually defined
in terms of reconvictions. That is to say, changes on
the dimension originally used for classification, e.g.
maturity level, were not a criterion of assessment.

In one or two cases, attitude scales - though not the
more general tests of personality traits - have been
used as a support for effects measured by reconviction
rates (e.g. Warren 1965, McMichael 1972). In no com-
pulsory care study, however, have I been able to trace
the use of personality or attitude scales as the main
criterion of assessment in themselves. However, since
we have seen from our examination of other methods of
assessment that reconviction rates may be an irrelevant
and misleading criterion in schools for adolescent
girls, and the use of other behavioural criteria
carries a number of problems associated with the
selection, judgment and analysis of the units of
measurement, we should seriously consider whether
such scales might not provide a more suitable medium
of assessment. After examining methods of assessing
process in Part B, we shall look in Part C at the
possible use of personality scales in assessing effects.

5 : Approaches to Studying Process

It was proposed in Chapter One that we should study
process chiefly in terms of models (definitions of the
situation, including especially the model of the sub-
ject, that is, the 'delinquent' girl), goals (the
schools' own professional objectives for the subjects)

and methods (the style of operations upon the subjects in the direction of the goals). From a consideration of the general affective environment plus other more tangible aspects of process, but with particular reference to the three areas mentioned above, it was hoped to be able to classify certain patterns of process according to their modulation and combination of these elements.

There are two main ways in which classifications of process may be involved in the field of institutional studies. In the first case, an a priori classificatory scheme - that is to say, one derived from theory rather than on actual empirical research, although of course based on the researcher's previous knowledge and experience - may be drawn up; this may be presented as a theoretical exercise or as an explanatory survey of the field. An a priori scheme may also be simply assumed and used without further testing in a piece of research whose main purpose lies elsewhere, or the intention may be to test the scheme itself in the piece of research in question. The other way of involving classification is to start without any particular scheme in mind and, by various means, to collect data which is then analysed in such a way that patterns are seen to emerge. In the present section we shall look at several examples of all these methods, mainly those used in research on correctional institutions for young people but one or two in other closely related

areas, in order to consider the sorts of schemes which have been employed or discovered in these studies and to assess their relevance for the present research.

A PRIORI SCHEMES

Used in research. Here I want to pay particular attention to two classificatory schemes which have been used in research studies without further testing. The first is that used by Strauss and colleagues (1964), which I have chosen because of its very fruitful use of the concept of "ideology". The study in question was carried out in a number of psychiatric hospitals, and investigated the operation of three ideologies, particularly in relation to professional affiliations, in institutions of similar type. The interesting feature of this research from our point of view is the definition of ideology as :"a body of systematically related beliefs held by a group of people, providing that the system of beliefs is sufficiently basic to the group's way of life." This is not the same thing, say the authors, as an individual philosophy or a single idea, but a shared set of ideas (which may or may not have a basis in fact). These ideologies are said to "generate their own morality" for the group in question, but may be clarified, modified and transformed in practice. They will tend to give rise to different sets of operations under similar institutional conditions. Although starting with an a priori set of ideologies (namely somatic, psychotherapeutic and milieu approaches to

psychiatry), the hypothesis that different ideologies
would lead to different results in practice is tested
and substantiated. Thus the approach of Strauss and
colleagues supports our expectation that different
models of the situation will tend to be found with
different methods, that is to say, that beliefs will
tend to influence operations. Furthermore, our con-
tention that it makes sense to attribute a negotiated
group model to a set of individuals working within a
relatively closed situation is supported by the fact
that this study was able to obtain worthwhile results
by working on the basis of assumed ideologies. The
fact that each ideology was found to "generate its own
morality" - that is, to influence value-judgments as
well as simple directives for action - is also an
important point to be borne in mind for later aspects
of the present study.

The second piece of research I want to discuss in this
section was not wholly available at the time the
present study was in progress: this was the work of
the Dartington team in Approved schools in England.
Lambert and colleagues, in their Manual to the Sociology
of the School (Lambert et al. 1967), had proposed a
distinction between instrumental, expressive and organ-
isational goals as a useful tool for assessing the goal
perceptions and conflicts within such institutions. In
some later research in boys' Approved schools (Millham
et al. 1975), Spencer Millham and colleagues (another
permutation from the Dartington team) found differences

between the goals - thus distinguished - of teachers
and care staff, between younger and older staff, and
between trained and untrained staff. In general, the
care, younger and trained staff tended to stress
expressive goals where the others emphasised instru-
mental or organisational goals. However, in contrast
to the Strauss study, the notion of goals entertained
by these researchers does not appear to be concerned
so much with value systems as with pressures of various
kinds: pressures of training, of external circumstances,
the history of the school and organisational problems
are the sorts of things quoted as responsible for
certain types of goals coming to the fore. From the
point of view of the present research, therefore, this
study has been presented mainly as a contrast to our
own approach; we shall be concerned with substantive
goals as a part of an overall pattern of process,
reflecting beliefs and values within - in Strauss's
term - an ideology, rather than with a separate dis-
tinction between formal types of goals. However,
this team do make an empirical distinction between
'styles' of school which we shall discuss presently
under the appropriate heading.

Tested in research. One study which started with an
a priori scheme of patterns but tested it very thorough-
ly in the course of the research, both by observation
and by questionnaire, was that by Street, Vinter and
Perrow (1966), carried out in boys' correctional
institutions in the United States. These workers

postulated at the outset three main models of school,
the "Obedience/Conformity type", the "Re-education/
Development type" and the "Treatment type", which were
thought to lie on a continuum from 'incarceration' to
'therapy'. They were interested, very much as the
present study is, in the complete process of the schools,
including perceptions, goals, methods and the reactions
of inmates: each model was believed to have a character-
istic approach in all these areas. The Obedience/
Conformity model, they stated, would stress habits,
conformity and respect for authority; it would use the
technique of conditioning to achieve results, and
employ staff-dominant mass treatment and negative
sanctions in a custodial atmosphere. The Re-education/
Development model would aim at changes in attitudes
and values, the acquisition of new skills and new
patterns of behaviour; the technique would be that of
training and would involve fewer punishments, more
gratifications and closer relationships between staff
and boys. The Treatment model would aim at psycho-
logical reconstruction through a permissive regime
which stressed the importance of inmates' "insight"
into their problems and greater use of positive than
negative sanctions.

What I consider to be a possible weakness in this
piece of work by Street and colleagues is not merely
that they found (with some exceptions) rather what
they set out to find, having drawn up their models in
such careful detail, but that they specifically selected

the schools for the research on the criterion of their fitting one of the three models (except that they hoped one to be a 'mixed model', which was not supported); the implication is, of course, that the research was designed in such a way as to create a falsely high probablility of their schema being confirmed. They also concluded that the Treatment schools were of more help to boys in developing self-control and understanding and that "of course" the Obedience/Conformity schools had only negative results, but in fact - according to my reading - none of their quoted results deal with this topic at all. However, the exceptions which Street and colleagues found to their scheme of models may turn out to have some importance for the present study (as we shall see in later chapters) in the fact that, having postulated a continuum, their figures suggest that the supposed middle-of-the-continuum schools (the Re-education/Development type) are often so far from the middle range of scores as to be much more like one of the extremes (not always the same extreme) and have rather little in common with each other. The writers themselves do not fully admit this difficulty, however, apart from pointing out that the two 'middle' schools were both 'open' communities, and one was run by a religious Order, which made comparisons with the other closed and secular schools less straightforward.

There are two other points which should be made about this study by Street, Vinter and Perrow in that it

covers, though from a different starting point, very much the same ground as the present one. In the first place, they found that although on most tests in areas of process, the staff groups had very distinct responses, the boys' reactions and perceptions tended to be rather similar between one school and another. We, however, hope to find that different processes are reflected in the perceptions of the girls. In the second place, the introduction by Morris Janowitz argues strongly for a gradual 'levelling up' of all schools towards the supposedly desirable 'treatment' model, and in the text the writers tend to use such terms as 'harsh' and 'brutalising' as unsubstantiated value terms in describing the methods of the Obedience/Conformity schools. Both these features reflect, in my view at least, a somewhat uncalled-for intrusion of value-judgments into an otherwise objective study. The research of the Dartington team is, in contrast, remarkably free from such personal coloration and this approach is the ideal for the present study.

Another important and original piece of work has been that of Grygier (1975) in developing a measurement of 'treatment potential'. A school would be said to have high treatment potential if the attitude of inmates to their fellows (as measured by sociometric tests) corresponed closely to the attitude of staff towards the inmates. This rests on the assumption that if the inmate sub-culture holds the same criteria of approval

as that of the official culture, then therapy will be accepted, whereas if the cultures are in opposition to each other therapy will be rejected, and thus the potential achievements of the treatment will be minimal. Grygier found, on testing twelve school units, that the MTP concept was highly valid as judged by observations and independent assessments. In the schools tested for post-release behaviour it was found that while the control school produced better behaviour only initially, with regression after release, the test school (high in MTP) produced continued improvement after release; in general, however, no significant association was found between MTP and subsequent conviction. Another interesting result of this study which is relevant to our present concerns was the evidence that strong adverse labelling of inmates - e.g. as 'very severely delinquent' - lowered the MTP considerably.

Theoretical only.   The first study which must be mentioned under this heading, if only because its title suggests it ought to be highly relevant, is Howard Jones' "The Approved School: a Theoretical Model" (Jones 1965). However, this paper is rather disappointing from the theoretical point of view. Jones distinguishes three types of school, based on the views of Heads and managers - the conflict type, the charismatic type and the religious type - each of

which is said to have certain characteristics of its
own, but the arguments for these types and their
peculiar characteristics are unconvincing and there is
no theoretical framework into which the three types
can be conveniently fitted: their appearance seems to
be mainly fortuitous.

A study of a very different kind, but far more fruit-
ful for research into patterns of process in schools,
is Bridgeland's "Pioneer Work with Maladjusted Children"
(1971). Although this is a survey of schools for
maladjusted rather than delinquent children, as areas
of research the two have many similarities and also a
number of common ancestors in such early schools as
Homer Lane's 'Little Commonwealth'. The book is not an
empirical study in any way, but because it is a general
overview, especially of pioneer work and particularly
concerned with diverse personalities and the resulting
styles of their schools, it does give a very useful
picture of contrasts due to differences in values.
Bridgeland makes the point at the outset that thera-
peutic education is very dependent upon individual
figures, that is to say generally upon Heads of schools,
for its distinctive approaches to the task. The main
contrast displayed (though not specifically commented
upon) by Bridgeland is between those schools whose
Heads (such as Dr. Dodd and Dr. Fitch) view self-
discipline as a quality which is to be inculcated by
the use of external discipline, good habits and exhort-

ation, and those schools whose Heads (like Homer Lane and A.S.Neill) believe that self-discipline can only develop through the freedom of children to govern themselves and to learn by the lesson of necessity, rather than the lessons imposed by adult authority. Some Heads are seen to take an apparently intermediate position; in connexion with the Caldecott Community it is said that "self-control was not to be learnt by overcoming difficulties and confusions, nor from the habit of being in trouble, but from character achieved by each child being given a real sense of responsibility for his own actions, the compulsion of self-discipline derived from a demanding but loving and secure community" (op. cit. p84). These types of approach reflect, it is clear, a similar kind of distinction to that made by Street, Vinter and Perrow in their continuum from conformity to therapy, but the real value of Bridgeland's study is its contribution to an understanding of the values and rationales behind the outward process: how, for example, it is possible for all types to stress the goal of self-discipline while holding utterly different views on the real meaning of this goal and thus on the method to be used for prosecuting its achievement.

EMPIRICAL SCHEMES

Of the three studies I want to discuss under this heading, two were in fact not available until the fieldwork of the present research was completed;

however, their content and method are so closely related to ours that it seems best to deal with them here, even though they did not actually influence the course of this research.

First, however, we shall look at a study which was already published, that of King, Raynes and Tizard (1971) in institutions for mentally handicapped children. These workers did not draw up a scheme of institutional types at the outset, but derived one from a careful empirical study of various areas in the institutions in question. By taking a number of different measurements, particularly of organisational practices, routines, social relationships and so on, they distinguished two types of regime: the 'child-oriented' regime which had a less rigid routine, less 'block' handling of children, less depersonalisation and less social distance than the other 'institution-oriented' type. It was found that staff trained in nursing tended to use the more institution-oriented practices, while staff trained in child care were more child-oriented. There was a special problem of measuring effectiveness in these institutions, since the children were unlikely ever to return to the outside world, which was met by employing criteria of children's reactions and behaviour within the institution. This showed that under the more child-centred regimes, such things as speech and feeding behaviour were more advanced than they were in the institution-centred type.

King, Raynes and Tizard's extremely thorough and well
thought out study is a model piece of research of its
  kind, showing that even when measures of effectiveness
are not so easily defined as they are, for example,
when counting subsequent reconvictions from a penal
institution, it is possible to distinguish different
processes and to find meaningful associations between
these and levels of effectiveness. And again, although
the method of this team was directed more towards
organisational practices in differentiating regimes,
their findings have a number of similarities to those
of other workers. In particular, it was established
that some telling dimensions in institutional research
are those of social distance versus closeness, rigidity
versus flexibility, and mass handling versus individual-
isation, and further more that the latter end of each
of these dimensions appears to result in greater
benefits to the inmates.

The second study I want to discuss here is particularly
interesting in view of the fact that it used one of
the instruments used in the present research, namely
the Social Climate Questionnaire developed by Heal,
Sinclair and Troop (1973). In the study in question,
Kevin Heal and Pat Cawson (in Tizard et al. 1975)
looked at various Approved schools in terms of organ-
isation and change. They found that the main distinct-
ion was not so much between different institutions as
a whole, but between different staff roles, in partic-
ular between the teachers who used an educational model

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of treatment, and house staff who used a care model. The authors certainly found no support for the "traditional stereotype of Approved schools as punitive or repressive" - there was a high level of care and concern in all the institutions studied - but in general the educational model was dominant because of the dominance of the staff who held it, namely those whose position or training was that of the teacher. They found senior staff more treatment-oriented (although as their definition of 'treatment' was mainly concerned with treatment planning this is hardly a surprising finding) and also that senior staff had more influence than lower-level staff upon children's perceptions as measured by the Social Climate Questionnaire. This study was not concerned with measuring effectiveness, however, so its usefulness for comparison with the present work is rather limited.

The final empirical study I want to look at is that already mentioned under other headings by Millham, Bullock and Cherrett (1975), of the Dartington team, in boys' Approved schools. The team studied eighteen out of the total of twenty such schools within one administrative area in England, comparing their regimes and also, as we have seen in Part A, their relative effectiveness. On the comparison of regimes, the authors state that "the picture which now follows of different residential styles may simply appear descriptive, but these are not just subjective impressions.

On the contrary, the styles of boarding described
derive from careful, objective and comparative assess-
ments of many aspects of the school structure. For
example, we scored the ways in which individual schools
emphasised different aspects of the control process;
people's goal perceptions were carefully rated; the
nature of their roles, conflicts and resolutions were
also enumerated." They divided the schools initially
into those emphasising expressive goals and those
concentrating on instrumental goals, a distinction
which had been prepared, as already noted, in an earlier
publication. The classes of regime they distinguish
are: Nautical schools, Senior Training, Junior Training,
Family Group, Campus Style and Therapeutic Community.
The first three types tended to have more rigid routines,
stressing hard work and discipline, lacking home com-
forts in some cases although often having plenty of
sports facilities and the like. In general, the
structure of these schools was autocratic; there were
many rules and regulations, though without these nec-
essarily being over-repressive. Overall, the dominant
motif was training - acquisition of work skills, and
learning of acceptable behaviour patterns - with a lack
of interest in self-expression.

The Family Group schools tended to stress affective
relationships and pastoral care in small groups, being
more akin to Children's Homes than to other Approved
schools. They are more flexible, with less emphasis
on organised systems of reward and punishment, being

best described on the whole as paternalistic. The
Campus Style schools are 'show pieces', equipped with
impressive facilities in modern and attractive surr-
oundings. Having many sub-units with a certain amount
of autonomy, however, meant that organisational goals
became important, according to the authors, and in
fact little personal freedom or personal expression
seemed to be possible. The Therapeutic Communities
are clearly intended to be modelled on certain elements
of milieu therapy in mental hospitals, but also on
the psychoanalytically oriented 'progressive' schools
of the 1930's. An important feature of these schools
was the strong inmate sub-culture which developed,
due (the authors suggest) to the difficulty of adapt-
ing the 'therapeutic community' concept to the needs
of involuntarily-detained, working-class delinquent
boys. Certainly, these communities gave children more
say in decision-making and had more permissive routines,
but there was a great deal of manipulation going on by
both staff and boys in attempts to take control of the
situation.

Having thus outlined each 'style' of school descript-
ively, the authors go on to explore the methods of
control used in the schools. Here, however, they only
tabulate comparisons between junior, intermediate and
senior schools, without regard to the different 'styles'.
They remark, however, that even in the supposed thera-
peutic communities the controls mainly used are utilit-
arian: the manipulation of money, grading, leave and

release dates, and forfeiture of various freedoms and privileges. The next area, pastoral care, is explored in terms of gross percentages (e.g. the percentage of boys in all schools who would consult staff on a personal problem), by comparing Approved with other types of school (e.g. public boarding and state day schools) and also by comparing the six different 'styles' of school. In this last exercise, it is found that the Family Group and Campus schools have the highest levels of pastoral care (as judged by the question of consulting staff or other boys on a personal or family problem) while the training schools have the lowest.

Thorough, interesting and worthwhile as this study by the Dartington team obviously is, one is left with a certain feeling of confusion about the real purpose of the research, its theoretical framework, and the choice of methods for pursuing it. The introduction begins thus: "This book describes a system in transition. It provides a summary of two research reports on a group of Approved schools .... eighteen boys' Approved schools are compared .... we look at the schools as complex organisations .... Initially, we describe the different regimes the Approved schools adopt and chart the response of both boys and staff to such life styles. This helps us to establish the nature, strength and weakness of particular approaches to residential care. Our research project then explores the careers of... boys after they have been released, seeking to establish whether their residential experience has made any

identifiable impact .... Were some regimes more eff-
ective than others ?" (op. cit. p1).

It appears from this statement of intentions, then,
that description of tne state of 'The Approved School'
as an institution at a certain point in time, is the
real business of the research. Had the intention been
to discover which types of schools were most effective
in certain ways, it would presumably have been recog-
nised as inadequate, for example, to pick out different
styles of school chiefly on the basis of the age-group
admitted (junior versus senior training schools), of
what the schools claim to be (e.g. a 'therapeutic
community') and what their external appearances suggest
them to be (a 'nautical school', a 'campus school')
only to discover that they were not in fact all these
titles suggest - for example, that the therapeutic
communities did not use normative controls rather than
utilitarian ones and did not have a comparatively
high level of pastoral care. It is true that the
autnors list (as quoted on p31 of this chapter) some
of the methods used to differentiate schools, but
there is a vagueness about their account which is not
helped by the fact that none of these measurements are
apparently produced in evidence. The division into
'styles' is thus, as far as one can see, neither
properly a priori in our sense (i.e. it is not just-
ified theoretically at the outset) nor properly empir-
ical, but really consists of a set of convenient ad hoc

labels on a non-systematic selection of features.
This being the case, it is, of course, perfectly
adequate to the authors' stated purpose of describing
a system and its gross impact upon the population
admitted to it, but the question must arise whether it
is adequate to the further implied purpose of compar-
ing different types of school and particularly of
comparing their relative effectiveness. Surely, unless
the schools are differentiated precisely by such crit-
eria as methods of control (or emphasis upon control
at all), levels of pastoral care and so on, it cannot
be reasonable to claim that "the nature, strength and
weakness of particular approaches" are being adequately
assessed, and this applies a fortiori to assessing the
comparative effectiveness of those different approaches.
It is not enough, in a genuinely comparative study,
to know merely that a school which calls itself a thera-
peutic community, for example, has this or that effect
upon the inmates, where a school which has an ex-Naval
officer as its Headmaster does not. (I exaggerate the
situation somewhat, of course, in order to bring out
the point.) One wants to be able to gather some kind
of information as to what it is about the process
involved in different approaches which can be called
upon to account for the differences in effects. In
fact, as we have seen in Part A on effects, the study
in question found very few differences in effectiveness
between the various styles of school: may this not be
due in part to the fact that the differentiation of

styles was not carried out in the most appropriate way ?

The present study intends, as has already been indicated, to gain the maximum possibility of understanding the relation between process and effectiveness by approaching the differentiation of schools from both genuinely theoretical and genuinely empirical angles.

C : The Present Approach

Having considered a number of possible ways of studying effects and process, in this section we shall decide upon the most suitable method of approach to the present research problem. It is clear from Part A that the most usual criterion of effectiveness in correctional institutions, namely subsequent convictions, is not likely to be suitable in the case of List D schools for girls, partly because of the general lack of success with this criterion in recent studies, but mainly because the percentage of girls actually committed to the List D schools by reason of offences is so low as to make a measure of subsequent convictions misleading as to the amount of 'success' enjoyed by the schools. The disadvantages of other behavioural measures as criteria are, as we have seen, the problems of selecting appropriate areas for measurement, judging what should be counted as constituting success, and the systematic analysis of this type of measurement. Thus although we can find no precedent for using personality or attitude scales by themselves as a criterion of

effectiveness, there seems at least to be a case for trying them out in the absence of anything more suitable. However, this is a negative argument: more positive reasons will be encountered later in this section.

We have already determined to study process in terms of the total affective environment, with particular attention to the areas of models, goals and methods. Some of the studies we have looked at have also concentrated on these areas, at least in part, but where some have started with a theoretical classification scheme of school regimes at the outset, others have derived their schemes from an analysis of the data collected in research. We have suggested that the present research intends to employ both these methods: to study school process by the means already outlined, collecting many kinds of data which will later be analysed in the search for patterns of process, but at the same time approaching the subject of classification from a theoretical angle by asking what kinds of process we might expect to find in institutions devoted to what we have called therapeutic education. (From the point of view of natural history, it is of course important that the data collection should be carried out independently, that is to say first, rather than allow a theoretical classification to influence the initial selection and judgment of evidence.)

We have also stated that in order to allow the maximum possibility of relating process to effects, it

would be desirable to locate our survey of both effects
and process within a unified conceptual framework, so
that we are asking: "What are the characteristics of
the models, goals and methods with reference to this
concept ?" and "What are the effects achieved by the
process with reference to the same concept ?" If, for
example, we chose subsequent convictions as the crit-
erion of effectiveness then, to locate process within
the same conceptual framework, we should have to ask:
"How is the process directed towards achieving a red-
uced conviction rate ? To what extent do the staff
actually aim at reducing convictions ? What methods
are directed towards preventing future convictions ?"
and so forth. If, on the other hand, we chose to
study process in terms, say, of expressive versus
instrumental goals, then in order to remain within
a unified framework we should have to ask: "What types
of instrumental and expressive goals are achieved by
the schools ? In what proportions ?" and so on. The
'mixed method' is to study process via, say, types of
goals (expressive, instrumental etc.) but measure
effectiveness via subsequent convictions. Even though
connexions may well be established by this method, the
theoretical relationship which would be most useful to
further research is left highly obscure. The problem
of the present section, then, is to find a concept which
makes sense both as a dimension for studying process
and as a means of measuring effectiveness.

In order to find such a concept it is necessary to look again at two of the chief areas involved: in the first place at the perceived characteristics of the subjects (having disposed of two previous generalis- ations of them as offenders and as sexual miscreants) and in the second place at the avowed and designated fuctions of the schools to which the actual process may be expected to relate.

CHARACTERISTICS OF GIRLS

As an introduction to their survey on delinquency in girls, the Cowies (1968) give a resumé of demographic and background features relating to girls or to a comparison between girls and boys, drawn from twenty studies dating back to the 1920's and resulting in an eighteen point summary. This can hardly be bettered as a precis of the information available (except for the later undue emphasis which the Cowies give to the evidence on sexual misbehaviour,, so I shall simply quote from it here the points which have bearing on the present work. (It should be noted that in what follows, 'delinquent' is used to cover a number of different types of categorisation - offenders, children in compulsory care and so on - but it is clear that these are the same sorts of girls as are likely to make up our List D school population.)

".... (2) A large part of the delinquencies of girls consists in sexually ill-regulated behaviour, of a

type not to demand social sanctions in the case of an adult .... (5) Delinquent boys approximate to general population norms much more closely than delinquent girls, in all features which have proved open to testing .... (9) Social factors [e.g. poverty, delinquent area, etc.] have been found to be of very great importance in the causation of delinquency in boys: there is little evidence that they play anything like the same part in the case of girls .... the effective motivational factors are connected, much more than with boys, with the intimate family, and with the girl's personal relations with her parents .... (12) The delinquent girl .... is still more likely than her peers to have achieved a poor educational standard, to have a poor school record and to have disliked school .... (13) The 'broken home' is found more frequently with the delinquent than the non-delinquent, and more commonly with delinquent girls than with delinquent boys .... (15) Where they have been looked for, deficiencies in training, discipline and habit-formation have been found to play an important role .... (16) The delinquent girl is generally an unhappy girl, and her unhappiness is most commonly related to disturbed emotional relationships with parents. However, children who are neglected by their mothers are more likely to become delinquent, even when normally affectionate relationships hold." (op. cit. p43-5)

As we have already seen from the Cowies' figures and from the Scottish child care statistics, by far the

major proportion of girls are committed under the portmanteau heading of 'care or protection' rather than as offenders. Richardson (1969) remarks that "the most exaggerated feature among the girls in the Approved school population was emotional immaturity, and a marked tendency of dependence and attention-seeking." She also quotes the findings of the Underwood Report (1955) in which the largest percentages of problems came under the headings of truancy (including wandering from home and staying out late), stealing and pathological lying, unmanageability (defiance, disobedience, etc.), demands for attention and aggressiveness (temper tantrums, bullying, etc.). Even the Home Office study of older girls all committed initially for offences (HMSO 1967) found from their dissimilarity analysis that there were four fairly distinct groups or syndromes: the psychiatrically disturbed, the drug-takers, the conventional 'hooligan' type, and those unable to manage their sex lives. It would be fair, I think, to summarise all this material by saying that the salient problems in girls committed to List D schools seem likely to be those connected with social relationships, family adjustment and personal identity. They fall, in other words, into an area which we might broadly describe as that of 'social adjustment'.

FUNCTIONS OF SCHOOLS

We saw in Chapter One that the official designation

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of the List D school suggested that it was to be
involved in two related though not wholly compatible
functions: that of supplying the needs of certain
socially-disadvantaged children, and that of bringing
about certain reforms in social behaviour. The White
Paper "Children in Trouble" (1968c) which preceded the
English legislation comparable to the Social Work
(Scotland) Act sums up the official expectations
for compulsory care in the following way. It speaks
of ".... helping children whose behaviour is unacceptable
to grow up, to develop personal relationships, and to
accept their responsibilities towards their fellows,
so that they become mature members of society."
Thus the unqualified use of the word 'unacceptable'
links the reason behind the need for compulsion with
the objectives of the care which the children are
deemed to be in need of: 'unacceptable' behaviour
(which may or may not include law-breaking) is to be
replaced by 'acceptable' behaviour, but the implicat-
ion remains that this process is intended to act to
the ultimate benefit of the child as well as to the
benefit of society.

The Home Office Advisory Council on Child Care
produced not long after this (HMSO 1970) a manual of
concepts, principles and conclusions from a project
on the proposed Community Homes. While stating that
this was "not a document representing official policy,
nor does it set out to provide a blueprint for all the
community homes of the future", this manual necessarily

represents the informed professional opinion of the representatives from the Local Authorities, the Home Office, the Approved Schools Association and the Department of Education and Science who composed the steering committee for the project. As such, it may be taken to summarise the prevailing views of leading professionals on the purpose of such institutions in the present day climate of opinion. In a section entitled "Meeting the child's needs", the book says:

"For healthy development it is important, not only that a child's basic physical needs should be met adequately, but also that he should experience satisfying personal relationships, both with adults and with other children, and should have the opportunity for satisfactory identifications. It is through this experience that a child can grow up with a realisation of his own worth. He needs the underlying sense of security that it gives if he is to learn to cope with his impulses, to be able to postpone immediate gratification and to develop self-discipline. A child must feel safe enough to make mistakes, and to be able to learn from them without undue anxiety; he has to be helped to appreciate the needs and feelings of others, and to learn to share and to give and thus to acquire habits of socially acceptable behaviour. He needs opportunity to acquire skill in making choices and must be encouraged to develop a concept of right and wrong. A growing ability to communicate with others and an increasing sense of satisfaction through achievement are fundamental to healthy development." (op. cit. p4).

A number of other writers who are themselves involved in the field of children's institutions have expressed similar views. For example, Derek Miller (1964) describes his book concerning a hostel for ex-borstal boys as:

"about the treatment of some of society's cripples, young institutionalised deprived delinquents. When emotional crippling occurs, the process by which human beings give to one another is interrupted, and vicious circles of mutual attack and withdrawal tend ultimately to be created between the individual, his family and the society in which he lives. His relationship to himself becomes equally unsatisfactory. Only when these processes are interrupted can he start to realise his potentiality as a human being .... the aim should be to have a richer future in terms both of the individual's emotional life and of what he is able to achieve." (p. ix)

David Wills (1971), writing of Balbernie's Cotswold Community, says that Approved school boys are "behind that brave front frightened, wounded, damaged, inadequate little boys" (p18) and he later continues:
"It is realised that the total day-to-day living experience is what is going to influence the residents, and staff are trained, helped and encouraged to see their fundamental role in making that experience rich and positive and fruitful - in fact therapeutic."
What is fundamental to the treatment process for delinquent young people is, he says: "the replacement of a crude, individualistic, blind self-seeking ....by

concern and consideration for others."

Kellmer Pringle (quoted in Bridgeland 1971) said in
connexion with the Caldecott Community that: "There
comes a time when the child begins to take up the
responsibility for his own life. If at that moment
he is helped and encouraged he will find his own
individuality and undergo a sort of mental conversion
.... After that he can face his own troubles as he
meets them." (p84).

All these writers have their own particular ideas
about the most desirable or efficacious methods for
bringing about the particular kinds of results they
want to achieve; what they have in common, as far as
we are concerned here, is their emphasis on the deep
personal and social issues underlying the superficial
label of delinquency and their belief that these
issues are the ones that must be tackled.

As time goes on, the ideas of these pioneers and of
many others working along similar lines have become
more widespread and generally acceptable. As notions
of retribution and deterrence have gradually become
less fashionable in the overall climate of opinion
in dealing with juveniles at least, the emphasis has
changed from the reprehensibility of delinquents and
their behaviour to their potentiality for alteration
into more acceptable citizens. This change of emphasis
is pointed out by Millham et al.'s (1975) comparison

of the 1961 Approved School Managers Handbook which stressed purposeful activity and trade training as a direct replacement for delinquent activities, with the 1967 Home Office Development Group publication in which: "the young offender was no longer to be seen in official eyes as needing training but would be approached as a social casualty exhibiting deviant behaviour as a symptom of unhappiness and maladjustment. He was to be viewed in the context of other children in care and supported in a variety of communities where affective relationships were at a premium." (op. cit. p47) More recently still of course, as mentioned in Chapter One, some writers are now tending to advocate a return to a 'just deserts' model, in reaction to what some feel has been an excess of psycho-social 'tinkering'. As yet, however, the influence of this movement does not appear to be showing effects within the practical List D school field.

PROPOSALS

From the foregoing documents we may begin to form an idea of what, according to current attitudes and beliefs, a List D school should be and what it should not. From the legal point of view, as we saw in Chapter One, the emphasis is equally divided between what we may call the 'static' aspects of care and the 'dynamic' aspects. 'Static' aspects involve physical and emotional care, containment or control, and protection; they deal with the child as he is, without

aiming to change him or his siuation except tempor-
arily for the length of his period of residence in the
school. 'Dynamic' aspects of guidance, training and
treatment, on the other hand, call for a change or
development to take place in the child's behaviour,
attitudes, emotional stability and so on which will
continue to be effective after he has left the school.
The representatives involved more closely in the field
stress quite decidedly a dynamic approach which envis-
ages improvements in the child's social and personal
well-being, development and skills taking place in
the environment of the community home. We note the
absence of references to any notion such as might be
entertained in the adult penal field of a child's
'paying his debt to society' and little indication
that the protection of society is to be secured by
keeping these its less 'acceptable' elements under
lock and key. The professional objectives of the
List D school with respect to its charges, therefore,
seem according to these sources to be centred again
on the concept we have broadly called 'social adjust-
ment'.

Since the tenor of aims for compulsory care seems now
to be so much directed towards social adjustment -
more than towards punishment, control, training or
mere static care - and since girls, at least, are
committed to compulsory care for reasons bound up
much more closely with failure in social adjustment

than with simple law-breaking behaviour, we therefore propose to use the concept of social adjustment as a framework for this research. This means that we shall attempt to assess the girls both on input and output in terms of social adjustment so that we may calculate whether or not certain girls (or girls from certain schools) have improved (or improved in certain ways) their level of social adjustment during the time they have spent at the school. At the same time, we shall be studying the school process by asking to what extent the models, goals and methods employed are concerned with social adjustment and how they are implemented in those terms. The fact that both parts – process and effectiveness – are to be studied in the same terms will, it is judged, increase the possibility of understanding the relation between the two parts. It should be reasonable to expect (virtually on a priori grounds, within the unified concept approach) that, for example, a school which is strongly committed to social adjustment will have better results in that direction than one which is not; or that a school which concentrates on a certain aspect of social adjustment will be more successful in that area if not in others. While such evidence would not be proof of a causal relationship between the process and the effects, it would at least be a more meaningful association than, for example, a correlation between size of buildings and reconviction rate, and thus more productive for

generating hypotheses for later research. It is hoped further to increase understanding of these connexions by the theoretical investigation of different patterns of process.

The next question for the research, then, is how to translate this concept of social adjustment into suitable operational terms, first for the measurement of input and output, secondly for the assessment of school process. These and other problems in the empirical area of the research are dealt with in the following chapter on method of research.

A final note may be added here on the particular use of girls and girls' schools as subjects for research. There were two minor reasons for choosing to study girls rather than boys: in the first place, having worked in girls' schools myself as both teacher and care staff, my initial ideas tended to focus on their specific problems; in the second place, research on delinquency, compulsory care and related topics is so overwhelmingly concerned with boys (who do, of course, form the greater proportion of young people thus involved) that it seemed an opportunity to redress the balance a little. However, the most important reason was a theoretical one: because girls are not committed primarily for offences and the whole idea of 'causing delinquency' is played down in girls' schools, they afforded the best opportunity of using a measure such as social adjustment, rather than looking at

reconvictions yet again. One thus avoided additional
difficulties of justifying the use of such a measure,
which would have been present in the far more delinquency-
orineted schools for boys. It should be stressed,
however, that the use of this concept and the overall
approach taken by this research, is intended to be
applicable to institutions for boys also, although in
that case the importance of conviction and reconviction
may have to be taken into account as well, since it
constitutes such an important factor in the criteria
of admission of boys to compulsory care.

This chapter is divided into two parts. In Part A,
Testing Effects, we look at the problems of assessing
social adjustment by quantitative means, the selection
of a suitable test, validity and reliability, admin-
istration and scoring of the test, the techniques of
measuring change and use of the control group. In
Part B, Testing Process, we examine the problems found
and decisions made on selecting data relating to
school process and the quantitative tests used for
certain areas of process. Factual information
about the schools in the study, providing a context
for the data collected, is to be found in Appendix
Three.

A : Testing Effects

ASSESSING SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

As explained in the previous chapter, it was decided
to assess effects solely on an input/output basis
related to a particular variable, that variable being
what we have called 'social adjustment'. Having only
loosely defined what is meant in this context by
'social adjustment' it is now necessary to operation-
alise the concept so that henceforth when we speak of,
say, a change in social adjustment, we shall be under-
stood to refer to a change in score on a scale of a
particular variable called 'social adjustment'.

Two possibilities had at first suggested themselves
for quantifying the notion of social adjustment, but
the first - counting actual behaviour units defined
as socially unacceptable - was rejected as too large
and complex an undertaking given the time limit on
the study, besides the theoretical problems noted
earlier of choice, definition, measurement and com-
parison. The other possibility was a questionnaire
test in which attitudes or personality variables relat-
ing to social adjustment are assumed to be indicated
by the responses to selected statements and questions.
The difficulties involved in a test which purports
to measure 'underlying' variables have already been
referred to: it is essentially an indirect method and
the problems of the relation between responses, actions
and 'personality traits' are as yet unresolved. How-
ever, once the social adjustment instrument has been
decided upon as an operational definition of the
concept, the problem may be shelved for the duration
the research, in the sense that we can test the
difference between input and output of social adjust-
ment solely in terms of changes in scores.

The general notion of personality assessment by means
of psychometric tests which are based on a theory of
'traits' or 'states' has been attacked by Mischel (1968)
on several grounds. In the first place, Mischel argues
that although so-called objectivity can be achieved

by means of standardised stimuli, scoring procedures, limited answer sets, etc., there is no way of dealing with the diverse interpretations which respondents put on the stimuli - the questions - presented. At least as far as the present study is concerned, this point is not of paramount importance since in dealing with comparisons over a period of time - 'before and after' testing - it does not matter whether A who answers 'yes' to the question 'Are you happy ?' in fact looks gloomier and weeps a greater volume of tears than B who answers 'no' to the same question; our main interest is in whether A's responses display a change over the period in question. Mischel's second point is that the test may bear no relation to actual behaviour; as we shall see later, this objection can to a large extent be met by including in the processes of validation some comparisons with other more behavioural types of measurement.

Mischel's third point, and the real subject of his book, is that we should not waste our time looking for stable cross-situational traits but should concentrate on responses within a particular situation, with a view to altering not traits them-selves (since to Mischel the concept of a 'trait' is not really of any usefulness in the first place) but the environments which give rise to the appearance of traits (in reality only stereotyped responses).

This is an argument which has much relevance to the List D school problem, since there is no doubt that in many cases the environment is a far more decisive and pervasive influence on the young subject's behaviour than is their own individual 'personality'. But Mischel's suggestion that the subject can learn new responses in a new situation is precisely what the List D schools are about: giving children a break from their normal (or abnormal) environment and offering the opportunity of responding in more felicitous ways to real-life problems presented in an atmosphere more conducive to the desired responses. But this approach does not preclude the use of psychometric tests to measure to what degree the new responses are apparently being applied more generally, although the results may be rather faint and few by this method. It was therefore accepted as appropriate to use psychometric testing in this case, in spite of Mischel's cogent criticisms.

Another serious criticism has been made to this type of test (Crowne and Marlowe 1964) of which I was unaware at the time of making the choice. This is the possibility that virtually all that is measured by a questionnaire test of some desirable characteristic (such as social adjustment) is the strength of the subject's desire to have it - or to appear to have

it - rather than his actual possession of it. Abundant evidence has been advanced by these researchers to suggest that this is the case, by comparing results with measures of conformity, yea-saying and so on. I consider the validity of this criticism to be high and to cast serious doubt upon the unreserved use of such measures. At the same time, I think there is something to be said for their use in a situation such as the present one, even if the criticisms are allowed to stand. It can be argued that the supposed lack of social adjustment in compulsory care subjects is attributable as much to their lack of awareness of what is socially desirable and lack of desire even to partake of it. In List D school terms, therefore, (though not in everyone's terms) an improvement in awareness and in the wish to appear (or to exist) in a socially desirable light may be in some sense a 'real' improvement.

At the time in question, however, I proceeded on the assumption that it made sense to test social adjustment by questionnaire. Limitations of time and of the necessary skills on the part of the researcher precluded designing this centrally important test from scratch. A thorough search was therefore made among tests previously used in comparable cases and in the literature (with particular reference to the Mental Measurements Yearbooks) for a test designed to measure personality characteristics related to social adjustment. A number

of conceptually suitable tests were rejected for
various reasons, such as being inappropriate to the
population in question (aimed at children or adults
rather than adolescents, or not being self-administered
(teachers' assessments were hardly to be recommended
in the present case since it is only too well-documented
a fact that teachers' perceptions can heavily influence
the results they achieve). Tests involving psychiatric
concepts which the researcher had neither the technical
knowledge nor the inclination to use were - although
common in compulsory care research - rejected also, as
were those which were apparently of dubious reliability
or validity. The test finally chosen was the California
Psychological Inventory developed by Gough (1957),
hereafter referred to as the CPI, which seemed to
satisfy all the main criteria.

THE CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

In the manual to the CPI, the author states that "the
inventory is intended primarily for use with 'normal'
(non-psychiatrically disturbed) subjects. Its scales
are addressed principally to personality characteristics
important for social living and social interaction."
Thus far, therefore, the purpose of this test coincides
closely with the requirements of the study.

The CPI in its entirety consists of eighteen scales
divded into four classes: 1. Measures of poise,
ascendancy and self-assurance. 2. Measures of

socialisation, maturity and responsibility. 3. Measures
of achievement potential and intellectual efficiency.
4. Measures of intellectual and interest modes.
Clearly, not all these scales were relevant to the
present study. Besides that, a shorter version was
desirable for two reasons, firstly for ease of admin-
istration (and, as it proved, this was very importatnt
in a practical setting, since girls were often disin-
clined to answer any questions at all, and a paper of
224 questions - the final length - was quite enough
for the concentration span of most of them, and secondly
for ease of analysis, since all correlations would have
to be made separately for each scale. That is, unless
a factor analysis gave reasonable grounds for combining
them; but the one published factor analysis on the CPI
(Crites 1961) did not suggest that this could be done
in the present case, so far as formal analysis was
concerned.

In the end, six scales were selected to make up the
operational definition of social adjustment which
seemed most relevant to the situation of adolescent
girls who were judged by committal authorities as
socially unacceptable in their behaviour and whose
problems seemed to arise out of family difficulties,
failure in socialisation and personal unhappiness.
Five of the scales came from Class 2 and the remaining
scale (sense of well-being) from Class 1. The manual
to the CPI defines the purposes of these six scales
as follows:-

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Wb (sense of well-being): to identify persons who
minimise their worries and complaints, and who are
relatively free from self-doubt and disillusionment.

Re (responsibility): to identify persons of conscient-
ious, responsible and dependable disposition and
temperament.

So (socialisation): to indicate the degree of
social maturity, integrity and rectitude which the
individual has attained.

Sc (self-control): to assess the degree and adequacy
of self-regulation and self-control and freedom from
impulsivity and self-centredness.

Gi (good impression): to identify persons capable of
creating a favourable impression, and who are con-
cerned about how others react to them.

Cm (communality): to indicate the degree to which an
individual's reactions and responses correspond to
the modal ("common") pattern established for the
inventory.

These descriptions undoubtedly suggest at least a
prima facie relevance of the scales chosen to the
social adjustment concept previously outlined.

For each scale the manual also gives a list of charact-
eristics which high and low scorers tend to be seen as
possessing. For example, high scorers on Socialisation
tend to be seen as: "serious, honest, industrious,

modest, obliging, sincere and steady; as being con-
scientious and responsible; and as being self-denying
and conforming." Low scorers on Socialisation tend
to be seen as: "defensive, demanding, opinionated,
resentful, stubborn, headstrong, rebellious and un-
dependable; as being guileful and deceitful in dealing
with others; and as given to excess, exhibition and
ostentation in their behaviour." This description and
those of the other scales echo quite precisely the terms
used by teachers, parents, social workers and others in
presenting certain children as 'socially unacceptable'
and in need of compulsory measures of care.

The questions and scoring criteria for the CPI had
been empirically derived. It seems likely that people
who score low on these scales will in fact be judged
by those who would presumably score higher - teachers,
social workers, members of Children's Panels and so on
(school superintendents were among the highest of all
scorers in the original CPI trials) - as being relat-
ively unacceptable in their social behaviour. In
other words, as these high scorers are the people
chiefly responsible for the selection process by which
children are disposed to List D schools, it should
come as no surprise that it is in fact the low scorers
who are so selected. We may therefore expect that
compulsory care subjects would differ significantly
from a control group on the six-scale test of social
adjustment. In the original CPI trials, groups of

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female young delinquents and those with 'disciplinary
problems' were tested alongside a large sample of high-
school girls.   Comparing the scores on our six scales
for these three samples, we can calculate 'z' values
as follows:-

	Female young delinquents		Female disciplinary problems	
	z	p<	z	p<
Wb	3.05	.01	4.90	.01
Re	7.85	.01	7.15	.01
So	12.60	.01	7.60	.01
Sc	4.60	.01	4.05	.01
Gi	3.45	.01	2.55	.01
Cm	5.00	.01	2.95	.01

TABLE 3.1   FEMALE YOUNG DELINQUENTS AND DISCIPLINARY
PROBLEMS COMPARED WITH HIGH-SCHOOL GIRLS

Thus, on all the six scales chosen, these two groups
presumably akin to our compulsory care girls do differ
significantly from their peers. For boys, it is inter-
esting to note, the level of significant difference
between male young delinquents and high-school boys
only reaches the .01 level for two scales: Responsib-
ility and Socialisation. This supports the Cowies'
conclusion that in comparison with boys, the problems of
girls are more often involved with personal and social
relationships, whereas law-breaking behaviour in boys
may be relatively independent of social adjustment level.

It also supports our own contention that a suitable
measure of change for boys (such as conviction rates,
is not necessarily equally suitable for girls.

VALIDITY

The validity of the CPI had been extensively tested at
source by various methods, depending on the scale,
including staff ratings of various groups, subjective
assessments, faked tests and correlation with other
established measures. One of the original methods of
assessing validity for the scale of socialisation
presents a problem: tested groups were ranked by results
to determine whether a 'sociological continuum' was
thereby displayed. It was decided it was; for example,
high school 'best citizens' were seen to have the top
scores, training school inmates the lowest, with the
others (bank clerks, psychology students, etc.) in
between. This either suggests, it seems to me, a
certain circularity in the argument for using this
scale to differentiate between List D school girls and
others, or else it supports the theory that lack of
socialisation is actually a constituent element in the
situation of 'becoming a List D school inmate'. However,
the ambiguity of this one method of assessment among
many does not, I think, very seriously undermine the
validity of the scale in general.

One difficulty of validation for the population in the
present study was that the original validity, norms,

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range and so on were established on American populations. Two provisions were made to overcome this. First, certain changes were made in the text of the questions to bring them more into line with British ways of thinking and speaking; besides such obvious alterations as substituting 'pavement' for 'sidewalk' and 'my family' for 'my people', a number of questions were rephrased to reflect a more cisatlantic way of life; for example, 'It makes me angry when I hear of someone who has been wrongly prevented from voting' did not appear to have much relevance in a British context and was thus changed to '... prevented from doing their public duty.' A very few questions had to be omitted entirely because acceptable substitutes were not forthcoming; for example, 'I think Lincoln was greater than Washington'. Altogether, three questions were omitted and nine substantive and thirteen verbal changes were made. In the second place, the decision was made to ignore the American norms and standardisation procedures altogether. For the purposes of the present study, a method of standardising scores was really only needed for the purpose of comparing input with output scores, and for correlations with other data on the same individuals. Therefore, the input scores were divided into three groups based on the mean of the complete Main Sample's input scores: Normal (within one standard deviation either side of the mean), Low (more than one standard deviation below the mean) and High (more than one standard deviation

above the mean). Most analyses of change and correlation were made on this basis.

