

R E P O R T R E S U M E S

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**FROM DELINQUENCY TO FREEDOM.
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DESCRIPTORS- *DEMONSTRATION PROGRAMS, *DELINQUENT REHABILITATION, *GROUP BEHAVIOR, *PEER RELATIONSHIP, EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS, DELINQUENTS, ACADEMICALLY HANDICAPPED, PEER TEACHING, GROUP THERAPY, STATISTICAL ANALYSIS, GATES READING SURVEY, WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN, OTIS TEST OF MENTAL ABILITY, DARMSTADT ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST, ALLEN SENTENCE COMPLETION TEST, MACHIAVELLI TEST

THE COLLEGEFIELDS PROJECT (CP) WAS PRIMARILY A DEMONSTRATION OF EDUCATIONALLY BASED GROUP REHABILITATION FOR DELINQUENT AND PREDELINQUENT BOYS. SECONDARILY, IT WAS DESIGNED TO VALIDATE THE PROGRAM'S EFFECTIVENESS. GUIDED GROUP INTERACTION WAS THE MAJOR TECHNIQUE IN ALTERING EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS AND REDUCING DELINQUENT BEHAVIORS AND FEELINGS OF POWERLESSNESS. BOYS WERE REFERRED BY THE COURT TO THE PROGRAM. THE PROGRAM FORMALLY FUNCTIONED IN 10-HOUR DAILY SESSIONS EACH WEEKDAY AND EVENTUALLY AROUND THE CLOCK, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE BOYS LIVED AT HOME. BECUASE THE DESIRED NORMS OF REHABILITATION WERE GENERALLY IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE NORMS OF THE STREET CULTURE, IT WAS NECESSARY FOR THE BOYS, WITH MINIMAL STAFF SUPERVISION, TO PLAN AND IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAM. WHEN COLLEGEFIELDS GRADUATES (CG) WERE COMPARED ON NUMEROUS INSTRUMENTS WITH TWO CONTROL GROUPS, IT WAS FOUND THAT--(1) RECEDIVISM AMONG CG WAS LOWER, (2) CG SHOW SIGNIFICANTLY AND CONSISTENTLY GREATER GAINS ON ALL MEASURES OF READING AND MENTALY ABILITY, (3) UNFAVORABLE OPINIONS ABOUT TEACHERS SHOWED THE GREATEST REDUCTION AMONG CG, AND (4) CG ANTICIPATE MORE SCHOOLING, HAVE BETTER REALITY ORIENTATION, AND SHOW THE GREATEST UPGRADING IN THE SOCIAL STATUS OF ANTICIPATED VOCATIONS. ALTHOUGH FOLLOW-UP STUDIES ARE CALLED FOR, THE COLLEGEFIELDS EXPERIMENT CAN BE EVALUATED AS SUCCESSFUL FOR THE REHABILITATION OF MANY 14 AND 15 YEAR OLD DELINQUENTS. (PR)

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C O L L E G E F I E L D S

From Delinquency to Freedom

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A REPORT TO:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

on

COLLEGEFIELDS GROUP EDUCATIONAL CENTER
Laboratory for Applied Behavioral Science
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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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To the Reader

This report is concerned with the description of the process and product of an educationally based group rehabilitation program for delinquent and pre-delinquent youngsters. In a larger sense, however, we believe that it can also serve to shed light on problems associated with the education and upbringing of all youngsters.

Within the Collegefields Program are what we believe to be viable solutions to many of the problems posed by and related to the feelings of powerlessness which many individuals in our increasingly complex, technological society experience.

Powerlessness is a concept which has been most helpful in clarifying a number of important contributing factors underlying such major problems as educational failure, delinquency, crime, high addiction rates, adolescent "rebellion" at all levels of society and continued poverty. In essence a powerless individual believes himself to have little or no influence in determining matters concerning his life and the role he plays or will play in society. The frustration generated by such powerlessness contributes to the above mentioned social problems.

The collegefields Project proved successful in both educating and rehabilitating delinquents. It met with this success because it embodied the means by which the boys in the program could realize power in matters of important concern to them.

The concept of powerlessness is now generally accepted as an important factor underlying major societal problems. This report describes in detail some of the keys by which the human resources inherent even in youthful delinquents were unlocked and used by them for their own growth, rehabilitation, and successful education.

It is for this reason that our report is titled, "From Delinquency to Freedom."

The collegefields Staff
February 1967

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Section I INTRODUCTION

The Collegefields Project is the result of certain historical, social and scientific trends and concerns. In recent years imaginative attempts have been made to work with delinquent youngsters utilizing the peer group as the prime change agent. Historically, these approaches began with the Highfields Project which originated some sixteen years ago and which was a residential program for sixteen-and-seventeen-year-old delinquent boys in Hopewell, New Jersey. More recently, application of these approaches have been continuing with the Provo and Essexfields Projects in Utah and again in New Jersey. A number of communities and state correctional agencies have made serious attempts at utilizing this relatively new approach to the rehabilitation or re-training of the delinquent youngster. Probation Departments, as well as custodial institutions, have also developed experimental projects in the hope that through the effort of the peer group itself, individual delinquent children could make use of new social opportunities.

The technique most often identified with these peer group approaches has been referred to as guided group interaction. This approach refers to a technique which places great stress upon the development of a social system; namely, a peer group which contains within its internal interaction situation norms which are in direct opposition to the norms adhered to by these youngsters in their natural delinquent groups. It is this new situation

with its new expectations that creates an atmosphere sometimes so untenable for the delinquent child that he finds himself in a direct confrontation with his previous behavior. This results in a soul-searching for new behavior alternatives. Consequently, youngsters going through the guided group interaction experience frequently find themselves rejecting their previous responses to familiar situations. New patterns of behavior are sought and often found.

This form of rehabilitation does not necessarily require deep underlying personality changes, although naturally one is never sure when or whether this ever occurs. The emphasis in programs utilizing guided group interaction is upon the interaction of the peer group as the carrier of new norms for the purposes of change in each of its members.

The above-described change process, as found in correctional programs, is to be seen in relation to the processes experienced in educational systems. The great amount of attention given recently to the problems of our urban schools can be best understood by an examination of adolescent antisocial behavior in our society and its relationship to the school system.

It is generally agreed that antisocial behavior patterns as evidenced by adolescent children in our school systems present serious impediments to the educative processes. The effects of a relatively small group of "acting out" adolescents upon the majority of other students is well-known to classroom observers. Deviant

behavior in classroom situations tends to result in negative consequences for both teachers and students. It obstructs and distorts the intended goals of the learning experience. In recent decades many attempts have been made to alleviate school systems of the problems presented by deviant children. However, disciplinary action, guidance counselling services, and referrals to psychiatric clinics, have resulted in only limited amelioration. Frequently, these negative school experiences result in "trauma" to students and teachers alike. Consequently, children attempt to "escape" as soon as the law allows or sooner, while teachers become concerned with techniques designed to deal with the hostility directed toward them or toward the educative experience itself.

There is a desperate need for new orientations and techniques leading to the resolution of those difficulties. It is necessary that we utilize our most recent knowledge in the social sciences toward creative approaches in working with delinquent children who also have serious learning problems.

Much has been written regarding the etiology of deviant behavior among adolescent groups in our culture. Part of this problem can be attributed to individual psychopathology. However, the extent and nature of the problem indicate the presence of additional factors.

An examination of adolescent life in our society reveals the significance of peer group influences upon individual behavior.

Herbert Bloch has stated:

"Much, if not all of the seething unrest and occasional violent protest towards organized society which appears to be characteristic of adolescence in our society, is either precipitated or reinforced by the intimate group contacts of adolescents with their own peers. The adolescent group constitutes a cultural milieu of its own, with its own biases, predilections, attitudes, values, and jargon, from which adults, even those most closely concerned with the individual adolescent's upbringing are sedulously excluded."

It is difficult, therefore, to consider such a disturbing modern phenomenon as delinquency when removed from its provocative and group-supported setting of the gang or other intimate adolescent group."¹

Such subcultural groups, as Fritz Redl has pointed out, maintain their own psychological atmosphere, their own techniques for ego-reinforcement, and their own cultural sanctions. Except for the occasional delinquent act committed by the lone offender, rare and symptomatic of a deeply disturbed youngster, most juvenile delinquency is committed by groups or gangs rather than by individuals.

Obviously, it is not the "peer group" phenomenon alone that is disturbing, but rather its direction and value orientation. Sociologists have pointed out an existing alienation between adolescent groupings and adult society.

1. Herbert Bloch & Arthur Niederhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior, New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, p.14.

"Among adolescent groups,... a good deal of the common interests which tend to foster an intensive institutional life of their own, arises from what appears to be a rejection of and by adult society, which refuses to accord to the adolescent a recognized status. In a sense, this is a subculture of negation in which the positive values of the prevailing culture are distorted and inverted for uses best suited to a philosophy of youthful dissidence and protest." 2

Teachers of adolescent children are frequently aware of this fact when students respond to cues emitted by fellow students rather than those cues established by the authority figure. Ruth W. Berenda observed this process under experimental conditions and concluded that:

"The position of the teacher really is one of an outsider, who although part of the school situation, is never judged as a member of the group. In the world of the child, she indeed plays an important part, but the rules of the game that apply to the child's group do not apply to her nor to any other adult. Toward an outsider one can afford to be tolerant and even indifferent, but not so toward a member of one's own group. The child's membership in the group is not threatened by the disagreement of the teacher. If she chooses to have a different 'opinion' even on simple lines, that is her right. The child, though puzzled and, as was sometimes the case, fearful, does not feel even the need to follow her." 3

2. Herbert Bloch & Arthur Niederhoffer, The Gang: A Study in Adolescent Behavior, New York: Philosophical Library, 1958, p.13.

3. Ruth W. Berenda, The Influence of the Group on the Judgements of Children, New York: King's Crown Press--Columbia University, 1950, p.77.

The wide range of adolescent life reflects the impact of peer group pressures upon the norms and values of its members. Many businessmen are aware of this social and psychological dynamic and reap large profits as a result of their utilization of techniques which stimulate peer group pressures, thereby creating music and clothing fads.

It is apparent that our educators and social scientists need to be as equally diligent in utilizing this vast dynamic of adolescent behavior and values. In this endeavor they have, largely, been remiss. The College-fields Project attempted to utilize techniques based on the impact of peer group pressures upon the behavior and recurring educational failure of pre-delinquent children and to report on them through a relevant research design.

Teachers struggling with antisocial behavior in the classroom are struck by the nature of the values held by "pre-delinquent" children. They seem to have little concern or admiration for academic knowledge and, in fact, delight in taunting the very precepts upon which a democratic classroom atmosphere is based. Science, literature, mathematics, and history are all to be scorned. Group acclaim and status appear to be far more significant to these children. Acceptable behavior is a reflection of the values held by the peer group members, and if it is anti-authority in nature, then so much to the good, since this will result in status, recognition, and prestige. Deviant behavior frequently occurs when there is a relative absence of internalized norms and rules governing behavior in conformity with the norms of a larger social system.

The Collegefields Project was directly concerned with altering the value system of the peer groups to which deviant children are members. It was designed so that through the process of group interaction, and in the milieu of a basic educational program, pre-delinquent children would be able to explore alternatives to their customary modes of behavior. Our intention was to create new value systems and behavior norms which would reinforce positive and democratic, rather than narrow delinquent values; values and norms which would enable youngsters to develop a greater degree of internal controls.

In essence, the theoretical underpinnings of our project are located in the fields of sociology, psychology, and education. We were concerned with the development of the individual child whose external behavior and internal life has caused him to be labeled as "delinquent." However, we were equally concerned with the critical forces that are forever shaping and moulding him into the social being he is. In this context, our interest lay within his subcultural groupings and peer group experiences. Through the use of group techniques based upon our knowledge of adolescent group dynamics, we intended to modify and alter the experiences, values and, to some extent, the personalities of these children so that their behavior would no longer be an impediment to themselves or to their classmates, but rather would enhance the whole educative process.

The Collegefields Project represents the latest refinements of the process in the treatment of delinquency

and has no precedent in its use of the peer group in a basic educational program. Utilizing existing knowledge regarding the development of subcultural systems for the purposes of changing adolescent behavior, the goal of the Collegefields Project was to reduce the delinquent behavior and to alter the educational experience of the boys.

Section II PROGRAM DESIGN, DEVELOPMENT AND STRUCTURE

Collegefields, unlike its successful antecedents, was designed around a developmental and remedial base. The goal of the project was to establish a program which avoided segmentation of the child and to establish a "whole" program which nurtured the development of integrated individuals. That the peer group influences individual school behavior and achievement as much as it does street behavior has been demonstrated again and again. Collegefields, therefore, sought not only to achieve delinquency rehabilitation with the aid of the peer group but also to achieve significant advances in academic standing and ability. These advances, it was planned, would be achieved by combining the best elements of modern educational techniques with the power and influence generated by a rehabilitative peer group designed to provide motivation and behavioral control in the classroom.

In designing Collegefields as a program for 25, fourteen-and-fifteen year old male delinquents and pre-delinquents the planners sought to validate an hypothesis that the dynamics of peer group interaction could be successfully applied to the rehabilitation of the younger age group. In the city of Newark, 500 such boys are before the Juvenile Court Bench annually and it was from this group that the Collegefields population was drawn.

With the exception of a few generalizations arising out of the Highfields-Essexfields experience there were no precedents to serve as guides in the design and development of the Collegefields project. Then, as now, there was a scarcity of trained guided group interaction specialists and none of the few available had had experience in leading interaction groups with boys of this age.

The initial staff consisted of Dr. Saul Pilnick, Director, Dr. Harry N. Dubin, Director of Education, and Dr. Robert F. Allen, Director of Research. Over fifty prospective teachers were interviewed by the Educational Director before the four original teaching positions in the program were filled.

Finding the "right" people proved a difficult task for a number of reasons. While it was essential to have excellent teachers it was also essential to have people who were not so caught up in traditional approaches that they could not adjust to the philosophy of the program. It was basic to the program that the teachers accept and understand the fact that they would be asked to share with a group of delinquent adolescents the authority and responsibility for maintenance of order and for academic achievement.

In the month between the opening of the project and the arrival of the first boys, the program began to include other staff from the community. There was a special guidance counselor from the Newark School System who served as the liaison between the system and the program and who received intensive training and experience in leading

guided group interaction meetings; two social workers from the Family Service Bureau of Newark who provided casework support for the boys in the program and their families and who became familiar with the group process through frequent observation. Casework with these boys and their families is being continued through the facilities of the Family Service Bureau since the close of the program.

The supervisor of the education portion of the Collegefields program, as a result of long experience in the Newark School System, provided guidance for the educational staff and helped in the development of a curriculum which was relevant to the needs of the boys in the program and in consonance with the curricula of the Newark School System.

During the months prior to the program and during the first month of the project before the first boys were admitted in March of 1965, the directors worked with participating agencies including the Newark Board of Education, the Laboratory for Applied Behavioral Science of Newark State College, the Essex County Juvenile Court, Essexfields Group Rehabilitation Center and Family Service Bureau of Newark. These working contacts were deemed essential to ensure successful implementation of the program.

Newark State College was at this time and later, highly involved in the program's implementation through the voluntary contributions of faculty members and the use of the facilities of the college. Initial staff training and on-

going guidance was provided by associates of the college's Laboratory for Applied Behavioral Science.

At this time also the development of instrumentation for the research design was finished and the design itself readied for implementation. The research staff included an Essex County court clerk who was instrumental in providing easy access to important research data. The research component of the project was designed to validate the effectiveness of the program in achieving, through the peer group, certain social and educational gains among the Collegefields population of delinquent and pre-delinquent boys who were, essentially, educational failures.

The original plan was to have the experimental Collegefields group of 25 boys at any given time who would attend the program four to seven months and a tested control group that would consist of boys, matched to the Collegefields boys, who remained in the community and continued in the Newark School System while on probation. Before the project opened, it was felt that a third group be added, a non-tested control group, which would afford a number of dimensions of statistical measurement that would not be gained from having only two groups. The concerns of the research design and the research data are described later in the report.

It was thought from the outset that the Collegefields project should be a program which would provide a high degree of integration between its various components in order to avoid the segmentation of the youngster in the

project. Such integration was especially necessary in a program working with disadvantaged and delinquent youth. From experience, it was known that sophisticated disadvantaged youth develop skills in manipulating the adult world and in turning various areas in the adult world against one another in order to achieve short-term goals and to avoid "trouble." Faced with a staff whose training was only partially relevant to the immediate project and with the implementation of a program whose design was based on a few knowns and many unknowns, the planners recognized that the degree of program integration which they sought could not be achieved from the onset of the demonstration. With this requirement in mind, however, it was possible to incorporate into the design the means for the quickest achievement of the goal.

Of major importance was a planned provision for intra-staff observations and conferences. Teachers, social workers, and other relevant staff observed the daily afternoon group meetings of the boys and conferred afterward with the group interaction specialist. In like manner, the group leader observed classrooms and worked closely with the social workers while they carried out casework with the boys and their families. As a result of this and similar approaches to staff training and because of the emphasis on the use of the peer group in all areas of the program, manipulative attempts, after the first month of operation, became almost non-existent.

Guided group interaction programs are effective only if the adolescents in the program have a genuine sense of decision-making power in matters concerning their own lives. Such a program then must be designed so that the major function of the staff is that of insuring, through skillful direction and guidance, that the decisions of the peer group are in the best interest of the rehabilitation of its members. To facilitate the development of a positive peer culture which would carry with it this kind of decision-making power, the Collegefields daily schedule was designed to provide maximum opportunities for the boys to interact among themselves throughout the day.

The schedule outlined includes three major changes from the schedule originally planned. These changes are generally indicative of the positive nature of the sub-culture which was developed at Collegefields.

Each week day the boys met at 7:30 a.m. at the Essexfields' building in Newark, New Jersey. It was originally planned that the boys would report to the Essexfields' building at 9:00 a.m., but shortly after the onset of the demonstration project the boys requested permission to report at 7:30. The boys wanted more time to interact with one another than the original plan allowed. At the request of the boys this new reporting time was formalized by the staff. Under the supervision of a Collegefields staff member they informally discussed among themselves each others' problems and reviewed each others' experiences since the

previous day. At 8:30 they left Newark in a bus driven and supervised by the Collegetields' guided group interaction specialist. During the 20 to 25 minute bus ride the boys would continue their discussions which were initiated earlier at the Essexfields' building. They would arrive at the Collegetields building on the campus of Newark State College in Union to begin classes at 9:00 a.m. For the next three and one-half hours, until 12:30, they were involved in the formal education component of the project. Their classes, as described later in this section were implemented on a large group, small group and individual basis. Boys were grouped according to achievement and remediation in reading and arithmetic was provided as needed.

From 12:30 to 1:20 the boys ate lunch together in the college cafeteria. On three occasions during the week the boys used the period between 1:20 and 1:30 for "spotting." Because the boys could "spot" behavior which did not seem positive or which did not seem indicative of a boy who was sincerely trying to help himself change, the term spotting was conceived and given to this activity. At this time they told of behavior which they had observed which did not reflect the individual boy's concern about himself, the program, or the image he would like to project to others. This ten minute "spotting" was a schedule change requested by the boys themselves.

The formal group interaction meetings occurred from 1:30 to 4:00 p.m. and the boys were divided into two groups in order to maintain a group size conducive to interaction.

The guided group interaction sessions were originally planned to last an hour and a half. Experience with older boys in other programs suggested that a meeting of such length was ideal. Very early experience with the younger Collegefields population, however, indicated that positive and dynamic interaction would generally fade out toward the end of meetings lasting an hour and one half. The staff's action, therefore, was to shorten the group meetings to an hour and fifteen minutes; a period which seemed to promote the most productive interaction.

Between 1:30 and 2:45, Group I attended the meeting which was supervised by the guided group interaction specialist. During this period the boys in the second group were free to study, talk about individual problems, involve themselves in recreation, work on projects initiated in Industrial Arts or sit in on the meeting of the first group. From 2:45 to 4:00 p.m. this procedure was reversed. Frequently a boy from one group was invited to comment in the meeting of the other group on behavior he had observed in a member of that group. From 4:00 to 4:30 p.m. the boys were involved in a general light clean-up of the Collegefields building, during which time interaction would continue. At 4:30 they returned to the Essexfields' building from which they were dismissed to their homes at approximately 5:00 p.m..

Although the daily afternoon meetings helped to formalize the subculture, language and normative system of the Collegefields peer group, the internalization of these as well as the affiliation and allegiance of the boys to the new peer group were largely achieved through interactive opportunities outside the group meetings-- during their morning breaks, at lunch, in the evening, and in the academic classes.

The academic component of the Project, as indicated earlier, was scheduled every morning from 9:00 to 12:30. As the program was an innovative one, changes in the schedule occurred from time to time. Essentially, one hour each was devoted to reading, math, social studies and/or science and related subjects. Frequently the boys received instruction in Industrial and Fine Arts, Health Education, Physical Education, through the facilities and cooperation of the college staff and students.

The objectives of the academic components of the program as incorporated into the total program were: (1) to provide opportunities to acquire educational skills, attitudes and appreciations necessary for successful achievements on the level at which each student could function; (2) to motivate and interest all students in attaining skills which they would continue to develop after they left the program; (3) to develop and maintain attitudes and conduct acceptable in social activities; (4) to encourage participation in and use of community services; and, (5) to encourage productive work habits.

The boys in the Collegefields Group came to the program ranging in school placement from sixth to tenth grade. Frequently, their achievement was not matched to the grades from which they came. Standardized tests were administered individually within the first week of a boy's admission to the program, and immediately after his release. Test results served as a guide for placement level and type of instruction. The various kinds of instruction resulted in differences in the degree of individual academic achievement and accomplishment. During stays of from four to seven months in the program boys advanced in achievement by as many as three academic years.

Initially, three achievement groups and one remedial group were established on the basis of test results. These were groups ranging in grade level from elementary school through junior high and secondary school. The remedial program offered instruction in communications including reading and spelling, and in mathematics.

As the program progressed boys who were assigned to the Collegefields Group came from approximately the same grade level. A change was made from the original grouping to a departmental system of instruction. Individual remedial instruction was continued. Occasionally, the planning of trips, current events studies, and planning for special projects was implemented with the total Collegefields group present.

At regular intervals, a faculty member of the College offered the boys instruction in health education, grooming and sex education. Industrial Arts instruction was implemented with both the total Collegefields group and small groups. Once each week the boys received instructions from a college faculty member at the Industrial Arts Building of the college. An Industrial Arts student from the college came to the Collegefields Center for individual and small group instruction in shop techniques. Small projects such as ash trays and vases were produced by the boys for use in their homes and at the Collegefields Center.

All of the boys came from the Newark School System and it was anticipated they would return to the Newark Schools. The elementary and secondary school curriculums of the Newark Schools, therefore, were used as the basic guide in the Collegefields academic program. While remaining within the bounds of the Newark curriculum modifications were made to meet individual student needs. In implementing the curriculum the teachers employed modern instructional techniques and procedures including visual aids, trips, discussions, socio-dramas and conferences. Facilities of the college library were made available to boys and staff for research and recreational reading. Boys using the library worked individually and in class groups.

Text books contributed by the Newark School System served as the basic instructional material. This was supplemented by a wide variety of new publications contributed by educational publishing houses. In addition to these commercially available materials the teachers created instructional materials which were highly relevant to the individual needs of the Collegetields population. Supplies and materials in the Collegetields program were identical with those used in the Newark Schools.

The academic division of the Collegetields program had many facets. Among the activities other than classrooms, in which the boys participated, were the trips set up for learning and "enjoyment." Trips termed enjoyment by the boys were planned social learning experiences. One of the important trip programs introduced for social studies and communications development was a five-day activity in Newark. During the hours spent in the city each day the boys were taken to the Housing Projects, the important and larger industries, and city government and cultural facilities.

Preparation for the daily trips was done at the Center. The teachers planned daily activities so that the boys knew precisely the purpose of the trip, the things for which to be alert, and the questions they might wish to ask. The boys were delighted with the opportunity of visiting the various places of interest and of getting first-hand information. It was indeed a rare learning experience for many of them.

At the conclusion of the visits, the boys wrote newspaper articles, prepared cartoons, sent letters suggesting changes in things they had observed, and requested more information on some items. Among the resulting activities original poetry writing came from these trips.

Other trips were made to the Trailside Museum where the activities often concluded with a picnic on the grounds. These trips helped to extend the interests in science, health, and safety. The boys also made nature tours in the vicinity of the college.

The Collegefields bus took the boys to their destinations and served a distinct purpose. On the bus, the boys not only discussed the trip but, frequently, also had time to have a group meeting.

The academic program called on the college health staff for emergency services for the boys. Many and frequent visits were made by the boys to the Health Office and the recommendations made by the nurses' staff were welcomed.

The Newark Board of Education offered its many services to the boys. Because of this, the students were privileged to take advantage of the clinic services in Newark. Those boys who needed clothes received them through the Board of Education or Social Agencies. Glasses were obtained in the clinic; dental services were offered and used.

The daily hot lunch provided for the students in the college cafeteria served more than one purpose. It not only aided nutrition but it helped to extend social behavior patterns. Language improved and eating habits were changed. The boys learned how to eat unfamiliar foods and which table equipment to use.

Another activity was the publication of the school newspaper. This was part of the English program but the boys worked many hours after school sessions to publish three comprehensive issues. The contents of each paper included original poetry, themes, stories, cartoons, criticisms, and opinions.

The four teachers who originally joined Collegefields had had no recent training in teaching but possessed a desire to serve and an appreciation of the techniques of the group approach. In their eagerness to help the boys, they early resorted to a one-to-one approach in the classroom. When they became acquainted with the group session procedures, however, they were able to transfer the techniques to the academic session. For instance, if a boy did not fully cooperate in class, instead of the teacher attempting to correct him personally, the matter was submitted to the boys, to be resolved by them either in class or in the group meetings. In this way the same techniques were used throughout the day.

The boys eventually saw the teachers as a part of the entire program. After a short period, on their own suggestion, they made teachers "staff." This was a definite, positive action, since teachers had had no status

from almost the beginning of the program up to the time they became "staff" in the eyes of the boys. The nature and importance of this kind of relationship between adults and adolescent delinquents is discussed in a later section.

At the beginning, the teachers in the academic part of the program found it necessary to plan the morning sessions together. Due to their inexperience in working with delinquent, disadvantaged boys, they were rather hazy as to how to evaluate their accomplishments. The curriculum had to be developed and adjusted to the boys. It was decided that at the noon faculty meeting held every Wednesday, the two hours would be spent in evaluating what each boy and teacher had accomplished and in planning what should be taught in the succeeding week. Classroom problems were discussed and the Educational Director at the Center directed the teachers in techniques of approaching and overcoming the difficulties which arose.

As the year progressed and a curriculum was established, the teachers met more frequently; they initiated original procedures and wanted to share them. Planning each week improved, and the sequential development in all academic areas resulted. The improved response by the boys was apparent as indicated in the Monthly Progress Reports. These were individual reports of achievement and unusual accomplishment and were placed in the individual folders. All reports were considered confidential but available to staff whenever necessary.

The Progress Reports sometimes motivated the introduction of new instruction and sometimes served as a resume of what had happened. The teachers were meticulous in writing the reports because they found it necessary to refer to them often in carrying out a worthwhile program.

As in every school situation, the instructor assumes a key position in carrying out an instructional program, so at the Center the teacher originally became the director of morning activities and supplied the information, planned the responses, did the thinking. This did not fit into the program as established by the guided group interaction philosophy; the boys had to take over some responsibilities in the morning session. An harmonious fusing of philosophies was essential.

After many discussions at meetings held every morning with the group leader the teachers, in sharing their thoughts, decided the boys could propose, direct, and research many activities and the teachers would guide their efforts. Thereafter, everyone worked to extend knowledges, improve habits, develop skills, and reveal abilities. The institution of democratic procedures in the classroom worked; the boys, initiated activities within the curriculum guides and helped each other to achieve. This applied to the morning session the norms of the afternoon meetings and provided for the development of norms as the needs arose. These processes and procedures are outlined in detail later in this report.

As the program developed and the enrollment increased, there were changes in the number and type of teachers employed. The additions to the academic staff had more recent training and a more comprehensive knowledge of group session procedures. They adjusted to the techniques quickly and made use of them in class constantly.

In order to be a "whole" program for the boys, Collegefields could not have a 5:00 p.m. deadline. It was originally planned that the Collegefields Program would be a 24-hour a day program. The decision to implement such a program, however, was to be in the hands of the boys. In the beginning of the demonstration project, the Collegefields boys dealt only with behavior observed during the formal Collegefields day. While the staff was anxious to have the boys deal with other areas, premature prompting in this direction, it was felt, might serve only to weaken the culture which was developing. It was felt also that it would be the boys and not the staff who could most accurately perceive the moment at which the Collegefields subculture had developed sufficient strength to successfully challenge its most serious competitor for the allegiance of the boys; namely, the street culture. However, as the activities developed, it was the working partnership of staff and boys that made Collegefields a "twenty-four hour a day" program in which all areas of a boy's life and behavior became the proper concern of the group and proper matter for scrutiny and comment.

Two factors played major influential roles in the earliest structural planning of Collegefields. The first

of these was that the program should be highly relevant to the needs of the community which it served. The second was that the community should be educated not only to the purpose of Collegefields but also to the processes around which it was designed.

In Newark, as in other urban areas, the 14-and-15-year old delinquent or pre-delinquent who is also having trouble in school, presents serious challenges to the existing, traditional resources of the community. The school system, the court and the general community, separately and together, have not been able to meet this challenge of the management and rehabilitation of these boys. By law, youths in this age group must remain in school. The high concentrations of disadvantaged families and high rates of delinquency place the schools in a position where, by virtue of the sheer numbers of problems which they encounter, they are unable to educate and rehabilitate such youths adequately. The Juvenile Court Judge, with a repeating truancy case before his Bench, is hard pressed to send the youth to a State Correctional facility. It is well known that the learning which takes place is largely provided by the inmate subculture and that the committed boy will have gained status with his delinquent peer group upon his return to the community. Yet, under our present system, few alternatives are available. Collegefields was designed to demonstrate and validate an effective alternative to those now available to the community and its resources.

Educating the community to the purpose and processes

of Collegefields, it was felt, could best be achieved by providing active roles in the program for a variety of community agencies. Moreover, it could provide the community with necessary capabilities for implementing the approach on an agency or school system level when the Collegefields staff returned to their respective agencies at the closing of Collegefields. The staff could also serve as change agents by implementing formal or informal training programs after their return.

Collegefields sought to reach the community in as many ways as possible. Staff members spoke to civic groups on many occasions. As the word of the project spread, observers from the college and the community asked to visit the Collegefields project. In addition, there were visitors from outside the state as well as from foreign countries. The Collegefields boys were frequent visitors to graduate and undergraduate classrooms at the college. They participated in lectures and panel discussions where they told the story of Collegefields, delinquency and the disadvantaged, as they lived it and saw it.

The difficulty of planning this successful program has been cited in this section. While the planning was largely successful in light of the program which developed, much of the achievements of the program resulted from changes made during its implementation. For instance, while it was planned that boys in the program would have the power to make decisions as to whether a boy should be retained in the program, released as a helped boy, or returned to court, it was not planned that a Juvenile Court Judge

would accept advice from Collegefields boys as to whether a boy should be returned to the program or committed to a reformatory.

Nor was it planned that the Newark School System from which the boys came would give the Collegefields boys more than month-for-month academic credit for their stay at Collegefields. Yet, the system honored and accepted recommendations from the project requesting up to three academic years of advancement for returning Collegefields boys. These changes and unplanned incidences were helpful in establishing community acceptance and in strengthening the program.

Collegefields, therefore, as planned and as it became an operational reality, was a program which avoided segmentation of the child. It was a "whole" program because the four following objectives were built in to nurture the development of the whole individual:

1. to re-orient the participant's attitudes and conduct in a positive, constructive, and law-abiding direction;
2. to motivate the participants, who are potential school drop-outs, to either continue their education beyond age 16 or to make an adequate vocational adjustment;
3. to provide assistance in gaining educational skills and attitudes necessary for completion of an academic and/or vocational program; and,
4. to encourage the integration of community services with university and educational programs in accomplishing the above aims.

Section III THE CULTURE OF REHABILITATION

Introduction

This section is divided into two parts for purposes of analysis and for ready reference for professionals in a variety of fields (education, criminology, sociology, psychology, and related interested areas). Part "A" deals primarily with norms of anti-delinquency; the major emphasis of Part "B" is on school behavior and rehabilitation.

Since Collegefields was an educationally-based delinquency rehabilitation project, it was necessary for the program to develop a peer group subculture and normative system whose major focus was not only on norms of delinquency rehabilitation. Rather, for the first time, a subculture was "constructed" that successfully combated negative school behavior and attitudes, hard core-resistance to learning and an attendant low academic achievement. It was the peer group that in operational reality developed a subculture in which norms of delinquency rehabilitation and school related norms were integrated as one. The boys and the Collegefields staff saw the various aspects of the culture develop simultaneously and as a total force geared to integrating the lives of the boys in the program.

The reader may recognize that the guided group interaction approach may be applied to programs dealing with other than delinquent children. Future programs employing this approach could be developed to help solve

the many problems of our society which lie in the areas of education and human relations.

The authors have in this report divided the culture of rehabilitation so that the aspects of its major focus could be analyzed and that potential application of separate aspects could more easily be recognized. In spite of these efforts, overlaps and interplay exist between the two parts of the section.

PART A

"How to Beat the Street"
or
"School Ain't Bad"

The phrase the "tyranny of adolescents" accurately expresses an awesome appreciation of the powerful energies and pressures generated by a peer group. The sub-cultural systems, including their own language, normative systems, sanctions and teachers, are generally unique to any particular peer group. This is true also for a calculated positive peer group designed for the purpose of the rehabilitation of a delinquent.

The establishment of a new peer group and subculture is made easier if culture carriers are available. In the development of the Collegefields culture such agents were available from among the Essexfields graduates. As indicated earlier, the basic norms of the Essexfields culture and its language formed the framework upon which the unique Collegefields culture was built.

Essexfields members who had attained high status locations in the Essexfields peer group as a result of their positive behavior and adherence to the Essexfields culture worked with the first boys entering the Collegefields Program. In conference with Collegefields staff members, the Essexfields boys were advised of the planned similarities and differences which existed between the two programs - Essexfields and Collegefields.

During the month that the Essexfields boys worked at Collegefields they had the difficult task of providing leadership and guidance for the Collegefields boys. The transfer of the basic elements of the Highfields-Essexfields positive cultural norms was carried out not only in the formal guided group interaction meetings in the afternoon, but also throughout the Collegefields day. At the same time the Essexfields boys were developing leadership and strong cultural supporters within the Collegefields peer group. In conferences between the Collegefields staff and the Essexfields boys the strongest members of the Collegefields peer group were identified. Frequently, these were boys who most adhered to the delinquent norms of the street. As the dynamics for adherence to peer group norms is similar, whether the norms are positive or negative, it was agreed that if these boys could be committed to a positive role they would be instrumental in pressuring their peers into adherence to the "ways of Collegefields."

In the words of the Essexfields culture carriers, this was accomplished as follows:

"After we picked out the strongest one of the group, who could pick up more than the others, learn quicker, we tried to spend most of our time with him to get him set. Then he would lead into the group as sort of a group leader, you know; just get the other fellows started off."

"During the first month we tried to implant in these fellows at Collegefields the norms of Essexfields. We explained to them what "helped" was and the reasons they were at Collegefields. We made them realize that Collegefields was new. We'd say to them something like this, "you came here for specific reasons; no one is going to baby you." Now this was one of the main things we were trying to get across to them at that time. We tried to get a little motivation started; we tried to explain to them some of the simplest parts of Essexfields; such as, what help was and how to get an understanding of your problems and of yourself."

"We often experimented to find the strong boys. We would take the fellows individually or in a group meeting depending on the situation and try to teach them the program. The response that we got from them would be the way we would determine who were leaders. If a fellow would pick up quick, would pick up everything we were saying to them, fairly quickly, we would spend most of our time on this fellow to get him started so that he in turn could teach the other fellows. It didn't matter if the boy was just playing a positive role at this time. What was important was that as a sophisticated boy he played it convincingly to the other group members."

"Like when we give a boy the responsibility for going to the rest of the boys and teaching them the program he feels a sort of power. It makes him feel as though he has established himself in a way where he can go to the other fellows and teach them the program. This makes a boy feel good in the program. He says, "Well, they must have enough confidence in me to send me. Rather than them going to the fellows and teaching them the program, they are going to let me do this." This gives a fellow a good feeling and what I think

happens is that the leadership role gives him status in the group. Because this is a kind of reward he actually becomes the role he is playing without knowing it."

As visualized, the Collegetields peer group soon began to look to itself for leadership. As the "leaders" began to internalize the role they had been playing, the Essexfields boys came to be seen as intruders. Their presence in the group was no longer desired, acceptable, nor needed. By the end of the first month the Collegetields boys began to resist any further transference of the Essexfields culture and began to develop norms pertinent to their own unique program and non-existent in earlier guided group interaction programs. Their subculture became more relevant to their needs as an educationally-based group rehabilitation program maintained on a college campus. This was the cue to both the Collegetields staff and the Essexfields boys that the time for the phasing out of the latter had arrived. Phase-out of the Essexfields boys was achieved at the rate of one per week in order to move towards self-dependency without immediate withdrawal of the support of the reference group.

The first formative month that Collegetields was in working operation there were five boys in the group. This number was agreed upon with the cooperation of the Juvenile Court. By keeping the group at this size the boys developed a cohesive unit that could become more easily versed in the language and positive normative system which was being developed both in the groups and in the academic setting.

At the conclusion of the second month of operation, the Collegefields population had increased to sixteen boys. Although this growth may seem to have been rapid, it was initiated only after the original five boys were exhibiting fairly consistent, positive behavior. It was important that they were able to gain status in the larger peer group as the result of the leadership role which they assumed.

The growth of the peer group permitted the formalization of leadership positions within the status structure of the subculture. One such position was that of "responsible boys" created by the group under the direction of the guided group interaction leader. The boys decided which boys would receive these status positions and what responsibilities and duties were entailed. They indicated that the responsible boys should be various members of the group, who, through their own efforts were solving their own problems and demonstrated that they "cared" about themselves and other boys. They carefully spelled out that responsible boys should be the boys who would probably be the first to gain "helped boy" status.

In developing this status the boys retained the right to relieve responsible boys of their responsibilities for deviant behavior or for showing a lack of real concern for themselves or the other boys. The initial assigned duties and responsibilities of a responsible boy included taking a head count each morning and afternoon, insuring that the Collegefields program was "a 24-hour a day" program and that "help" for any Collegefields boy was available anytime. Responsible boys had the task of visiting in person or calling on the phone any boy to determine whether the boys were at home on time (10 p.m.);

of helping new boys explain the program to parents; and of reporting deviant evening and weekend behavior of the boys to the group. This system of "checking-up" became more elaborate and was fully accepted by the peer group as the culture developed. It represented the first attempt to confront and reverse basic street norms such as that of "not squealing". As squealing is perhaps the most serious crime that a boy on the street can commit, reporting of another boy's deviant behavior by a member of the peer group could at first be handled only superficially. To facilitate the complete reversal of this street norm it was necessary to develop and formalize a system of "spotting," "hours," and "checking-up."

"Spotting" was the term conceived to point out behavior which did not seem positive or which did not seem indicative of a boy who was sincerely trying to help himself change. Although initially, spotting included only the reporting by individual boys on their own behavior, it soon became formalized as part of the Collegefields subculture and was expanded to include reporting on behavior observed in other boys. Three times each week, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, a period of fifteen minutes prior to the afternoon group meeting was utilized by the group to give individual boys an opportunity to tell the group where they had either violated a norm or given someone a poor impression of the program as a result of individual behavior. If a boy did not voluntarily offer this information, any boy who observed his behavior was obligated to inform the group of what he had observed.

Failure to do so was considered a major deviancy because it showed a "lack of care" for the program or for the boys.

Deviation from the Collegefields norms was continually observed and reported by one boy or another. The norms continually received repeated verbalization and reinforcement. In the space of two weeks a new boy would have been exposed to most of the norms of the program and the rationale upon which they were established and maintained. As spotting became more refined as a technique in support of the Collegefields subculture, boys experienced in the program would deliberately create negative situations on their part in the presence of new boys. This was done with the knowledge of at least one of the responsible boys. If a new boy failed to report on this "play" which had been created for him, the "older boy" would then submit the information to the group. The group would demand to know why the new boy didn't care about the lives of the boys in the program. This process assured that older boys, who were capable of genuine deviant behavior, were open to observation and censure by the group, no matter what their status position. Frequently such behavior was little more than a "slip". Thus, an older boy might slip and say "damn" on the campus grounds. Similar behavior on the part of a new boy would be treated more lightly by the group since the new boy was not expected to fully understand the program. For an older boy such an offense was more serious and was emphasized by both staff and the boys. Thus, "If you're going to ask to be released from the program as a helped

boy soon, you'd better remember that "helped boys" don't slip."