RELIABILITY

The CPI's reliability was originally established in two test-retest studies. One which retested after a lapse of from seven to twenty-one days found reliability coefficients "as high as those generally found in personality measurement". For the scales under consideration, these were:-

Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm
.75	.85	.80	.86	.81	.58

The poor reliability of the Communality scale is attributed by Gough to the shortness of the scale and its very skewed distribution. However, what was not commented on was the fact that all the questions on the Communality scale came in the final one-third of the test paper, apparently to facilitate stencil scoring. This was true of only one other scale (not used in our test), that of Flexibility, which turned out to have a reliability coefficient of .49, the lowest of only three below .7. Without any further evidence, one would be led to surmise that a fading of concentration towards the end (of 480 questions in the complete test) might be a factor in poor reliability. I therefore arranged my own selection of of questions in such a way that all scales were fairly evenly spread throughout the questionnaire. (This, incidentally, was the only alteration in order which

was made, except where the juxtaposition of two quest-
ions, intervening ones on other scales having been
removed, was obviously inappropriate./ Of course, it
was not possible to test whether this rearrangement
made any difference, but it seemed better to be on the
safe side.

The other test-retest study presented more of a prob-
lem for the present research, since it was given to
high school students with an intervening period of
one year. The manual notes that "the more modest
coefficients [e.g. Wb .75, Re .65 etc.] .... may
reflect in part the differing rates of maturation
among these adolescents during the year between test-
ings". But in our study, of course, that is exactly
what we want to measure. Unfortunately, I was unable
to trace any statistical method which would enable me
to take reliability figures into account in order to
be able to attribute any additional changes to a
process of maturation (or whatever). Thus the matter
of reliability must continue to be borne in mind when
assessing the results of change over time. However,
the fact that the main use of this test is to compare
school-groups with each other in their types and
degrees of change makes this problem less important
than it might otherwise have been.

ADMINISTRATION AND SCORING

Since its inception in 1950, it had been found that
the method of administering the CPI - supervised or

unsupervised, read aloud by the supervisor or silently
by the subject, etc. - had no discernible effect upon
the scores, though of course standard supervised test-
ing conditions were recommended and this was the ideal
for the present research. The original version of the
test consists of the text in a booklet, with separate
answer sheets to be scored with the use of templates
(or by machine). It was decided in this case, however,
to adopt a simpler method in which the subject was
required to ring her choice of answer (T or F for
'true' or 'false') alongside the statement itself; it
was felt that this would obviate a number of unnoticed
errors, confused corrections on the part of respond-
ents, etc. Scoring was then done by templates laid
against the answer column (with various double-
checking mechanisms incorporated) and a total raw
score obtained for each subject on each scale. These
scores were then classified, as previously explained,
into 'low', 'normal' and 'high' for each girl on each
scale.

The girls to take part in the study were quite simply
all the girls admitted to any of the five schools in
the study during the year from 1st April 1974 to
31st march 1975. (For further details of the schools
and their populations in general, see Appendix Three.)
It was expected from a survey of earlier statistics
that this would add up to about 150 girls altogether.
The first plan was to try to contact the girls before

they actually arrived at the school but this was found
to be quite impracticable both because they came from
homes and assessment centres all over Scotland, and
because they often arrived at very short notice. On
the other hand, it was not feasible to interview each
individual girl on immediate arrival at the school, in
order to minimise the influence of the school on the
input testing, since this would have meant the research-
er being continuously on the move around the country
interviewing one girl at a time.

The optimum plan was therefore thought to be to visit
each school once a month and interview all girls who
had entered since the previous visit. This did mean
that sometimes a girl had been in the school for, say,
three weeks before she was seen on supposed entry to
the school. However, since the schools were contacted
frequently by telephone, it was often possible to delay
or bring forward a visit so as to obviate the worst
defects in this direction. Girls were not usually
interviewed on their very first day in the school, in
any case, as it was felt that the disturbance of arrival
might affect test scores in an undesirable way. Some
girls were still missed by this method, for example
where the school had neglected to inform the researcher
(or hadn't known) that a girl wanted for interview was
going to be out on the day the interviewer called. A
few were deliberately omitted after it was found absol-
utely impossible to see them within the first four

weeks. One girl was whisked away while actually taking the tests to be transferred to another institution, and one refused to take any tests at all. Thus the 166 girls who finally took part in the first stage of testing, forming the group Main Sample I (MSI), were the great majority of those who entered the schools during the year (and omissions were fairly random), and they were interviewed on average between one and three weeks after arrival.

The decision when to apply the second stage of testing was delicate. The longer one left it, the more change would be likely to appear. On the other hand, one wanted to re-test as large a number of girls as possible. The schools were consulted on the average length of stay (it was found later that either practice was changing or their estimates were not very accurate) and it was calculated that re-tests at the end of six months should trap about two-thirds of the sample, giving large enough numbers for statistical analysis. The applied psychologists who acted as consultants to the study also advised that six months was the minimum time for meaningful results on re-testing with the type of scale in question. So Main Sample II was to comprise the subjects who were re-tested six months after their first administration. Three girls refused to be re-tested; of the remainder of non-retested girls, the majority had left the schools before their six months was up but a few were unavailable for other

reasons. As in MSI, if a girl could not be re-tested within a month either way of the specified time (although in fact only one girl was re-tested before her six months was up) she was omitted from MSII. Unfortunately, the balance of subjects among the schools turned out to be different in MSII from that in MSI since some of the schools tended to release girls earlier than others. The total number in MSII was finally 115 (69% of MSI) but in one school 89% were re-tested, in another only 37%. Such an unequal distribution had not been expected but at that stage nothing could be done to correct it.

MEASURING CHANGE

In order to assess what effects the schools had on social adjustment as operationally defined, the CPI was to be administered twice - once on the subject's entry to the school and again after a certain period spent in the school. The CPI was not specifically designed to measure change, and in the general case six months - the period chosen as the optimum length of time as previously explained - would be a short time over which to expect changes of this nature to be detectable. In this particular study, however, it was possible that, in adolescence, the mere passing of six months - the fact of being six months older - could make a difference that would reduce any change brought about by the school to insignificance.

It was chiefly in order to meet this problem that a control group was selected from secondary school girls of similar ages, to find out if there was any trend which might suggest a normal change over time during adolescence. If there was no such trend, one could reasonably argue that any changes in the main sample could - subject to the usual provisos - be attributed in some way to an effect of residence in the school. This would not, of course, necessarily mean that the school itself was responsible for the change: any sort of absence from home (in a prison or in a holiday camp) might produce the same change, even if we had no reason to suppose that List D school girls were any different from the controls. In fact, an unstable home - undoubtedly a feature of more List D girls than of controls - might predispose to a general instability in test scores. However, although there is probably some truth in this, it is virtually imposs- ible to allow for it in examining the results. But because there are five schools in the study, we have the compensating possibility that different schools may show different degrees or types of change; overall instability of scores is then less important, since we can attempt to associate such differential changes with differences found in school process.

Change was therefore measured in the following way. Original scores on each scale were classified as 'low', 'normal' or 'high' as previously explained. Whatever her original score, a girl was now classed as having

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undergone a significant change if the score on that
output scale varied from her input score by one standard
deviation or more (the standard deviation being taken
from the complete MSI scores). If her change in score
was plus one standard deviation or more, then she was
classed as a 'significant improver' on that scale; if
it was minus one standard deviation or more, then she
was classed as a 'significant deteriorator'; if there
was a difference of less than one standard deviation in
either direction between her input and output scores,
then she was classed as a 'non-changer' on that scale.

CONTROL GROUP

The main reason for setting up a control group was to
determine if any age-trend was discernible in CPI
scores. However, while the purpose was not to stand-
ardise CPI scores for Scottish school-girls, it was
presumed desirable to have as fair a sample as was
consistent with the restrictions of time and expense.
Since the latter ruled out a truly random sample within
the age-group, it was decided to limit the control
sample by bringing it closer in character to the main
sample. (In the event, the complete age-range of
MSI was 11yrs.5mths - 17yrs.1mth, but only four girls
in fact lay outside the range 12y.10m - 16y.3m. The
controls eventually ranged from 12y.7m - 16y6m; so the
ages of main and control samples were very closely
matched.)

The sample was therefore taken in the following way.
Glasgow was chosen as one sample area since it was
clear that this was the home city of a sizeable prop-
ortion of List D school girls (38%, according to sub-
sequent data) and Edinburgh was chosen to represent
the girls from less heavily urban areas (few came from
genuinely rural districts). Within each area chosen,
the Education Department was consulted on the choice
of two comprehensive schools which could be said to be
typical of the working class districts from which
List D school girls predominantly come. The advice of
the Education Departments was relied upon in finding
schools which were something between model establish-
ments and actual blots on the landscape. I can only
affirm that my overall impression on visiting the
chosen schools was that the selection appeared to have
fulfilled the conditions very well.

Each school was contacted and asked to provide a cross-
section of their girls in the age-group 13 to 16,
numbering about fifty girls in all for each school.
They were advised that if they had available more
girls than the required number, say twice as many,
they should take every other girl alphabetically.
But day schools have their problems, and I suspect
that none of them actually did it this way; however,
I judged that the groups chosen were in fact quite
representative of the age-group; certainly they came
from all levels of ability. Because of day-school

difficulties (there were several teachers' strikes around that time) the sections of the control group were tested over rather a long period - almost a year between first and last - but it is not obvious that this should have affected results in any way. However, all girls at one school were tested on the same day. Girls' names were not asked for, simply their ages, as this was the vital variable for research purposes.

SUPPLEMENTARY DATA

Besides the questionnaire instruments, demographic data such as age, reason for committal, previous resid- ential experience and so on was collected (mostly from school files) on all girls in the Main Sample. The chief purpose of this exercise was to find out to what extent the input could be described as being 'the same' for each school; if it were not (if, for example, one school received substantially more girls committed for offences than another) this fact might have to be taken into account when assessing output. It also makes possible a general comparison with similar data coll- ected by Richardson and the Cowies - for example, on the debated issue of the frequency of sexual delinquency. An explanation of the categories used in the demographic survey is contained in Appendix Three, in company with such of the data as is not used in the main text. Copies of all tests used are to be found in Appendix Two.

The only other data collected for girls relating to effects was a test of their perception of schools' goals, corresponding to that given to staff, which will be dealt with in a later section.

B : Testing Process

In Part B we consider what aspects of school process are to be tested and how to test them. There then follows an account of the quantitative tests used, notes on the administration of the tests and a discussion on the use of observational and conversational material in the study.

WHAT TO TEST

When discussing testing the effects on girls of the schools in question, we drew up a three-part plan of the research which could be diagrammed thus :-

INPUT ⟶ [PROCESS] ⟶ OUTPUT
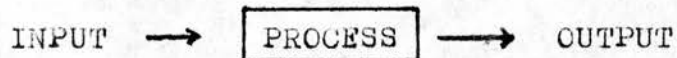
the effects being the measured difference between input and output, and postulated as being due - to a greater or lesser extent - to the process undergone.

In a similar way, we can draw up a three-part plan for studying the schools themselves through which the girls pass, particularly from the point of view of those who direct and carry out the process, namely the staff. Thus we want to know - besides what the characteristics of the input are in our quantitative (and supposedly

objective) terms – how the staff involved conceive of the input, that is, what is their model of the raw material on which they are to work. In the second place we want to know – besides what the output actually is in our terms – what the staff themselves are aiming at as far as the output is concerned, that is, what their goals are with reference to the girls. And finally, we want to know what methods the staff employ to achieve these goals with respect to the raw material as they conceive it. When these elements – models, goals and methods – are brought together, we have a composite of process: not merely of the objective environment through which girls pass, but of the affective environment as it is coloured and conditioned by the perceptions, purposes and change-directed activities of the staff. This concept of the affective environment and its influence can be superimposed on our original diagram thus:-

```
                      PROCESS
              ┌─────────────────────────────┐
              │ m                           │
              │ o                     g     │
INPUT ───────→│ d ──→ │methods│ ──→  o     │ ─────────→ OUTPUT
              │ e                     a     │
              │ l                     l     │
              │ s                     s     │
              └─────────────────────────────┘
```
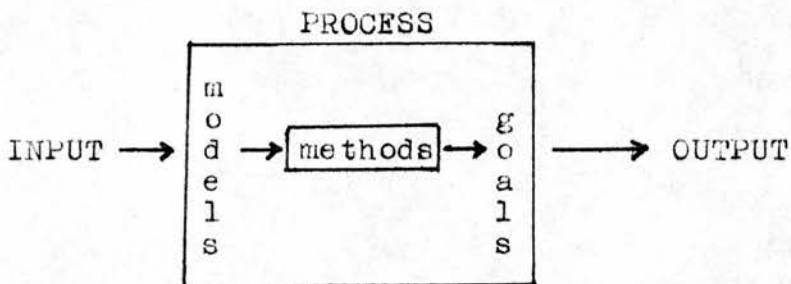
Since it had been decided (as explained in Chapter One) to assess the school process in the same terms as the girls themselves were assessed, viz. in terms of social adjustment, each of these three areas – models, goals and methods – would be looked at from the point of view of social adjustment. That is to say, in the first case,

we want to establish whether the models held by staff
are of girls whose needs are bound up with social
adjustment problems, or whether in fact they work from
some other standpoint, such as that the girls' needs
consist mainly of requirements for academic or domestic
training. In the second case, we want to know whether
staff goals are mainly based on enhancing social adjust-
ment or whether, for example, they aim chiefly at keep-
ing order within the school or enabling girls to serve
their time as comfortably as possible. In the third
case, we want to find out whether the methods staff
use in dealing with girls are in fact directed towards
improving their social adjustment, social skills,
understanding of themselves, their relationships and
so on, or whether perhaps they are mainly directed
towards obtaining obedience, maintaining peace and
quiet and so forth.

HOW TO TEST

As mentioned in Chapter One, the assessment of school
process has not previously been tackled in precisely
the way we wished to study it. There were, therefore,
few already established tests which the present res-
earch could hope to make use of. Moreover, while some
of the areas to be tested appeared to lend themselves,
at least in part, to quantitative measurement, others
did not. It was thus decided to use the following
methods of assessment on the three process areas in
question:-

models: purpose-designed questionnaire for staff
                        plus observation and informal conversation
            goals: purpose-designed questionnaire for staff
                        plus observation and informal conversation
            methods: observation and conversation only.

A supplementary questionnaire, as previously mentioned, on school goals was given to girls, to check to what extent the goals of staff were transmitted to girls during their stay. Finally, an established test was found which did seem to cover a general area closely allied to the totality of school process which we were studying; this was the Social Climate Questionnaire developed by Kevin Heal and colleagues (Heal, Sinclair and Troop, 1973). It was therefore decided to administer this test to girls to see in what ways, if any, it supported our findings by other means. Each of these quantitative tests - the Concept of Needs Questionnaire (models), the Perception of Goals Questionnaires for both staff and girls, and the Social Climate Questionnaire will now be considered in more detail, after which we shall discuss the methods of observation and conversation used in the study.

MODELS

It had been decided to assess some aspects of staff models and goals by quantitative instruments. It was felt to be valid to take means or other summarising

scores for staff groups as a whole to represent
'the goals (models) of the school', especially in
order to be able to compare one school with another.
However, this rather simplified and partial picture
will be modified later on by the conversational and
observational material and particularly by the views
of Heads of School, who were not included in the
questionnaire testing for staff.

The first questionnaire for staff, entitled Concept
of Needs Questionnaire - CNQ - was designed to distinguish
between needs of practical training and of social
adjustment. We wanted to find out, in other words,
whether staff saw themselves as required to supply a
need for training girls in practical habits, hygeine
and so on, or whether they saw a more important need
of girls as being in the areas of emotional maturity,
awareness and so on. This distinction was selected
for objective testing as being the most subtle dis-
tinction between models which we wanted to make:
differences between models of girls as needing training
and as needing punishment, control and so on were
thought to be more easily accessible to discovery by
straightforward observation (cf. Gibbons 1965).

Staff were asked in the CNQ to rank twelve descriptive
phrases in order from one to twelve of the 'seriousness
of the problem' with reference to girls coming into
the school. This rather vague definition of the
situation to be assessed was intentional: it allowed

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both factual interpretations (how the girls were actually perceived) and evaluative ones (how important these problems were), thus providing a complex assessment of staff's conceptions. Six of the phrases offered described failures in social adjustment, the terms used being drawn from the CPI manual's interpretation of the six scales used for testing girls, thus keeping to our operational definition as closely as possible. Examples of phrases are: "impetuosity and lack of forethought" (Responsibility) and "lack of self-control" (Self-control). The other six phrases described failures in practical training: personal habits, work habits, attitudes to property and so on; for example, "carelessness with own and other people's property", "lack of cleanliness in personal habits". Appendix Two contains the complete questionnaire.

Three different methods of scoring were tried out. In the first, the rankings for each respondent (1 to 12, with 1 representing 'most serious') were summed in two parts: one for the six social adjustment items and one for the six training items. The latter sum was then subtracted from the former, giving a positive score if social adjustment predominated, negative if training models were more highly ranked overall. This score was then halved, because all scores would be even numbers anyway. Scores thus ranged from +18 to -18, with 0 as the point at which the two types of model were evenly balanced. Mean and standard deviation were

then taken for the whole staff group in a school,
from these processed scores of individuals.

The second method was to find the mean ranking for
each problem within a school, together with the standard
deviation. The third method used median ranking in-
stead of mean. Comparing these three methods, it app-
eared that the numerical score was the most useful
for contrasting the schools, since it could show at a
glance which schools were more 'social adjustment
oriented' than others. The mean and median ranking of
items, on the other hand, showed the amount of congruence
between schools in their order of ranking, and also
showed ranking within the categories of social adjust-
ment and training. Mean and median gave slightly
different aggregate orders, but as median was theor-
etically more applicable, numerical scores and median
rankings only are given in the results tables.

GOALS

The second test for staff was entitled 'Perception of
Goals Questionnaire' - PGQ - and was designed to
separate static from dynamic goals, according to the
distinction previously explained. In other words,
the intention was to distinguish between an emphasis
on goals involving change, especially change in social
adjustment (becoming more mature, learning to sort out
problems and so on) and on goals confined to maintaining
the status quo in the school (keeping order, looking

after girls' physical needs, etc.). Again, this area was chosen for objective testing on the grounds that it might prove the most difficult to distinguish adequately by observational means.

The format of the test, as developed by pilotting (see Appendix One), was as follows. Six questions were presented, dealing with satisfactions and problems of the work, type of girl encountered, demands of the job, achievements of the school, and leaving criteria. For each question, four responses were offered - two static and two dynamic - the order of responses being randomised over the questions. For example, in response to Question 3: "What do you think about the sort of girls who come here ?" the possible responses were :-

 (a) Some of them are very difficult to handle

          (control - static)

 (b) Some of them need a lot of help in improving their

   behaviour   (training or social ad-

           justment - dynamic)

 (c) Some of them have quite deep-seated social

   problems   (social adjustment - dynamic)

 (d) Whatever they are like, it's our responsibility

   to look after them. (care - static)

Staff were directed to choose two and only two responses from the four for each question; thus twelve responses were made in all, which could consist of all twelve dynamic, all twelve static, or any proportion in between.

The study was not interested in the responses of ind-
ividual staff members so much as the aggregate staff
response for a given school, so that one school could
be compared with another. The method of scoring to
to facilitate this was as follows. The 'static' score
was subtracted from the 'dynamic' score, thus giving a
positive answer if more dynamic answers were given,
negative if more static. This score was then halved
since it would always come out an even number. Thus a
score of 10/2 would come out as +4, a score of 3/9 as
-3. The full range for calculated scores was therefore
+6 to -6. zero being the mid-point or balance of static
against dynamic. To obtain a score for the whole school,
the mean of these processed scores was taken, and the
standard deviation was also calculated to measure the
amount of agreement among the staff.

A very similar questionnaire (see Appendix Two) was
given to girls, and scored in the same way, to see to
what extent girls agreed or differed from the staff's
notions of goals, and whether girls' perceptions
were altered by contact with the school process.
Demographic data on staff members was also assembled
(as to age, training; length of service and so on)
in case any associations should be discoverable between
these variables and other aspects of the schools, thus
complicating the correlations with which we were partic-
ularly concerned, namely between process as a whole and
its effects upon girls.

The test used in this area was the Social Climate Questionnaire - SCQ - developed by Heal and colleagues (1973) for use in boys' Approved schools. The concepts and style of this test are based to a large extent on the Ward Atmosphere test of Moos (1968). The test consists of five scales: staff support, satisfaction, behaviour, strictness, work and friendliness (a sixth, on clarity, having been abandoned after trials). Memebers of the population under test are asked to affirm or deny statements about the schools as individuals; the results are then totalled for a picture of the school as perceived by the inmates as a group. In the trials by the authors of the test, the scales were found to differentiate schools very successfully. Thus, by kind permission of Kevin Heal, it was adapted for use in girls' schools by the alteration of the appropriate pronouns. The order of questions remained unchanged, as did the scoring procedure which simply consisted of summing positive responses on a given scale and expressing them as a percentage of the possible total on that scale.

ADMINISTRATION OF STAFF TESTS

The problem of selecting staff to answer questionnaires in the schools was not quite straightforward, because of the different ways of judging who counted as staff in different schools. For example, in one school all

adult personnel were involved with girls, whereas in another there was a strict division between professional and 'auxillary' staff. It was decided to follow the school's own line on this; thus all who attended staff meetings were designated 'staff' for the purposes of the research - in some schools this included the cook and the handyman, in others it was confined chiefly to teaching and care staff. Those people thus designated 'staff' were therefore the ones who were given questionnaires, engaged in conversation germane to the research and recorded in relevant interactions.

It was thought that a month's stay in each school was necessary to cover both staff testing and interviewing, collection of statistical data about the school, 'social climate' testing and - above all - getting the 'feel' of the school, trying to discern patterns of interaction and models underlying them and to make sense of what appeared as staff's interpretations of their role and its context. So all kinds of action and interaction, both verbal and physical, were studied, together with the structure of the school and its more formal procedures such as reward and punishment systems, rules and traditionalised behaviours.

It was not possible to fit an integral month's stay for each school into the schedule of work, so the period was split into two fortnights in the first and second halves of the fieldwork period (April 1974 to September 1975).

The pressure of other work and the problems of time-tabling (for example, since periods chosen should be representative of the school's life, holidays and other disruptive periods must be avoided) modified this plan to some extent. Finally, in the schools away from the researcher's base in Edinburgh - the schools referred to as A, B and E - the first resident-ial period lasted a fortnight and the second a week. In the schools in the Edinburgh area - schools C and D- which I visited daily (corresponding with the school's day, from 7a.m. to 11p.m., at least some of the time) two complete fortnights were felt to be necessary because of the lower intensity of exposure to the school when not resident.

Questionnaires for staff - the PGQ and CNQ - were given to members of staff (as previously defined) employed at a school during the first residential period, each set of papers in an envelope with the respondent's name on them. Instructions on filling them in were included with the questionnaires but in some schools, at the request of the Headmaster, I also gave an explanation (not, of course, of the concepts involved) to the staff in person. They were asked to return them as promptly as possible, but just a few were obviously reluctant to co-operate and these could not be put under any obligation to do so. Most returned them in the same envelopes so that I was able to conn-ect responses with respondent, but as not all did so

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it was only loosely that I was able to analyse the questionnaires in any way other than by schools, for example, by comparing the responses of teachers and care staff, older and younger staff and so on.

The Social Climate Questionnaire was also administered during the residential periods; in other words, it was taken by all girls present in the school at that time, regardless of whether they were part of the Main Sample, since this test was designed to measure the social climate of the school, via the perceptions of its population, at the particular time that it was being less formally observed. It was usually administered in house groups, where the girls were more relaxed, rather than in classrooms where it gave too much the idea of an examination, in which the 'right answer' was being sought. Because List D schools are well known for a tendency to have more pronounced 'ups and downs' than ordinary schools - periods of tranquillity, for example, followed by periods of unrest - it seemed a good idea to give the SCQ in both periods of residence, so as to minimise the possibility of the school being caught in an unrepresentative mood. I overlooked, however, the fact that it would be impossible to distinguish solely on the results between a different mood and an actual change which had been sustained. The interpretation of these results which differed from one period to another will be a subject of discussion in Chapter Five.

The first period of residence in each school was chiefly occupied with talking to staff, gathering factual data, and thinking about how to handle the rest of the inform- ation available. The time left over from that - when ideas had begun to form - and more or less the whole of the second period, was spent in observing interactions. The main concentration was on interactions between staff and girls (particularly in that direction), but those among staff and among girls were also noted where appropriate. The only structure imposed on this observ- ation was ensuring that those who were supposed to be the most influential members of staff - the Head, Deputy Head, Third in Charge, head teacher and senior house staff - were allotted a certain period of time, usually half a day (though which half day could not be determined in advance : one just took it when one found it, in which their activities were to be closely monitored. Apart from this, the researcher just hung around the school, looking for centres of activity, following the sound of voices to its source, remaining in the vicinity when it looked as though an interesting incident might be brewing, accompanying parties on educational outings, partaking of meals in house dining- rooms (or, better still, of informal suppers in house kitchens), being there when lights were put out at night and again when girls were wakened in the morning, and generally trying to be where the action - verbal or

physical - was. Fortunately, there were a few times
when almost nothing happened of interest to a researcher
— 'Top of the Pops', for example, reduced the
complete population to silent immobility for the space
of half an hour - so there were opportunities to write
down what one had been observing. But inevitably one
did not see everything and can only trust that what
was seen, and is used as material for discussion in
this thesis, was a fair and representative sample of
the interactivity of the school. Every interaction
which I witnessed was recorded if it had the remotest
relevance to any of the topics with which the research
was concerned; and sometimes if it did not but seemed
to be of general interest. The reports of some parts
of interactions were telescoped where only a context
for other relevant material was felt to be necessary.

Where words were used in interactions, I tried to get
them down verbatim; because of the time-lapse between
observation and notation I cannot guarantee their total
accuracy (and this is obviously important where one is,
as it were, intending to read 'meanings' into the use
of words), but where double quotation marks are used
for verbal material in the discussion, I am as con-
fident as one can be that this is precisely what was
said. When an interaction involved, say, one girl and
one member of staff in particular, the presence of
others and any reaction of others to the incident was
also noted where possible. On a few occasions, it was

fairly obvious that steps were being taken to prevent
my awareness of what was going on but this was often in
the interest of a girl's privacy and was respected as
such. Where it looked like a 'cover-up' - as with one
or two incidents it definitely did - I made diplomatic
but determined efforts to maintain an excuse for being
present. At school C, for example, both the Head's
weekly meeting alone with the girls as a group, and his
meeting with the house staff were barred to visitors -
this was said to be a general policy - and I had to
abandon any attempt to sit in on them. This was also
true of the house staff meeting at school E. At school
B the Head's meeing with girls permitted visitors 'by
invitation (of the girls) only' but when I intimated
that I would appreciate such an invitation it was
readily granted. In schools B and D I was often wel-
comed to stay in the Head's office if I was already
there when a girl came to see him, but otherwise inter-
actions between the Head and girls in his own room
were usually private. General staff meetings, teachers'
meetings, case conferences and assessment meetings
were always - with the exceptions mentioned - open to
me. The data obtained from these, however, tended to
rather formal in tone (unless one was prepared to do
a dangerous amount of interpolation) and the few
minutes immediately following such a meeting usually
provided much more valuable material when the staff -
released from the structured and 'official' situation

in which impulses had been aroused but frustrated –
were able to 'let off steam'.

Besides observation of particular incidents and of
regular events like meetings, I also took note of
'how things were done'. This is an important concept,
and one which becomes most obvious when comparisons
can be made between different houses in one school and
between different schools. These were not rules of
the school, nor individual reactions to a one-off
situation; they were expectations – for the most part
unvoiced – of behaviour and attitude imposed by the
members of staff in charge and to some extent also by
traditions amonst the girls. Behaviour at table is an
example of an area in which such expectations act,
and so is attitude to staff qua staff (how addressed,
what forms of politeness are adopted and so on) and
to visitors, likewise restrictions on the freedom of
behaviour in class or when outside the school. We
might call these the mores of a school's culture and
the schools were by no means all alike in their mores,
but the interest of what the mores were is at least
equalled by that of how they were put into operation
and sustained. In some schools, many such expectations
tended to become crystallised into actual rules – that
is to say, they were voiced as such and sanctions were
laid down for their infringement – in others they were
almost entirely implicit. In some, expectations applied
only to superficial and practical behaviour, while in

others it extended to deeper interpersonal attitudes. It was one task of the researcher to glean information about these expectations from the behaviour they occasioned, plus the odd verbal hints thrown out by staff or girls, and also to categorise the type of expectation and the form it took.

Obviously, however open-minded one sets out to be, a researcher in an observational setting like this must have some idea what he is looking for. Not, that is to say, a hope of finding some characteristic - for example, that all schools are places of degradation and stigmatisation, or alternatively places of love and light in a self-centred world - since to have such a hope (especially implicitly) is the surest way of finding that characteristic, whether it is there or not. But one must also avoid the opposite danger: of being so open-minded and formless in one's approach that one is either overwhelmed by the mass of structureless data, or else - more likely - overcome by prejudice after all (Myrdal 1963).

One way of tackling this problem is to set out to answer fairly definite questions and to bear them always in mind while the observation is in progress, questions of the form: 'How do people X react to situation A ?', 'How do people Y try to achieve situation B ?', 'How is situation C perceived by people Z ?'. This gives one a guide as to which pieces, out of a multitude and multiplicity of data,

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are worth collecting - although data which had not been bargained for may also turn up. This particular piece of research had three central questions, arising out of the original ideas discussed in Chapter One, which made possible the selection and classification of observational data, without preconceiving the answeres. The first question was: 'What is the definition of the List D school situation held by the staff ?'; this includes their model of the children and of the circumstances under which they are sent there. (One classification of models is already familiar to those involved with compulsory care: the 'mad', 'bad' or 'sad' distinction, but this may or may not be useful.) The second question was: 'What kinds of results are the staff trying to achieve with respect to the girls as they perceive them ?'; this material will supplement the quantitative data on goals. Thirdly, 'What methods do staff use to try to achieve these results upon the girls as perceived ?' What they actually do may reveal a number of things about the way the situation, its subjects and its possible outcomes are conceived.

In other words, my purpose was to go behind the explicit expression of models and goals in the quantitative material and discover if possible the context into which the goals fitted, how the subjects of attention - the girls - were perceived, and what kinds of treatment were believed (judging from the record of actions) to be suitable and efficacious for obtaining those results in relation to these subjects. These topics are

obviously interrelated and the interrelationship is a
kind of second-order pattern. For example, we might
find that staff tend to talk to and about girls in
terms of delinquency and to see their job as putting
a stop to offending behaviour; we would probably then
expect the pattern to be completed by a method of
applying rules, with sanctions for infringements, thus
echoing the social control pattern in the wider world
which has already labelled the girls as delinquent. If
a different method emerged, we should have to ask whether
the pattern was being inconsistently carried through,
whether other factors were obstructing it, or whether
our concept of this particular pattern needed modif-
ication.

Behind these second-order patterns, but necessarily
approachable at this stage only from the point of view
of theory, it seemed that there might be some distinct-
ion among the values held by staff, which would infl-
uence models, goals and methods alike. A very simpl-
istic example would be a school with a fundamentalist/
puritanical religious orientation. The central values
here could be postulated as involving concepts of sin
and the duty to eradicate it. Staff members committed
to these values might therefore tend to have a model of
delinquent children as the manifestation of original
sin (which had been conquered in other children); they
might see their purpose as the restriction of sinful
activities and the methods employed would therefore be

more repressive than constructive. This approach will be more fully developed in later chapters.

CONVERSATION

As explained in Appendix One, it was decided on the experience of the pilot work not to interview staff formally. In the first period of residence, therefore, the researcher had to find as casual an opportunity as possible of speaking to each member of staff on his or her own. It was expected that this might present practical problems, but in the event there seemed to be little that members of staff liked to do more than talk shop to a sympathetic listener. In most schools I found myself assigned to one house or team for the first week, the other for the second, or some similar arrangement, so it was easy enough to get into conversation with the member of staff on duty at a particular time and her partner or replacement the following day, just in the normal course of house events with subjects arising naturally out of girls' activities and so on. Of course, the fact that I myself had at one time been on the staff of a girls' Approved school made 'talking shop' a fairly natural rather than 'research' activity, which was of benefit to staff's reactions. Teachers were usually visited in their classrooms, and social workers (and so on) in their offices. Where none of these opportunities worked out successfully, the member of staff would eventually be found alone in the staff-room, chatted to on a school outing or on some other

suitable occasion. One or two members of staff seemed
to be deliberately elusive but all were eventually
contacted without, I believe, any obvious appearance
of 'tracking them down'. The only problem arose in
school D, where none of the staff ever seemed to be
alone for long and where, in any case, the atmosphere
of the school, while very conducive to conversation,
was such as to make it very difficult for me to remain
a detached observer: they were constantly enlisting me
in activities, asking my opinion on school matters and
encouraging me to voice ideas in staff meetings. I did
my best to resist this without appearing unco-operative
but it was not always easy to avoid being drawn into a
rather subjective position. The individual conversat-
ional material for school D is probably therefore the
weakest of the five, but the main objectives were ach-
ieved and, of course, this very characteristic of the
made the group material stronger since in becoming
more a part of the group I had correspondingly greater
opportunity for insights into its workings.

I never made notes while talking to members of staff
and I tried never to be writing in sight of staff
members, though this was not always possible. Some-
times it was necessary to bring a conversation to a
close and re-open it later so as not to have too much
material to remember at a time. The only occasion on
which I made overt notes was in staff meetings when,
since many of the staff themselves were doing the same,

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it seemed excusable. I emphasise this point of not being seen to make records because I think there are three main dangers in it: that a person might on the occasion itself guard his tongue or restrict his actions if he knew he was being formally observed; that he might get an overall feeling (conscious or unconscious) of being watched, which could affect his actions; and that he might simply feel himself to be the victim of bad manners - a situation which would reflect unfavourably on the reputation of research in general.

The Heads of school alone were interviewed in a formal setting. This was necessary, because generally they were too busy to be engaged in casual conversation - one had to book a time to see them (though this was true of some Heads more than others, with interesting implications). It was also desirable, because as the Heads were felt to be the chief arbiters of school opinion and ethos it was very important to cover all the ground thoroughly rather than just trust that a subject would crop up. Thirdly, it was felt to be permissible: an interview with the Head was judged to be somewhat less prone to the danger that he would inadvertently (though one could not control what was advertent) only tell you what he thought you wanted to hear, since the Heads were more experienced than the majority of staff in answering formal questions about the school and their own ideas. (This did not mean, nevertheless, that one took every word saltless.) Thus

I went into the interview with a list of topics to be
covered (again I did not make notes during the session,
although some Heads invited me to) and went on until
they had all been dealt with, returning if necessary
on a second occasion. The main topics covered in the
Heads' interviews were roughly as follows:-

1. Selection of girls for the school - whether and
   how done.

2. Leaving criteria.

3. Benefit to girls of the school.

4. Problems presented by girls - what, how discov-
   ered, how dealt with.

5. Changes made by present Head, changes planned.

6. Roles of staff, including head.

7. Problems in running the school.

8. Satisfactions in the work.

The exact choice of topics depended on the individual
school, and the order and manner in which they were
presented varied - one still tried to make the convers-
ation as natural as possible, leading on from one
topic to another unobtrusively rather than holding a
'question and answer' session. Each topic mentioned
obviously allowed for unlimited ramifications if one
cared to take them up, for example, 'leaving criteria'
could lead to comments on the relationship between
the schools and the Panels (since the schools recommend,
but the Panels ratify - or sometimes overrule - decisions
about leaving, or to the idea of 'success rates', or to
a discussion about the optimum length of stay. One

just used one's head as to how far to digress, but in general all information of whatever kind was felt to be useful (cf. Merton, Fiske and Kendal 1956).

The topics encouraged in conversation with other members of staff covered much the same ground, particularly in the case of Deputy Heads and Thirds-in-Charge. In addition, there were subjects peculiar to members of staff not in any overall position of authority; these related to their perception of staff autonomy and team-work, problems of discipline and control, staff relationships and relationships with the girls. Where appropriate, the subjects of Panels, local authority social workers, girls' homes, school managers and so on were touched upon. It will be noticed that the rather abstract concepts put forward in the thesis itself - models of the girls, goals of the school, methods of treatment - were not brought in explicitly, even to Heads. It was strongly felt that they were much better approached in a more elliptical manner, even though this necessarily involved a certain amount of interpretation on the part of the researcher.

OTHER DATA

The schools are referred to throughout the text by letters: A, B, C, D and E. For further factual information about the characteristics of each of these schools - size, type of buildings, school programmes and so on - Appendix Three should be consulted.

CHAPTER FOUR : PROCESS

In this chapter we consider the data collected about
school process, both from quantitative tests and from
the observational material. Most of the material
quoted at this stage comes from conversations with
members of staff. In Chapter Five, and in Chapter
Seven after the theoretical aspects of process have
been considered, some more purely observational mater-
ial is added.

Models held by staff about the situation in which
they are working and the kinds of girls with whom
they have to deal are dealt with first, and this sec-
tion includes the Concept of Needs Questionnaire.
Secondly we look at the goals which staff hold out
for girls and make efforts to achieve; here the
Perception of Goals Questionnaire is included. Fin-
ally we consider the methods staff believe to be
appropriate and efficacious for carrying out their
aims with reference to the girls in question.

A : Models

QUESTIONNAIRE

The Concept of Needs Questionnaire was designed to
test the relative weight given by staff groups to
social adjustment needs compared with practical train-
ing needs. In other words, it provides one pointer as
to how staff conceive of the raw material - the girls -

with which they are presented, what their models are
of the subjects with whom they have to deal.

There are, as mentioned in Chapter Three, two ways of
expressing the results obtained from this test. The
first is to take the mean score for each staff group,
where the possible range of scores is from +18 (com-
plete predominance of social adjustment models) to
-18 (complete predominance of training models). By
this method, the overall picture obtained is of dec-
ided weight on the side of social adjustment; that is
to say, girls were on the whole perceived as needing
improvement in social adjustment more than they needed
practical training. Table 4.1 below shows the mean
scores for the five schools calculated as described in
Chapter Three.

	A	B	C	D	E	All
Mean	+14.1	+6.7	+10.8	+10.4	+9.9	+10.2
S.d.	3.3	8.4	6.6	5.1	5.9	6.9
N	11	14	16	12	15	68

TABLE 4.1   CONCEPT OF NEEDS: MEAN SCORES

The modal score of individuals was actually +18, that is,
the highest possible emphasis on social adjustment, and
there were only six negative (training oriented) scores
out of the total of 68. Where data was available, a
check on who scored what was made : there was a def-
inite tendency for the more highly-trained, the more
senior, and the younger members of staff to score

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higher (these were often in fact the same people) and teachers tended to score higher than than care staff. These results accord with those of other studies : Street (1966) found higher education and staff position also correlated with training/treatment orientation, although not enough to account for differences found between different types of institution. Heal and Cawson (1975) found differences between teaching and care staff to be the most salient distinction, whereas Millham (1975) found care staff and instructors fairly alike but teachers different. The latter study also found differences between younger and older, trained and untrained staff, the first of each pair tending to stress expressive at the expense of organisational goals.

It is interesting to note in the table above that the school which was most decisively on the social adjustment side, school A, also had the highest consensus among its members, while the school at the opposite end of the scale, school B, had the lowest consensus. Why this might be so is not obvious at the present stage, but we shall return to the question of consensus later on. It is difficult also to interpret the significance of the difference between a score of 14.1 (the highest) and 6.7 (the lowest) except to say that both these scores differ from the other three (and from the total mean) at the $p < .05$ level, which does suggest a real difference between schools as more

or less oriented towards social adjustment within the overall picture of social adjustment predominating over training.

The other way of expressing the CNQ results is to display the median rank order of the items for each school, as explained in Chapter Three. The six treatment items were lettered C (sense of well-being), E (communality), G (good impression), J (responsibility), K (socialisation) and L (self-control). (See Appendix Two for the complete questionnaire.) The social adjustment items are shown in the table below (Table 4.2) in heavy type (the brackets represent ties) :-

	1st											12th
sch.A	**L**	**E**	**G**	**K**	**J**	**C**	H	A	B	D	I	F
sch.B	**L**	**K**	**E**	**J**	**A**	**G**	I	H	**C**	B	D	F
sch.C	**K**	**E**	**C**	**L**	**G**	**J**	H	A	D	I	B	F
sch.D	**L**	**J**	**K**	**C**	**R**	**G**	H	A	I	D	B	F
sch.E	**K**	**L**	**E**	**G**	**A**	**J**	H	I	**C**	D	B	F
All	**K**	**L**	**E**	**G**	**J**	**C**	H	A	I	D	B	F

TABLE 4.2   CONCEPT OF NEEDS: MEDIAN SCORES

This table does portray a remarkable congruity of needs-as-perceived among the schools. If we compare schools B and C as being the most dissimilar pair of rankings, we still find by a Spearman correlation that there is a direct correlation between them which has less than a 0.01 probability of being due to chance ($J^2 + T = 69$). For A and B, the most dissimilar

according to the first scoring method, $D^2 + T = 41$, so the correlation is even closer. The evidence from this questionnaire, then, appears to support very strongly the hypothesis that the schools, both severally and as a group, see the improvement of social adjustment as an important need of girls, when compared with the need for practical training, although some appear to be more firmly oriented towards social adjustment than others.

OBSERVATION

We now turn to the conversational and observational material on the models of girls and their circumstances held by staff members. How do staff perceive girls ? How do they construe their needs ? What do they see as the reasons for girls having been sent to them ? We shall deal with each school in turn, answering these questions chiefly by examples of verbatim material from members of staff. The remarks quoted represent the most common or typical attitudes in that particular school, but variations are also reported where relevant. Staff are identified by letter in rough order of seniority; thus the Head in each school is always referred to as Mr. A, the Deputy Head as Miss B and so on.

School A.   The most frequently observed opinion in school A was that girls were surprisingly 'ordinary', surprisingly 'good'. There was never any mention of girls as 'delinquent' or even as particularly trouble-

some; there was none of the despair often voiced in other schools about the difficulty of 'handling' girls or even of 'getting through' to them. Staff did not seem to be concerned with special problems of control, but simply with the ordinary upbringing and educational tasks common to any parent or teacher, and the girls were perceived in a manner appropriate to such normal treatment. The teachers in particular remarked on the 'ordinariness' of girls; Mr.P's comment is typical :-

> "I find girls here just as well-behaved and interested in things as in a normal school. You get one or two who will show off in front of a visitor such as yourself, but usually they're very good ....I've never had any trouble at all with girls in class: I've had a lot more difficult girls in ordinary schools. Certainly there's no difference in intelligence either ....I can only assume that their problems must be social ones : so many of them seem to have parents who are divorced or keep leaving them and coming back and so on - I suppose that must be their trouble."

It seems that since this speaker could not see any remarkable oddities or difficulties in these girls as compared with those in day school, he was obliged to attribute their presence in the school not to any characteristics of themselves, but to objective difficulties created by their home circumstances. Other teachers simply wondered whether, since they could see nothing 'wrong' with the girls, it wasn't perhaps a waste of money to have a special school for them, though others appeared to recognise that while they might appear normal enough in the school, it wasn't necessarily the case that this was the picture they presented outside.

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The house staff also echoed this view, though with some variations; for example, Mrs.G, when asked about girls' problems, said :-

> "I wouldn't call it 'problems', no. Well, about fifty per cent of the girls are only here for truancy, so once they're going to classes, they're all right. Each girl is an individual, you see ... I don't think of them as 'problems'."

Mrs.C combined this view with another reflecting on the home circumstances of the girls :-

> "Some of the staff get annoyed because a girl doesn't scrub properly, but when you see their homes - some of them have probably never seen a scrubbing brush.. .. Most of them are truants and I don't feel they should be here at all .... occasionally we get a very disturbed or difficult girl."

Except for such an occasional reference to 'disturbance' most staff claimed both to regard and to treat girls very much like children of their own, even though their backgrounds were evidently different.

The Headmaster's concept was perhaps a bit more soph-isticated, but in essence seemed very similar :-

> "These girls are in a way the casualties of society .... These children are the unlucky ones because the world is geared to middle-class culture and they get left out .... Of course, all these stand-ards of behaviour are subjective, and some seem to be quite arbitrary, but the girls .... want to learn to behave and look normal because of what the world outside expects of them."

It might appear from these remarks of the Headmaster's that he subscribed to a 'class-conflict' model of the type Howard Jones (1965) describes, but in fact - though I cannot produce verbatim material to prove it - this was not in reality the case. He was not worried about his girls having working-class standards so much as their having few standards at all (and he did not

confuse the two propositions) because of disruptions
and failings in their family life. His point, as I
understood it, was that middle-class children have more
opportunity to make up for such deficiencies because
the whole culture is geared to their way of life. On
the other hand, working-class children who are failed
by their parents or immediate families have little
recourse to anything else.

Unverbalised attitudes of staff supported this picture
of 'unlucky but normal'. They were often observed
taking genuine pleasure in giving girls some small
treat, or seeing a girl progress in some direction
such as summoning up the courage to stand on her own
feet or face up to some problem in her life. At the
same time, there were none of the arbitrary restric-
tions and regulations (on, for example, letter-writing
or the spending of pocket-money) which in some schools
suggested that girls could not be trusted or needed
more firmness than a 'normal' child would to keep it
on the right path. The atmosphere in general resembled
a large but happy family, even to the extent of the
Headmaster occasionally 'blowing up' at a girl who had
tried his patience too far (the implication being, as
I interpreted it, that there was no sense in repressing
normal adult reactions to normal childish behaviour).

The girls at school A, it is clear, are not seen as
'delinquents', or even as 'problem children'; they are
simply the unlucky ones and no blame is attached to

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them for apparently not having lived up to society's standards. There seemed to be a fair amount of warmth and sympathy in school A's attitude towards its charges, but it remains to be seen what their precise aims for girls are, and whether their methods of pursuing them are constructive. The alternative would be to see no positive action - except perhaps a holding operation - as being necessary because there was nothing that needed putting right.

School B. The most common model of the girls in school B is something of a contrast to that in school A. The remarks of Miss X, a teacher, sum up the general picture held here :-

> "These girls don't seem to be able to cope with
> adolescence in the way others can. They're the
> ones you see making all the trouble in day school
> .... Sometimes I wonder if they haven't just got
> a bad streak in them. Of course they have bad
> environments as well. But they don't seem to have
> any control over themselves."

All the points Miss X makes here were also made on various occasions by other members of staff and they seem to reflect several different models operating at once, most of them rather derogatory. Mrs.E, a house mother, adds another element :-

> "Most of them it's sexual problems and so on ....
> these girls don't seem to mind what they do."

However, this was denied on a separate occasion by the Headmaster :-

> "Most of the girls here, I would go into court and
> say, are virgo intacta, though it may be fewer in
> the senior schools."

The Headmaster gave his general opinion on the girls
as follows :-

> "Order does not come from within ourselves; it has
> to be imposed as a framework within which they can
> work. They are born without identity .... These
> children don't know who they are because their
> parents have not made adequate models for them ....
> These children are damaged."

These rather philosophical reflections of the Headmaster
(which were typical of his mode of expression) did not
seem to find any echo in the opinions of staff. Lack-
ing an intelligible model from above, they tended to
scramble together a number of half-formed and 'popular'
ideas about delinquency such as those expressed above
by Miss X. There was an interesting system of 'report
cards' in the school which served two purposes: the
recording of staff's judgments about girls' behaviour,
and the calculation of pocket money. However, the
latter function channelled the former into a partic-
ular mould, since in order to add or deduct sums of
money it was necessary to report behaviour as unambig-
uously 'bad' or 'good'. Inevitably, this system,
together with that of the school court which was used
as the ultimate sanction, encouraged the use of a very
restricted dimension on which girls were either good
or bad and - since they were List D school pupils in
the first place - they were apparently expected to be
bad more often than good. Interestingly, I was told
that Mr.A had noticed that there were always more
reports of bad behaviour in the 'continuity book' and
had asked staff to report the good as well. "But",

said Miss O, "we just found ourselves writing: 'All the girls were good except X who ...' - which was ridiculous." This difficulty in perceiving 'goodness' as a positive, heterogeneous quality in List D school subjects may be compared with Tutt's finding (1974) that Approved school staff label perfectly normal adolescent behaviour as evidence of 'delinquency'; and, of course, there have been similar findings in mental hospitals (see, for example, Goffman 1961).

The girls at school B are undoubtedly seen as different from other girls and - by less senior staff at least - as representing a more reprehensible element in society, whether or not the girls are actually to be held responsible for their status. (It should be noted that, as far as our data could determine, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Eight, the girls in each school were remarkably similar as groups in such characteristics as history of offences.) Puzzlement and exasperation seemed to be a commoner reaction to the girls than sympathy, although they were not condemned out of hand.

It is not obvious from the model (or models) held, what methods are most likely to be used in school B. It could be appropriate to try to train girls into a different way of behaving, to help them develop their identities, or simply to leave them alone as hopeless cases. ('Doing nothing' in school A would be quite a different phenomenon from 'doing nothing' in school B,

since in the former it would be because no action was deemed needed, while in the latter action would be seen as futile.)

School C.   Miss E, a house mother, echoed the attitude of a number of staff at school C when she said :-

> "They're a nice lot at the moment - well, they're always nice really .... I have noticed a change since a few years ago: before, the girls were tougher, more gangy, but easier to get through to - soft-centred you might say. Now they're more 'complicated', arrogant and selfish and difficult to get through to. The reason obviously is that they're over-indulged, everything's laid on for them these days."

However, Miss G expressed a feeling that was also present, even in the attitudes of those staff who were genuinely fond of the girls :-

> "It's like animals - in any litter there's often one with a bad streak, a rogue. However, a lot of these girls do come from bad homes - it's the parents who really need educating. You can try to educate these children to be good parents themselves but if it can't be done, I'd sterilise them."

(This was several months before Sir Keith Joseph made his controversial speech on this issue.) However, Mr. Q, a social worker at the school, was more discriminating in his approach :-

> "All these girls are individuals, the thing they have most in common is that they've been sent here; there are more like them on the outside and it's often an accident - parents putting a case badly and so on - that gets them in. The large majority - 98% - here are 'outwith parental control' and truancy, but it's all for different reasons - need, bravado and so on."

The Headmaster explained the problem in the following way :-

> "These girls have got to adolescence and find their parents are putting more responsibilities on them,

looking after younger ones and so on, but at the
same time treating them like children, ordering
them about and so on."

I asked the Head at this point whether it was just an

exaggeration of the normal problems of adolescence, then ?

"That's correct .... It is a fact that the lower down
the social scale you get - and I'm not talking
about class, but there obviously is a progression -
the less tolerance, patience and understanding
there is of this sort of problem. The girl gets
to a stage where she doesn't trust adults and -
however cocksure she may appear - has no confidence
in herself either."

It will not have escaped notice that although the Head

claims not to be attributing girls' problems at least

partly to the fact that they they come from working-

class homes - since he is obviously aware that current

fashion disapproves of such a belief - nevertheless

this is precisely what he _is_ doing. What he says in

interview, therefore, should be set against the model

which seems to underly other utterances. For example,

when discussing how he dealt with disputes between

a girl and a member of staff, he said :-

"When I see the girl I try and trip her up, because
there are always discrepancies in her story."

The comments of staff on Report Cards (a similar

system to that of school B) also reveal underlying

models. Positive comments were fairly straightforward,

if not highly differentiated : "behaved well ....

pleasant .... helped willingly" but the negative reports,

besides being more specific were also more adversely

labelling : "idiotic laughing .... being stupid ....

impertinent .... thief." This last epithet was not

uncommon, and as often as not it appeared in the Head-
master's distinctive handwriting. Again we may compare
Tutt's remarks about 'normal adolescent behaviour'.

Particularly noticeable in school C was the habit of
referring to the girls as 'they'. Although there were
individual exception, the usual implication of this
seemed to be that the girls were a kind of alien group,
with rather unpleasant characteristics and inferior
standards, who needed to be 'handled' with caution. A
couple of incidental remarks are rather revealing here:
that girls were not allowed in the corridor leading to
the staffroom was explained by the statement that "Oh
yes, there'd be nothing left in here if we allowed
that !", and that letters could only be written by
girls to approved correspondents was explained by
saying "You can imagine what it would be like if they
could write to any boy !" Yet in one school at least
girls wandered in and out of the staffroom at will, and
in two schools there were no restrictions on letters,
and no harm seemed to result from these practices. This
attitude of school C's could not reasonably be explained
by differences in the school population (see Chapter
Eight), therefore must have depended heavily upon a
particular model of the girls.

The outlook of the Headmaster, at least, seemed to come
closer to the genuine 'class-conflict' model than the
Head of school A. It seems inevitable that the aims

and methods of school C will include some idea of
'licking the girls into shape', since the model seems
to be fairly clearly disparaging, however good-humoured.
Unlike the position in school B, indications of this
attitude towards girls as of inferior status in some
way come from the Headmaster as well as from less
senior staff.

School D.   One interchange on the subject of 'what the
girls are like' could only have taken place in school
D of this sample :-

    Mrs.J: "They're a mixture, like all of us."
    Mrs.I: "Oh, they're cunning - it's great!"
    Me   : "You mean, that's a compliment ?"
    Mrs.I: "Oh yes, I've got a great admiration for
           them - they're good cons."

Not all the members of staff felt exactly like this,
but there was a general reluctance to classify the
girls as failures or misfits of any kind. Those who
didn't go as far as applauding in the girls what most
other school would have condemned felt, like the members
of school A, that there wasn't really much wrong with
the girls.

"Where have all the delinquents gone ? We used to
get delinquents and girls with a lot of sexual
misbehaviour and family problems, but in those
days truants didn't come before the courts ....
now the social workers seem to think they are
first priority for the List D school and the
delinquents are slipping through the net. But
this sort of school isn't really the answer for
truants."

This was the Deputy Head speaking, but note that it
does not really matter whether he was right in saying
that the school intake had changed over the years:

if true, it is true of all the schools, yet some of
the schools would not feel a need to ask where all the
delinquents had gone.

Mrs.X, the domestic superintendent, felt as did others
that if there _was_ anything wrong with girls then it
was hardly their fault :-

> "Well, I never realised what terrible lives they've
> had, things that have happened to them and things
> they've done as well. I always had a happy, secure
> home and I didn't realise what sort of homes people
> could have."

In contrast to school C, there seemed to be a feeling
that the girls they are sent, far from being too 'bad'
are not 'bad' enough for the staff to do a worthwhile
job on, as it were. The staff's high respect for the
girls as people, whatever their delinquent status
might be, was evident in many small ways. For example,
if staff were having a confidential discussion in the
staffroom and a girl wanted to come in, the invariable
tone of remarks was "Could you excuse us just now ?"
or "Would you mind coming back later ?" which formed
a marked contrast to the tone in most other schools
which was of the order "What do _you_ want ?" or even
simply "Get out !" Each girl and her needs were taken
very seriously; there was no disparaging of girls by
staff and no alienation as between two separate groups:
in general, what was felt to be good for staff was
good for girls, and vice versa. To take a small
example: everyone from the Headmaster down ate in the
same dining-room at the same tables and everyone took

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their turn at washing-up: this was typical of school
D's approach.

The Headmaster had definite and differentiated ideas
about the needs of girls:

> "Many girls just need to be removed from home, to
> take the heat off society; some need to grow up -
> socialisation; some need to learn to slow down
> their reactions. Some of them are just truants."

The general approach was certainly that each girl had
individual needs pertaining to her individual person-
ality and situation. As far as method is concerned,
we may expect to see individualised treatment of some
kind.

School E.   The most prevalent picture in school E was
of the **frightfulness** of the girls' homes and the sub-
sequent effects on the girls. Mrs.V, one of the care
staff, gave a vivid account which sums up the concept-
ion almost all staff (including the Headmistress) had
of the girls' home life :-

> "I wouldn't say we get many 'successes' here, and the
> ones that do do well are the ones who were only in
> for truanting and once they don't have to go to
> school any more they're OK. Also a few from the
> better homes. Most of them were brought up in the
> gutter - they've got no chance once they get home
> again among the drinking and the vice and the police
> always round. I feel sorry for them - some of them
> are not so bad, I'm quite fond of some of them ....
> But of course if you try to make a girl do something
> she doesn't want to, the bad language will all come
> out. And the fights - so sudden and violent, you
> don't get anything like that with ordinary children,
> and they're not sorry afterwards, they're usually
> pleased. One thing: if something's been done and
> Sister asks the whole school about it, they never
> say who it was, they never 'grass' - they'd rather
> all be punished. And you'd think they'd be grateful
> as they've never had anything but no, they never

are, they're always demanding. But when the time
comes to go home, they cry and howl to stay -
because home is so dreadful, whereas here they get
four square meals and a good bed to sleep in and
people to pay attention to them."

There are many points of interest in this statment of

perceptions, but one of the most noticeable is the use

of the crime-jargon word 'grass' , and the choice of

defining what might otherwise be classed as commendable

loyalty and solidarity in refusing to tell tales, as a

kind of delinquent perversity.

As regards the girls themselves, rather than their home

backgrounds, the sort of attitude which staff took is

well illustrated by an exchange of remarks at a Case

Conference on a particular girl :-

Sister A (to visiting social worker): "I think you'll
find that everyone here is finding her very
troublesome still."

Mrs.P: "She has improved a great deal since January;
she used to be careless and unable to concentrate
or do anything at all, but now she is much better
though she still makes silly remarks and seems to
encourage the others to take a sarcastic attitude
towards her."

Various members of staff: ".... used to be completely
selfish .... I don't know why she is like this ....
why has she improved suddenly ? .... she is trying
hard .... stupid .... has improved .... It's just
something in her that you can't do anything about -
she's just sort of erratic."

Sister D: "If you say 'watch you don't drop that' she
probably will, but if you give her responsibility
she'll take it."

Sister I: "This is a very,very disturbed girl; she
moans and moans and always wants attention."

Sister A: "She isn't ready to go out yet to a group;
in here she can still get individual attention
while she needs it."

Sister H: "I know it's wrong to label girls as some-

thing, but in this case I must label her 'maladjusted'. She wants to do something but before she's finished she wants to do something else. She tries to buy friendship and she's the cause of a lot of mischief."

Sister D: "She's very nervous, needs tremendous encouragement. She's very untidy in her person, fanatical about dust but it's only superficial cleanness."

Sister B: "About her school work - she is lazy; some of it is lack of concentration, but she wants to take the easy way out of things and I won't let her."

Sister A: "You are all obviously making great efforts with this girl and I know she can be a nuisance, she'll come and interrupt you anywhere, when you're talking to someone in the front hall and so on."

There is an emphasis here on details which seems to amount to a listing of 'faults' in the girl which need to be 'corrected'; the medical model of treatment seems to be very much in evidence in this passage. An interesting sidelight was shown when Mrs.P explained to me why the girls in school E are obliged to stand and walk with their arms always straight down by their sides (lest I should think , one presumes, that it was simply a question of discipline for its own sake) :-

"Their posture is so bad, you see, and they get breathing troubles from going about all the time with their arms folded, so we started insisting that they keep their arms by their sides."

Light was also indirectly thrown on the model of girls by the Headmistress's advice to me when I first arrived to stay at the school :-

"Don't leave your bag unattended, and draw your bedroom curtains at night because the girls can see in."

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She said in interview that her advice to new members of staff was :-

    "Don't get too close to the girls, demand respect,
    and don't give them your home address."

The Headmistress was perhaps unusual in taking such a suspicious view of girls to extremes, but there was a general feeling that the girls were potentially danger-ous in some unspecified way, even though the blame was in theory laid on their families. We would be justified, I think, in expecting a fairly repressive regime to accompany such a model, with attention paid to the correction of detailed behaviour faults.

SUMMARY

In summary of this section, we must say that the questionnaire responses on models seem to represent for most staff an ideal, rather than a working model. As far as school A and D are concerned, the observat-ional material is quite consistent with the questionnaire responses, but in the cases of schools B,C and E, there is a noticeable discrepancy. I think it would be a mistake to conclude at once that these schools do not 'practice what they preach'. Rather I would suggest - and I shall return to this point later - that the ideal is genuine enough but is overlaid by a different model in practice because of the circumstances in which staff work. It also seems to be the case that staff are heavily influenced by the views of the Head in practice whereas when left to themselves to answer a

questionnaire at leisure, their own more idealistic views are given a freer rein.

What has emerged from the material comparing the types of model held by the different schools is perhaps best expressed as showing variations in the status ascribed to the inmates. In some of the schools, girls are seen as quite ordinary, normal children who are not personally responsible for their predicament, whereas in others the children are decidedly characterised as 'delinquents', not only because of unfortunate circumstances but because of some undesirable factor in their own personalities. Bearing this distinction in mind, we shall go on to look at the material on goals.

B : Goals

Our second question was: 'What kinds of results are staff trying to achieve with respect to girls ?' - what are their goals ? We shall deal first with the quantitative data on goals, then with the observational and conversational material to support and modify the picture.

PERCEPTION OF GOALS QUESTIONNAIRE

The second staff questionnaire, the Perception of Goals Questionnaire, dealt with the distinction between static and dynamic goals. The scores are expressed numerically, the possible range being from +6 (totally dynamic) to -6 (totally static). The results for the

five schools were as follows :-

	A	B	C	D	E	All
Mean	+2.7	+2.3	+2.8	+3.1	+2.8	+2.7
S.d.	1.3	1.5	1.0	1.3	1.6	1.3
N	11	12	11	10	12	56

TABLE 4.3   PERCEPTION OF GOALS BY STAFF

It must be admitted that these results are not very
helpful to an understanding of the goals of the schools,
since the 'flatness' of the graph could indicate a
defect in the test. However, assuming the test to be
capable of differentiating between static and dynamic
goals, it appears that the schools hold very similar
views, amounting to a moderate preponderance of dynamic
over static goals.

We may add here a note on the aims of the school as seen
by the girls on entry, according to the girls' version
of the Perception of Goals questionnaire :-

	A	B	C	D	E	All
Mean	+1.4	+1.8	+0.5	+2.3	+1.8	+1.6
S.d.						2.4
N	27	27	25	26	59	164

TABLE 4.4   PERCEPTION OF GOALS BY GIRLS

This is interesting to the extent that from those
involved with the schools, particularly social workers,
one gets the impression that school D has the highest

reputation and school C the lowest, so it may be that girls have picked up these ideas in the process of being sent there. However, there is still a good deal of closeness between the scores, and we see that girls' expectations are not much less dynamic on average than the actual expressed goals of staff .

On re-testing with the PGQ for girls, the first scores were revised to include only those girls who were later re-tested. The two sets of results, and a comparison between them, are shown below (all figures positive):-

	A	B	C	D	E
Mean(i)	1.42	2.00	0.64	2.20	1.51
Mean(ii)	2.33	2.94	2.68	3.30	1.95
z	2.15	1.24	3.67	1.71	1.15
$p <$	.05	n/s	.002	.1	n/s

TABLE 4.5   CHANGE IN GIRLS' PERCEPTION OF GOALS

Thus all the girls revised their expectations upwards, though not all significantly so. At schools B and D they were led to believe in the possibility of dynamic goals to a slightly greater extent than staff were apparently prepared to fulfil it ! However, the fact that, after contact with the school, girls were generally inclined to expect more dynamic goals suggests that the staff were putting this idea across in practice as well as expressing it in written tests. (A test to determine whether girls who raised their expectations

also improved their 'social adjustment' scores more
than others proved negative. The mean change of those
raised by three points or more was +0.11, of those
dropped by three points or more -0.31. The direction
was as predicted, but the figures were not significant.)

OBSERVATION

While the quantitative instruments showed a high degree
of agreement between schools on the over-riding import-
ance of social adjustment in both models and goals, our
finding that more detailed models differed from one
school to another would lead us to expect that the goal
of social adjustment could be interpreted rather differ-
ently in different schools. This is not to say that the
'public image' of one school is more contrived or
deceptive than another, but that two schools which both
aim to improve social adjustment may have different
views as to what constitutes an improvement, may
emphasise different types of social adjustment, or
concentrate on different levels at which change could
take place. For example, one school might be concerned
to work on basic personality characteristics and be
prepared not to see any immadiate results in practice,
while another might be concerned mainly with encouraging
behaviour patterns indicative of good adjustment without
worrying unduly about how deep-rooted the patterns were.
However, some schools may hold social adjustment as an
ideal which ought to be expressed in a questionnaire,

yet find that some more immediate goal is more practicable in the working situation and turn their conversation accordingly to the latter.

School A.   Staff at school A, it will be remembered, tended to see the girls as ordinary children who through no fault of their own had been denied opportunities for a full and satisfactory process of maturation, although many staff's remarks suggest a belief that in the right situation (such as school A) the girls are in fact as 'good' as any others. However, the hypothesis that school A might see no further action as being necessary is not sustained by further observation. The following comment of Miss B, the acting Deputy Head, brings together these two points of view in implying that since reality for the girls is that of a difficult situation in home and day school, the aim must be to equip them to deal with it :-

> "It would often be best to keep a girl until she can go out to work; they worry a lot about having to go back to school for a short period. That and their family problems are their biggest worries. But they do have to learn that they <u>can</u> get on at home - it's just by-passing the problem for them not to go back .... To help a girl to 'get on' is to help her understand herself and her problem and be able to express it and to regulate her own behaviour."

The Headmaster makes the goal more explicit :-

> "Relationships have been the lack in the child's background; they need to be able to build up trust in adults. The object of this is that once they have begun to form relationships they can go on and do so outside in their families and so on .... The girl's self-image must be built up. This is how she grows to maturity, though maturity comes at different times and different levels .... self-

confidence is _the_ most important thing that has to
be developed in the girl."

The careful comments of Mr.J, one of the care staff,

support this view :-

> "Some girls change a lot over time, some don't. No,
> I wouldn't say change because we don't want to change
> their characters, that wouldn't be right at all, but
> we want to make them able to understand and cope
> a bit better."

Mrs. E, the senior house mother, who was highly respected

in the school but well-known for finding it difficult to

put her thoughts into words, identified her role as

"to train a girl to be clean and tidy and so on", but

when I encouraged her to go beyond this definition if

she would, she said :-

> "Oh, I'm so glad you see that - yes, of course it's
> more than that."

However, I couldn't - without actually leading her -

get her to say what 'it' was, except for expressing

earnest wishes for the girls to feel happy and encour-

aged by the staff.

All the detailed remarks of care and teaching staff

suggested that, rather than trying to impose certain

standards of behaviour, they were concerned with

fostering a sense of achievement in girls, helping

them to help themselves in an active way and develop

the ability to cope with their own problems. There

can be little doubt that the goal of social adjustment

expressed in the questionnaires is reflected in the

conversational material of school A. Their interpret-

ation of social adjustment seems to be that girls are

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to develop the self-confidence and understanding they
need in order to be able to cope with their problems
in the outside world, rather than simply being equipped
with standards and patterns of behaviour held to be
desirable in their own right. Nor is the 'adjustment'
to be simply a matter of personal development: relat-
ionships with others, and especially with their own
families, are held to be of central importance.

School B. At school B, girls tended to be seen as the
'trouble-makers' of the outside world; the Headmaster's
explanation that this was due to lack of identity did
not seem to have filtered down very well to other
members of staff. We see a separation between Head and
staff again in the data on goals. Mr.A says :-

>"A human being has to be allowed to grow and develop.
>These children have been denied that .... They need
>to feel secure within themselves and in the place
>they are in and the people they are with I
>believe it is important for girls to develop their
>sexual identities."

In fact, Miss C's remarks are much more typical of the
views generally held by staff :-

>"I know some of the staff don't agree with trying
>to impress middle-class standards on the girls, but
>I think it is a help to them later on: if they go
>to the Works dance and know how to eat properly and
>how to dance etc., they will feel accepted and life
>will be easier for them. And girls have come back
>and told us this is true. Any opportunity at all to
>help them in some way, to show them something, or
>give them new ways of doing things, even to eating
>turnips instead of opening a tin of peas, can be
>valuable."

Mr.H, a school social worker, qualifies the general
training attitude by saying :-

"I think girls should learn respect for adults -
they'll have to have it in the outside world ....
Sometimes when a girl first comes in she concen-
trates on a relationship with one particular
person, but you've got to try and get her to move
on or spread out to other people because it won't
help her to be dependent on one person .... Two
years ago, the emphasis was perhaps more on corr-
ection than help, now it is more on help. 'Corr-
ection' means behaviour, cleanness, manners, etc.,
though details aren't important. 'Help' means
guidance, advice, helping a girl to see how things
will turn out if she does X, or why X happened,
or how she could avoid it."

Interestingly, when I asked the Headmaster explicitly

about aims, his reply concerned aims for the <u>school</u>,

rather than goals for the girls, thus :-

"Accepting a girl for what she is, understanding
her and caring for her .... perhaps caring is the
most important."

Mrs.N expressed the same idea when she said :-

"You do usually feel it's having some effect in
the end - you see things sinking in and a girl
does learn to do better. When they've left, you
see, it may be the one place they can look back to
and feel they were secure and people cared about
them, it gives them something to cling to so they
can stand up to things a bit better."

These comments support the idea mentioned previously

that the girls' situations may be seen as so hopeless

that all the school <u>can</u> do is to act as a kind of

anchor point for them. We have here, then, three

rather different goals: developing girls' identities,

teaching them correct behaviour, and acting as a care

refuge (Mr.H's remarks about advice and guidance were

not echoed by any other staff; they seemed in fact to

express a hope - perhaps inspired by his professional

training - for, rather than a description of, the

school at present). Of these goals, only the first is

really a matter of social adjustment in our sense, the
second being the training part of our dynamic division,
and the last being essentially a static type of goal.
Another dynamic goal which was implied but not stated
explicitly concerned the importance of allowing girls
to gain experience at making choices and decisions.
However, as we shall see in the next section, the
context in which it was implied casts doubt on class-
ifying it as a genuinely dynamic objective. This goal
was even negated explicitly by the Headmaster on one
occasion when he replied to some query of mine by
saying "We do know what's best for them."

This diversity of goals is what we were led to expect
from the lack of clarity about models and from the
fact that the Head seemed to be at odds with most of
his staff on the question of the needs of girls. The
lack of communication between Head and staff was rather
clearly illustrated by a document which the Head sent
round while I was there, with instructions that every
member of staff should read it. It was a paper entitled
"The risk to those who work with disturbed adolescents"
by one A. Hyatt Williams (on whom no information was
given). I quote a fairly typical passage from this
paper :-

   "Failure to work through depression as the self
   realisation process continues is often followed by
   compensatory defence mechanisms. A manic process
   may intervene and mitigate or annul a healthy
   depressive feeling in the development of personal
   insight."

No member of staff I spoke to even claimed to have found this intelligible, let alone useful. School B, it will be remembered, scored lowest on the Concept of Needs questionnaire and had least agreement among the staff; the deep division between the ideas of the Head and those of other members of staff may go some way towards explaining these results.

School C. In spite of the findings on the quantitative test of goals, school C seemed to be concerned in practice more with training, the possibility of genuine social adjustment appearing rather remote to them. Miss CC's remarks were fairly typical :-

> "You try and set higher standards for them: eating properly, bathing, cleaning their rooms, etc., but some go out as bad as they came in, though it may rub off and show up later on. Of course, most of these girls have done something, besides their standards, and there's nothing you can do about that, is there ?"

Alongside this was a static care goal frequently expressed, as, for example, in Mrs.J's comment :-

> "The thing is to keep the girls occupied to take their minds off their own troubles .... I feel sorry for the girls .... most of their trouble is they come from a bad environment. I thought we might be able to pull them up a bit - get them into secretarial jobs instead of factories, etc. - but though they have the ability, they can't stick it and just go back to their old environments."

Her second theme here, of raising girls' social status by getting them into white-collar jobs, was also widely held in school C, particularly by the Deputy Head, from whom - probe as I might - I could not elicit any other aim for the girls at all. The class-

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conscious attitude, stressing middle-class values, which we saw in the section on the models of school C, is thus carried through into their ideas about goals. Again the Headmaster expressed a more treatment-oriented attitude in interview, however :-

> "We try to give them a respite from this situation
> [the 'difficult adolescence' previously quoted]
> and a consistency of treatment so that they can
> go back better able to cope with their families
> and their lives. This is the main value of the
> school to girls. We also try to arrange it so
> that a girl is leaving school when she leaves
> here, and try and get her fixed up with a job
> and so on, so that she doesn't have to face school
> which she can't see the point of."

For all the apparent similarity which this passage has to certain quotations for school A's views on goals, there are several important differences. In the first place, the Head of school C believes that a mere rest from the home situation is what enables girls to go home and cope better, whereas to school A certain positive processes must go on in order to bring about changes in the girl's self-understanding. In the second place, C's Headmaster believes (and, it may be argued, is more realistic to do so) in avoiding the problems facing girls returning to school by getting them jobs instead; Miss B in school A, on the other hand, specifically expressed the opinion (p4 : 25) that avoiding problems in this way could not be called a satisfactory solution. Finally, even this less dynamic goal in school C did not seem to have filtered down very well to the rest of the staff, who did not appear to believe in the possibility of girls' coping

abilities being improved by a stay in the school.

Mrs.P, who had previously worked as a local authority
social worker, said that girls are sent to a List D
school for three reasons :-

"One, to take them from a bad environment. Two,
to give them the opportunity to form good relat-
ionships with adults. Three, for basic social
training, for example in dressing, eating and
so on."

However, she did not volunteer any opinion as to whether
school C was actually trying to carry out these aims.
In fact, although when speaking on the subject of aims
staff put forward those mentioned above - static care,
training and social maturation - in practice they
seemed to spend most of their energies exerting control
over the girls. Many of the problems discussed among
themselves or raised with the researcher were on the
subject of discipline and of the most effective ways
to 'handle' difficult girls. In school C, more than
any other school, there were distinct signs of staff
being overworked and feeling fed-up and frustrated
for a number of reasons (when I returned for my second
stay there had been a noticeable improvement in this
respect). I concluded from this that the goals ex-
pressed in the questionnaires were probably ideals
which the staff would have liked to carry out if only
they had had the energy and could see a feasible method
of doing so. As it was, they had to fall back on goals
which were easier to put into practice - education for
the teachers, domestic training for the house staff,

and trying to keep the girls cheerful for all - and
these goals in turn were often set aside under the
pressure of keeping control. In fact, a rough anal-
ysis of all conversation units at school C showed that
the largest single subject was that involving questions
of control.

School D. We can begin a consideration of school D's
goals with a document prepared by the Headmaster for
the purpose of explaining the role of the school to any
interested party. On the development of a policy
about aims, he says here :-

> "Girls had to be encouraged to examine and change
> their attitudes, to grow in self-awareness, and it
> would require a complete community approach involv-
> ing the girls in their own treatment and that of
> others .... The girl needs love, care and protection
> and of course many of them reveal psychological,
> emotional and environmental deprivation .... The
> community strived to achieve a kind of discipline
> which was neither authoritarian on the one hand
> nor permissive on the other ..."

The three main functions the school is to perform are :-

> "1.   Basic human care - food, warmth and security.
> 2.   A basic social education and opportunities to
>   go further and sit O-level exams.
> 3.   Fairly intensive case-work so that the girls are
>   helped to verbalise their feelings."

These aims are broadly supported by the majority of
staff and by the professional consultants with whom
school D was much involved, but the first two are
more or less taken for granted: it is the third which
is mainly stressed, in the context of treatment aims
in general. For example, in a discussion about the
'small group' meetings held among girls and staff,

the following interchange took place between JL
(consultant psychotherapist), the Headmaster and
one of the care staff :-

> JL: "They [the meetings] are not necessarily meant
> to be nice pleasant things, but sometimes to
> bring up unpleasant things and problems."

> Mrs.J: "X, a girl in my group, has improved a lot
> and is more able to talk about things reasonably."

> Mr.A : "The aim of the groups is to air subjects and
> to slow down reactions."

> Mrs.J: "So that instead of immediately flying off
> the handle and getting into a fight, girls
> would be able to talk things out."

The function of these groups was clearly directed at

helping individual girls to come to terms with them-

selves, to express themselves and modify their mode

of reacting, rather than at building up social relat-

ionships within the group or specifically promoting

sociable behaviour.

The staff were clear that mere containment was not

one of their aims, as Mr.B pointed out of a certain

girl :-

> "She could only go on to Borstal, if we can't
> think of anything else, and that's only a con-
> taining situation, which is what we're doing for
> her here, but we don't want to - we don't aim
> to be just containing."

Purely static aims were rejected in the following

conversation also :-

> Miss Y: "It's too easy for them to come back here."

> Mr.W : "But better come back here than get into
> trouble."

> Mrs.J : "But she isn't capable of doing anything."

> Miss Y: "But she is, she's got to be."

Mrs.J : "All she is capable of is growing up a
        bit more."

Mr.W : "Mr.A was laying it on the line to her: she
        can't just sit about here doing nothing."

Miss Y: "She seems to enjoy being here and having fun."

Mr.W : "But remember the harm she's doing here, she
        disrupts all the meetings ..."

Mrs.J : "She's a nice girl, but it's no good her
        coming in here and just getting away from
        her problems."

Mrs.J did on one occasion imply the goal of personal

training, when speaking of a certain girl's improvement:-

Mr.B : "We can select the girls we could really do
        something for. This girl needs a one-to-one
        situation, which we can't give, so she
        should go somewhere who could."

Mr.H : "She doesn't really interact with the group
        at all."

Mr.H : "She's so hostile she'll never get close
        enough to become socialised."

Mrs.J : "She's clean, keeps herself and her clothes
        clean and tidy. She can sit down and eat
        properly - she's much better than when she
        first came in. You men miss a lot of that
        sort of thing .... And that's part of the
        way towards socialisation, isn't it ?"

Mrs.E : "She's greedy for attention ..."

Mr.H : "The point is that the structure of the
        school doesn't meet her needs - and couldn't
        without not-meeting the needs of the other
        girls."

Although accepted, however, this goal of training was

not emphasised by staff, except as it denoted an over-

all improvement in awareness and attitudes.

It seems clear that the major goal in school D was

adjustment of quite a deep-searching kind, and the

minor goals of care and training, though present, were

underplayed. However, the adjustment envisaged was in reality more individual than truly social, compared with the aims, for example, of school A. This interpretation of goals applied through all levels of staff. School D was the only one of the five in which the Head was not a relatively isolated figure of authority - indeed, the present school policies and principles had been decided upon by a conference of staff and consultants before the present Head was appointed. He was in agreement with their ideas and had developed them more fully during his Headship, but he was not in fact concerned with exerting his authority.

School E. The Headmistress of school E explained how the aims of the school were designed to meet the needs of girls in the following way :-

"Most of the girls' problems stem from their families - break-up of marriage, drink, violence, etc. The school supplies to counteract this: first of all, stability and security. Then it gives them proper care and teaches them hygeine, and it gives them a sound education. All this makes a good foundation for the girl to build on. The most important task of house staff is counselling of girls, preferably by themselves or in small groups. I'm not in favour of these 'group dynamics' methods: if they can cause stable grown-ups to break down, it's quite intolerable to impose such stresses on children like this."

She did not enlarge, however, on the aim of counselling, and the Deputy Headmistress, Sister B, had this to say :-

"I do not believe that you can help girls most by one-to-one 'counselling', i.e. talking. Modern trends in social work and what is most helpful to girls do no always coincide. What is more constructive, and what I try to do in my own House,

is to form relationships with girls in the course
of ordinary activities of work and play; this is
more important than maintaining peace and quiet
in the House. When you have these relationships
you may be able to talk to a girl as you go along,
but not without. On the classroom side, the most
constructive aspects are the practical nature of
the lessons; to be realistic, most girls can't do
much more than factory work and we help prepare
them for this. Also, so many have failed in the
classroom situation so they do better in more
practical classes."

The practical working situation emphasised here by

Sister B was also mentioned by a number of the teachers

and instructors. Most of the Sisters, however, had a

view of goals which was not shared by lay staff and did

not come to the fore in other schools either (though

there were traces of it in schools B and C). Sister

F's remarks on the role of the school represent this

view succinctly :-

"This is the Order of the Good Shepherd and our
constitution tells us to love people in the way
Christ teaches. We feel we have achieved some-
thing when a girl looks on the school as a place
she can come back to, though it's also a success
if she reforms but doesn't come back. But we
must always have done some good, love necessarily
breeds love, even if you can't see it .... The
main thing is that they can look back on their
time here as a time and place when they were loved
and cared for - that's the main thing."

The idea of the school as a refuge for girls throughout

their lives, even if only in thought, was very strong.

Only the Deputy Head again somewhat dissented :-

"The good of the child is what is aimed at, and to
me that means enabling the child to see Christ -
in other people and in themselves. This is Christ
in a broad sense, can be natural goodness as well
as organised religion. Yes, one is pleased when a
girl comes back to visit, but one is also sad if
life outside is so bad for them that the school is
their only refuge. One hopes to enable them to
lead good Christian lives."

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Sister C combined both points of view - static and dynamic - in her comments :-

> "The Order was founded to help girls and women in moral danger .... Love is what is behind the whole thing. Success is not viewed as curing delinquency but as making girls feel loved and self-respecting, keeping in touch with the school, and perhaps going on to give something to others. Some continue in delinquency for a year or two afterwards but then settle down into good marriages. Also providing a girl with the means to make a full life - both religious and in interests."

As in school B, the goals staff brought up in conversation did not always tally with the results of their questionnaires; in fact, goals which could have been classed as social adjustment were hardly mentioned. This is in part, I think, because school E - like school B - was often more concerned with goals for the school rather than goals for the girls. Mr. NN, a young priest-in-training who helped out at the school, went so far as to express this in the following way :-

> "I don't ask what success I have achieved because any success is God's achievement and I may never be able to see it."

The implication must be that so long as staff - particularly religious staff - perform their duties of love and care, the effects on the girls are not felt to be of first importance (as far as staff's efforts are concerned). One of the Sisters introduced this idea into the Perception of Goals questionnaire itself; she declined to answer question 4 - 'how do you see your job as a member of staff ? - and instead wrote underneath :-

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"I think of myself as a Sister of this congreg-
ation and it is my vocation in life, so I don't
just see it as a job. For over three hundred years
our congregation has been working for delinquent
girls and women and adapting itself to the needs
of the age. As a Religious congregation we have
our own way of approach."

Undoubtedly, static goals, plus practical education,

were the most prominent overt concerns of school E: as

in school C, the emphasis on social adjustment in the

questionnaires may simply have been the expression of

an ideal which they did not feel able to pursue dir-

ectly. However, it could also be that the model of the

good Christian person they wanted girls to become

(and who resembles quite closely the person of good

social adjustment) seemed so obvious to them as not

to need stating. When we come to look at methods we can

see whether in fact they directed their efforts to

producing such 'good Christians'. Certainly this,

together with the provision of a loving, stable and

secure environment, were their main expressed aims;

Sister β's mention of relationships appeared to be an

isolated opinion.

SUMMARY

It is evident from the material on goals that, although

all schools professed a firm commitment to social

adjustment goals, in practice some were more concerned

with training at a more superficial level. They tended

to stress improvement in outward forms of behaviour

and practical skills more than the solution of deep-

seated personal and social difficulties. Significant-
ly, those schools which were found in the first section
to regard the girls as 'delinquents' rather than simply
as normal children were also those who tended to stress
behavioural training at the expense of personal and
emotional issues. With this insight, we proceed to the
material on methods.

C : Methods in the schools.

We have seen what kinds of models of girls and their
situation are entertained by members of staff at the
various schools and what sorts of goals they hold out
for them. The next question at which the research
looked in the observational and conversational material
was 'What methods are used, supposedly to try to achieve
the goals aimed at upon the subjects as perceived ?'
We shall here look at what staff actually do and try
to summarise it as a coherent method, beginning to
ask, not so much 'Is this an effective way of carrying
out these aims ?' but 'How can these methods be inter-
preted as a means of achieving the goals ?' For ex-
ample, if members of staff believe in the importance
of social adjustment for children whose needs are seen
as connected with social problems, yet turn out to
spend most of their time beating the children black
and blue, we shall ask not 'Does it work ?' but 'What
is the meaning to them of this method such that it is
conceived as being consistent with their goals and
models ?' At the same time, of course, we must note

where it seems likely that the desired method is in fact being frustrated by conflicts or restrictions and is therefore not part of a coherent and purposive system.

School A.   The model held in school A was largely that of ordinary children unfortunately situated in the world; the goals were strongly concerned with social adjustment in the sense of girls developing the ability to cope with their difficult situation. We may espec-ially note the Headmaster's statement (p4 : 25) that relationships are the key to alleviating girls' prob-lems. He followed this remark by saying :-

> "This is the way the relationship is formed: the act is disapproved of - disapproval is the main sanction, most definitely - but not the girl ....
> You have to have different expectations for diff-erent individuals; you've got to know the child and her background."

Over and over again in school A these ideas were echoed in one way or another. Teachers particularly stressed the importance of getting to know each girl personally. Some of the house staff complained that over-staffing was making it difficult for girls to form relationships with particular members of staff because the wide choice was confusing. Girls also expressed the idea that it was important to have a particular member of staff with whom one got on especially well. That disapproval was the main sanction was supported by Miss B's remarks :-

> "We don't run things by rewards and punishments: it would only be for something <u>very</u> serious a

girl's home leave would be stopped. Otherwise
you're just teaching them to obey you to get the
rewards. We just treat them like ordinary child-
ren - checking them perhaps when they do some-
thing, but not really punishing .... We find that
other girls will help a new one to settle down by
showing her that they've been able to do it."

All the observations supported the idea that a contin-

uity of expectations, a kind of ongoing tradition of

behaviour, was the main factor in shaping behaviour in

the school. Mrs.C, for example, said :-

"Of course they've got to learn, but gradually and
by seeing what you expect and the example you set."

Mrs.C was one of the longest-serving members of staff,

but Miss I, who was young and new, spoke in the same

terms :-

"This whole school, I feel, is built on trust. It
involves a lot of give and take, because sometimes
it's hard for the staff to trust girls, but if
you do you find they respond by deserving it."

There was only one explicit rule (against smoking out-

side the permitted times and places), no fixed reward/

penalty system, no 'report cards', no grading and no

detention cell. Punishments did occasionally take

place, but they were ad hoc and at staff's discretion,

unless very serious in which case they were referred

to the Headmaster (being sent to the Head was not

itself construed as a punishment in school A). School

routines were governed neither by explicit regulations,

nor by bells, locked doors or strict supervision;

instead there was frequent mention of 'the way we do

things here'. Overall there was a very orderly yet

completely relaxed atmosphere (another concept often

stressed by staff) in all aspects of the school's life.
There was no evidence of a girls' counter-culture so
obvious in some of the schools, and very little in the
way of anti-adult sentiment, resistance or resentment.
On the contrary, there was evidence that genuine adult-
child relationships were being successfully formed
which, as even a short-term participant, I was able to
appreciate myself.

The Headmaster was conscious of the delicate balance
involved in maintaining this situation :-

> "Expectations are transmitted to new girls by the
> girls' culture; this is why I don't like to take
> in too many at a time .... It's a great mistake
> to run the numbers down in a school, especially a
> girls' school. The optimum number, I think, is
> 35 to 40. If you send home the ones you can when
> the school's in a tight spot, as for example when
> I was ill and the new Deputy Head hadn't arrived,
> then you are left with the core of the most dis-
> turbed girls and nothing to dilute them with, so
> the anxiety level goes right up."

The plan seemed to be that when a girl entered the
school she was to become part of a continuing social
group, containing individuals with whom she could form
rewarding but also demanding relationships. She would
learn to participate in this network of relationships,
to live up to its expectations and have her needs
supplied by it. In what way this process is understood
as developing her capacity to cope with the outside
world and its problems we shall explore more fully in
a later chapter, but it seems that relationships are a
key concept both in the perception of problems and in
ideas about treatment in school A, and the reciprocal

satisfaction of expectations is held to be the method by which such relationships are formed.

School B. The models held in school B did not seem to be very clearly defined, although there was a certain element of censure present. The only properly dynamic goals expressed by staff were that of training to certain standards, and the question of learning to make choices. A propos of the latter goal, the Headmaster reminded me in our interview of a recent incident in which he had, he said, offered the girls the choice of continuing or abandoning the practice of singing hymns in morning assembly. What actually happened on the occasion in question was this: during the absence of the Head on a course, no hymns had been sung and on his return he asked if they wanted to resume having them. There were murmurs of 'No' from the girls.

    Head: "Now just stop and think before you say no.
           let's have some people's opinions. Mary,
           what do you think ? "

    Mary: "I don't want hymns, I don't like hymns."

    Head: "If you can't give a reason, we can't give
           much weight to your opinion, can we ?"

    Mrs.D:"It's nice because we're all doing something
           together, and because it's a hymn."

    Head: "It's a good thing to do things together, to
           share things; and a hymn is part of religious
           expression. Let's have a day to think about
           it and we'll decide tomorrow."

The following day, he raised the matter again but refused to take a vote until "you offer reasons for not having hymns - not just excuses." Several girls replied no-one sang the hymns anyway except one of the prefects

(in my observation this was perfectly true). The
Head replied that this was not true and that anyway
it was not an argument. On the third day, the Head
took a vote: there were five pro-singing (three of
whom were staff), all the rest were against. The
Head expressed his regret but reluctantly ratified the
decision, saying, "It can always be changed later."

A similar example concerned an eleven-year-old girl
whom the school had agreed to take in although she was
well below their usual age-range. This girl was
getting sat on rather firmly by some of the others and
in a morning assembly the Headmaster, referring to
this, remarked :-

> "You all got together and voted whether to have
> her in here and whether you could cope, and the
> majority voted 'yes'."

One of the prefects objected :-

> "It wasn't a majority - more people said 'no'."

> "But" replied Mr.A "I did consult you."

Incidents like these two could be multiplied many
times for school B - the Head seemed to be the init-
iator of such an approach, but other staff also used
it - and I was obliged to conclude that the expressed
goal of making decisions was not wholeheartedly being
worked towards in practice, while such decisions as
did get made were undermined by the staff's poorly-
disguised disapproval of them. An explanation can be
attempted, I think, by saying that the staff had a
firm notion of what was 'right' (compare Mr.A's "We do

know what's best for them"), but they also had an
entrenched belief that the girls were such as to be
unlikely of their own accord to do what was 'right'.
If offered a choice, therefore, the girls were likely
to choose 'wrongly' from the staff's point of view.
But since staff wished to impose a pattern of right
behaviour on the girls, it was not possible for them
to offer a genuine choice to girls, only to go through
the form of doing so, since they were not prepared to
support a decision from a girl or girls unless it
coincided with their own judgement. The point is that
the derogatory model of girls held by staff simply
could not co-exist with an aim to allow them to make
their own decisions. Why offer decisions at all, then ?
My only guess is that they wanted to think of them-
selves as choice-offerers, perhaps to be in line with
more up-to-date policies for which, in fact, the rest
of their body of thought was not ready.

School B's training aim, on the other hand - the
imposition of standards of behaviour in practical
matters - could be carried through on the foundation
of their existing model. However, the latent conflict
among and between various goals and models seemed to
afflict the training programme as well. There were,
for example, quite a number of rules and regulations
in the school, but these were often ignored by certain
staff if they themselves did not agree with the rule
or felt that trying to impose it was a hopeless task

(such as rules against smoking). Methods of dealing
with incidents such as fights among the girls differed
according to which members of staff were involved.
However, for those staff who were in sympathy with the
main body of rules, the chief method of enforcement
was by the Court system. Rule-breaking behaviours
deemed to be of a serious nature were termed 'major
offences' (Tutt, in the passage already mentioned,
comments on how 'legal language' was used to refer to
disapproved behaviour when dealing with children ident-
ified as 'delinquents'). The chief of these 'major
offences' were smoking offences, stealing, swearing
and absconding.

There was a well-recognised system in which the comm-
ission of 'major offences' resulted in appearance before
the school Court, when sanctions would be applied
involving so many days loss of privileges, including
loss of home leave. Staff or girls could make accus-
ations in the Court - though only girls could be
accused - and it was a 'committee' of girls who awarded
punishments. It seemed to be mainly the responsibility
of prefects (of whom there were two for each House)
to accuse and sentence. No records were apparently
kept of the Court's dealings, but staff also had the
'report card' system already mentioned in which they
could make automatic deductions from or additions to
pocket money for, one supposes, 'minor offences'
(though this term did not seem to be in regular use,

and there was no generic term at all for the opposite
type of behaviour which resulted in bonuses). Emerg-
ency situations such as abscondings - if a girl did
not return willingly - violent fights among the girls, or
strong aggression towards staff, generally resulted in
girls being put in the 'cooler' - the term most frequent-
ly used by girls and staff for the detention room.

On the positive side, there were assessments every
morning of the standard of housework done by the girls
in each House and the winning House was awarded a
treat (such as a visit to the cinema) that week. There
was a group who had special privileges: the 'adult
group', formed of girls who were judged by the staff to
have attained a certain standard of responsibility,
who were allowed to go outside the school in pairs,
unaccompanied by a member of staff.