An outgrowth of the spotting procedure was the assignment of "hours." This sanction was created by the group to give a boy time to "think about why you broke a requirement (norm) and why you won't do it again." Initially, boys "working off hours" were assigned productive tasks such as washing the Collegefields bus or washing the windows in the Collegefields building. This seemed to them to be the obvious way to deal with the problem. The program and culture was young and the boys lacked a complete understanding of the meaning of help. Because the program was to be the boys' and not the staff's, it was necessary to allow the boys to experience a trial and error approach.

One of the errors which the boys repeatedly made in a variety of situations early in the program was to seek out the simplest and most superficial way of dealing with their problems. They soon encountered difficulties in the assignment of tasks and the unrealistic numbers of hours. It was natural that because of their experience with the street culture that they initially interpreted "hours" only as punishment.

It became necessary that the staff intervene, as the culture of the program became stronger, and point up the unreality of promiscuous assignment of hours and reassess, with the boys, the procedure and purpose of assigning hours. The boys saw that assigning productive tasks was not "productive" in helping a boy understand his behavior, rather it produced a dominant interest in the quality of work done. The boys then became more adept

at creating totally nonproductive tasks which allowed the boy to think about his behavior rather than about the task he was performing. With the growth of understanding of the concept of help and the growing stature of responsible boys in the group, the assignment of hours was placed entirely in the hands of responsible boys.

After wrestling with the seemingly insoluble problem for several months, the responsible boys worked out a solution that was highly effective. Instead of placing the emphasis on the punitive assignment of many hours, the emphasis was switched to the understandings a boy would think out during a ten or fifteen minute period assigned him. A boy would thus have to think in depth. The primary focus of "hours" then became truly on "why did you do it and why won't you do it again." A boy assigned hours was compelled upon completion of his assignment to either write his understandings on paper or to explain them to a responsible boy. This technique was designed by the group to assure that thinking had occurred. If lack of understanding was demonstrated, a responsible boy could refuse to accept the explanation and not give the boy credit for working off hours.

The resolution of this dilemma by the boys themselves gave them a sense of power and reinforced the concept that the program was the boys' and not the staff's. The boys began to realize that change in both the program and in themselves was dependent upon their own activity as change agents.

As a result of their success in handling a major problem with regard to their formal Collegefields day, the boys now turned their attention to behavior which was occurring on the street in the evenings and on weekends. Prior to this time they demonstrated that they were uncomfortable and hesitant in dealing with after hours behavior. This was manifested in their expressed lack of concern and interest regarding the behavior of boys other than during their formal Collegefields' day.

Reinforced by their accomplishments the group began to focus more attention on after hours behavior by the boys in the program. The amount of time they spent in their home and street environment where anti-social and anti-school behavior and attitudes were developed and nurtured was considered by the boys as a serious challenge to change. However, they no longer perceived this as a hopeless situation and no longer doubted the ability of the group to challenge the entrenched normative system of the street culture.

The earlier feelings of powerlessness in this regard were manifested by the generally superficial approach by the group to the home and street behavior of boys in the program. By and large, where interest was shown it was essentially a matter of "keeping up appearances." Further, up to this point, "confessing on" oneself served only as a vehicle for the boys in expressing how "tough" they were. Inadvertently the norms of the street rather than the norms of Collegefields were being reinforced.

As the culture grew stronger, however, the boys began to see through this behavior and began to perceive the poor effect it was having on the change process. With growth, the boys began to reject these confessions of "toughness" and began to develop a formal system of street and home observations which they called "checking-up."

At the onset of this procedure boys were haphazardly assigned by the group to visit the homes of other boys. Parental reaction to the number of "delinquent" boys coming to visit their homes at night was negative. Staff was soon made aware of the reactions by both the reports of the boys and by telephone calls from a number of parents. Checking-up was a serious attempt on the part of the boys to deal with behavior outside of the program. It was seen to have tremendous change potential. In order to nurture the development of this procedure, boys and staff launched a multi-pronged attack on the problem of uncooperative parent reaction in conjunction with the cooperating agencies.

The boys created norms specifically tailored to handle home visits. A boy was required to show respect and courtesy in the home he visited. He had to make a list of all the addresses and telephone numbers of all the boys in the program and carry it with him at all times. At 10 p.m. curfew was maintained for all boys including those visiting the homes of other boys. A boy had the responsibility of having his parents call him to the phone when called by a Collegefields boy. All boys were required to explain

the program to their parents to the best of their ability. In this regard some minor difficulties arose when some boys explained in too much detail the problems given to other boys in the program. This prompted a re-definition of the meaning of the confidentiality of the meetings by the boys under the guidance of the guided group interaction leader.

At the weekly conference with the Social Workers of the Family Service Bureau the staff discussed the potential of the checking-up process and the problems arising from it. Ongoing casework with the families of the boys directed attention to these problems. Through interpretation of the Collegefields Program and process, the caseworkers were instrumental in developing positive support among the parents. The need for continual deeper interpretation of the program for the parents eventually culminated in bi-weekly parent meetings with the Social Workers at the Family Service Bureau. These meetings were therapeutic in nature and, in time, evolved into guided group interaction sessions among the parents.

According to the Social Workers:

"They, (the parents) came prepared to ask questions of each other and were able to learn from each other. In fact, another way of describing the group might be to say that we permitted the peer group to set its own goals and take responsibility for its own development. It might be called "parents" guided group interaction meeting."

Some of the problems of parental reaction to the Collegefields Program and to Collegefields boys visiting homes arose from the very condition of the homes and the families of some boys. In one instance every member of the family except for the boy himself had been committed to a state institution at one time or another. Being committed to an institution was an expected part of life for members of this family. Essentially, it would appear that one of the norms of the family constellation was that being committed was "the thing to do." In another instance a boy sobbingly informed the group that it was impossible for him to change because of existing home conditions. He reported that his mother was a prostitute, his sister a drunkard, and his brother a narcotics addict. There was no father in the family. The boy's description of the family was confirmed by boys who had previously visited his home. The boys knew they were only able to change a boy in the program and not a boy's family. The group told him that he would have to change even in the face of an impossible family situation or be returned to court. Perceiving the difficulty of this task one of the group with a similar home environment volunteered to take responsibility for helping the boy effect positive changes in himself and in his family.

The responsible boys in the program used this concept as an opportunity to provide help for each boy in the program throughout the weekend. The responsible boys assigned individual members of the group to a definite set of boys with whom time was to be spent on weekends. The

The norm that "one way to really show care for yourself and the boys is to make Collegefields your complete and full-time job" unconsciously grew and was strongly upheld. The stronger members of the group were assigned to boys whose homes presented the greatest difficulties.

A minor attendance problem at this time also prompted the responsible boys to make each boy directly responsible for the attendance of another boy in the program. They established a requirement that a system of "picking-up" boys be strictly adhered to each morning. It became "a fact" that any boy who could not show the group that he had done everything possible to bring his partner into the program would have to answer to the group.

In Collegefields as in similar rehabilitation programs, norms and procedural steps such as spotting, assignment of hours, checking-up and picking-up a boy were developed as measures that are supportive of the basic norms of rehabilitation. These procedures are the tools and vehicles through which the boys develop and maintain norms basic to the rehabilitative process.

Collegefields norms of rehabilitation are generally in direct opposition to the norms of the street culture. It was earlier indicated that "squealing" is perhaps the most serious crime which a boy on the street can commit. The procedures of spotting and checking-up aid the rehabilitative peer group in developing norms which demand that a boy verbalize to the group not only his own problems and behavior but the problems and behavior he observes in other boys in the program. If a boy observes

another Collegefields boy stealing, drinking, "popping" pills or taking part in any deviant behavior he is required by the subculture to halt this activity where feasible by bringing to the boy's attention the possible consequences. Whether or not his attempts are successful, he is duty bound to report this activity to the group at his earliest opportunity.

In developing their new subculture the boys utilized, for positive ends, many of the techniques and pressure approaches of the street gang which, in their experience, had proven highly effective in making boys adhere to delinquent norms. The boys recognized the similarity of many of these approaches to those employed by the street group. The group, therefore, felt it essential that new boys be immediately educated and indoctrinated to the new purpose of these same techniques. They carefully spelled out the new connotations applied to these actions.

With the tacit approval of the staff the boys employed a technique which they descriptively referred to as "getting on your knees." Visitors, unfamiliar with the peer group approach to rehabilitation, and new boys found this procedure a disturbing one.

The act of kneeling itself brings with it a tremendous amount of associations. On the street this act would be a definite position of servility and inferiority and sometimes conveyed with it homosexual implications. The Collegefields boys saw this as an act which indicated that a new boy was taking the difficult step of admitting to his peers that he was in need of help.

At Collegefields a boy would, generally, be required to kneel on any occasion when he was not thinking about himself or taking, very seriously, a problem which another boy recognized. The boy might remain in this position until the group felt he was accepting their help. It also had a rather practical meaning for the boys because a boy kneeling was less able to run away from frustrating discussions or difficult problem areas.

Visitors often expressed anxiety that, even if the underlying purpose was positive, this procedure might be abused. Possessing a similar anxiety the group developed a number of controls both to prevent abuse of the technique and to promote acceptance of its use among the boys.

The group had frequent discussions on why boys were putting other boys on their knees and why they should not use this technique to "take out revenge" on boys. After each use of this procedure it was the responsibility of the boy to whom it was assigned to challenge the motives of the boy or boys who suggested its use. Members of the group whose motives were found to be inappropriate and not in the interest of helping boys were open to censure by the group. The boys also limited use of this technique to certain parts of the program. It was not appropriate in the classrooms, on the campus, or on the bus. Because of the controls placed upon it by the boys, this procedure continued to be used with consideration and for positive ends.

Many street techniques were rejected by the boys as not useful, appropriate nor helpful. They made the employment of these major deviancies. For instance, on the street one of the most universal means of "solving" problems is the use of brute force. Boys who are most

capable with their fists are able to gain status among the street group. At Collegefields, the boy who depended on his fists or played the role of a "tough" was classified by the boys as a "punk." The use of this derogatory term by the group pointed up their reversed status position assigned to the "tough" boy. As Collegefields was a "no touch program" boys lost status by attempting to respond to or solve problems with their fists.

Collegefields boys therefore, developed skills and practice in non-violent means of dealing with the world. In contrast with life on the street, the small boy in the Collegefields program was on an equal footing with the biggest and had no physical fear of him.

On the street, in instances where physical violence is impractical, "conning" becomes the means of choice in dealing with a situation. Since the use of violence was precluded by the Collegefields subculture new boys and/or boys failing in the program attempted, to apply their expertise at conning the new peer group. However, a boy soon found himself to be an expert among experts and learned that the cliché "a con man can't be conned" readily applied to the Collegefields culture. To be conned by another boy in the Collegefields program was to be "weak" in the program. Therefore, there were no pat answers or defenses for situations brought to the attention of the Collegefields peer group. The multiplicity of approaches to each situation permitted the Collegefields boy to become aware of and to examine the many possible motives underlying his behavior and the many alternative

means of handling his problems.

This emphasis on the examination of the many facets of each situation evolved into a norm identified by the Collegefields boys as "taking possibilities." Street behavior is usually impulsive in nature. A boy may steal a car and drive it through his neighborhood because this behavior carries with it the immediate reward of a thrill and the means of achieving a high status position among his street peers. In these situations consequences are rarely considered. The weighing of values or thoughts of possible payment for his enjoyment do not play determinant roles in his behavior. At Collegefields, "taking possibilities," or the weighing of consequences, was emphasized by the subculture and demanded of each boy.

Graduates and older boys in the program often stated that this new way of thinking learned at Collegefields had been the major deterrent to their further involvement in delinquent behavior. Using this technique, graduates of the program have been able to deal judiciously with many situations which have confronted them. Because of their age these boys generally find it impossible to totally isolate themselves from the street group. These situations frequently arise in their daily lives but as a result of their Collegefields experience, these boys know "where to draw the line." An example of this is a case which recently came before the juvenile court.

This was a case of a Collegefields boy who had been accused of breaking into a parked trailer-truck with several of his street friends. The boy stated to the

judge that he was not involved because he had "taken possibilities." He told the Bench that when apprised of the gang's plans he said, "no thanks" and went home. Subsequent police investigation proved that the boy could not have been at the scene of the crime at the time it was committed.

During the first phase of a boy's stay at Collegefields considerable resistance to acceptance and use of the concept of "taking possibilities" was evidenced. Rather than accept this radical new way of thinking they continued to blame the adult world or their peers for their behavior. This norm of the street was identified by the Collegefields boys as "shifting the weight." Contrary to this norm of the street the Collegefields subculture demanded that each boy accept responsibility for his behavior regardless of the circumstances. While a boy's behavior might be in response to an injustice done him by someone else, the reactive behavior was entirely determined by him. The whole construct of the Collegefields subculture was developed around the aim of rehabilitating and changing boys in the program. Interest in the actions of people outside of the program was important only in terms of the behavior of boys in the program. This does not preclude the fact that many of the boys ultimately became effective change agents on their outside environment.

Underlying all of the norms in the Collegefields subculture are the concepts of help and care. These concepts are largely alien to delinquent street cultures.

Help was the ultimate rehabilitation which a boy could gain through his Collegefields experience and was defined by the subculture as "a better understanding of yourself."

The word "help" had a dual meaning for the Collegefields culture. Fundamentally, help described the procedures through which the boys in the Collegefields program learned the process of both group and self-rehabilitation. The concept of help provided a reference to which the boys could turn in evaluating all of their behavior and attitudes and their position relative to rehabilitation. In the "outside world" a boy would be told what he did wrong. However, the Collegefields group carried this two steps further. In Collegefields a boy was pressured to be introspective so that the reasons underlying his behavior were brought to the surface and verbalized. Many of the Collegefields boys had been assigned to the program as a result of repeated deviant behavior in school classrooms. In being removed from classrooms as the result of disruptive behavior such boys received status from their school peer group because of their "tough guy" role.

In the Collegefields program these boys were censured for their behavior and for their role and compelled by the group to examine the underlying reasons for their actions. Under pressure of the Collegefields peer group, such boys admitted to themselves and to the peer group that they provoked situations resulting in their removal from classrooms. They realized they did this in order to avoid the embarrassment which usually arose from their inability

to handle school work. Further, these boys were aware that continued disruptive behavior would result in being expelled from school. This, in effect, gave legal sanction to their being on the street rather than being in school. In this manner, boys had successfully manipulated the adult world, gained status among their peers and avoided the structured system which sought to change them.

In Collegefields the group explored with the boys many alternative means of handling questionable situations. A boy, therefore, had to examine the underlying reasons for his behavior, explore the alternatives discussed by the group and convince the group that he cared for himself. This he could do by demonstrating through his actions that he accepted one or more of the positive alternatives. The Collegefields classrooms provided the boys with a workshop in which they could employ and analyze these alternative modes of handling every-day school problems. The group followed this procedure in exploring all areas of a boy's life, whether in school, at home or on the street.

Although the guided group interaction sessions were held daily, the multiplicity of problems presented by the boys in the program prevented all of the boys' problems from receiving adequate attention during the group meetings. Each day the group meeting would be "given" to the boy whom the group felt most needed help. Since many boys had similar problems they could often get help themselves just by participating in another boy's

meeting. On admission to the program each boy was assigned an average of six "problems." Additional problems were identified and assigned as a result of his ongoing behavior.

At some time during his first week in the Collegefields program a boy would "get the meeting" and be required to "tell his story." A boy's story, it was explained to him, was to include all of his behavior from as early as he could remember, which might have contributed directly or indirectly to his present status as a juvenile delinquent and as a Collegefields assignee.

Following the telling of a story the boy was assigned specific problems by the group. In order to be released from the program as a helped boy it was necessary for the boy to convince every member of his group that he had an understanding of these problems and was capable of successfully handling similar situations without further support of the Collegefields peer group.

The more rapidly a boy could convince his group individually and collectively that he had a better understanding of his problems the more rapidly he could be released from the program as a helped boy. In order to accelerate their movement through the program, the boys developed the technique of utilizing all of their available time at home and in the program for interaction. This had been anticipated and the Collegefields program was designed to provide ample opportunities for such interaction.

The boys in the program soon developed the norm that one of the most beneficial ways to "get help" was to

"give help." It was common, therefore, for a boy to offer help to another boy with a pressing problem. As all of the Collegefields boys were experienced "con men" it was necessary for them to learn to develop strong and perceptively genuine presentations regarding their understanding of their own problems and the problems of others. Thus, in the words of a graduate:

"If I had a stealing problem and this other boy had a stealing problem, and I was going to give him an understanding of why he shouldn't steal, I had to do a damn good job to convince him. Before I realized it I'd end up by convincing myself not to steal."

Such one-to-one interaction was necessary for the adequate handling of a multiplicity of problems in a relatively short treatment term. However, because every boy in the group had to be convinced that a boy had solved his problems before he could be released, the establishment of "buddy" relationships was precluded. Also it reaffirmed for each boy the importance of the whole group in his readjustment and rehabilitation.

The group consequently, was responsible for the success or failure of each boy in the program. This responsibility was reinforced daily. Each boy had to be able to enumerate the problems of every other boy. Inability to do so when asked led to censure and accusations that the boy didn't "care about the lives" of the other boys or his own.

The helping process included a realization by the boys that there were some problems which they couldn't help. The group realized boys whose problems were identified as being related to homosexuality or kleptomania could not be helped by them. However, a number of boys with these and similar problems were released from the program as helped boys with a recommendation from the peer group that they receive psychiatric help. On several occasions a number of the boys from the program appeared before juvenile court to make such recommendations to the judge. While the group process cannot totally help boys with emotionally-based problems, the program demonstrated that the group could bring such boys to the realization that they needed help of a psychiatric or psychological nature. As a result, at the time of their release from the program these boys were willing to seek out and accept professional help.

Henry, a boy, later diagnosed as a kleptomaniac, was assigned to the Collegefields Program as a result of being implicated in a series of thefts at his high school. He had a lengthy record of stealing and while being questioned in the vice-principal's office by juvenile aid detectives regarding the rifling of 50 school lockers, he pocketed a ring of master keys which had been lying on the desk. The loss of the keys was discovered before the boy left the office and they were retrieved from him. Upon his assignment to the Collegefields Program he proceeded to continue in this type of behavior. For the first time in the history of the Collegefields program,

items such as cigarette lighters, the boys' bus tickets and swimming suits began to "disappear." Although the boys were suspicious that Henry was the cause of these disappearances they were unable to confirm his guilt.

A new boy entering the program related to the group that Henry had attempted to sell him a book of bus tickets just a week prior to his own assignment to the Collegefields Program. Henry then admitted to these thefts but explained to the boys that he only "picked things up to play with them." He could not explain why he didn't return these items. The boys reluctantly returned Henry to court with a recommendation that he not be "sent to jail" but that he receive needed professional help. Henry was admitted to a residential psychiatric treatment center. Thus, although he continually deviated from a major Collegefields norm the boys recognized that Henry had a problem for which he was not fully responsible and with which they were unable to deal. A responsible boy accompanied him to the juvenile court and explained to the judge the complexity of Henry's problem. This was indicative of the kind of "care" for each boy's life which was developed and maintained by the Collegefields group.

The concept of care developed slowly and with difficulty. As in other areas of the lives of these boys, they thought in simplisistic terms. For them, initially, there were no steps between returning a boy to jail on the one hand and retaining him in the program or graduating him as a helped boy, on the other. As the boys developed a more and more sophisticated culture, this

polarity became more frustrating to them. To enhance the rehabilitative process the boys, with the guidance of the staff, began to develop stepping stones between these alternatives.

With the assistance of the cooperating agencies several steps were devised which allowed the boys to build pressure and to motivate positive changes in a boy without physically removing him from the program. It became possible through the cooperation of the probation officers and the juvenile court to place a boy on the court calendar while he was still a member of the Collegefields group. This, in effect, set a deadline for the boy and usually produced a positive reaction to group norms.

Boys who were returned to court and would subsequently be sentenced to the State Home for Boys were retained in the Essex County Youth House for a period of two weeks. During this period Collegefields boys were privileged to work with the youngster in the Youth House. They would subsequently appear before the juvenile court judge to tell him that they felt the boy could be "worked with" in the program or they were unable to help him and had "given up" on him.

This power created a situation in which each boy in the program had to examine himself thoroughly to determine whether he had done all he could to help a boy. Boys unable to show the group that they had done all they could to help a boy in question were made "responsible for the boy's life."

So serious was the program to the boys that if a boy

were returned to court as a result of further delinquency, the boy responsible for him might be returned to court with him. If he could successfully prove to the group that he had done everything in his power to persuade the delinquent boy to adhere to the "ways of Collegefields" he would retain his status in the program. In effect, the boys were saying that "no boy can play with another boy's life or with the program."

Older boys seeking to demonstrate that they were helped and ready for release sometimes asked to be responsible for boys in trouble. In one instance the juvenile court judge, the Collegefields staff, and the group, with one exception, concurred that the program could not help a particular member and that he should be committed to the Reformatory. The dissenting youngster told the group that the boy was failing only because he didn't believe that the boys "really cared." He told them he thought he could show enough care to save the boy and asked to be committed to the Reformatory if he failed in his task.

The group and the staff reluctantly agreed to retain the boy in the program. The boy who sought the responsibility obtained permission from his family to have the delinquent youngster live in his home and remain by his side 24 hours a day. On the surface, this should have been enough to demonstrate to the deviant boy that the program did care for him. The reality of this care, however, was further reinforced by the fact that the boy who assumed responsibility was Negro while he, the

deviant boy, was white and had consistently demonstrated a severe prejudice problem. Both boys were subsequently released from the program as helped boys.

So alien was this "care" to the street culture that new boys had difficulty in understanding it or in accepting its validity. Many disadvantaged delinquent boys had never experienced care for their lives on the part of other people or themselves. It was necessary for many of them to test this concept on a concrete level. Thus, new boys often stayed home and out of the program to see if the Collegefields boys "cared enough" to try to bring them into the program without using force.

A norm of the street suggests that "if you do something wrong and you're not caught, you're not guilty." In Collegefields the care concept and the helping process aided in the reversal of this norm. It was not important whether a boy was caught in deviant behavior. He was "wrong" whether caught or not, and could not be helped unless the boys in the program cared enough to halt any deviant behavior and evaluate all of his behavior.

In summary, the entire help-care process evolved from four basic norms which were essential if the boys were to comprehend and benefit from the program and its abstract norms. These were: (1) each boy is in need of "help" or a better understanding of the "how," "what," and "why," underlying his behavior; (2) the primary method of "helping" another boy is through a "talking" process with appropriate sanctions when it is necessary to help a boy think; (3) the primary effort is to help

a boy re-examine, re-evaluate and accept responsibility for his behavior; (4) the main source of help is the group. It became the task of the group, as well as of the individual boy to see that every possibility for help was provided.

The development of a rehabilitative culture as outlined is aided by the creative use of authority and by the sharing of this authority with the peer group. It is not important, then, that the juvenile court "forced" boys to come to the Collegefields Program with the implied threat of "jail" as an alternative. What is important is that once brought to the encounter they were allowed to share in the making of "life or death" decisions and program policy in matters concerning their own lives. This "power" is essential in developing a peer group subculture which can successfully overcome a negative street culture ingrained by years of conforming.

The implied threat of jail brings youngsters to the program and keeps them in it during their early weeks. As they begin to realize the feeling of power and as they begin to gain status in the new peer group their motivation begins to change. It is not the threat of jail which keeps older boys in the program. It is no longer "I have to change," but rather, "I need to change."

No longer must the youngster confine his behavior and life style to the rigid and narrow existence of the delinquent social system. Rather, he is now aware of and free to choose from a variety of positive alternative ways of behaving. At the same time he can co-exist with the street gang during the rest of his adolescence, "taking possibilities," as the gang continues in delinquency.

SECTION III Part B

"School Ain't Bad"
or
"How to Beat the Street"

In the initial weeks of the program's operation norms and pressures were developed within the peer group which could cope with immediate "here and now" situations as they arose among the boys. These norms were geared to the prevention of overt delinquent behavior by the Collegefields boys both in the program and on the street which could lead to their premature release from the program and return to court. Further, the initial activity of the staff was to aid the group in developing a code of acceptable behavior for a Collegefields boy.

The process was a difficult one for boys and staff because equal emphasis was placed on all areas of a boy's behavior. This included attention to a boy's behavior during the morning academic component of the program as well as to his behavior in the afternoon group meeting. In the public school setting the result of all but the worst school behavior might be expulsion from school. At Collegefields, however, negative classroom behavior could lead to the return of a boy to court. This concept was alien not only to the Collegefields boys but to the school oriented staff members as well. In their experience, as in that of the boys, even repeated negative classroom behavior rarely led to a court appearance. Over time, however, this "threat of jail" became less and less a motivational factor in the boys' behavior

and was soon overcome and replaced by the growing concept of help and care.

From the beginning, the setting of the Collegefields Program required the development of norms specifically tailored to aid the boys in coping with and adjusting to life on a college campus. Several incidents caused the boys to be deeply concerned with the impression that they were making. The staff observed a high level of anxiety among the boys during the early stages. This anxiety would seem to be a direct result of the fact that the boys had gained prestige with their families and friends by bragging, "I go to Collegefields at Newark State College." This anxiety caused the boys to be over-sensitive and frequently to over-react to incidences between themselves and the college community. This further permitted the application of a pragmatic approach in the development of a positive normative system.

In their anxiety to make a good impression on the college community the initial focus of the boys was on their outward appearance. The boys immediately developed norms concerning their attire. The boys decided that the first step would be to require every member of the peer group to tuck his shirt in his pants while on the college campus.

A second requirement was that all boys should regularly have their hair cut. One boy who strongly opposed this practice finally agreed under a great deal of pressure by the group to follow this regulation provided he didn't

have to spend his own money. At this, a number of the boys offered him free tonsorial service. The embarrassed boy resembled a plucked chicken and thereafter inappropriate male hairdos were no longer a problem.

Several boys "got meetings" as a result of their unacceptable table habits in the college cafeteria. One boy in particular was severely censured by the group for eating pie with his hands. His defense before his peers was that "everybody I know eats pies with dere hands." This was deemed entirely unacceptable by the group:

"What do you do, live with a bunch of pigs?"

"They ain't pigs!"

"They sound like it to me."

"Look boy, if you don't know how to eat pie or anything else, you just watch us; we'll show ya. Anything you don't know the boys will teach ya."

"And man, when the boys teach ya somethin', you stay taught!"

By focusing upon and emphasizing the "importance" of this and similar minor incidences, the staff helped the group to recognize that it could control the behavior of boys in the program and that it was the instrumental force in promoting change.

Unplanned incidents such as these presented new ways of living and behaving for the boys. Changes in their eating habits, their personal hygiene, and other modes of behavior helped to guarantee that Collegefields graduates could never be the same. Many of these changes, while unplanned, were instrumental in their successful entry into our society.

The boys' daily trips to the college cafeteria provided the greatest contact with the rest of the college community. The boys' activities and behavior in and around the cafeteria became the focal point in the attempts of the group to strengthen the image of the Collegefields Program and of themselves. In the first weeks of the program's operation, staff would accompany the boys to the cafeteria each day. Because of the group's recognition of the importance of this daily contact with the college community and because of their apprehension concerning the image they were presenting, the group requested that responsible boys and not staff supervise these trips as well as trips to other areas of the campus.

The responsible boys initially approached this problem from a simplistic level of thinking. After a week of strict line marching the boys protested this procedure for two specific reasons. In the group meeting they reached the conclusion that this approach presented a spectacle to college students. Further, they felt that they were being treated as children by their own peers in a community of adults. This they reasoned prevented each boy from assuming individual responsibility for his own behavior. An informal approach of small groups was employed thereafter. The implied reasoning in this procedure is that it would allow them to blend in more readily with the total college population and, more importantly, it would place the responsibility for individual behavior where it belonged; that is, upon the shoulders of each individual boy. Without realizing it, the

boys had clearly established the right of the group to check on and censure all inappropriate future behavior or actions of the responsible boys.

In their attempt to establish what was acceptable behavior in a cafeteria the boys closely observed the activity and behavior of the college students. The group noticed that the college students usually washed their hands before they ate. This activity was immediately introduced and at a group meeting was made a norm for every Collegefields boy. One perceptive youngster noticed that most college students also washed their hands after using the toilet facilities. The norm concerning the washing of hands was expanded to include any time a boy used a toilet anywhere. Once established and enforced this norm became a habit and was seldom if ever violated by boys after it was introduced to them.

In the school settings from which most of these disadvantaged and delinquent boys came, rules and regulations governing cafeteria behavior had been established and maintained by school authorities. In such schools, the cafeteria often becomes a source of disciplinary problems. Difficulties often arise because the peer group does not support rules and regulations which are imposed on it. In emulating the peer group of the college student the Collegefields boys, in effect, became a sub-group of the college culture. In the attempt to follow the more mature behavior of the college students the group began to uphold many of the rules and regulations which they had once so vigorously opposed.

Thus, "ditching" in the cafeteria line, running and swearing were viewed as negative behavior by the group. Acceptable behavior for a Collegefields boy now included norms which demanded that he eat everything he took on his plate, return his tray, and scrape his dishes. As with all of the Collegefields norms, the norms governing a boy's proper behavior in the cafeteria were introduced to him immediately upon his arrival in the program. Any boy who attempted to violate the norms after their introduction was required to answer to the group.

The cafeteria proved to be somewhat troublesome to the boys because several well-intentioned college students asked the boys questions concerning the program. The boys whose self-concepts were generally weak had not yet developed techniques for handling questions of this nature, and were embarrassed. This problem proved to be especially difficult for the boys in the early weeks of the program as they themselves were in the process of learning the program and did not fully comprehend the difficult concepts of help and care.

After struggling with this problem for a number of days the boys concluded that the best explanation would be the simple truth. Until they developed a fuller understanding of the program and the concepts of help and care they would answer questions about the program with the explanation that they were juvenile delinquents assigned to Collegefields by the courts. When asked for a little more detail they would reply that they were boys who realized that they had problems and were seeking help and trying to make a better life for themselves.

This procedure helped the boys to develop a sense of pride in themselves and in the program. During early stages of their assignment to the program many boys would offer such statements about themselves and the program only because they felt it was required of them. Over a period of time, however, this "role" became more and more a part of them.

The boys were amazed to find that the direct simple truth in answering questions about themselves and the program was the most adequate means of handling situations. For boys whose very existence may have depended upon their ability to "con" other youngsters and the adult world it was shocking to learn that truth was sufficient. Since the success of a boy in the program was highly dependent upon his ability and desire to be true to himself and true to the boys, these incidents served as practice and reinforcing agents for the development of this ability. Boys having difficulty in being truthful in the program were reminded of the success they experienced in explaining the program by being truthful.

From the onset of the Collegefields demonstration program visitors were welcome in both the morning and afternoon sessions. The growing number of visitors caused the boys to be concerned about the impression made by the Collegefields building. The Collegefields building, one of the oldest on the campus, presented cleaning difficulties. The building, formerly used as a potting shed is a four room two-story masonry structure attached to a greenhouse.

From the beginning, boys were careful to use waste-paper baskets and put items in their proper places only because it made cleaning the building easier. When the boys began to be concerned about the impression the building would make upon the visitors they asked staff if mops and pails could be obtained. While sweeping was far easier than mopping untreated concrete floors would be, it was no longer acceptable to them.

The group assigned individual boys to clean specific areas. Responsible boys were designated by the group to check on each cleaning assignment before the boys left each evening. The pressure exerted on any boy who had to re-clean his section while the other boys waited to board the bus was a successful deterrent to sloppy housecleaning. Each boy jealously guarded his designated area and was sure to point out any boy whose sloppy habits increased his own chore.

The alternative to this move would have been for the boys to request that staff supervise this activity. In the initial weeks of the program this supervision was provided by staff. However, as the culture and normative system developed and as the boys became more and more aware of the need to accept "total" responsibility for the program's operation, they unceremoniously relieved staff of this function.

This move like many others provided opportunity for increased stature and status for older and responsible boys in the program. It gave the boys an additional opportunity to teach the program and its status structure

to new boys. This responsibility and its attendant status had to be earned and maintained by continued correct behavior on the part of the older boys in the program. If a new boy performed inadequately in his cleaning tasks, as in other areas of the program, the older boy responsible for teaching him the program had to answer to the group.

After pride in the appearance of the Collegefields building had been established the boys wanted to be certain that everyone knew the building belonged to them. They needed a sign which said "Collegefields" and which could be attached to the front door. Responsible boys were assigned to approach the Industrial Arts Department of the college to solicit the aid of that department in constructing such a sign.

The timing of the boys was excellent. The Industrial Arts Department was itself in the process of developing a shop program for Collegefields. It thus became a matter of scheduling rather than of soliciting help. As a result of the professor's tactful handling of the visit and of the request made by the responsible boys, they returned feeling that their efforts would produce in addition to a sign, a shop program.

The Industrial Arts Department sensed this growing pride of the boys in the Collegefields Program and developed a curriculum of projects designed to further motivate the boys in this direction. The first projects, therefore, included the construction of items such as ashtrays, vases, and bookcases for the Collegefields

building. Pride in and identity with the Collegefields Program was further enhanced by an added norm which required all boys to use ashtrays during the meetings.

Earlier, because of their concern with the impression of the Collegefields program on others, they had established a norm limiting their smoking to the block of time allotted to their group meetings. The background of the boys, the lack of ashtrays and the intensity of the group meetings had daily resulted in a floor covered with cigarette ashes and butts. When each boy who smoked had been provided with an ashtray, as a result of the shop program, this problem was minimized.

This relationship with the Industrial Arts Department grew and proved to be additionally helpful in the development of the total program. When the boys later expressed a desire to paint and decorate the interior of the Collegefields building, brushes, paint, supervision and instruction in house-painting were provided by the Industrial Arts Department as an advanced shop-project.

Graduation of Collegefields boys was viewed as a major event in their lives. The group requested that photographs of graduates be taken. These, they planned, would provide the most significant and appropriate interior decoration for their building. The subsequent 8x10 photographs of graduates served not only to record an important event but to motivate the boys in the program who were having difficulties. Often, when a boy in the group meeting was ready to "give up" on himself, other boys would point to the pictures and remind the

failing boy of the problems and difficulties endured and resolved by the graduates sometimes just by the simple statement "those guys made it and so can you."

An area of concern in which the group had met with little success at first was the personal hygiene of individual boys. While the drive to maintain a good outward appearance through the requirement of neat clothes and shined shoes was aided by the nightly visits of boys to each others' homes, even this procedure proved inadequate in getting boys to bathe regularly. Superficial washing and sponge bathing was the general rule for most boys and total emersion in a bathtub was not a frequent practice. Dirty ears, feet, and an occasional odor were the results. A request by the boys to use the facilities of the pool for swimming at the College was seized upon by the staff as a means of resolving this problem.

Arrangements were made with the Physical Education Department of the College and a comprehensive swimming and diving program was developed in conjunction with the College's swim-club. At a meeting with instructors from the College the normal procedures for the maintenance of health standards were outlined for the boys. They were told that each week a bacteria count was taken and that their use of the pool would continue only if the bacteria count remained static. At a meeting a number of the boys admitted that their families were on welfare and that they could not afford swimming trunks. These boys were told that swimming trunks would be provided for by the Physical Education Department.

In the afternoon group meeting the boys initiated a number of norms governing their behavior in the use of the pool. All boys were required to participate in this activity. Boys with a medical excuse were not required to swim but all boys were required to shower. Acceptable medical excuses could be obtained from their own doctor, the Newark Board of Education or the College nurse. Swimming occurred two times each week, on Wednesday and Friday, and swimming was permitted only when all boys including those who were excused from the pool had completed their showers. The norm developed by the boys proved immeasurably effective in minimizing personal hygiene problems.

The group quickly sensed that some boys tried to refrain from swimming simply because they were ashamed of the fact that they couldn't swim. These boys were pressured by the peer group to participate in the program and to learn to swim. Approximately 90% of the boys were non-swimmers when they entered the program. This figure was reversed as the result of the peer group pressure to learn to swim. Many of these boys, who under normal circumstances would never have attempted to learn, did so as the result of the peer group.

Other relevant norms required that boys could not enter the pool before a staff member was present, that boys should not run around the pool, and that boys could not enter the deep end of the pool unless they had demonstrated to the staff that they could swim the 70-foot length of the pool.

At the outset of the swimming program staff informed the boys that its only function was that of lifeguard. Responsibility for discipline and the control of boys' behavior in this area, as in all other areas of the program, was placed upon the boys themselves. So exemplary was the behavior of the boys in and around the pool that the Physical Education Department, pressed for more pool time, asked the boys if they would share their time with a group of young teen-age girls from a neighboring church. This arrangement continued for two months. During this time and throughout the duration of the entire demonstration project there were no untoward incidents, no injuries and no behavior embarrassing to the Collegefields Program.

On only one occasion was it necessary for staff to assist a boy from the pool. The boy, spitting water, was pulled on to the tile by the staff member and was quickly surrounded by a group of Collegefields boys. Their seeming concern for the boy was soon identified by the staff, when one of the boys remarked, "You can't drown, punk, you're supposed to get the meeting today."

Another concern of the Collegefields boys was the impression left by their behavior on the Collegefields bus during their trips to and from Newark. In order to maintain the high level of communication necessary for therapeutic interaction, the group allowed freedom of language to its members at the Essexfields building in the morning, on the bus, and in the afternoon group meetings. The free use of language at the Essexfields building and in the group meetings at Collegefields presented

no problems. The free use of language on the bus, however, presented a problem which was brought into sharp focus by an embarrassing incident. A mother of one of the boys was embarrassed when a friend claimed she was shocked by the language that was coming from the Collegefields bus as it stopped for a traffic light in Newark.

Had this incident occurred later in the program the embarrassment might have been avoided. At this time the social workers were still in the process of establishing relationships with the families in order to help the boys explain the program to the parents. The embarrassed mother phoned the staff and her impression was communicated to the boys in their afternoon meeting. The boys thoroughly analyzed this problem presented to them and during the course of the group meeting examined the many facets of the entire problem area. The boys had solidified this analytical approach to all problems; they were now able to deal with situations on both a concrete and an abstract level.

The group's first reaction to the language problem was to place a ban on free language on the bus. Several of the older boys vociferously rejected this approach. Since the program was the boys', they told the group, each boy should be responsible for the control of his own behavior. A general ban on language on the bus they felt would be an admission of the group's inability to cope with the situation. This feeling was summed up by one of the oldest boys who said, "You guys want the easy way out. You're scared you can't handle the situation." Challenged

in this manner, the majority of the group then attacked this and some related problems by developing limitations on behavior which demanded both group and individual control. Rather than post a ban on the use of free language on the bus, the boys retained control of the situation by first requiring that each boy keep his voice down to a reasonable level while the bus was in motion and eliminating all swearing when the bus stopped.

This in-depth analysis of the basic problem led to the resolution of another problem regarding behavior on the bus which had been a serious concern to the boys. As a result of the group's loud and abusive language on the bus new boys often left for home at the end of the day in an aggravated and disturbed frame of mind. The group reasoned that a new boy could very easily get into trouble and get "busted" or fail to come to Collegefields the next day if he left the program aggravated. Earlier, responsible boys had made it their business to visit the home of a boy who was aggravated. The group now concluded that it had no right to put a boy in this frame of mind at the conclusion of a Collegefields day. The group cited that while they could "get on a boy" during the bus ride they could not bring him to the point of frustration or aggravation.

The incident concerning swearing on the bus prompted a review by the boys of the whole question of freedom of language. Staff had initially established limits on the free use of the salty language of the streets. The use of this language was forbidden in areas of the program

except when the boys were in the Essexfields building, while they were on the bus and when they were in the daily group interaction meetings.

Permission for and sanction of the free use of language by the boys is based on the concept that the boys themselves are the primary agents of change. If the boys are to be successful as the primary agents of change they must develop among themselves a level of communication and understanding bordering on the perfect. The ability to perceive each other's problems and to develop the empathy essential to the change process requires this high degree of communication. Experience has suggested that, when the language of the boys is censored, communication is subverted. The use of proper language to gain staff approval becomes more important. To have to think about what should not be said may curtail a boy's ability to say what must be said for change to occur.

With the exception of the use of the saltiest language the value of this approach to enhance learning by promoting better communications between middleclass teachers and disadvantaged children has been recognized and accepted by many educators during the past decade. Reissman and others have recognized that the language of the disadvantaged is highly communicative and can be used to good advantage in the educational setting. Reissman has suggested that educators often inadvertently reject children through the rejection of their language. The disadvantaged child like many other children may perceive his own language to be a part of his phenomenal self. He perceives

this rejection of a "part" of him--as a rejection of his total self. With the acceptance and utilization of the child's own language, educators can prevent the segmentation and alienation of the child as well as the segmentation and alienation of his formal education from his total life education.

From the outset the Collegefields boys used very vivid and descriptive terms to describe behavior and themselves. The highly developed communication and communication skills utilized by the boys on the street, and often misinterpreted by and misunderstood by adults in other settings, was successfully transferred to the Collegefields Program. Throughout the duration of the program new boys would often use this freedom in attempts to shock the staff and to prove to other boys that they were "tough." Frequently boys who "had the meeting" might also use excessive swearing as a defense mechanism. New boys quickly learned that their excessive swearing and tough posturing did not gain them the desired status among the group and they soon reverted to their "true selves." Boys who used excessive swearing as a defense mechanism in their meeting were quickly advised by the group to "get off the bitchy language and get into yourself."