In so far, therefore, as consistent methods were applied,
they apparently worked on a principle of conditioning
by rewards and punishments. However, on behaviour
which did not merit a Court appearance or a 'treat',
there was little consistent method at all. The Head
set great store by his own ad hoc counselling sessions
with individual girls, which were apparently much
appreciated by the girls concerned, but other members of
staff did not seem to have either the inclination or
the opportunity to take this role. Group counselling
sessions were also in existence but were so rarely
mentioned that I had the impression that neither girls

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nor staff found them very valuable (I was not allowed
to attend these sessions myself). If school B appears
from this account to be mainly activated by conflict
and confusion - though always with good intentions and
no lack of effort on the part of staff - then it
reflects exactly the way I found it to be.

School C. School C's models of girls were fairly
benevolent, but at the same time even more censorious
than those of school B; the girls were seen as a sort of
alien group which nevertheless demanded sympathy.
Correspondingly, the goals seemed to be divided between
keeping the girls cheerful and keeping them in line.
The methods used adhered closely to this pattern.

Girsl were kept busy in school C. Almost every part of
the day was taken up with classes (day or evening) or
with practical activites such as domestic chores,
mealtimes and so on. As we saw in the last section,
Mrs.J suggested that this was the point of the exercise:
to take girls' minds off their own problems. In a
similar vein, the staff engaged in a lot of what one
might call 'jollying along' behaviour. For example,
at a mealtime when the girls are saying (as children
in institutions so regularly do) that the food is
"rotten", Miss E puts down her knife and fork with the
firm remark that "that was very tasty, very tasty
indeed". (It was, needless to say, average.) Staff
certainly did not seek out opportunities to bring
problems into the open; instead they tried to minimise

girls' diffculties and encouraged the girls to do the same. Another line of approach was simply to award punishments in the hope, one supposed, of stamping out undesirable behaviour. For example, at a House meeting where the girls' pocket money 'scores' are being discussed, one girl is told that she was 'minussed' for refusing to sit at table with the school psychologist. "Oh, I know, I can't stand that man, I don't like the way he eats" she says. Mrs.F rounds on her, shouting "Shut up ! Shut up ! What about the way you eat ?" The next girl is told: "I gave you a minus for being in a sulk and a mood" to which the girl retorts: "Well, people do get into moods sometimes" but this is not answered. When Mrs.F is about to go on to the third girl, the second protests:"Tell me what I got bonuses for then, I've got a right to know". Mrs.F puts on a look of good-humoured resignation, but does tell her.

The only other sort of interaction in which staff usually engaged with girls was of a controlling nature. At one point I overheard Mrs.F saying very angrily to a girl:"Don't you dare question why we do things" and this was not untypical of the authoritarian attitude at least among the older staff. However, because staff were anxious as a rule to keep the peace, the authoritarian attitude generally came over as manipulative rather than confrontational - a practice which, in fact, the Headmaster specifically recommended. Girls tended

to be fobbed off much of the time with palliative half-truths (and sometimes not even those) rather than being obliged to face the fault that staff found with their behaviour. Thus the overall climate was essentially one of containment.

The reason why the goals which school C claimed in the questionnaire were apparently not being carried out in practice is, as already pointed out, different from the reason in school B. In the latter, conflicts of model and principle were the obstacle; in school C the practical conflict of trying to make the staff's job possible in their overworked and frustrated situation was chiefly responsible. At the same time, there was something in their definition of the situation which seemed to prevent them facing up squarely to what might need to be done in order to effect the sort of dynamic changes the questionnaire responses suggested. It was possibly that the girls were seen by staff as so unlike themselves and also as a delinquent group rather than as individuals, and so staff could not establish any points of contact with them, as is suggested by Miss E's remarks (p4 : 12). The girls patently reciprocated this attitude by forming a strong counter-culture, obvious to even a superficial observation, in which adults were usually whispered about, sniggered at and thwarted whenever possible.

Where dynamic processes were evident in school C, the methods were directed mainly towards forming acceptable

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habits - of table manners, cleanliness and so on,
also of address to adults and each other and general
social appearance. No mediator such as the formation
of relationships in school A was apparently seen as
particularly necessary or desirable in school C: app-
roval and disapproval (and rewards and punishments)
were used to condition behaviour, not to build up
social networks. There was also a fairly large number
of rules: desirable behaviour consisted of behaviour
according to the rules, so that conditioning methods
did in fact seem especially suitable.

School D. Staff in school D saw their girls as ind-
ividuals, not as a troublesome delinquent group. The
goal of social adjustment in the sense of girls devel-
oping self-awareness in order to be able to understand
and control their social interaction was very much in
the forefront of conversation. It was also highly
apparent in practice. There was no pattern of attempts
to manipulate girls or to repress them in any way;
any problem that came up was taken seriously and
tackled whole heartedly, on the spot if possible.
Problems were frequently referred by staff to girls'
backgrounds and families and to the 'reasons behind'
their behaviour. The treatment approach was quite
conscious but not self-conscious. Nor was it heavy-
handed, as the following incident - typical of school
D's approach - demonstrates. When most of the girls
and staff were as usual gathered informally in the

staffroom after tea, the Headmaster said :-

"We'll all play a game tonight. Shall we have a
little role-playing game tonight, Christine?
We'll expose Marsha as she really is, a nasty
horrible child. I'll go and round up the ones
who want to see 'Mission Impossible' ...."

When he has collected all the girls, and still amidst

a joking and teasing atmosphere, he says :-

"Now, I've got a problem and I want you to
help me solve it. Irene.

Joan: "Yes, she's absconded with my boots."

Mr.A: "We have to find out what makes Irene tick."

Jill: "No, she just does it to get sympathy."

Mr.A: "We'll deal with this and then go and watch
television and Christine can abscond. Now,
who'll play Irene ?"

Eventually everyone - girls, staff, the Headmaster,

myself - is allocated a part: of Irene, her social

worker, boyfrined, Mr.A, the Panel members and so on.

Although there is a lot of giggling, the scheme itself

is taken seriously by the girls and continues fairly

smoothly through Irene's recent history. As it goes

on, the game seems to elicit much more sympathy for

Irene than was previously forthcoming and more pre-

paredness to be helpful to her; incidental social

graces such as introductions also come into play. At

the end there are plenty of comments and suggestions

from the girls in answer to the Head's :-

"Now what is going to happen to Irene, friends ?"

The discussion is not conclusive in verbal terms, but

one girl gradually emerges as the one who 'can do some-

thing with Irene' and she begins to warm to this role.

Irene had actually absconded six hours previously and
her disappearance had not yet been reported to the
police. The girls start to discuss where she'd be
now - probably at a notorious discotheque in the city,
they reckon. The Head says (as though he'd only just
thought of it, but in view of his having refrained
from notifying the police, I found that difficult to
believe) :-

    "Well, shall we all go down to the Disco and
      collect her ?"

In the end he takes the school bus, loaded with seven
girls, three other staff and myself. The Disco is
found to be shut, so after trying another nearby pub
we go to the station. The girls invade, asking other
kids whether they have seen her, while the staff wait
in the bus. Irene is easily found in the station bar,
a girl goes up to her and says "Hello, hen." (It had
been discussed on the journey how best to approach
her - decided as casually and unagressively as poss-
ible). Irene is drunk, but she 'comes quietly' while
the girls rally round, laughing both at and with her.
And so we all go back to the school, about twenty
miles distant, collecting the Headmaster's wife from
the shops on the way. This whole incident is typical
of the 'unorthodox' (compared with other schools)
methods employed, the conscious - though very genuine -
treatment approach and the atmosphere of equality
between staff and girls.

In keeping with this approach, school D had few fixed rules or sanctions and a maximum of personal freedom. The main channel for airing problems (not the last resort for bad behaviour) was the school Court in which - again unlike school B's Court - both girls and staff could be charged and penalised, and girls could make genuine decisions. For example, a girl who abused a privilege this week could be ordered to forgo it next week, or a member of staff could be required to apologise for being unnecessarily rude to a girl. Yet the girls did not 'run the school', certainly not in the way that one person suggested the girls 'ran' school C - by subversive tactics. There was no evidence of a counter-culture in school D. Some staff did feel that there should be more strictness and adult authority than there was, but the Deputy Head expressed the opinion (in marked contrast to school E, as we shall see) that external discipline worked directly against the development of self-discipline in the girls. In general, the models, goals and methods of school D appeared to make a consistent and intelligible pattern: girls were seen as worthwhile individuals needing a certain sort of help in self-development and that help was offered to them according to the staff's beliefs as to what sort of treatment would in fact be helpful, viz. the exploration of emotions and situations by mainly verbal means. Again the theoretical connex-

ions between the models, goals and methods will be explored in more detail later on.

School E.   The girls at school E were seen as something like the 'dregs of society'; at the same time, the Christian - and the religious in particular - was seen as having a special duty to love and care for such 'outcasts'. However, as these were children in the process of development, there was also present some hope for their reclamation.

The most noticeable feature of school E was that it abounded with rules and regulations, sanctions, standards and inflexible routines. Staff were actually very conscious of this characteristic of the school and it was evident that the regime was not being enforced without a system of 'meaning' to support it. I was told at various times (and a trifle defensively) that (a) it is not because of being nuns - other schools run by this Order are quite different, and (b) in such a big school (seventy girls) there would be chaos if everything was not laid down precisely. However, a more interpretative account was given by Miss L, one of the teachers :-

> "You'll hear some people, especially visitors, say they think it's terrible - the regimentation, the discipline, crocodiles, silence and so on - but I do think these girls need this."

The Headmistress also remarked :-

> "Discipline, quietness and order is necessary during school hours."

One reason given for the necessity was that this
regime provided the security essential for the type
of girls the school catered for. The Headmistress
gave the same reason - security - for not having
group counselling, shorter classes or more frequent
weekend leaves, and for not allowing too many outings
from the school: these were all felt to be 'unsettling'
experiences. In the second place, it was strongly
believed that discipline externally applied would lead
to the development of self-discipline (contrast school
D). Mrs.P, for example, remarked :-

> "The way I work is to let the girls know what I
> expect of them - set them a goal - impose discipline
> on them and hope that they will thereby learn to
> discipline themselves .... I try to use the lesson
> as therapy, learning to discipline themselves; I
> believe in a certain amount of discipline, girls
> need limits set for them, and this is the one
> thing most of them lack. You can set them an
> example of disciplined behaviour."

It is clear that the notions of expectations and of
therapy have rather different meanings here from those
they bear, for example, in school A. Sister H admitted
that after initial doubts, she had come to accept the
school's ideas :-

> "The girls we get in now are more difficult than
> they used to be - well, it's the end of the line
> for them; there are so many other agencies now -
> fostering and so on - that this is a last resort.
> At first I was horrified to see all the girls
> walking silently in line and so on that goes on
> here, but now I see it's necessary in order for the
> girls to learn self-discipline through being
> disciplined."

Thus control, rather than being in opposition to the
concept of treatment, is perceived as a means of
treatment (which is rather upsetting to the dichot-

omous structure of our questionnaires).

A second, less obvious, feature of the methods at school E was that guilt and shame were often used to produce acceptable behaviour: there was great stress on apologising or on 'showing contrition' for all kinds of behaviour from absconding to simple carelessness. This method was certainly directed at a deeper level than merely a superficial change in behaviour, but where other, non-religious, schools would tend to think in terms of altering attitudes or personality traits or shaping social relations (since their professional reference group is social scientific) school E tended to think in terms of morality and the moulding of conscience (their reference group being the Church). Thus these methods do in a sense support their quest- ionnaire answers ', to the extent that their inter- pretation of 'social adjustment' is catered for in the responses. Why was discipline felt to be so important to the process of adjustment, though, and how was it thought to bring about self-discipline ? When I asked this question of several staff members in turn, I received only one answer : "I really don't know." A theoretical discussion of this question will be deferred until a later chapter, but at least on the face of it, there do not seem to be any of the more obvious contradictions involved here such as we saw in school B and C. The conditioning method of strict routines and sanctions, combined with the high levels

of love and care, complement the goals of training into good Christian behaviour and attitudes (for girls), and recognition as a refuge (for the school) which we saw in the earlier sections.

SUMMARY

Comparing the methods of the different schools, we find a number of variations in approach, but one of the main distinctions seems to be between the use of discipline and conditioning to bring about change, and the use of freedom and closer girl-staff relationships. Moreover, we see that the schools which stress discipline are those which we have earlier found to subscribe to a 'delinquent' model of girls, and whose goals were seen as mainly concerned with behavioural training. In the next chapter, we examine these patterns of process in further detail.

CHAPTER FIVE : PATTERNS OF PROCESS

In this chapter, the material of Chapter Four on
models, goals and methods is summarised, and the ways
in which certain types of these variables seem to be
found together in our sample are compared. Additional
material from the observations is brought forward in
order to support these postulated patterns. First,
however, we look at the results of the Social Climate
Questionnaire showing the girls' perceptions of the
schools and thus drawing our attention to the affective
environment as it presents itself to those who are
the subjects of it.

A : The Social Climate Questionnaire

The objective measure used to assess some aspects of
the regime and culture of the schools as perceived by
girls was the Social Climate Questionnaire. This test
was administered at each school during both periods of
residence (eight or nine months apart), the intention
being to take a mean of the two scores thus obtained
so as to lessen the effects of extraneous factors which
might affect the results on one particular day. However,
although in most cases schools gave fairly stable res-
ults over the two administrations, there were a few
striking fluctuations which made it seem rather more
dubious simply to calculate a mean without further
examination. At the same time, the fluctuations did
'make sense' to one who had observed the schools at the

two periods, as evidence that the school was either changing in a constant direction, or was going through a 'bad patch' on one or other occasion. When the schools were ranked on scores for each scale, however, in only six cases (out of thirty) did the rank alter by more than one position. Table 5.1 shows the scores expressed as a percentage (as in Heal and colleagues' original trials) for administrations 1 and 2, and the mean for the two. Table 5.2 shows the same results expressed as ranks. The headings stand, respectively, for the scales of Satisfaction, Behaviour (where a low score represents a high standard), Staff Support, Girl Friendliness, Work and Strictness.

SCH.	SATIS.	BEHAV.	SUPP.	FRIEN.	WORK.	STRIC.	N
A1	71	51	69	71	78	66	16
A2	68	54	79	75	77	69	27
Ax̄	69	53	76	74	77	68	43
B1	43	66	48	55	46	66	23
B2	51	70	66	51	40	46	24
Bx̄	47	68	57	53	43	56	47
C1	39	62	56	62	70	78	20
C2	59	71	74	56	62	71	19
Cx̄	49	66	65	59	66	75	39
D1	77	56	68	67	51	42	13
D2	62	62	48	74	36	39	18
Dx̄	69	60	55	71	42	40	31
E1	59	61	69	59	73	70	60
E2	48	61	62	66	71	75	58
Ex̄	54	61	66	62	72	72	118

TABLE 5.1   SOCIAL CLIMATE : PERCENTAGES

SCH.	SATIS.	BEHAV.	SUPP.	FRIEN.	WORK	STRIC.
A1	2	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	$3\frac{1}{2}$
A2	1	1	1	1	1	3
A$\bar{x}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	3
B1	4	5	5	5	5	$3\frac{1}{2}$
B2	4	4	3	5	4	4
B$\bar{x}$	5	5	4	5	4	4
C1	5	4	4	3	3	1
C2	3	5	2	4	3	2
C$\bar{x}$	4	4	3	4	3	1
D1	1	2	3	2	4	5
D2	2	3	5	2	5	5
Dx	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	5	2	5	5
E1	3	3	$1\frac{1}{2}$	4	2	2
E2	5	2	4	3	2	1
Ex	3	3	2	3	2	2

TABLE 5.2   SOCIAL CLIMATE : RANKS

Schools A and E were evidently the most stable in
terms of scores on these scales.   School B showed a
marked increase in staff support and a similar dec-
rease in strictness over the period; this may be
attributable to the fact that school B was deliber-
ately undertaking some changes involving the estab-
lishment of staff teams and the exercise of greater
flexibility and discretion by those teams.   In spite
of these changes, however, school B scores consistent-
ly low on satisfaction, behaviour, girl friendliness
and standards of work.   School C showed two dramatic

improvements (if we assume that in at least the first four scales a high score - low in the case of behaviour - is a 'good thing'-: in satisfaction (though still not as high as most other schools) and in staff support. School C was receiving an influx of new and younger staff during the period (and several of the staff remarked upon the impact of this occurrence) and also certain plans for a more sympathetic approach were beginning to be carried out. Rank correlations (Spearman) were calculated for the age and length of service of all staff against the satisfaction and behaviour scales of the SCQ to test this idea. Slight ($p < 0.1$) associations were found (though not for other scales, nor for other staff characteristics) so that schools with younger and newer staff tended to score higher on satisfaction and behaviour. School D, on the other hand, showed a marked drop in scores for staff support and work, and a drop in satisfaction, though the last still remained high in comparison with the other schools. I tentatively interpreted this as suggesting that the permissive regime of school D had a tendency to go to an extreme position in which girls felt less secure - and therefore less supported and satisfied - than with a modicum of control; the reaction to this would probably ensure that firmer control returned sooner or later. We shall be discussing in a later chapter the potentiality of certain regimes for change of various kinds: cyclic movements, slow deteriorations, sudden outbreaks of problems and so on.

Leaving aside the question of change, then, and com-
paring the scores of the schools as a whole, we cannot
but be struck by the virtually unchallenged supremacy
of school A. Although only moderately strict compared
with the others, it is perceived as having the highest
standards of work and behaviour, the best staff support
and girl friendliness and gives equal greatest satis-
faction with school D. School B, on the other hand,
is almost as consistently low: the worst standard of
behaviour, least satisfaction and friendliness, poor
staff support and standards of work; yet although
Heal and colleagues (op.cit.) had found a tendency
for strictness to be positively correlated with low
satisfaction and support, school B is not very strict
at all in comparison with the others. School C is
seen as most strict and its other scores are all average
to low compared with other schools, though as we have
seen it was apparently in the process of improving its
support and satisfaction ratings. School D has the
greatest variation among positions: least strict, equal
best satisfaction, fairly high standards of behaviour and
friendliness, but staff support and work standards seen
as the lowest of all. From what we now know about
school D this actually seems quite an intelligible set
of scores, except perhaps for the very low score of
staff support on the second administration, for which
an explanation has been attempted above. School E
keeps up good-average scores throughout; it is very
strict compared with all the others except C, its work

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level is high, as is its staff support, though behaviour, satisfaction and friendliness are only moderately good.

As interpreted here, these findings are on the whole well supported by what we have already learned from the observational work on the schools. However, it may be a little surprising to find school E not perceived as the strictest, when observation showed it to have the most rules most strongly enforced. When this result appeared, I went back to the question papers looking for a possible explanation and discovered a rather interesting fact. Of the questions on the strictness scale, two (QQ 23 and 27) were phrased impersonally about the attitudes of the school, whereas two others (QQ 25 and 29) were phrased to tap the perceived attitudes of staff. While realising that it is not strictly permissible to split scales up in this way, I investigated further by comparing the answers to these two pairs of questions on the second administration of the test. Most unfortunately, the questionnaires of school C appeared by that time to have been permanently mislaid, but the results for the other four schools are presented in Table 5.3. It will be apparent from the figures that in school A it was the school in the abstract which was overwhelmingly seen as strict, but this strictness was only attributed to the staff to a very small degree. In so far as this technique is valid at all, this finding seems to support the idea of the importance of deep-rooted traditions in school A.

	SCHOOL (23, 27) seen as %		STAFF (25, 29) seen as %	
	STRICT	NOT STRICT	STRICT	NOT STRICT
A	100	0	15	85
	96	4	8	92
B	50	50	16	84
	42	58	33	67
C	no figures available			
D	27	73	27	73
	27	73	27	73
E	95	5	47	53
	84	16	63	37

TABLE 5.3   TYPES OF STRICTNESS

In school B, the school was seen as balanced very
evenly between strictness and permissiveness, but the
staff were seen as rather more permissive (could this
suggest that the staff were seen as not strong enough
to carry out the demands of the school ?) In school D,
school and staff were perceived exactly alike (a most
interesting reflection upon the culture of school D)
as being quite permissive. In school E, as in A, the
school itself is seen as very strict, but here the
staff are also seen as the most strict of any staff
group, though we may suppose that school C's staff
would also have been seen as strict. The closeness of
most percentages for each pair of questions (100 and 96,
50 and 42 etc.) suggests that this distinction between
'staff-strictness' and 'school-strictness' is quite real.

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Almost all the findings of the Social Climate Quest-
ionnaire, then, were broadly in line with the observer's
impressions of the school climates. In a further
analysis we shall enquire whether there are any assoc-
iations between SCQ findings and CPI change scores -
as a cursory comparison would suggest that there might
be, at least at the extremes represented by school A
and school B.

B : Summary of Observations

We turn now to a summary of the observations recorded
in Chapter Four, and begin to look for dimensions or
categories by means of which they can usefully be
analysed.

MODELS

The most fruitful'dimension for assessing models in
use in the schools seems to be that of the 'normality'
of the child. Schools B, C and E all ascribe on the
whole some kind of lower status to the children in
their care by perceiving them as unlike normal children
in a relatively undesirable way. They are seen as the
trouble-makers of ordinary schools, those with a 'bad
streak', those unable to cope with pressures in the way
others can, as violent, ungrateful and so on. Indirect-
ly also it is suggested that the girls cannot be trusted,
are expected to lie and steal in the ordinary course of
their behaviour. There are counter-attitudes, of course;
and it does not necessarily follow that staff condemn

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the children for these traits: they may in fact still
find them 'a nice lot', in spite - as it were - of
their delinquent natures. However, the behaviour
itself is undoubtedly condemned and in schools which
seem to perceive the behaviour as a property of the
girl herself, some of the condemnation is liable to
rub off onto the image of the child. The models held
in schools B and C are fairly similar in this respect,
except for the isolated voice (though not always the
actions) of B's Headmaster. School E's model varies
only in its more dramatic picture of the girls' back-
grounds in contributing to their 'faults' - though
'background' may implicitly include heredity as well
as environment, so that 'badness' may be viewed as
being inherited by the girls from the same people who
make their environment undesirable.

Schools A and D, on the other hand, ascribe higher
status to their charges. School A explicitly removes
responsibility for their past behaviour from the
children themselves: it is seen as the reaction of
normal children to an abnormal situation. There is
a clear expectation that in the 'normal' conditions
of the school they will behave like any other children,
no better certainly, but no worse either. School D
takes the status of the girls a step further (though
the fact that the girls in school D are on average a
year older than those in school A should not be over-
looked) by not even perceiving them especially as

children but treating them with most of the respect
due to equals (in politeness, participation, lack of
petty restrictions and so on), Some staff at school D
even have a tendency to champion their girls against
what may be conceived as a generally condemning society.
At any rate, it seems that in working with so-called
delinquents, staff at school D do not so much feel pity
for them or feel a duty to reform them (an attitude
evident particularly at schools B, C and E) but actually
like them both as individuals and as a group of 'non-
conformists'.

We may therefore begin to classify schools along one
dimension according to the type of model they hold,
particularly as to the 'normality status' of the child.

GOALS

While all schools agreed on the priority of social
adjustment as an objective in the questionnaires, a
number of variations were found at the more detailed
and informal level. Schools B and C were in practice
found to be more concerned with practical training.
In the case of school B this seemed to be because there
was too much confusion, conflict and change of mind
about goals for that of social adjustment to be effect-
ively practised; while in school C the staff settled
for less than their ideal because the apparent diffic-
ulties of keeping the sort of control they desired in
the school made this a task of higher priority from

day to day. It may have been that school C saw control
as an essential precondition of attempts to change
behaviour, but they had evidently not succeeded in
satisfying it since they were observed to be engaged
in a perpetual struggle for control. Where they did
achieve the foundation they wanted, practical training
seemed to follow more easily than full-scale attempts
at social adjustment. School E also in practice put
a heavy emphasis on control or 'discipline' but app-
arently as an actual vehicle of social adjustment
rather than merely a precondition of it. And we might
more accurately label school E's chief aim as 'moral'
rather than 'social' adjustment. Control was in a
sense part of treatment in school A also, but in quite
a different manner from school E. According to school
A's philosophy, one did not start with external con-
trols or coercion; instead, one made demands and held
out expectations. In return for what they wanted from
relationships, the children were more or less obliged
to live up to the expectations.

The results in schools A and E might appear super-
ficially similar - children 'behaved well', or did
what was expected of them - but the adults' view of
the process was quite different; this point will be
explored further in the next chapter. School D was
quite clearly pursuing in practice the goals of social
adjustment much as we have understood them, the only
difference being that they were as much concerned with

<u>individual</u> adjustment - with self-awareness and self-understanding for their own sake as well as for their social utility - as with adjustment to social norms and conditions.

The picture of social adjustment goals is therefore broadly supported, but the concept evidently had different meanings in different schools, and in some its operation was being impeded by other factors.

METHODS

Schools C and E both used conditioning methods to achieve the desired changes, temporary or permanent. Their systems were based on rules and standards with sanctions for compliance or disobedience, and the end result was envisaged as behaviour in accordance with the rules and standards. However, school E's use of this method was more pronounced and seemed to have the more consistent philosophy behind it; the idea was frequently expressed in school E that rule-obedient behaviour was not necessarily for the sake of these particular rules as much as for the sake of the habit of discipline itself, from which self-discipline was believed to follow. However, from the moral point of view, the content of the rules also was apparently highly regarded by the staff of school E, and even rationalised about as in the case of the posture which was said to cause breathing problems. School C's use of the conditioning method (rules

supported by sanctions) seemed to be aimed less at long-term effects, more at the establishment of control within the institution, but the hope was often voiced by staff that 'something would rub off' onto the girls so that they would later practise the habits which had been more or less enforced upon them for the duration of their stay in the school. The content of the rules was certainly given as much importance in school C as the mere fact of disciplined behaviour.

School B's system of rules and sanctions was very similar to that of school C (and it may be of interest that the Headmaster of school C had previously been Deputy Head at school B) but it was not carried through so forcefully since there seemed to be some dissatisfaction with the method. As already mentioned, school B was undergoing a period of change during which rules were being relaxed (as shown in the Social Climate Questionnaire) but no other consistent method had yet taken a grip either on attitudes or on practice.

School A's method and its place in the school philosophy were quite clear: there was a strong foundation of traditionalised expectations which were closely adhered to, yet without these being seen as reflecting strictness on the part of staff. Relationships were formed within this framework, without the invocation of rules and sanctions, by the demanding and satisfying of needs or expectations on both sides (though, needless to say, the relationships were not symmetrical

in this respect). It was held in school A that the
formation of relationships was an activity worthwhile
in itself and particularly needed by these girls -
who were seen to have lacked this experience in the
past - in order to equip them to cope with the world
outside; the content of behaviour, although it was
specific enough, did not assume so much intrinsic
importance as in schools C or E.

The methods of school D were far more 'open' than
those of any of the others: freedom to develop as an
individual was valued more highly than learning to
conform to preconceived standards. Problems were
thoroughly aired, rather than being glossed over or
used in manipulation. These methods were fully con-
sistent with a model of girls as worthwhile individuals
in themselves rather than non-normal or delinquent
children needing to be led or coerced onto the correct
path of behaviour.

We seem to have three basic types of method here: that
of conditioning by rules and sanctions, where the con-
tent of behaviour is at least as important as the fact
of compliance; a more or less diametrically opposed
method deliberately eschewing rules and sanctions in
order to allow the child to develop as an individual;
and a third which, while not like either of the first
two, cannot be said either to fall between them on a
continuum: the method of encouraging the formation of
face-to-face relationships (rather than certain modes

of behaviour, or unimpeded self-development, as the
essential foundation of social and personal life.

C : Patterns

Each school is naturally individual; even two which
have very similar philosophies or approaches to their
work will differ because of external circumstances or
because of the personalities taking part. However,
I suggest that the account of models, goals and methods
given above, although by no means a complete survey of
all aspects of a school's mode of interpreting and
carrying out its work, can lead us to a division into
three basic patterns as follows:-

Pattern 1 - model of low status, 'not normal' child

      - goals of social adjustment present but
       rivalled by training goals and short-term
       considerations such as control

      - conditioning method by means of rules and
       sanctions; content of rules may be as
       important as their formal operation.

This pattern fits school C fairly closely and also
schools B and E with some modifications. The fact
that schools C and E were seen as very strict on both
administrations of the SCQ supports the idea that they
were strongly based on systems of visible rules; their
lower 'satisfaction' scores may possibly reflect the
low status as perceived by the girls.

Pattern 2   - model of very high status, 'equal-of-
               anyone' child

             - goal of long-term and deep-seated
               adjustment oriented as much to
               personal as to social development

             - permissive method of non-restriction
               and freedom to develop along
               individual lines.

This pattern is exemplified by school D. Its very

low score on strictness and high score on satisfaction

on both occasions are consistent with the pattern.

Pattern 3   - model of normal status child, but qua
               child rather than equal to adult

             - goal of social adjustment strong and
               oriented to development of social
               relationships

             - method of traditionalised expectations
               and active formation of relationships.

This pattern is exemplified by school A. The high

scores on staff support and girl friendliness in school

A support this concept of a system (successfully)

based on the formation of relationships.

Schools A and D in particular appear to be carrying

their philosophies - as here postulated - into action

with some success as measured by the perceptions of

girls. Their success in terms of output will be con-

sidered at a later stage. Apart from the issue of

strictness, on which schools C and E score highly as

one might expect from these hypothetical patterns,

the success of the other schools is less easy to

interpret in terms of girls' perceptions. However,

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school B seems to give a picture of marked <u>lack</u> of success - not in absolute terms, but in terms of actually doing what it appears to be trying to do, or perhaps even of deciding precisely what it is trying to do. We shall return to the question of schools' proficiency in forming philosophies or policies and carrying them into operation at a later stage.

In the next chapter I propose to develop the concepts of these three patterns in a highly theoretical (and doubtless highly debatable) treatment, where the question of success in operating the pattern will not arise. I shall present each pattern as a paradigm form of school philosophy, underlying the presenting culture in so far as it is consistent. The paradigms are based, as will be explained, on the school's ascription of differential values to the individual, to primary relationships and to the social establish-ment. The following chapter will discuss these theoretical paradigms in terms of the schools as actually observed and will also raise the question of the association between type of school and effects on girls, and between proficiency <u>within</u> the type and those effects.

CHAPTER SIX : THREE PARADIGMS

In this chapter I shall argue that the three patterns isolated in Chapter Five are the outcroppings, as it were, of three basic philosophies relating to education and especially to therapeutic education. I do not claim that these are necessarily the only three such philosophies which could exist, nor do I preclude the existence of minor variations, hybrids or unsuccessful operations. However, at the chosen point of departure the three positions will be argued to be exhaustive of the possibilities, and they are throughout intended to be mutually exclusive.

The outline of these three paradigms of therapeutic education was suggested by the empirical evidence from the study collated and considered. The detailed construction is worked out partly from existing evidence (including expositions of philosophies by the holders themselves) and partly a priori.

The paradigms are fundamentally distinguished by reference to the relative weights or values assigned to the individual, to primary relationships, and to the cultural whole. It is postulated that in each paradigm, two of these three entities are held to derive their value entirely from the third, whose value is positive and underived.

A : Basic positions

The first paradigm assigns positive underived value to
the most complex of the three entities : the cultural
whole. I call this position, in which the individual
and primary relationships derive their value from the
cultural whole, the CULTURAL MAINTENANCE paradigm. It
is, I suggest, the working version of a more abstract
position exemplified by Durkheim's (trans. 1956) that
"Man is man, in fact, only because he lives in society."
According to Durkheim's view in this exposition, the
value of man - in fact, his very existence qua man -
is derived from his participation in social living.
However, according to the working version of this
theory - the Cultural Maintenance position - the value
of _an_ individual man is derived from his participation
in _a_ society. The actual societies or cultures in
which people do live have substantial characteristics
as well as the structural characteristics of society
in the abstract. The individual is therefore judged
by (since he derives his value from) the yardstick of
this actual culture. The culture is held to be good
in itself, both because it is _a_ culture (abstract
parent theory) and because it is the culture to which
these particular individuals belong (operational
theory). This is not to say that absolute conformity
to cultural norms is necessarily expected or demanded
of all individuals, but that since priority is given
to maintenance of the culture, the individual's value

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will be high where he contributes to that maintenance
(which usually includes conforming to its mores) and
low where he does not. Thus the individual has no
assigned worth or legitimacy, as it were, in himself,
but only achieved worth according to his value to and
in the culture. In the usual case this will mean that
initially the individual is morally or evaluatively
neutral; however, in the special case of some religious
positions, the reference culture is 'not of this world'
and according to this interpretation the individual
may in fact be held to be intrinsically evil, a state
of affairs which can only be rectified by his prog-
ressive assimilation into the heavenly culture.

The antithesis to the Cultural Maintenance paradigm
is the INDIVIDUALIST position. On this paradigm, the
individual is the only one of the three entities which
has positive value in itself (underived): social rel-
ationships and the culture as a whole derive their
value from the value of the individuals composing
them. Homer Lane (1928, see also Bazeley 1928), an
exponent of this kind of philosophy in education,
says that "morality is spontaneous" which in the context
amounts to saying that "man is good by nature" (though
of course the definition of 'good' is not raised because
- as in all these root propositions - there is an
inevitable circularity which precludes further analysis
of the axioms). But if the individual is positively
evaluated - good, worthy, healthy, etc. - by definition,

how can social composites of individuals be anything
but good themselves ?   The answer seems to be that the
individual initially or in a 'state of nature' is good,
and is always potentially good, but may be prevented
from realising his potential by various non-personal
influences and processes. In some versions of this
position - Rousseau comes immediately to mind - society
is actually seen as harmful, as perverting the course of
nature which man is born to follow. Rousseau speaks,
for example, (1762) of the "crushing force of social
conventions". However, it is only in fact necessary
for this position that society has the possibility of
being good or evil, where the individual - being
defined as good - has not, at least before any corr-
upting influences begin to bear.

The entity at the middle[1] level of complexity, between
the individual and the culture, is the primary relation-
ship. The position which places positive underived
value at this level, neither on the individual alone,
nor on the culture as a whole, but on the individual-
in-society, I call the PRIMARY SOCIAL paradigm.   The
bonds between human beings which are formed and acted
out in face-to-face encounters are seen as the basis

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[1] I do not mean to suggest by this that the three
paradigms form a continuum : it is clear from the
way they are initially derived that they must be
logically discrete. In practice, of course, examples
may appear to lie between two paradigms, but this
need not imply a continuum of the paradigms.

from which positive values in individuals and positive value in the culture are both derived. Since the primary relationship occupies an intermediary position between the individual and society, the individual must be seen either as morally (or whatever category of evaluation is used) neutral, or as potentially both good and evil until he enters into social relationships which then reflect value back on to him as well as forwards onto the social whole. The history of this concept of the primary relationship as the basis for the derivation of values at other levels seems to be fairly short; it is perhaps suggested by some elements in the work of Talcott Parsons and more recently by symbolic interactionist writings (see especially Wrong, 1961). Otherwise it is most evident by implication in the writings of those who are basically practitioners rather than explicitly by theorists like Durkheim and Rousseau.

MAN AND SOCIETY

It is inevitable that the relative values assigned to the three basic factors will influence the models of man and society held by exponents of the three paradigms. According to the Cultural Maintenance paradigm, the individual derives his value from his relation to society; he is, as Durkheim frequently puts it, a 'tabula rasa' until he receives the imprint of his culture. This concept may be interpreted in a

number of ways - moral, biological, psychological and
so on. According to the interpretation used, an ind-
ividual may be evaluated in terms of moral goodness,
psychological fitness or whatever, but in every case
the individual will be positively evaluated when he is
in some way in harmony with his culture or making a
positive contribution to it. However, since the culture
is a large and complex entity, it must if operating
successfully be construed as having qualities of
structure, order and persistence over time, tending to
absorb multitudes of variations in its members in order
to mould them into a composite whole. The individual,
therefore, in order successfully to adapt to his society
and to be assigned the positive value that such adapt-
ation brings, must (either by duty or by necessity,
depending on the interpretation) come to terms with the
demands of structure, order, continuity and a certain
degree of conformity; in return, he receives a blue-
print for directing his life and a secure framework
within which to carry it out.

In the Individualist paradigm, on the other hand, the
individual realises himself not by reference to society
but by his own personal growth, by the development of
his natural faculties and abilities which - in contra-
distinction to the 'tabula rasa' concept - are seen as
inherent in him, awaiting only the opportunity to
flower. His duty or necessity will be to develop his
potential, and a good (or fit, or healthy) man will

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be one who is in harmony with himself, having ful-
filled his own potentialities as an individual.
Rousseau (op.cit.), for example, has it that "the
first impulses of nature are always right". Society,
on this view, can have little inherent structure - or,
if that is too strong, one may say that the incumbents
of this position have little interest in the structure
of society. At any rate, the individual's security
and principles of action are seen to come from within;
such order as there is will be wrested from chaos by
the exercise of personal faculties such as responsibility
rather than being imposed from above by society. It is
at least as likely that society will impede this process
as that it will promote it.

The 'entity' concerned in the Primary Social paradigm
(strictly, of course, a relation is not an entity) is
more elusive. The individual is not, nor has the poss-
ibility of being, complete in himself, but nor is he
subordinated to society. One may say, rather, that
there is a two-way process in which the individual
both creates his social environment and is created by
it : the natures of individuals and the nature of
society interact to produce a structure of social bonds
or primary relationships. It is the quality and
strength of these bonds which produces both highly-
valued men and highly-valued societies. Where value
is equally divided between the individual and the
culture, the nature of man and of society may be

largely undefined. However, activity is necessary, on this view, for the development of the high-valued relationships, unlike the rather less dynamic processes of assimilation and development in the other two positions. Thus it is the practice or activity of forming and playing out these relationships which gives rise to structure, security and principles of action. Schur (1969) speaks of the necessity to "examine the ongoing processes of action and reaction, of response and counter-response, through which individual behaviour and outlooks always develop."

VALUE ORIENTATIONS

At this point, it may be enlightening to compare the theory of 'value orientations' developed by Florence Kluckhohn and colleagues (1961) in connexion with cross-cultural studies of a mainly anthropological nature. Their schema is best represented in the following tabular form (reproduced from the work quoted) :

Orientation	Variations		
Innate human nature	Evil	Neutral/ mixture	Good
	←————mutable/immutable————→		
Man's relation to Nature and Supernature	Subjug- ation-to Nature	Harmony- with- Nature	Mastery- over- Nature
Time focus	Past	Present	Future

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Modality of human activity	Being	Being-in-becoming	Doing
Man's relationship to other men.	Lineality	Collaterality	Individualism

TABLE 6.1   VARIATIONS IN VALUE ORIENTATIONS

It is important to note for the purpose of comparison
that the orientations do not necessarily belong tog-
ether as shown in the columns here. For example, there
is no a priori reason to suppose - according to the
authors - that the idea of human nature as evil goes
with a past time focus any more essentially than it
goes with a present time focus, and so on. Empirical
evidence is to show what the connexions are. It would
seem however, although the authors do not claim this,
that some such connexions are logically closer than
others. It is difficult to imagine a culture, for
instance, which would combine a Future time focus with
a modality of Being, since the idea of Being - as
opposed to becoming or doing - seems to contain the
idea of concentration on the present time in which one
is, though it might conceivably go with a Past time
focus. Nor is Being likely to go with Mastery-over-
Nature which surely suggests the activity of achieve-
ment, of doing. It remains to be seen, however, exactly
what combinations appear in practice in widely differing
kinds of culture.

The schema of the present thesis, on the other hand,
postulates that certain ideas necessarily go together
and indeed that one logically follows from another.
For example, it will be argued that because of the
Cultural Maintenance paradigm's emphasis on the superior
legitimacy of society, it holds the function of education
to be socialisation, gives low status to the child and
so on. However, it must be admitted that the logic of
some of these connexions is tighter than others : while
it is clear, for example, that belief in the importance
of individual self-development implies belief in freedom
to develop according to the individual's natural
tendencies, it is not quite so self-evident that, for
example, belief in the importance of socialisation
entails belief in the necessity for the imposition of
rules and sanctions towards that end. However, although
there may be certain weaknesses in the theory, the
point being made here is that each paradigm is intended
to be a logically consistent system.

We are here, of course, covering a much smaller area
of enquiry than the Kluckhohn thesis, since we are
only concerned with variations in the posited relation
of man to society and the implications of each posit-
ion for education and therapy. We may perhaps more
usefully compare it, then, with the last of the
Kluckhohn categories (and - unfortunately - the only
which has not, to my knowledge, been operationalised).
This deals with man's relationship to other men, and

here we do see quite a striking parallel, particularly
in the Individualistic Orientation/Individualist
paradigm and the Collateral Orientation/Primary Social
paradigm. The Lineal orientation seems at first less
exactly to fit the concept of the Cultural Maintenance
paradigm but the difference is mainly, I think, one of
emphasis. The idea of the Lineal orientation is that
most weight is given to the actions and opinions of
individuals having a superior position in the community
- whether by age (including presumably ancestors,
whether illustrious or not) or by some other official
or quasi-official status. The idea of the Cultural
Maintenance paradigm is that most weight (and/or
legitimacy) is given to the established cultural norms
and patterns of behaviour. Now this is not to say
that sheer weight of numbers determines what is leg-
itimate : that would not be adherence to a cultural
paradigm but simply conformity (we discuss later the
close connexion, but not identity, of these two con-
cepts). Over and above the element of numerical weight
are the influences of status - certain positions in the
cultural establishment e.g. that of parent, teacher,
priest and indeed of adult generally - and of the
long-standing of social features. In this light, the
similarity of the Cultural paradigm to the Lineal
orientation can be clearly seen.

Although the concepts of the present thesis were form-
ulated independently of Kluckhohn's theory, the parallel

that can be drawn between both the structure and the
content of the classification of Relational Modalities
and that of Social Value paradigms is encouraging.
The main point of theoretical difference is that the
Relational Modality is one of a set of similar (though
apparently unconnected) modalities, whereas the class-
ification of paradigms is the most general aspect in
the present thesis, more detailed attention being paid
to its implications in various related fields of thought
and action. One other section of the Kluckhohn schema
that seems particularly relevant to our concerns here,
though we have subsumed it under the classification
of paradigms rather than making an independent issue
of it, is the orientation of 'innate human nature'.
We have noted that according to our interpretation,
the Individualist paradigm has a model of innate
human nature as wholly good, the Primary Social sees
it as not necessarily good or bad to start with, and
the Cultural Maintenance has a tendency to regard it
as potentially more bad than good. In the Kluckhohn
schema, of course, the 'nature of man' variations
are not tied to particular relational modalities,
whereas for us they are (and it is interesting to note
the column structure actually chosen by the authors
for presenting the table). Only empirical testing
can determine which of these theoretical proposals
is borne out in actual cases.

B : Education

We turn now to the implications of the three basic
positions for education. This will be considered under
six heads : (i) the social function of education (that
is, leaving aside questions of instrumental education
and so forth) (ii) the agent of education - who or
what essentially performs the process of education
(iii) interpretations of the process of education (iv)
method of education (v) the nature of the school and
(vi) the status of the child.

SOCIAL FUNCTION OF EDUCATION

It needs little argument, I think, to establish that
the social function of education according to the
Cultural Maintenance paradigm is to fit the child for
society. Inevitably we quote Durkheim again (op.cit.) :
the function of education is "... to arouse in the
child a certain number of physical and mental states
that the society to which he belongs considers should
not be lacking in any of its members" and "education
consists of a methodical socialisation of the young
generation .... it is not limited to developing the
individual organism in the direction indicated by its
nature, to elicit the hidden potentialities that need
only be manifested. It creates in man a new being."
Socialisation, then, into the established values, att-
itudes and behaviour patterns of society - even, with
some qualifications, conformity to them - is the aim

of the Cultural Maintenance educator. Durkheim specifically denies that the aim is simply to allow individual potential to develop as the second paradigm would claim - as we shall see - though he does not here deny that such potentialities exist (as might have been predicted from the 'tabula rasa' concept).

The function for the Individual educator is virtually the opposite : the development of the child's own nature, without reference to the expectations of established society. A number of modern educators, following consciously or unconsciously in the steps of Rousseau through Pestalozzi and Froebel, have taken this line - notably Homer Lane and A.S.Neill. The educational process is seen as providing the conditions under which the natural abilities of the child can unfold, rather than imposing standards and habits on him from above.

The Primary Social philosophy concentrates most, as previously noted, upon activity : the social function of education here, I think, is to facilitate practice in social living. Some habits may be inculcated which are conducive to this end, and the child's own ability to contribute to relationships will naturally be fostered, but the actual activity of living and working together is more important. It functions both as practice for living and as living itself. To this extent, the Primary Social resembles the Individual : education is living itself as well as the mere preparation for living which the Culturist sees in it. Rouss-

eau says that "true education consists less in precept than in practice. We begin to learn when we begin to live."

AGENT OF EDUCATION

Education is performed, according to the Cultural Maintenance paradigm, by the socialised upon the unsocialised. The authority of society is vested in teachers, parents and so on; by means of their authority and their knowledge of the ways of society they undertake the socialisation of the child. "Moral authority is the dominant quality of the educator .... the imperative tone with which he addresses consciences, the respect that he inspires in wills and which makes them yield to his judgment" is Durkheim's view, though not all would express it in these moral terms.

In contrast, the child of the Individual paradigm virtually undertakes his own education, since the process involves his own self-development. Parents, teachers and so on are seen as facilitators rather than authority figures. As Bridgeland (1971) points out, Lane's and Neill's claims that they wield no more authority than the exercise of a single vote in the school council must be taken with a pinch of salt, but this at any rate is the ideal of their philosophy.

For the Primary Social paradigm, children and adult figures are to some extent co-workers in the educational process, since living and working relationships

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will involve both. A 'relationship' could, it is true, be the relationship between, say, master and slave or prisoner and warder; but although authority may indeed enter into the relationships with which the Primary Social educator is concerned, it is likely to play a much smaller part than it does for his Culturist counter-part.

INTERPRETATION OF THE PROCESS

The question here is : how is the process of education from unsocialised to socialised, undeveloped to developed and so on, construed as taking place ? I think there are a number of answers which the Cultural Maintenance educator might advance to this question. Durkheim argues that duty is the only possibility : "the sense of duty is ... the stimulus par excellence of effort" but it is difficult to see how this follows necessarily from his premises. Some twentieth-century behaviourists would undoubtedly hold that conditioning is the means of socialisation; other points of view may cite an innate need to conform, the internalisation of norms and so on. Most schools of thought, however, seem to contain some kind of allusion to habit - however the habits may be formed : a piece of behaviour or the expression of an attitude passes from being imposed in some manner by a higher authority to becoming part of the child's own make-up. Thus if there is a strong inherent order and pattern in the behaviour imposed, the child's own behaviour will eventually be marked

by the same qualities.

There seem to be two main factors involved in the Indiv-
idualist's interpretation of the education process :
freedom and necessity. Freedom, or the opportunity and
indeed encouragement to go one's own way and develop
one's own abilities and proclivities, is set against
the iron hand, not of authority, but of practical
necessity. That is, the child is free to do every-
thing he will, so he learns that some things are not
forbidden but impossible (such as jumping from the roof
without breaking a few bones) or at least stir up very
unpleasant reactions from other individuals who are
also going their own ways. Thus he learns to bend his
will not to people in authority but to the world as it
is, and in this way he learns - of necessity - to exer-
cise control over his own behaviour in order to avoid
undesirable consequences. This, argue the Individualists
(especially Lane), is true discipline as opposed to
arbitrary rule.

'Practice makes perfect' could be the maxim of the
Primary Social educator. It should not strain the
sense of the terms too much to compare this with the
'trial and error learning' or 'operant conditioning'
of psychologists, where the habit-formation of the
Cultural Maintenance school is more on the lines of
classical conditioning (and, to continue the analogy,
the Individualist might be said to stress 'insight'
learning). By actual participation in social living,

social bonds are strengthened and the way prepared for
more advanced social experience and deeper relation-
ships.   The educators are, of course, obliged to
ensure that the environment (and most importantly its
human component) within which the social experience is
to take place is as helpful as possible to the process,
but otherwise it may be interpreted as a kind of inevit-
able snowballing as the rewards and satisfactions of
social life are discovered and the bonds built up.
Compare this with Sewell (1970) who says of the social
learning theory of Orville Brim, that ".... there are
sets of reciprocal requirements regulating the behav-
iour of individuals towards each other depending on
their positions in the system.   One learns these
reciprocal requirements from interacting with others in
a variety of social situations and by gradually develop-
ing the ability to take the role of the other."

METHOD OF EDUCATION

Where the function of education is socialisation, its
agent authority and the process achieved by habit-
formation, certain principles of method are already
determined.   For habits to be instilled which form
acceptable social behaviour, the behaviour of the
as-yet-unsocialised child must be circumscribed in such
a way that he forms only desirable behaviour patterns
by the practice of them.   The agent, authority, will
thus lay down rules of behaviour, reinforced by various
sanctions, so that only the required patterns develop,

the undesirable ones being suppressed. Obviously
these rules and sanctions must be consistently applied
(though it must be said that no harshness of methods
need be implied by this) so that a complete system of
behaviour is put into train. It may well also be
supported by precept and example.

But where self-development of personality is desired
to take place in conditions of freedom but confronted
with necessity, the method is also evident : obstacles
to development - some of which may take the form of
rules, regulations and habits - must be eliminated.
Rousseau says that "the only habit that the child
should be allowed to contract is that of having no
habits." At the same time, the child must not be
shielded (except perhaps in so far as his actual
physical or psychological survival is concerned) from
reality, from the consequences of his actions, lest
self-control - not being called upon - is never dev-
eloped.

The active formation and use of relationships is more
complex than might at first appear. It is necessary
to offer an explanation as to how social bonds come
to be formed. Sociologists concerned with this question
have advanced a number of theories, but the simplest
way of putting it might be to say that the key which
enables the surface of one personality to form a bond
with another such surface is the reciprocal demands
made upon and satisfied by the partners. If this is

the case, and if some of the partners are more experienced
at social living than the others (and in most systems
of this kind that condition will be required of the
adults) then they must be prepared to satisfy as many
of the demands of the child as are consistent with those
of others, while at the same time holding out certain
expectations for him to satisfy. In practice, the
Primary Social and Cultural methods may approach quite
closely, since expectations may ossify into rules or
rules become so latent as to appear expectations;
similarly, the disappointment expressed at the failure
of a child to meet the other's expectation may turn
into the sanction of disapproval, or vice versa.

NATURE OF THE SCHOOL

Lyward (quoted in Bridgeland, op.cit.) points out that
running a school on a democratic system does not nec-
essarily make good democrats : a benevolent dictator-
ship may not be the finally desired situation but may in
fact be more conducive to democracy than the practice of
that situation itself. This point can be extended to
illustrate the difference between the nature of the
culturally-oriented and the individually-oriented
schools. It is in the Culturist's interest to run a
school which is rather like a microcosm of society,
since he is concerned to train the child to respond
in adult life as he does in childhood. Obedience to
social rules may be made easier in the school since the
child is still at the learning stage, but in essence

the structure needs to be the same. And, indeed, the content of the rules to be obeyed is also likely to reflect those of the outside culture, and because of this the content of the rules will be as important as the fact of obedience to them. The Individualist, on the other hand, is likely to hold that a school should be essentially <u>unlike</u> society, not necessarily because society is evil - not all individualists, as we have seen, will take this view - but because learning to live in conditions of individual freedom may be more conducive to developing the ability to cope with the restrictions of society at large when they are eventually encountered. This is not to say that the Individual school will reject social aims; indeed, many of the schools most characteristic of this paradigm are run as 'communities' - Junior Republics, Little Commonwealths or whatever. But these stand in opposition to 'society outside', precisely in that they are intended to foster, not repress, the individual attitude. The group is used as a means to an individual end, and the expectations in the Individualist school may differ sharply from those of the outside world or else there may not be much emphasis at all on the actual content of expectations.

The Primary Social paradigm seems to be undefined on this point : it will probably be more concerned with the characteristics of the people composing the school population than with the system on which it is run,

though obviously both over-authoritarian and over-free set-ups may frustrate the aims of promoting genuine social interaction. The main point is that whatever the detailed features of the school are, it should as a whole encourage and facilitate the formation of a variety of relationships of as high a quality as possible.

STATUS OF THE CHILD

There can be no doubt that the child of the Cultural Maintenance paradigm has even less legitimacy than the adult. Not only does he depend on socialisation for his legitimacy but he is in fact still in the process of being socialised, so is virtually lacking in authority altogether. His role is to learn from and to obey those who are higher up in the socialisation process than himself. However, I must stress again that this does not mean he will be harshly used; it may indeed be quite the reverse - that the adults, pitying him for his lack of the cultural qualities which he has not yet had the chance to acquire, will be especially kind, patient and helpful to him. But pity fails to confer value or status upon its object.

The child of the Individual paradigm, in contrast, is possessed of virtually full rights. He has unquestioned legitimacy as an individual and his lack of development does not really restrict this. Indeed, his overwhelming right (which may, as some critics point out, be fostered

to the detriment of other individuals and their rights)
is to develop his own personality in his own way,
which in a sense awards him the highest legitimacy
possible.

It seems likely that the only respect in which the
child of the Primary Social paradigm has less than full
status is in respect of his being a child: as an indiv-
idual he is living, not just learning, social relation-
ships but is hampered by lack of experience and depth of
social background. These latter will be the only limit-
ation on his status.

BUTLER

On the relation of philosophical theory to educational
theory, it is interesting to compare the foregoing
account with that of J.D.Butler (1968) who examines
four philosophical positions and their implications
for educational practice. The four positions he
chooses to study most closely are the Naturalistic,
the Idealistic, the Realistic and the Pragmatic. He
is not, of course, claiming that these are the most
important (let alone the only) philosophical positions
which may be encountered, but that they have partic-
ular relevance to or implications for education (and
religion).

Butler's account of the Naturalistic position draws
upon very much the same sources as the present account
of the Individual paradigm from Rousseau onwards

(though he also quotes at length from Herbert Spencer)
and arrives at very similar conclusions. On the
'social values' of Naturalism, Butler says :

"Individual man is therefore considered as Nature's
offspring, not as a child of society or a segment of
society whose very being depends upon the social
organism. Although dependent on Nature, he stands
on his own feet, more or less, as far as his relat-
ions to society are concerned. There are what might
be called certain necessities which make it exped-
ient for him to relate himself somewhat effectively
socially, but these are not necessities arising from
the operation of society as an organism, so much as
they are accidents or exigencies to be avoided by
working out some kind of social organisation to corr-
ect them .... unbridled freedom is neither in har-
mony with his own welfare nor the welfare of society.
Evidently some social organisation is needed, but
one which preserves for man his freedom."

Butler quotes Herbert Spencer on the objectives of
education as "complete living", and on the educative
process in the necessity of conforming to the "natural
processes of growth and development." Methods of in-
struction, he goes on - again following Spencer -
should be inductive : the child learns that fire burns,
not by being told that it does but by feeling it. Sim-
ilarly, the child's good relations with the rest of his
family follow from his making the effort to co-operate

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with them : punishing him for not making the effort is less effective and less logical (although it may be easier to operate) than leaving him to find out what happens when he does not.

A little surprisingly, at first glance, Butler's account of Idealism (for which he quotes Plato, Descartes, Spinoza, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Kant and Hegel) seems to come closest to our Primary Social paradigm. On 'social value', for example, he says that according to the Idealist philosophy :

"Society is not an aggregation or collection of individuals; it is an organism in which individuals participate. Individual selfhood is not something which can grow in isolation; it is given birth through the social process and comes into actual self-realisation only in relation with society as its medium of nurture and development. This is not to say that individuals are subordinate to society .... individuals and society are both ends."

He notes that while some idealist philosophers seem to suggest that the school is an agency of society, it is not so in the sense that the school follows the leadership of society : "instead it must stand at the edge of the future and urge society ahead into new forms." He then asks :

"Are pupils good or bad, according to idealism ? As compared to Rousseau's contention that man is good as he springs from the hands of Nature, what do Idealists say ?"

And answers :

> "At birth the pupil is neither good or bad; he is
> potential and can become either good or bad, depend-
> ing upon his environment, surrounding influences -
> education, of course, included - and his own will."

The Idealist philosopher, according to Butler, stresses
heavily the role of the teacher in the educative process;
of particular interest in the present context is the
requirement that "the teacher should be a master in the
art of living". Also emphasised is the principle of
self-activity of the pupil, which again has its parallel
in our picture of the Primary Social paradigm. The
absence of insistence on any particular method of
teaching, which Butler says is characteristic of the
Idealist educational philosophy, anticipates the finding
in this study's example of the Primary Social school
that 'programmes' are to be rejected.

None of Butler's philosophical patterns fits our
Cultural Maintenance paradigm with much precision.
Some Realists, in his account, hold a deterministic
view which implies that pupils (as any other individ-
uals) are not free and that the teacher's task is
therefore "to help pupils to recognise the irresistible
necessity of the physical forces making up the world."
And some Catholic Realists, holding to the doctrine of
original sin, believe that man's defects "can be corr-
ected only by the enlightenment of the intellect and the
strengthening of the will through discipline and

training." But in general, Butler regards the Realist objectives of education as "self-determination, self-realisation and self-integration," which does not fit at all closely with our working out of the Cultural paradigm. One can, of course, search too hard for parallels between the systems, but something of an approach to our Cultural Maintenance paradigm is found in his account of Catholic and Soviet education, which both stress order, discipline and training by sanctions. However, it is less clear why these two educational outlooks should be regarded as specifically Realist. The difficulty is mainly, I think, that Butler has tried to put together too many disparate philosophies under the label 'Realist' and has hoped to draw a consistent philosophy of education from the resulting rich mixture (strangely enough, he quotes Descartes, Spinoza and Kant under this heading, who had previously been counted as Idealists). 'Realism' is such an ambiguous term, as can be seen by comparing its everyday meaning with its at least dual meaning in philosophy - one as a contrast to idealism, the other to nominalism - that it may in fact be futile to try to derive a single educational view for it.

On the subject of Pragmatism in education (the fourth of the 'Four Philosophies' chosen) Butler distinguishes between pragmatism as an educational philosophy and the American 'progressive education' movement as such, although there is obviously some affinity between the

two. However, from our point of view, Pragmatism
seems to be less of a complete philosophical system,
although it does contain a fresh outlook that can
usefully be applied to educational practice. At any
rate, it seems to be outside the compass of our own
system of classification, rather than constituting a
theoretical impediment to its threefold division.

C : Therapeutic education

By putting together the postulated positions of the
three paradigms on the subjects of man, society and
education in general, we may begin to extrapolate
their views on education as therapy. But first we
shall have to examine how they are likely to stand on
the nature of the 'delinquent' girl (I shall now con-
fine myself to talking about girls, as they are the
subjects of this thesis, but there is no reason to
suppose that what is said should not apply equally
to boys). I am using the word 'delinquent' in the
sense in which it is relevant to this research; that
is, the 'delinquent' girl is one who is judged by
cultural representatives to be deficient in social
and personal adjustment. Whether this includes
children other than those at schools for 'delinquents'
is not considered here. Nor is the question what sort
of causal relation, if any, exists between social ad-
justment and law-breaking. The question is : how do
the paradigms characterise or interpret the nature of
the girl who has, as it were, fallen foul of society's

rules or standards in some way or another ?

NATURE OF THE DELINQUENT GIRL

For the Cultural paradigm, the delinquent girl is
clearly one in whom the socialisation process has some-
how failed, got distorted or at least taken longer than
with 'ordinary' children. The aetiology is undefined :
it may be, with Eysenck (1965), that the child is not as
easily conditioned as most, or it may be held that she was
'born with an evil streak', that her parents have failed
in their job as socialisers (perhaps through lack of the
necessary discipline) and so on. However, the result
is a non-conforming child who appears, by the time she
is adolescent, to be fairly resistant to the social-
ising process. But she is not just a harmlessly
unusual child, one who is unsocialised in an isolated
kind of way. This delinquent girl is a positive
irritation to society, putting a spanner in its well-
oiled works, even unwittingly threatening to challenge
its ultimate legitimacy. However, although the girl
is perceived as a 'wrong'un' and therefore as a blot on
the social copybook, a humane attitude may nevertheless
be directed towards the girl herself. (This, I hazard,
is a more primitive emotion than any arising from
beliefs about the nature of the world, possibly a
variety of maternal instinct). Concern and pity
therefore co-exist with fear (of the threat to estab-
lished behaviour patterns and thence to social beings)

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and censure (of 'anti-social' behaviour[1]).

How does the Individual paradigm characterise the delinquent girl ? She is one who has been thwarted or misdirected in her natural development; she may well have been over-disciplined by social restraints. She is likely in fact to be highly valued by the school because she is 'different', since this philosophy is bound to put a higher value on variety than on uniformity. If anything, the school is on the child's side ideologically - it champions her - while the Cultural school is only on her side for humanitarian reasons. At the same time, it is realised that the impeding of her natural growth has created problems for her personally : she cannot cope adequately with the demands of society because she has not developed the necessary psychic and social equipment. This is the sense in which she needs 'treatment'.

[1] I feel a footnote is in order here on the use of the word 'anti-social'. Used in everyday speech by those not in the social work trade, it tends to mean 'unfriendly', 'disinclined to mix with people', sometimes 'inconsiderate of other's feelings'. But it is especially noticeable in the Cultural school that 'anti-social' will be used of a girl who is eminently friendly and sociable, both with her peers and with adults, but who engages in behaviour of which Society disapproves - such as shop-lifting or promiscuous sex. This is obviously nothing to do with sociablity, since no individuals suffer if someone shoplifts, but because of the threat her behaviour constitutes to the established ways of society, the girl is labelled 'anti-social'. (I should add that Chambers Dictionnary offers both meanings.)

The Primary Social paradigm will see the delinquent
girl as one who has lacked the opportunites for forming
relationships or been damaged by ones unsuitable or
formed in fraught situations. It may acknowledge that
with a few girls this failure goes so far back as to
make the child permanently damaged and thus to all
intents and purposes like a child who is innately
unable to take her proper place in the network of
social bonds. However, this kind of child is probably
neither censured nor championed, but simply accepted
as the occasional casualty of social processes. Other-
wise, the attitude towards the 'delinquent' girl is
hopeful and positive, without any moral blame being
attached either to the girl herself or to the society
that produced her.

TREATMENT

There are a number of complex problems of interpret-
ation involved in discussing the methods of treat-
ment which may emanate from each of the paradigm phil-
osophies. However, I propose to offer suggestions as
to the reasoning behind the kinds of treatment I have
observed to operate in different schools.

The schools which seem to me to hold a culture-
oriented philosophy are very orderly and disciplined :
there is a time, a place and a prescribed manner for
every activity. Virtually no decisions are left to
girls to make; infractions of rules are punished and

conformity (or good behaviour) rewarded. There is an
emphasis on 'security', which seems to cover two
meanings : locked doors etc. which (in theory) oblige
the child to stay put while treatment is carried out,
and a feeling of safety extended to the child.

I suggest that the Cultural rationale for this method
of treatment is as follows. An atmosphere of order-
liness and circumscribed behaviour trains the child in
a straightforward habit-forming fashion to behave in an
orderly and circumscribed manner. The argument runs
(and was expressly advanced by some staff) that if the
child is controlled by external forces consistently and
often enough, she will eventually come to exercise
control over herself. Obviously it is possible to
argue for precisely the opposite case - that external
discipline does not give rise to self-discipline and
moreover is likely to lead to resentment or even
rebellion - but this is not the point. The point is
that the Cultural therapist does construe the practice
of order and discipline as operating in this way.
Because the child is unsocialised, and normal social
pressures have failed to socialise it, the answer must
be more intense and regulated discipline and social-
ising procedures to overcome the obstacles that the
child's nature or background are thought to present.
There is also a second string to this concept of method:
'security', which performs the valuable function to a
Culture-based system of presenting at least the outward

appearance of order and good behaviour, is also thought to make the child _feel_ secure and thereby to increase the child's confidence, not so much in herself, but in society as an institution. Confidence in this micro-cosm of society, which is to be extended to society at large, plus training in acceptable social behaviour, therefore produces from somewhat unpromising material the socialised child.

In the school which I categorise as Individual-oriented there is a 'permissive' atmosphere : rules are the minimum required for safety, if indeed they are expressed as rules at all. There is considerably _less_ discipline here than one would expect to find in the average home or day school. Here situations are allowed to develop without staff intervention until some conclusion is reached. There is no grading system or any other kind of discrimination between girls who behave 'well' and 'badly'. The establishment is completely open. Few decisions are made arbitrarily by staff and opportun-ities are sought for fresh contacts, experiences and facilities for the girls to make their own choices and decisions.

The rationale of this method must surely be that the natural growth of the child requires freedom and opp-ortunity to develop. Since no uniformity of behaviour is required - there is no goal of the 'perfectly socialised child' - there is no point in labelling

some girls as 'doing well' and others as 'doing badly'
(note that this is quite different from giving encour-
agement to a girl with the words 'you are doing well') :
each girl is good in her own way. Locking-up would
produce an artificial atmosphere (never mind an unfree
one) whereas naturalness is the key. Self-discipline,
as previously noted, comes about through the clash of
freedom with necessity : thus for staff to check the
development of a situation, to 'nip in the bud' a pot-
ential row, or situation of grief or anxiety, would be
to frustrate the whole business. Self-discipline is
not taught or trained : it develops naturally (even
automatically) in response to situations in which it
is required. And of course discipline is by no means
the only quality sought, is probably indeed of fairly
minor importance in this philosophy; self-knowledge,
self-confidence, enjoyment of life and the ability to
use one's own judgment would all be cardinal virtues
according to this paradigm and are thought to be attain-
able in conditions of freedom and opportunities to
choose and to learn from experience.

The school I have called Primary Social runs neither on
rules nor the absence of rules, but on a framework of
expectations, set in motion by staff and traditionalised
by generations of girls. The intensity of these ex-
pectations might vary : it could be a very orderly
school that is expected, or a fairly free one; the
point is not so much the intensity of what is expected

but the intensity <u>with which</u> it is expected, since this
is the cement of social bonds. But the existence of a
tradition frees the staff from a continual nagging
away at making the expectations understood; thus the
atmosphere in even a very organised Primary Social
school can afford to be more relaxed than in its
Cultural equivalent, and energy is released for the
formation of personal relationships which is the real
work of the school. Again, the emphasis is less on what
the staff do in detail than on the sort of people they
are : for good and sound relationships to be formed
where one half is an inexperienced and damaged child,
the other must be a person of high tolerance and
understanding.

We can now, I think, make some sense out of observations
that one school is rigidly organised and also has a
high degree of labelling, while another is 'permissive'
with little labelling, and a third is organised but
apparently without rules being invoked and with labell-
ing only extending to the conception of the child as
child. Yet with all these different systems an atmos-
phere of humanity, kindness and patience is quite con-
sistent. It is not necessary to argue that one school
is rule-ridden because its staff are punitive ogres,
nor that another is permissive because its staff are
lazy and spineless - but it is perhaps symptomatic of
a really deep-seated difference in beliefs that these
are just the kind of arguments that do tend to be used
by staff against those in other schools ! Whatever

one's personal views may be on the nature and relation
of man and society and the most desirable methods to
use in therapeutic education, it is essential to
suspend them - and thus to suspend any value judgments -
while considering how different school systems may arise.
But schools nevertheless have failings or weak spots; a
school of a particular type is not necessarily a good
example of that type - it may have become punitive or
apathetic or have lost control of the situation. In
the next section we shall look at how this might
happen. But first a brief note on the expectations of
the schools.

EXPECTATIONS

All the schools tend to express, at least at senior
level, a fairly solid optimism about the likely success
of their work, however much or little hard facts seem
to bear them out. However, I think there are two
pretty obvious latent reasons for this; in the first
place, an atmosphere of pessimism, if allowed to per-
sist, could hardly be less helpful to the work the
school is trying to do; and in the second place,
people who have a lot of psychic capital invested in
their jobs cannot maintain their balance and impulsion
if they fail to convince themselves that they have
a good chance of success. But beyond this I think the
schools have, besides the different conceptions of
success which will obviously follow from their various
aims and so on already discussed, expectations different

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in degree and also distinct conceptions of the alter-
natives to 'success'.

The Cultural Maintenance school may well have a lower
opinion of its raw material and in that sense expect
less of it. The fault is not allowed to be in society,
so if not by heredity then at least by environment it
must lie in the girl. But they also have a kind of
let-out in the provision of alternative aims, such as
creating in the school an atmosphere to which the
girls will feel they can always return or on which at
least they can look back with some sort of happiness.
This is in keeping with the 'security' concept, that
the school provides a kind of haven for misfits and
unfortunates, as well as a training ground for those
amenable to it.

By definition of their philosophy, Individualist
schools must be optimistic of the real results in
their terms, if they feel that they are doing their
job properly. They cannot be concerned to be merely
a solace where they endeavour to bring girls face to
face with reality. But at the same time their stand-
ards of 'success', though very high in one sense, will
not be as fixed as those of the Cultural school, since
they fundamentally believe the child to be worthwhile
whatever it does.

Not seeking the complete and speedy socialisation of
an unsocialised youngster, nor the full flowering of

the natural child (a difficult enough process, as I think most practitioners would acknowledge, even when the child's development has not previously been hampered), the Primary Social school aims at less and aims at it in a more continuous way. By this I mean that the school is not seen as the only hope for the child : some good relationships have been constructed in the past (or the child would not be fit for any school at all) and there will always be more opportunities in the fufture : the school is a period of additional and more intensive help but only as part of a process that continues throughout life.

D : Hazards

LABELLING

The concept of labelling has become well established in sociological and criminological literature. It is generally agreed that labelling is more likely than not to confirm the subject in the career with which he is labelled (see, for example, Young 1971, Schur 1969). One might expect by the same token that treating a subject in terms that define him as 'normal' would be conducive to his defining himself as 'normal' and thus to his becoming 'normal'. Mention has been made in passing of the incidence of labelling under the various systems discussed and it is now time to examine them more closely in this respect.

Labelling will be high, there is little doubt, in the

Cultural Maintenance schol, however kindly and bene-
volently it is administered. The inmate is character-
ised as a non-conformer (by birth or background) and
whether the non-conformer is censured, feared or pitied
makes little difference to the labelling effect. Legit-
imacy, as we noted earlier on, belongs on this paradigm
first of all to society; that is to say, society is
defined as right, as the law and model for individuals.
Legitimacy is borrowed by individuals only to the
extent that they conform to society's model, and the
degree to which deviants do this is by definition of
the smallest. Low legitimacy implies high labelling
where the latter is understood to be labelling as
'undesirable', 'invalid' and so on. The regime of the
Cultural Maintenance school, too, has overtones of
labelling: the girls obey a set of rules and are subject
to sanctions which do not apply to staff and often not
to children in 'ordinary' school, therefore these
children are 'different'. Moreover, this difference
is presented as one of moral degree. For example, the
staff have keys (because the school is 'locked'),
girls do not; girls wear uniform (another aspect of
orderliness), staff as a rule do not; there are places
where girls are not allowed to go, expressions of
speech they are not allowed to use, behaviour they
are not allowed to indulge in (such as smoking, wearing
make-up, going out alone etc.). However, it should
not be assumed that the label applied is necessarily

that of 'criminal' or even 'delinquent'; this will
sometimes be true, but sometimes the modifying effects
of the concern and pity previously mentioned will trans-
form the label into something 'not responsible for her
own actions', 'not capable of making sensible decisions'
or 'needs to be kept an eye on'. In this, staff will
feel themselves to be supported by the wider society
(a support on which, of course, they place much value)
since the girls have been committed by its authority
figures to be dealt with as 'children in need of com-
pulsory measures of care '.

In the Individual school, on the other hand, the girl
has full status as a person and is therefore not
ascribed any label to differentiate her from other
people such as members of staff. Her implicit label,
therefore, is that of 'normal'. There are different
roles within the school, of course -though this may be
in part a compromise between the philosophy and the
compulsory nature of the care . For example, staff
may have a role which involves taking certain decis-
ions on liaison between girls and the outside world,
but girls will almost certainly have complementary roles
which involve them in taking decisions which are more
in their province than in that of staff, say, on menus,
clothes and house rules. These roles could be said to
carry labels, but the point is that the labels do not
invoke the idea of superior and inferior statuses -
they are differentiations on the same level. Staff
don't reserve to themselves the right to make arbitrary

decisions, nor to behave towards girls in a way they wouldn't like someone to behave towards them (they can put themselves in the shoes of the girls, as it were, in a way that is ideologically virtually impossible for Culturist staff). Staff in an Individual school have an initial difficulty to overcome here, since the girls have in effect already been labelled by the authorities who committed them to the school, let alone their parents and society at large. In their eagerness to couteract this may lie one reason for a hazard which will be examined shortly.

The Primary Social school is, like the Individual school, low on labels ascribing invalid or inferior status. Their sole label tends to be one which would only be considered unfavourable by advocates of 'Children's Lib'. To this extent - since the Children's Lib concept is not yet a powerful force in the attitudes of society at large - they do not differentiate their subjects from other people to any greater degree than they differentiate all children. Qua children, certain behaviour is expected of them and other behaviour pro-scribed, but not otherwise. In the school regime, therefore, there will be rules or expectations which relate to the girls as children, such as specified bedtimes, certain restrictions on dress, possibly forms of speech for addressing adults and so on. How-ever, there should be nothing which picks out the girls as especially irresponsible or inferior and thus as demanding extra rules, sanctions or forms of behaviour.

To take the simple (but highly potent) symbol of the staff china : it may be an established fact that children are likely to break expensive china more often than adults. The Cultural Maintenance school would use this fact as a self-evident reason for giving the girls plastic crockery; the Primary Social would expect a certain amount of inevitable breakages and take them in its stride: the Individualist school would probably not even expect them, and dismiss it as trivial if breakages occurred (unless, of course, the child were able to make a learning experience from the incident).

EXTREME POSITIONS

Each type of school has, I suggest, a characteristic 'extreme position' into which it may lapse if due care is not exercised or if attitudes are allowed to harden. I am not arguing here that Aristotelian Means are necessarily the most desirable positions to be in (although we shall later consider some empirical evidence that there might be some truth in this as far as the schools are concerned). The argument is rather that the pure model may become distorted by concentration on particular features and that the features likely to be concentrated on are those which are especially characteristic of that model.

The feature most likely to cause trouble (that is, to hinder rather than further the objectives of the school) in the Cultural school is surely the emphasis on order

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and control. If these are allowed to become an end
in themselves, rather than a reasoned means to social-
isation, then bureaucracy and arbitrary rule will take
root. This tendency may be enhanced by another factor :
that of the element of fear inherent in the Cultural
paradigm. The stability of society is felt to depend
on patterns of predictable behaviour, but the behav-
iour of these subjects is not so predictable and may
even be resistant to taking on social coloration. We
have seen that this quality may have a threatening
character because it represents the potential break-
down of the very definition of social life given by the
Cultural adherent. The instinctive reaction to such
fear is to clamp down harder, to become more repressive
in the hope of stamping out deviations. There is cer-
tainly a school of thought which would hold that, even
within this paradigm, repression is not the most eff-
ective means of regaining control, but the confidence
needed to relax the reins in a tense situation requires,
of course, greater effort than to obey the instinct to
tighten the grip. The result of this combination of
factors taken to extremes may be complete order and
uniformity in the school, but this may well turn out
to be a veneer for smouldering resentment which is kept
within bounds only inside the school itself. Or one
more straw on the camel's back or one flying spark from
a particular person or set of circumstances may convert
it instantly to violent rebellion.

The Individualist school has a different problem :
an extreme of negativity, one might say, rather than of
positivity. The principle of freedom can, I think, be
applied so liberally that the result is complete ab-
sence of order, that is, chaos. This can result from
one or both of two factors : over-confidence in 'nat-
ural processes' so that no help at all is offered to
nature; and a failure to balance individual rights
against each other, since a situation in which all
rights are freely but successfully exercised is ob-
viously a practical impossibility. This kind of out-
come is liable to cause feelings of insecurity and
anxiety in the subjects (who, after all, are not fully
developed adult personalities, however valid their
status).   Their reaction to these could be forms of
withdrawal (such as running away) or demands for the
opposite extreme of knowing exactly where they and
everyone else stands on all points. These demands
may be made in outbreaks of violent behaviour which
are implicit calls for the restoration of 'law and
order'.

Thus violence (broadly described) may result from an
extreme of either system, but for completely different
reasona. The Primary Social school does not seem to
be very vulnerable to either of these possibilities, but
I think it has nevertheless a weak spot of its own. It
has been observed that the Primary Social school oper-
ates within a rather narrow perspective and aims at
rather less revolutionary changes than the other two.

In its comparative lack of attention to either individual needs or larger social needs (or both), together with the apparent success it enjoys by achieving its more limited objectives, it may too easily fall into complacency and hence to stagnation. The other schools (and experience certainly bears this out) will tend to have a somewhat cyclic existence in which they approach an extreme, are pricked by the beginnings of the unpleasant consequences, and swing back again to a moderate position. The Primary Social school does not seem to be prone to such cycles, which suggests that its most serious danger is the tendency to get into a rut. Which of these hazards one considers the most undesirable presumably depends mainly on one's paradigm.

THERAPEUTIC LIMITATIONS

There is one important point still to be dealt with in this section and that is the question to what extent each paradigm system is likely, in its own terms and given the circumstance within which it operates, to achieve the results it aims at.

The main problem for the Cultural school lies, I think, in its relevance to contemporary society. It is common for the type of regime produced by this paradigm to be labelled 'conservative' but one must point out that it is conservative mainly in relation to social chronology. Although stemming from an earlier philosophical statement (viz. Rousseau), the Individualistic practice in

education is of more recent development in our culture and is more in line with the main weight of 'progressive' opinion at the present time. 'Progressive' is not an absolute term; nevertheless, the world for which the Cultural school is preparing its children is increasingly less modelled on that type of system itself. Effects of the Culture-based institution may therefore appear quite impressive within the school - in such ways as promoting outwardly acceptable behaviour - but turn out to be very short-lived outside under the pressure of other influences.

The Individual school is doubtless fashionable : the non-special schools labelled 'progressive' so concretely are almost always of precisely this kind (Summerhill can be taken as typical). The problem for the Individualist List D school is the very short time it has in which to carry out its therapy. In fact, one may question how much the philosophy bears on short-term therapy at all : it is really more of a long time-scale child-rearing or complete education project. In the six or eight months which the List D school has at its disposal it must be doubtful how much impact such a programme can have. Again, effects may be apparent within the school in terms of more natural and confident behaviour, but the development of long-term responsibility and confidence in situations other than a tolerant and understanding List D school may be much more difficult to achieve.

The philosophy of the Primary Social school is, if anything, even more 'up-to-date', in the sense that personal relationships are stressed heavily in many fields such as those of social work, management, community politics and so on, besides that of education. Learning to construct good personal relationships is therefore probably a very relevant procedure for life in present-day society, and we have seen that school life is intended to be part only of that continuous process. The drawbacks are likely to be the difficulty of generalising the learning process and transferring the expectation of satisfaction in relationships from the school to the outside world. That is to say, the children may continue to be emotionally dependent on the school when they have left it, and fall back on previously-learned expectations with unhappy results. It would also, I think, be unrealistic for the development of relationships to be restricted to those between one girl and one member of staff - as might happen - since such relationships would not be representative of the majority of those called for outside the school.

F : Social adjustment

What, finally, is the meaning of our central concept, 'social adjustment', to each of these paradigms ? What would constitute successful adjustment in their terms ? Of course, ideas about social adjustment have been implicit throughout the whole discussion of therapeutic

education, but I think we can say that each would
count itself successful if it achieved the fulfilment
of the social function of education, according to its
particular interpretation of that function.

As far as the Cultural Maintenance paradigm is con-
cerned, therefore, the socially well-adjusted person
is he who is fully socialised, who is absorbed into
his culture both in practice and in attitude, one
indeed who can contribute to the maintenance of the
culture by his support. This well-adjusted person is
one who fits the pattern which his culture lays down
for him in his particular roles. Thus improvement in
social adjustment means coming closer to the general
pattern, being more 'normal'.

For the Individualist paradigm, the case is very diff-
erent : social adjustment tends to be interpreted here
as personal adjustment to an inevitably social world.
Socialisation, in the sense that the Cultural paradigm
commends it, could very well be seen by the Individual-
ist as failure rather than success, since it would
mean that free individual development had been sacrif-
iced to the conventions of society at large. Other
social qualities would be sought after only in so far
as they contributed to personal development and
personal happiness.

The Primary Social paradigm's view of social adjustment
comes closer to the notion of reciprocal accommodation.
The individual is not to be subordinated to society, but

nor is he to develop without reference to society. The
individual succeeds where he accepts the demands of
other individuals but also makes demands of them in his
turn, thus building up a solid network of relation-
ships. Measurements relating to social relationships,
therefore - their strength, depth, variety and so on -
would constitute the evaluation of successful social
adjustment to the Primary Social paradigm.

Thus, although all the paradigms of therapeutic educ-
ation are vitally concerned with social adjustment,
their interpretations of the concept depend fundament-
ally upon their beliefs and values concerning man and
society.

In the next chapter we shall consider how each of the
schools in the study compares with a given paradigm and
how these basic values affect the whole gamut of its
operations. There now follows a table summarising the
main points of the argument advanced in the present
chapter.

BASIC POSITION	CULTURAL MAINTENANCE	INDIVID-UALIST	PRIMARY SOCIAL
Man	value derived from society	value underived	enters into social relationships
Society	value underived	value derived from individuals	created by activity of individuals

EDUCATION

	CULTURAL MAINTENANCE	INDIVID-UALIST	PRIMARY SOCIAL
Social function	socialisation	self-development	construction of social bonds
Agent	authority of society vested in socialised individuals	self, facilitated by developed individuals	interaction between social individuals
Interpretation of process	imposition of order leads to habit formation	freedom + necessity results in self-discipline	practice in social living achieves expertise
Method	rules & sanctions as part of system of behaviour	removal of obstacles; confrontation with reality	reciprocal expectations held and satisfied
Nature of the school	microcosm of structured society	special conditions of freedom	populated by suitable people
Status of child	low: role to obey and learn	high: right to self-development	fairly high: lacking experience

THERAPY

	CULTURAL MAINTENANCE	INDIVID-UALIST	PRIMARY SOCIAL
The delinquent	non-conformer; possible threat to society	natural growth impeded by society	lacking opportunities for suitable relationships
Treatment	intensity of social pressures; order; security.	'permissive', allows natural growth of qualities	traditionalised expectations; relationships encouraged

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THERAPY (continued)

Expect-ations	probably low for social-isation, higher for 'security'	optimistic for develop-ment, stand-ards high but variable	aims low but with continuity

HAZARDS

Adverse labelling	high as legitimacy low, also fear/pity	low as full rights, complementary roles	low, except as children
Extreme positions	bureaucracy, arbitrary rule, repress-ion	chaos from inactivity, excess of individual rights	narrow perspective, complacency
Result of extreme	(cyclic) uniformity, rebellion	(cyclic) withdrawal, challenge	stagnation
Limit-ations	doubtful relevance, short-lived effects	child-rearing programme, lack of time	problem of transfer, restricted relation-ships
SOCIAL ADJUST-MENT	full social-isation into cultural pattern	personal development, personal happiness	quality and depth in primary relationships

Our original discussion on the nature of the List D
school (see Chapter One) suggested that in the conflict
of educational aims between benefit to society and to the
individual, the emphasis placed by a school upon one or
the other aspect might be associated with their leaning
towards the character of a penal measure or that of a
welfare provision. In the event, both evidence and theory
have obliged us to conclude that three types of school
appear: that stressing the individual, that stressing
society, and that maintaining a balance between the two
by stressing primary relationships. To some extent, our
hypothesis has been confirmed in that Cultural Maintenance
schools rely on order, obedience, rules, sanctions and
security in the way that one would expect of a penal inst-
itution, whereas Individualist schools rely on self-
development in natural situations as might be expected of
a welfare provision. However, it might be unwise to
build too much upon these associations in isolation: the
paradigms themselves, being especially constructed with
reference to social therapy, provide a sounder theoretic-
al basis for hypotheses about differences between the
schools. The three paradigms of therapeutic education
having been presented theoretically, we must now consider
to what extent each of the five schools in the study can
be subsumed under one or other of the paradigms. But
first we ask: who holds the paradigms ?

We have already discussed in Chapter One the question of
group models. The idea of a group philosophy is even more

difficult, particularly in a school which is not a total society but is populated by staff who leave the institution after a longer or shorter period to be replaced by others who may have come from a social environment with quite different ideas. We have seen, however, that the society of the List D school is almost inevitably dominated by a leader, the Headmaster or Headmistress. He or she not only holds the supreme authority in matters of policy and action but in most cases exercises a distinct, sometimes profound, influence on the attitudes of staff. Moreover, as suggested in Chapter Four, the practice of actions imposed on the staff may lead them to revise their attitudes to accord with their actions, as much as the reverse. Nor is this influence solely due to the Head's position; in the girls' schools at least, the Head is almost invariably the most career-oriented of all the staff (excepting the Deputy Head - who is generally aiming at Headship himself). Most List D school staff spend relatively short periods in this work between spells in related fields such as child care, day-school teaching or bringing up their own families, whereas the Headmaster is likely to have been concerned with List D school work, if not exclusively, then progressively up to the point where he gets his headship. The Head has therefore had both the greatest opportunity and the greatest motivation to work out a system into which his ideas about models, methods and principles of treatment for List D pupils can be fitted. Moreover, the Head is likely to be more highly trained in this or similar work, and to be a person more given to and capable of analytical thought and the formation of general principles. The

Headmaster will therefore almost certainly be highly influential in the formation of attitudes in his own school, though depending on his own personality, powers and so on his influence will be more or less pervasive among the members of staff. There is also striking empirical evidence on the question of the influence of the person in charge from Ian Sinclair's (1971, 1975) study of probation hostels and their wardens. Failure-rates of the hostels were significantly associated with the individual wardens and their presence or absence, but not with the hostel unit in itself. Both from empirical testing and from first-hand observation and assessment, Sinclair concluded that the warden's personality and ideas (and his relationship with his wife, who was in almost all cases the matron of the hostel) were the single most important factor in determining the atmosphere and culture of the hostel. Not least among the characteristics thus affected was the rate of abscondings and convictions.

Our present study, however, has already come across one school which the foregoing argument appears not to fit: school D's attitudes and policies were apparently formed before the appointment of the present Head, and he had not in fact been associated with List D schools prior to his appointment. When the staff of a school are not given leadership from an individual, however, it is necessary for them to have or to develop some kind of consensus of attitudes if a social system is to be supported at

all and we have seen that school D did seem to have a
fair measure of consensus or at least a willingness
to find one. For one reason or another, then, I think
it is valid to attribute a philosophy to a school as
a whole, while bearing in mind that there will inevit-
ably be dissensions from it, variations on it, and
conflicts within it. In fact we may find, as previous-
ly suggested, that the degree of integrity of the phil-
osophy can function as an independent variable upon the
overall effectiveness of the school.

In the following remarks, therefore, the Headmaster is
likely to be most extensively quoted, in the belief
that he is chiefly responsible for the ideology as well
as the operation of the school. However, where there
exist clear dissensions among the staff these will also
be taken into consideration.

SCHOOL A

The Primary Social paradigm is, in my own opinion,
the least satisfying of the three in theoretical terms,
and this is chiefly because it is based so heavily on
the evidence from school A and so little on other
writings. I was unable to find any other accounts of
schools or related institutions which fitted the
picture presented by school A, and the schemes of
Kluckhohn and Butler only give limited support, It
is thus not surprising to find that school A fits the
Primary Social paradigm very closely. Where certain

parts of school A's system did not seem to follow with strict necessity from others, I have suggested in the text of Chapter Six that the variable is 'undefined', but there is certainly nothing definite in the account of the Primary Social paradigm which does not fit school A.

The mainstay of the concept of the Primary Social is based on the Headmaster of school A's remarks about the central importance of relationships: that these are what the girls have missed and that the school sets out to supply the deficiency. That primary relationships are the underived value is, however, my own gloss on the school's philosophy. What is not in doubt is that where the staff, particularly the Head, were offered Individualist or Cultural Maintenance alternatives as interpretations of a given area, they did frequently reject both, and substitute an interpretation which did not square with either. Had it not been for this apparently inescapable fact, I would almost certainly have tried to conceptualise a continuum between Individualist and Cultural Maintenance (cf. Street and colleagues' continuum from incarceration to therapy, which is weakest in the middle), putting School A either as 'somewhere between the two' or as 'a mixture of the two'. At one point, for example, (late on in the study, when the paradigm concepts were beginning to form), I asked the Headmaster of school A whether the school experience was

a question of removing obstacles so that the girls
could develop freely, or of 'training them up in the
way they should go'. He replied: "Not so much removing
obstacles as helping them to surmount obstacles,
making them able to cope." On the subject of the
nature of the school, I asked how much the school
should resemble society; he replied: "Well, it's got
to be somewhat like, but more tolerant and easier to
get on in, to that extent it's different." In both
these instances, he takes a line which fits neither
the Individualist nor the Cultural Maintenance para-
digms. On the question of standards (content versus
structure) I asked him: "Does it matter what the
standards given to girls are, if they are consistent ?"
to which he answered: "You have to have different
expectations for different individuals; you've got
to know the child and her background." Comments like
these, together with the emphasis on relationships
which was not marked in any other school, plus observ-
ations confirming the method of traditionalised ex-
pectations and generally high standards without the use
of rules and sanctions all supported the idea of a
quite separate philosophy obtaining in school A. The
presentation of the Primary Social paradigm has been
mainly an attempt to put this philosophy into an
'ideal' form.

It was also observable that school A did not seem
prone to the cyclic movements, alternating periods of

relative repression and relaxation on the part of
staff, submission and rebellion on the part of girls,
which affected all the other schools to some extent.
Millham and colleagues (1975b) explain cyclical patt-
erns as arising from a shifting of emphasis between
conflicting goals, but our interpretation - in terms
of the inherent characteristics of a strongly indiv-
idualist or strongly cultural value system - is, of
course, of rather a different kind.   It was noted
that in school A the quality of staff and their
conditions of work were felt to be more important
than any specific method of treatment offered by the
school; the Headmaster said:-

> "You've got to try to get girls to identify with
> staff; not completely, of course, it's not
> healthy to overidentify with any school. A lot
> depends on the quality and permanence of staff.
> We haven't any of the trouble other schools have
> getting staff: we don't overwork them, for example,
> or insist teachers do house duties .... We've
> tried all sorts of programmes here - from ideas
> of the Deputy Head's mostly - from the 'healthy
> mind in a healthy body' idea of long walks in the
> hills, to group counselling and getting girls to
> be so introspective - none of them really makes
> much difference."

This is again consistent with the concept that the
whole experience depends on the activity of relation-
ships with the right sort of people, rather than
passive conditioning or the inner growth of some kind
of 'insight'. Mrs. Z, the senior house mother,
supported this by saying :-

> "I don't like to use the word 'discipline' in
> staff meetings, because then someone says 'What
> do you mean by discipline ?' but you understand
> what I mean: girls need to know where they stand

and you've got to get their respect; and again I
don't mean you want them to stand in awe of you or
anything but that they see you as the sort of
person who says things that are worth listening
to."

At school A, there was a distinct lack of labelling

of girls as 'delinquent' but, unlike school D, girls

were definitely treated as children in the sense that

adults were presented as generally running the school

and knowing on the whole what was best for girls. In

fact, the Head of A criticised school D for failing,

in his opinion, to provide basic security for their

girls. It was also the Head himself who pointed out

to me that school A did not have such high hopes for

girls when they left :-

"Ours is the least ambitious of the schools; it's
trying to do less and therefore is perhaps succeed-
ing better."

The parts of the paradigm for which I had least direct

evidence were the possibility of complacency, leading

to stagnation, and the limitations in the form of the

problem of transfer from the school to outside and

the restriction of relationships. The indirect evidence

for the first was chiefly the attitude of the Deputy

Headmaster (who was away on a course at the time of

the study, and for whom Miss B was standing in) who

privately voiced his opinion that the Headmaster was

'set in his ways' and reluctant to listen to new ideas.

for which reason he - the Deputy - was looking for a

new post. However, this may partly be explained by

the fact that, as we have already seen, the Headmaster
rejected the idea of 'programmes' on which the Deputy
was himself keen, besides the inherent dissatisfaction
in any post of deputy. On the other hand, no-one at
school A could remember the last time there had been a
rebellious outbreak by the girls (not since the present
Head's very early days, at any rate) but nor did there
seem any likelihood of the girls suffering from a lack
of security, so again neither of the other paradigms
seems appropriate. The problem of transfer of relat-
ionships was also hinted at by the Headmaster in his
statement (quoted above) of the danger of over-
identification.

School A represented in some ways a rather remarkable
'total construction' in the List D school world; that
is to say, it seemed to have its own especial mode of
defining its field - the girls, the aims of the school
and so on - which completely obliterated ideas brought
in from outside. This was not simply a result of the
number of people with similar views happening to have
assembled in the school. That this is so, is shown
particularly by the _surprise_ voiced by so many of the
staff (see Chapter Four), especially the teachers,
on discovering that the girls they evidently expected
to be difficult to handle, disruptive, disturbed and
so on, were in fact quite 'normal', at least as pleas-
ant and easy to get on with as girls in ordinary
schools. Yet the girls themselves were no different

at the outset from those in any of the other schools,
as far as our investigations could determine (see
Chapter Eight); it was simply that under the ideology
of the school they were perceived as normal, treated
as normal and presumably finally behaved normally.