Institutions dealing with adolescent boys and girls (and not necessarily disadvantaged or delinquent ones) are constantly plagued with the scribbling of obscene phrases and pictures on walls and furniture. At Collegefields, however, where street language was much in

evidence during appropriate parts of the program the need to scribble obscenities on walls and furniture was not evident. The faculty of communicative expression ordinarily exists in areas of the delinquent's life where adult authority is not present. It is seldom seen in the formal school setting. The Collegefields boys were highly verbal and displayed great verbal ability in the presence of adult authority. Their ability to verbalize enhanced both the academic program and group meetings.

Like most adolescents the Collegefields boys were quick to establish rituals among the peer group. The need of adolescents for ritual was partially answered for the Collegefields boy by the descriptive language of the Essexfields subculture which was transferred to the Collegefields group. However, it was necessary for the Collegefields boys to devise words and phrases to describe various techniques and methods which were unique to the Collegefields culture. Terms developed by them often served to communicate highly complex and abstract concepts with many ramifications. The total Gestalt of help and the help process, for instance, which required several pages of explanation earlier in this report was communicated by the boys in the word "help."

Of great interest to the staff of the Collegefields Program was the fact that the average Collegefields boy with a tested I.Q. of 87 was able to master a unique vocabulary with all its complex meanings plus a multitude of norms in less than a month. Every boy who entered the Collegefields Program succeeded in this task. The

group often used this factor as an educational reference point and as a motivational force for reluctant learners. Failure to learn in nine years of public schooling as an excuse for academic difficulties in the Collegefields classroom, was unacceptable, to the group. Boys would be reminded that they had learned all of the facets of a highly complex program in less than a month and were certainly capable of learning simple schoolwork.

When asked about the program by visitors the boys easily translated their own language into the language of the visitors. Staff, on the other hand, often found it more difficult to translate the language of the program into terms understandable to the visitors. For the boys, the program was neither a theoretical nor a practical construct. It was life itself. It may have been this total and complete involvement which helped them interpret the program so clearly.

The boys were capable of using language appropriate to the various settings which they encountered during the Collegefields day. The thorough understanding of the language concept by the boys was most clearly indicated during spotting where boys reported on their own deviant behavior and that of their peers. Thus:

Joe: Hey! Remember you cursed a couple of times on the College grounds.

Billie: The hell I did, Boy!

Joe: 'Member you bastard? You cursed in the cafeteria.

Henry: An' you cursed in the hallway.

Joe and Henry: You recommend yourself, boy.

As illustrated, it was quite acceptable for boys to uphold the established norms regarding swearing through the use of curse words to communicate in the proper settings.

New boys in the Collegefields Program were often confused concerning the position of the teachers. Their background portrayed teachers as authority figures who demanded that they follow certain criteria regarding classroom procedure and behavior. Boys who violated classroom rules established by the teacher, they thought, would be dealt with exclusively by the staff. However, the norms and limitations governing a boy's behavior in a Collegefields classroom were established and maintained by the peer group. New boys quickly learned that even the slightest deviation from the established norms marked them for immediate censure by the entire peer group.

Classroom deviant behavior was halted immediately by the boys so that the work of the class could continue. The underlying motivational factors were, of necessity, discussed and analyzed at another time during the day. Thorough examination of behavior occurred during the break, during the afternoon group meetings, on the bus, or at a boy's home in the evening. Older boys in the program carefully avoided and prevented these discussions from occurring during the classroom time.

The older boys recognized that resistance to the traditional classroom setting was a part of the delinquent's life style. They were reluctant to release valuable classroom time for this purpose. Boys who attempted

discussion of deviant behavior beyond the point of halting were quickly censured by the group. Boys who attempted to become involved in such discussions during classroom time were accused of playing a "care" role and of using the discussion as a devious method of avoiding the learning situation. As most of the Collegefields boys were past masters at avoiding learning situations, they quickly perceived even the most devious route, to this goal and dealt with the guilty boy immediately after class.

New boys found that disruptive behavior and/or their past expertise in getting the class off on a tangent could not succeed. They then resorted to the formerly reliable technique of asking to be excused from the classroom. By his second day in the Collegefields Program, a new boy could be expected to request an excuse from the classroom to use the toilet facilities. Most boys were shocked when the teacher referred these requests to the group.

Such a request was usually met with questions by the boys as to whether the new boy had enuresis. The usual response was a vigorous denial of this problem. They were then reminded by the group of their astounding ability to control their personal behavior for a long night period and told to employ it for another hour and a half. In order to insure that new boys would not waste classroom time with this excuse on a second occasion, they would, during the ensuing week, escort them to the mens room each morning before class. Of further amazement to new boys was their discovery that many boys began school

work immediately upon their arrival at the Collegefields building and that many of the group continued to work through the morning break period.

The initial approach of the teachers to the boys generated a problem. The teachers correctly felt that learning to behave should be an important part of the early learnings of the Collegefields boys. They further recognized that most of the boys who came to Collegefields brought with them six to ten years of academic failure and that most were convinced that they could not learn. In order to, at once, achieve better behavior and meet the challenge presented by the resistance of the boys to learning the teachers resorted to the traditional and accepted approach of establishing rapport with the boys.

The one-to-one relationships which resulted came into conflict with the peer approach which prevailed in the other program areas. As the boys' knowledge and grasp of the program grew during the early weeks this conflict became more and more untenable.

Boys with whom teachers had established such relationships were accused by the group of "sponging with staff;" that is, of establishing relationships with staff members to gain favor. The teachers, on the other hand, came to be seen by the boys as adults who could be manipulated or "conned." The group felt that anyone, whether a Collegefields boy or an adult, who allowed himself to be conned was a "weak" person. Furthermore such a person could not "help" the boys. The boys pictured a Collegefields

staff member as one who was there to "help the boys help themselves" and the poor status position inadvertently gained by the teachers was, therefore, untenable to the group.

A number of steps requested and made by the boys helped to resolve this situation. Boys asked the teachers to give them responsibility for handling behavior problems in the classroom. When this procedure was initially established the whole group took responsibility for handling negative behavior problems in the classroom. Later, to conserve classroom time, the boys refined this procedure by assigning such tasks to specific responsible boys in each classroom. The boys' concept of negative behavior was expanded to include persistent educational failure and/or use of educational failure to resist learning. Scenes similar to that which follows frequently occurred.

Rogers, one of the four boys in a math class, is very weak in fractions. On the previous day the teacher asked the class to determine where Rogers needed help. The boys then devoted part of the afternoon group meeting to Roger's problem and assigned him a "math" problem.

Teacher: Boys, did you find what Rogers needs in math?

Hobart: Rogers, do you know what you need?

Rogers: (sullenly) I don't know.

Teacher: What does Rogers mean, boys?

(Long silence of about three minutes.)

Hobart: What are we gonna do? What about you, Rogers?

Rogers: I don't know.

Jones: You don't know, huh, Rogers?

Reid: Rogers, don't you want help? You just sit around saying I don't know.

Jones: What do you need help in Rogers?

Rogers: My problem.

Hobart: Your math is a part of your problem, isn't it?

Rogers: I don't know.

Reid: You have a poor attitude, Rogers. You know you need fractions, but you don't want the help. What impression do you think the teachers have now?

Teacher: Rogers, should we start class?

Rogers: Shakes his head affirmatively.

Teacher: Do the first one on the board, please.

Rogers: (Remains seated.)

Hobart: Go on up there, Rogers. Did the teacher ask you to go to the board? Now get up there!

Jones: Rogers, if Mr. B. (the guided group interaction specialist) told you to go to the board, would you do it?

Rogers: Maybe.

Teacher: Hobart, would you put $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{3}$ on the board. Don't answer it because I think Rogers can do it.

(Hobart puts the problem on the board and returns to his seat.)

Teacher: Thank you, Hobart. Now while Rogers is figuring it out on the board, you boys can

do it on the paper.

Rogers: Goes to the board, completes the problems, and returns to his seat.

While the boys avoided long classroom discussions of simple negative behavior they would spend classroom time as illustrated on educational problems.

Steps such as noted above as well as others taken by the group were part of a conscious effort by the boys to "make teachers Staff". In guided group interaction programs it is important that staff maintain an unassailable status location. From the beginning the Essexfields culture carriers had oriented the boys to staff's function and position in the program. A staff member dealing directly with the boys in any program area was, essentially, infallible. He had all the powers that were available to the boys and some that were not. The actions of staff were not open to question. If staff told a boy to get into the car or bus in preparation for his being taken to Youth House and subsequently returned to court; this action could not be questioned by the group while a similar recommendation by the boys could be. Staff maintained this "godlike" position only because "it" was perceived by the boys to be in full and total support of their culture and normative system.

The teachers as members of the staff directly connected with the rehabilitation of the boys were "given" this status at the beginning of the program but lost it in the early weeks as the result of the conflict between their relationships with individual boys and the developing

subculture of the peer group. In making teachers Staff the boys restored to the teachers a status location through which they could be instrumental in helping the boys in the program. This restored status tacitly included "putting a boy in the car." Fortunately, the teachers were never required to perform such drastic staff functions and consequently remained "Staff" with a capital "S" until the end of the demonstration project rather than just Collegefields staff members.

This problem and its resolution point up a major requirement of peer group oriented rehabilitation and educational programs. It is essential that the "world" of adult authority and the adolescent subculture be joined in a manner which is mutually beneficial. Under proper conditions and with planning this creative use of authority can be implemented in practically any setting.

There were no bells at Collegefields and new boys often found this to be a tailor-made excuse to extend their break. Boys arriving late to class after the break, usually would say that they had not heard the bell. The rejoinder of the group was, "Man, we don't need any bells at Collegefields. It's our responsibility to be where we're supposed to be on time. And if you care about yourself or the boys you'll get here." The street norm that "school work is for suckers" and the giving of status to those who could "goof off" the most through truancy, tardiness and other means were not acceptable to the Collegefields boys.

Equally confusing to new boys was the lack of grades on their written work. Upon learning that papers were corrected but not graded, boys were usually confused until they were taught by the group to interpret tests as indicators of where they needed help.

On occasions the written work of an entire class would show a striking weakness in a specific aspect of a skill. New boys were surprised at the candor of teachers in response to these situations. Teachers recognized that a general lack of competence in a specific skill area was probably due in part to the approach. The teacher would often explain this to the boys and work with them using a different technique.

This helped in developing an atmosphere in an educational setting that led to a rapport between the teaching staff and the boys which enabled the boys to be more comfortably open with themselves and with others. It prompted, especially with regards to cheating, a high degree of honesty. An honor system was imposed upon each boy by himself. When questioned, the boys often verbalized this honor system to visitors by saying, "If you cheat in a Collegefields classroom you're only cheating yourself." Any boy who attempted to be dishonest in the classroom, or in any other place, would find himself in direct opposition to the important norm of honesty to oneself. The Collegefields group refused to allow this to occur.

The atmosphere also paved the way for a higher degree of perceptive honesty among the boys. Visitors were often upset by the candor of the boys' description of

their environment, their outlook on life and their interpretation of the adult world. Parents, probation officers, teachers and adults in general, were often perceived by the boys as not really caring about them. However, the boys were not so much concerned about the shortcomings of the adult world as they were about their own response to that world. Boys who attempted to blame the adult world for their delinquent behavior were accused of "shifting the weight" and were reminded that the responsibility for their behavior lay within themselves.

The major means of reducing the feelings of powerlessness among the boys in the Collegefields Program was the development of a culture and program in which the boys could assume responsibility and decision-making powers concerning their own lives and futures. In response to the boys' feelings about the adult world the teacher introduced into the curriculum a unit designed to enhance the reduction of the feelings of powerlessness. They introduced to the boys available vehicles of self-help. The boys studied and visited a variety of institutions in the City of Newark. Some places visited were Newark City Hall and the Newark Housing Authority. Officials of a number of agencies spoke with the boys during their visits and in Collegefields classrooms. The general response of the boys was not simply one of what the institutions could do for them. Rather they wanted to know what projects the institutions were planning in order to effect change and how they could fit in.

Delinquent adolescents are usually responsible for the waste or loss of a great deal of valuable classroom time. For the delinquent boys in Collegefields, however, to waste time was to demonstrate a lack of care and concern for oneself and the group. In Collegefields the waste of school materials was similarly viewed. An older boy in each classroom was designated by the group to be responsible for the distribution and collection of all school supplies. This was no ordinary monitor position. The responsible boys were accountable to the group for the judicious use of these supplies. The Collegefields population was a transient one. Responsible boys about to graduate trained their successors and were responsible for giving them a full account of the materials.

The boys in the program demonstrated a wide variety of academic achievement. This, in addition to the transiency of the Collegefields population, made a fluid classroom schedule necessary. The program provided a variety of achievement level groups into which boys could be placed. Each boy was placed on the basis of examinations of school records, and the results of the Collegefields testing program. Boys were placed in a different group for each subject according to their achievement and ability. In order to aid the boys in developing norms relevant to large classroom situations which would facilitate their successful re-entry into the Newark School System, the entire group met once each day for large group instruction.

A wide latitude of instruction was permitted by the flexibility of the schedule. Further, all academic

instruction was implemented on a non-graded basis. The Collegefields Program, therefore, achieved the much sought after goal of "taking the child from where he is."

The morning sessions of the Collegefields Program, like the total program, generated anxiety and some uneasy feelings among the boys. Their experience was that school was a highly structured institution in which decisions were made for them. Furthermore they expected their academic programs to be charted and reported to them in the form of letter grades on a report card every eight weeks.

New boys quickly learned from older members of the group that both decision making and report cards were present in the Collegefields Program. The difference, however, was that both of these entities were the responsibility of the boys. Essentially, as a result of the "spotting" process, boys received "report cards" on behavior and attitude almost daily in the form of feedback at the afternoon group meeting. Once each month, on the anniversary date of his arrival in the Collegefields Program, each boy was required to ask the members of his interaction group for an evaluation of his performance in the total program. Included in this review would be a thorough analysis of his classroom attitude, behavior and academic progress.

As a rule, the overall level of a boy's performance was fairly consistent from one program component to another. This consistency was in evidence even during the early stages of the program when the staff was struggling

to integrate the various components. This may indicate that the boys were first to see the program as a unified whole rather than as a collection of segmented parts.

Boys whose behavior deviated from a fairly consistent pattern in the form of poor classroom attitude were quickly identified by the group to be playing a role. Deeply ingrained resistance to classroom settings frequently caused the boys inadvertently to be "their true selves." The positive behavior of some boys in the group meetings and elsewhere in the program, as contrasted to the portrayal of their true selves in the morning, led the group to the conclusion that these boys were attempting to "con" the program.

The boys and the staff perceived a positive correlation between academic acceleration and a boy's genuine desire to change. Boys who became committed to the program demonstrated a marked acceleration in academic achievement. By and large, the second half of a boy's stay in the Collegefields Program indicated a much higher level of academic acceleration than the first half.

This correlation between academic achievement and commitment to the program may have relevance to a serious educational problem met by the schools. Often teachers are hard pressed to determine whether a difficulty with reading is a reading problem or a psychological problem. The Collegefields Program was designed to attack simultaneously the facets of problems of this genre.

The monthly evaluation given to each boy by the members of his interaction group required that each boy in

the group be aware of every other boy's problems. As these adjustments included evaluations of academic progress and attitudes, boys had to be aware of what was happening in every classroom. While the population of the afternoon interaction groups was fairly consistent, boys from the same interaction group might not be in the same morning classrooms. Therefore, much of the interaction throughout the day was centered around the academic component of the program.

Boys referred to their monthly anniversary dates on which adjustments were given as their "birthdays." This term developed as a result of the feelings of the boys regarding the importance of the program to them. A comment frequently heard in this regard was, "Man, you weren't even living before you got here and you were too stupid to know it."

In addition to problems assigned to boys for their delinquent behavior, continued resistance to learning sometimes resulted in boys getting "reading or math problems." This procedure emphasized the importance of the realization and acceptance of academic deficiencies. The boys considered redemption from educational failure as important a part of their subculture and normative system as they did rehabilitation from delinquency.

An illustration of this is the case of a tenth grade boy who arrived at Collegefields reading below the first grade level. This boy presented many problems to the group. On the one hand at least part of his resistance to learning to read resulted from the fact that he had

successfully "conned" his way into the tenth grade, without once being retained or ever having learned to read. On the other hand he was ashamed that he had never learned to read. This was compounded by the fact that by the time he had arrived at Collegefields he had convinced himself that he never would learn to read.

The boys quickly identified this resistance, analyzed the underlying reasons, and assigned him a "reading problem." Almost immediately one of the brightest boys in the group assigned himself the responsibility of tutoring the poor reader. He was instrumental in reducing the boy's shame and reluctance to use first and second grade text books. As in similar cases at Collegefields, the group encouraged rather than ridiculed the efforts of the boy to learn.

Encouragement and approval of the boy's efforts by the group were demonstrated in a variety of ways. A number of them aided in his tutoring, he received responsible boy status for his continuous efforts and the group used his example as an illustration for boys with similar problems. At the end of his five month stay his reading ability according to standardized measurement had risen from .5 to 2.5. His feelings about his ability to learn had been completely reversed. His still serious reading retardation, however, precluded successful re-entry into the tenth grade. The boy told the group of his feelings in this regard during the meeting in which he requested to be released from the program. At the recommendation of the group a job placement was secured

and continued reading assistance was sought.

This case is also indicative of the thorough self-analysis which each boy experienced with the help of the group. A boy's success in all areas in the program was generally in direct proportion to his growing ability to be honest with himself. This self-analysis is a necessary part of a successful guided group interaction program. However, it is important that staff recognize and avoid certain dangers inherent in self-analysis and guided group interaction.

The casual visitor to the afternoon group meeting might attend a meeting in which a boy has been stripped of his defenses and consider this an exciting and positive process. Caught up in the excitement of this process the visitor might miss the more important and beneficial aspects of the meeting. Often overlooked is the quieter and more difficult task of the boys which is the replacement of negative defense mechanisms with positive alternative forms of behavior. Missed, also, might be the vehicles offered through which a boy can employ these alternatives. In the instance of the boy with the reading problem, the group stripped the means by which he defended his resistance to learning while providing him with motivation, encouragement, status, and help through which he could achieve academically.

A serious challenge to the educational staff of the Collegefields Program was the development of a curriculum geared to the needs of disadvantaged adolescents. To meet the educational needs of boys presenting a wide

range of academic achievement, a curriculum had to be designed which encompassed a spectrum of educational programs. These ranged from remediation programs in basic subject areas to foreign languages and higher mathematics for those boys who required them.

Among the Collegefields population was a minority of boys whose academic achievement was far beyond that of the average Collegefields participant. Through the cooperation of Newark State College certain higher educational needs of the boys were met through their participation in selected college classes. While successful in meeting some of the needs of these boys, this procedure generated some problems for both College students and the Collegefields group.

One boy who demonstrated outstanding ability in mathematics was admitted to a modern math class and after several months began tutoring several college students who were experiencing difficulty in this subject. Although grateful for the help, these students generally confessed that they were experiencing "bad cases" of ego deflation. Some students began to raise questions as to the appropriateness of College students being tutored by a "juvenile delinquent." Fortunately this problem never became a serious one and the boy continued to tutor up to his graduation from the program.

Arrangements had been made for the admission of another Collegefields boy to a college science class. In this instance the boy's peer group denied him permission to attend this class. As the result of having bragged

about his intelligence to other boys he had experienced difficulties with his group on a number of occasions. His upcoming admission to a college class was made a subject of an afternoon group meeting in which the boys assigned him a "pride" problem. While admitting that the boy in question could benefit from attending a college class, the group told him that the most valid and important learning for him at that time would be to learn to get along with his peers by attending Collegefields classes. One of the ways in which the boys helped him to see his problem is pointed up in a transcription of a discussion between the boy and a peer with a tested I.Q. of 72:

Ronald: Who is the smartest boy in the program?

Leon: I am.

Ronald: Who's the dumbest boy in the program?

Leon: You are.

Ronald: If I'm so dumb, and you're so smart, how come I can see everything you're doing wrong?

This illustration further suggests that in addition to being the great motivator the Collegefields peer group was also the great leveler. However, rather than promoting a general mediocrity among the boys this leveling quality helped to create an atmosphere in which the individual initiative and ability of each boy could be employed in enhancing the total learning experience. Often, visitors to the Collegefields classrooms and afternoon group meetings had difficulty in identifying "low I.Q. scores. Only boys classified as "trainable" were

excluded. Perhaps it could now be assumed that a specialized guided group interaction program might be effective with trainable youths.

The educational gains made by boys who experienced the Collegefields Program were recognized in the community. At the least, Collegefields boys returning to the Newark School System received academic credit on a month-for-month basis. Many boys made far greater gains. Collegefields boys received up to three years of academic acceleration as the result of their academic achievement during their five to seven month stay in the program.

Open enrollment was available for Collegefields boys on their return to the Newark School System provided the Collegefields staff presented valid reasons for a particular placement. The majority of Collegefields boys, however, expressed desire to return to their former schools. On the one hand, they wanted to demonstrate to their former teachers and school authorities that they had changed. They also wanted to demonstrate to the Collegefields peer group that they could now successfully deal with their former school peer group. Each boy upon return to a Newark school was reminded by the group that his behavior would be instrumental in establishing an atmosphere which could be helpful or harmful to returnees. To the date of this writing (January, 1967) disciplinary problems among Collegefields returnees had been practically non-existent.

The prevailing community feeling concerning the success of Collegefields in working with boys demonstrating a wide

range of I.Q. was perhaps best summarized by two outstanding jurists. Judge Harry W. Lindeman recognized Dean of Juvenile Court Judges in the United States and past President of Juvenile Court Judges Association has observed that:

"Many of the boys whom we placed in the Collegefields Program came to our attention as school problems. So many of these had I.Q.'s of let us say 72 to 80. They were not making the grade in the public schools and because of their low intelligence quotient the schools were having difficulty in dealing with them effectively. Collegefields not only took them over, but the reports were that these boys did learn. Personally having visited Collegefields and watching some of the boys out of my own court perform, I was amazed at the progress that some of these low I.Qers were making."

A similar observation was made by Judge Horace Belfatto current President of the Juvenile Court Judges Association. Judge Belfatto commented:

"I remember when I went to the Collegefields Program. One boy who had been a truancy case was explaining an algebra problem to another boy. I understand that this boy is now back in school and doing a good job. Rehabilitating these boys is a long term job. Yet I feel that the boys from Collegefields have made tremendous educational and social gains through this short-term program."

Tutoring such as that observed by Judge Belfatto had become a normal procedure of the Collegefields Program. Prior to the experience of a Collegefields boy tutoring college students the boys had not realized that they could extend the help concept by tutoring one another.

Academic as well as social help was now available at

all times. In extending this kind of help to the boys, the group now felt that it could justifiably assign boys educational as well as behavioral problems. Many of the boys were surprised that in teaching other boys they learned a great deal themselves. Perhaps one of the most important advantages of the tutoring procedure and the process of assigning educational problems to boys was that these served as integrative forces in the program.

The segmentive factors existing in the community tend to confuse such boys as those who participated in the Collegefields Program as they confuse most adolescents. The Collegefields boys in attempting to avoid this kind of confusion sought to integrate the program through whatever means they could create. As noted earlier, the Collegefields staff also sought a program designed to avoid the segmentation of the lives of these youngsters. It was the desire and ability of the peer group to perceive the program as an integrated whole which aided the staff in establishing such a program as an operational reality rather than as a theoretical possibility.

The future implementation of related programs is made easier because of the number of culture carriers now available. Essexfields and Collegefields graduates spanning a wide range of ages are anxious to be involved as change agents in future applications of the process. That one program's culture carriers can be effective in starting other programs with new features has been demonstrated in the Collegefields Project. Boys in their

late adolescence helped a younger population to function as a rehabilitative peer group. The Collegefields boys, building on basic norms, developed a new and unique culture which included in its focus major educational concerns.

Section IV A BOY IN THE PROGRAM

Johnny was in the Essex County Youth House for the third time. He had been apprehended at the scene of a robbery. Previously he had been confined in the Youth House and subsequently placed on probation, first for glue-sniffing and then for riding in a stolen car. At his first confinement two years ago he was twelve years old. Now at fourteen he was scheduled to appear before the same Juvenile Court Judge for the third time. He had been told the last time he saw the Judge that if he appeared in Court once more he would be committed to the State Home for Boys. He was convinced that he would be committed this time. Several of his friends with whom he had been arrested had been committed on the day before his appearance. This he thought would make his "time" at the State Home for Boys more enjoyable.

Johnny had several friends who had been paroled from State Home who knew a lot about the institution. He learned from his friends that it was the inmates versus the staff. For him the picture would be essentially the same as it was now. He had coped with adults in school, on probation and at home and the future would hold no surprises for him.

While awaiting his turn before the Judge he anticipated the story which he had heard twice before. He knew the Judge would lecture him on how "everybody was striving to help him" and how he "should cooperate with these many

people who have been attempting to help him change." The only difference this time would be as to what happened after the lecture. Instead of being continued on probation he would be committed by the Judge to the State Home for Boys.

Johnny was partly correct in his anticipation of what would occur. The Judge did give him the lecture which he expected. However, he was both surprised and confused when the Judge told him he was being assigned to the Collegefields Program. His assessment of this unexpected development was similar to that of the majority of boys assigned to the program. His immediate reaction on the one hand was that he had "beaten the rap." As he thought more about what the Judge had told him concerning the program, he saw that it wasn't all good.

The Judge told him that if he were to "fail in the program" the boys could send him to the Reformatory and that the time he spent at Collegefields would not be taken off his term of commitment. Like most of the boys who came to the Collegefields Program Johnny had many mixed feelings about his assignment. Collegefields was a non-residential program he had been told and that meant that he would be home in the evenings and that he would be able to continue delinquent behavior with his peer group. Still, if he went to the Reformatory immediately he could complete his sentence that much faster and would have earned status on the street as a result. The Judge had also related to him that Collegefields was "the boys' program." If that was the case then there would be no

danger of being sent to the Reformatory from Collegefields. Further, he had a well known reputation as a "tough guy" and felt he could easily "take over" the program.

This kind of thinking and these mixed reactions which were typical of most of the boys assigned to the program are a reflection of the delinquent normative system and ways of thinking adhered to by many adolescent boys and girls in the urban ghetto. Johnny was like a lot of other youngsters in the ghetto. He disliked school and decided that "work was for suckers." Like most of these youngsters he eked out a fairly good existence without ever working. He was always able to procure enough money in one way or another for pills, dope, cheap wine, or any other "essentials" of life. One of the best of these necessities, girls, was free. Indeed, sex with older women actually could be profitable.

The roaches and stench of tenement living are neither important nor bothersome to a youngster like Johnny, providing a hundred dollar suit hangs in his closet, there is a twenty dollar shirt on his back, and a pair of shoes costing a minimum of twenty-five dollars on his feet.

These are some of the views shared by Johnny and youngsters like him that conditioned his mixed feelings about assignment, "Collegefields." The views of the delinquent social system are simple but tend to be rigid in nature. A radical departure from these ways of

behaving can lead to censure or even punishment by the street gang. Johnny knew no others. Behavior other than that condoned by the gang was not acceptable.

Society meets Johnny and boys like him on many occasions and has developed many approaches designed to be helpful to him. Johnny and his friends have summed up these encounters and these approaches simply. The probation officers, the teachers, the police and others, each has his own game to play. These "games" frequently impinge upon and interfere with Johnny's game. The perpetrators of these games, too, are "con men." The difference, as Johnny knows, is that he is more successful at manipulating them than they are at manipulating him.

Thus, when Johnny entered Collegefields he came with the culture of the streets deeply ingrained in him. He had in his background years of conforming to the "ways of the street" and knew little or nothing of other ways of behaving. He came secure in the knowledge that work is for suckers, that only suckers are interested in school-work and that he need not concern himself with the problems of others; nor for that matter, need he think seriously about his own.

Johnny and his mother had, according to the Judge's instructions, reported to Family Service Bureau in Newark for testing. After the testing session Johnny got some additional information about Collegefields from the Social Worker. One of the things she told him was that Collegefields was a Rehabilitation Center. This confused

Johnny even more. He could walk and there was nothing wrong with his arms or legs. Why did he need to be rehabilitated?

It is unlikely that many delinquents think of themselves as needing rehabilitation from delinquency. Delinquency for them is a way of life and, in fact, perhaps the only way of life. Thus, for Johnny and youngsters like him, the word rehabilitation has relevance only to problems of physical infirmity. With these he is usually very familiar. The poor suffer a high rate of diseases including those which cripple. In addition, the psychological stress of poverty manifests itself in a high rate of psychosomatic illnesses ranging from asthma to the paralysis of an arm or a leg.

Johnny doesn't inquire any further about the "rehabilitation" aspect of the program. He knows that on his first day he'll get a lecture from a staff member on what the program is "about." He knows also that he will then get the "real story" from the other boys in the program. He is instructed by the Social Worker to report to the Essexfields building on Clinton Avenue at 7:30 the next morning.

On his first day Johnny begins his campaign to "make it" through the program as quickly and easily as possible. He leaves his home in the Housing Authority Project early enough to assure that he will arrive at the Essexfields building no later than 7:30. As he walks the quarter mile from his home two things are upper-most in his mind.

While unconcerned about his problems, he is concerned about his growing status on the street. During the past three or four years he has worked hard for his present status position. He may have gained some measure of status in his peer group by playing hooky from school, hitting a teacher or riding in a stolen auto. Because he is proud of his present status he will seek to enhance it by riding in a stolen auto, tonight, tomorrow or next month. He knows that if he is the one to steal the car, cruise through his neighborhood and pick up his friends he can add considerably to his present position.

Although he was caught, Johnny gained stature by leading some of his friends in the breaking and entry of a gas station. As he walks to the Essexfields building his mind's eye is on a loose window in the back of a candy store on his street.

At the same time Johnny is thinking about Collegefields. Not many of the boys on the street have heard of it and there is probably little status to be gained by attending. Still, while lacking the status which can be gained by commitment to Reform School and subsequent parole, Collegefields as a non-residential program, would permit him to gain status through his on-going behavior on the street.

He is anxious because he knows little of Collegefields. He understands that there is some kind of school in the morning and that the boys meet in a group to "talk about their problems" in the afternoon. He knows that all he has to do is "play the role" for a few months, just

enough to "fake out" the authority system so that "they" would release him from whatever program they are running.

As Johnny enters the Essexfields building on his first day in the program he expects to find two cultures; his own as represented by himself and the other boys, and the one represented by the staff. He does find these two cultures. From his first day on, however, he sees with more and more clarity that in the case of the Collegefields Program it is not the "world" of the youngsters in the program versus the "world" of the staff. He finds instead that the street culture is represented only by himself and that the boys and the staff have joined in a unique system of beliefs and values which are in direct opposition to the beliefs and values upheld by his world. His first confrontation with this "strange" program is shocking to him.

The secretary at Essexfields tells him to go into the back room to meet the other boys. He goes to the back of the building and looks out of a window which faces the backyard. He sees a boy putting dirt into a freshly dug hole with a tablespoon. He opens the door to another room in the rear of the building and walks inside. Five boys are sitting in a circle and a sixth boy is on his knees in the center. The boys are shouting questions and accusations at a boy on his knees. One of them repeatedly puffs on a cigarette and blows smoke in his face.

Johnny watched this activity for a few minutes and then during a lull in the noise asked the group if Collegefields was a program for "fags." The group turned to him

and invited him to sit in their circle. He was advised in a variety of ways that he "had a lot to learn." During the next hour he was bombarded with questions and jibes until he was ready to hit the nearest boy. Sensing this the boys were quick to advise him that Collegefields is a "no touch program" and that he could be sent to "jail" if he were to resort to physical violence as a means of resolving problems. Johnny's "orientation" to the program continues during the bus ride from Essexfields to the Collegefields building on the Newark State College campus in Union. During the bus ride and after arrival at the Collegefields building Johnny's confusion about the program grows.

The Collegefields boys are undoubtedly boys from the streets. They act and swear like Johnny does but "the stuff that they say is all wrong." He understands them when they talk about him "really being a member of the group" with its attendant implications of allegiance and loyalty to the group but he cannot understand them when they speak of respect for the staff and similar "requirements." He is further confused when upon arrival at the Collegefields building the boys go directly to their classrooms and begin to study even though it is not quite nine o'clock. One boy who has been in the program for about four months stays behind to talk with him.

In this manner the first of the difficult early days in the program usually begins. During the first few weeks to a month he experiences the first "phase" of the

change process. While the change process as it is experienced by Collegefields boys is a continuum, it can for purposes of analysis be arbitrarily seen as having several major phases.

The first of these can be considered to be an orientation phase during which Johnny "gets the word." The staff lecture which he anticipated at the Essexfields building but which was not forthcoming also failed to materialize during his first day at Collegefields; nor, did it materialize any time thereafter.

The feelings of a new boy in the program and the rationale for giving him a difficult time are perhaps best summed up in the words of several Collegefields graduates:

"New boys come into the program and they think the place is a nut house. I know I was like that. Because they don't catch on to the program right away like when you're new and there's people standing around you and there is some kid on his knees in the middle of the floor, kids hollering in his ear or blowing on his face and staff trying to get him to answer the question. Or they try to bring out his aggrevation so the boys can see what's up with the kid."

"At first the kid comes in the program and he may not listen to what the boys say because he doesn't want to or he just wants to be a wise guy or something like that. A couple boys or one person take the kid and talk to him and try to make him see how the program is gonna help him. And he's not gonna do it on his own cause you can't do it alone. The boys try to make him realize it's like that."

"When a new boy comes in the program he thinks the place is a nut house or something. Most new boys

come in the first day and think they're getting away with something. So the best thing is to get on him the first day and let him know that he's really there for only one reason and that's help. You have to make a new boy realize that. He has to realize that when he comes to Collegefields it's his last chance."

"First you make sure he knows the requirements. You explain things to him just what's what about the program and what the boys are here for and what's expected of him. Some boys are tough guys when they come in and after a while when the boys get on him in the program; you know don't give up on him, just keep getting on him. After a while they start to realize that the program ain't there for a joke. Then they start adjusting to it."

"I remember I used to get a lot of hours because when you first get into the program it's hard to adjust. Because the boys come up and they start screaming and whistling in your ears and calling you all different kinds of names and everything. You get to learn they want to take out your aggravation to find out how much you can take before you blow your stack. It works. They try to find out how much you can take before you get aggravated. Sometimes it's hard for new boys to understand that when the boys try to get new boys aggravated they're trying to help you."

During his first month Johnny has the program "run down to him" many times. Both in and out of the afternoon groups meetings the major concern of the boys with Johnny is to see that he is learning the program and that he can relate it to them. Many times during the first weeks "conversations" between Johnny and older boys in the program similar to that below, occur:

- Steve: What is Collegefields?
- Johnny: Collegefields is a rehabilitation center. A rehabilitation center is Collegefields.
- Steve: What is Collegefields based on?
- Johnny: Collegefields is based on temptation and impressions.
- Steve: What is temptation?
- Johnny: Temptation is a want or desire.
- Steve: What is impression?
- Johnny: Impression is an unsure thought.
- Steve: What are the three main requirements of Collegefields?
- Johnny: Be yourself, tell the truth, and don't fight.
- Steve: What can't you do on the college grounds?
- Johnny: Don't fight, don't curse, don't spit, don't run on college grounds, don't get on a boy on college campus, don't get on a college student, and don't talk to college students or faculty unless they talk to you first.
- Steve: What is clique?
- Johnny: Anything that can get you busted on the outside.
- Steve: What is cliquing?
- Johnny: When you are holding something back from the boys.
- Steve: What's an undesirable?
- Johnny: Anybody who can get you arrested.

Steve: What's shifting the weight?

Johnny: Dodging help.

Steve: What's help?

Johnny: A better understanding of yourself and your problems.

Steve: What's care?

Johnny: Concern for yourself and others.

Steve: What's recommendations?

Johnny: If you break a requirement or defy the boys or staff you have to recommend yourself to go to jail.

Steve: What's hours?

Johnny: To make you think of why you did something that you were not supposed to do and why you won't do it again.

Steve: What's possibilities?

Johnny: Thinking before you do something.

Steve: What's defying?

Johnny: When the boys or the staff tell you to do something and you don't do it.

Steve: What's a cleanup?

Johnny: An excuse to get out of a situation.

Steve: What's revenge?

Johnny: Getting back at a boy.

Thus Johnny "learns" the program. His motivation for learning the program, however, has not changed. He is still interested in avoiding "jail" and getting out of the program as early as possible. As he learns the program he moves into the second arbitrary phase of the change process. It is more difficult to "play the role" for his peers as well as the staff but he has had some practice in this and begins to see the program as a real challenge to his manipulative ability.

Johnny may continue in this "role playing" phase for a period which may be less than a month or as much as three months. With rare exceptions the Collegefields boy who continues to resist the change process for more than three months can be anticipated to fail in the program. Most boys who are institutionalized in correctional facilities quickly attain this stage of "change." In the Collegefields Program much more was demanded of a participant. The mode of behavior which can lead to an early parole from a correctional institution was rejected by the Collegefields peer group and, if it continued, could result in the return of a boy to the Juvenile Court.

While demanding more of the Collegefields boy the group also gave more. It thoroughly sought out every avenue by which it might help a boy to change before deciding to "give up on a boy."

Johnny played the role for about two months during his stay in the Collegefields Program. He knew that he was playing a role, the group knew that he was playing a role, and Johnny knew, sometimes consciously and sometimes

unconsciously that the group was "on to him."

Johnny's mode of behavior and the role which he played were not entirely the result of a conscious effort to manipulate the program. Rather, these were due partly to the fact that Johnny genuinely believed after being in the program for about a month that this was what the peer group wanted of him. During this period he had not experienced much of the change process and had not become a helped boy. Lacking this point of reference in himself he often believed because of the role that he was playing that he was and had indeed been helped. He began to think in this way on his third day in the Collegefields Program when the group gave him the meeting so that he might "tell his story."

At that time Johnny didn't have a thorough grasp of the program. This lack of sophistication with regards to the complex normative system and subculture in combination with Johnny's attempts to play the role of a helped boy caused him to be rather free in the telling of his story. The result was a rich and detailed account of all that he could think of which had contributed to his present status as a delinquent. After telling his story Johnny received from the group a number of problems including a light-finger problem, a drinking problem and an easily influenced problem.

The staff and the Collegefields boys felt it important that a new boy tell his story within the first week of his assignment to the program. Experience had suggested that boys who had begun to "get the word" but who had not

become sophisticated in the "ways of Collegefields" produced the fullest account of their past activities. If a boy were to become too knowledgeable about the sub-culture before telling his story he might attempt to fabricate or delete parts of his account in order to avoid problems which the group might assign on the basis of a full and honest statement of experiences.

During his first two months in the Collegefields Program Johnny was careful to maintain the image which he wished to project to the group and the staff. He was careful about his demeanor on the campus and contributed in the group meetings by "giving out help" to other boys. He experienced his greatest difficulty in maintaining this image during the morning academic sessions. His deeply ingrained resistance to this kind of setting caused him to "slip" a number of times. More than once the boys had to "bring him up short" after he was disrespectful to a teacher or refused to do the work assigned. He had these difficulties even though he was getting a lot of individual attention and was beginning to believe he could learn. In view of his otherwise acceptable behavior in the program the boys suspected that his "true self" was that which he was displaying in the classroom and that Johnny was trying to "con" the program.

Johnny recognized this situation especially after his first monthly adjustment when the boys pointed up his disparate behavior from one component of the program to another and advised him of their interpretation of this. He was especially careful to avoid being caught in

delinquent behavior or with delinquent associates during the after-program hours, in the evenings and on weekends.

Johnny continued to associate with members of his old peer group and continued to be involved in minor delinquent behavior. He was careful, however, to observe the 10 p.m. curfew and to make sure that none of "his boys" talked with Collegefields members about his after-hours associations and activities. Because of his extreme care his negative behavior could not be substantiated by the group for nearly two months despite the fact that they were highly suspicious of him and had assigned a responsible boy whose specific task was to "check up" on Johnny.

During this period Johnny earned a measure of status among the Collegefields group as the result of his efforts to "help other boys" even though he often refused to help himself and despite his classroom behavior. Because of this growing status at Collegefields he was beginning to divide his allegiance and group loyalty between his old group and the Collegefields peer group. However, Johnny had not yet become committed to the "ways of Collegefields" and his delinquent behavior was only slightly diminished towards the end of his first two months in the program. While the growing status in Collegefields was a source of gratification so too was his growing status on the street. As with most Collegefields boys a crisis situation was necessary to help Johnny move in the direction of full commitment to the program.

The crisis situations which create critical points of departure for Collegefields boys often occur with spontaneity and of a natural course. On occasions, after very careful thought and planning, it is necessary for the staff to "manufacture" a crisis. The staff may base this fabricated crisis on a small piece of information received from a probation officer, on something observed by one of the social workers during a home visit or on pure conjecture. With careful planning conjecture could have only positive results.

Experience suggests that it is not presumptuous to say that every Collegefields boy was involved in some delinquent behavior, at least once during the first several months of his Collegefields assignment. If a crisis was not naturally forthcoming during a period deemed to be sufficient by the staff, the sustained lack of forward movement might cause a boy to fail in the program. In such instances staff might begin the critical point of departure by saying "Jones, staff understands that you were involved in something this week which you haven't told the boys." After some hedging and denial the boy most often would respond to this open-ended speculation by "confessing on himself" about some delinquent act in which he was involved during the past week. Upon finding that the group was not recommending his return to Court because of this confession he would often purge himself by admitting all of the delinquent behavior in which he had been involved since his assignment to the program.

In the case of Johnny a crisis occurred naturally. Johnny finally slipped during his seventh week in the program. One morning just a few doors down from the Essexfields building in Newark he was seen with and overheard in conversation with two delinquent associates. That afternoon he received the group meeting of which a partial transcription appears below.

- Andrew: Why were you talking to undesirables?
- Johnny: The two boys were walking down the street and they said, "Hello" to me and I shook my head. They asked if I was playing hooky.
- Boys: You lying! (loudly) They undesirables, why you talk to them?
- Johnny: They asked me a question.
- Robert: Why didn't you put them into situations?
- Johnny: I put them in some situations!
- Eddie: Oh, you put them in some but not the rest.
- Robert: Explain, "Mr. Helped Boy."
- Johnny: The situation was two boys were walking down the street. I was standing across the street leaning on the pole, down the street from Essexfields. I shook my head.
- Luther: You just said that they asked you if you was playing hooky and you said, "No."
- Andrew: Then when he crossed the street these two boys came by. Then he talked to them, and that's when everybody ran to the bus.

Eddie: The one boy asked you, "Did you play hooky today? I think his name was..."

Johnny: I don't know the boy's name.

Eddie: No?

Johnny: No!

Eddie: So then he said, "Did you play hooky today?" And he said, "No." So I think Bob turned around and started walking towards him, so he starts leaning against the pole and shook his head.

Robert: And I asked you why you didn't put them in situations.... I said, "Why don't you put them in situations now?" But then Pete and I walked over and we started to put the boys into situations. Why didn't you put them in situations? Johnny, do you care about this program at all, or do you feel it's a bunch of bull.....?

Johnny: I care about the program.

Robert: You do? You don't show it.

Eddie: If you care about this program, why don't you show a little care? All you do is go out and clique and come back in the morning.

Johnny: I didn't talk to them.

Boys: Check yourself.

Robert: I have an impression you haven't put anybody around your house, anybody you met in a situation.

Boys: Get on your knees for help!

Robert: I suppose you gonna say you want help, too? Do you want help, boy?

Johnny: Yeah, I want help.

Robert: How long you been here?

Johnny: Um...one month, two weeks, three days, six hours and fifteen minutes.

Robert: Then why don't you get on your knees?

Johnny: I'm on my knees.

Robert: The boys ask you outside the meeting to get on your knees and you say, "You stupid bastard I ain't getting on my knees."

Ali: I got an impression he's getting on his knees 'cause staff's here.

Robert: Why boy! Why don't you get on your knees on the outside? Answer the question. Possibility you're trying to impress staff? Is that what it is?

Eddie: We could be here til 6 you know.

Boys: Go ahead, boy, answer the question.

Robert: You sure do a good job talking to those undesirables. Your mouth didn't shut then.

Johnny doesn't answer.

Robert: You don't care if you go to jail, boy? You got nothing to say for yourself? You'd rather go to jail than talk? You got a big choice there, boy. You talking for your life.

Eddie: You don't care nothing about your own life?

Robert: Would you like your opinions boy?

Eddie: Let him answer one question, man.

Staff: What's the story, Johnny? You can't talk? If you don't talk there is only one thing the boys can do. Is that what you want?

Johnny: No.

Ronald: Hey, why you talk when staff say something and before when the boys say something you don't say a damn word.

Robert: Johnny, you got the impression that nobody but staff can send you to jail? You got that impression, boy? Yes or no.

Eddie: Do you know what opinions are for?

Johnny: Yeah.

Staff: What's your impression of Johnny?

Robert: I got the impression that Johnny has been messing up ever since he came to the program. And he doesn't give one good damn about the program or himself. The only thing he cares about is not going to jail. He doesn't want the help and he's gonna keep messing up and messing up.

Staff: You'd better start talking.

Robert: Yeah, bust your role and your clique, boy.

Luther: So why was you talking to undesirables? You have two minutes to decide to talk for your life.

Long pause.

Johnny: They undesirables I mess around with.

Andrew: You had the meeting twice before. How come you never tell us that stuff?

- Pause
- Johnny: Nobody, the probation officer, my mother, the teachers, nobody ever care what happened to me. So, I didn't care.
- Boys: No man, the boys care...Get off your knees.. tell it man...we giving out help...
- Johnny: I been messing 'round with these jokers since before I was busted and came to Collegefields.

Johnny went on to tell the group about all of the negative behavior in which he had been involved since being assigned to the Collegefields Program. He told them that the only time he was his true self around them, was on the occasions in the Collegefields classrooms where he exhibited negative behavior. As the meeting continued he became more and more honest with himself and with the boys. He recognized that rather than recommend his return to Court for his admissions they were encouraging his honesty and giving him status for it. While the transcription above cannot fully convey the tenor of the meeting, it does illustrate part of the status-giving dynamics of the program.

Before his admissions the boys derisively refer to him as "Boy" or as "Mr. Helped Boy." When he begins to be honest with them the boys immediately, and it appears, unconsciously begin to refer to him as "Man."

The crisis situation marked the onset of the next phase in the change process as boys experience it in the Collegefields Program. This crisis "phase" is perhaps the only one of these change phases, arbitrarily isolated for

analysis, which has a clear beginning. There is no clear delineation between the end of this phase and the beginning of the "helped boy phase." It appears, however, that the phase may continue in length from a few days to about three weeks.

During this period Johnny becomes painfully aware that his role playing is played out and, at once, that he can't turn back to the old ways. It is a period during which he becomes more and more aware that he must make the most important decision of his life. He can decide to give his allegiance to the street and face the consequence of sanctions from the group or he can decide to give his allegiance to Collegefields and lose the investment of years spent gaining status in the street. In this phase of change his allegiance is about evenly divided between the two peer groups. The fact that he is now aware that "somebody in the world" cares about him and the fact that during this period he is given "responsible boy" status, aids Johnny in making a decision which is in his best interest. During this period he becomes aware that not only is he an "older boy in the program" but that he is an older boy with responsible boy status. This significant leadership role on the street can lead to punishment. Arrest and jail could result as the measure of reward ordinarily available to him as a gang leader. At Collegefields, leadership carried only reward.

A major factor which helps to promote this change in Johnny is the authority which is shared with the boys by the adult system. Throughout his life Johnny has had

decisions made for him. By and large, it is the adult world which decides for him whether he will "make it" in school, whether he will spend much of his adult life behind bars and whether he will lead a productive or a non-productive life. It is the proper realization of power that Collegefields afforded to otherwise powerless youngsters that helped them to succeed in the program.

Perhaps for the first time in his life Johnny perceived himself and his peers to be actively involved in decision making and policy setting in matters of important concern to his life. Furthermore, these decisions were relevant to the proper operation of a formal, legitimate social institution supported, in fact, by the school system and by the Court.

As the process of emotional commitment to the new group continues and is enhanced by the above, Johnny begins to internalize the positive attitudes and norms of the Collegefields subculture. Delinquent behavior in the community diminishes and, simultaneously Johnny's ties to the neighborhood peer group also diminish. The process of emotional commitment to the new group and the attendant changes in behavior occur quite unconsciously and are often surprising to Johnny.

Johnny begins to be seen by others and to think of himself as a "helped boy." During this "helped phase" of the change process Johnny tests himself and the group frequently tests him in order to guarantee that change has occurred and to reinforce the change. He is repeatedly given and assumes a major portion of the responsibility

of introducing new boys to the program and of helping them understand the ways of Collegefields. He may be called upon or call upon himself to "take responsibility" for a boy who is experiencing difficulty in the program. He may request that the group return him to Court if he fails to elicit positive responses from the boy for whom he is responsible.

Johnny is now a helped boy and is ready for release from the program. It is summertime, however, and the guidance counselor is unable to place him in the Newark Schools. The alternative if he is released at this time is that Johnny will spend all his time in the street or in his home. The staff knows, however, that despite this the group will surely release him as helped within the next week. He has been considered a helped boy for over a month and has successfully met every test given him. Anticipating this difficulty the staff decides in conference that Johnny and any other boys released before school starts should be given a "temporary helped boy" card.

The temporary helped boy status was devised by the Collegefields staff and introduced into the culture to meet the problem presented by positive but untimely release of a boy from the program. Special classes and other activities were established for temporary helped boys.

The staff overheard Johnny talking individually with responsible boys on a number of occasions during his last ten days in the program. He was seeking out their

feelings and opinions about his asking to "go home." Johnny was gathering support among his group so that when he asked for the meeting to discuss the rationale for his release his request and subsequent arguments would meet with approval.

The following week Johnny had his last meeting. He explained to the boys how and why he was helped, how he had a "better understanding" of himself and how he could function on the street without the further aid of the boys in the program. After the meeting Johnny and the group specialist asked the secretary to fill out a temporary helped boy card. The specialist signed the card and Johnny was immediately surrounded by several of the responsible boys.

Three weeks later Johnny was graduated as a permanent helped boy and was back in school. He had come to Collegefields as a seventh grader. Now he was in the ninth grade, and would be continued in that grade if he kept his school work at that level.

Johnny had really beaten the system. At least this was what he thought. He had pulled the wool over everyone's eyes. He gained a couple of years in school, gotten out of the program in a few months and hadn't been sent to jail. This, Johnny told some of his old friends when he met them on the street. He also told them that nothing had changed and that he was still the same. In part he believed this himself and in part it was offered for consumption by the street gang.

Something was changed, however. The world was

different. Johnny was graduated from Collegefields over a year ago and had not had a negative contact with the law since.

Johnny had beaten the system. And he knew it.

Section V CHANGE IN THE COMMUNITY

The success of a demonstration project such as Collegefields cannot entirely be measured by statistical representations of effectiveness. Neither can it be entirely measured by the mere replication of the program in part or in whole. With respect to the change process as it related to the community, research can tell people whether a program was effective. The Collegefields research indicates that certain positive changes have occurred in the boys who attended the program. Such proof, however, does not often motivate people in the community to implement, or to have implemented, effective approaches.

It now appears that a Collegefields-like program will be established in the City of Newark within a few months of the close of the present project. As significant and gratifying as this is to the staff of the present project it cannot be seen as a major change in the community. Realistically, it means that 50 or 100 of thousands of youngsters in need of such rehabilitation will be exposed to the effective technique of guided group interaction during each year of the new program's existence. A major impact can be realized, of course, if the program is ultimately multiplied by ten or a hundred times. The initial significance of this anticipated program may be similar to that which is thought to be a major significance of the present Collegefields program.

In terms of change, the significance of the Collegefields Project lies in the present and future activities

of all those intimately concerned with the program. This includes the boys themselves, the immediate staff and closely related agencies such as the Newark School System, the Essex County Juvenile Court, Family Service Bureau and Newark State College. The changes and the change potential in these people and agencies will not have occurred as a result of the statistically proven effectiveness of Collegefields. Rather they are different because of their involvement and ongoing experience during the course of the demonstration.

In the course of the eighteen month demonstration portion of the Collegefields Project fifteen individuals were involved as teachers in the Collegefields classrooms. With few exceptions these teachers currently hold teaching positions in a variety of educational settings.

As a result of experience gained in the Collegefields Project several of these teachers have been appointed to positions in universities and colleges. The educational methodologies and the approaches to disadvantaged youngsters to which their many students are being exposed might not otherwise be available were it not for the experiences of the Collegefields teachers. The teachers who have returned to public school settings are adept in the employment of the peer group to enhance the educational gains of their pupils. These teachers are willing, and, because of their experience at Collegefields are more able to help in the implementation of teacher training programs in the classroom use of the peer group.

In January and February of 1966 a number of seniors at Newark State College did their student teaching in the

Collegetields classrooms. The interest generated by the approach and by their work with the Collegetields boys prompted these students to seek positions where they could best apply their experience in the program.

One of the guided group interaction specialists from Collegetields was appointed to a position in an out-of-state school of social work. As a member of the faculty of the school's social group work division this Collegetields staff member is now exposing his students to a new kind of social group work. Furthermore he is consultant to a number of anti-poverty and delinquency programs and will be instrumental in expanding implementation of the guided group interaction process.

The special guidance counselor at Collegetields who served as liaison between the project and the Newark School System has now returned to that system. Because his duties were expanded to include guidance of the afternoon group meetings he now has a thorough grasp of and extensive experience in guided group interaction. It is likely that he will be instrumental in staff training for and implementation of the anticipated Collegetields Program established within the system.

The two social workers who served as Collegetields staff members were not only exposed to the guided group interaction process as an effective social work technique but were able to employ this technique during the demonstration period in their work with the parents of the Collegetields boys. Aside from guided group interaction, their experience pointed in many ways to new directions in social work.

In large measure, social work has traditionally been concerned with clients who are motivated enough to seek professional help. Because the disadvantaged community is, largely, either unaware of services available or not motivated to seek help this segment of the population usually remains beyond the reach of the social worker. The duties of the social workers on the Collegefields staff, however, made it necessary that case work be implemented with the families of delinquent and most often, disadvantaged youngsters. Had the social workers waited for these clients to seek professional help there would have been no case work relative to the Collegefields Project.

Rather, it was necessary for the social workers to take the untraditional approach of initiating professional relationships with families who may not have been interested in help. The social workers realized a number of success experiences in their work with these "unmotivated" clients. These experiences may have a significant role to play in future alterings of traditional social case work approaches.

Because of the experience gained, one of the two social workers on the Collegefields staff has been appointed as a fulltime social case work consultant to the Essex County Juvenile Court. This in itself may be a significant indicator that the image of traditional social work as well as its role in society is changing or, more correctly, is expanding.

The Essex County Juvenile Court and the Essex County Youth House have long been recognized as progressive and

forward looking institutions by many students of sociology, criminology, and penology. Despite this kind of record it was hardly anticipated that a respected jurist and the head of the Essex County Youth House would allow the Collegefields boys the measure of freedom and authority which they did.

As indicated earlier in this report the Collegefields boys on a number of occasions were allowed in the Essex County Youth House in order to work with boys who had been failing in the program. They were then allowed to appear before the Bench and to advise the Judge whether they thought a boy should be returned to Collegefields or whether the program could not help him. When asked about this situation, the Judge replied:

"There is basically something good in group therapy (guided group interaction). When the peer group gets together very few boys can kid them. It's high time that authorities begin to listen to what boys are saying and to have some confidence in them. These youngsters travel on a level that many times we, even judges in the court, don't understand. While we have the final authority we ought not to close our ears to what the boys say about themselves. The incidences to which you refer happened in this court and from the subsequent record I would say that they have proven to be successful ventures."

Mr. Rudolph Zeigler, Psychiatric Case Supervisor of the Essex County Youth House, has also commented on these incidences and on his general impressions regarding change effected in youngsters by the Collegefields Program.

"Initially, my staff felt very threatened. They felt that this was a means for the youngsters to enter Youth House and to leave at their free will so that they could boast about coming and going. After

some explanation of what their purpose was the staff here was more accepting of it but were still threatened."

"As far as the children themselves were concerned the boys in the Youth House were not too happy about the interview and at first also felt a certain degree of threat. On the other hand, they also felt a slight bit of life or hope because of the interest shown by the other boys. After such interviews the boys were much more accepting of the help offered and felt more confident that people were interested in helping them. As far as my own thinking is concerned I thought it was a good idea because a boy who was returned from Collegefields didn't feel that he was just being dumped and forgotten. He realized that people were still interested in him and did not feel that he was a lost cause."

Mr. Zeigler was then asked about changes in Collegefields boys whom he knew as clients prior to the project.

"Yes, there was a definite change. There was a change in their general attitude and a change in their particular view and reactions. They had more self-confidence, and a greater sense of value, not only of themselves but of general values. And they had a greater interest in people other than themselves. As I knew them before they did not have respect or consideration for themselves as individuals. When they came here to see other boys during the program, however, there was a certain amount of respect and you could sense it in speaking with them. They themselves knew that you saw them as individuals with some worth. There is no question that there is value in the Collegefields approach. The Collegefields Program handled the children who are lost as far as the regular school is concerned. I would say that it should be attached to the school. This is an education not only on an academic level but on a social level. And, this is what many of the children who come to the Youth House need. My only complaint with Collegefields is that it was not set up for girls. There seems to be a general lag in rehabilitation services for girls and a Collegefields approach could be just as effective in promoting change in girls as it is in these youngsters."

The Newark School System too, because of its close association with and cooperation in the implementation of the Collegefields Program, has recognized the value of this approach. Mrs. Pansie Border, Senior Social Worker in the Newark School System related the following when asked about the Collegefields Project.

"I am very much impressed with the peer group approach. In fact it is one of the most effective approaches and I think it should be used much more widely in our schools. I think that such a program should be a definite part of the school program and I don't see why it should interfere with scheduling or anything of that kind in the schools. I feel that the peer approach as I have seen it at work has not been used to the fullest. A minority of the behavioral problems I meet in my work are the result of deep seated, pathological difficulty. These problems I think can be referred to agencies prepared to cope with the situation. On the other hand, the majority of school problems which I meet could well be handled in the school in a group process such as the one that has been used at Collegefields."

The real value of the program is found in what it does for the individual in the self-concept that is developed and in the feeling that 'I can overcome or I can cope with whatever problems I meet.'

Many professional observers of the guided group interaction process are threatened by the salty language used by the boys in the group meetings. Questions have been raised about the appropriateness of such language in the public school setting. Mrs. Border as a member of the Newark School System who is well acquainted with the program comments:

"The boys know where and when they can curse and where they can't. It is not only possible to have such a program but I think it would be healthy for the school to realize that this can be done. In other words, the boys can use this language to communicate with each other but at the same time they can learn that there is a type of language that should be used in another situation. When they begin to understand why they are using this language I think they have arrived where most of us need to go. I would say that it doesn't matter what kind of language is used in the setting as long as the boys know why they are using it and where to use it. I don't think it will dirty the school's morale in any way to have them use this language in a room while they are in session.

I think there is only one fault that I have to find with the program. That is that you discriminated against girls. Frankly, I feel that the girls need this type of help. While I wouldn't say more so than the boys, I would say they need it as much as the boys."

The Newark School System has been recognized over the years as a leader in educational innovations. Many educational techniques and approaches now in use throughout the nation had their start and were tested in the Newark School System. Collegefields marks another first for the system.

The intimate association of the Newark School System with the Collegefields Project has prompted a strong interest in continuation and expansion of the guided group interaction approach. This is evidenced in a letter written by Dr. Edward L. Pfeffer, Assistant Superintendent in Charge of Special Services to Dr. Robert F. Allen, Director of Research of the Collegefields Project.

The letter states:

...This is to advise you that we are interested in developing a Collegefields Program in the Newark Public School System which is contingent upon our securing funds for such a project...

We would appreciate receiving from you any leads that you may have in the area of funding.

I am hoping that we can find the necessary financial resources to implement a Collegefields Program within the very near future.

Since the writing of the above letter funds have become available and as indicated above, it now appears that a Collegefields type program will be a reality within a very short period of time.

Discussed here have been the effects of the Collegefields Program through its implementation for the community. However, the change potential in the Collegefields boys not only with regard to change in themselves but with regard to their effect on the community should not be overlooked.

The change which Collegefields promoted in the Collegefields boys has been discussed and analyzed at length in this report. It can only be speculated what change the boys themselves can promote during their lifetimes.

For the remainder of their adolescent years the Collegefields boys, for the most part, will have to, at least, coexist with the street. While it is unlikely that delinquency in the central wards of Newark will disappear because of Collegefields the influence of the boys on their peers cannot be entirely disregarded.

What will be the effects of the more positive regard for authority which the Collegefields boys exhibits on the attitudes of teachers, policemen, or employers with whom they may have contact? What influence will the Collegefields boys have on their families and on their children? How their children will be different is a matter for speculation.

As noted, earlier, the Collegefields boys were anxious to learn more about and to become involved in whatever "self-help" programs which might become available. From Highfields to Essexfields to Collegefields graduates of guided group interaction programs display an anxiety level which is far higher than the ambient level of anxiety in the urban ghetto. The common denominator of this higher anxiety is a desire to continue to help themselves by actively helping others.

Graduates of Collegefields and other guided group interaction programs do not wish to be employed as dishwashers, nor do they wish to be employed in hospital laundries. It is not because these and similar positions are "below their stations." Rather, it is because they are anxious to be directly involved in work with people. The research suggests that the aspirations of Collegefields boys are higher but more realistic than those of their counterparts in the tested-control group. Collegefields boys don't want to be lawyers or doctors. Rather, their choices generally appear to be a function of a recognition of their own, still retarded, academic achievement in combination with the changes produced in them by the unique helping culture.

The impact of this helping culture and of its vehicle, the guided group interaction process, suggests that these may be significantly applied to areas which go far beyond the relatively narrow field of delinquency rehabilitation. The striking anxiety produced by the guided group interaction process and by the unique helping subculture suggests that these may have great relevance to the "new careers" concepts of Reissman and Pearl. It is important that this relationship be appraised and utilized.

The Collegefields Project, for instance, has only scratched the surface with regards to the use of the peer group to enhance the educational process. Even incidental "by-products" of the Collegefields Program have relevance for education at all levels. The Collegefields boys often lectured and held panel discussions in graduate and undergraduate classes at Newark State College. Many of the teachers and pre-teachers in these classes told Collegefields staff members and faculty of the college that they had learned more about delinquency and poverty in one meeting with the Collegefields boys than they could in a semester of a study in this area. Faculty members too, have responded similarly. The ability of the Collegefields boys to verbalize in the presence of adults and to communicate feelings and attitudes as well as facts was instrumental in eliciting such responses from the college population.

If the by-product of the Collegefields process and subculture helped the Collegefields boys to be effective teachers, the process itself can have even more relevance in society.

Reissman and Pearl have suggested that the job market of the future lies not in traditional vocational areas but in the field of human services. Why not, then, go far beyond delinquency and even education to plant the seeds of a helping culture with the aid of individuals, such as the Collegefields boys, who are so anxious to help?

Collegefields was designed to help youngsters escape the rigid and narrow world of the delinquent social system and to become free agents. The freedom potential in the change process and product of Collegefields now appears to be more far reaching than originally anticipated.

Section VI THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

INTRODUCTION

While Collegefields was designed primarily as an action-oriented demonstration project it was thought advisable, from the outset, that a research component be included within the overall design. This research component was intended to provide ongoing data for the improvement of the program while in process, and later, determine the effectiveness of the program in reference to a number of pre-determined variables. The overall purpose, of course, was to explore certain general hypotheses regarding the process of educational and social rehabilitation in 14-and-15-year-old delinquent boys. The technical difficulties in such research demanded that special attention be given to the research design and to the exploration of new methods of evaluating community-based programs.

Keyed to employ the boy's peer group as the prime agency of change, the project sought, through the research program, to test the following general hypotheses:

1. Collegefields boys will exhibit a lower rate of recidivism than the boys in the Tested and Non-tested control groups.
2. The interest of the Collegefields boys in further education will be higher than that of the boys in the Tested-control group.
3. The Collegefields boys will demonstrate a greater increase in academic ability than the boys in the Tested-control group.

4. The Collegefields boys will show greater improvement in attitudes toward self and toward the social world than that shown by boys of the Tested-control group.

The general hypotheses above were based on anticipated changes in the younger boys as a result of the intervention of the Collegefields Program in their lives. These expected changes included:

- increased academic ability
- realistic upgrading of vocational and educational aspiration
- improvement in attitudes toward teachers
- improvement in attitudes toward self and upgrading of self-concept
- improvement in attitudes toward work, school, family and other environmental factors
- decrease in delinquent interests
- decrease in tendencies toward deception
- improvement in attitudes of parents and family toward Collegefields boys.

In addition to the major concerns regarding change in the boys it was hoped that the research program could make certain other contributions. The study could determine the feasibility of a short-term research that emphasized the psychological changes associated with reduced recidivism. The task of maintaining comparable research groups in the community could be examined. Another interest was to identify the differences between success-prone boys

and non-success-prone boys in the Collegefields Program. Comparable information would be available concerning the success-prone and non-success-prone delinquent boys in the community. Finally, certain significant questions raised by earlier research could be examined in relation to the specific findings of the present study.

Researchers in the area of delinquency rehabilitation will recognize certain persistent research problems and issues which must be considered. The difficulty of obtaining truly comparable groups within a delinquent population, for example, is self-evident. It is much to ask the members of a control group to return for retesting. The problem presented by boys from highly mobile families who are lost to the study may create unbalanced groups. Of even greater concern is the difficulty of obtaining and interpreting test and interview responses from persons who are likely to be very defensive in their relationships with authority figures.

More critical problems relate to the short period of time available for the study. There are questions of the adequacy of recidivism data between otherwise comparable groups. Practical considerations under a two-year grant made it necessary to limit the test-retest period to six months. It is most optimistic to hope to obtain evidence of significant changes in the lives of boys within this short period of time. However controversial, it must be recognized that the potential for short-term change is part of the basic Collegefields hypotheses. The experience and findings within the current research plans could provide a foundation for more sophisticated and adequate

research methods needed to evaluate proposed rehabilitation facilities for juvenile delinquents.

The unique assumptions of the Collegefields process become especially interesting when viewed in the light of contrasting theoretical opinion. Josselyn (1952) sets forth the criticism that boys age 14 and 15 have relatively weak ego-structure and thus, that they cannot be expected to gain insight into their personal problems until ego-strength is developed, which, presumably, is a matter of maturing. It was assumed in the Collegefields Project that group cohesion, academic progress, and other favorable experiences would provide sufficient support for fragile egos to permit successful rehabilitation.

A second theoretical criticism revolves around the extensive evidence that the conflicted and disintegrated family (Andry 1960, Glueck and Glueck 1950, McCord, et al 1962) is the most important contributor to juvenile delinquency and school failure. A possible conclusion is that the family "must be reached first" in the rehabilitation of delinquents. Sometimes the emphasis is made that a benevolent father or mother surrogate must be found for the boys so that, in a close one-to-one relationship, a boy can gain security and insight to change his self-destructive attitudes. Research suggests that this may have some value for young children but there has been little objective evidence that these procedures are either feasible or effective for the social delinquent who has espoused the street culture.

A. THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Because of the complexity of the problems and issues it is a difficult task to plan a community based program geared to the rehabilitation of delinquent youngsters. By far, the most important initial decisions of the Collegefields staff centered around the development of adequate research methods and the establishment of a careful research design.

THE RESEARCH GROUPS

The research design of the Collegefields Project was based upon the establishment of three research groups. This design, developed by the Research Director represents a unique feature of the project (Table I). The design calls for three comparable groups; the Collegefields experimental group, the tested control group, and the non-tested control group.

The criteria for selecting boys for placement in the groups and the means of establishing initially comparable groups was relatively simple. Assignment to the respective groups was done by a chance process in the ante-room of the Essex County Juvenile Court where the boy had just completed his hearing. The Court had helped to establish the criteria for allocating boys to the Collegefields Project.

The boy must:

- have just appeared before the court and had the petition regarding his offense sustained
- have not previously been in a penal institution
- be 14 or 15 years of age

Table I

RESEARCH DESIGN OF COLLEGEFIELDS PROJECT

(Sequence for each boy)

Time	I Collegefields	II Tested-Controls	III Non-tested controls
Court hearing date			
Initial Tests in week following hearing	<p>Test Sequence (Pre-test)</p> <p>Collegefields Experience</p> <p>Special Educational Program</p> <p>Group Interaction Sessions each day</p>	<p>Test Sequence (Pre-test)</p> <p>In most cases, a return to Newark Schools under probation</p>	<p>Probation and in most cases a return to Newark Schools</p>
Retest at 6 months and Confidential Interview	<p>Release from Collegefields 4 to 8 months later</p> <p>Six month re-test Posttest</p>	<p>Six month re-test Posttest</p>	
School Adjustment Check	<p>Two months after return to Newark</p>	<p>School Adjustment Check</p>	
Status Check at 16 years 6 months	<p>Status Check at 16-6</p>	<p>Status Check at 16-6</p>	<p>Status Check at 16-6</p>
Equivalent treatment, when possible, in Newark Schools for Collegefields boys & the Tested Control Group	<p>Collegefields boys given special placement and consideration on return to Newark Schools</p>	<p>Tested Controls given special consideration in Newark schools following six-month retest.</p>	

- be within the "normal" range of intelligence, at least, not distinctly sub-normal
- after diagnostic study, reveal no clear evidence of psychosis.

A boy meeting these criteria was identified by the Judge as a potential member of the Collegefields research program. When the boy left the court room a court attendant drew the top card from a pile which had been placed in chance order. The color of the card indicated his classification as Group I-Collegefields Rehabilitation Program, or Group II -Tested-control group (T-con), or Group III Non-tested control group (Non-T-con). The design initially called for the placement cards to be shuffled to produce "chance" sequence. Later they were placed in chance order according to a table of random numbers. This change in procedure, however, produced no discernable difference between the boys who came into the program early and those who came in later.

During a period of three months in the summer of 1965 there were fewer boys appearing in juvenile court. As a result it was necessary to place all eligible boys in the Collegefields group in order to replace boys who were graduating and thereby, sustain the program.

It should be noted here that several variables outside the control of the research design tended to conflict with its goal of establishing and maintaining

comparable groups. As will be seen later in this section certain differences in the groups occurred despite the "classic" random plan.¹ Fortunately in the present project, any selection which occurred, operated to make the Collegefields Experimental Group I less favored. As indicated later the outcomes showing the benefits of the Collegefields Program may be even greater than the data reveals.

The initial design called for both a short-term and a long-term evaluation of the program. It was planned that a three-year and possibly a five-year follow-up might be arranged. The limitations imposed by a two-year grant, however, required that the design and its instrumentation be altered so that adequate data could be gathered in the time allotted. The present report is concerned with data gathered from (1) prior court and family history and ensuing information provided by the Essex County Juvenile Court, (2) initial test results and (3) retest results at six months. Recidivism data has been followed for a period of twenty months. This data required cautious evaluation. The boys who were placed in one of the three groups early in the program have been followed for as long as twenty months. The last boys assigned to the project, however, have been followed for only six months.

1. The Collegefields group contains a significantly larger number of boys with previous court history. It may be that a factor of selection entered at some point since court personnel may have viewed the Collegefields Program as an "opportunity" for a boy with a more serious court history. This issue shows again how difficult it is to establish adequate control groups in community settings.

Another concern related to the research design was the fact that new offenses of Collegefields boys were usually discovered soon after they were committed. Often the group would "get on" the boy and a commitment to the State Home for Boys could result. Boys in the community on the other hand, might "get away with" a number of offenses before coming to the Court's attention again. Recidivism data over a short time period, therefore, may be ambiguous. Over a longer period of time the data could become more comparable. However, an examination of the recidivism data in light of test-retest results has yielded evidence which permits inferences concerning the future careers of the boys.

After initial assignment to one of the three research groups the boys in these groups follow different plans. As shown in Table I the Collegefields group and the Tested-control group participated in the initial testing and a later retesting six months after allocation to the program. Boys were assigned to the program from March 1965 through June 1966. Collection of retest data on the last of the boys was completed at the end of November 1966.

The design calls for a status check on boys in all groups at age sixteen years six months. This particular age was chosen for a check because each boy would have been able to leave school legally and would have had six months to get a job or make some revealing decision about future plans. Unfortunately not all the boys in the study have reached this age and this status check cannot be used in this report. Collection of this

information is continuing, however. It is hoped that a follow-up may later be possible.

As Table I suggests the boys in the Tested-control group received certain benefits similar to those received by the Collegetields group. Because a guidance counselor from the Newark Schools was assigned to the Collegetields Project the experimental group had the benefit of follow-up counsel after they returned to the schools from the Collegetields Project. If differences between the experimental group and the control groups were relatively slight, it might be interpreted that the individual attention, given to the Collegetields boys on their return to school following graduation from the program had accounted for the differences which favored the Collegetields boys. In order to avoid this discrepancy between the Collegetields and the Test-control treatment a School Adjustment Check was instituted, so that the Tested-control boys, who were in the Newark Schools, would be given comparable special attention. The guidance counselor and the educational supervisor were given permission to go into the schools to find out whether the Tested-control boys were experiencing any problems or were having any difficulties which could be corrected.

Although the School Adjustment Check was a worthwhile addition to the design of the project, it actually did not produce very much in the way of information or material help to the Tested-control group. Although these boys were generally comparable to the Collegetields boys, on the occasion of the Educational Check the majority

were either chronic truants, had already left school, or had committed another delinquent offense and were found to have been committed to the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg. Only four boys out of the group of Tested-controls, eight months following the original hearing date, could be found attending school with sufficient regularity so that their school adjustment could be assessed.¹

Another benefit received by the boys in the Tested-control group is not shown in Table I. The Social Workers assigned to work with the Collegefields boys and their families provided a similar service for the Tested-control group. Insofar as possible, difference between the Collegefields group and the boys in the Control groups was, of course, the Collegefields Rehabilitation Program itself.

The research design does not permit a "separating out" of the effect of individual components of the Collegefields experience. For instance, there is no way to measure the impact on the boys of the pressure and requirement to attend the Collegefields Program in contrast to the more casual pressures in the community on the control boys to "go to school." Moreover, the Collegefields boys came to feel it a privilege to go to a college

1. This fact illustrates the seldom recognized "school status" of these delinquent 14-and-15-year-old boys. When during testing, they were asked via questionnaires and check lists whether they liked or disliked teachers, their very common reply was that they liked teachers all right but actually, they hadn't been in touch with any of them for some time. Apparently, constant truancy was a part of the norm, the expectation, of most of these boys.

campus for their schooling. Although the Collegefields building was somewhat separated from the major buildings of Newark State College, the boys, in all probability were aware of the lively and busy college students moving purposefully about the campus. The high ratio of girls at college was no doubt evident to these 14-and-15-year-old boys. In the very first days of the project some of the boys made overtures to the girls and ran through the halls looking in the classrooms and in other ways showed themselves quite excited by the atmosphere in which they found themselves. As the Collegefields norms became stronger there was every reason to think that the boys recognized a college norm which consisted of a respect for learning and middle-class standards of campus behavior.

One of the things which the boys enjoyed very much was going to the cafeteria. Here they got a lunch each day which was exceptionally generous and nutritious. Because of the normally rapid rate of growth at 14 and 15 years there may have existed a need for quantities of good food seldom available at home. It is doubtful that the boys of the Control groups got as generous a mid-day meal as the Collegefields boys did. In several ways the Collegefields experience represented richer content and different opportunities than that which the community furnished the boys of the Control groups. It is clear that the Collegefields Program had many components.

1. Con't. The difficulty in locating the Test-control boys for the Educational Adjustment Check has another implication. This period, 14-15 years, appears to be a critical period of time in the boy's life. He is often a misfit in school and becomes an habitual truant. Since he may not legitimately leave school he cannot get a job. He is relegated to a marginal position in society. He may continue in marginal positions throughout his life.

Although it would be convenient if we could identify different aspects of the enriched educational program and the special influence the guided group interaction¹ sessions, actually, each component must be recognized as interacting with all the others. Of course, careful analysis may permit us to make a few comparisons. For example, if the Negro boys in the project tended to show a large increase in positive self-concept while white boys did not, the excellent mid-day meal might be judged to be negligible as a contributor if, on assuming equivalent food needs, both Negro and white boys had the advantage of this benefit. In this case, the rising self-concept of the Negro boy might be attributed to other portions of the program. Except for rare opportunities to make such detailed studies it is necessary to regard the Collegefields Program as a total experience for the Collegefields boys.

B. RESEARCH INTERESTS AND METHODS OF ASSESSMENT

A major portion of the pre-program planning centered around the questions of what the Collegefields Program might accomplish and how the accomplishments could best be measured. When the first of these questions was answered

1. The guided group interaction process of the Collegefields Program must be clearly distinguished from contrasting varieties of group work called group therapy. At the present time the changes in boys reported in the evaluation may be attributed only to a program which includes this guided group interaction.

the staff proceeded to select and design appropriate instruments. Consideration was given to selection and design of the tests and measures which could be included in a three hour testing program. A summary of the assessment measures and some experiences regarding their use follow.

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The Gates Reading Survey for grades three through ten was chosen. It provided subtests in Speed of reading, reading Vocabulary, and level of Comprehension. The anticipated wide range of reading ability among the research groups made this the test of choice.

IMPROVEMENT IN MENTAL ABILITY

Although normally, it would not seem likely that in a six-month period of additional schooling, improved scoring on a individual test of intelligence, could be seen. Special conditions surrounding the school life of this delinquent group suggested that some change in mental ability might occur. Many of these boys have distinctly retarded verbal skills. Both the schooling portion of the program and the highly verbal guided group interaction sessions might be expected to expand the boys vocabulary and their levels of comprehension. In contrast, the Tested-control group would be expected to make no exceptional progress during this period.

Two tests were chosen: (1) The Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children. The WISC was used in an abbreviated form consisting of Vocabulary and Block Design (Simpson and Bridges 1959). (2) The Otis Quick-scoring Mental

Ability Test. Most boys scored at below average levels and a few of them, retarded readers, were unable to attempt the test at all. In the case of these boys, it is probably better to assume that the Otis represents a general level of academic functioning, such as might occur in a junior high school setting, rather than any measure of mental ability per se. However, there were some members of both groups who were able to score at distinctly above average levels.

VOCATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS

If the Collegefields Program were to accomplish its purpose boys should usually increase in their desire to attend school. In addition, where their general ability permits, there should be a reasonable upgrading in vocational aspiration attendant on the increased schooling. To assess this the Youth Opinion Survey Form C was administered. (Hallers and Miller) A second scale by the same authors, was tried out in the early weeks of the evaluation program. It was eliminated because the test took nearly an hour and included an array of questions calling for high verbal skills and inviting socially approved responses rather than the boys' actual opinions.

ATTITUDES TOWARD TEACHERS

For many 14- and 15-year-old delinquent boys a sign of improvement might be a change in attitude toward adults and especially, toward teachers. A revision of the GOUGH (1960) Adjective Check List by Darmstadt and Zisman allowed the boys to check those adjectives which

they felt described teachers. This task could be accomplished relatively quickly in the testing program since the number of adjectives checked was optional. After a tryout the check list was again revised to conform to the boys' level of comprehension.

A recurrent evaluation problem is presented by these boys. With grade-four reading ability most of the boys required a very simple vocabulary. To identify favorable, neutral, and unfavorable adjectives it was necessary to enlist the aid of Essexfields boys, a slightly older group, to classify the words in terms of meanings perceived by the delinquent boys. Rallying to the task they explained, for example, that the word "gentle" was to be classified as unfavorable because, in the eyes of the boys, a "gentle" teacher would be unable to manage the discipline problems generated within a class, so this would be an unfavorable characteristic. The experimenters chose to abandon this word while retaining such items as crabby, cool, on-the-war-path, hard-headed, and friendly.

An understanding of these boys reveals how few already-prepared materials can be used in such assessment. Most boys are interested and cooperative when materials are appropriate but they "give up on" tasks which do not make sense to them.

ATTITUDES TOWARD WORK, SCHOOL, FAMILY AND OTHER ENVIRONMENTAL FACTORS

Direct expression of opinion can often be slanted in a socially acceptable direction. Hence, it was desirable to include certain projective measures. The Draw-A-Person

Test and the Allen Sentence Completion Test were included. The latter was especially designed by Dr. Robert Allen after the manner of the Rotter Tests (Rotter & Rafferty 1950), to reveal delinquent norms and sample topics particularly appropriate for these boys. For example, the following were included:

I am-----
 Trusting people -----
 School for me is -----
 I regret -----
 The most important thing is -----
 I got into difficulties with the law because-----
 When I get discouraged -----

Most of the boys managed to finish the Allen Test. They were occasionally given help in writing what they clearly wanted to put on paper. The Draw-A-Person Test was selected because of its ease of administration and the fact that it might lend itself to several kinds of analysis in the final project evaluation.

SELF-CONCEPT MEASURES

It was hypothesized that when boys had unduly low or unduly high self-concepts they might be expected to get into trouble. Therefore, a change in self-concept might accompany a rehabilitation process.

1. The Adjective Check List on Self¹ provided a direct measure. Here again it became necessary to construct an "adjective and phrase" list which was appropriate for these boys. The item "hostility" was abandoned in favor of the vernacular, "carries a chip." The Youtz Revision

1. Copies available in the Appendix F.

was prepared with the aid of the Essexfields boys. Again the scoring in terms of "favorable" and "unfavorable" was based on adolescent judgments. "Free-spending" becomes a favorable characteristic while "Acts-like-has-no-feelings" is unfavorable. The boys showed heightened interest when they met this revised list of phrases couched in their own terms.

2. Other measures of attitudes toward self could be derived from the Draw-A-Person Test; namely, the dominance of male or female in figure drawings, and a measure of Power as revealed by combined clinical signs from the drawings.

3. Finally the Allen Incomplete Sentence Test could be scored to provide a measure of positive or negative self-reference. The "objective" scoring of this projective test will be described later.