SCHOOL B

As has been noted more than once, school B was in a
state of confusion, possibly only due to a transition
between regimes, but in fact I think more fundamentally.
At heart, the philosophy of the Headmaster was to me
summed up in his words: "We do know what's best for
them" - a statement which was amply supported by his
interactions with the girls. Whenever he raised a
matter supposedly for discussion with them, on singing
hymns, permitting smoking and so on, he always in fact
had a preconceived idea of the 'right answer' and tried
to bring the girls round to his way of thinking, yet
evading any charge that he was actually telling them
what to do. One could say - and some of the other
staff did imply - that this was just a matter of the
Head not wishing to appear 'bossy' but wanting to get
his own way all the same. According to my interpret-
ation, however, the trouble lay in a discrepancy between
model and goal. He held a model of the girls in which
what they tended to want did not coincide with what he
thought they ought to have - in other words, their
basic nature could not be allowed to flower unchecked -

but at the same time he also believed (or wanted to believe) that they should be encouraged to make their own decisions. This logical incompatability between model and goal resulted in the 'deceiving' or 'manipulative' methods used.

At the same time, there was a very real conflict between two sections of staff: a small but powerful group who had been at the school since the Head's appointment fourteen years previously and were undoubtedly committed to an original Cultural Maintenance philosophy, and the larger group of younger and newer staff who agreed with the goal the Head now professed but, unlike him, had a model to match it and were therefore frustrated at the methods currently being used.

Moreover, the Headmaster was consciously endeavouring to introduce more flexibility into the school system and give more autonomy to staff but was in fact (at this stage at least) only making superficial alterations such as the formation of staff teams, without being genuinely committed to the idea that staff (like girls) were capable of taking responsibility on their own. Also, the continuation of entrenched routines such as the 'major offences' system tied the regime ineluctably to the old Cultural Maintenance pattern.

We have seen that even the superficial changes seemed to be having some beneficial effect on the school climate, as witness the increase in staff support and

the decrease in strictness between the two administrations of the SCQ. However, judging by the atmosphere I observed in the school - numerous grumbles by the staff and patent awareness by them that things were going badly, evasion of rules if they did not agree with them, frequent outbreaks of violent behaviour among the girls and a generally unsettled feeling all round - I had to conclude that any benefits were, in the present stage, being outweighed by the damage done. These three conflicts - of the Head within himself, between sections of staff, and between an old and a new regime - make it impossible to pin down school B as properly belonging to any one of the paradigms. However, in its current form, due to the greater weight of the Head's model, the greater power of the older staff and the fact that the old regime was undoubtedly Cultural Maintenance while the supposed new regime had not as yet shown any firm ideological base, one must place school B in the Cultural Mainten-ance camp if anywhere. This is particularly supported by the Headmaster's remark quoted in Chapter Four that "order does not come from within ourselves; it has to be imposed ...." - a statement which is wholly in accordance with the Cultural Maintenance philosophy.

SCHOOL C

School C adhered fairly closely to the Cultural Main-tenance paradigm. There was little questioning of the belief that having been judged by authorities such as

Panels and social workers to be 'delinquent' the girls
were in fact delinquent, and as such needed to be
reformed, to be brought into line with the mainstream
of society. It was particularly evident that the
girls were assumed to be untrustworthy: they were not
allowed near the staffroom because "there would be
nothing left in here", their incoming and outgoing
letters were restricted and heavily censored, and
outings from the school were strictly supervised.
The distinction between staff and girls was further
marked by such things as staff having their own china
at meals shared with the girls; even if it were true
that the girls were more likely to break it, a school
which gave the girls higher status than did school C
would have been reluctant to make this fact so obvious.
(B was the only other school which had 'staff china'
but this was only used for separate staff meals, while
school E staff never ate with girls anyway so the
question did not arise.) Although, as already men-
tioned, it is possible that control was thought to be
a pre-condition of treatment, there also seemed to be
an underlying fear of 'what might happen' if control
were lost. There was also little doubt on the axiom
that staff's way of life and standards were more des-
irable than those entertained by girls and that girls
should therefore be taught these higher standards,
including the ambition for white-collar jobs.

The process was, in intention at least, very orderly:

rules and regulations, locked doors, bells and so on
created the structure within which girls and staff were
to work. There was one fly in the ointment here,
however, in the fact that the Headmaster's rule was
somewhat more arbitrary than necessary to fulfil the
requirements of the Cultural Maintenance paradigm; he
tended to instigate sudden changes in routine which
upset everything for a short while but then became
just as binding as the previous routines. As in
school B, there was also a tendency for staff not to
invoke rules if the infractions were well concealed
(for example, forbidden smoking) and especially if
'keeping the peace' was better served by ignoring
them. Where sanctions were used, they were of a
tariff nature, almost always the docking or additiion
of small sums of pocket money. Since a certain amount
of pocket money had to be earned for girls to be
allowed home leave, it was reasoned that this provided
the incentive necessary to the success of the condit-
ioning process. Presumably also this conditioning
process was felt to be adequate for the inculcation
of social adjustment, since there was very little
evidence of more problem-oriented treatment, either
by counselling or more informally by staff as problems
arose. I noticed many occasions that would have been
picked up in schools A or D, for example, as an opport-
unity to demonstrate something to a girl, or help her
understand something, which were completely ignored in
school C. Case conferences, which were an important

part of the staff's work in schools A and D and also
in school B, were very vague and often non-existent
in school C, from which one concludes that such treat-
ment discussion and planning were not highly valued.
In contrast, the girls' day was filled with classes,
projects, evening classes, random entertainments or
lectures, and domestic routines, suggesting a higher
value put on the training of good habits in work and
play.

Apart from some minor details, therefore, we may con-
clude that in its model of the girls and their relation
to Society, in its aim of socialisation both in per-
sonal and social habits at all levels, and in its
methods of rules and routines, school C was typical
of the Cultural Maintenance position. It had also,
as we have seen, a fair amount of adverse labelling
and a tendency towards arbitrary rule. Better organ-
ised than school B, but less severly restrictive than
school E, it did not seem very much prone to rebellious
outbreaks (though they did happen from time to time)
but the existence of a strong counter-culture suggested
that any effects of the school (except possibly as an
experience which could be drawn upon in much later
life) would be very short-lived.

SCHOOL D

School D is obviously fairly close to the Individualist
paradigm, but it does not fit exactly. In the main

this is because the ideas of the Individualist para-
digm were not fully developed in school D, and because
there was a dissenting minority among the staff (more
important in this particular school where less leader-
ship was given by the Head). The idea of freedom plus
necessity as the essential process leading to the
development of self-control is quite explicit in the
writings of Homer Lane and presumably was fully evid-
ent in the Little Commonwealth itself. I found that
school D did allow situations to develop without inter-
vention quite often. In one striking case, a girl was
threatening to throw herself through a plate-glass
window; in most schools she would have been forcibly
restrained - in B or C she might have been put in
detention to 'give her time to cool off' - or at least
staff would have attempted to 'reason' with her. In
school D staff waited to see whether she would. (She
did.) The underlying expectation was presumably that
she would learn more about herself and the world from
doing it than from being told not to (as Homer Lane
says of the child who puts his hand in the fire).
Apparently similar was another occasion, when a group
of girls was waiting to be interviewed by the police
for a serious theft committed outside the school;
the girls were allowed to become more and more boister-
ous and aggressive towards other girls and towards
staff, until quite a violent and potentially danger-
ous scene broke out. This, however, did not seem to
be a'learning experience' for the girls concerned,

and in it I felt we saw in fact an example of one of
the extremes of the Individualist school, rather than
a normal operation of freedom: the girls were not
able to cope with their situation (which promised
very serious consequences for at least one of them)
nor with their own reactions to it, and were definite-
ly in need of staff support which was not forthcoming.
Had the philosophy of the school been better under-
stood by staff, the difference between these two cases
might have been detected and acted upon.

As I have mentioned, there were two or three of the
staff who were not wholly in agreement with the Ind-
ividualist position. One of these dissenting staff
had previously been a nurse, another a policewoman,
and both of these had a leaning towards a more highly
structured regime, although in fact their model of
girls was well suited to the Individualist method
(one was the member of staff who applauded the girls
for being 'good cons'). In general, however, the
methods of school D were very appropriate to the
Individualist philosophy. There was a notable ab-
sence of petty rules and restrictions: girls did not
wear any sort of uniform as they did to some degree
in all the other schools, there was no censorship of
of letters, no 'earning' of pocket money by good behav-
iour or rules as to how it should be spent, staff had
no separate dining-room let alone special china and
girls were always welcomed into the staff room.   On

the whole a great deal of trust was put in girls:
I remember one girl being handed a pound note by the
domestic supervisor and asked to go into the town
(five minutes walk) to buy something needed for a
meal, which I found hard to imagine happening in any
of the other schools, although in a family of course
it would be a perfectly normal occurrence. Moreover,
one had the impression that staff genuinely believed
in both the justness and the efficacy of these methods
and were not simply being 'permissive' out of laziness
or trendiness (accusations made of them more than once
by staff in other schools).

One feature of school D which was certainly consistent
with the Individualist paradigm (though not, I think,
confined to it, nor essential to it either) was the
vast amount of discussion which went on among the
staff. In fact, I remarked to the Headmaster near the
end of my stay that there sometimes seemed to be more
discussion than action and he replied that this was
one of the main problems the school had yet to deal
with - how to translate verbal ideas into activities.
A lot of this discussion was in the nature of an
informal 'case conference' on one girl or another,
but often it seemed to be that the staff just enjoyed
talking about girls and their problems as general
topics. Considering the drawbacks of the Individualist
outlook, in particular the shortness of time in which
such a fundamental programme of self-development was

to be carried out, it seemed that school D could indeed, with some reorganisation of its ideas as well as its methods, use that time with more efficiency. But undoubtedly also, the constant airing and probing of girls' problems - stemming both from home and school - was conducive to a deeper understanding by staff and in this way the girls were led to benefit by it.

SCHOOL E

School E was in some ways the archetypal Cultural Maintenance school, but the fact of being run by a religious community gave it a special slant of its own. Over and over again, as we saw in Chapter Four, staff stressed the need for discipline to be imposed from above in order that girls might learn to discipline themselves. The strict and complex system of rules and sanctions, constantly and consistently invoked, was undoubtedly believed to be the mainstay of this process. The school was highly structured in respect of time (bells rang for every change and punctuality was absolute), place (there was a designated time and place for every activity - in some houses there were even permitted and forbidden seating arrangements in the common room during free time), person (staff authority was unquestioned and the staff hierarchy was obvious; there were also girl prefects and monitors for all sorts of purposes) and action (uniform always worn, silence enforced on most occasions, walking in crocodiles with 'guards' of

girls stationed at every doorway, letters restricted
and censored, etc., etc.). Labelling was particularly
strong; for example, when returned from absconding,
girls had their shoes removed and had to wear special
overalls: the purpose of these measures, staff told me,
were as a physical impediment to absconding again while
thus dressed. As this is patently not the case - "a
girl would abscond in a pillow-case if she really
wanted to go " a member of staff at another school
told me - it must have, one supposes, some kind of
symbolic significance which amounts to labelling.

To set against what must appear to be a rather harsh
regime, we have the quality of the religious personnel:
as intended in the use of religious communities for
social and educational work, they were able to give a
great deal more energy, support, patience and so on to
girls than the general run of staff in other schools.
There was no doubt that girls benefitted from this
dedication. However, we have already suggested that
the purpose of this was not necessarily directed en-
tirely at benefitting girls as such, but partly in order
to create a certain kind of place with a reputation as
a loving and caring community. Be that as it may,
there was certainly an outward appearance of resignat-
ion to their lot, if not satisfaction with it, among
the girls, and quite a lot of loyalty to the school.
If rebellious attitudes were present, they did not
often come to the surface - although during the time

of the study (but not while I was present) the girls
did 'go on strike', an event which was quashed by the
prompt expulsion of the 'ringleaders'.

It was suggested in the exposition of the Cultural
Maintenance paradigm that it might refer to an ideal
or 'heavenly' culture rather than an actual earthly
one. I think school B makes such a reference, although
it exists alongside reference to the human culture of
which the school is a part. To the nuns, at least,
saving the girls' souls, teaching them to love God
and getting them into a state of grace (viz. a state
of acceptability to the heavenly society) are undoubted-
ly of more fundamental importance than improving their
social adjustment; although, as one nun pointed out, it
may be necessary to deal with girls' emotional problems
before one can attack the spiritual ones.

SUMMARY

In this chapter we have found that the scheme of para-
digms developed theoretically (although based upon
empirical clues) is adequate for categorising the
different patterns of process found by observation.
School A fits the Primary Social paradigm very well -
but since that paradigm is based least upon theory and
most upon actual findings, this identity must be con-
sidered to be partly analytic. School B cannot be
satisfactorily fitted into any paradigm, not because
it represents a different type, but because of the

conflict and confusion within the school which prevent it maintaining one paradigm or another with total success. School C was quite a good example of a Cultural Maintenance school, although there were signs that it was undergoing some changes. School D was decidedly in the Individualist mould, though its ideas did not appear to be as fully developed as they might be. School E was again a good example of a Cultural Maintenance school, but the fact of being run by a religious Order made it different in some ways from the paradigm.

We now leave for the time being the consideration of school process: Chapter Eight looks at the intake to and outcome from the schools in terms of social adjustment. This enables us to return in Chapter Nine to an analysis of the relation found between process and effects.

CHAPTER EIGHT : EFFECTS

We have now looked in detail at various aspects of
school process, and attempted to assimilate the patt-
erns of process found to certain paradigms of thera-
peutic education. It is now time to consider the
other main part of the study: the assessment of effect-
iveness. This, it will be recalled, was to be measured
by comparing input scores with output on the scales of
social adjustment as defined by the CPI, thus assessing
amounts of change in social adjustment among the var-
ious schools. When we have discerned to what extent
different schools can be accounted responsible for
varying degrees or types of change, we can then ask
what relation these effects may have to the varieties
of school process. This chapter is therefore divided
into two parts:- A: Intake, and B: Outcome.

A : Intake

In Part A, we look first at the total Main Sample I
in terms of demographic and background data. This is
done partly for comparability with other studies of
girls in compulsory care, partly for the later purpose
of comparing schools with each other on this data.
We then examine the CPI scores and compare them with
various other groups tested on the CPI to see whether
in fact the intake to compulsory care can reasonably
be described as relatively low in social adjustment.

Next, we consider all the intake data by schools, in an effort to establish whether all the schools had the same kind of intake or whether, for example, some schools received girls with more background problems which might affect their scores on output. Finally, we look at a few additional analyses of the intake data which are of general interest.

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

(Note: see Appendix Five for full details of figures.) There were 166 girls in Main Sample I and their mean age was 14y.11m. with a standard deviation of 10m. and a range from 11y.5m. to 17y.1m. The official reasons for their committal (according to the principles explained in Appendix Three) were as follows, out of a total of 165 girls on whom this data was available:-

Reason for committal	N	%
Truancy only	44	27
Offences only	30	18
Beyond parental control only	28	17
Moral danger only	7	4
Care and protection only	7	4
Maladjustment only	4	2
Other single reasons	8	5
Truancy plus offences	6	4
Truancy plus beyond control	11	7
Offences plus beyond control	4	2
Other multiple reasons	16	10

TABLE 8.1 : REASONS FOR COMMITTAL

Out of all the 'multiple reasons' cases, 28 included truancy, 20 included beyond parental control and 17 included offences. Thus 72 girls (44%) had truancy as one or the only reason for committal, 48 (29%) had beyond parental control and 47 (28%) had offences. Compared with earlier Scottish figures (see Chapter Two) and with those given by the Cowies, truancy appears to have become a much more important factor in committals - undoubtedly due, at least in part, to the raising of the school-leaving age. Comparably with earlier figures, however, 72% are commited without any reference to offences. On the question of sexual delinquency, if we assume that most of the 'moral danger' cases and some of the Care and Protection and Beyond Parental Control cases (it was certainly a minority of these, as far as was reported) involved sexual delinquency, it still does not have anything like the importance given it by other writers.

When previous records are consulted, we still find that 61% had no official record of offences at all (and it should be remembered that, since the intro- duction of the Children's Hearing system, offences are _more_ likely to have been recorded than under the Court system, since the risk of 'stigma' is supposed to have been diminished). However, 58% had been in trouble for truancy at some time or other and 16% had only _ever_ been in trouble for truancy. Another half-dozen are added to the 'moral danger'

figrues by taking previous record into account, but
again the evidence is all against a predominance of
sexual delinquency.

The great majority of girls - 149 out of the 159 on
whom the relevant data was available - had previously
been before a Children's Hearing (or occasionally the
Courts). Of these, some sort of action had been taken
in 142 cases. Previous treatment was as follows:-

Action	Number (adds up to more than 159)
Supervision (alone or in combination)	87
Residential institution	57
Temporary institution only (e.g. remand home)	11
Out-patient only (e.g. Child Guidance Clinic)	11
No action taken	7
No previous referral	10

TABLE 8.2   PREVIOUS TREATMENT

There was information on the home situation of 165
girls; of these, 55% (91 girls) came from broken homes
and a further 5% (8 girls) from homes that were un-
stable by reason of a parent in prison or in hospital
for a prolonged period and similar conditions. Of
the 91 broken homes, 18 were caused by the death of
one or other parent (in one case of both) and 60 by
desertion, separation or divorce. A further 13 girls

had a step-parent without the reasons for this being recorded. Included in these figures were six girls known to be illegitimate. Psychiatric-type reports (usually from a Child Guidance Clinic) were available on 66 girls: all but seven of these reported 'no formal disturbance'.

CALIFORNIA PSYCHOLOGICAL INVENTORY

The results of the CPI testing on Main Sample I as a whole (n = 166) were as follows:-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm
mean	23.9	18.9	25.6	21.3	13.0	19.8
s.d.	6.6	3.7	4.9	7.6	5.3	3.5

TABLE 8.3   MAIN SAMPLE I ON CPI

The next table shows these figures set against those for the Control Sample (CS) and those for the American sample of female young delinquents (USYD) and high-school girls (USHS):-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	n
MSI	23.9	18.9	25.6	21.3	13.0	19.8	166
CS	26.7	20.2	32.8	22.5	12.4	22.2	190
USYD	25.2	20.8	25.3	19.8	11.4	24.2	25
USHS	34.6	30.0	39.4	27.6	15.7	26.1	4056

TABLE 8.4   MSI, CONTROL AND AMERICAN SAMPLES

The differences between Main Sample I and the Control Sample can be expressed as follows, by using a z(M) test for significance :-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm
z	5.8	3.5	15.4	1.9	1.5	10.0
p<	.002	.002	.002	.1	n/s	.002

TABLE 8.5   MSI AND CONTROL COMPARED

So it looks at first sight as though the List D school sample does differ significantly in social adjustment as defined - except for Good Impression - from the day school sample. The differences between the American Young Delinquents and High School samples are in most cases even larger (see Chapter Two) but it must be remembered that our controls were not a random sample, but in fact were selected in such a way as to make them closer to Main Sample I in cultural terms than a random sample would have been. On the whole, therefore, we can say that low social adjustment is a significant feature of the main sample. This picture of significant difference must be slightly modified, however, when we split the control sample up into the four schools (labelled W, X, Y and Z) of which it was originally composed, as the next table shows :-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	n
schW	28.5	21.5	35.1	24.0	13.7	23.3	50
schX	24.3	18.0	29.9	20.7	12.1	20.9	43
schY	25.6	18.9	31.7	21.4	10.7	21.5	44
schZ	27.8	21.8	33.7	24.1	12.5	22.8	53
Total	26.7	20.2	32.8	22.5	12.4	22.2	190

TABLE 8.6   CONTROL SAMPLE BY SCHOOLS

It is clear that differences between the day schools
are wide, many of them significantly so, and a number
more so than between Main Sample I and the Control
Sample as wholes. If we compare day school X alone
with Main Sample I, for example, we get:-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm
z	0.40	1.59	5.70	0.52	1.11	2.05
p<	n/s	n/s	.002	n/s	n/s	.05

TABLE 8.7   SCHOOL X COMPARED WITH MSI

From this comparison we see that, apart from the scales
of Socialisation and Communality, the List D school
population is not very different in social adjustment
from the population in at least one day school. We
also have to take into account that many of the List D
school girls have been recognised and therefore possibly
'labelled' as having problems, 47% having been known to
social work and other authorities for two years or more
(see Appendix Five). This fact by itself might be
enough to account for some of the differences observed,

though admittedly socialisation seems about the least likely candidate for an effect of labelling. We must conclude from Table 8.7 that List D school girls are not the only group who have a low level of social adjustment; nevertheless, we have support for the idea that if the main goal of the schools is to raise social adjustment, then at least this goal is relevant to the needs of the girls who are sent there. We may characterise our input sample, then, as girls who are low in social adjustment compared to others of similar cultural background and who have further been judged as in need of compulsory care.

INTAKE BY SCHOOLS

In the next analysis, we split up the data of the foregoing sections into the separate List D schools. In this way, we can discover whether the intake to each school was similar in terms of demographic data and CPI scores. Mean ages in each school were as follows :-

	Mean Age	N
schA	14y.6m.	27
schB	14y.6m.	26
schC	15y.5m.	25
schD	15y.8m.	27
schE	14y.9m.	61
Total	14y.11m.	166

Range: 11y.5m. - 17y. 1m.

TABLE 8.8   MEAN AGES IN SCHOOLS

It was confirmed, therefore, that schools C and D took
girls somewhat older on average than those of schools
A and B. (School E had a wider age range than the
smaller schools, from 11y.6m. to 16y.9m.)

Reasons for committal involving truancy, offences and
beyond parental control were analysed by school. Fig-
ures below are given as a percentage of the intake to
that school :-

school	% involving truancy	% involving offences	% involving BPC
A	56	26	15
B	31	35	23
C	36	24	36
D	59	22	18
E	39	30	38

TABLE 8.9   REASONS FOR COMMITTAL BY SCHOOL

It is clear from this table that schools A and D have a
larger percentage of truants and a correspondingly
smaller percentage of offenders and beyond parental
control cases than the other schools (though C also
has relatively few offenders). It might be wise,
therefore, to enquire in the next section whether this
finding has any association with the output figures:
for example, if a school with more truants has a better
record, is it in fact because the truants have a better
response to the treatment ? Previous treatment and
the incidence of broken homes did not vary significant-
ly among schools.

The results of the CPI in the various schools are
given in Table 8.10 :-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	n
A	23.9	18.9	25.7	21.5	13.4	19.3	27
B	24.4	19.2	26.0	23.3	13.8	20.0	26
C	24.6	19.1	25.2	23.2	14.1	19.6	25
D	21.2*	18.4	24.6	19.9	12.1	19.5	27
E	24.5	18.9	25.6	20.2	12.4	20.2	61
All	23.9	18.9	25.6	21.3	13.0	19.8	166
s.d.	6.6	3.7	4.9	7.6	5.3	3.5	

TABLE 8.10   CPI SCORES BY SCHOOLS

According to $z(M)$ tests, the only score on any scale
in which one school differed significantly from the
others was that marked with an asterisk: school D on
Well-being. Since out of thirty results we might
expect one such difference to arise by chance anyway,
we may safely conclude that the schools received
similar intakes in terms of social adjustment as oper-
ationally defined. When we come to look at output
scores, therefore, we can assume that any differences
found between schools need not be attributed to diff-
erential intakes in this respect.

FURTHER ANALYSIS

Some other calculations were carried out on the fig-
ures presented here which gave results of interest.
Tables are presented in Appendix Five to show, for

example, the results of χ^2 tests on level of CPI scores on each scale against the fact of coming from a broken home. Only one significant (p< .01) association was found: between a broken home and a low score on Socialisation. Whether broken homes are responsible for low socialisation, of course, we cannot say on this evidence alone.

A similar analysis showed an association between committal for truancy (both on this occasion, and only ever having been involved in truancy) and high - that is, high relative to the List D school sample - scores on Responsibility, Socialisation and Self-control; in other words, the truants seemed to be better adjusted than the non-truanting List D school girls. Analysis of offenders (any time) versus non-offenders on all scales showed no significant differences; that is, there was no scale on which offenders tended to score either lower or higher than non-offenders. There was a slight tendency (p< .05) for girls with previous residential experience to score lower than others on Well-being and Self-control.

To summarise the picture given in this section, we might say that on the whole we do seem to have a fairly homogeneous group of girls who can be classed as relatively low in social adjustment. The most important exception seems to be that on half the scales the truants score significantly higher than the others.

However, although schools A and D had a larger proportion of truants, these two schools did not have higher scores on average than the others, so perhaps not too much need be made of this point as far as an initial comparison between the schools is concerned.

B : Outcome

In this section we take an overview of the effects of residence in the schools on CPI scores, analysed in various ways. In Chapter Nine we shall return to the figures on output in order to consider the relation between the two major concerns of the study: the incidence of change and the nature of the change-directed process.

It has already been noted that whereas 166 girls were originally tested in the research, only 115 were available for re-testing after the six-month period in the schools. It was therefore necessary to determine whether the sample re-tested (MSII) was in fact representative of the whole or whether there was some systematic bias shown by those who left early, either in general, or in particular schools. A comparison between the original scores of those who left early (or were otherwise unable to be re-tested - although this constituted only a small minority of that class/

and the scores of those who stayed showed a signif-
icant difference in only one case out of the thirty
possible comparisons. In that instance, the girls
lost from school B had significantly higher $(p < .05)$
initial scores on the scale of Communality than did
those who were re-tested. In school D, however,
which had the highest wastage rates, none of the diff-
erences between the two groups approached significance
on any scale. Thus we can reasonably discount any
bias due to loss between MSI and MSII.

Before coming on to the question whether different
schools had differential effects upon the girls –
the main subject of study in this section – we shall
look at two subsidiary questions, the first of which
is whether any characteristics of the girls them-
selves were related to differential change in CPI
scores.

BY GIRLS

The first comparison made was simply between the
tow sets of scores – those of Main Sample I and
those of Main Sample II. The scores achieved on
the first administration (MSI) had been classified
on each scale as 'high scores', 'medium scores'
and 'low scores'; the two points of division
were one standard deviation above and below the mean

of that scale for the total sample. On the second

administration (MSII) girls were divided into 'imp-

rovers', 'non-changers' and 'deteriorators' according

to whether they had sustained a significant improvement

or deterioration in score compared with their MSI score.

A significant change was defined as a change through

one standard deviation or more from the previous score

(the standard deviation being taken from the original

MSI figures).

For example, the original mean and standard deviation

for the scale of Well-being were 23.9 and 6.6 respect-

ively. Subject number (13) scored 26 for Well-being

on the first administration, 33 on the second: she was

therefore classified as a 'medium scorer, significant

improver' on Well-being. Subject (16) scored 32 on the

first, 23 on the second and was classified as a 'high

scorer, significant deteriorator'. First and second

scores were then compared as groups on the basis of

these classification: the only result found was that

high scores tended to deteriorate while low scores

tended to improve. On the scale of Well-being, for

example, out of 17 improvers, five had originally been

'low scorers' while only one had been a 'high scorer';

but out of 15 deteriorators, none had previously been

low scorers whereas five had been high. The pattern

was similar on all scales. One could label this phen-

omenon 'regression to the mean' but in fact the size

of the standard deviation in the second testing was

very little different from that in the first - suggesting
that there was greater deviation among the 'medium
scores', thus outweighing the centring tendency of the
extremes. It is difficult to know what interpretation
to put on this finding. It should also be pointed out
that the only scale in which any girls originally scored
in the top 10% of possible marks was Communality
(which, as we shall see, sustained most change anyway),
so the reason cannot in general be that there was
'nowhere for improvers to go'. There were a few very
low initial scores on Good Impression, but otherwise
the same is true for the downward direction.

Comparison of the changes in CPI scores with various
other characteristics such as previous residential
experience, broken homes and the like revealed no
useful information, except in a negative sense. For
example, it might have been conjectured that those
with previous institutional experience would be less
subject to change from the present experience than
those without. A χ^2 test was therefore carried out
in which girls were divided on one axis into those
with and without previous residential experience, and
on the other into those who sustained only improvements
(of one standard deviation or more) on any scale, those
who sustained only deteriorations, and those who had
neither or a mixture of both. The figures in each cell
were almost exactly the expected numbers; that is,
previous institutional experience did not appear to be

associated with likelihood of general change in one direction or another. The results were similar for all the other characteristics tested, including the question raised earlier as to whether truants would do better than those committed for other reasons: there was no association between committal for truancy and improvement on the CPI. We may thus assume that if one school is found to have more improvers than another, this is not - as far as we can tell - due to differences in intake. (Tables for these findings are in Appendix Five.)

So far as our data and concepts go, therefore, it is not possible to say that a certain 'type' of girl (girl with certain tested characteristics, or with a certain level of previous scores) is likely to change in any particular direction. Moreover, the total number of improvers on all scales was 94, of deteriorators 90 and of non-changers 506 (total 690 = 115 re-tested x 6 scales) which does not, to say the least, suggest that any radical overall adjustments had been taking place. There was a slight tendency for a girl who improved on one scale to improve on others also, but this seemed to be connected with the fact that low scores and high scores originally tended to cluster in certain individuals. This gave rise to some examples of striking overall improvement (or deterioration) the validity of which could be informally borne out by observation, but these were isolated cases and appeared to have very little in common.

In case the method of evaluating change had been too
stringent, a second set of tests was carried out on the
figures, in which changes were taken as half a standard
deviation instead of one standard deviation. However,
although this lower standard of adjustment made numbers
more equal (that is to say, various grouping were
usually divided fairly equally into improvers, non-
changers and deteriorators) it did not produce results
of any greater significance or interest, except in one
instance of division into schools - which will be
discussed in the third section (Table 8.13(b)).

BY SCALES

Let us move on, therefore, to the second subsidiary
question: whether some scales gave rise to more pro-
nounced changes than others. Classifying again by
improvers/non-changers/deteriorators, we have the
following table:-

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	Total	(E)
Improvers	17	23	17	10	7	20	94	16
Non-ch'rs	83	73	78	91	96	85	506	84
Deterior'rs	15	19	20	14	12	10	90	15
Total	115	115	115	115	115	115	690	115

TABLE 8.11   CHANGE BY SCALES

Applying a χ^2 test to this table we find that $\chi^2 = 20.20$
(DOF = 10, $p < .05$) so the assymetry is significant. Its
principal features seem to be that Good Impression is

altered in few cases (it will be recalled that Good
Impression was not significantly different from the
control group to start with) while Responsibility is
more unstable than would be expected by chance, but
not in one direction more than the other. Most inter-
esting from our point of view, however, is the fact
that there were more improvements than deteriorations
- compared with the expected numbers (E) - in Commun-
ality, a finding to which we shall be returning later
on. Apart from improvements in Communality, however,
the main conclusion on this showing must be that the
CPI proved - on this gross view at least - to be a
rather disappointing instrument for measuring the sort
of changes we hoped to find, or that only minor changes
were indeed there to be found.

BY SCHOOLS

We turn finally to the classification by schools.
Here two methods were used; the first - Method (i) -
depended as already explained on the numbers of
improvers, non-changers and deteriorators. This method,
lending itself well to χ^2 tests, is most useful for
determining whether results are distributed unequally
among the schools. Method (ii) took the mean change
score for the school as a whole on a particular scale,
regardless of whether the change scores of individual
girls were significant by the first criterion. In
tests of significance this total mean score was com-
pared with zero, the supposed 'no change' score; a

z(M) test was therefore appropriate. This method was
thus the more useful for determining the overall sig-
nificance level of the results for each individual
school on each scale.

Method (i). The complete table for the results by
method (i) is shown in Table 8.12 below.

		Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	Total
I m p r o v e r s	A	5	4	2	3	3	2	19
	B	1	2	2	0	0	4	9
	C	2	3	6	1	0	5	17
	D	3	2	0	1	1	2	9
	E	6	12	7	5	3	7	40
	Tot	17	23	17	10	7	20	94
N o n - c h a n g e r s	A	16	17	19	20	18	19	109
	B	11	10	8	14	13	10	66
	C	17	15	10	15	20	15	92
	D	7	8	9	9	9	7	49
	E	32	23	32	33	36	34	190
	Tot	83	73	78	91	96	85	506
D e t e r i o r a t o r s	A	3	3	3	1	3	3	16
	B	4	4	6	2	3	2	21
	C	3	4	6	6	2	2	23
	D	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
	E	5	8	4	5	4	2	28
	Tot	15	19	20	14	12	10	90

(Numbers in each school: A B C D E Tot
24 16 22 10 43 115

TABLE 8.12   CHANGE BY SCALES AND SCHOOLS

8 : 19

It is fairly clear from this table that the overall result was again largely one of 'no change'. We have already seen how these results were distributed among the scales; there is also a certain amount of assymetry among the schools. Condensing the table above to show schools against the three possible types of result, we have the following table :-

School	A	B	C	D	E	TOTAL
Improvers	19	9	17	9	40	94
Non-changers	109	66	92	49	190	506
Deteriorators	16	21	23	2	28	90
Total	144	96	132	60	258	690

TABLE 8.13(a)   CHANGE OF ONE S.D. BY SCHOOLS

Here χ^2 = 17.62 with eight degrees of freedom, so this is significant at the .05 level, though this must be qualified by the fact that the small numbers in school D cast a modicum of doubt upon the validity of the test. The chief factors in producing the assymetry here are that school B has fewer improvers and more deteriorators than the expected numbers, while school D has the reverse; school E also has a slight preponderance of improvers. Table 8.13(b) shows the results of the same test but using the criterion of half a standard deviation instead of one.

School	A	B	C	D	F	TOTAL
Improvers	55	24	42	17	83	221
Non-changers	57	32	45	26	111	271
Deteriorators	32	40	45	17	64	198
Total	144	96	132	60	258	690

TABLE 8.13(b)   CHANGE OF $\frac{1}{2}$ S.D. BY SCHOOLS

This disposes of the problem of small numbers in the cells, but presents us with a slightly different picture of results. The assymetry is again significant (χ^2 = 15.98, p < .05) but this time it is mainly accounted for by school A's large number of improvers, while school D contributes nothing; however, school B still shows an unexpectedly small number of improvers, in keeping with the previous figures.

An attempt was made to compare the effectiveness of the individual schools on individual scales; however, numbers were usually too small to allow valid comparisons. But even had this not been so, none of the tables for particular scales gave results even at the 0.1 level. Again the conclusion must be that either all the schools produced rather similar effects of little change in any direction, or that larger changes which did take place were not picked up by the instruments. What we may look out for are possible pointers to why school A (and to a lesser extent schools D and F) seems to be responsible for a comparatively large

number of the improvements that have been found,
school B has decidedly more than its fair share of
deteriorations, while school C seems to have had
little effect either way.

Method (ii). The second method of assessing results
was to calculate the mean change score for each school
on each scale. This produced the following table :-

school	A	B	C	D	E	Total
Wb	+1.25	-1.94	-0.23	+1.50	+0.58	+0.30
Re	-0.04	-1.38	+0.45	+0.20	+0.70	+0.17
So	+1.21	-1.38	-0.73	-0.40	+0.63	+0.12
Sc	+1.38	-2.38	-2.68*	+1.60	-0.21	-0.50
Gi	+0.79	-1.94	-1.46	-0.60	+0.02	-0.43
Cm	+0.58	+0.75	+1.23*	+0.10	+1.05*	+0.86†
Total	+0.86†	-1.38†	-0.57	+0.40	+0.46	----
N	24	16	22	10	43	115

TABLE 8.14   MEAN CHANGE BY SCALES AND SCHOOLS

The first question to be asked is whether any of the
individual mean change scores here differ significantly
from zero - the theoretical point of 'no change'.   Cal-
culations to this end were made using the standard
deviations of the total original sample in z(M) tests.
The only significant individual results (p ≤ 0.1 -
none reached the .05 level) on this basis were those
marked with an asterisk in the table above; significant

positive changes on Communality for school E and C
and a significant negative change on Self-control for
school C. Taking the total sample of 115 girls re-
tested, there was a significant improvement in Commun-
ality overall ($z = 2.62$, $p < .01$) but none of the other
aggregate means came anywhere near significance. This
is thus very close to the picture we had on method (i).
The bulk of the improvement in Communality was contrib-
uted by school C and E – this point will be developed
also at a later stage.

Taking each school separately on the aggregate of
scales (though strictly speaking, since each scale is
designed as a separate entity, one can only do this on
the unproven assumption that there 'really' is such a
thing as social adjustment which comprises all six
scales) we can calculate a total mean change for each
school. Taking a notional figure of 5 for the stand-
ard deviation of the six scales combined would give us
for school A an overall improvement ($z \simeq 2.0$, $p < .05$)
and for school B an overall deterioration ($z \simeq 2.7$,
$p < .01$); the other schools do not differ substantially
from zero. These changes are marked with a dagger in
the   table above.

SUMMARY OF CHANGE

Putting together the results obtained from all the
methods of assessment, we may express the main con-
clusions (subject to the several reservations already

mentioned) in the following form :-

	A	B	C	D	E	Total
Wb	Trend to improvement	Trend to deterioration		Trend to improvement		No overall change
Re		Trend to deterioration				Change indeterminate
So	Trend to improvement	Trend to deterioration				No overall change
Sc	Trend to improvement	Trend to deterioration	Significant deterioration	Trend to improvement		General absence of improvement
Gi		Trend to deterioration	Trend to deterioration			No overall change
Cm			Significant improvement		Significant improvement	General improvement
To	Overall improvement (means)	Overall deterioration (means & numbers)	Changes cancel out (?)	Overall improvement (numbers)	Minor improvement (means & numbers)	Changes tend to cancel out (?)

TABLE 8.15   SUMMARY OF CHANGE

(Note: 'trend' is not used here as a technical term –
it simply sums up the various findings which, while
not necessarily significant in themselves, suggest a
movement in one direction or the other when taken
together.)

The impression gained from all the evidence we have
considered indicates that A is the most successful
school in these terms, with D and E having a slight

positive effect, C both positive and negative, and B almost entirely negative. It should be remembered again that all schools started off with groups of girls having no distinguishing marks either on CPI scores or on demographic features, except to some extent reason for committal (and this we have found not to be assoc- iated with differential effect) and also of course the age differences - but the mean ages of schools A and B were precisely the same. It is interesting to note that in the Cowies' (1968) study also, "the nature of the result does not seem to be related to the nature of the intake. This suggests that the decisive factor lay in the different approach and methods of training in use at the different schools" (p). In the foll- owing section, we look at the possible influence of age upon the results.

AGE TREND

One main reason for having the Control Sample, it will be recalled, was to see if there was evidence of an age-trend which might suggest that improvements were not necessarily due to residence in the schools but simply to being six months older. A certain age- related pattern was found in the Control Sample, but it was not - as might reasonably have been expected - one of continuous improvement. As the table and graph below illustrate, there was a drop on all scales down to age-group 3 (13y.7m. - 14y.0m.) a rise up again through age-group 4 to age-group 5 (14.7 -15.0) and

then down again to age-group 6 (15.1 - 15.6) except
for Well-being and Communality which continued to
rise. Most of this variation was significant from
one age-group to the next, but whether it was due to
some peculiarity in the sample could not be ascer-
tained (tests suggested that it was not due to uneven
age representation among the schools). Since there
was no continuous trend, therefore, it would not be
wise to attribute change simply to increase in age.

Age-group	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	N
1	29.1	22.5	33.9	23.9	13.0	22.5	15
2	28.4	20.7	33.9	23.8	13.9	22.7	37
3	24.0	18.2	31.0	20.0	11.1	20.9	43
4	25.6	19.4	31.6	22.1	12.5	21.3	32
5	26.0	20.9	33.6	24.1	12.6	22.5	27
6	27.3	20.7	33.0	22.3	11.5	23.2	22
7	29.5	21.5	34.6	23.9	11.8	24.3	14

(Age-group 1 = 12y.7m. - 13y.0m.
          2 = 13.1 -13.6
          3 = 13.7 -14.0
          4 = 14.1 -14.6
          5 = 14.7 -15.0
          6 = 15.1 -15.6
          7 = 15.7 -16.0

TABLE 8.16(a)   CONTROL SAMPLE BY AGE GROUP

TABLE 8.16(b)

CONTROL BY
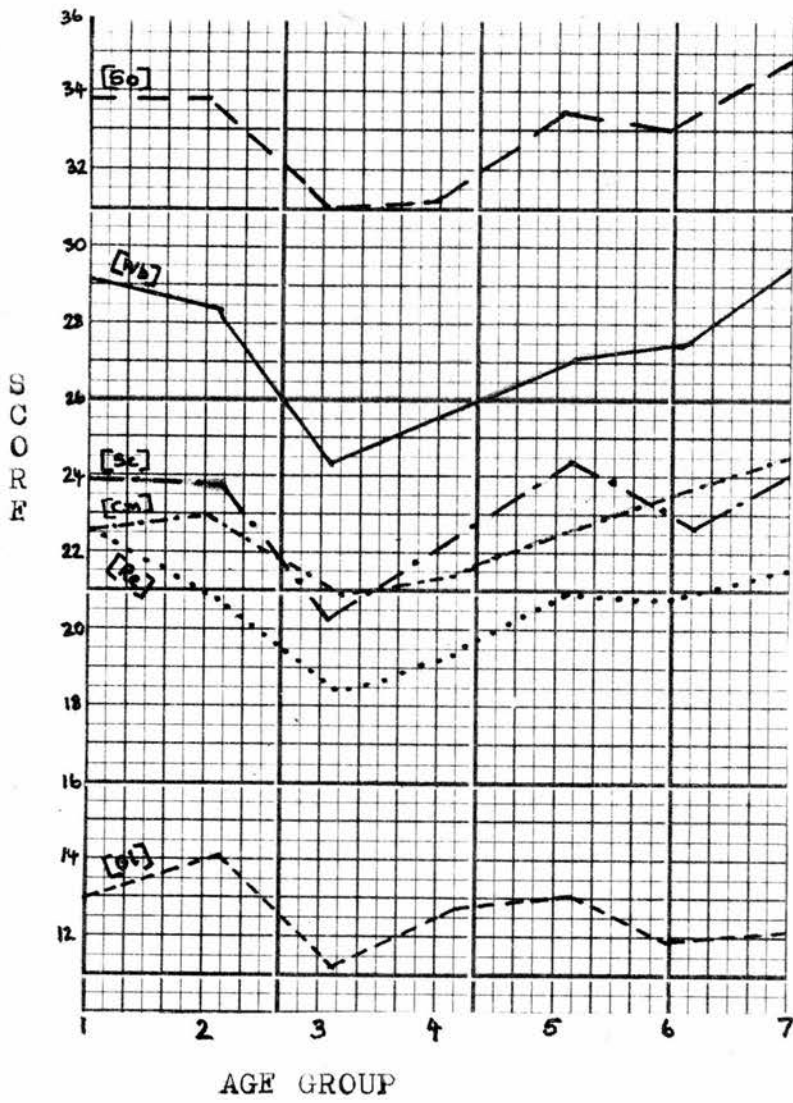
AGE GROUP

TABLE 8.17(b)

MSI BY AGE

GROUP

8 : 27
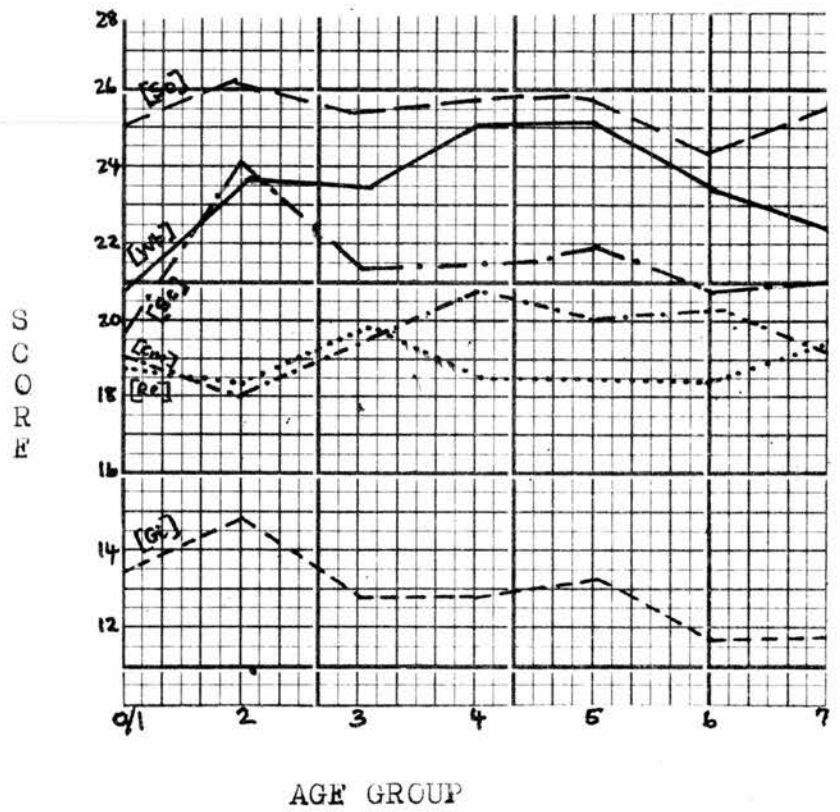
However, we may still enquire whether the Main Sample displayed a similar pattern of variation either on the initial testing or in degrees of change. On the original testing (Table 8.17(a)) there were some significant differences between one age-group and another - although not so many as in the Control Sample - but these did not have the same pattern as found in the Control Sample; in fact, on some scales it was more or less the reverse of that pattern (Table 17(b) on the previous page). This makes any conclusions about the influence of age even more difficult to draw.

Age-group	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm	N
0/1	20.7	18.8	25.2	19.0	13.4	19.0	18
2	23.8	18.4	26.1	24.1	14.8	18.2	13
3	23.4	19.9	25.6	21.2	12.9	19.8	17
4	25.2	18.7	25.9	21.5	12.9	20.9	37
5	25.0	18.6	25.7	22.0	13.3	20.3	40
6	23.4	18.5	24.4	20.8	12.0	20.4	32
7/8	22.4	19.6	25.7	21.0	12.0	19.3	9

TABLE 8.17(a)   MAIN SAMPLE I BY AGE GROUP

On the question of mean changes in each age-group, however, (Table 8.18) the picture is quite clear: even though the direction of change appears to be similar to that found in the Control Sample (for example, those initially in Age-group 4, who would therefore be in Age-group 5 at the time of re-testing,

sustain a positive mean change of 0.45) none of the
figures involved remotely approaches significance.
At no age, that is to say, could one predict from these
figures that a girl is likely to make a significant
improvement or deterioration in the course of six
months. Once again, therefore, we must conclude that
the main factor in accounting for change in girls'
scores over time is apparently not their age itself,
nor the change in age, or any other background factor,
but the fact of residence in a particular school -
the latter being the only variable tested in which
significant differences have been found, few though
they were.