4. In addition, many of the boys, on arriving at Collegefields, were given the Self-Concept (Engle 1959) Questionnaire. Certain of the Collegefields graduates also took this questionnaire at the end of their stay. This material contributes to the case history resources for the graduates. However, since the Engle Questionnaire was not given to the Tested-control boys, it does not contribute to case study or to the group comparisons.

If the Collegefields Rehabilitation Program were to be effective, it was hypothesized that boys who had relatively low self-concepts would increase in positive self-regard. Negro boys, it was assumed, often internalize their disadvantaged status and become self-rejecting.

Delinquency has sometimes been seen as an effort on the part of the boys to counteract this low-status caused-self-rejection (Cohen 1955, Kvarceus 1965). Any analysis of the data, however, would have to include the possibility that some boys (possibly as a measure of defense) appear arrogant and self-confident so that instead of showing a low self-concept they might have an unrealistically inflated self-concept. It would be hoped that as this type of boy developed insight into his own problems his self-concept would move lower, toward realistic, moderate levels. This potential of two directions of effective change poses special problems for statistical analysis which will be discussed later when the results are interpreted.

OTHER CHANGES IN ATTITUDE

In an effort to find more materials in which social desirability was not easily identified by the boys, two more tests were added to the series. The Story Completion Test (Barndt-Johnson, 1955) is a measure which had been used with delinquents. Its advantage lay in the indirect form of analysis: (1) total elapsed time in the boy's story, (2) theme of story, and (3) total number of words used in the story. More interpretation is potential through this test than can presently be included in this report.

DECEPTIVE TENDENCIES

The Machiavelli Test was developed to identify adult persons who have a basic trait of manipulating others and actively managing the environment in self-benefiting ways.

(Christie 1958) The author regards it as a fundamental personality trait not readily changeable. However, the content itself suggests that some weight is given to aspects of deception and concealment which has been identified as a prime trait of delinquents. In this study it is hypothesized that the boys will come to accept the good intentions of others. Particularly through guided group interaction, they will learn to communicate freely and be able to reveal how they really think without difficulty. This openness which is a goal of the group sessions is contrary to the concealment and deception items of the MACH Test.

A short adaptation of the Mach Scale was prepared for use with delinquent boys. Because it had to be prepared hastily prior validation was not possible. However, it can be understood by the boys. It commanded their interest and thoughtful attention when individually administered. In several instances an item is so phrased that it is difficult for the boys to decide which is the socially desirable answer. Although not a well-developed test in total score, this adaptation of the Mach allows suitable experimental vs. control group comparisons for individual statements of attitude.

PARENT ATTITUDES AND FAMILY INFLUENCE

The relationship between family adequacy and child delinquency has been extensively studied. (Glueck and Glueck, 1950, Andrey 1960, Kvarceus 1966). Problems associated with family relationships normally form a core of

the case study information. To gain this kind of information a number of measures were added; (1) the PARI-Parent Attitude Scale, (2) Adjective Check List-Parent about boy, (3) Educational-Vocational Opinion Survey-Parent Form, and finally; (4) the interview of parent with social worker. After this interview the Glueck Family Evaluation with separate ratings for Supervision, Discipline, and Family Cohesiveness were recorded. The Geismar-Ayres Family Evaluation was also made.

At the completion of six months in the project the parents of boys in the Collegefields group and the Tested-controls again completed; (1) the Adjective Check List on the boy, (2) the Educational and Vocational Opinion Survey Parent Form, and (3) an informal interview in regard to the boy's current behavior and interests, and his school and home experiences during the prior half year.

Some perennial problems marked the collection of this data:

1. In spite of the fact that research volunteers helped the mother complete the PARI many of the items were beyond the comprehension of some mothers.
2. Since the testing occurred within a week of the Juvenile Court hearing, the mothers were usually protecting their boy by giving him an unbelievably "good character." Occasionally though, a mother was so angry she had almost nothing good to say about her boy. These may have been revealing features for the case history but the comments were difficult to interpret as research data.

Did the mother feel the judge would not send her boy "away" if she said many good things about him? If she gave a more candid reaction six months later, would that mean that she was less favorable toward the boy than at the pretest?

3. Sometimes a sister, a foreign grandmother, a newly acquired foster-parent or a reluctant grandfather appeared with the boy. Sometimes no one came. How to combine such testimony with that of the majority of mothers was not immediately apparent. Of this material the most consistently reported was the Glueck Family Adequacy Rating. As shown later this was used as a measure of comparability between the groups.

Finally as has already been noted, Collegefields was set up as a boys' program. Major influence was directed toward the adolescent boy. If change came about in the family it was assumed that, at this age, the boy would have a share in producing the change. Although a great deal of information about the boys' families became available the staff did not try to "reach" the parents as a way to rehabilitate the boy. Under pressure from parents the boy can become most uncooperative. However, as the program progressed, parents were often helpful.

FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEWS AND QUESTIONNAIRES

In addition to the questionnaire administered to the parent at the retest interview three other questionnaires¹

1. Copies of these instruments are in Appendix F.

were used, (1) Boys who were unable to adjust to the Collegefields Program were prematurely released. Some of these boys were sentenced to the State Home for Boys at Jamesburg. Two months after their release they were visited and interviewed regarding their life at the State Home and their comments about their experience at Collegefields. (2) A questionnaire was prepared to serve as a guide to alert school staff members to the needs of Tested-control boys at the time of their Educational Adjustment Check. (3) The parents of the group members received a brief Status-Check Questionnaire when the boy reached 16-years-six-months. This inquiry was sent out from the Court.

C. THE TESTING PROGRAM

The Collegefields testing program was first conducted at Youth House, but was later moved to Family Service Bureau in Newark where the atmosphere was less threatening to the boy. Both experimental and test-control groups were tested together on an assigned day in the week following their court hearing. The number of boys in a given test group varied from one to six. At the initial testing session, they were told that they would be given a series of tests which were to be used by the researchers in an attempt to find ways to help boys who had been "in trouble." They were also told that they would be recalled in six months for another series of tests, but they were reassured that this was routine and not another court hearing.

As indicated earlier Essexfields boys played an

important role in the Collegefields Program. In the area of research two boys from the Essexfields Program were trained as assistants for the test sessions. The juveniles applied themselves more seriously to these tasks when the instructions were relayed by slightly older boys rather than by an adult in authority. The Essexfields boys could direct them in their own terms of reference and language, with an attitude that suggested they would tolerate no transgressions or attempts at "conning."¹

The testing was started with the "Allen Sentence Completion Test," a test of 40 sentences which the boys were told to complete in a way that would show how they felt. They were assured that there were no right or wrong answers. They were also told that if they had difficulties with reading the questions they were permitted to ask for help. In the case of very poor readers, it was sometimes necessary to read the sentence to the boy and then help him with the spelling for the completion of the sentence. Since the boys worked at different rates of speed on the Allen Test those who finished ahead were permitted to go on to one of the adjective check lists, "The Darmstadt Check List - Teachers" or "The Adjective Check List - Self." When all the boys had finished the

1. The successful employment of the Essexfields boys as consultants in constructing some of the instrumentation and as administrators of tests not requiring competent professional administrative skills suggests just two more of the multitude of possible new careers for the poor in sub-professional "human services" roles as advocated by Reissman. The use of the Essexfields boys in starting the program has been pointed out earlier in this report.

Allen Test they were ready for the timed tests. The Gates Reading Survey (four minute test) was administered to all at the same time, then the boys finished the other two sections of the Gates at their own pace. They received no assistance on the Gates Test. Boys who finished ahead of the others were permitted to do the "Draw-A-Person" test and "The Youth Opinion Survey." In between, at some convenient point, the boys stopped for refreshments; cokes and cookies were available. The "Otis Mental Ability Test" (half-hour timed test) was then administered to all the boys at the same time.

While the Essexfields boys guided the completion of the group tests, the research supervisor and assistants took one boy at a time to a private office to administer three individual tests.

1. "The Mach Test" consisted of a series of statements that were read to the boy. He was instructed to indicate on a specially designed pointing device how he felt about the statement; whether he "strongly agreed" or "slightly agreed," was "neutral" or "strongly disagreed" or "slightly disagreed," with the statement. Again each boy was assured that the researchers were interested in how he felt and that there were no right or wrong answers.

2. The short form of the "WISC" consisted of the block design test, the WISC vocabulary.

3. The "Barndt-Johnson Time Orientation Story" was then administered. A story was begun and the boy was asked to complete the story in any way he wished. After that he returned to the group to complete any unfinished tests.

After his folder was checked to make certain that every test was complete he was permitted to leave with a reminder that we would see him again in six months.

When the boy was notified by the court to report for testing it was made clear that his mother or a responsible adult was to accompany him. While the boys were being tested the "parent" was interviewed by the social workers at the Family Service Bureau. The adults also completed questionnaires and test forms, "Adjective Check List - Parent on Boy," a "Youth Opinion Survey - Parent Form," and an "Inventory of Attitudes on Family Life and Children."

Six months later when the boys came for the retest series, the same procedure was followed. The same tests were administered except when an alternate form was available.

Since some of the boys, in the six month interval, had gotten into trouble again and had been sent away to residential custody centers, tests were administered to those boys at the State Home for Boys in Jamesburg, at Highfields and at Annandale. The testing procedure was kept as similar as possible to the regular testing situation. In addition, the Collegefields boys in custody were given a special interview and questionnaire that revealed their feeling about Collegefields and their present status.

RESULTS OF THE COLLEGEFIELDS STUDY

Informal results of the Collegefields Rehabilitation Program have been reported in the description of the boys' reactions, staff comments, and the observation of changed attitudes of the boys after their experience at Collegefields. There remain some critical questions to be answered through an examination of the objective data provided by the court histories of the boys and the test retest information. Informally observed progress by the boys in the Collegefields Program leaves unanswered the question of whether comparable boys in the community would make similar progress during this maturing period of early adolescence. An even more critical issue is approached when we ask how many of the boys assigned to the Collegefields group actually graduated from this program. Candidly is it possible that the graduates of the program profited greatly by their experiences but those who were unsuccessful in the program were actually harmed by the experience? An examination of the results of the study will provide partial answers to these and many other questions regarding the Collegefields Program for juvenile delinquents. Answers to these and other questions depend on the degree to which the Collegefields experimental group and the control groups are reasonably comparable.

A. TO WHAT EXTENT ARE THE THREE RESEARCH GROUPS COMPARABLE? BACKGROUND INFORMATION COMPARED

A summary of the background information, essentially

personal and family data, is presented in Table II.

1. It can be seen from this table that the three groups are essentially comparable in size. The groups are also very similar with 57 in Collegefields (Group I) 56 in the Tested-control group and 54 in the Non-tested group.

2. The social status index shows reasonable comparability also. In view of the relatively large standard deviations for each group the slight difference in favor of the Collegefields group is insignificant. The social status index was determined by the Hollingshead two factor method (1958)¹. The higher the score the lower is the level of social status. All groups showed a range of social status from 6 to 15.

3. The three groups are much less similar in Prior Court History. As can be seen in Table II and in Figure 1, 78 percent of the Collegefields group have been known to the court previously and have committed one or more prior offenses. In contrast, the 71 percent of the Tested-controls had Prior Court Histories, while only 52 percent of the Non-tested controls had court histories. The

1. The social status index for the family is based on the occupation of the breadwinner and his education. Occupation is rated according to a classification of occupations in which high professional work is rated 1 and unskilled labor 6. Educational level is given a similar range of ratings with college graduate work receiving a rating of 1 and less than seven years of school receiving a 6. The obtained rating on occupation is multiplied by a weight of 7 and the educational rating by a weight of 4 to get the final index.

Table II

PERSONAL AND FAMILY INFORMATION
COMPARABILITY OF GROUPS IN THE STUDY

Variable	Collegefields Group I N=57	Tested Control Group II N=56	Non-tested control Group III N=54
<u>Age in months</u>			
Mean	180.5	180.1	182.6
S.D.	6.6	7.0	6.5
<u>Social Status Index</u>			
Mean	67.2	68.8	70.5
S.D.	11.3	10.2	9.8
<u>Prior Court History</u>			
% with court history	78.2	71.0	51.9
% without court history	21.8	29.0	48.1
<u>Race</u>			
% White	36.4	25.0	11.8
% Non-White	63.6	75.0	88.2
<u>Family Status</u>			
% from Intact Family	40.0	42.9	35.3
% from broken home	60.0	57.1	64.7
<u>Glueck Family Rating</u>			
(Total) Median	10.2	10.9	(No interview)

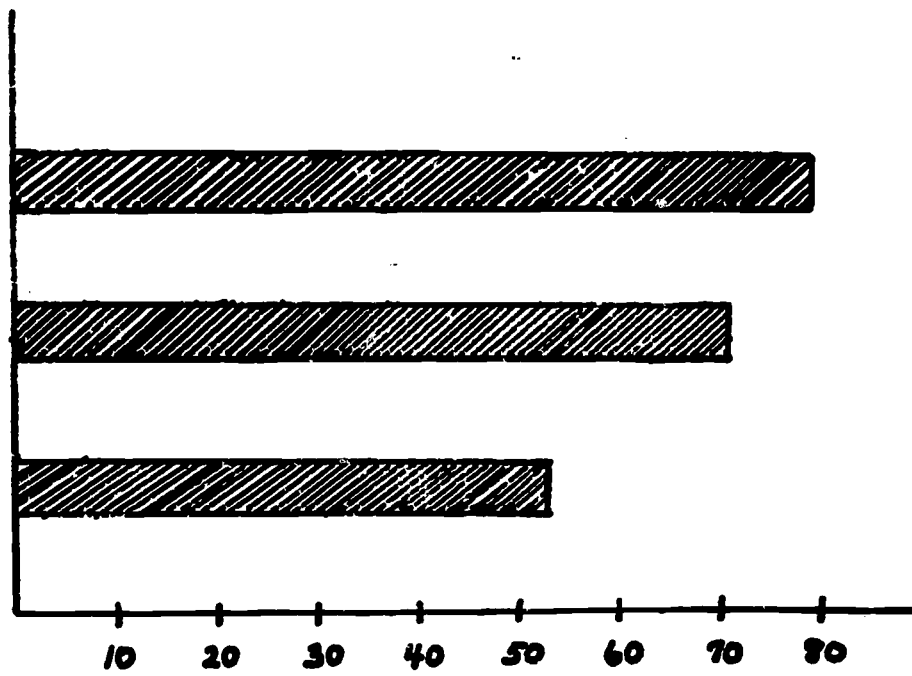
Figure 1

Percent of Boys with Prior Court History Groups Compared

Collegefields
N = 57

Tested-controls
N = 56

Non-tested controls
N = 54



Percent of total Number in Group

statistical analysis shows that the differences here between Collegefields and the Tested-control group are not significant. However, using a Chi-square test the differences between both of these groups and the Non-tested control group reached statistical significance ($P < .05$). This amount of difference cannot be disregarded. From a research point of view it is fairly serious since it has been found repeatedly that boys who have a previous court history are more likely to commit further offenses than a group of boys who have not had a Prior Court History. This means that the Collegefields boys represent a more seriously delinquent sampling of the boy population than the Non-tested control group. They are slightly more delinquent-prone than the Tested-control group. Thus, if the Collegefields group should show evidence of benefit from the Collegefields Program superior to the gains of the control groups, these comparisons would be of special significance.

4. When the three groups are compared it can be seen that the Collegefields boys has a lower percentage of Negro boys than the other two groups. These differences, however, are not statistically significant.

5. According to the information available the three groups are much alike in the percentage of boys having intact families. The classification of intact family meant any family in which both a father and mother were presently living at home. No consideration was given to whether the parents were their own parents or foster parents.

6. Finally, a comparison of the Glueck Family Rating showed that the Collegefields and the Tested-control boys were very similar in level of family adequacy. Within each group there was, of course, a wide variation. In view of the extensive research on the influence of the family on boys' delinquency proneness the question arises whether the Graduate, those who were best able to make use of the Collegefields opportunity, were those from the more adequate homes.

THE COMPARABLE SUB-GROUPS: RESULTS FOR THE GLUECK FAMILY EVALUATION

In Table III we have the sub-groups compared with regards to the Glueck Family Evaluation. It is necessary to describe the sub-groups which are the basis for our comparisons in this table and in many other phases of the research report. Comparison data are presented in three groupings for Collegefields experimentals and three for the Tested-control groups. First, the total number in the Collegefields group, second, the Graduates of Collegefields, and third, the Non-graduates.¹ The Non-graduates consist of two groupings, (1) the 17 boys who at the time of project closing December 1, 1966, were in penal custody at one of several correctional institutions, (2) seven additional boys who were judged to be too maladjusted to succeed in the program but who had not actually committed an additional offense as yet. Special arrangements were made for them to continue in the community although they did not graduate from the Collegefields Program. Actually many of the non-graduates

1. A detailed study was made to determine whether the group of unadjusted boys should be classified among the graduates, since they were not actually in penal custody, or whether they represented a group most like the non-graduates of Collegefields who have been placed in penal custody. Five of the seven had a prior court history. The family adequacy was close to that of the Boys in Custody. On many measures they more nearly resembled The Custody group, so had they been circulating freely in the community they most probably would have been picked up for further offenses.

Table III

GLUECK FAMILY EVALUATION

SUB-GROUPS COMPARED

<u>Group</u>	Rating 6-8	Rating 9-11	Rating 12-15*
	<u>Percent of Groups</u>		
<u>Collegefields</u>			
Group I Total N=55	13	67	20
Graduates N=31	13	77	10
Non-graduates N=24	12	54	33
<u>Tested Controls</u>			
Group II Total N=52	19	58	23
T-con Boys in Com- munity N=31	16	61	22
T-con Boys in Penal Custody N=21	24	52	29

* Total Score combines separate ratings on (1) Supervision, (2) Discipline, (3) Cohesiveness in Family Unit.

Lowest score possible would be 3 which represents an exceptionally good home. Score 15 indicates the score for the extremely poor home.

had experienced as much as four or five months of the Collegefields Program. Only later did it appear that they could not earn a "helped boy" card.

The Tested-control group contain comparable subdivisions. Group II in Table III contains only 52 boys since only this number had received the Glueck Family Evaluation. The group within the Tested-controls which is comparable to the Collegefields Graduates is made up of the boys who continue to live in the community and who have not committed any additional offenses. This group is somewhat comparable to the Collegefields graduates since they seem to be making a successful adjustment in the community, or at least, have not yet been apprehended if they have been engaging in delinquent acts. The final group represents the Tested-control Boys in Penal Custody. These boys have committed further offenses, have been returned to court, and have been committed to penal custody. This group is much like the Non-graduates group of the Collegefields Program. All of the results of the study were tentatively analyzed using the unadjusted boys in combination with the Graduates. Significant differences in favor of the Collegefields Graduates continued to be evident. Since, however, these unadjusted boys did have special problems which prevented success in the Collegefields Program they were finally classed with the Non-graduates. Some of these boys are receiving special treatment in the community. Their participation in the Collegefields Program has lead to an identification of their special problems for which they needed a different kind of treatment.

Returning now to Table III the percent of low, medium, and high ratings are indicated for totals and sub-groups. Actually an exceptionally good home would be rated 3 according to the evaluation method. The most inadequate home would receive a rating of 15. In Table III it can be seen that ratings vary from 6 to 15. An examination of the distribution of these scores reaffirms the comparability of the Collegefields and Tested-control totals. There is a smaller percentage of boys from the most inadequate homes among the Collegefields Graduates and the largest proportion from poor homes among the Non-graduates. It could be interpreted that a more adequate home aids a boy to gain the benefits of Collegefields Program. In fact, it should be noted that the three boys with the most severely disruptive homes from the Collegefields group were unable to succeed in the Collegefields Program. The larger percent of boys from better homes in Penal Custody from the Tested-controls suggests that a better home alone is not adequate to keep the boys out of trouble. Even boys from more adequate homes profit from the rehabilitation opportunity.

However, four boys with a home classification of 12, which signifies an inadequate home, did graduate from Collegefields. While some variations are present the sub-groups are generally similar with the Collegefields Graduates most resembling the T-con Boys in Community and the Non-graduates most resembling the T-con Boys in Penal Custody.

INITIAL COMPARABILITY OF GROUPS ON SELECTED TESTS

Further evidence of equivalence of the Collegefields group and Tested-control group is evident from the selected comparisons in Table IV. Especially similar are the predicted WISC I.Q., Gates Reading Comprehension, the Otis Test of Mental Ability and the total score on the Adapted MACH scale. The differences in expected years of additional schooling seen on the Youth Opinion Survey show that the Collegefields group is more disenchanted with school than the Tested-controls who, on the average, anticipate a schooling which will take them to the end of Senior High School.

Other Pretest comparisons will be shown in later sections when the results are discussed.

In summary it is apparent that in most measures there is reasonable initial equivalence between the Collegefields group and the Test-controls. When slight differences are found they are in the direction of advantage to the Tested-controls.

B. ARE THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS LESS LIKELY TO COMMIT FURTHER OFFENSES THAN THE BOYS OF THE CONTROL GROUPS?

Recidivism data are complicated to interpret in terms of boys' lives. It is possible to imagine a Rehabilitation Program which would not immediately prove itself effective but which over a long period of years would show power to rehabilitate delinquents. This means that short term evaluation should be supplemented with later follow-up. Even more complicating is the fact that

Table IV

INITIAL COMPARABILITY OF TESTED GROUPS

SELECTED MEASURES

Variable		Collegefields (Group I) N=55	Tested-Controls (Group II) N=56
<u>WISC Predicted I.Q.</u>			
Pretest	Mean	89.2	89.2
	S.D.	6.0	10.3
<u>Gates Reading Comprehension</u>			
Pretest	Mean	4.2	4.2
	S.D.	1.4	1.5
<u>Otis Test of Mental Ability</u>			
Pretest	Mean I.Q.	79.7	79.2
	S.D.	12.7	12.2
<u>Youth Opinion Survey</u>			
Additional years of schooling expected			
Pretest	Mean	3.5	4.1
	S.D.	2.3	2.0
<u>Machiavelli Scale</u>			
(Modified)- <u>Total Score</u>			
Pretest	Mean*	31.0	31.3
	S.D.	4.4	5.4

* For this test, Group I N=39, Group II N=38.

boys can be placed in protective custody after juvenile offenses and be so confined and controlled that over quite some period of time they would show no additional offenses. The number of further court offenses then becomes, in part, a matter of opportunity as well as proneness to delinquent behavior.

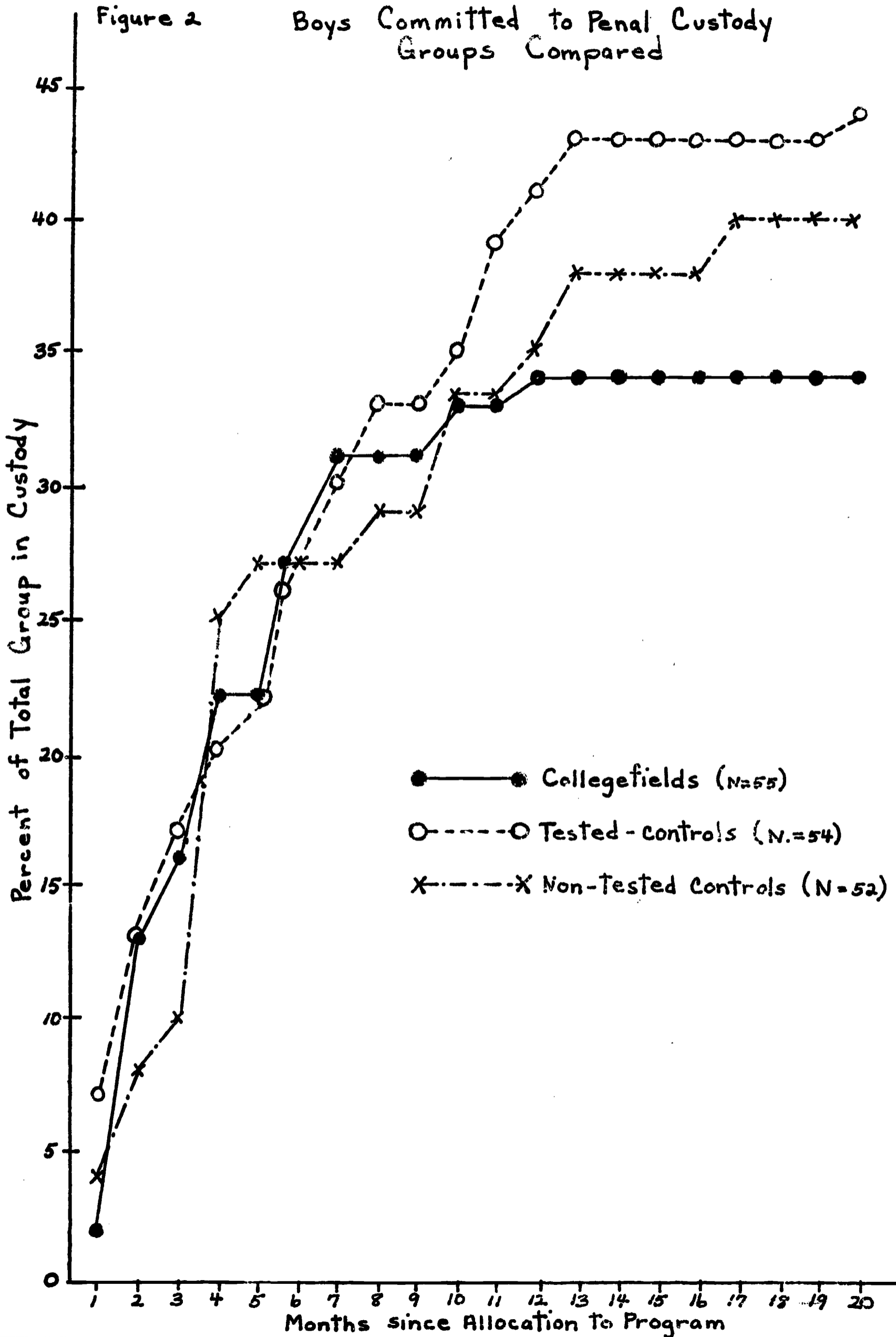
The immediate question, how many boys from each group are in Penal Custody at the close of the project, calls for the careful interpretation previously presented. When a boy in the Collegefields group got into trouble he was immediately called to account. How many of the boys of the Control Groups committed similar offenses without court knowledge is only to be surmised. In addition, boys entered the program as late as June 1966, and, therefore, have very different lengths of time in the project.

BOYS IN CUSTODY FROM STUDY GROUPS

Figure 2 shows the percent of the total groups who are in Penal Custody according to months since allocation to the Collegefields Evaluation Project. Although no consistent differences can be seen in the early months by the time the Collegefields boys have had appreciable experience in the program new offenses are very rare. In contrast the two control groups are still showing further offenses.

Figure 2

Boys Committed to Penal Custody Groups Compared



At the termination of the Study, December 1, 1966

	Collegefields	Tested controls	Non-tested controls
Boys remaining in study (not moved away)	55	54	52
Percent in Penal custody	34	44	40

The comparisons in Figure 2 are distinctly more impressive when it is recalled that the Collegefields group contains a higher proportion of boys with prior court histories.

TENDENCY OF BOYS WITH PRIOR COURT HISTORIES TO COMMIT FURTHER OFFENSES

Since the groups differ in the number of boys with prior court history,¹ it would be revealing to examine just those who had a previous court record from each group. By seeing how many of these boys committed still further offenses serious enough to lead to their placement in penal custody, we could partially control the initial differences between the Collegefields group and the Control groups.

-
1. This means a court record before the juvenile offense which lead to their placement in the Collegefields Evaluation Study.

The group comparisons of the boys with and without prior court histories are given in Figure 3. It is clear that a higher percentage of boys with prior court histories are committed to penal custody than boys without prior court history. But when the three groups are compared, a smaller proportion of boys with Collegefields experience is seen to be involved in further offenses. When those without prior court record are compared the Collegefields and Tested-control each show just two boys with further offenses while the Non-tested controls show nine boys committed to custody from those without prior court record.

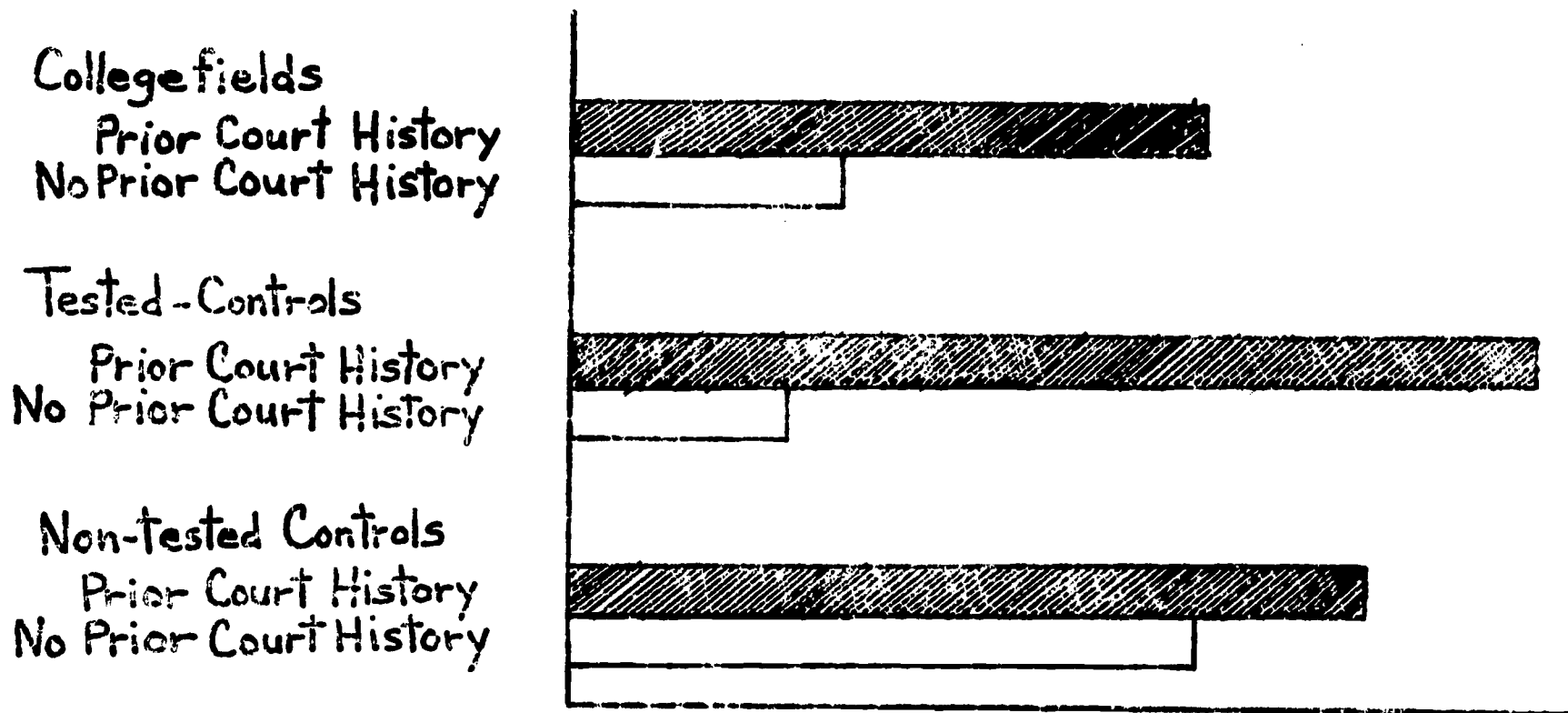
It is clear from a short-term analysis that the Collegefields boys tend to commit fewer new offenses than the boys of the Control groups.

Figure 3

Boys in Penal Custody

December 1, 1966

Comparison of those with and without Prior Court History



C. DO THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS SHOW IMPROVEMENT IN SCHOOL SUBJECT SKILLS AND MENTAL ABILITY?

As a group the boys of this study show the retardations in school subject skills which are often mentioned as a primary influence in leading boys into a truancy-delinquency sequence. Depending on the reading skill measured the boys at age 15 read below the fifth grade. This group figure conceals the fact that a number of the boys were practically non-readers and a few were reading up to grade.

GATES READING SURVEY RESULTS

Table V summarizes the initial abilities in Speed, Vocabulary and Comprehension as shown by the Gates Reading Survey for the Collegefields boys and the Tested-controls. The scores for the total groups are reasonably similar on initial test with both groups showing higher levels of grade performance on Reading Speed than on Vocabulary and revealing a comparative handicap on Reading Comprehension. When the sub-groups, Collegefields Graduates and Non-graduates, Tested-control Boys in Community and T-con Boys in Penal Custody, are compared some initial differences appear. Boys who are to become Collegefields "helped" boys and T-con boys who are functioning better in the community show a slight initial advantage in reading skill. These differences, however, are not significant.

IMPROVEMENT IN READING COMPREHENSION

The posttest results show that improvement in reading is evident for all groups except the T-con Boys in the

Table V

GATES READING SURVEY

Group Comparisons - Pretest and Posttest

Variable	Collegefields			Tested-Controls		
	Graduates	Non Graduates	Total	T-con Community	T-con Custody	Total
Speed of Reading Pretests (Gr. Score)						
Mn	5.76	4.84	5.36	5.78	5.10	5.40
SD	1.94	1.62	1.85	2.16	1.98	1.39
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
Posttest						
Mn	6.04	5.30	5.73	5.39	5.41	5.40
SD	2.11	1.79	2.00	2.00	2.29	2.11
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
Reading Vocabulary						
Pretest						
Mn	4.92	4.25	4.64	4.71	4.57	4.65
SD	1.40	1.41	1.43	1.23	1.60	1.39
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
Posttest						
Mn	5.40	4.62	5.07	4.46	4.91	4.66
SD	1.14	1.25	1.24	1.67	1.49	1.60
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
Reading Comprehension						
Pretest						
Mn	4.50	3.93	4.25	4.21	4.13	4.17
SD	1.47	1.40	1.45	1.45	1.58	1.49
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
Posttest						
Mn	5.18	4.73	4.99	4.15	5.02	4.53
SD	1.58	1.78	1.67	1.71	1.96	1.85
N	31	24	55	31	23	54

Community whom we saw earlier through the Educational Adjustment Check to have special skill in avoiding attendance at school. All of the groups who were compelled to attend school made progress. Figure 4 shows in graphic form the improvement in Reading Comprehension which the various groups made. In prior years of schooling these boys have progressed about one-half grade each year. The Collegefields graduates have now made significant improvement. ($P < .01$ level) in both vocabulary and comprehension as was hypothesized for the demonstration study. A somewhat surprising finding is that the Tested-control Boys in Penal Custody showed an improvement in all reading scores with Comprehension again showing significant gains ($P < .01$ level.)¹

Confirmation of these results is evident from the data in Table VI. An analysis is presented here of the change scores (Post-Pretest) for the various groups in Reading Comprehension. Although in prior years these boys had averaged a half a grade a year, the Tested-control group, now at age 15, gains only 0.26 grade score in the period of six months. The total Collegefields group advanced a more satisfactory six months in reading grade during the test-retest period. Projected, this gain would produce more than a full grade improvement in a single year.

1. The improvement in Reading for this group must be interpreted with caution since retrogression in some critical attitudes will be shown to occur. In contrast the improvement in the Collegefields Graduates is also accompanied by positive attitude changes.

Figure 4 Gates Reading Survey - Comprehension
Comparison of groups - Pretest and Posttest

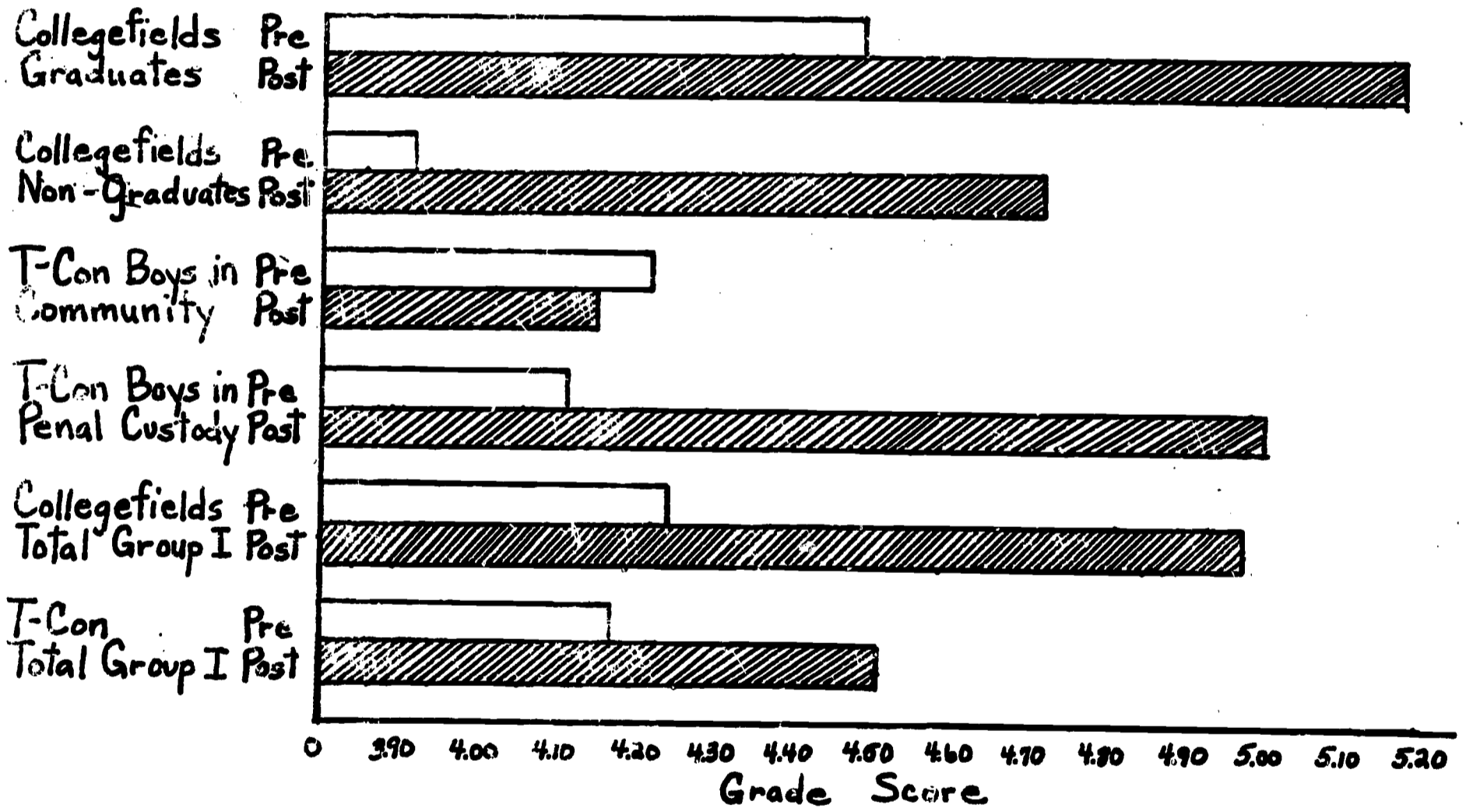


Table VI

GATES READING SURVEY--COMPREHENSION

Comparison of Sub-groups

	Mean Change Scores Posttest-Pretest Grade Scores	S.D.	N	Diffs M ₁ -M ₂	t value
Collegetields Total Group I	0.66	0.92	52		
T-con Total Group II	0.26	1.22	47	0.40	1.870
Collegetields Graduates	0.70	0.74	30		
T-con Boys in Community	-0.22	1.13	25	0.92	3.630**
Collegetields Non- graduates	0.62	1.14	22		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	0.81	1.11	22	-0.19	
Collegetields Graduates	0.70	0.74	30		
Collegetields Non- graduates	0.62	1.14	22	0.08	0.302
T-con Boys in Community	-0.22	1.13	25		
T-con B ys in Penal Custody	0.81	1.11	25	-1.03	-3.159**

** Significant $P < .01$ level.

When the groups are compared the Collegefields Graduates show significant gains over the Tested-control Boys in the Community ($P < .01$ level). The latter, those who have not been apprehended for further offenses and seem to be the "successful" boys of the T-con group, actually scored lower on the retest and hence have made no progress in reading during the six-month period. It is the T-con Boys in Penal Custody who have made significant ($P < .01$ level) gains over their compatriots in the T-con group on this measure of Gates Reading Comprehension.

IMPROVEMENT IN READING SPEED AND READING VOCABULARY

On the Gates Reading Survey Speed Test, the Collegefields Graduates again show the greatest gains among the groups compared (Table VII). They show significant improvement when compared with the T-con Boys in Community who have actually retrogressed. The relationships between the groups are similar to those seen for the Comprehension Test except that the T-con Boys in Penal Custody have not made such distinctive gains.

The Gates Reading Vocabulary test has special implications for the entire Collegefields concept and the guided group interaction feature of the project. An increase in Vocabulary could accompany participation in the program. Because many of the Non-graduates attended Collegefields for several months, gains in Vocabulary could be expected among the Non-graduates as well as Graduates. This is the distinctive finding shown on Table VIII. The Collegefields Graduates outstrip the

GATES READING SURVEY--SPEED

Comparison of Sub-groups

	Mean Change Scores Posttest-Pretest Grade Scores	S.D.	N	Diffs $M_1 - M_2$	t value
Collegefields Total Group I	0.25	1.00	53		
T-con Total Group II	-0.13	1.38	50	0.38	1.554
Collegefields Graduates	0.28	1.20	31		
T-con Boys In Community	-0.40	1.45	28	0.68	1.955*
Collegefields Non- graduates	0.20	0.96	22		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	0.20	1.25	22	0.0	0.286
Collegefields Graduates	0.28	1.20	31		
Collegefields Non- graduates	0.20	0.96	22	0.08	0.236
T-con Boys in Community	-0.40	1.45	28		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	0.20	1.25	22	-0.60	-1.533

* Significant P \leq .05 (one-tailed test)

GATES READING SURVEY--VOCABULARY

Comparison of Sub-groups

	Mean Change Scores Posttest-Pretest Grade Scores	S.D.	N	Diffs M ₁ -M ₂	t value
Collegefields Total Group I	0.40	0.99	52		
T-con Total Group II	-0.02	0.96	50	0.42	2.153
Collegefields Graduates	0.48	1.02	31		
T-con Boys in Community	-0.22	1.10	28	0.69	2.518*
Collegefields Non- graduates	0.28	0.97	21		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	0.23	0.70	22	0.05	
Collegefields Graduates	0.48	1.02	31		
Collegefields Non- graduates	0.28	0.97	21	0.20	0.712
T-con Boys in Community	-0.22	1.10	28		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	0.23	0.70	22	-0.45	-1.647

* Significant P \leq .05 level

retrogressing T-con Boys in the Community ($P < .01$). Now even the Collegefields Non-graduates show greater gains than are shown by the T-con Boys in Penal Custody. The combination of outstanding gains by both Collegefields groups results in a significant ($P < .01$ level) improvement in Vocabulary for the total Collegefields group over the total Tested-control group.

EVIDENCE OF IMPROVEMENT IN WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Because of limited testing time, only a short form of the WISC was given. Vocabulary and Block Design scale scores were combined and from this score predicted I.Q. was read from the Simpson and Bridges normative charts. Summarizing the data provided in Tables IX and X it is evident that:

- the total groups are initially well matched although the larger standard deviation of the Collegefields group is witness to the observed presence of a few very bright boys and a few very retarded ones in the experimental group.
- the Collegefields Graduates show greater gains in I.Q. than the other three sub-groups, although the gains in no instance reach statistical significance.
- in the short period of six months all groups improved slightly--possibly a practice effect.
- on analysis of the gains in the sub-tests, Block Design and Vocabulary, it appears that the Collegefields Graduates showed the greatest gain in Vocabulary and the Non-graduates showed the greatest gain in Block Design (Table XI).

Table IX

WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN

SHORT FORM-PREDICTED I.Q.

COMPARISON OF SUB-GROUPS - PRETEST AND POSTTEST

Variable	Collegefields		Tested-Controls	
	Graduates	Non-Graduates	Boys in Community	Penal Custody
<u>Total Group</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	89.2		89.2	
S.D.	16.0		10.3	
N	55		54	
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	93.5		91.2	
S.D.	11.2		11.9	
N	55		54	
<u>Sub-Groups</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	89.0	89.5	89.3	89.2
S.D.	19.4	10.6	10.0	10.9
N	31	24	31	23
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	94.7	92.0	91.8	92.0
S.D.	11.0	11.4	11.5	12.6
N	31	24	31	23

Table X

WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Comparison of Sub-groups

Predicted I.Q.¹

	Mean Change Scores Posttest-Pretest	S.D	N	Diffs M ₁ -M ₂	t value
Collegefields Total Group I	4.67	13.06	54		
T-con Total Group II	2.55	7.14	53	2.12	1.039
Collegefields Graduates	6.33	16.49	30		
T-con Boys in Community	2.30	7.10	30	4.03	1.230
Collegefields Non- graduates	2.58	6.48	24		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.87	7.34	23	-0.29	
Collegefields Graduates	6.33	16.49	30		
Collegefields Non- graduates	2.58	6.48	24	3.75	1.049
T-con Boys in Community	2.30	7.10	30		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.87	7.34	23	-0.57	-0.286

¹ The Block Design Test and Vocabulary were combined to provide a single score. Using norms provided by Simpson and Bridges (1959) the predicted I.Q. was obtained.

Table XI

WECHSLER INTELLIGENCE SCALE FOR CHILDREN

Vocabulary - Block Design

Comparison of Sub-Groups Pretest-Posttest

Variable	Collegefields			Tested-Controls		
	Graduates	Non Graduates	Total	Boys in Community	Boys in Penal Custody	Total
<u>Vocabulary</u>						
<u>Pretest</u>						
Mn	8.36	7.62	8.04	7.48	8.00	7.70
SD	2.37	1.79	2.15	2.20	3.06	2.59
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
<u>Posttest</u>						
Mn	9.03	7.42	8.32	7.83	7.65	7.76
SD	2.33	1.77	2.23	2.46	1.72	2.16
N	30	24	54	30	23	53
<u>Block Design</u>						
<u>Pretest</u>						
Mn	8.10	7.83	7.98	7.97	7.91	7.94
SD	3.19	3.37	3.24	2.09	2.63	2.31
N	31	24	55	31	23	54
<u>Posttest</u>						
Mn	8.53	9.12	8.80	8.57	8.83	8.68
SD	2.76	3.06	2.88	2.82	3.77	3.24
N	30	24	54	30	23	53

Individually administered, this test serves as a reasonable measure of mental ability. The I.Q. determination is clearly higher than that attained on the Otis Test of Mental Ability which will be discussed next.

IMPROVEMENT IN THE OTIS TEST OF MENTAL ABILITY I.Q.

As pointed out previously this test, although widely used for testing purposes is not a good indicator of level of intelligence for these delinquent boys. It requires reading skills in which many of these boys have been shown to be deficient. It requires concentration, suitable glasses for the fine print, and probably, an inner self-confidence with respect to this kind of academic task. For our purposes this test represents the boys' ability to succeed with the more demanding classroom requirements and improvement could show growth in potential for school learning.

In Table XII are presented the pretest and posttest Otis I.Q.'s for the total groups and the sub-groups. Then in Table XIII we find the change scores similarly analyzed and statistically significant comparisons identified. The major results may be summarized:

- The Collegefields and Tested-controls are remarkably well matched on initial testing.
- The greatest average gain is made by the Collegefields Graduates, an average increase of more than 4 I.Q. points.
- The next largest gain is made by the Collegefields Non-graduates.

Table XII

OTIS TEST OF MENTAL ABILITY--I.Q.

COMPARISON OF SUB-GROUPS PRETEST AND POSTTEST

	Collegefields		Tested-Controls	
	Graduates	Non-Graduates	Boys in Community	Penal Custody
<u>Total Group</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	79.7		79.2	
S.D.	12.7		12.2	
N	53		52	
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	83.6		79.4	
S.D.	15.0		13.5	
N	53		52	
<u>Sub-Groups</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	82.1	76.3	79.6	78.7
S.D.	12.0	13.2	12.8	11.5
N	31	22	31	21
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	86.5	79.4	79.4	79.5
S.D.	16.3	12.1	14.1	13.1
N	31	22	31	21

Table XIII

OTIS TEST OF MENTAL ABILITY-I.Q.

Comparison of Sub-groups

	Mean Change Score Posttest-Pretest	S.D.	N	Diffs M ₁ -M ₂	t value
Collegefields Total Group I	3.87	7.84	53		
T-con Total Group II	0.84	6.68	50	3.03	2.104*
Collegefields Graduates	4.39	8.11	31		
T-con Boys in Community	-0.28	6.44	29	4.67	2.456*
Collegefields Non- graduates	3.14	7.57	22		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.38	6.85	21	0.76	
Collegefields Graduates	4.39	8.11	31		
Collegefields Non- graduates	3.14	7.57	22	1.25	0.569
T-con Boys in Community	-0.28	6.44	29		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.38	6.85	21	-2.66	-1.402

* Significant P .05 level

- The T-con Boys in Penal Custody gain only a little more than 2 I.Q. points with the T-con Boys in the Community showing their usual slight regression. This finding tends to confirm the measure as an academic accomplishment indicator since it parallels the findings on reading growth.

Two sub-group comparisons reach statistical significance; first, the Collegefields Graduates' gains are distinctly greater than those of the T-con Boys in the Community; and second, the increased skill shown by the Collegefields Non-graduates produces a combined Collegefields improvement statistically superior ($P < .05$ level) to that of the Tested-control group.

INTERPRETATION

The results provide a clear answer to the initial question. The Collegefields boys show certain significant gains in school subject skills and gains which suggest an unleashing of intellectual potential. Some intriguing questions are raised. The T-con Boys in the Community are making no apparent progress, while the T-con Boys in Penal Custody are making some outstanding school subject gains. An analysis of the attitude changes in the Collegefields groups and the Test-control groups become crucial to an interpretation of the gains of the Boys in Penal Custody. A second question relates to the sporadic gains by the Collegefields Non-graduates. Although in some measures they gain less than the T-con Boys in Penal Custody, they consistently gain more than the T-con Boys in Community. To this extent, even if they have not benefited from all that Collegefields has to offer, there is no evidence that they

have been harmed. In academic skills, as a group, they are clearly superior to the T-con Boys in the Community.

With this gain in academic potential do the boys improve in their attitudes toward school? This is our next topic.

D. DO THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS SHOW CHANGES IN ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL AND TEACHERS?

Three tests in the evaluation program furnished evidence regarding change in attitude toward school and teachers. The Darmstadt Adjective Check List on Teachers is a direct measure of responses at initial testing and six months later. By using selected responses on the Allen Sentence Completion Test a more indirect measure of attitudes toward school and teachers can be developed. The former has the disadvantage of revealing to the boys clearly what the purpose of the test is. If they are suspicious that their responses will in some way jeopardize their court standing or their chances for release from custody or probation, they can readily slant their responses toward a favorable attitude toward authority figures such as teachers.

The Allen Test provided a more indirect source of information about attitudes. The sentence completion items are so varied that the items showing attitude toward school and teachers are buried in an array of other topics. There are opportunities for the boy to protect himself by writing "If only---- I had not listened to those boys," thus shifting the blame for his delinquency to others. Feeling protected in this way the boy can

make more candid statements about teachers and can project basic attitudes.

Finally the Youth Opinion Survey asks how many more years does the boy expect to continue his schooling. This is a direct question which is slightly influenced by the legal age for leaving school. Many of the boys were free to report that they wanted "no more" school so that the question had a more neutral connotation than the Adjective Check List. Boys' responses on any of these measures may reveal attitude change though each calls for suitable caution in interpretation.

A DIRECT MEASURE OF ATTITUDE TOWARD TEACHERS

The Darmstadt Test reveals that more than half of the adjectives checked on the list are favorable to teachers on the Pretests as well as the Posttests. Each boy's score represents the percent of favorable adjectives checked or the percent of unfavorable adjectives checked. Then medians are found for each group and the inter-group comparisons can be read from Table XIV. When the total groups are compared no differences are seen between the Collegefields and the Tested-control groups. There appears to be a shift toward favorable attitudes toward teachers by both groups.

More discriminating evidence appears when the sub-groups are analyzed. In Figure 5 sub-group variations appear which are quite concealed in the total group data. In regard to favorable attitudes toward teachers:

1. The Collegefields boys are initially relatively low (56%) but on posttest show the largest increase (65%).

Table XIV

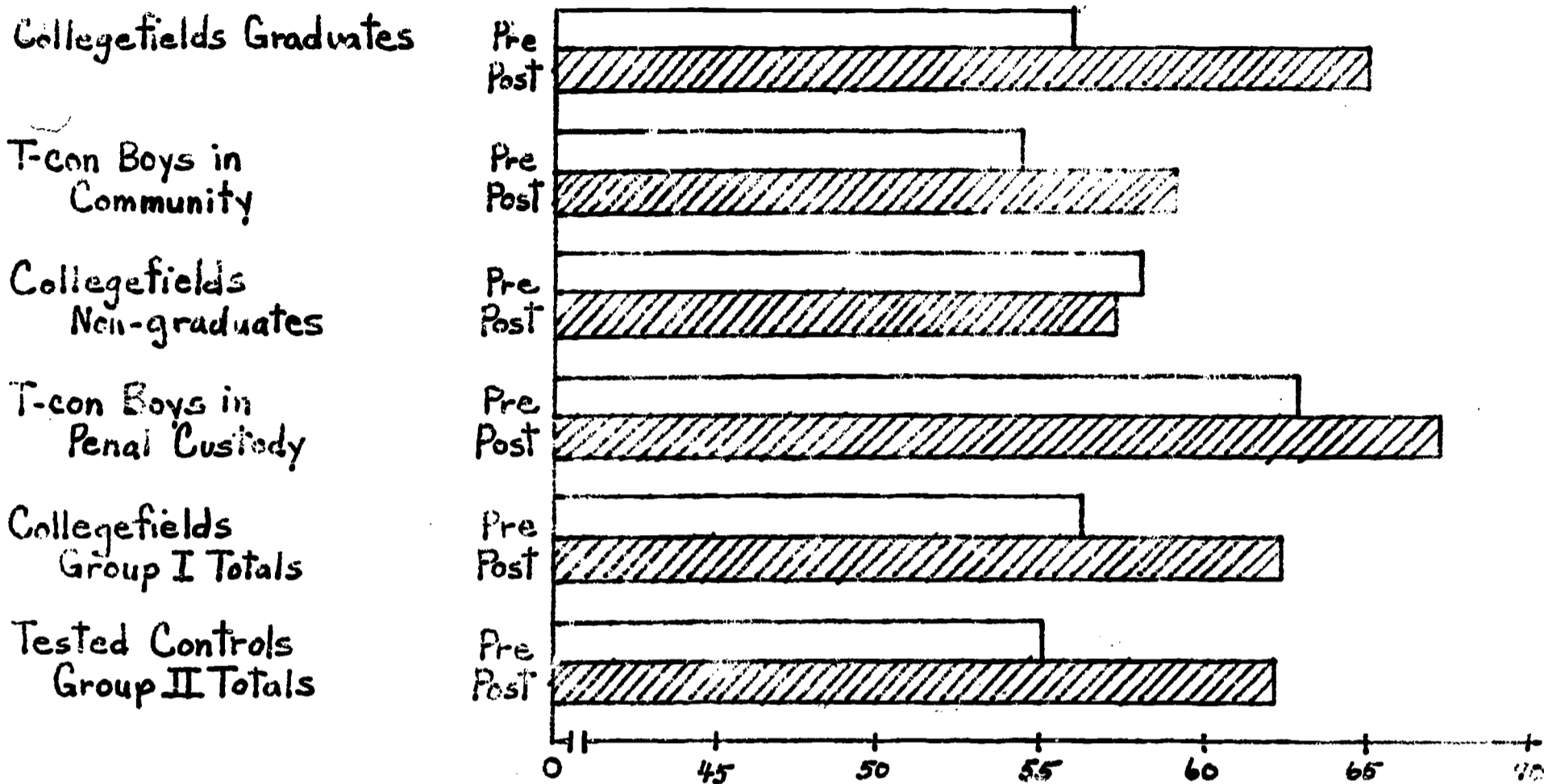
DARMSTADT ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST - TEACHERS

Comparison of Groups

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Collegefields Total Group</u>		<u>Tested- Control Total Group</u>	
<u>Pretest</u>				
% Favorable				
Median		56.5		55.5
N		50		51
% Unfavorable				
Median		18.5		18.5
N		50		51
<u>Posttest</u>				
% Favorable				
Median		62.5		62.0
N		50		51
% Unfavorable				
Median		9.5		10.0
N		50		51
	COLLEGEFIELDS		TESTED-CONTROL	
<u>Sub-groups</u>	Graduates	Non-graduates	Boys in Community	Boys in Penal Custody
<u>Pretest</u>				
% Favorable				
Median	56.00	58.00	53.50	63.50
N	19	22	30	21
% Unfavorable				
Median	18.00	16.00	19.00	11.00
N	19	22	30	21
<u>Posttest</u>				
% Favorable				
Median	65.00	56.00	59.00	67.00
N	19	22	30	21
% Unfavorable				
Median	6.00	13.00	13.00	7.50
N	19	22	30	21

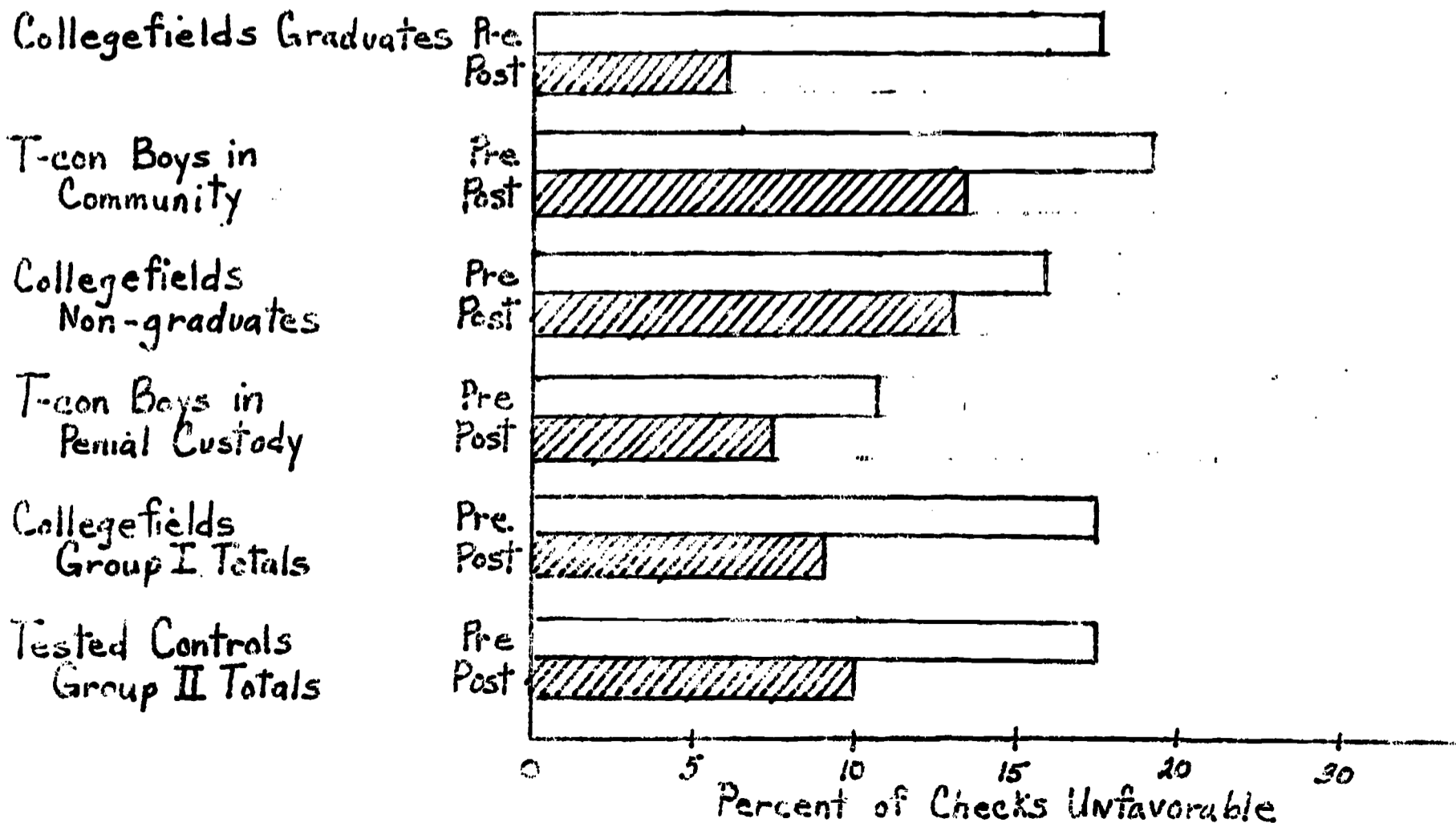
Figure 5 Darmstadt Teachers Adjective Check List
Group Medians Compared
Percent Favorable Checked

Pretest
Posttest



Percent of Checks Unfavorable Medians - Percent Unfavorable Checked

Pretest
Posttest



2. The T-con Boys in Community show a slight rise which might be regarded as either the effect of maturing, or personal distance from their traumatic court-hearing.
3. Collegefields Non-graduates show no increase in favorable attitude toward teachers on this direct measure.
4. The T-con Boys in Penal Custody record the highest favorable attitudes toward teachers in the study.

Interpretation here calls for caution. It may be recalled that these two groups, Collegefields Graduates and T-con Boys in Penal Custody, showed the greatest increase in reading skills. It would be tempting to conclude that we have a direct correlation here between effective learning and attitude toward teachers. This, however, does not seem to be true for the T-con Boys in Community and the Collegefields Non-graduates. Although the former actually retrogressed in academic skills their attitudes toward teachers is appreciably increased. In contrast, it is the Collegefields Non-graduates group which appears to retrogress toward less favorable attitude toward teachers.

To understand such complex relationships it is necessary to examine alternate interpretations:

Boys who are going to commit a second offense soon (T-con Boys in Penal Custody) report a high percent of favorable attitude toward teachers. (1) Are they deliberately giving the "socially acceptable" response? (2) Is the initial favorable attitude toward teachers a selective factor, which creates a learning situation in which academic progress can be made and which results in

even more favorable attitude toward teachers? This explanation is consonant with the comparative sub-group standings. (3) Do these boys come from such unfavorable home backgrounds that when teachers show personal concern for a boy he experiences an impressive contrast and responds with warmth and effort to learn?

The Collegefields Non-graduate group is made up largely of boys in Penal Custody. Examining the findings for this group with the above alternates in mind, we note that (1) this group had the next highest favorable reaction to teachers on the initial test which could support the "socially acceptable" theme. However, on re-test they report reduced favor toward teachers. This could reflect their experience at Collegefields with the strong peer pressure to reveal "real feelings." (2) For this group moderately high favor toward teachers initially did not create outstanding gains in academic achievement, so no support is found for a relationship to achievement. (3) Having experienced the informal atmosphere of Collegefields this group now largely find themselves under restrictive custody. The prior Collegefields educational experience makes the new relationship with teachers in the reformatory seem less favorable by contrast.

A combination of several of these factors may be operating simultaneously and different boys may contribute to the outcomes in different ways. Since none of the differences are great enough to be statistically significant it is only the consistency of the findings which justify this amount of speculation.

When unfavorable attitudes toward teachers are studied it is evident that boys check many fewer unfavorable adjectives than favorable ones. In general, the following results confirm the findings for favorable attitudes:

1. The Collegefields Graduates reduce their level of unfavorable evaluations most.
2. The T-con Boys in Penal Custody show the lowest percent of checks unfavorable to teachers on the pretest. Later results will show that this finding may be the socially expedient response rather than the true feelings of these "Custody" boys.
3. Again the Collegefields Non-graduates show more unfavorable responses, both pretest and post-test; than the T-con Boys in Penal Custody.

AN INDIRECT MEASURE OF ATTITUDES TOWARD SCHOOL AND TEACHERS

When interpretation of direct attitudes toward teachers appear complicated it is possible that light may be shed by a study of the boys' indirect responses regarding school and teachers. The Allen Sentence Completion Test has six items which invite either a favorable, neutral or unfavorable reaction to school and teachers. Rating directions were systematized¹ for positive (favorable +) neutral (0) or negative (-) classification of these responses and an interrater reliability of $r = .60$ was

1. Rating instructions are included in Appendix F.

obtained. (A wider range of scores could have aided in increasing the interrater reliability.) Thereafter one of the raters rated all responses "blind" i.e., under coded arrangements and scrambled orders so that the rater did not know whether it was a pretest or posttest, Tested-control or Collegefields response which was being considered.

The results of the sub-group comparisons can be seen in Table XV and Figure 6. The graph shows the pretest and posttest results for each of the sub-groups separately in terms of the percent of boys from each group who responded with a low number of positive responses (score 0-2) and the percent who gave many positive responses (score 3-5). By inspection it can be seen that many boys among the Collegefields Graduates have clearly changed to higher positive references to school and teachers on the posttest. This attitude change from pretest to posttest in amount of positive reference on the part of the Collegefields Graduates is statistically significant.¹ When the posttest scoring on positive reference to school and teachers for Collegefields Graduates is compared, by means of Chi-squares test, with the scoring of the other sub-groups the differences approach significance in each case.²

Chi-square = 4.57 P < .05 level

These Chi-square comparisons are shown on Table XV

Table XV

POSITIVE REFERENCE TO SCHOOL AND TEACHERS

ALLEN SENTENCE COMPLETION

	<u>Collegefields</u>	<u>Tested-Controls</u>
<u>Pretests</u>		
Low Scores (0-1-2)	34	28
Percent	63	55
High Scores (3-4-5)	20	23
Percent	37	45
N	54	51
<u>Posttests</u>		
Low Scores (0-1-2)	25	31
Percent	46	61
High Scores (3-4-5)	29	20
Percent	54	39
N	54	51

	<u>Collegefields¹</u>		<u>Tested-Controls</u>	
	<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Non-graduates</u>	<u>Boys in Community</u>	<u>Boys in Custody</u>

Pretest

Low Scores	18	16	16	12
Percent	62	64	53	57
High Scores	11	9	14	9
Percent	38	36	47	43
N	29	25	30	21

Posttests

Low Scores	10	15	18	13
Percent	35	60	60	62
High Scores	19	10	12	8
Percent	65	40	40	38
N	29	25	30	21

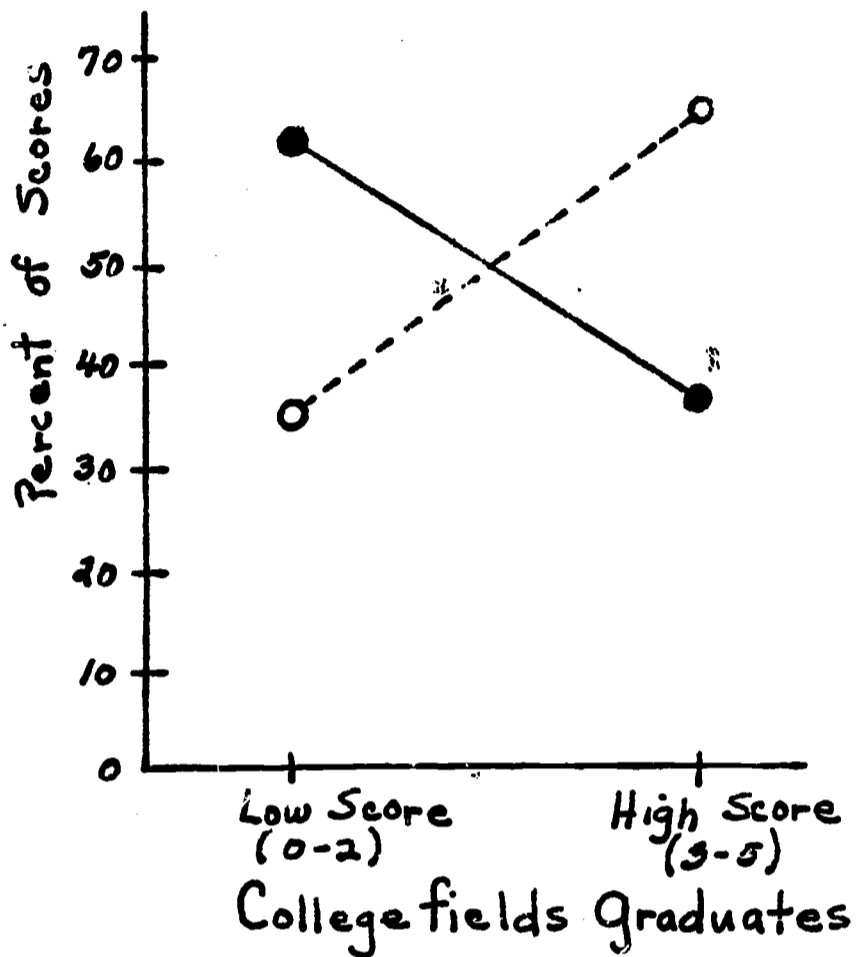
¹ Comparison of Collegefields Graduates Posttests with other sub-groups

with Collegefields Non-graduates - Chi square	3.576	P	.06
with T-con Boys in community - Chi square	3.420	P	.07
with T-con Boys in Penal Custody - Chi square	3.687	P	.06

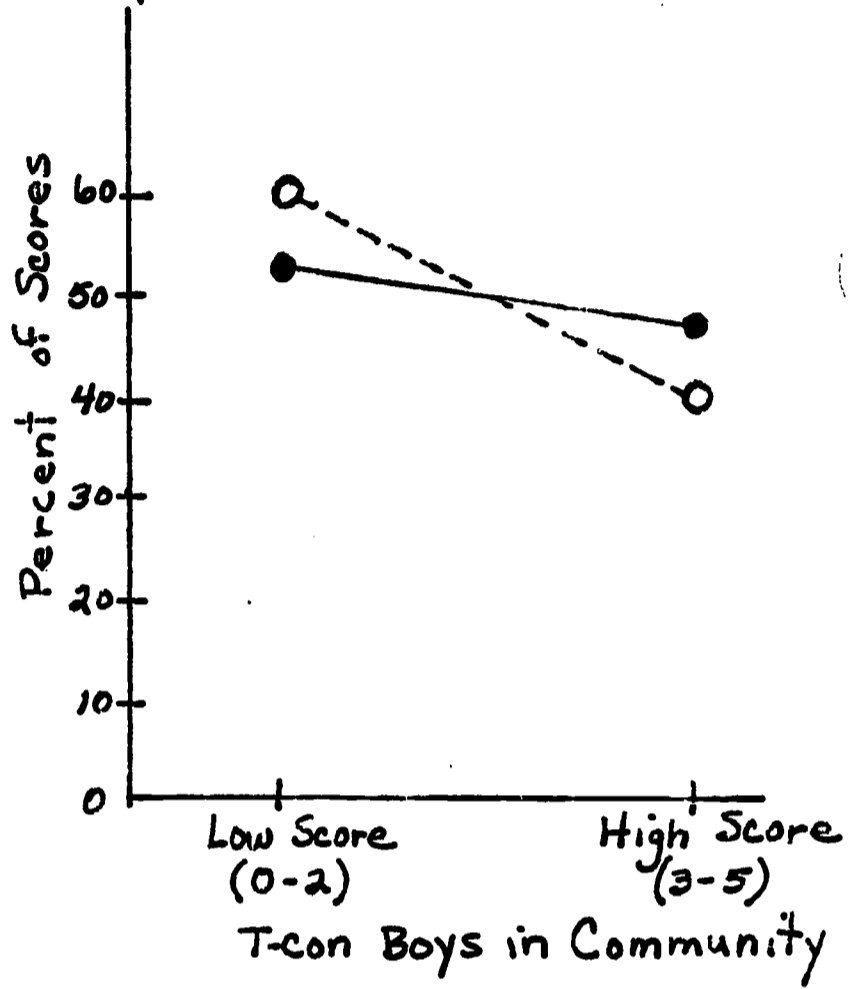
Figure 6

Positive Reference to School and Teachers

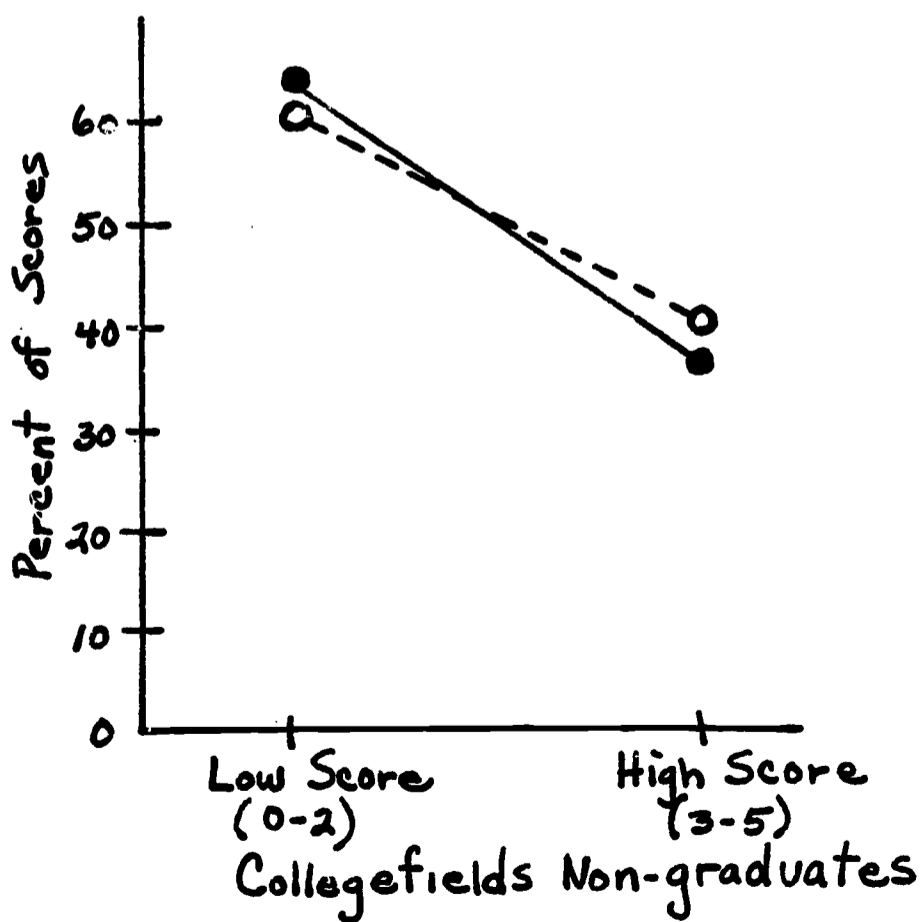
Allen Sentence Completion Test



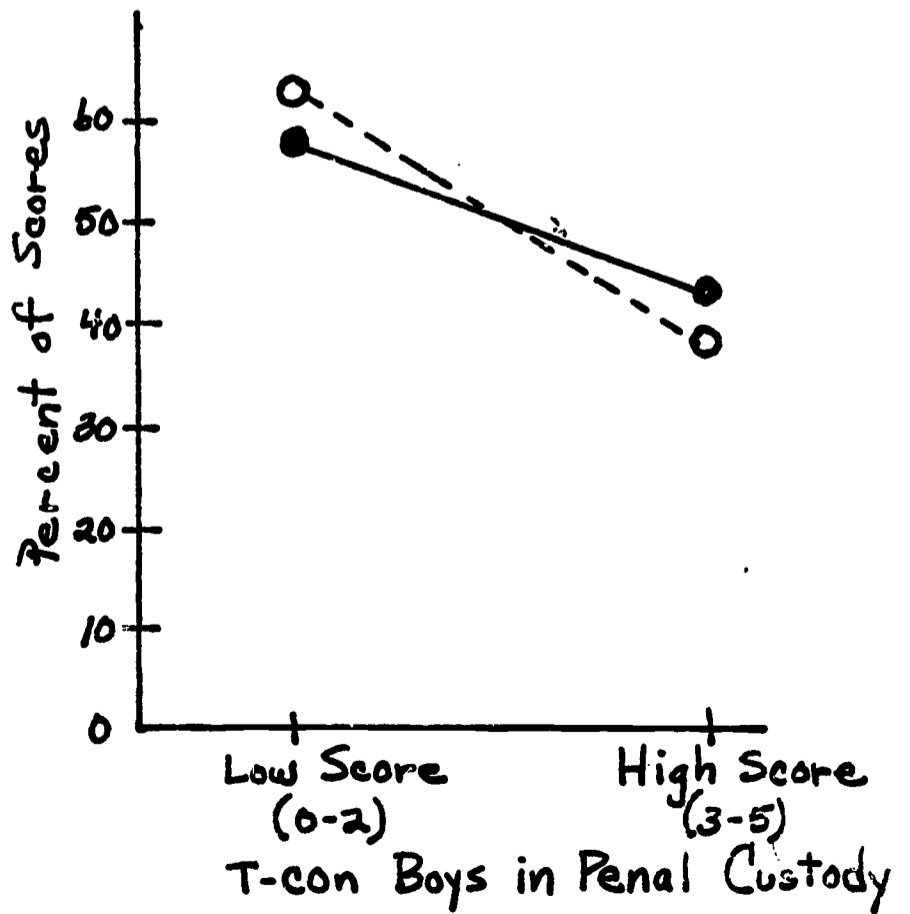
●—● Pretest
○- - -○ Posttest



●—● Pretest
○- - -○ Posttest



●—● Pretest
○- - -○ Posttest



●—● Pretest
○- - -○ Posttest

The initial attitudes and the changes on the posttest for this indirect measure of positive reference to school and teachers contrast in critical ways with the findings from the Darmstadt Adjective Check List, a direct measure of favorable attitude toward teachers.

1. All groups are initially very similar in the proportion of low and high scores on this indirect measure of positive reference.
2. On posttest, instead of a gain in approval of teachers as on the Adjective Check Test, the T-con Boys in Penal Custody now show on the indirect Allen List a distinctly lower number of favorable statements. Conceivably the indirect test reveals their "real" feelings.
3. Where Collegefields Non-graduates showed lower regard for teachers on the Adjective Check posttest they now on the indirect measure show a slight increase in positive reference.
4. The rise in teacher regard seen in the direct test for the Collegefields Graduates and the T-con Boys in Community is confirmed on the indirect (Allen) posttest. It can be inferred that the T-con Boys in Penal Custody were slanting their responses in a deceptive but socially desirable direction when they responded to the Darmstadt Adjective Check List. Probably all groups, comparably delinquent, were slanting their initial responses to some degree. On the posttest only the T-con Boys in Penal Custody were still "conning" the researchers on the Darmstadt direct

test. The indirect test shows consonance on posttest findings for the three other groups. Even the Collegefields Non-graduates are now showing consistent responses which suggests a new integrity in responding although they are largely a group in custody. The effect of their experiences in Collegefields may then be revealed. They are not like the T-con Boys in Custody.

E. DO THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS SHOW A CHANGE IN THEIR INTEREST IN SCHOOLING AND IN VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION?

In view of the increase in favorable attitude toward teachers the Collegefields boys might be expected to show an increase in their expectation of further school and to show rising vocational ambition. The Youth Opinion Survey focuses on these questions. However, most of the boys of this study have academic achievement and mental ability below the average of the population. If they became ambitious and upwardly mobile, as a result of the Collegefields experience, they might develop unrealistic vocational goals which could produce later frustrations. Such criticisms of rehabilitation programs have often been made. The evidence, to be immediately presented, shows that such a criticism is unwarranted in the case of the Collegefields Program.

YEARS OF FURTHER SCHOOLING ANTICIPATED

The boys, in completing the Youth Opinion Survey, pre, and posttest series, stated how many more years of school they expected to complete. Table XVI shows the results for the total groups and the sub-groups. It

Table XVI

ADDED YEARS OF SCHOOLING EXPECTED

YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Collegefields Total</u>		<u>Tested-Control Total</u>	
Added Years of Schooling Expected					
Pretest	Mean	3.52		3.79	
	SD	2.30		2.16	
	N	56		51	
Posttest	Mean	4.09		3.33	
	SD	2.48		2.17	
	N	56		51	
		<u>Collegefields Sub-groups</u>		<u>Tested-Control Sub-groups</u>	
		<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Non-Graduates</u>	<u>Boys in Community</u>	<u>Boys in Penal Custody</u>
Pretest	Mean	3.93	3.00	3.54	4.13
	SD	2.57	1.84	1.86	2.53
	N	30	24	31	20
Posttest	Mean	4.40	3.71	3.06	3.70
	SD	2.54	2.39	2.02	2.36
	N	30	24	31	20

should be recalled that six months elapsed between the tests so if the boys were calculating consistently, the posttest figures for years of anticipated schooling should be reduced by half-a-year. This explanation will account for the reduced means of the Tested-control group. Both the Collegefields Graduates and the Non-graduates on posttest, show an increase of more than a half year in anticipated schooling. Although these differences are not statistically significant they are consistent.

VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

As for vocational orientation Table XVII indicates that both groups show a rise in the social status of their vocational choice. Social Status rating was obtained by following the directions for the occupational factor rating in the Hollingshead (1958) two-factor method. However, slight rise in status of vocational choice for the total groups conceals the differences seen in the sub-group comparisons. The Collegefields Graduates make the greatest gains. The status gains of the T-con Boys in Penal Custody are nearly as great as the gains of the Collegefields Graduates, with the Non-graduates and the T-con boys in Community showing a shift to a lower-status job choice. Little can be inferred from these findings if these boys are toying with fantasy choices and are not yet able to consider seriously their vocational future. Great differences exist within each group even when group differences seem small. Only by developing a method for evaluating the reality of the

Table XVII

SOCIAL STATUS OF OCCUPATION EXPECTED

YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

Pretest and Posttest

Variable (1=Professional) (6= Unskilled)		<u>Collegefields Total</u>		<u>Tested-Controls Total</u>	
Social Class Rating of Occupation					
Pretest	Mean	3.34		3.48	
	SD	2.04		1.94	
	N	54		50	
Posttest	Mean	3.78		3.79	
	SD	1.83		1.80	
	N	54		50	
COLLEGEFIELDS					
TESTED-CONTROL					
		Graduates	Non-graduates	Boys in Community	Boys in Penal Custody
Pretest	Mean	2.97	3.83	3.83	3.00
	SD	2.06	1.95	1.91	1.92
	N	31	24	29	22
Posttest	Mean	4.03	3.46	3.70	3.91
	SD	1.67	2.02	1.92	1.69
	N	30	24	30	22

boys' vocational orientation can we see whether the Collegefields experience has been effective.