Age group	Total mean change	N
0/1	-0.83	5
2	-0.75	10
3	+0.03	11
4	+0.45	10
5	0	29
6	+0.23	33
7+	-0.14	17

(z < 1 in every case)

N.B. It was thought permissible to take a total
mean change score here, since in the Control
Sample the change in each scale appeared at
precisely the same age in almost every case.

TABLE 8.18   TOTAL MEAN CHANGE BY AGE GROUP

Summary of effects

Although intake to each school was very similar in
terms both of CPI scores and of background factors,
the total intake differed significantly from the control
group on the CPI. However, it was only upon the scales
of Socialisation and Communality that the List D school
intake differed significantly from the lowest-scoring
of the day schools.

Neither age-trend nor background factors could be said
to account satisfactorily for the differences in imp-
rovement (small though these were) between one school
and another. Thus it was concluded that the school
itself could reasonably be argued to be an important
influence in those differential changes. The CPI
scale on which the highest level of improvement was
sustained was that of Communality.

These findings will be taken up in conjunction with
the findings on schools in the two chapters which
follow.

CHAPTER NINE : PROCESS AND EFFECT

The hope was expressed in Chapter Two that the partic-
ular approach adopted by this research - that of locating
the assessment both of process and of effectiveness
within the concept of social adjustment, and of looking
at the relation between process and effect from the
theoretical as well as the empirical angle - would
enable us both to establish and to understand some
relationships which might otherwise have been obscure.
In the present chapter, we consider to what extent
this hope has been realised.

In Chapter Four, we found both observation and object-
ive measurement suggest that while all the schools
were ostensibly more concerned with social adjustment
than with static goals, or even with training needs,
in practice there were considerable variations of
emphasis between one school and another. Thus, in
Chapter Five, with the additional evidence of the
Social Climate Questionnaire, we condensed the differ-
ent selections of model, goal and method into patterns
of process. We then turned in Chapter Six to the
theoretical part of the study: from the starting point
of relative values assigned to the individual, to
primary relationships and to the cultural whole as
lying behind the different attitudes to 'social ad-
justment', we proceeded to an extrapolated description
of three paradigms of therapeutic education, with

particular reference to delinquent girls. In Chapter
Seven it was argued that the schools in our study
could usefully be seen as representatives of those
paradigms. Finally, in Chapter Eight we found that
while the intake to our five schools was very similar,
there were some significant variations in outcome
which could not be accounted for in any of the ways
considered, except by postulating differential effect-
iveness of the schools. The evidence for this differ-
ential effect was small, but when taken all together
there seemed to be a discernible tendency, in the first
place for some schools to have an overall more benefic-
ial effect than others, and in the second place for
some schools to do especially well in some particular
spheres.

At the point we have now reached, therefore, we wish
to consider to what extent the paradigms developed in
Chapter Six and the assimilation of our schools to them
in Chapter Seven, help us to understand the differences
in effectiveness discovered in Chapter Eight. First
of all, however, we look at the relationships between
social climate and effectiveness as defined.

A : Social Climate and CPI change

Here we present the results of the Social Climate
Questionnaire against the results in CPI (social ad-
justment) improvement, arranged first of all as rank
correlations.

There are five schools in our study, and five is the smallest possible number for obtaining significance in rank correlations (Spearman). With five items to be ranked, we can achieve the following levels of significance :-

<div>

perfect correlation   : $p < .05$

one tie only   : $p = .05$

one place out   : $p < .1$

one place out and
        one tie   : $p = .1$

</div>

Since this is the best we can do with only five items, all other correlations being below this level, I believe it will be worth quoting the findings in which the level of significance reaches .1, even though this is not normally an acceptable definition of 'significant'. The analysis is performed on abstracts from the tables already quoted as 5.2 and 8.14.

	Satis	Behav	Suppt	Frien	Work	Strict
A	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	1	1	1	3
B	5	5	5	5	5	4
C	4	4	3	4	3	1
D	$1\frac{1}{2}$	2	4	2	4	5
E	3	3	2	3	2	2

TABLE 9.1   RANKING OF SCQ SCORES BY SCHOOLS

	Wb	Re	So	Sc	Gi	Cm
A	2	4	1	2	1	4
B	5	5	5	4	5	3
C	4	2	4	5	4	1
D	1	3	3	1	3	5
E	3	1	2	3	2	2

TABLE 9.2   RANKING OF CPI MEAN CHANGES BY SCHOOLS

There are no perfect correlations between any pair of
rankings on the two tables. The best result is the
correlation between Satisfaction and Well-being which,
having one tie only, gives a level at which p = .05.
There are nine correlations at the p < .1 level: Strict-
ness with Communality, and the four remaining SCQ
scales each with both Socialisation and Good Impression.
There is one where p = .1 : Satisfaction with Self-
control. All scales are therefore involved in one
correlation or another except Responsibility which has
no close direct relationship to any other scale on its
own or the opposite table. The general conclusions
from these figures may be expressed as follows.

(i) The higher the satisfaction felt within the school,
     the more the sense of personal well-being tends
     to improve.

This finding is cloely allied to that of the Dartington
study (Millham 1975) in which the few significant
correlations which were found, were mainly in the area
associating enjoyment of the time spent at the school
with absence of reconviction or recommittal after rel-
ease. One explanation of our own finding could be,
since the output measurement was taken while girls
were in fact still at the school, simply that a school
which provided a happy and satisfying experience imp-
roved the sense of well-being at the time - which is
virtually an analytic statement - but that this would

not determine whether an increase in the sense of personal worth, freedom from anxiety and so on would have any permanence once the school had been left behind. The effect, in other words, might be lost as soon as the subject returned to the circumstances which had presumably lowered the sense of well-being in the first place.

On the other hand, we have seen that in several schools staff emphasised the importance of providing a good experience of substitute home and school life for girls, on the grounds that the memory and lessons of this experience could be called upon in later life when needed. There may well be a difference between a period at a holiday camp and a period spent in a happy and caring List D school, in the sense that the latter is perceived not merely as pleasant, but as worthwhile (which was indeed the tenor of the statements in the SCQ Satisfaction scale). It is significant that the ranking of schools on Satisfaction corresponded closely to their rankings both on friendliness among the girls and on high standards of behaviour. These findings suggest that a well-run, consistent and caring school which provides an experience perceived as satisfying, worthwhile and not unpleasant may indeed bring about more than merely transient changes in girls' attitudes to others, especially in the sense that their future expectations of adults and other girls will be higher and warmer, simply because

they have had experience of such warmth at least once in their lives. Thus a girl's sense of well-being, in the aspects of feeling herself to be a worthwhile and lovable person - because that is how she has been treated - may also undergo a more permanent alteration.

(ii) The stricter the school, the greater the tendency to an increase in communality.

This finding is particularly interesting when the negative evidence is considered also, viz. that strictness was not remotely related to any other measurement of effect: its sole association was with an increase in Communality on the CPI. It was not related, as might perhaps have been expected, to a perception of high standards of work or behaviour within the school. We may express this by saying that, if we accept this evidence, strictness apparently gives rise merely to an expressed conformity of attitudes which, however, may or may not result in more acceptable behaviour. Again, conclusions are constrained by the fact that the CPI output was measured while girls were still at the school: it could therefore be said that the communality of attitudes was the immediate result of a strict regime which produced conforming behaviour but would not necessarily be expected to persist when that regime was no longer operative. On the other hand, one might reasonably argue that a strict regime would be more likely to produce conformity of behaviour within the

school - with which it is <u>not</u> correlated - than communality of attitudes with which it apparently is correlated. There may be, therefore, some truth in the assertion that the meaning behind a code of strictness - the belief in the necessity of social conformity for successful social living (though here we anticipate the section on paradigms and effects) - has an effect upon more deep-seated attitudes where actual behaviour may, as it were, take time to 'catch up'.

(iii)   A tendency towards increased socialisation and 'good impression' seems to be achieved where levels of behaviour and work, staff support and girl friendliness are all relatively high.

This is, it must be admitted, rather a vague finding, suggesting that the real association is not between these scales as such, but between the CPI results and a more general characteristic of schools which produces all the features found in the SCQ. We therefore postpone discussion of this finding to the section that deals with the paradigms.

(iv)   Increase in responsibility does not seem to be related to any of the aspects measured, and self-control has no connexion except with satisfaction.

This is, of course, a purely negative finding, its main interest being in the fact that, the claims of some schools notwithstanding, strictness in particular does

not appear to lead via external discipline to self-discipline - although, as we have seen, strictness may have other effects. The relationship between self-control and satisfaction does not seem to admit of a satisfactory interpretation as far as our findings go.

A second method of correlating the SCQ scores to CPI change was attempted, but the results were less easy to interpret. This method consisted of dividing girls into 'improvers', 'non-changers' and 'deteriorators' on each CPI scale in the manner previously described. Schools were divided into low scorers, medium scorers and high scorers on each CSQ scale, according to whether or not they were within half a standard deviation of the mean score for that scale (neither using one standard deviation, nor using median scores, proved as satisfactory in dividing schools evenly). Schools were then tabulated against girls, using a χ^2 test. On the thirty-six tables thus obtained (six SCQ scales x six CPI scales) the most significant results were as follows :-

(i) The relation between Socialisation and Behaviour was significant at the level $p < .05$. The main feature which accounted for this significance was that the schools low on Behaviour (viz. schools B and C) produced a disproportionate number of deteriorators. However, the schools high on Behaviour did <u>not</u> produce more improvers than the expected number.

Socialisation

		Imprvrs.	Non-chrs.	Detrs.	Total
B e h a v i o u r	High (A)	2	19	3	24
	Medium (D & E)	7	41	5	53
	Low (B & C)	8	18	(12)	38
	Total	17	78	20	115

DOF = 4 $\qquad$ $\chi^2 = 11.96$ $\qquad$ $p < .05$

(ii) The relation between Socialisation and Friend-
liness was significant at the .05 level and the same
feature - disproportionate number of deteriorators in
low-scoring schools - was prominent as in the previous
relation.

Socialisation

		Imprvrs.	Non-chrs.	Detrs.	Total
F r i e n d l i n e s s	High (A & D)	2	28	4	34
	Medium (E)	7	32	4	43
	Low (B & C)	8	18	(12)	38
	Total	17	78	20	115

DOF = 4 $\qquad$ $\chi^2 = 13.18$ $\qquad$ $p < .05$

(iii) In the table relating Socialisation to Work,
however, which was also significant at the .05 level,
the lowest schools (B and D) had more deteriorators

than expected, but the highest schools (A and E) also
had more deteriorators (though not more improvers).

Socialisation

		Imprvrs.	Non-chrs.	Detrs.	Total
W	High (A & E)	9	51	(7)	67
o	Medium (C)	6	10	6	22
r	Low (B & D)	2	17	(7)	26
k	Total	17	78	20	115

DOF = 4 χ^2 = 10.23 p $<$ .05

None of the other tables reached acceptable levels of
significance, but there was a tendency throughout for
a disproportionate number of deteriorators to be con-
tributed by schools scoring low on various SCQ scales.
The somewhat negative conclusion from these findings
must be that whereas schools with a favourable social
climate are not shown to do much more than maintain
the status quo, schools with an unfavourable climate
in one or more aspects tend to be detrimental to the
social adjustment of the subjects. Socialisation
appears to be the factor which is most influenced
in this way, and some support is given for the idea
that a regime which is structured enough to be able
achieve high levels of work and of good behaviour,
and which also promotes friendliness among the inmates,
can be instrumental at least in maintaining levels of
socialisation.

Having looked at the statistical correlations between school climate as measured by the SCQ and the effects on girls as measured by the CPI, we turn now to the relation between the former and the specific types of school as exemplified in our three paradigms of therapeutic education. Following that, we shall consider the relation between types of school and effects on social adjustment.

B : Type of school and social climate

Accordming to the analysis of schools in terms of paradigms presented in Chapter Seven, we may label our five schools as follows :-

A: Primary Social type

B: Inconsistent, unstable school, possibly with Cultural Maintenance leanings

C: Cultural Maintenance type, fairly pure but not entirely stable

D: Individualist type, though not fully developed

E: Cultural Maintenance type, stable but modified by religious aspects.

Now since we have only three types of school, we cannot obtain the acceptably significant correlations found in Part A; nevertheless, it is instructive to consider informally the ranking of the three types of school on the social climate scales.

If we omit school B altogether for the time being as an inconsistent or mixed type, and put the results for

C and E together as both being Cultural Maintenance
type schools, we have the following results for ranking
on the SCQ :-

	Satis	Behav	Suppt	Frien	Work	Str
Indiv.	1½	2	3	2	3	3
Cul. Mce.	3	3	2	3	2	1
Pr. Soc.	1½	1	1	1	1	2

In other words, the Individualist and Primary Social
schools are more satisfying, better behaved and friend-
lier (Primary Social having the edge on the last two
qualities over Individualist) than the Cultural Main-
tenance schools. The Cultural Maintenance schools are
strictest, followed by Primary Social, with the Indiv-
idualist school most 'permissive'. Staff support and
work levels are highest in the Primary Social school,
second in the Cultural Maintenance, lowest in the
Individualist.

Nothing in these results, I would argue, contradicts
what would be predicted from the paradigms. Virtually
by definition, the Cultural Maintenance school should
be the strictest and the Individualist school the most
permissive, which is precisely what we find. Staff
support should presumably be highest in the Primary
Social school because of the importance of solid rel-
ationships, but lowest in the Individualist because
the girls are there to be their own agents of education

and to learn their own lessons; again the table supports this. We would probably expect the Primary Social school to be most friendly for a similar reason, but the position of the other two types would be undetermined on this scale. Again we might expect work level to be lowest in the Individualist school (since conventional learning of facts and skills would concern them less) without the other two being defined, though perhaps the Cultural Maintenance school ought to do better here in theory than the Primary Social school. We have suggested already that the Individualist and Primary Social schools are likely to be experienced as more satisfying, at least partly due to the effects of labelling in the Cultural Maintenance schools, though that doesn't explain why they should induce better behaviour also. At the least, therefore, we can say that the analysis of the paradigms is not inconsistent with the results of the Social Climate Questionnaire.

Here it is also interesting to contrast our findings with those of Street, Vinter and Perrow (1966) in which, although school styles were found to be strikingly different, the boys' perceptions on such matters as strictness and staff support were fairly alike from one school to another. However, a possible interpretation of this finding is that the design of their questionnaire tended to ask boys whether, for example, the staff were "too strict" rather than simply whether they were strict - which in effect is inviting them to

endorse the school's values rather than applying an independent judgment. The Social Climate Questionnaire, at any rate, appeared to be highly successful in differentiating schools according to girls' perceptions, more so even than Heal and Cawson (1975) found in their own research for which it was designed.

C : Type of school and CPI change

Referring again to the tables at the end of Chapter Eight, we may sum up the results according to type of school thus :-

The Primary Social school, as exemplified by school A, while not affording a significant improvement on any individual scale, shows changes in a positive direction on all scales except Responsibility, and ends up with a significant total improvement, according to the method of mean change.

The Individualist school, exemplified by school D, while not showing an overall improvement on means, does so on numbers (though perhaps less reliably, as already suggested). Its mean scores show something of a tendency towards improvement on Well-being and Self-control, though its improvement on Communality contributes virtually nothing to the overall significant improvement on that scale.

The Cultural Maintenance schools, C and E, both showed a significant improvement in Communality, but school C showed a deterioration in Self-control (and school E's

scores were in the same direction); apart from this,
the changes wrought by the Cultural schools were on the
whole negligible.

School B, an inconsistent type, showed an overall
significant deterioration, both on numbers and on means;
this deterioration was reflected in every scale except
Communality.

A tentative interpretation of these findings may be
made as follows, but it should be borne in mind that
this is highly speculative, based as it is upon such
a paucity of examples.

The Primary Social school is successful in a number of
spheres of social adjustment. Of the three paradigms,
the Primary Social is the one which places most emphasis
upon the variety of social skills and relationships
necessary to successful human living, as opposed to the
Individualist stress upon personal development and the
Cultural Maintenance concentration upon accommodation
to established patterns of behaviour. This 'across the
board', adaptable approach of the Primary Social school
may be construed as a factor in its effect upon a large
number of areas. However, the fact that the effects
are in the desired direction must be due not merely
to school A's being an example of a Primary Social
school, but to its being a good example. We shall
return to this point in our summary in Part D.

The Individualist school, unlike the others, does not show an increase in Communality, but it does appear to improve the sense of well-being of its inmates, and possibly also their self-control. If the last is a genuine finding, it suggests that of the rival theories "self-discipline is brought about by external discipline" and "self-discipline results from freedom", the latter may have more substance in practice, since the highly strict Cultural Maintenance schools showed no improvement in self-control (only in conformity, a quite different quality) where this highly permissive school did. We have already found a relation between perceived satisfaction and improved sense of well-being and having (speculatively) attributed the former to the high status accorded to inmates of the Individualist school, it seems logical to do the same for the latter. It would appear that where children, and a fortiori 'delinquent' children, are respected as well as loved, their satisfaction and sense of personal worth are indeed likely to be increased: here we may be seeing the effects of favourable labelling mentioned in Chapter One. And, of course, the promotion of personal happiness was postulated as one of the chief aims of the Individualist school at the outset. That the Individualist school does not show an increase in communality, besides fitting the prediction from a permissive regime, also fulfils the postulated goals of the Individualist approach and is a very interesting finding, therefore, from the point of view of the basic paradigms.

The Cultural Maintenance school, as we have just men-
tioned, does not succeed in instilling the self-control
it hopes for by its disciplinary methods, in fact
rather the reverse. Whether, however, this is an
altogether universal finding must be open to question,
since the Cultural Maintenance approach is now against
the prevailing trend in general child-rearing and
educational practice in this country: that is to say,
the method of self-discipline via external discipline
might have worked better when it was the prevailing
method, than when it runs counter to it, because of
the general expectations of the subjects. The sig-
nificant improvement in the Cultural Maintenance
schools on communality, however, is on rather firmer
ground, being precisely what we would be led to expect
from a direct consideration of the Cultural paradigm,
mediated, as it were, by our findings on the relation
of communality to strictness. This important point
will be expanded in the next section.

D : Summary of relations between process and effect

Although we have uncovered a number of interesting, if
somewhat tentative, relationships between various
aspects of process and effect, there are only two
conclusions which can, I think, be drawn with any
degree of certainty - one a general conclusion and the
other more specific. The latter relates to the connex-
ion between communality and strictness.

The strength of a relation between strictness of regime and the achievement of increased communality in the subjects is supported both from the theoretical angle and from the empirical, and is the stronger because it involves both of the Cultural Maintenance schools, whereas conclusions about Individualist and Primary Social schools rest upon single instances. The relation between being a Cultural Maintenance type school, being a strict school, and achieving an increase in communality can be expressed diagrammatically as follows :-

ARGUMENT (theoretical)   FINDINGS (empirical)

  CM school is strict

  C and E are CM schools

∴C and E are strict   C and E are strict

        ++++++++++++++++++

  CM school aims at communality
    (conventional standards)

  C and E are CM schools

∴C and E aim at communality   C and E achieve comm-
                                    unality
        +++++++++++++++++++

  Communality and strictness   Increase in strictness
  are related aspects of the   is correlated with
  Cultural Maintenance   increase in communality.
  school.

        ++++++++++++++++++++

By approaching the topic from both theoretical and empirical sides, therefore, we predict that strictness and communality will be theoretically related aspects of the Cultural Maintenance school, and our findings show that a high level of strictness is indeed correlated with an increase in communality.

A further question may be raised here in connexion with point (ii) above (see page 6). The stricter schools produced more increase in communality across the board, but did they increase it particularly in those subjects originally low on that scale ? The significance of this question is that although the Cultural Maintenance schools perceive all their inmates (or virtually all) as lacking in communality in the sense that they see them as delinquents in need of socialisation into conventional behaviour patterns, they would not necessarily be of especial help to those who were in reality closer to that model than others. A method of expressing the success of a school in improving the communality of those significantly low in it originally was not easy to find, but the following method was eventually adopted, so as to get the most information possible out of the small numbers available. The proportion of significant improvers on Communality who had originally been significant low scorers on that scale, was added to the proportion of significant low scorers who became significant improvers; the answer was halved and expressed as a part of unity (thus

unity would have represented total success in both directions). The results were as shown in Table 9.3, though in view again of the small numbers involved, this table should be taken as a rough guide only.

school	A	B	C	D	E
SCORE	0.38	0.45	0.70	0.42	0.49

TABLE 9.3   IMPROVEMENT IN COMMUNALITY

It will be seen that the strictest school - school C - does in fact have the highest success rate for improving low communality scores, but although school E (next strictest) is second, the closeness of the other four scores really precludes further ranking.

CONSISTENCY

The second finding to which I want to draw particular attention is that whereas different types of school appear to have different sorts of effects - some of which may be judged to be more desirable than others - this cuts across the distinction between a good school and a poor one, whatever type the school is made out to be. And what has been most noticeable in the results we have considered is that the chief qualities of a good school seem to be its consistency and stability. School A has been found to display a well-developed and well-integrated philosophy and practice, with staff holding similar views on treatment, and an absence of the cyclic disturbances usually associated with

compulsory care institutions. It is true that from the point of view of theory, school A appears as the most consistent school partly because the Primary Social paradigm - the ideal type with which it is consistent - is drawn so largely from the evidence about school A itself. However, the fact that, on the evidence of one specific school alone, it has been possible to draw up a paradigm which nevertheless hangs together and is not, I think, contradicted by any a priori considerations, suggests that we are not wrong in attributing to school A such a well-integrated philosophy.

School B, on the other hand, is exactly the reverse. We have seen from the reports of observation how deep-seated were the divisions between groups of staff, how the views of the Head failed for the most part to be reflected in the practices of the school - and indeed how his own views often appeared to be full of disguised conflicts - how the practice of the staff tended to deviate from the official rules and how disturbances among the girls were common. So seriously affected was school B by inconsistencies both in its interpretations and in its practice of the therapeutic process that we found it impossible to make sense of in terms of any of our paradigms.

A further indication of consistency comes from the standard deviations of the Concept of Needs Questionnaire (Chapter Four, Table 1). The staff group at

school A had a mean of 14.1 - the highest for social adjustment perceptions - with a standard deviation of only 3.3. School B, on the other hand, had the lowest mean at 6.7 but the highest standard deviation at 8.4. These figures suggest very strongly that the staff at school A were in close agreement about their perceptions of social adjustment while those at school B were not only less treatment-oriented but much more at variance with each other.

When we look at the results for the schools at these two extremes of consistency, we find that school A shows an overwhelming superiority in the perceptions of its inmates as satisfying, friendly, enjoying high staff support and high standards of work and behaviour. School B, in contrast, is ranked lowest on all these scales without exception. As far as the CPI results are concerned, school A shows an overall tendency - albeit a small one - towards improvement in social adjustment in all its aspects, whereas the most significant findings of all on the CPI are those which denote school B's effectiveness in causing <u>deterioration</u> in social adjustment. It may be therefore, that besides attributing differential effectiveness to characteristics involved in the different paradigms of schools, we would do well to consider the effect on achievements of the overall consistency and stability of the school, whatever its type. The value of the paradigms, in this case, would be in providing us

with a pattern against which we can measure a given school in terms of consistency.

In Chapter Ten, after an overall review of the purposes and results of the research as a whole, we shall look at some points arising from the findings, including this question of the importance of consistency in a school's philosophy and practice.

CHAPTER TEN : SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Outline of research

The purpose of the research was to assess certain
effects upon girls of passing through a List D school
and to examine the process through which they pass,
with a view to educing possible connexions between
the process and the effects.

It was proposed to assess the effects in terms of social
adjustment, on the negative grounds that other terms
such as reconviction rates were judged to be unsuitable
and on the (less objective) positive grounds that the
relevant legislation, professional literature and the
researcher's experience combined to suggest that the
enhancement of social adjustment could be seen as the
central objective of the schools and therefore an
important dimension of process.

The plan was therefore to produce an operational def-
inition of social adjustment and measure girls before
and after 'treatment' according to this standard, and
to study the school process using social adjustment
as a central dimension, determining also by tests
whether social adjustment was in fact the chief pro-
fessional goal of staff. It was hoped to be able to
classify schools according to their interpretation of
the task, combining both theoretical concepts and the
evidence gathered from observations of the school

process. It was hypothesised that schools with different ideas about models, goals and methods might produce effects differentiated in kind or in degree.

The instrument chosen to measure social adjustment in girls was a subset of the California Psychological Inventory, although this test had certain drawbacks, notably that it was not designed to measure change and we therefore could not know to what extent any apparent change (or lack of change) in score could be attributed to 'real' changes in the girls. The use of a control group to assess age trends plus comparison between the different schools would, however, go some way towards meeting this difficulty. Staff interpretations were to be measured by two tests designed to distinguish between static and dynamic goals, and between training and social adjustment models. Most data on school process was to be collected by participant observation, but a supplementary test - the Social Climate Questionnaire - was used to measure girls' perceptions of the schools.

Summary of findings on girls

List D school entrants were found to have a very significantly lower level of social adjustment than the control group on four scales (Well-being, Responsibility, Socialisation and Communality) but the number of differentiating scales was reduced to two (Socialisation and Communality) when the Main Sample was compared with the lowest-scoring of the day schools. It was

concluded that List D school girls do have a low
level of social adjustment as defined, although they
are not the only group of whom this is true, and that
the goal of raising social adjustment would therefore
be relevant to the needs of the girls. No simple and
continuous age-trend was found in the control sample.
It was found that the 'mix' of girls in each List D
school did not differ significantly from the others
either on CPI scores or on demographic data, except
on reason for committal. In connexion with the latter,
it was discovered that truants tended to have a higher
level of social adjustment than other List D school
girls; however, schools with a higher proportion of
incoming truants did not have higher mean scores on
input, nor did truants do better in the post-
residential testing.

Although no differences were found between various
types of girls (truants, from broken homes, etc.)
on change scores, the results for the different
schools were not identical, nor were the results on
different scales. The scale which showed most change
- and in the positive direction - was Communality
(roughly translated as conforming to statistical
norms on social traits - but the implications of this
term are to be discussed later on in the chapter).
The largest share of this improvement in Communality
was provided by schools C and E. However, overall
improvement on all scales was only shown by school A

(and to a lesser extent schools D and E) and this improvement was comparatively slight. School B showed a significant deterioration overall by both methods of assessing change. On the whole, though, the amount of change in CPI scores was disappointingly small and perhaps reflected unsuitability of the test as much as genuine absence of change. However, the fact that the schools had more influence on scores than did any background factors should be considered a useful finding.

Summary of findings on schools

Staff questionnaires showed a definite preponderance of social adjustment models and goals over the other possibilities offered in all schools, and girls' perceptions of goals were revised in a dynamic direction after residence. That social adjustment was a central concern of all school staff groups was therefore held to be confirmed.

Having confirmed social adjustment to be both a need of the girls and a major concern of staff, we then investigated the school process to discover whether the interpretation of the List D school task, including the model of girls and the methods used as well as the professional goals of staff, in particular social adjustment, were different from one school to another. From the evidence presented, it was suggested that three basic patterns were present and from these patterns three paradigms were developed: the Individualist,

the Cultural Maintenance and the Primary Social para-
digm. The results of the Social Climate Questionnaire
also suggested important differences between the
schools which tended to confirm the differences found
by observation.

An analysis of the schools in terms of the theoretic-
ally based paradigms led to the conclusion that school D
was Individualist type though not fully developed,
schools C and E were Cultural Maintenance type - the
latter being the more stable of the two but modified
by its religious aspect - school A was stable Primary
Social type, and school B was inconsistent and unstable
though leaning towards the Cultural Maintenance type.
Reconsidering the results on output of the CPI, tog-
ether with the SCQ scores, in the light of this class-
ification, two main conclusions were advanced :-
1. That there is support for the argument that schools
   C and E, examples of the Cultural type, possess the
   qualities of strictness and success in achieving
   increased communality, and that these two qualities
   are related, as the Cultural paradigm suggests.
2. That inconsistency or instability in a school's
   adherence to a paradigm predisposes to poor results,
   indeed to deterioration in social adjustment acc-
   ording to the standards of measurement used. This
   conclusion is supported by the SCQ results to the
   extent that the apparently most stable school had
   the highest scores and the least stable the lowest,

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just as the most stable school had the best CPI
change scores and the least stable the worst.

Points arising

The first point to be raised is whether the instruments
used were adequate to the task. The Social Climate
Questionnaire and the tests for staff perceptions gave
meaningful results which were consistent with the ob-
servational findings and thus seemed to have served
their purpose. However, the results from the CPI were
on the whole disappointing, since the overall picture
of the two administrations of the test was not one of
change at all (though this _may_ be attributable to the
fact that there _was_ little change, the researcher's
subjective opinion is otherwise) and comparisons across
scales and across schools yielded only a few signif-
icant differences. A test specifically designed to
measure change would obviously be preferable in any
further research along these lines, although the point
made by Crowne and Marlowe about the dubious validity
of any self-administered questionnaire on socially
desirable traits must cause serious reservations about
the use of such tests in general. The CPI did seem to
be adequate, however, to the task of differentiating
List D school girls from the control sample, and in
showing the similarity between the groups admitted to
the various schools. This latter point made it possible
to argue that any differences found between the schools'

results - although small - could be attributable to effects of residence in the schools rather than to any other factors.

However, the question what aspects of the schools were responsible for the differential changes found is much more complex and obviously the line taken here - the subsuming of the schools under theoretical paradigms - is only one of many possible approaches. Equally complex is the problem of establishing the relationship between paradigms and effects in a more objective manner than has been attempted in the present thesis. Allowing the prima facie feasibility of the paradigms, it would first be necessary to translate them, or aspects of them, into operational terms. Happily, we have the example of the Kluckhohn schema whose elements have in fact been fairly successfully translated into objective tests (Kluckhohn 1961). Unlike the Kluckhohn schema, however, we hypothesise that certain variables at each level of the paradigm argument necessarily go together; for example, that schools valuing the individual highest also have methods of greatest freedom, indulge in least adverse labelling and so on. If it were established that these complete paradigms, or some approximation to them, could be substantiated in actual measured cases, then one could go on to determine whether different effects could be objectively associated with certain paradigms; for example, whether schools adhering to the Cultural

Maintenance paradigm consistently produced the most communality or conformity.

However, it might also be possible to take an inter-mediate line in which the search was for associations between certain aspects of a paradigm and certain effects, without the complete paradigm needing to be established first (it remaining a conceptual frame-work only at that stage). For example, one could attempt to determine whether strictness (postulated here to be characteristic of the Cultural Maintenance school) was associated with increase in communality (which could likewise be expected from a theoretical consideration of the Cultural Maintenance school) - as our results have already suggested it is. (The concept of strictness would have to be defined more precisely for this purpose than is done in the Social Climate Questionnaire where, as we found, two diff-erent aspects of the concept are combined.)

The other possible line of research which does not necessarily depend on the establishment of the para-digm schema as a whole, is the idea which has emerged from this research that an unstable or inconsistent school has detrimental effects upon its inmates. We have suggested here that the trouble lies in being inconsistent with reference to a paradigm, but it would be quite possible for other standards to be developed against which consistency or stability could be measured. Interestingly enough, the scale

which Heal and colleagues eventually omitted from their final version of the Social Climate Questionnaire was called the 'Clarity' scale and dealt with such matters as whether rules were known, whether changes were posted or decisions made arbitrarily and so on. A redevelopment of this scale might be useful as part of a measure of stability, although of course a number of other factors would also need to be included.

As far as the present research has gone, the evidence suggests that the integration of the various aspects of belief and practice in a school is an important factor in its success (probably its success at anything at all, besides its success in achieving specific goals). Less strongly, there is evidence that a particular kind of school may have more influence on a particular kind of result. We may wish to draw one or two practical conclusions from these findings.

It was suggested right at the beginning that the Headmaster or Headmistress is a very important influence in the List D school and similar institutions. The findings on consistency may lead us to argue that one of the most important considerations in the successful operation of such a school is the personality and professional philosophy of the Head, both in strength (ability to 'hold the school together') and integrity and in the actual traits and values possessed. Where a strong Head is lacking, a well-developed consensus

among the staff members (as in school D) would seem to
be necessary. As a matter of personal observation,
the Head of school A - the most stable and successful
school - did strike the observer as the most forceful
of the five personalities involved in leadership and
there was no doubt that the school's philosophy was
basically his own philosophy, thoroughly worked out
and confidently passed on to the staff who - while
presumably being free to reject it if they would -
nevertheless in most cases adopted it as their own.
In spite of repudiating the idea (Chapter Seven) that
the Primary Social school was simply midway along a
continuum from Individualist to Cultural Maintenance,
there may however be a sense in which it represents
a less extreme type of philosophy than the other two
(especially, as we have noted, in being less prone to
cyclic movements) and this could also be advanced as
a possible part of the reason for school A's success.

The finding that the schools I have called examples of
the Cultural Maintenance type - which display character-
istics such as belief in the 'delinquent nature' of the
inmates, goals of conventional socialisation, and
conditioning-type methods - tend as far as our tests
show to produce an increase in communality (although
not an overall improvement in social adjustment) could
also have practical implications. It would be partic-
ularly useful if the tentative findings about the
kinds of effect especially produced by other types of

school (for example, Well-being from Individualist and Primary Social schools) could be substantiated to the same or a greater degree. Most comparative-evaluative research on compulsory care and its kin appears to have been designed with one of two ideas in mind: (i) that one or some types of school may prove to be more successful all round than others (e.g Street et al. 1966, McClintock and Bottoms 1973). Typically, such research uses reconviction as the main criterion of success, since any other single definition of success which would allow one to compose a simple rank order of schools would be highly debatable. (ii) that a successful differentiation of schools might lead to the possibility of placing individuals in a type of care which is particularly suited to their needs, assuming that the needs and the types can both be identified and the two matched up. (e.g. Argyle 1961, Adams 1962, Warren 1965 and cf. Warren 1970)

To a small extent, the present research touches on the first idea (i) in that we do suggest that the more stable a school, the more successful it is likely to be, probably in any terms. This idea, however, did not form part of the original purpose of the research but was, as it were, stumbled on rather by accident. If, however, the present research followed pattern (ii), it could now be suggested that girls especially low in

communality, for example, would be best placed in
Cultural Maintenance (or other strict) schools. And,
as we saw at the end of Chapter Seven, there is a
small amount of evidence to suggest that in the case
of communality at any rate, there may be some truth
in this. Clearly, a great deal more research would
have to be done to decide what type of school does
best fulfil various needs in the area of social adjust-
ment (within the context of this thesis we cannot
speak for any other needs).

But there is also a question of value which affects
the disposers of children to compulsory care, and their
advisers, as much as it affects the school themselves.
Is it desirable, for example, to increase communality
even in children in whom it is low and even if we can
select schools which will achieve this ? Those who
call it 'communality' would probably answer in the
affirmative, those who call it 'conventionality' or
'conformity' in the negative (which is why I have tried
to use both terms where appropriate). And besides
such absolute value questions as this, there are rel-
ative ones as well, since it seems highly likely that
one improvement will be made at the expense of (or at
least without the accompaniment of) another. For
example, school D, which seemed to have a tendency to
increase self-control and the sense of well-being in
its girls, made no contribution to the increase in
communality and had a slightly negative effect on

Socialisation and Good Impression. Would a high need for well-being be a good enough reason for inviting the possibility of desocialisation ? Those of a particular value orientation themselves, that is to say in this case those whose own therapeutic education philosophy was of the Individualist type, would presumably tend to answer that it would be. Those with another value orientation would disagree. Thus it could be that, after all, joint decision-makers would tend to go for the school which had the most advantages combined with the least disadvantages, even if none of the advantages were outstanding in themselves, which according to our figures would mean a school like school A - although in fact we cannot say whether all Primary Social schools would have the same kind of success as the one in our sample.

Research, it is obvious, cannot decide these questions of value itself, but only provide the evidence on which decisions can be based. The present research has not, one must admit, provided much in the way of positive numerical evidence for decision-makers, but I hope it has done two things at least: in the first place, suggested certain lines of enquiry which could be useful in further studies, particularly in the idea of using social adjustment as a criterion for compulsory care and in the idea of assessing schools as wholes rather than along a number of unrelated dimensions; and secondly, directed attention, with empirical and

theoretical support, to the central importance of
values in the area of compulsory care. I shall there-
fore end with a short note on each of these points.

Unified framework

Roger Hood has more than once made the point (1970,
1971) that the evaluation of correctional institutions
has too long been restricted to assessing their direct
effect upon the subjects, virtually ignoring other
accepted functions of penal measures such as general
deterrence. At the same time, however, he insists -
as we have seen - that individual effectiveness can and
indeed should be judged only in terms of reconvictions.
On the latter point, there is doubtless a great deal
to be said for this criterion in the case of adult
prisoners. However, where young people are concerned,
we have shown in the present research that this crit-
erion is not the only possible choice. In the first
place, the trend of recent legislation in England and
Wales, as well as in Scotland (not to mention other
Western countries) has been towards an amalgamation
of care provisions to cater not just for offenders
but for all "children in trouble". It is clear from
the documents quoted in Chapter Two that something less
specific and more deep-seated has come to be expected
from these provisions than the prevention of future
convictions, and it has been suggested in this thesis
that the concept of 'social adjustment' is a useful
one for characterising this total area. In the second

place, where children are no longer - particularly in Scotland - committed specifically for offences, it ceases to be either relevant or logical to use subsequent convictions as the sole measure of effectiveness in compulsory care provisions. Moreover, we have offered ample evidence that the actual agents of the care process - the institutional staff, led by their Heads - are much less concerned with specific 'wrong' behaviours and much more with the general area of personal and social maturity and acceptability. While this research has been confined to girls' schools, the pilot study in a boys' school indicated that this would apply to a large extent in boys' schools also; nor should it be forgotten that all the legislation and offical guidelines we have quoted make no distinction between boys and girls, even though we (and they) are aware that a far greater proportion of boys is actually committed after breaking the law. Even in adult prisons, the aim of helping former convicts to lead a 'good and useful life' often appears to be assuming more subjective importance today than the rather sterile aim of preventing further convictions to which, as someone has said, "the short answer is to hang the lot".

Besides the fact that a general concept such as social adjustment has come to assume greater relevance as the criterion of effectiveness in compulsory care, it has the advantage of being more adaptable as a basic unified

framework for research studies. If we are determined to judge effectiveness solely by reconvictions, but we wish at the same time - as so many studies do - to investigate the correctional process in the hope of establishing some connexion between treatment and effect, then our connexions can only consist of bare statistics which generally throw little if any light on how an effective regime actually achieves its high success rates. While it is true that in social (or any) science we cannot establish anything in the way of immutable causal relationships, it is obvious that the closer the a priori relation between our dependent and independent variables in the first place, the more confidence we shall have in our understanding of the relationships established between them by empirical means. Thus the danger inherent in assuming that we understand 'why', for example, open borstals tend to have more success than closed borstals (even when all other known factors have been controlled for) is surely far greater than the danger in assuming that we understand 'why' an institution which makes social adjustment its chief aim succeeds in promoting a greater increase in social adjustment.

This argument applies not only to objective features such as institutional programme, but also to certain types of conceptualisation by researchers. If we were to start, for example, with a scheme of types of school like that of Street and colleagues - obedience type,

treatment type and so on - and then measure the relative
effectiveness of each type, we might indeed be lucky
enough to find that the treatment-type school had
(holding other factors constant) the best success-rate
in terms of reconvictions. Nevertheless, the danger
remains that we - or someone else - may take this
finding at face value, thereafter advocating the use
of treatment-type schools, without investigating "what
it is" about this type of school which produces the
goods; and this danger is heightened if at the time a
preference for treatment-type institutions happens to
be more intellectually or socially respectable than a
preference for 'old-fashioned discipline'. And, of
course, the great difficulty with a criterion of sub-
sequent convictions is that it is almost impossible to
imagine what sorts of variables could meaningfully (as
distinct from statistically) be associated with success
in these terms: how would we interpret a connexion
between greater use of professional advisers, or a
permissive regime (both typical of treatment-type
schools) with lowered conviction rates ? How would
we attempt an explanation of the workings of such a
relationship (assuming we would not for ever be content
simply to say, like the sunspots and political up-
heavals, that they are related) unless we had a theor-
etical framework which encompassed the professionals,
the permissive regime and the success rates ? This
would, I submit, be a difficult framework to construct if
the success rate consisted solely of absence of recon-
victions.

Some would undoubtedly argue that we do not need to
'understand' relationships, merely to establish them
with sufficient accuracy and at an acceptable level of
significance. The point is that those who use social
science results (it would surely be idle in the field
of correctional institutions to pretend that they
aren't meant to be used ?) and even researchers them-
selves, will always - consciously or unconsciously -
try to make sense of findings in terms of an aetio-
logical chain. It is therefore important that the
research should be cast in such a way as to minimise
the possibility of making unwarranted assumptions
about such relationships. One feasible plan for
carrying out research along these lines would be,
it seems to me, to locate the whole area within a
unified conceptual framework as has been attempted
(though with less success than could, I think, be
achieved at a later venture) in the present study.
Testable hypotheses may then be deduced from the
a priori schema and used in the research, as was done
by Kluckhohn and colleagues in the study previously
mentioned (Kluckhohn 1961).

Values in Institutions

The theoretical part of the thesis - basically Chapter
Six - although initiated in part by evidence collected
from the schools, is in the main a philosophical exercise
and as such may at first have seemed to be out of place
in a piece of research designed to establish connexions

between certain collections of empirical data. It should be clear by now, however, that its purpose was to facilitate an interpretation of the sort we have just been discussing, to present one way at least of 'making sense' of such connexions as might be discovered empirically. Whether or not this attempt was successful is a separate question: the departure lay in making such an attempt in this field at all.

What, I think, has been demonstrated is that if one is to go behind such relatively objective variables as institutional programmes, observable methods of treatment and so on, one is bound to arrive eventually at questions of belief, which ultimately means - since beliefs continue to be held in the absence of even the possibility of substantiation - to questions of value. If, as Bruyn (1966) remarks, "all data is valid", then when we come across totally opposed viewpoints on the question, say, of how self-discipline is generated, or what are the defining characteristics of the delinquent child, or what is the purpose of education, and find that these viewpoints very often persist without reference to official directives, discovered efficacy or any other kind of objective data; then, I would argue, there is no meaning in saying "X is right and Y is mistaken" or even "X is up-to-date but Y is old-fashioned." If we wish to do anything more than simply state that X differs from Y, we must conclude that X is imbued with one set of values which

determine his outlook upon the whole area in question, while Y is imbued with another. And while there is certainly plenty of disputing about tastes, no disagreement on values can, of course, be settled by an appeal to mere facts. This is not to say that values are so obstinate as wholly to deny the relevance of objective data, but that they determine to such an extent the interpretation of that data (occasionally, it is true, having to fly in the face of a great deal of contrary evidence, in order not to have to alter their value position) that to the observer the holders of the values may appear actually to be disagreeing about matters of fact.

Not all research, of course, either needs or wants to involve itself at this value level. Once in a while, however, it may be as well to remember that there is sometimes more to objective discrepancies than is immediately observable, and this is particularly true in the area of institutions, where it is questions of value that so often determine not only the nature but the very existence of the institution in the first place. One doesn't often hear the question "Should we be healing the sick ?" but we more often hear "Should we be schooling the young ?" and more often still "Should we be trying to reform social deviants ?" Even if we make a value-judgement (and it obviously cannot be anything else) on this question, we do not yet get round to answering the question "How shall we

do it ?" with statements or even prescriptions; we first, whether implicitly or explicitly, have to ask "What do we mean by 'deviant' ?" "What do we mean by 'reform' ?" and so on - all of which are themselves questions which have, at root, value-judgments for answers. All this is fairly obvious, one supposes; I iterate it here simply to stress the fundamental importance of values in this area, and to suggest that it is essential for research in this area (at one stage or another) to take values into account, as the present research has done - with how much success remains to be judged.

APPENDIX ONE : PILOTING

There were four main parts to the pilot work; A: the testing of questionnaire items which had been specially composed for this research, and their administration, B: a trial of interview techniques, C: a feasibility study of a proposed typology of girls and D: preliminary fact finding.

A : Questionnaire testing

As all the schools to whom the research specification applied were to take part in the main study, there were none left on which to carry out pilot work. It was therefore decided to do the pilot work in a boys' school, but one carefully chosen by reason of size, age and system to approach most closely the conditions of a girls' school. The school chosen was a small one as boys' List D schools go, having a population about equal to a medium-sized girls' school, and it had a fairly personal approach with a high degree of concern which it was felt would make a fair comparison for a typical girls' school (if there were such a thing, which later seemed to be doubtful).

The questionnaires tested were the two Perception of Goals Questionnaires (staff and pupils). The scales of the California Psychological Inventory had, of course, already been intensively tested under various conditions, and the Social Climate Questionnaire had a published report of trials, while the Concept of Needs Questionn-

aire had not yet been written. I must emphasise that there was no attempt formally to establish figures for validity and reliability; the main questions were : is the wording intelligible to the population concerned and do they understand by it what I mean by it ? and is the method of marking and scoring going to provide the sort of figures which can be dealt with appropriately in analysis ?

Two groups of boys (about twelve in each) were asked to fill in the PGQ blanks in their first draft form, which consisted of six questions each with a free choice of up to seven responses (as many as seemed relevant at all to the notion of goals of the school). They were encouraged to make written comments if, for example, they wanted to give a response which had not been provided for, or if they felt that none of the responses applied. After this, we held a discussion with each group, asking what they had understood the questions to mean, the back-ground to their answers and their ideas about the topics raised. The papers were scored in accordance with a preliminary marking scheme. From the discussion it emerged that some responses would have to be altered slightly to coincide with the boys' ways of expressing certain concepts. The main change, however, originated in the scoring system, since it was found that being allowed to endorse as many responses as the subject wished made it impossible to derive a meaningful score for an individual subject. Thus the classific-

ation of responses into 'static' and 'dynamic' was
introduced, with just two responses in each category
for each question. The division of responses into the
two categories was tested by asking a panel of students
in the Department of Social Administration to classify
all the responses independently; this process was con-
tinued until all members of the panel agreed on the
division. In this way, asking subjects to endorse only
two out of four responses for each question, it was poss-
ible to express a score in the form :

x(dynamic responses) $-y$(static responses) $= \pm z$(final score)

A third and fourth group of boys were then tested with
the new draft and with a couple of final alterations the
results were satisfactory.

The proposed staff PGQ was then redesigned to corre-
spond with that for pupils, and administered to staff
at the boys' schools , for the purpose of checking
what verbal alterations might be needed. After this
pilot work had been done, very few staff in the study
proper objected that the responses they wanted to make
were not available (they were asked to comment on this)
or that they felt they would misrepresent themselves
by making the choice as presented. The more common
problem, under less controlled conditions than the
pilot study, was the failure of staff to comply with
the written - and usually verbal also - instructions
(for example, by choosing only one of the four res-
ponses instead of two). This made some of the staff

questionnaires unscorable, which was rather unfort-
unate since the method of administration did not permit
another try. It is obvious that it should have been
made virtually impossible to disobey the instructions.