REALITY OF VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

A measure of reality of vocational orientation was developed by using information from three of the testing instruments, Youth Opinion Survey, Allen Sentence Completion Test, and the Otis Test of Mental Ability.¹ Boys received scores ranging from a possible 5, which represented a fantasy score, to 15 which identified the highest level of reality. In Table XVIII the group comparisons are presented. Definitely lower scores were obtained on initial testing by the Tested-controls. On sub-group comparisons it is evident that the already more reality-oriented Collegefields Graduates show a change toward greater reality on the posttest.

Rogers, et al (1958) pointed out that, in two independent studies, delinquent boys who were judged to have more self-insight had a lower recidivism rate than those who had less "self-insight." On elaboration Rogers further states that the "self-insight" might be considered an awareness of reality. A small confirmation of Rogers findings exists in our results. The Boys in Penal Custody have lower pretest scores on "reality." Even among the Collegefields Non-graduates the "reality" scoring of the boys in custody is lower. Figure 7 shows for each sub-group which proportion of each group scored low

1. Details of the scoring procedure is filed in Appendix F.

Table XVIII

REALITY OF VOCATIONAL ORIENTATION

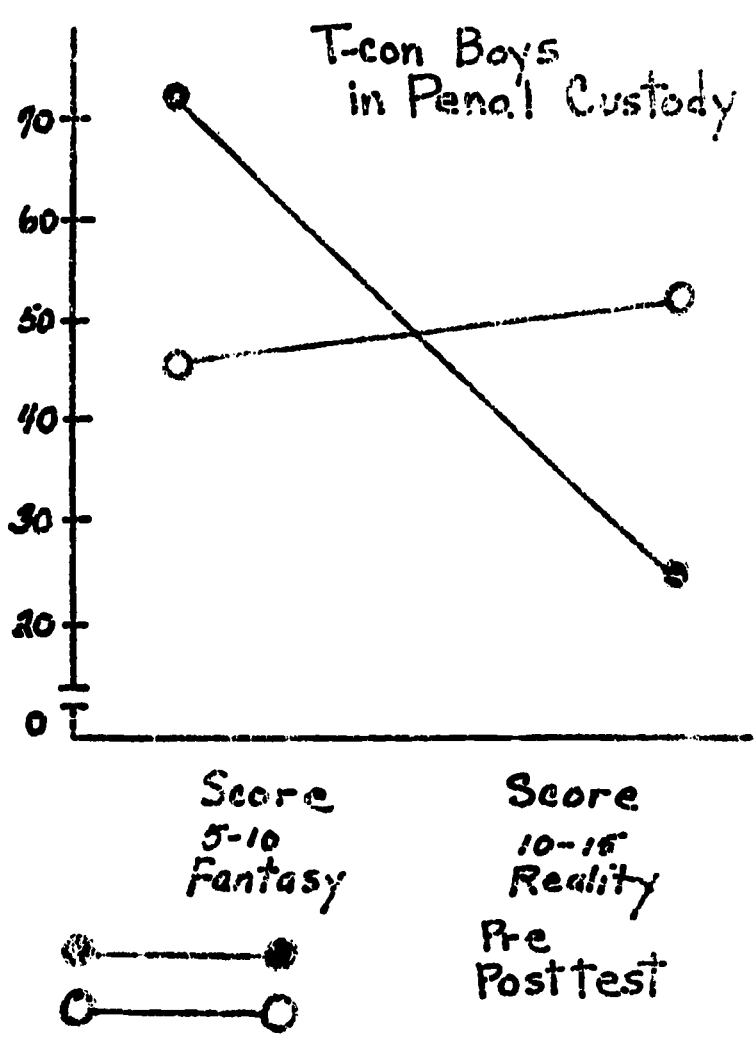
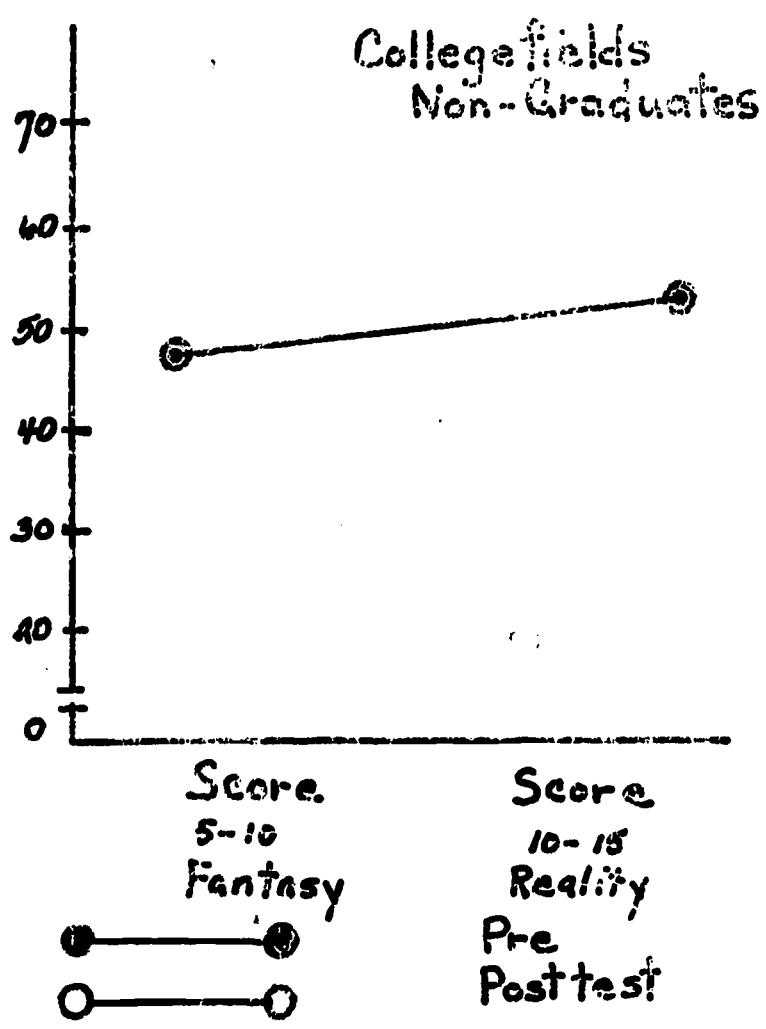
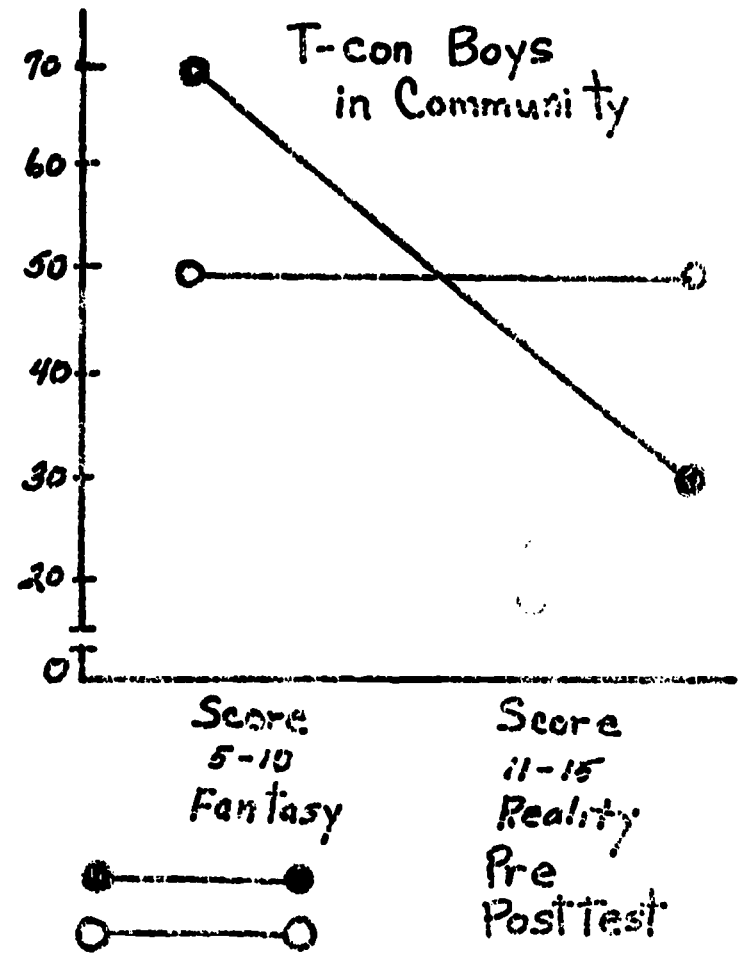
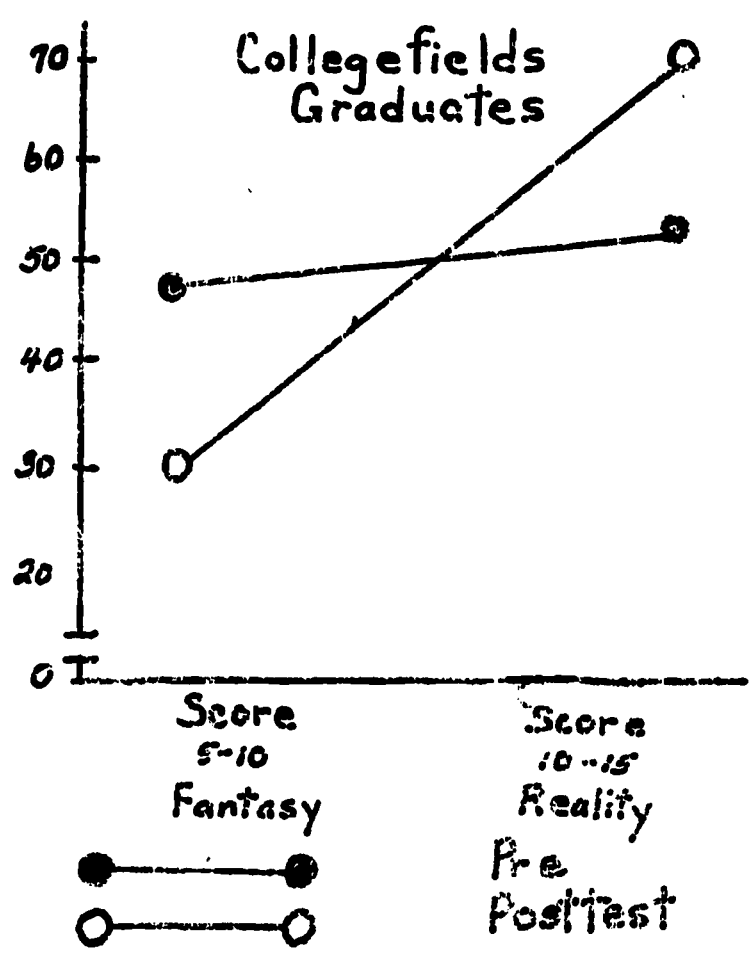
YOUTH OPINION SURVEY

Variable		Collegefields Total	Tested-Control Total
<u>Reality Score</u>			
Pretest	Mean	10.28	8.89
	SD	2.41	3.27
	N	55	49
Posttest	Mean	10.68	9.67
	SD	2.52	3.43
	N	55	49

		COLLEGEFIELDS		TESTED CONTROL	
		Graduates	Non-graduates	Boys in Community	Boys in Penal Custody
Pretest	Mean	10.33	10.21	9.36	8.22
	SD	2.40	2.47	3.12	3.44
	N	30	24	30	19
Posttest	Mean	11.43	9.75	9.44	10.00
	SD	2.46	2.31	3.43	3.46
	N	30	24	30	19

Figure 7

Reality of Vocational Choice Youth Opinion Survey Sub-groups Compared



(fantasy) and which scored high (reality) for pretest and posttest. It is not evident why the T-con boys are so different on pretest from the Collegefields groups. The consistency of these pretest results suggest that it is not a chance variation. The T-con Boys in Community and the T-con Boys in Penal Custody are very similar. In contrast the posttest results show that the Collegefields Graduates are significantly different from the Non-graduates (Chi-square 4.36 $P < .05$). On inspection the Graduates appear to be different from all other groups since so many from this group are scoring at the "reality" level. Could it be that most of the boys of the other groups are only now arriving at "reality" understanding which characterized the "helped" boys, as a group, on their initial test? Although only an inference, it may be that this measure taps resources sometimes called "ego strength" and self-understanding depends upon it. The Collegefields Graduates, as a group, appear to be more advanced from the beginning of their Collegefields experience. They then proceed to develop this "reality-orientation" still further.

F. DO THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS SHOW CHANGES IN SELF-CONCEPT?

Increasing attention is being given to the importance of a person's self-concept both, as the result of his past experiences, and as a determiner of future behavior. It has been emphasized that delinquent behavior can become a norm for socially disadvantaged boys and that this conflict with society is in part, a protest against low social status and a resulting internalized self-rejection. For varying

reasons, the delinquent boys of the Collegefields Evaluation study may have developed relatively low self-concepts. Instead of to self-abasement, this condition might lead to overt protests of toughness, risk-taking and self-aggrandisement.

The inference of self-rejection is based on the evidence that low-concepts have been found in (a) boys from low socio-economic families (Cohen 1955, Kvaraceus 1966), boys who are poor readers (Penty 1956), Negro boys (Kardiner 1951), and (b) boys reared in father absent homes (McCord 1962). There is also the possibility that delinquency could stem from a self-evaluation which is so high that the boy sees himself as clearly above the law. In a successful program of rehabilitation some boys might increase in self-concept while others lower their self-evaluations.

To provide a maximally revealing study of initial self-concepts and the patterns of change, it would be necessary to do a content analysis of the Self-Adjective Check List and see in detail what changes have occurred. The subgroups in the present study are too small to permit this type of analysis. Although interpretation becomes less specific, gross measures of favorable and unfavorable self-reference are available.

CHANGES IN SELF-CONCEPT REVEALED BY THE ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST ON SELF

As mentioned previously the Adjective Check List on Self was revised to include phrases familiar to the boys.¹

1. Specimen form of Youtz revision in Appendix F.

Each boy received a score which consisted of the percent of the total number of items he checked which were scored as favorable, and a second score, the percent of the checks made on unfavorable items. Table XIX and Figure 8 show the pretest and posttest medians of the total groups and the various sub-groups compared. It is evident that:

1. The Collegefields Graduates on pretest tend to check more unfavorable items than any other group and the percent of favorable items is not high compared to the other groups.

2. The Collegefields Graduates on posttest show a significant change, a reduction in percent of unfavorable items checked. Yet the final level of unfavorable checks is now about the same as that scored by the T-con Boys in Community both pretest and posttest.

3. The T-con Boys in Penal Custody from their direct response appear to move in the direction of higher self-concept which was seen in the case of the Collegefields Graduates. As will be seen later no such change is confirmed by the indirect measures on the Allen. In this test are they again "conning?" Are they creating a good picture of themselves for "public" consumption?

4. The Collegefields Non-graduates now check a slightly smaller percent of favorable items and a slightly larger percent of unfavorable items. Their experience of failure could reasonably produce a lower self-concept but their posttests are unlike the self-inflation posttests of the T-con Boys in Custody who also might be classed as unsuccessful.

Table XIX

ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST - SELF (YOUTZ REVISION)

Comparison of Groups

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Collegefields Total Group</u>	<u>Tested Control Total Group</u>
-----------------	----------------------------------	-----------------------------------

Pretest

% Favorable

Median	56.5	62.5
N	55	54

% Unfavorable

Median	26.5	23.5
N	55	54

Posttest

% Favorable

Median	67.5	63.0
N	55	54

% Unfavorable

Median	22.5	21.0
N	55	54

<u>Subgroups</u>	<u>COLLEGEFIELDS</u>		<u>TESTED CONTROL</u>	
	<u>Graduates</u>	<u>Non-Graduates</u>	<u>Boys in Community</u>	<u>Boys in Penal Custody</u>

Pretest

% Favorable

Median	56.0	60.5	64.5	56.0
N	31	24	30	23

% Unfavorable

Median	30.0	25.5	22.0	26.5
N	31	24	30	23

Posttest

% Favorable

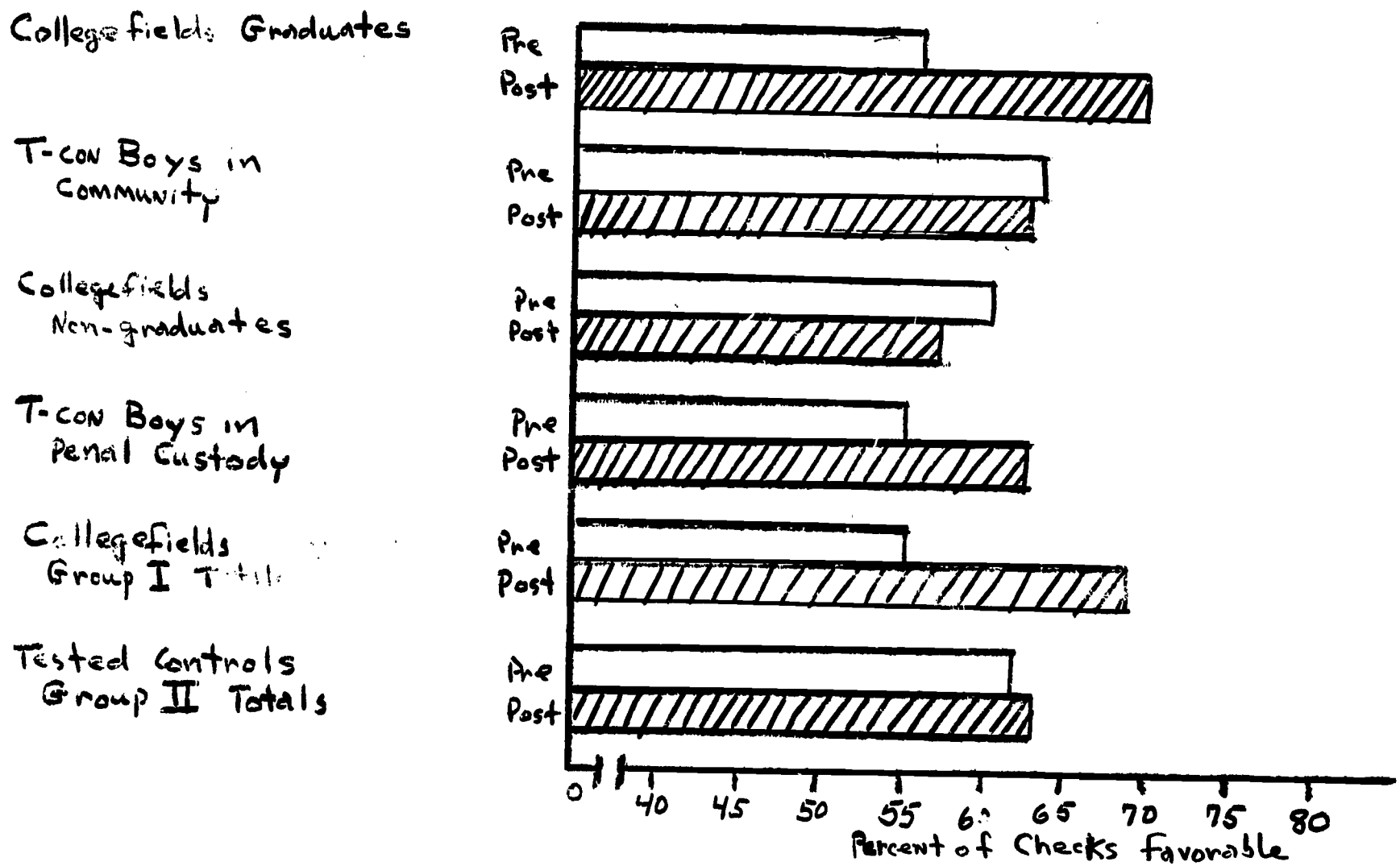
Median	69.0	58.0	64.0	63.0
N	31	24	30	23

% Unfavorable

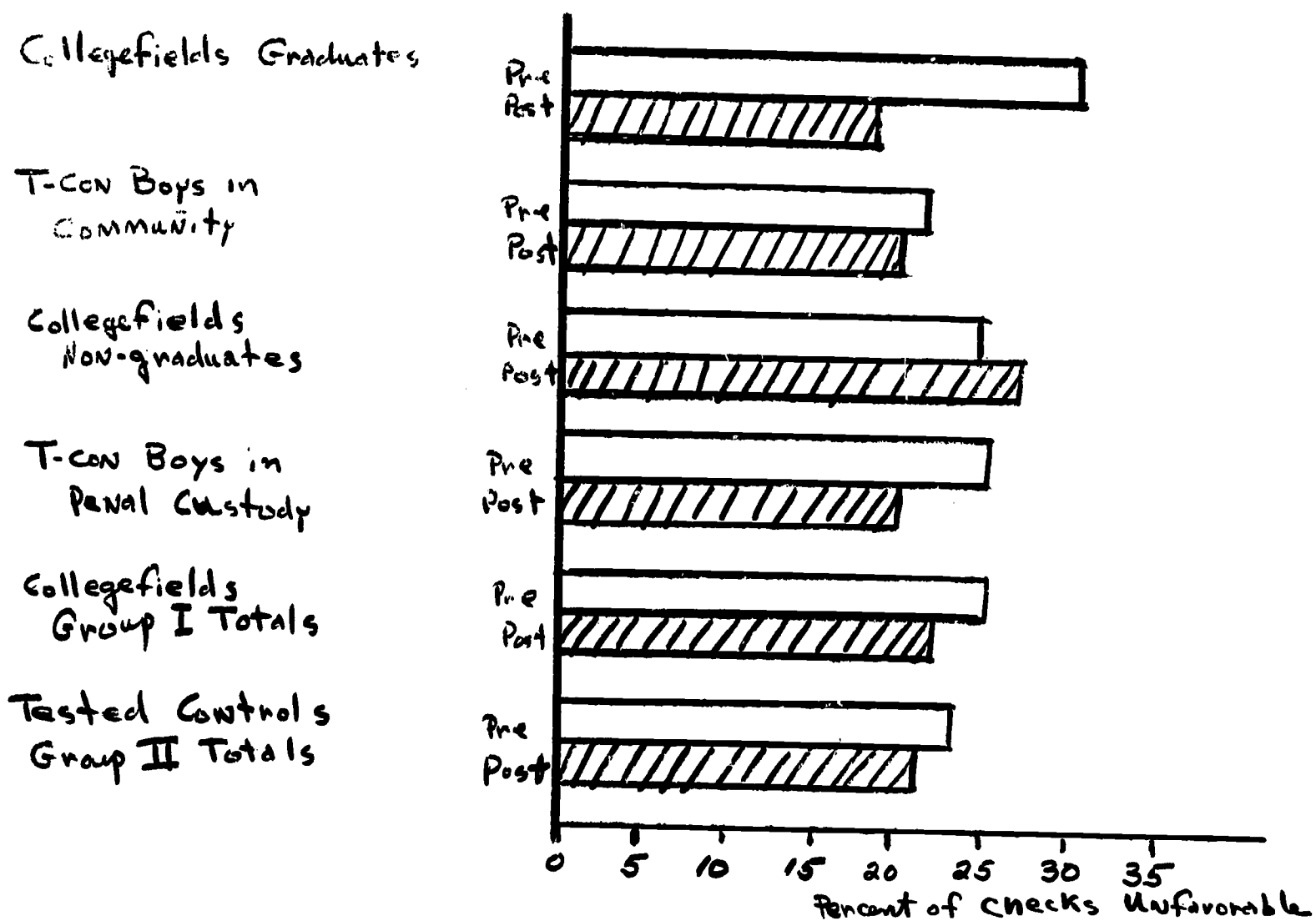
Median	19.0	27.0	21.0	20.0
N	31	24	30	23

Adjective Check List on Self Groups Medians Compared

Percent Favorable Checked



Percent Unfavorable Checked



In summary, the Collegefields Graduates show an initial self-concept that is lower than that shown by the other groups. There is a significant increase in self-concept by the end of the Collegefields experience. It is possible that the Collegefields Non-graduates are now in a state of self-rejection similar to that shown by the Graduates on the pretest. Is it possible that the Non-graduates are now ready to benefit from the Collegefields opportunity for rehabilitation? A final question hinges on the validity of the direct measure of self-concept. Are the findings above confirmed by the indirect measures on the Allen Incomplete Sentences Test?

CHANGES IN SELF-CONCEPT REVEALED BY ALLEN SELF-REFERENCE SCORES.

Self-reference and Negative Self-reference were derived from the Allen Incomplete Sentences Test. Procedure was similar to that used in developing the measure of Positive Reference to School and Teachers. An Interrater correlation $r = .93$ was obtained and the final rating was done by a single rater who rated the coded responses "blind" with no knowledge of the group or the pre-posttest status. The final scores which ranged from 0 to 9 for this scoring method are shown in cluster groupings in Table XX. Figure 9 shows these results in graphic form. In this comparison there was reasonable intergroup uniformity on the pretests. The composite pretest scores are designated by the solid line. Posttest results for the sub-groups call for interpretation.

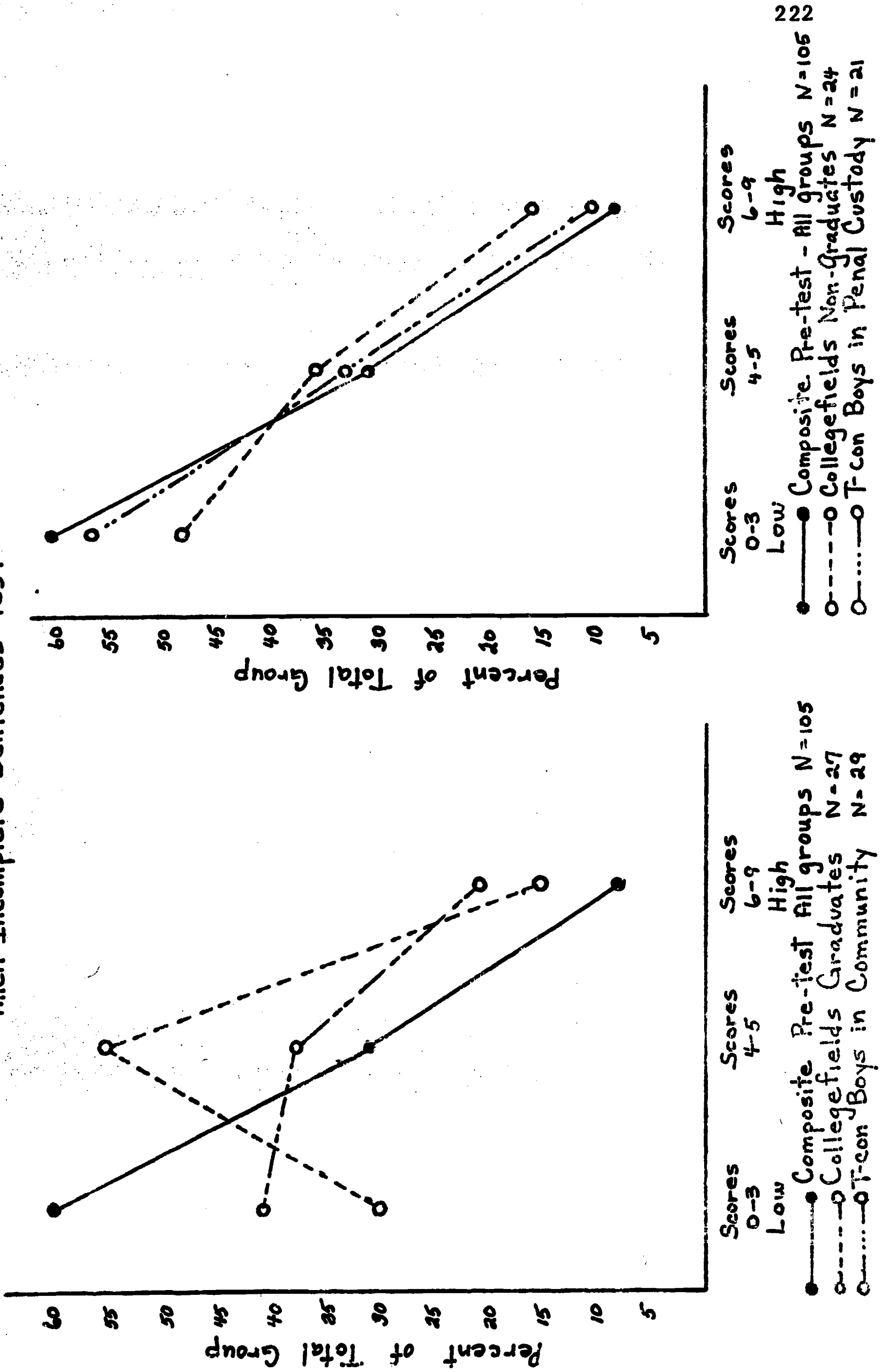
Table XX

ALLEN POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPT

	Groups Compared						N
	<u>Low Scores</u>		<u>Middle Scores</u>		<u>High Scores</u>		
	0 - 3	%	4 - 6	%	7 - 9	%	
Collegefields Total							
Pretest	31	60%	20	38%	1	2%	52
Posttest	20	38%	27	52%	5	10%	52
Test Controls Total							
Pretest	30	60%	19	38%	1	2%	50
Posttest	24	48%	22	44%	4	8%	50
Collegefields Graduates							
Pretest	15	56%	11	41%	1	4%	27
Posttest	8	29%	15	56%	4	15%	27
Collegefields Non-Graduates							
Pretest	16	64%	9	36%	0	0%	25
Posttest	12	48%	12	48%	1	4%	25
T-con Boys in Community							
Pretest	20	69%	8	28%	1	3%	29
Posttest	12	41%	14	48%	3	10%	29
T-con Boys in Custody							
Pretest	10	48%	11	52%	0	0%	21
Posttest	12	57%	8	38%	1	5%	21

Figure 9

Positive Self References
Allen Incomplete Sentences Test



In general both the Collegefields Graduates and the T-con Boys In Community, the two "successful" groups, show change in the direction of an increased number of boys showing higher amounts of positive self-reference. According to our hypotheses in regard to the process of rehabilitation of delinquents, the most favorable change in a group of delinquents would be to see a reduction in the number who have very little to say about themselves which is positive and simultaneously a reduction in number who reveal inflated levels of self-approval. Essentially a group rise in middle scores in self-reference would best represent constructive rehabilitation. This group rehabilitation effect is clearly seen for the Collegefields Graduates on the indirect measure in Figure 9.

When the pretest-posttest comparisons are made the Collegefields Graduates show an appreciable reduction in percent of low scorers. In contrast the T-con Boys in Custody show a significant pre-posttest increase in low scorers. The T-con Boys in the Community seem to be showing an increase in the number of boys with very high self-reference. Could such gains predict further delinquent offenders in this group? In spite of the favorable self-concepts shown on the direct Adjective Check List on Self, the T-con Boys in Penal Custody on the indirect Allen Analysis, have the highest proportion of members in the low self-reference grouping. A reasonable interpretation is that the T-con Boys in Custody tend to have depressed self-concepts which are only revealed when in-

direct measures are employed. According to our findings, then, the Collegefields Graduates showed a "healthy" change in self-concept. The Non-graduates showed changes which suggests that they are ready for rehabilitation. The T-con sub-groups show self-concept change which can be interpreted as a vulnerability toward future delinquent activities.

G. WHAT OTHER CHANGES IN ATTITUDES ARE PROMOTED BY THE COLLEGEFIELDS PROGRAM?

The basic assumption in the guided group interaction process is that the Collegefields norms fostered in a strong peer atmosphere will gradually be adopted by new boys. Moreover, one who is unsuccessful in the program may absorb enough of the group attitudes so that he will be materially affected even if he never reaches "helped" boy status. The change of attitude may not be revealed in direct questioning because these boys often seek to express the socially desirable response without reference to their real feelings. The critical test is whether a new attitude is revealed when the inquiry is fairly indirect or semi-ambiguous.

THE RISE IN ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

A measure of achievement motive was developed using ten items from the Allen Incomplete Sentences Test. As in the case of the Positive Self-Reference and the Positive Reference to School and Teachers interrater reliability was determined and a single rater then rated

all the coded responses "blind" so he had no knowledge of the status of the response he was rating, whether Collegefields or Tested-control, whether pretest or posttest. For Achievement Motive the Interrater Correlation was $r = .80$.

Clear evidence of increase in Achievement Motive for the Collegefields Graduates can be seen upon examination of Table XXI and Figure 10. The fact that each group on pretest shows a high proportion of low scores in Achievement Motive is witness to the stability of this measure. After the Collegefields experience the Graduates show a significant increase in those scoring in the middle range of achievement motive (Chi-square 4.76, $< P.05$ level of confidence). No other group shows a change which approaches statistical significance although all three groups have shown a slight increase over their pretest scores. Figure 11 shows these comparisons more clearly when the pretest scores have been converted to a composite curve representing the initial scores of all the boys.

THE CHANGES IN ATTITUDES SHOWN ON THE MACHIAVELLI TEST

The search for a testing instrument which would be relevant to the street-norm changes and yet sufficiently ambiguous to allow the boys to respond readily in a slightly projective way lead to the Machiavelli scale which had been developed for adults by Christie (1958).

Table XXI

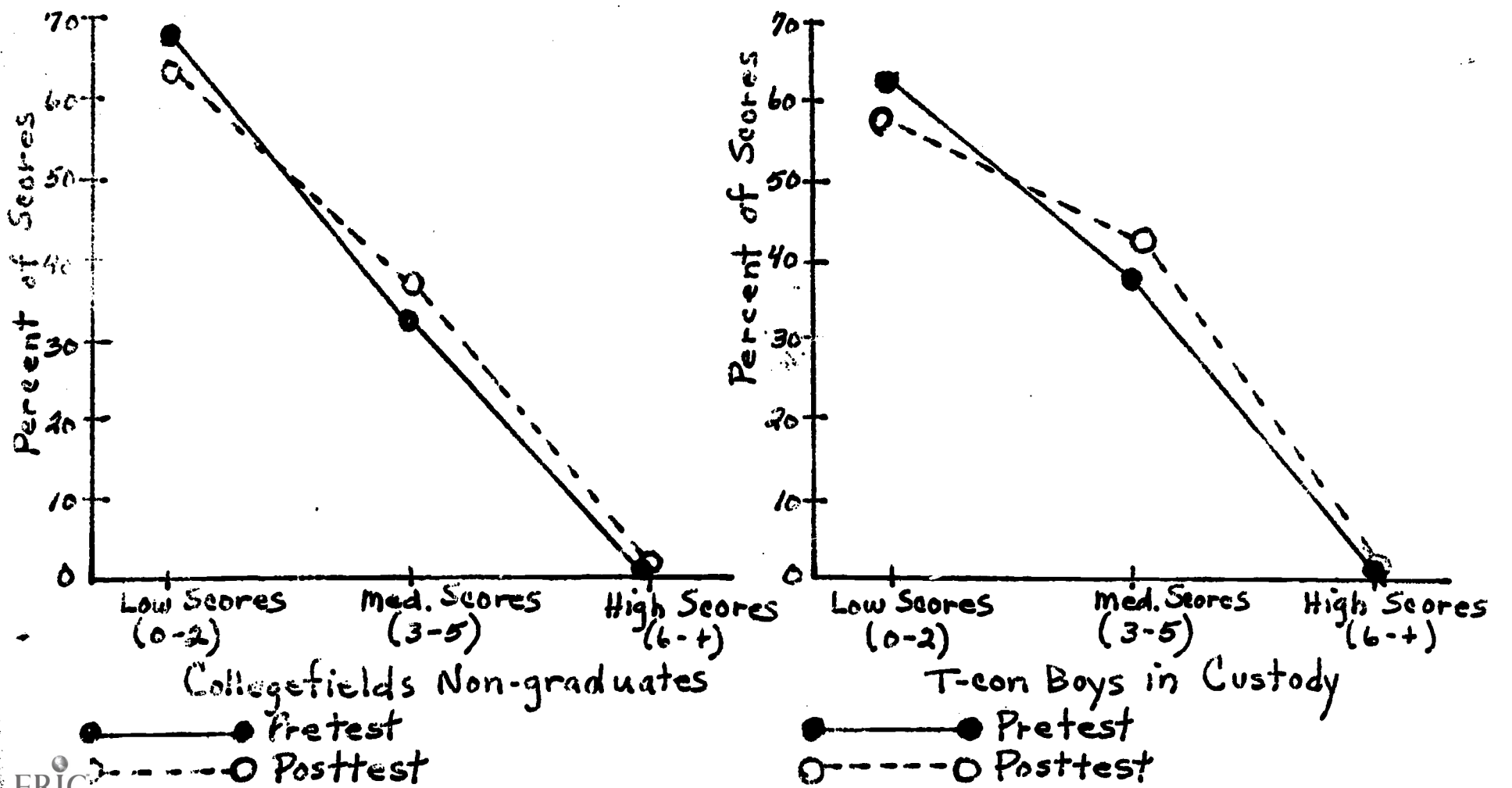
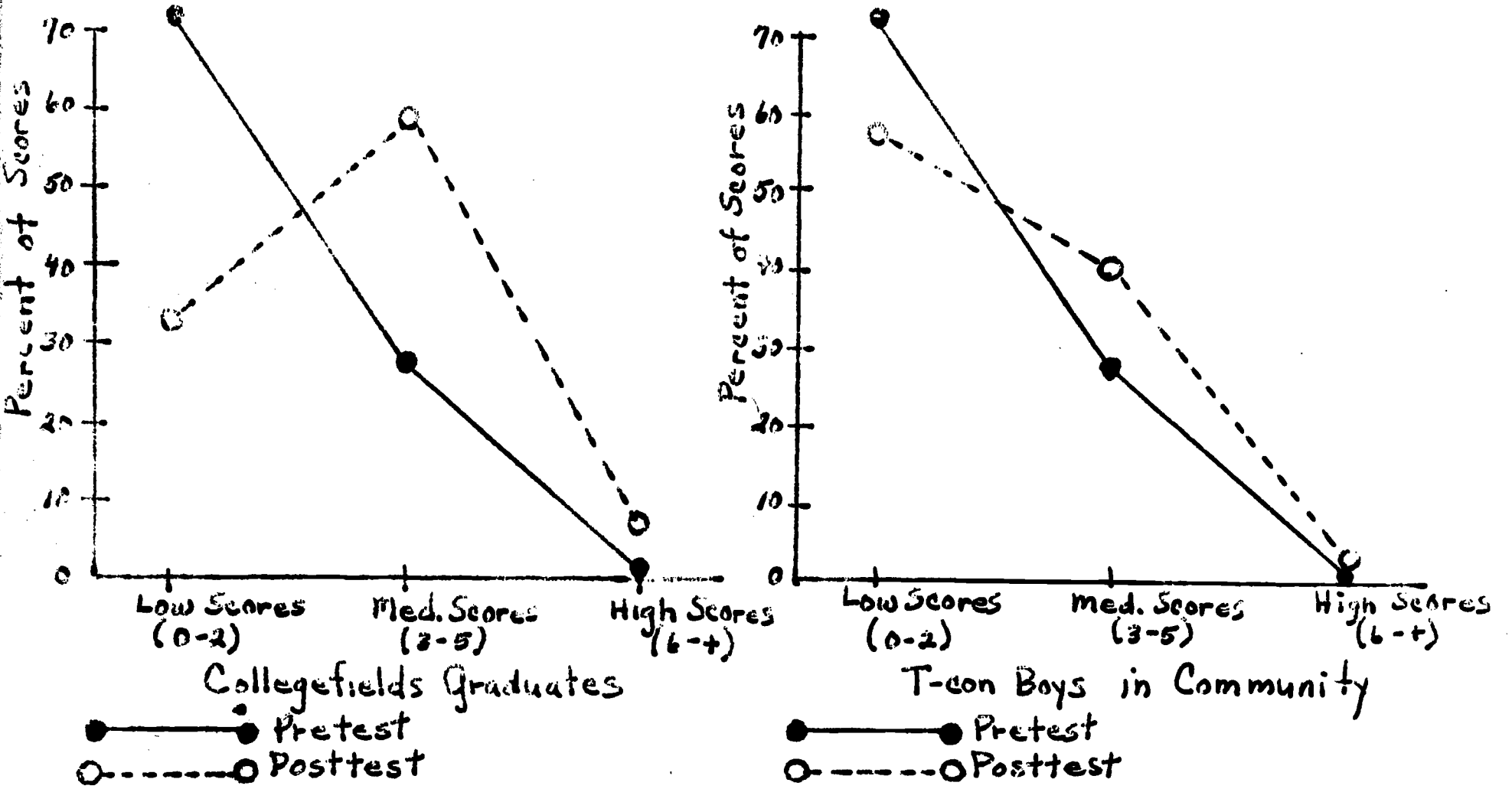
ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE-ALLEN TEST