B : Interview techniques

Staff at the boys' school were interviewed to begin
with by means of a structured schedule and the inter-
view recorded on tape. Both these techniques were
found to give a rather artificial flavour to the mat-
erial and indeed there seemed to be a definite tend-
ency of the subjects, especially those less sophist-
icated, unconsciously to play to the gallery of the
tape recorder, so to speak, and to tend to say what
they would like to hear themselves having said (al-
though of course they did not hear it). This exper-
ience, combined with advice drawn in particular from
two works on field techniques (Webb et al. 1966 and
Merton Fiske & Kendall 1956) decided the researcher
firstly to abandon a fixed schedule but to retain a
mental (and elsewhere written) list of useful topics
and secondly to disguise the 'interview' aspect of
the conversation as deeply as possible in order to
get the sort of natural answers one could expect when
List D school staff are 'talking shop' together.
After all, formal, structured and, as it were, self-
conscious questions were asked and answered in the
questionnaires; the function of interviewing was to go
behind these formal responses to material that might be

unpredicted (not allowed for in the questionnaire) or vague (need probing) or concealed by reason of reticence, guilt feelings or whatever (which might not be admitted to in writing or in 'cold blood'). The opposite might also be true to some extent: that some people felt able to be more open, clear-headed, and so on when they were writing answers in private with time to think about them; however, my experience (albeit subjective) did not appear to support this idea so much as the former. We could then compare the outward or formally expressed aims, models and so on - the public, perhaps idealised, picture presented by the school - with the more informal, nebulous, or even contradictory picture which obtained on the inside of the school surface. This does not necessarily mean, however, that the interview material is in some way more 'real' than the questionnaire responses (or indeed vice versa). Individuals and groups do have both a public and a private identity which interact in practice and an understanding of both is, I think, necessary for a study such as the present one.

C : Typology study

It was originally proposed to try and classify all the girls in the main sample into a three-fold typology, for the purposes of later analysis (for example, to see whether one 'type' of girl did better at one school than another, or in one respect than another). The classification, based on that of Derek Miller (1959)

after the perusal of a number of other possibilities, was:

1. Cultural delinquency: associated with environ-
   mental factors such as neighbourhood and personal
   relations, and the commission of offences in com-
   pany, but not with family problems or psychiatric
   difficulties.

2. Family-oriented disturbance: associated with non-
   offence symptoms such as running away from home
   and factors such as family conflict, neglect,
   broken home, etc.

3. Personality disturbance: associated with reported
   psychiatric symptoms, maladjustment, a history of
   institutionalisation and offences (if any)
   committed alone.

The pilot work was carried out on a sample of twelve
girls who had already left one of the girls' schools,
working from material in their personal files. Four
indicators were chosen for each 'syndrome', and each
subject was scored according to the presence or ab-
sence of these indicators. In fact, the pilot study
yielded very satisfactory results : it was found to be
quite possible and reasonable to classify girls in this
way. There was only one borderline case in the sample,
and the results agreed very closely with subjective
impressions of what 'type' a girl was, and with the
proportions expected in the light of other studies,
even though the sample was a small one. But the typ-
ology was abandoned for two reasons, one practical,

one theoretical. On the practical side, the procedure
was found to be very lengthy if it was to be accurate :
it took two days to classify the twelve girls in the
pilot sample; for a sample of 160-odd girls in the main
study, this would have meant up to six working weeks
extra spent at the schools themselves which in terms of
both time and expense was a formidable problem.

The practical problem might perhaps have been solvable
by simplifying the procedures in some way, but it was
overshadowed by a more fundamental objection: the res-
earcher began to feel that however feasible it was
actually to classify girls in this way by means of
indicators and so on, such a process was bound to
associate itself with causal theories of delinquency,
which it was particularly wished to avoid. As the
theory of the study crystallised, the idea of social
adjustment came to stand as a single concept character-
ising the relation between society and the children it
judges to be 'in need of compulsory care'. It did not
seem justifiable to introduce a scheme in which the
relationship was characterised in quite a different
way, a way which tends to endorse the 'medical model'
by linking identifiable causes (such as differential
association and broken homes) with identifiable
'diseases' (such as being a sub-cultural delinquent
rather than having a family-oriented disturbance).

D : Preliminary fact finding

When arrangements had been made for the five schools
to take part in the study, I had a fairly short inter-
view with each Head, to establish some preliminary
facts and figures on which to base the design and
scheduling of various parts of the research. These
included staff numbers and job descriptions, estimated
numbers of girls to be admitted and admission proced-
ures, predicted length of stay, school terms and time-
tables and so on. I also took the opportunity of
trying to get some early leads about the approach the
school took to its task and of course explaining to the
Head (and in one case, on request, to the rest of the
school) what some of the ideas were behind the research.
Only one school, which claimed to have had 'a lot of
you students around recently' seemed at all bothered
about the prospect of having a researcher on the
premises; it was evident that my experience as a past
member of Approved school staff myself carried more
weight than anything else. I mention this point bec-
ause I had been warned by representatives of other
research projects in this field that List D schools
were 'cagey', did not welcome being investigated and
might quite easily decline to participate. I did not
find them so, except as I have mentioned the rather
scathing attitude of one towards 'students' (they do
of course encounter many students on social work
placements) but this school too was always helpful and

friendly in practice, particularly in the 'lower ranks'.
Moreoever, the Heads of all the schools were particularly
keen to hear what I 'found out' and requested a report
summarising the findings - which they in due course
received. This friendly and involved attitude had its
drawback in the fact that it was more difficult for me
to remain detached while the research was in progress,
but I believe that for the most part I succeeded in
maintaining a suitably unbiassed approach.

APPENDIX TWO : QUESTIONNAIRES

Perception of goals questionnaire (PGQ) - staff

For each of the following questions, please put a tick
against the TWO answers you most agree with. Even if
you agree with more than two, or don't agree very
strongly with any of them, please tick just the two
that come closest to your own opinions.

If you feel that you have been obliged to choose two
answers that don't really represent how you feel, it
would help me if you used the space between the quest-
ions to add your own comments.

Q1. What do you like about this work ?

    (a) I like to feel I'm doing a job that is
        necessary to society;

    (b) I enjoy working in a place where stand-
        ards are high;

    (c) I appreciate the chance to try and
        help the girls with their problems;

    (d) I feel one can enable girls to
        make a fresh start here.

Q2. What do you not like about this work ?

    (a) Sometimes the lack of progress in girls'
        behaviour can be discouraging;

    (b) I feel that girls are too often
        allowed to get their own way;

    (c) Keeping order among the girls can
        be a constant strain;

(d) It's not always possible to get as close
   to the girls as is necessary for
   helping them.

Q3. What do you think about the sort of girls
who come here ?
   (a) Some of them are very difficult to handle;
   (b) Some of them need a lot of help in
       improving their behaviour;
   (c) Some of them have quite deep-
       seated social problems;
   (d) Whatever they are like, it's our
       responsibility to look after them.

Q4. How do you see your job as a member of staff ?
   (a) An important task is to compensate the
       girls for their deprivations;
   (b) It's essential to maintain order with
       this sort of girl;
   (c) It's necessary to help girls face up
       to reality;
   (d) One needs to be always on the alert for
       the first sign of trouble among the girls.

Q5. What do you feel the school does for girls ?
   (a) It keeps them out of trouble while they
       are here;
   (b) It makes them happier in themselves;
   (c) It gives them a high standard of care;
   (d) It can teach them self-control.

Q6. When do you feel a girl should be able to leave the school ?

    (a) When she is better able to cope with her problems;

    (b) When she has achieved a more mature outlook on life;

    (c) When the school and the Panel decide she has been here long enough;

    (d) When it is clear the school cannot keep her any longer.

Concept of needs questionnaire (CNQ) - staff

Below is a list of some of the problems which a girl coming into the school might present. Please number the items in order of importance as regards the majority of girls coming into the school (i.e. 1 for the problem you consider most serious, down to 12 for the least serious).

Since answering in this way may oblige you to make generalisations you would prefer to qualify or enlarge upon, please use the space at the bottom of the sheet to add any comments you would like to make.

A   Dishonesty where property is concerned

B   Untidy or slovenly appearance or habits

C   Lack of interest in whatever is going on

D   Ignorance about many everyday matters

E   Disregard for other people's needs or feelings

F   Laziness in house or school work

G   Difficulty in approaching people
    pleasantly and naturally

H   Carelessness with own and other
    people's possessions

I   **Lack of cleanliness in personal habits**

J   Impetuosity and lack of forethought

K   Demanding and resentful attitude

L   Lack of self-control

Perception of goals questionnaire (PGQ) - girls

The following questions are on how you feel about
this school. For each question there are four
possible answers. Choose TWO out of the four answers
which are nearest to what you feel, and put a tick
in the boxes opposite those two. Remember, tick
just two for each question.

Q1. What's the idea of a school like this ?

    (a) To help girls with their problems;   ☐

    (b) To keep girls where they can't cause   ☐
        any trouble;

    (c) As somewhere you should try not to   ☐
        land up in;

    (d) As a place where girls can learn to   ☐
        behave better.

Q2. What does this school do for girls ?

    (a) Makes them realise they were
        unlucky to get caught;

A2 : 4

(b) Makes them happier in themselves;

(c) Punishes them for what they have done;

(d) Gives them a chance to get their problems sorted out.

Q3. What sort of girls come to a school like this ?

(a) Girls who have special problems;

(b) Girls who aren't getting on very well at home;

(c) Girls who had the bad luck to get picked up;

(d) Girls who deserve to be taught a lesson.

Q4. What are the staff supposed to do here ?

(a) Encourage the girls to improve their behaviour;

(b) Keep the girls in order;

(c) Make sure the girls do their work properly;

(d) Help girls in sorting out their worries.

Q5. What do you feel about coming here yourself ?

(a) I must admit there's a lot you can learn here;

(b) I suppose I have to pay the price for what I've done;

(c) I don't intend to stay here any longer than I have to;

(d) It should help me to get on better in the future.

Q6.   When should you be able to leave here ?

    (a) When my time is up;

    (b) When I've paid for what I did;

    (c) When I've learnt more self-control;

    (d) When I am more able to cope with
       things at home.

Social Climate Questionnaire (SCQ) - girls

1. This place is better than I expected ... ... T   F

2. The girls laugh at a girl who talks about
    her feelings.

3. The girls often get away with a lot without
    being caught.

4. Staff go out of their way to help girls.

5. If a girl is upset the others try to help her.

6. Girls rarely help each other.

7. It takes a long time for new girls to get to
    know the others.

8. The staff know what the girls want.

9. Staff have very little time to encourage the girls.

10. There is a fight here almost every day.

11. Girls often boast about breaking the law.

12. If a girl argues with the staff she will get
    into trouble.

13. The girls are ashamed of this place.

14. Staff hardly ever chat informally with the girls.

15. Girls usually talk to the staff if they have a
    personal problem.

16. The girls are proud of this school.

17. Girls here worry if the school gets a bad name.

18. The staff discourage criticism.

19. There is hardly ever a serious fight in this place.

20. Girls can criticise staff to their faces.

21. Girls often lose their tempers with each other.

22. Girls are expected to work hard in this school.

23. Girls get into serious trouble if they don't obey the rules.

24. It is easy to skive here when you should be working.

25. The staff here are strict.

26. It is easy to muck around in lessons and get away with it.

27. Girls who swear in front of the staff get into trouble.

28. Staff rarely go out of their way to help girls.

29. Staff hardly ever order the girls around.

30. Girls here waste a lot of time.

31. The staff allow the girls to be cheeky.

32. Girls who have been here some time help newcomers.

33. Staff spend very little time talking with girls.

34. Staff take fighting by the girls seriously.

35. House supervisors try to do something about girls' complaints.

36. Girls are ashamed to tell their mates back home they have been here.

37. This is a friendly school.

38. If you leave things lying around in this place they will get stolen.

39. The first you hear about things here is when they happen to you.

40. House supervisors have very little time to encourage girls.

41. There is very little swearing here.

42. It is a waste of time being in a place like this.

43. The staff get fed up with a girl who gets upset easily.

44. Staff encourage girls to talk about their feelings.

45. Weak girls are sometimes forced to give things to stronger ones.

46. When a girl is upset she tries to hide it from the others.

47. Girls put a lot of energy into what they do around here.

WHAT DO YOU THINK ?

This booklet contains a number of statements. Read each
one and decide how you feel about it. If you _agree_ with
a statement, or feel it is true about you, ring the
letter T (for TRUE). If you _disagree_ with a statement,
or feel it is not true about you, ring the letter F
(for FALSE). Here are two examples :

I often wish I could leave school
and get a job ...　...　...　...　...　(T)　　F

Parents are too easy on their
children nowadays ...　...　...　...　T　　(F)

If you find a few questions which you really cannot
or prefer not to answer, they may be left out. But
if you don't understand a question, ask the person
in charge to help you.

If you ring an answer by mistake, put a big cross
through it, like this ...　...　...　..　⊗　　F
and ring the other one instead .　...　..　⊗　　(F)

	Ring your answer here	Do not write here

1. My family treat me more like a child then a grown-up ... ...   T   F   1

2. There's no use in doing things for people; you only find you get it in the neck in the long run ... ...   T   F   2

3. I often feel I made a wrong choice in my subjects at school... T   F   3

4. A person needs to 'show off' a little now and then ... ...   T   F   4

5. I always follow the rule: business before pleasure ... ... T   F   5.

6. Several times a week I feel as if something dreadful is about to happen ... ...   T   F   6

7. A person who tries to get out of serving on a jury is not a good citizen ... ...   T   F   7.

8. I become quite irritated when I see someone spit on the pavement.. T   F   8

9. I sometimes pretend to know more than I really do ... ...   T   F   9

10. If I am driving a car, I try to keep others from passing me ...   T   F   10

11. I find it hard to keep my mind on a task or job ... ...   T   F   11

12. When a person 'pads' his income tax returns so as to get out of some of his taxes, it is just as bad as stealing money from the Government ... ...   T   F   12.

13. With things going as they are, it's pretty hard to keep up hope of amounting to something ... .   T   F   13.

14. I must admit that people sometimes disappoint me.

15. Sometimes I cross the street just to avoid meeting someone.

16. I have had very peculiar and strange experiences.

17. I would rather go without something than ask for a favour.

18. Some people exaggerate their troubles in order to get sympathy.

19. My parents wanted me to 'make good' in the world.

20. Once a week or oftener I feel suddenly hot all over, without apparent cause.

21. It's a good thing to know people in the right places so you can get traffic tickets, and such things, taken care of.

22. I think I am stricter about right and wrong than most people.

23. Sometimes I think of things too bad to talk about.

24. I usually expect to succeed in things I do.

25. It's no use worrying my head about public affairs; I can't do anything about them anyhow.

26. I would do almost anything on a date.

27. I get pretty discouraged sometimes.

28. I could be perfectly happy without a single friend.

29. I can remember 'playing sick' to get out of something.

30. When someone does me a wrong I feel I should pay them back if I can, just for the principle of the thing.

31. I am somewhat afraid of the dark.

32. I gossip a little at times.

33. I usually feel that life is worthwhile.

34. Maybe some minority groups do get rough treatment but it's no business of mine.

35. I hardly ever get excited or thrilled.

36. Most people would tell a lie if they could gain by it.

37. I cannot do anything well.

38. I am afraid to be alone in the dark.

39. Every family owes it to their community to keep
    their pavements cleared in the winter and their
    lawns mowed in summer.

40. My parents have often disapproved of my friends.

41. I am often said to be hotheaded.

42. There are a few people who just cannot be trusted.

43. I am so touchy on some subjects that I can't
    talk about them.

44. We ought to worry about out own country and let
    the rest of the world take care of itself.

45. My home life was always happy.

46. It is hard for me to start a conversation with
    strangers.

47. I almost never go to sleep.

48. Any man who is able and willing to work hard has
    a good chance of succeeding.

49. When I get bored I like to stir up some excitement.

50. I often act on the spur of the moment without
    stopping to think.

51. I hardly ever feel pain in the back of the neck.

52. I like school.

53. It is hard for me to act natural when I am
    with new people.

54. Sometimes I feel like smashing things.

55. Education is more important than most people think.

56. I have a great deal of stomach trouble.

57. As long as a person votes at the General Election,
    he has done his duty as a citizen.

58. Before I do something I try to consider how
    my friends will react to it.

59. I think I would enjoy having authority over
    other people.

60. I hate to be interrupted when I am working on some thing.

61. I have been afraid of things or people that I knew could not hurt me.

62. When I work on a committee, or something like that, I like to take charge of things.

63. I have often gone against my parents wishes.

64. Sometimes I feel like swearing.

65. I do not like to loan my things to people who are careless in the way they take care of them.

66. I have nightmares every few nights.

67. I am fascinated by fire.

68. I have sometimes stayed away from another person because I feared doing or saying something I might regret afterwards.

69. I like to boast about my achievements every now and then.

70. When I was a child I didn't care to be a member of a crowd or gang.

71. School teachers complain a lot about their pay, but it seems to me that they get as much as they deserve.

72. I must admit I often try to get my own way regardless of what others may want.

73. In school most teachers treated me fairly and honestly.

74. I have never been in trouble with the law.

75. I like to be the centre of attention.

76. I must admit that I often do as little work as I can get by with.

77. In school I was sometimes sent to the Head for 'playing up'.

78. I would like to see a bullfight in Spain.

79. I like to listen to classical music on the radio.

80. I was a slow learner in school.

81. I find it easy to 'drop' or 'break with' a friend.

82. At times I feel like picking a fist fight with someone.

83. I feel as good now as I ever have.

84. I usually try to do what is expected of me, and to avoid criticism.

85. When I am feeling very happy and active, someone who is blue or low will spoil it all.

86. I go out of my way to meet trouble rather than try to escape it.

87. Sometimes I have the same dream over and over.

88. I do not always tell the truth.

89. I do not dread seeing a doctor about an illness or injury.

90. Most of the time I feel happy.

91. I fall in and out of love rather easily.

92. I always try to consider the other person's feelings before I do something.

93. I think I would like to drive a racing car.

94. I often think about how I look and what impression I am making upon others.

95. I would like to wear expensive clothes.

96. Criticism or scolding makes me very uncomfortable.

97. If a person is clever enough to cheat someone out of a large sum of money, he ought to be allowed to keep it.

98. I am made nervous by certain animals.

99. Sometimes I used to feel that I would like to leave home.

100. I consider a matter from every standpoint before I make a decision.

101. I enjoy hearing lectures on world affairs.

102. Everything tastes the same.

103. I seldom or never have dizzy spells.

104. I get nervous when I have to ask someone for a job.

105. I have strange and peculiar thoughts.

106. If I am not feeling well I am somewhat cross and grouchy.

107. A person should not be expected to do anything for his community unless he is paid for it.

108. It is all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it.

109. I never worry about my looks.

110. My way of doing things is apt to be misunderstood by others.

111. I feel nervous if I have to meet a lot of people.

112. Much of the time my head seems to hurt all over.

113. Every citizen should take the time to find out about national affairs, even if it means giving up some personal pleasures.

114. I have had more than my fair share of things to worry about.

115. Most people are secretly pleased when someone else gets into trouble.

116. There are times when I have been very angry.

117. I have never done any heavy drinking.

118. I never make judgments about people until I am sure of the facts.

119. My parents have generally let me make my own decisions.

120. Sometimes I feel as if I must injure either myself or someone else.

121. I do not mind taking orders and being told what to do.

122. There are a few people who just cannot be trusted.

123. I have often felt guilty because I have pretended to feel more sorry about something than I really was.

124. In school my marks for posture were quite regularly bad.

125. When I meet a stranger I often think he is better than I am.

126. I often do what makes me feel cheerful here and now, even at the cost of some distant goal.

127. The most important things to me are my duties to my job and to my fellow man.

128. At times I have a strong urge to do something harmful or shocking.

129. I very much like hunting.

130. I keep out of trouble at all costs.

131. When things go wrong I sometimes blame the other fellow.

132. I would fight if someone tried to take my rights away.

133. Some of my family have habits that bother and annoy me very much.

134. I seem to do things I regret more often than other people do.

135. It is impossible for an honest man to get ahead in the world.

136. It is pretty easy for people to win arguments with me.

137. I dream frequently about things that are best kept to myself.

138. People have a real duty to take care of their aged parents, even if it means making some pretty big sacrifices.

139. I often feel as though I have done something wrong or wicked.

140. Sometimes in school elections and so on I vote for people about whom I know very little.

141. Some people exaggerate their troubles in order to get sympathy.

142. No-one seems to understand me.

143. I have been in trouble one or more times because of my sex behaviour.

144. I think that I would like to fight in a boxing match sometime.

145. There are certain people whom I dislike so much that I am inwardly pleased when they are catching it for something they have done.

146. When prices are high you can't blame a person for getting all he can while the going is good.

147. I like to go to parties and other affairs where there is lots of loud fun.

148. My home life was always very pleasant.

149. I would be rather be a steady and dependable worker than a brilliant but unstable one.

150. I have reason for feeling jealous of one or more members of my family.

151. My table manners are not quite as good at home as when I am out in company.

152. I have frequently found myself, when alone, pondering such abstract problems as free will, evil, etc.

153. I would like to belong to a discussion and study club.

154. I never seem to get hungry.

155. I enjoy a race or game better when I bet on it.

156. I have used alcohol excessively.

157. I am apt to show off in some way if I get the chance.

158. I would never go out of my way to help another person if it meant giving up some personal pleasure.

159. My mouth feels dry almost all the time.

160. I know who is responsible for most of my troubles.

161. It makes me angry when I hear of someone who has been wrongly prevented from doing their public duty.

162. I must admit that I have a bad temper, once I get angry.

163. Most young people get too much education.

164. When I am cornered I tell that portion of the truth which is least likely to hurt me.

165. I have often found people jealous of my good ideas, just because they had not thought of them first.

166. I sometimes wanted to run away from home.

167. I am often bothered by useless thoughts which keep running through my mind.

168. I have never deliberately told a lie.

169. I doubt if anyone is really happy.

170. I have one or more bad habits which are so strong that it is no use fighting against them.

171. We ought to pay our elected officials better than we do.

172. Even when I have got into trouble I was usually trying to do the right thing.

173. I like large noisy parties.

174. There have been a few times when I have been very mean to another person.

175. Most people would be better if they never went to school at all.

176. Life usually hands me a pretty raw deal.

177. I can honestly say that I do not mind paying my taxes because I feel that's one of the things I can do for what I get from the community.

178. I am a better talker than a listener.

179. Sometimes I just can't seem to get going.

180. I regard the right to speak my mind as very important.

181. I don't seem to care what happens to me.

182. We ought to let other countries get out of their own mess; they made their bed, let them lie on it.

183. It is very important for me to have enough friends and social life.

184. Sometimes I rather enjoy going against the rules and doing things I'm not supposed to.

185. I don't really care whether people like me or dislike me.

186. I am bothered by acid stomach several times a week.

187. If I get too much change in a shop, I always give it back.

188. People often talk about me behind my back.

189. I often get feelings like crawling, burning, tingling or 'going to sleep' in different parts of my body.

190. Every now and then I get into a bad mood, and no-one can do anything to please me.

191. The things some of my family have done have frightened me.

192. I would never play cards (for money) with a stranger.

193. I am troubled by attacks of nausea and vomiting.

194. I don't think I'm quite as happy as others seem to be.

195. I think most people would lie to get ahead.

196. At times I have been very anxious to get away from my family.

197. I used to steal sometimes when I was a youngster.

198. I get all the sympathy I should.

199. As a youngster I was suspended from school one or more times for playing up.

200. I have very few quarrels with members of my family.

201. I get pretty discouraged with the law when a clever lawyer gets a criminal free.

202. I have felt embarrassed over the type of work that one or more members of my family have done.

203. If the pay was right I would like to travel with a circus or a fair.

204. I like to read about science.

205. My home as a child was more peaceful and quiet than those of most other people.

206. My skin seems to be unusually sensitive to touch.

207. There have been times when I have worried a lot about something that was not really important.

208. Even the idea of giving a talk in public makes me afraid.

209. I would have been more successful if people had given me a fair chance.

210. I have never done anything dangerous for the thrill of it.

211. As a youngster in school I used to give the teachers lots of trouble.

212. The members of my family were always very close to each other.

213. I liked it very much when one of my essays was read out to the class in school.

214. There are times when I have been discouraged.

215. My family has objected to the kind of work I do or plan to do.

216. A person is better off if he doesn't trust anyone.

217. I feel that I have often been punished without cause.

218. I never cared much for school.

219. If I saw some children hurting another child, I am sure I would try to make them stop.

220. There seems to be a lump in my throat much of the time.

221. Police cars should be especially marked so that you can always see them coming.

222. My parents never really understood me.

223. Almost every day something happens to frighten me.

224. I would like to be an actress on the stage or in films.

APPENDIX THREE : SUPPLEMENTARY FACTS ON SCHOOLS

The research area consisted of List D schools for
girls in Scotland, and their pupils. There are seven
such schools, which in theory can be divided into :
two junior schools (up to 13 years), three intermediate
schools (13 to 15) and two senior schools (15 to 17),
but in recent practice there has been a lot of flex-
ibility over the age range accepted. It was decided
very early in the project to exclude the two junior
schools on the ground that as they were preparing
children specifically to return to day school and to
continuing dependence on their families, they might
have a totally different outlook upon the aims of
treatment from schools which were virtually preparing
girls to leave both school and home within a fairly
short time. Such a difference would obscure the more
subtle distinctions with which the research intended
to concern itself. Once the study was under way, in
fact, this danger appeared to have been very much
overestimated; however, one can only say that the
material presented in this thesis applies to the
senior and intermediate school; whether it would apply
equally to the junior schools we cannot say. One
advantage of the choice, however, is the closer comp-
arability it gives us with the studies of Richardson
(1969) and the Cowies (1968) in certain areas of
measurement, since both these were concerned with
girls in the 14 to 17 age group.

The five schools participating in the research are
referred to throughout as schools A,B,C,D,and E.   One
of the schools (school E) is not in fact an official
List D school in the sense that it does not fall within
the authority of the Social Work Services Group, having
chosen to remain independent.   However, its method of
intake is so similar to that of the others - the great
majority of girls being referred through Children's
Hearings, differentiated only by religion, if that -
that it was decided to include it.   Incidentally, the
differences made by remaining independent appear to be
mainly financial plus a measure of freedom in accepting
or rejecting referrals which in theory is denied to the
others.   In practice, the latter freedom does not
amount to much, as far as this research could discover.
In a similar way, matters of policy might be a point
distinguishing the independent school, but in practice
again, centralised policies other than financial appear
to be notable generally by their absence.   Two of the
schools are managed by the Church of Scotland in con-
junction with the Social Work Services Group, two
others by local boards of governors in the same con-
junction.   The independent school is run by a Catholic
religious Order, though also having local represent-
atives on its board of governors.

All the schools except the one which is independent
receive financial support and advice from the Social
Work Services Group, but in general they - through their

Heads and governing bodies - make their own decisions
(though, of course, some of their activities are spec-
ifically controlled by law). It was therefore necess-
ary, while enlisting the help of the Social Work
Services Group's Liaison Officer (which was much app-
reciated), to request the schools' individual per-
missions to involve them in the research. This per-
mission was readily granted by all five schools and all
possible facilities were put at my disposal for inter-
viewing girls periodically, taking up residence for
short spells, talking to staff and consulting school
records and documents.

Buildings. The largest school (E) takes seventy girls,
the smallest (D) twenty, the other three vary between
twenty-five and forty. None was custom-built as a
List D or Approved school : two have developed from
local Industrial schools built around 1900, one site
previously housed an orphanage, another is accommodated
in what was once a private house, and the last (the
largest) has been formed by the amalgamation of an
Approved school and a 'training' school on the same site.

All the schools have areas designated as 'house' (for
sleeping, eating, etc.) and 'school' (that is, class-
rooms), an assembly hall (which usually doubles or
trebles as something else), dining rooms, sitting
rooms and so on. Only the largest school has dormit-
ories in the usual sense, but these are separated by
curtains into single cubicles; the others have either

single bedrooms, or bedrooms taking up to four girls in each. Staffs' living and working arrangements are more varied : where some staff live on the premises (as in three of the schools) they have their own quarters, more or less separate from those of the girls. In all the schools but one there is also a separate staff dining-room, which however in some cases is little used. All have some sort of staffroom for meetings, free periods etc., but the restrictions on their use for both staff and girls vary a lot and for interesting reasons, as pointed out in the main text.

House structure. Very little is laid down in the Act about the structure, staffing or programme of the schools, beyond that they shall be subject to registration and inspection by Government bodies. However - for reasons of expediency, history, ideology and so on - there is quite a lot of similarity among the Scottish girls' schools and between them and the boys' schools and the corresponding schools in England.

Whether or not a school is divided into 'Houses' seems (in the case of the schools under study at least) to depend as much upon size and convenience of buildings as on policy. School E, which takes about seventy girls, is divided into five houses, each with its own House Mother and assistants. In school B, which can take about thirty-five girls, the buildings lend themselves to having two houses, but the buildings of school A with about the same number do not. The latter has a separate

'house unit' for six girls and a 'flat' for four, but these are all administered together. School D has a hostel completely separate from the school which takes up to six girls who are in outside employment, but is otherwise one unit. School C appears to have acted more on policy in adapting somewhat intractable buildings to allow for two fairly independent houses.

House structure operates only on the 'care' side; in classroom time the girls are redivided into classes of ability level or other convenient grouping. In some schools each girl is allocated to a member of staff as her particular supervisor or social worker and in such a scheme all members of staff will usually be involved. In others, girls are divided between two social workers appointed as such, for both practical arrangements (such as home leaves) and counselling.

Staffing. The most common staffing structure in girls' schools is as follows: a Head Master or Mistress (in four out of our five cases this post is now in fact held by a man) who is responsible for policy, overall discipline and most liaison with authorities. A Deputy Head, also often a man, is usually responsible for education besides his strict position as second in command. The third-in-charge, generally a woman, usually takes charge of domestic arrangements. However, a recent working party recommended that there should be two posts of third-in-charge or senior assistant, of equal status (and pay), one on the education side and one on the care

side: one school (A) is now implementing this proposal.
(This recommendation is an interesting reflection on
the growing importance of the 'care model' against the
'educational model' - see Chapter Two.)

Two or more Housemothers or senior house supervisors
with a number of assistant supervisors provide physical
and emotional care outside the classroom. One or more
full-time general subjects teachers, supplemented by a
number of (usually part-time) specialist teachers in art,
cookery, commerce and other subjects held to be suitable
for teenage girls, provide education during the day and
sometimes in the evenings as well. There will also be
one or more social workers whose job is mainly liaison
with parents and local authority social workers, and the
preparation of reports and records. The ancillary staff
include domestic staff, secretary, handyman and so on.
In some schools all staff are expected to undertake
some care duties - that is, evening and weekend super-
vision - and this may include the ancillary staff too.
In others, division of labour is more rigidly adhered to.

A shift system for care staff is worked in all the schools
but with local variations; for example, some schools
plan so that the same members of staff are on duty at
the same times each week, another lays stress on a girl's
being wakened in the morning by the same member of
staff who put her to bed the night before. It is gen-
erally agreed that where there are 'house teams' - in
the three schools with a well-developed house structure —

members of one team of staff are always attached to the same group of girls whenever they are on duty.

Programme. The schools run fairly similar programmes from day to day, partly at least in compliance with the law on compulsory education. The normal school hours are set aside for classroom and other educational work. All schools involve the girls in some sort of domestic work before classes, although the methods and reasoning behind this differs from one school to another. All schools have a morning meeting attended by staff and girls; in most cases this is of the formal religious assembly type found in day schools, but in one case (D) it is informal (accompanied by coffee) and has no religious content. Most of the schools have some sort of extra-mural programme involving educational visits, leisure outings, voluntary work by selected girls and so on, though some are much more restricted than others.

The most striking difference in programme is the question of home leave. Two schools (A and D) encourage all girls to go home every weekend if physically (financially) and emotionally possible. Another (E) has a sort of six-week term system with a week's holiday at the end of it. The others have leave for alternate houses on alternate weekends, but subject to the 'good behaviour' of the girls concerned. It is claimed that financial and staff pressures determine to a large extent the leave system, but obviously policy also plays a part.

APPENDIX FOUR : DEMOGRAPHIC DATA COLLECTION

Demographic data on the girls who composed the main
sample was collected under various headings and recorded
along with their test results. There were two main
reasons for having this data. In the first place it
enabled us - as shown in Chapter Eight - to decide to
what extent the intake to each school was comparable
with that of the other schools and to test whether
different background characteristics of input had any
influence upon differential results. In the second
place, it provides a set of data upon girls entering
List D schools in Scotland in 1973/4 which can be com-
pared with data collected by Richardson (1969) and the
Cowies (1968) on similar populations in England in
previous years.

The data was collected under the following headings :
age, reason for committal, previous record, length of
time known to social work and other authorities,
previous action taken, home circumstances and assoc-
iation with psychiatric services. Most of the data
was taken from documents in the girl's file held at
the school. In one or two cases there was no inform-
ation except what the girl herself had volunteered -
name and date of birth. In more cases the information
was vague and sometimes one document contradicted
another from a different source (many researchers in
this field have reported similar difficulties). Where

there was a doubt, the school's own summary was usually taken, since this could be checked at source (and because the school often actually seemed to know more than the child's home social worker did).

AGE

Each girl's date of birth and date of admission was abstracted from the school's summary and her age on entry to the school was calculated. This data was then processed to give a mean age for the whole sample and for each school separately. Apart from a comparison with other studies involving a similar age-group, the only way in which this data was used was in a check against the age-trend question asked of the control group data.

REASON FOR COMMITTAL

Discovering the official reason for committal to a List D school turned out to be a complex procedure. The social worker in his or her report to the Children's Panel is required to give a reason or reasons for referring the child and for recommending compulsory care. However, although the Panel also state a reason on their official notice of committal, they may give quite a different one from the social worker (and need not explain themselves). Incidentally, precise official reason for committal might not seem to be a very important matter, were it not for a rather odd affair upon which I stumbled : the police in one area had decided upon a plan to prosecute girls for abscond-

ing. This decision was made, as far as I could dis-
cover, without any consultation by the police with
schools, Panels or anyone else, and no-one quite
seemed to know whether it was even legal. Besides the
girl they intended to prosecute, they would also call
her companions in absconding as witnesses. The criterion
by which they were to decide who would be prosecuted for,
and who merely a witness to, one and the same event, was
that they would only prosecute a girl committed for a
criminal offence. At the time I came across this affair
the police were actually engaged in questioning some
girls at one of the schools. I mention this point
simply because one is bound to wonder whether Panels
realise the possible consequences of their decision to
commit for, say, care and protection, while ignoring an
admitted offence - or vice versa - upon a girl's future.

However, it was perhaps fortunate for the simplicity
of the present study that the Panel's official state-
ment rarely appeared to be held in the school (I was
unable to discover why not). But all the schools also
have a system in which they summarize information on a
single sheet or front cover of a girl's file and this
usually includes a 'reason for committal'. Because the
school had at its disposal all the data available to me
and some more - sometimes obtained informally - besides,
I decided to take as reason for committal that given
on the school's summary, unless there was a clear case
for not doing so. However, because of the difficulty

of ascertaining the 'real' reason (if any meaning can be attached to such a phrase), the vagueness of social workers' descriptions, their tendency to classify actions as indicating 'moral danger' or 'in need of care and protection' which on examination seemed dubiously labelled, and the even stronger tendency of some schools to identify everything as 'outwith parental control', too much weight should not be given to findings based upon these categories.

Often, of course, more than one reason was given; I recorded all those that seemed to be given any weight at all in the documents. Although some of the reasons given were quite straight forward, there were others more esoteric such as "needs a more structured environment", "incidents of defiance" and "needs supervision and discipline". A researcher can only resolve to be firm with these singular evaluations and I classified all the reasons given into one of seven groups. It will be noted that groups do not correspond exactly to the categories envisaged in the Social Work (Scotland) Act, but together with the overlap of educational maladjustment and psychiatric problems they roughly cover its intentions.

Truancy. This was generally straightforward, being explicitly stated as such. School refusal was also included in this category.

Beyond parental control. This was usually stated in

this precise form (or the Scottish 'outwith parental control'), sometimes in phrases such as "unmanageable at home" or "generally troublesome behaviour".

Offences. Whether an offence had been committed was usually obvious from the file, even if police reports were not present. Offences mentioned included : theft, house-breaking, shop-lifting, robbery with violence, assault, fire-raising, Road Traffic Act offences, malicious mischief and damage, disorderly conduct and breach of the peace. These were not analysed separately.

Moral danger. This category was used whenever the report either used the phrase itself or mentioned drunkenness, promiscuity or 'bad company'. The social worker's definition of these activities, though often obscure, was not questioned unless the weight of other evidence was very strong.

Care and protection. Sometimes this phrase itself was used; more often a description of home background, assumed to be self-pleading, was given in terms of ill-treatment, neglect, incest, desertion, family break-up or homelessness. As mentioned in Chapter One, however, 'care and protection' rarely seems to result in List D school disposal unless other factors are present which suggest that the nature of the required care is 'compulsory' : that is, there is almost always a behavioural criterion also.

Maladjustment. This category is not one specified by

by the Social Work (Scotland) Act but is certainly used to characterise List D school candidates who seem to overlap with those sent to schools for maladjusted children and to psychiatric units. Descriptions include running away from home, problems at school and personality problems.

Miscellaneous. A category for assorted misfitting descriptions was found to be necessary to include such vague reports as "need" and "family trouble" which were impossible to classify elsewhere, and some individualistic reasons such as "last resort" and "own request". It also covered the one or two children who were transferred from other institutions.

Girls were classified on two bases : first, of coming into a given category at all and second, of coming into only a single category. Thus a girl with a committal for truancy alone would be classified both as 'involving truancy' and as 'truancy only', whereas a girl for whom truancy and an offence were both given as reasons would be classified as 'involving truancy' and 'involving offence'. It will be clear from the tables in Appendix Five which basis is being used in a given case. Besides overall classification, subjects were analysed by school to determine whether intake to the various schools differed in terms of reason for committal. Some of the categories were later correlated against various test scores, as will be seen in the tables of results.

PREVIOUS RECORD

The categories used in 'previous record' were exactly
the same as those in 'reason for committal'. In anal-
ysis, 'previous record' was only used in conjunction
with 'reason for committal', for example, to determine
what proportion of girls had only - at this or any
previous time - been brought to official notice because
of truancy, or what proportion had at any time, includ-
ing the present, been involved in offences (in what-
ever combination).

KNOWN SINCE

Data was collected on the length of time for which sub-
jects had been known to the social work department (or
its forerunners) or to the police, or to Child Guidance
or psychiatric services. The reason for including
this data was that there might turn out to be some
connexion between it and other factors such as sus-
ceptibility to change. The subjects were divided into
three groups: those whose problems seemed to be - as
far as official recognition went - of recent origin,
from 1973 onwards (the subjects were first contacted
in April 1974), those of medium length - from 1970 to
1972 - and those of long standing - up to 1969. Those
few who had apparently not been known before the pres-
ent proceedings were included in 'recent'.

PREVIOUS ACTION

A record was made of the previous action which had
been taken in respect of the subjects who had been
referred to various authorities before the present
disposal to List D school. Besides the categories of
'no information' (either as to whether they had been
referred or as to what they had been referred to), 'no
action taken' and 'no referral', this information was
classifiable under four headings: supervision, resid-
ential institution (children's home, hostel, hospital,
other List D school and adolescent unit), temporary
institution (remand home or assessment centre) and
'out-patient' treatment (at a Child Guidance Clinic,
other clinic, special day school, etc.)

HOME SITUATION

The information on the family background contained in
the files was very confused and vague. Without further
checking it was often impossible to obtain a detailed
assessment of the home situation. It is described
here as a 'broken home' if one or both of the child's
natural parents were permanently absent from what the
child called 'home' on account of death, desertion,
divorce, separation, or never having been there in the
first place. Temporarily broken homes - because of
parents in hospital, prison, etc. - were noted sep-
arately. In some cases, a stepmother or stepfather or
co-habitee was referred to in the reports without any

information as to what had happened to the natural
parent. These cases could only be described as 'broken
home' simpliciter; otherwise, 'broken homes' were sub-
divided into death of father, death of mother, desertion
of father, desertion of mother, divorce and separation.
Sometimes two or more of these conditions were present
together. The number of children who were noted as
illegitimate was also recorded, but in the case of those
who were reported as living permanently with grand-
parents, or fostered or adopted, it is possible that
information about illegitimacy was obscured.

PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

This category was originally included to supp-
ort the typology which, as explained in Appendix One,
was later abandoned. Both psychiatric reports on the
child and psychiatric treatment were noted. However,
it was often not clear from the documents exactly
what sort of report or what sort of treatment had been
given. In most cases, though not all, a copy of any
report was present in the file but, especially if this
was from a Child Guidance Clinic, it was sometimes
still not clear whether it was intended to be merely
an educational report or whether it was supposed to
give some more general assessment. Those that were
obviously purely educational were omitted; the rest
were considered together in calculating what proportion
of girls had been referred for psychological or psych-
iatric assessment. The number reported as having an

identifiable disturbance was noted and also the number in receipt of psychiatric (or Child Guidance) treatment.

Demographic data : staff

Data was collected on demographic aspects of staff in the schools, with a view to investigating correlations . between this data and staff test scores and/or social climate. The data was collected during the first residential period since this was the time at which staff tests were carried out; although there were changes in staff personnel between the two periods - which obviously might have some bearing on any changes in social climate - it was considered too confusing (besides being burdensome for the staff) to do all the data collection a second time.

The staff were assessed in the following terms :
1. whether under or over 35 years of age
2. time in present job: whether less than one year
3. time in present job: whether less than five years
4. whether previous experience in this line of work (including child care, teaching and social work)
5. whether qualified in child care, teaching or social work
6. whether qualified in any way, e.g. specialist teaching subject
7. male or female [% female]
8. married or single [% married]
9. own children

APPENDIX FIVE : SUPPLEMENTARY TABLES

All tables referred to in the main text, but not dis-
played there, are included in this appendix.

A : Demographic variables

Where totals in this section do not equal 166, it is
because data was not avaiable on this variable for a
certain number of subjects.

TABLE A5.1   'KNOWN SINCE'

	N	%
Recent(1973+)	86	53
Medium(70/72)	50	30
Long (pre1970)	28	17
	164	100

Note: 27%of the 'recent' category were committed for
      truancy only; this proportion is precisely the
      same as that in the total sample.

TABLE A5.2   PREVIOUS RECORD

	N	%
Any truancy	93	58
Any offences	63	39
Any BPC	64	40
No offences	94	61

Note: 'any' means any previous or on the present occasion,
      'no' means none at any time.

TABLE A5.3   HOME SITUATION

	N	%
One parent dead	17	10
Both parents dead	1	1
Desertion/separation/divorce	60	36
Step-parent (no reason given)	13	8
Unstable home (parent in prison,etc)	8	5
Both parents at home	66	40
	165	100

B : CPI - Original scores

In this section, original scores on the California Psychological Inventory are correlated with various demographic variables; χ^2 values and probability values are given for each correlation.

TABLE A5.4   CPI x TRUANCY-ONLY COMMITTALS

	χ^2	p
Well-being	< 2	n/s
Responsibility	9.42	< .01
Socialisation	9.56	< .01
Self-control	13.22	< .01
Good impression	2.37	n/s
Communality	< 1	n/s

TABLE A5.5   CPI x TRUANCY ONLY AT ANY TIME

	χ^2	p
Well-being	2.90	n/s
Responsibility	13.15	< .01
Socialisation	9.27	<.01
Self-control	14.69	<.001
Good impression	<1	n/s
Communality	2.70	n/s

TABLE A5.6   CPI x BROKEN HOME

	χ^2	p
Well-being	< 1	n/s
Responsibility	< 1	n/s
Socialisation	12.27	< .01
Self-control	1.01	n/s
Good impression	1.84	n/s
Communality	< 1	n/s

TABLE A5.7   CPI x ALL OFFENCES ANY TIME

	χ^2	p
Well-being	< 1	n/s
Responsibility	3.51	n/s
Socialisation	2.20	n/s
Self-control	< 1	n/s
Good impression	4.25	n/s
Communality	1.54	n/s

TABLE A5.8   CPI x INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE

	χ^2	p
Well-being	8.72	< .05
Responsibility	1.74	n/s
Socialisation	2.41	n/s
Self-control	6.81	< .05
Good impression	1.91	n/s
Communality	1.55	n/s

TABLE A5.9   CPI x 'KNOWN SINCE'

	χ^2	p
Well-being	6.49	n/s
Responsibility	5.71	n/s
Socialisation	2.67	n/s
Self-control	3.06	n/s
Good impression	<1	n/s
Communality	5.11	n/s

In all the tables in section B, where significant χ^2 values are recorded, they were in the expected direction. That is to say, girls with committals for truancy only tended to score higher on some scales than those with other reasons for committal, whereas girls from broken homes and with previous institutional experience tended to score lower on some scales than those without. However, girls having offences did not score significantly differently from those without.

C : CPI change

In this section, change in CPI scores is correlated with the three variables which were found to influence original scores : truancy-only committals, broken home, and previous institutional experience. Each table is arranged to show the proportions of girls sustaining improvements only (I) on any scale, those sustaining deteriorations only (D) and those showing neither or a combination of both (N/B).

TABLE A5.10   CPI CHANGE x TRUANCY-ONLY

	I	N/B	D	Total
Truancy only	10	9	6	25
Other committals	29	34	27	90
Total	39	43	33	115

$\chi^2 = 0.52$ with 2 degrees of freedom. Not significant.

TABLE A5.11   CPI CHANGE x BROKEN HOME

	I	N/B	D	Total
Broken home	20	28	16	64
Not broken home	19	15	17	51
Total	39	43	33	115

$\chi^2 = 2.82$ with 2 dgrees of freedom. Not significant.

TABLE A5.12   CPI CHANGE x PREVIOUS

INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE

	I	N/B	D	Total
Prev. inst. exp.	14	17	8	39
No inst. exp.	25	26	25	76
Total	39	43	33	115

χ^2 = 1.76 with 2 degrees of freedom. Not significant.

D : Staff analysis

The categories for staff analysis are labelled 1 to 9 as
explained at the end of Appendix Four. This table shows
the percentage of staff in each school who fell into the
given category. These percentages are ranked when used
in the main text.

TABLE A5.13   STAFF CHARACTERISTICS

%	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
A	35	41	65	71	65	77	82	71	65
B	21	32	68	47	32	47	74	84	74
C	28	33	78	78	33	78	83	61	55
D	62	54	85	77	69	85	69	77	54
E	31	38	85	50	46	73	88	35	35