Sub-Groups Compared

	<u>Low Score</u>		<u>Middle Score</u>		<u>High Score</u>		<u>N</u>
	0 - 2	%	3 - 5	%	6 +	%	
Collegefields Total							
Pretest	36	73%	15	29%	0	0%	51
Posttest	24	47%	25	49%	2	4%	51
Tested Controls Total							
Pretest	35	69%	16	31%	0	0%	51
Posttest	29	57%	21	41%	1	2%	51
Collegefields Graduates							
Pretest	21	72%	8	28%	0	0%	29
Posttest	10	34%	17	59%	2	7%	29
Collegefields Non-Graduates							
Pretest	15	68%	7	32%	0	0%	22
Posttest	14	64%	8	36%	0	0%	22
T-con Boys in Community							
Pretest	22	73%	8	27%	0	0%	30
Posttest	17	57%	12	40%	1	3%	30
T-con Boys in Penal Custody							
Pretest	13	62%	8	38%	0	0%	21
Posttest	12	57%	9	43%	0	0%	21
Composite Pretest							
All groups	73	69%	32	31%	0	0%	105

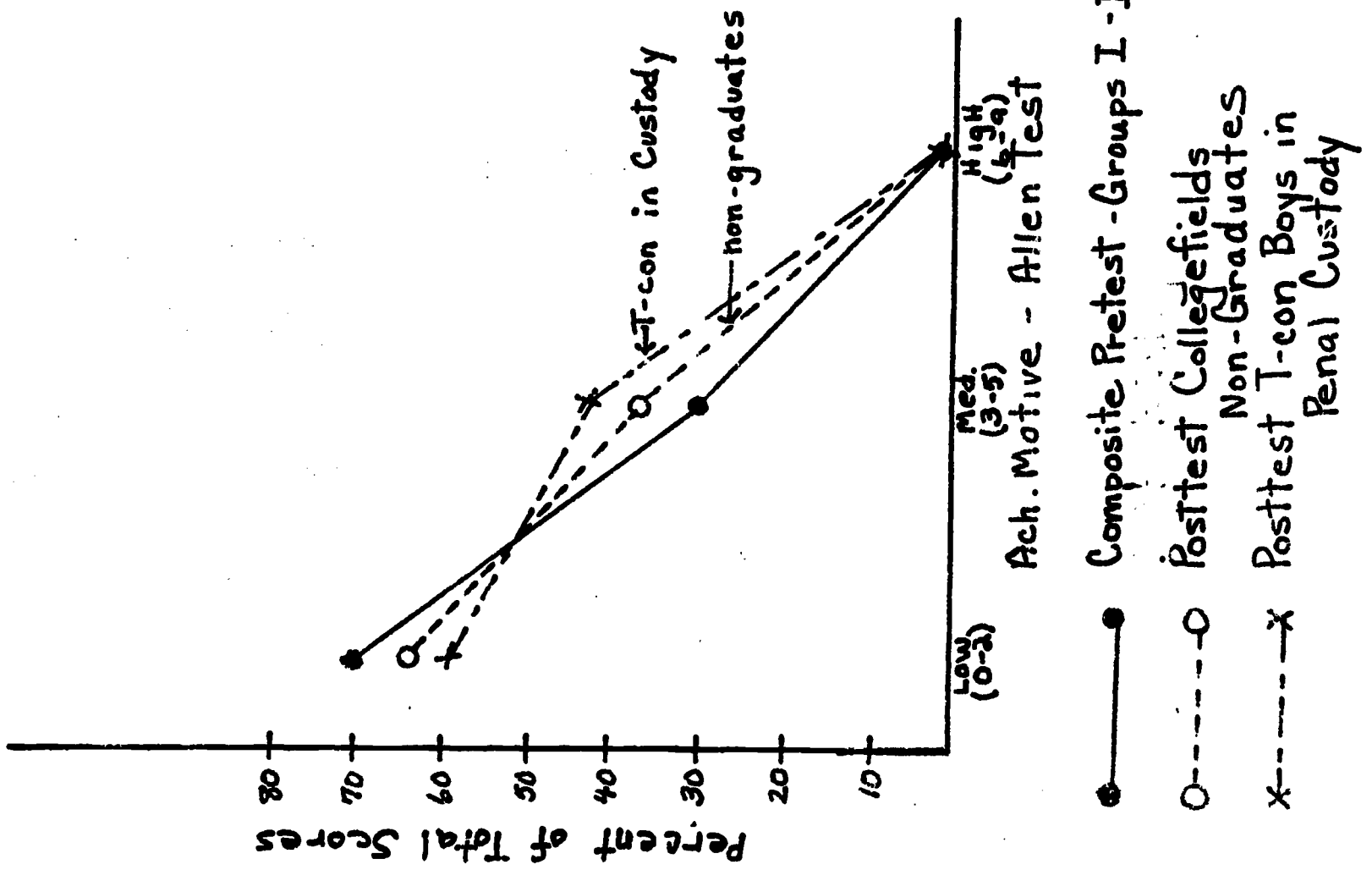
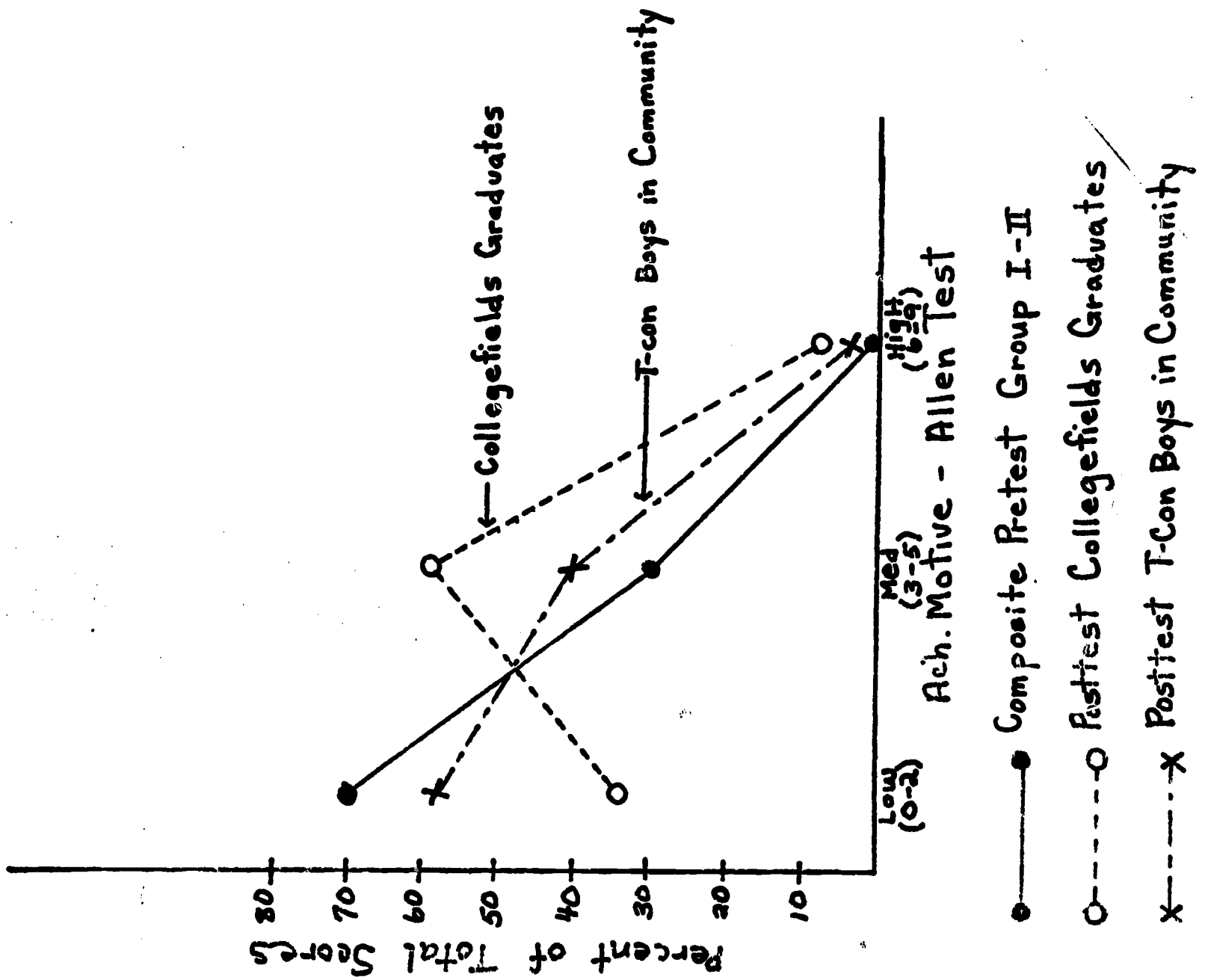
Figure 10

Achievement Motive - Allen Test
Sub-groups Compared



Achievement Motive Sub Group Comparisons

Figure 11



The youth adaptation¹ was an experimental form of the Mach Scale which the boys seemed to find interesting to take and, by virtue of individual administration, understandable. On this test the higher the score the more Machiavellian, the more manipulative, the status. From the pretest and posttest comparisons for each group (Table XXII) it can be seen that after initial similarity, the Collegefields boys show a tendency toward lower scores on the posttest while the Tested-controls show the higher, the more Machiavellian scores. When the sub-groups are compared the Collegefields Graduates score lowest with the T-con Boys in Penal Custody next lowest. Actually no significant differences in change score appear when these gains and losses are examined (Table XXIII). The variance is fairly large for this test. It probably means that this test requires experimental refinement before it can show power to measure attitude change effectively. Of course, this finding lends support to Christie's view that Machiavellianism is a basic personality trait--not an attitude to be readily altered. Exactly the same can be said for the Achievement Motive. Although we see only small changes the fact that they occur at all suggests that the Collegefields Program carries the potential for fundamentally changing adolescent boys' deeper values.

1. A copy of this Mach form and the scoring used is filed in Appendix F.

Table XXII

REVISED MACH SCALE

Comparisons of Sub-groups Pretest and Posttest

Variable	Collegefields		Tested-Controls	
	Graduates	Non-Graduates	Boys in Community	Boys in Penal Custody
<u>Total Groups</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	31.05		31.29	
SD	4.38		5.44	
N	39		38	
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	29.93		32.04	
SD	5.74		4.36	
N	55		53	
<u>Subgroups</u>				
<u>Pretest</u>				
Mean	30.30	32.00	32.00	30.07
SD	4.63	3.93	5.58	5.17
N	23	16	24	14
<u>Posttest</u>				
Mean	28.23	32.12	32.73	31.13
SD	6.06	4.53	4.32	4.33
N	31	24	30	23

Table XXIII

MACH SCALE

Comparison of Sub-groups Pretest-Posttest

TOTAL

	Mean Change Scores Posttest-Pretest	S.D.	N	Diffs $M_1 - M_2$	t value
Collegefields Total Group I	-0.82	5.68	39		
T-con Total Group II	1.16	6.08	37	-1.98	-1.470
Collegefields Graduates	-1.39	4.80	23		
T-con Boys in Community	0.48	6.25	23	-1.87	-1.137
Collegefields Non- Graduates	0.00	6.83	16		
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.29	5.85	14	-2.29	-0.981
Collegefields Graduates	-1.39	4.80	23		
Collegefields Non- Graduates	0.00	6.83	14	-1.39	-0.748
T-con Boys in Penal Custody	2.29	5.85	14		
T-con Boys in Community	0.48	6.25	23	1.81	0.874

On certain items of the Mach test Collegefields boys showed critical changes from initial test to retest. Results for Item 1, "Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so," are shown in Table XXIV and Figure 12. In the various groups initial agreement ranges from 54% to 79%. The Collegefields Graduates agree with this statement most consistently. This means that most delinquent boys have a suspicious attitude. They expect to conceal and deceive in their relationships with everyone. After the Collegefields experience the boys are moving toward disagreement with this statement. They are less willing to conceal their reasons from everyone. The Tested-control group, however, is moving in the opposite direction. Greater numbers now agree to the need for "conning" and deception in all relationships. In no group comparison do the changes reach statistical significance but the direction of the changes support the hypotheses of the study.

Item #9 on the Mach scale shows unusual results. This item reads "All men are brave." According to the O'Connor study (1966) most boys of a non-delinquent population do not agree with the statement. In the present study on initial testing, all groups but the Collegefields Graduates showed high agreement with the statement. (Table XXV) Over the test-retest interval the Collegefields boys changed to general agreement--which might be interpreted as a delinquent trend. A special study would have to be conducted to test the alternative explanation which shows how ambiguity in this statement permits a new rehabilitative interpretation.

Table XXIV

MACH ITEM #1 "NEVER TELL ANYONE

THE REAL REASON---

Groups Compared

	Agree	%	Disagree & Neutral	%	N
Collegefields Total					
Pretest	29	74%	10	26	39
Posttest	24	62%	15	38	39
Tested-controls Total					
Pretest	26	73%	10	36%	36
Posttest	27	75%	9	25%	36
Collegefields Graduates					
Pretest	18	78%	5	22%	23
Posttest	14	61%	9	39%	23
Collegefields Non-Graduates					
Pretest	11	69%	5	31%	16
Posttest	10	63%	6	37%	16
T-con Boys in Community					
Pretest	13	54%	11	46%	24
Posttest	17	71%	7	29%	24
T-con Boys in Custody					
Pretest	9	75%	3	25%	12
Posttest	10	83%	2	17%	12

Figure 12

Attitude Change - Groups Compared Item #1 Machiavelli Scale

"Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so."

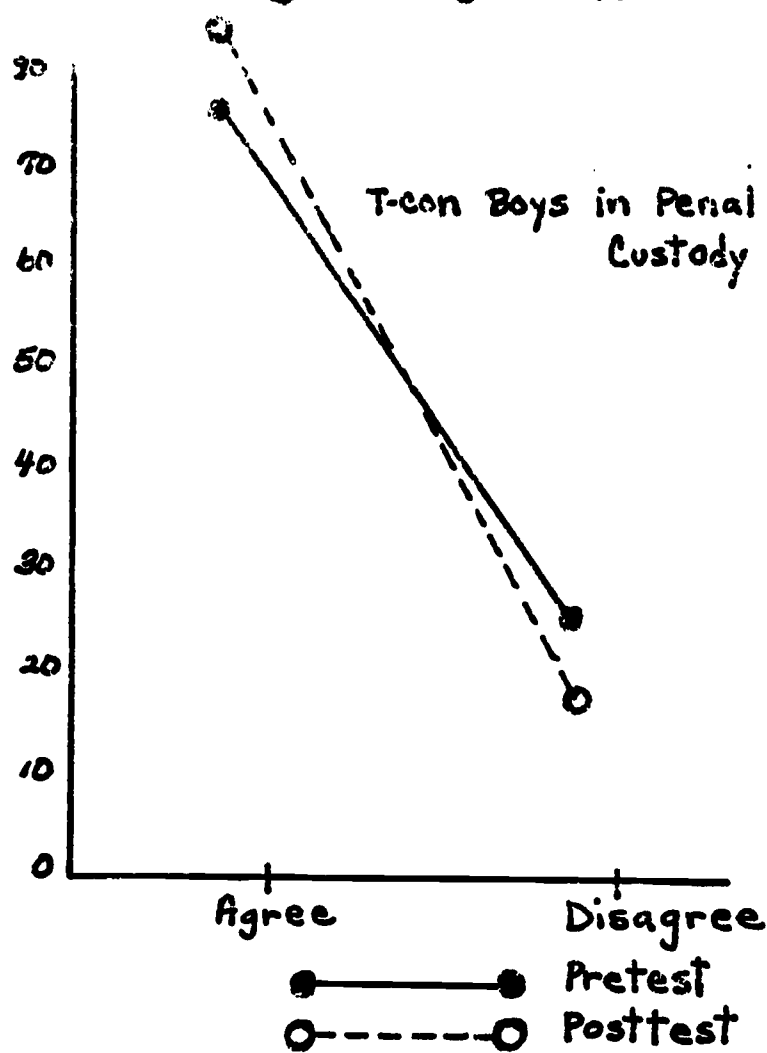
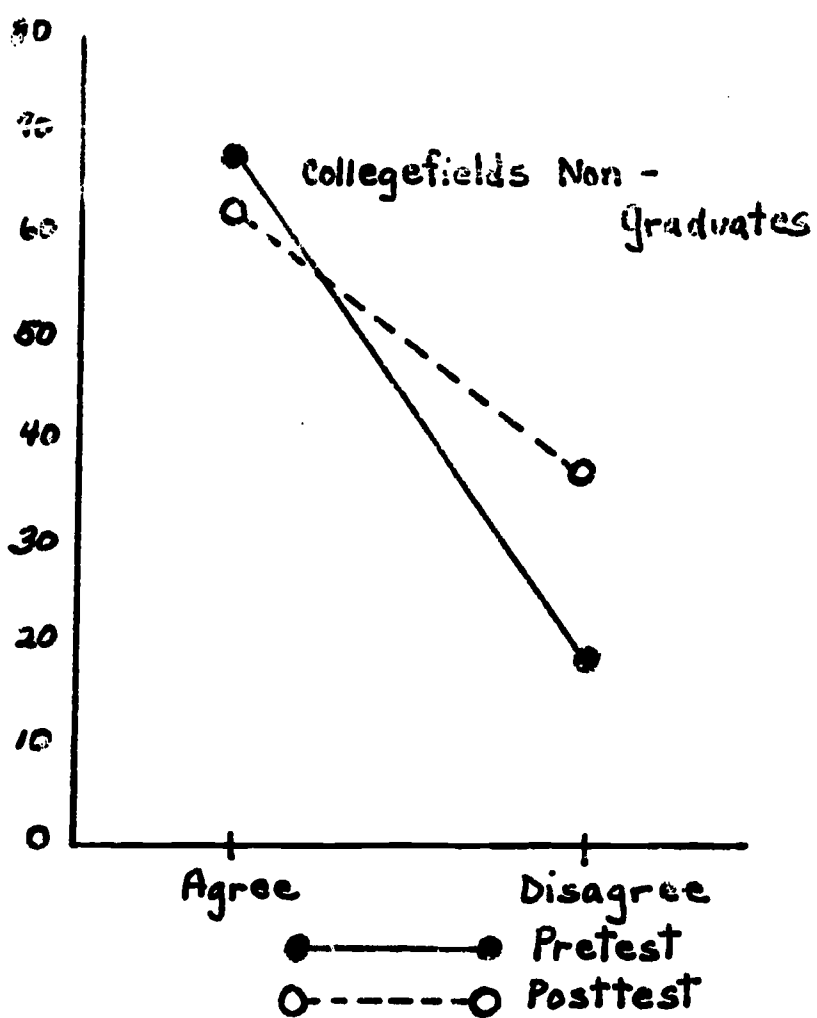
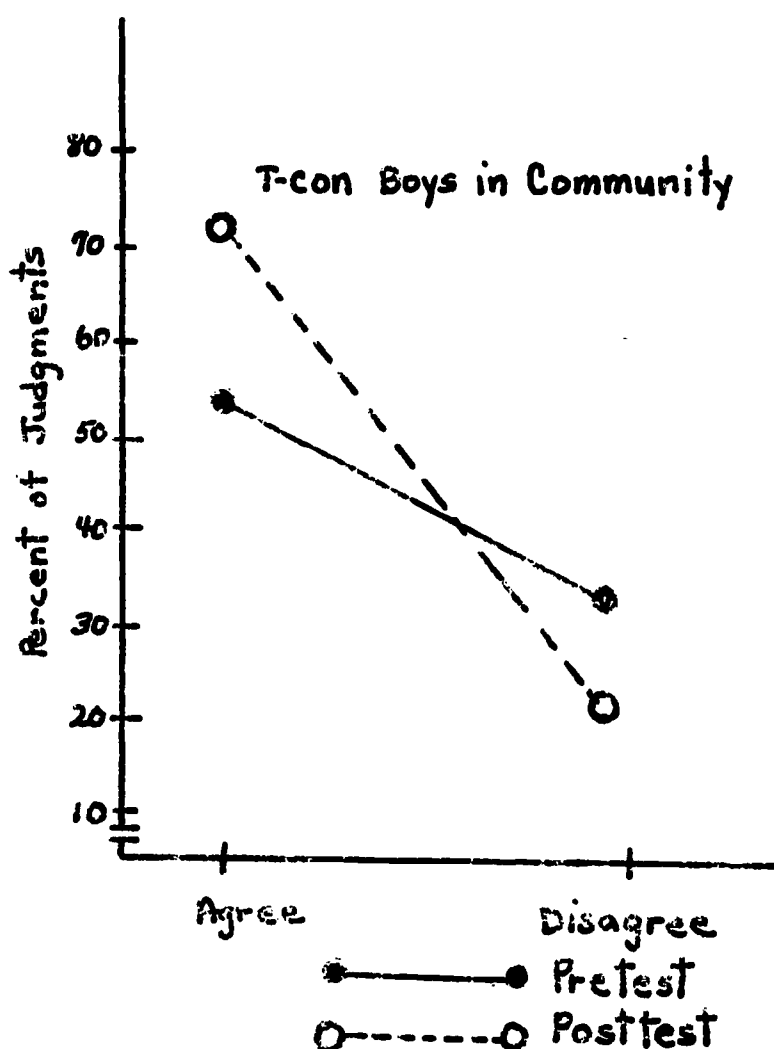
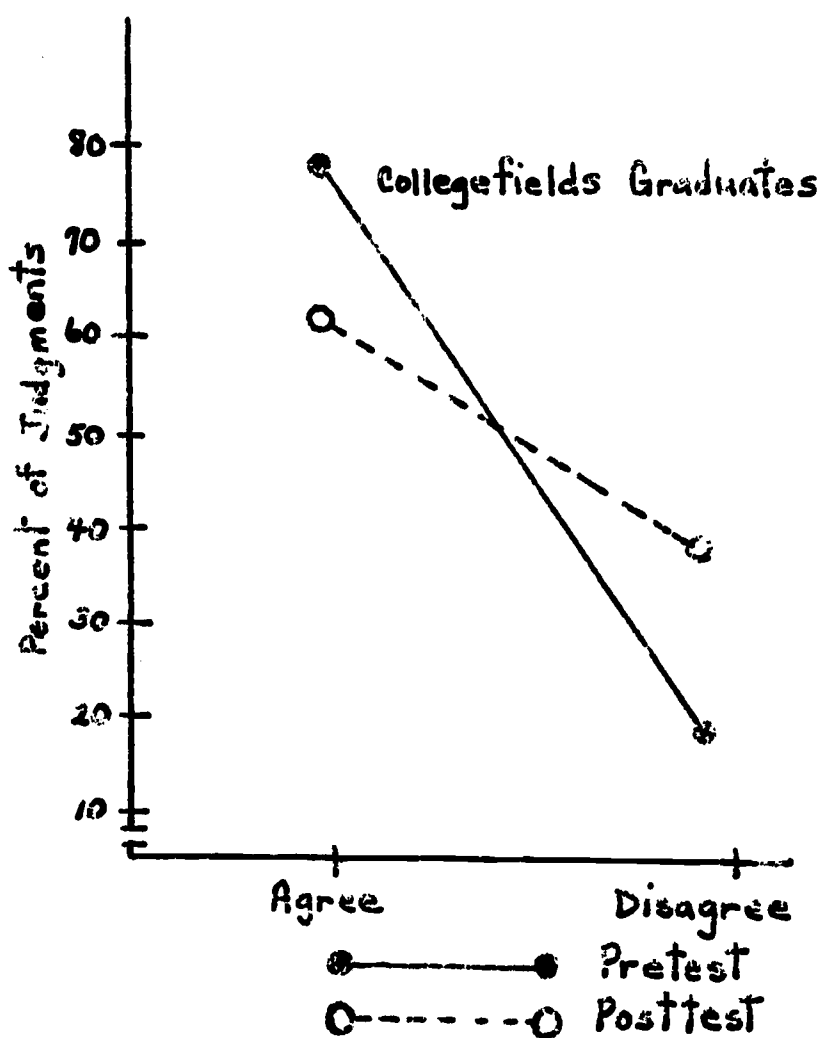


Table XXV

MACH ITEM #9 "MOST MEN ARE BRAVE"

	Groups Compared		Disagree	%	N
	Agree & Neutral	%			
Collegefields Total					
Pretest	21	54%	18	46%	39
Posttest	26	67%	13	33%	39
Tested-Controls Total					
Pretest	28	76%	9	24%	37
Posttest	30	81%	7	19%	37
Collegefields Graduates					
Pretest	10	43%	13	57%	23
Posttest	16	70%	7	30%	23
Collegefields Non-Graduates					
Pretest	11	69%	5	31%	16
Posttest	16	62%	6	38%	16
T-con Boys in Community					
Pretest	17	71%	7	29%	24
Posttest	18	75%	6	25%	24
T-con Boys in Custody					
Pretest	12	92%	1	8%	13
Posttest	12	92%	1	8%	13

The delinquent boy responds with a street norm. In his mind, to be a man you have to be daring, fight personal encroachments, and even take risks, so he agrees. The non-delinquent with different norms would agree that some men experience fear. The Collegefields Graduates tended to be a little more like the non-delinquents which suggests that these were the boys who could best acquire the new norms. Why then did so many of the Graduates change their response back to one which coincided with the delinquent response? The possible explanation lies in a new understanding of the word brave. The Collegefields Graduate now feels that it is an act of bravery not to hit back, not to take risks, not to go along with the crowd. His new norms allow him to credit bravery to men who behave in other ways than the "street norm" demands. Now, with a new favorable view of people, he agrees that "all men are brave" though they show it in different ways. Should this explanation be borne out on further study, then this item could become a screening item to be used in setting up guided group interaction projects. It would help in selecting a group of boys capable of building a strong peer norm from the outset.

Finally, Item #3 on the Mach scale shows a significant difference between the direction of attitude change of the Collegefields Graduates and the other three sub-groups. Approximately 80% of the boys initially agreed that "It is best to assume that everybody has a mean streak in them and it will come out when they are given a chance." The ambiguity in this sentence, since boys may focus on either the first or the second clause, permits a ready shift of choice if fundamental attitude has changed. As boys come to dis-

agree with this statement they may either choose to think that some people have no 'mean streak' or they may feel that such mean feelings can be controlled and counteracted.

As is apparent in Table XXVI and Figure 13 a marked change occurs among the Collegefields Graduates during the period of the Collegefields experience. (pre vs. post Chi-square $P < .001$ level). A large proportion of the boys now disagree with the "mean streak" statement. In contrast the T-con Boys in Penal Custody have shifted significantly so that on posttest only one boy disagrees with the statement, (Chi-square $P < .001$ level). It is apparent that boys in custody whether members of the Collegefields group or the Tested-controls move toward a "mean streak" view of their world.

It is revealing to see that the Collegefields Graduates show academic progress but also changes in attitudes which in almost every instance will serve to support a life in accord with the Collegefields norms. On the other hand the T-con Boys in Penal Custody showed definite academic progress but simultaneously, a deterioration of attitudes so that on return to the community they will retain the "street norms" and will have augmented the very attitudes which contributed to their previous delinquency. The Collegefields Non-graduates and the T-con Boys in Community showed patterns of change which varied with the test or item and, therefore, required separate interpretation for each measure.

Table XXVI

MACH ITEM #3 "MEAN STREAK"

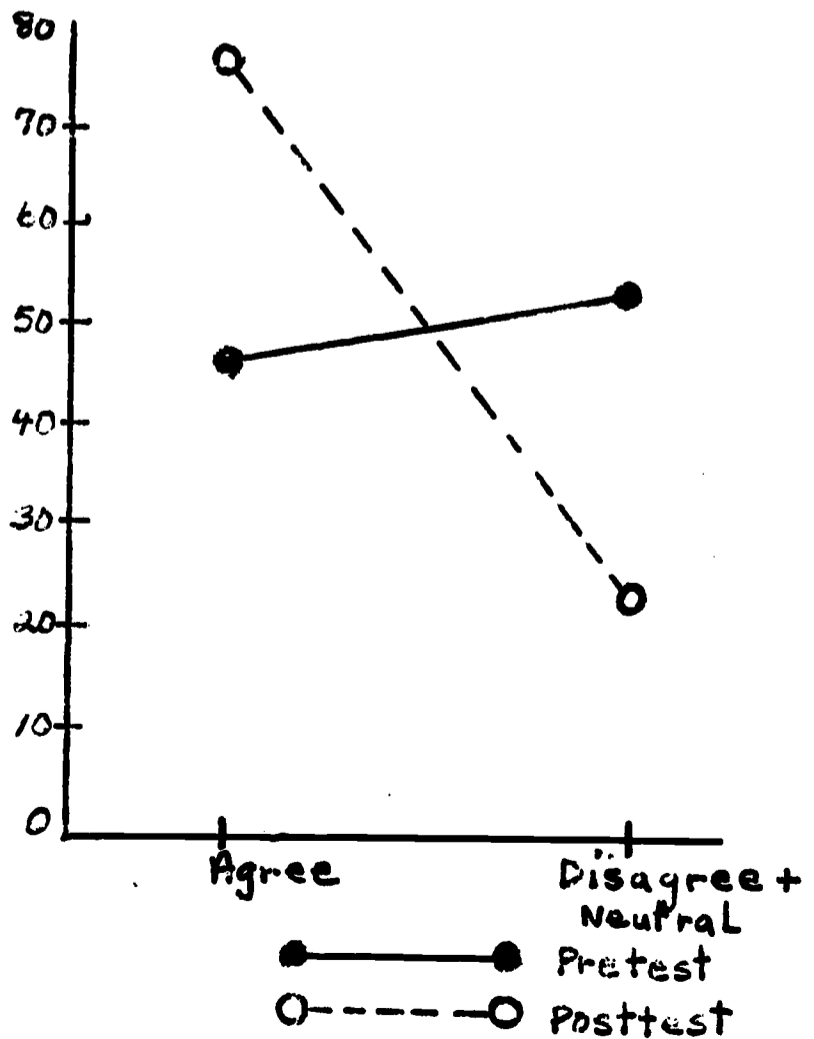
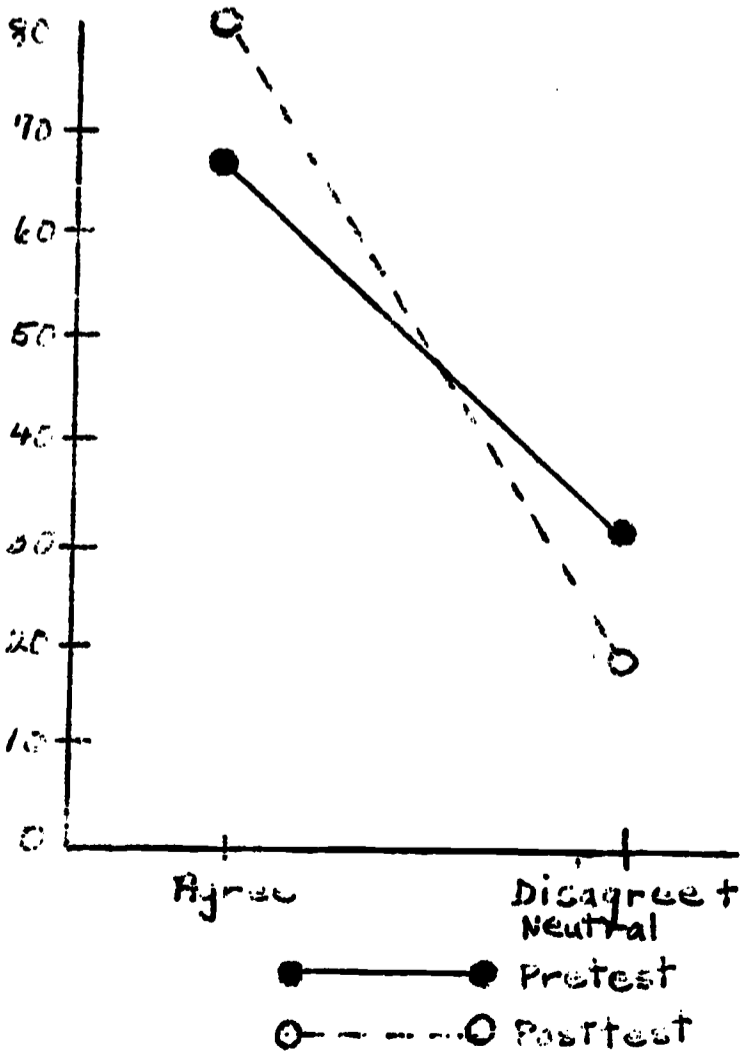
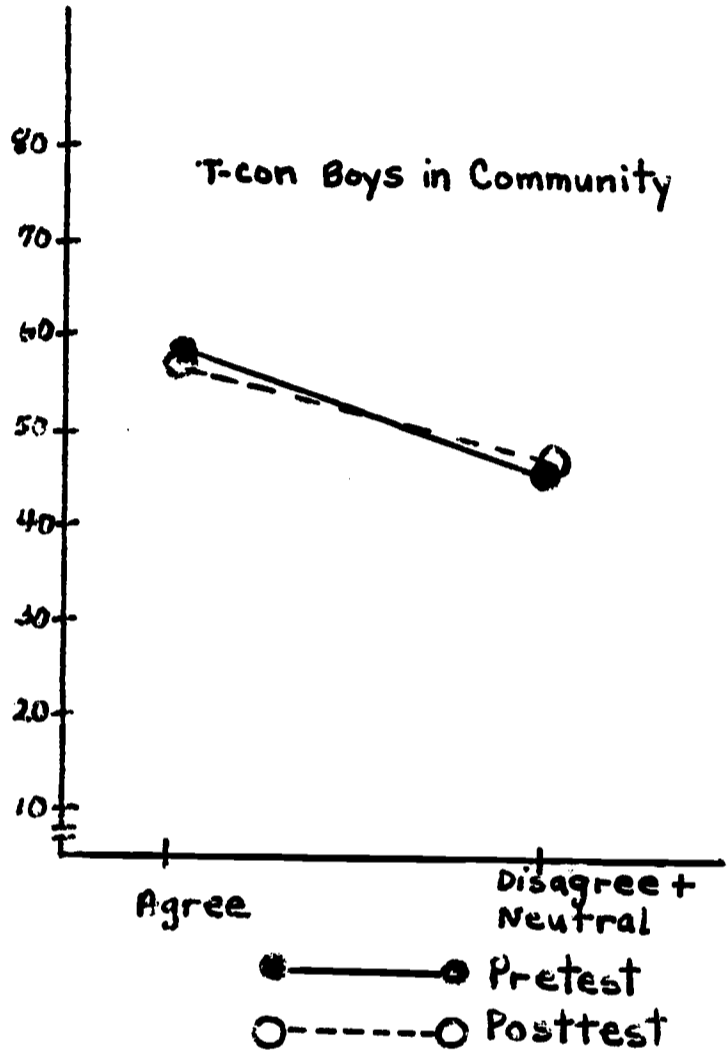
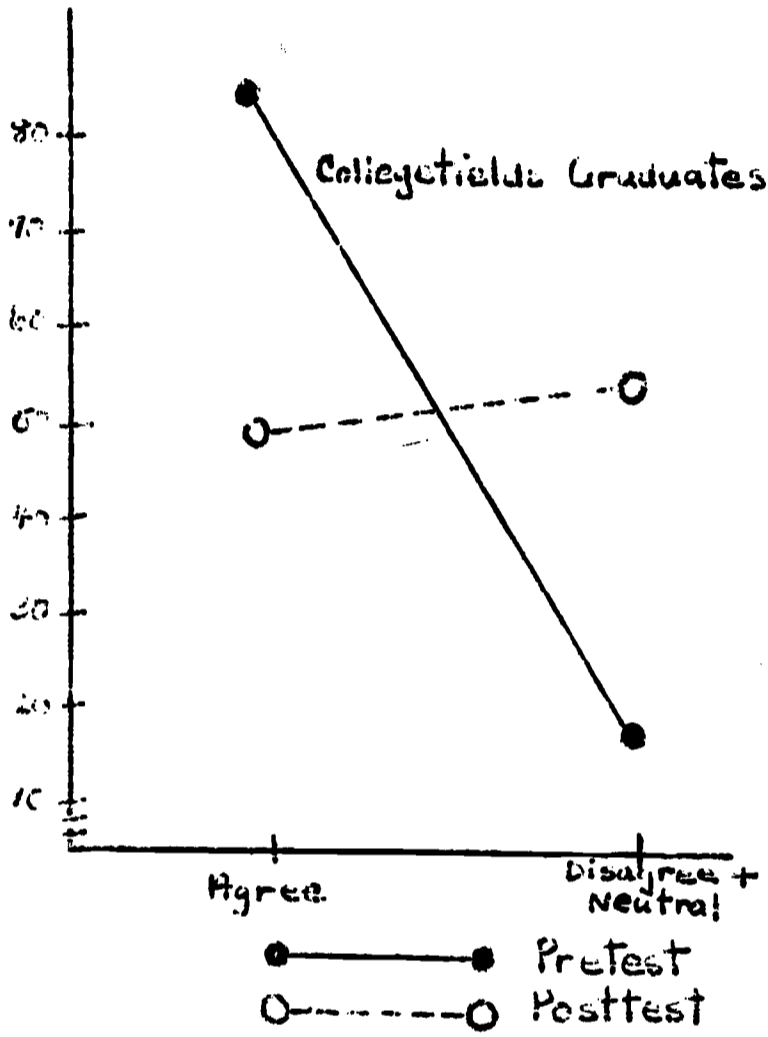
Groups Compared

	Agree	%	Disagree & Neutral	%	N
Collegefields Total					
Pretest	30	77%	9	23%	39
Posttest	24	62%	15	38%	39
Tested-controls Total					
Pretest	16	43%	21	57%	37
Posttest	24	65%	13	35%	37
Collegefields Graduates					
Pretest	19	83%	4	17%	23
Posttest	11	48%	12	52%	23
Collegefields Non-Graduates					
Pretest	11	69%	5	31%	16
Posttest	13	81%	3	19%	16
T-con Boys in Community					
Pretest	14	58%	10	42%	24
Posttest	14	58%	10	42%	24
T-con Boys in Custody					
Pretest	6	46%	7	54%	13
Posttest	10	77%	3	23%	13

Figure 13

Item #3 Machiavelli Scale Groups Compared

"It is best to assume that everybody has a mean streak in them and it will come out when they are given a chance."



RESEARCH SUMMARY

Although the Collegefields Delinquency Rehabilitation Project was in existence for only two years it was possible to make a tentative evaluation of the program:

1. The research design called for three comparable groups allocated by chance to the evaluation project. The Collegefields experimental group and the Tested-controls were roughly equivalent, but a review of the characteristics of the various sub-groups showed the Non-tested control group to have appreciably fewer delinquent boys with prior court records. Since, therefore, the Collegefields experimentals entered the program with a less favored past history than the Tested-controls, every evidence of improvement of the Collegefields boys over the control groups is a minimal estimate of what might have been an even more significant difference if greater comparability had been obtained. Even so, without such adjustments, many important gains are seen for the Collegefields boys and particularly the Collegefields Graduates.

2. The major hypotheses concerning favorable changes to be expected among boys of the Collegefields Rehabilitation Project are confirmed. When gains do not reach statistical significance, in comparison with the control-group, the direction of change consistently confirms the hypotheses. The results are most clearly evident for the Collegefields Graduates.

3. When compared with the Tested-controls, the total Collegefields group made significant improvement in Otis I.Q. In Reading Comprehension the Collegefields boys showed demonstrably larger gains than the Tested-controls. When sub-groups were compared, the Collegefields Graduates consistently showed the greatest gains on all measures of reading and mental ability. In contrast the Tested-control Boys in the Community made low gains or even retrogressed.

4. In attitude toward teachers the Collegefields Graduates showed the most comprehensive gains but, more critically, showed the greatest reduction in unfavorable opinion. When these direct results are checked by examining the positive (favorable) attitudes toward school and teachers from the Allen Incomplete Sentences Test, an indirect measure, the improvement in attitude toward teachers shown by the Collegefields Graduates is confirmed. An Adjective Check List gain in favor toward teachers shown by the T-con Boys in Penal Custody is not confirmed on the indirect check. This suggests that when these boys gain in academic skills they are not actually gaining in improved attitudes toward teachers and schools but will view it as expedient to appear to be more favorably disposed.

5. In confirmation the Collegefields boys show a greater number of anticipated years of further schooling and an upgrading in social status of anticipated vocation. Concurrently the Collegefields Graduates show an increase in reality of vocational orientation so that as a group their ambitions are not based on fantasy choice.

6. The Collegefields boys show a greater increase in favorable attitudes toward self than the Tested-control boys. The analysis of the results for the sub-groups show group variations which reflect a slight lowering of self-concept for the Collegefields Non-graduates and an inflation of self-concept for the T-con Boys in Penal Custody. A checking of these findings by use of the indirect measure from the Allen Test reveals that the T-con Boys in Custody have not gained in self-regard but the Collegefields Graduates have gained in the middle ranges of self-favor, not in the fantasy levels of extremely high self-concept.

7. Comparisons of the groups reveal important attitude changes which are experienced by the Collegefields boys. The Collegefields Graduates show a definite rise in achievement motive. They show a slightly lower scoring on the Machiavelli Scale which is largely due to certain attitude changes, i.e., a reduction in deception and a lower expectation of the "mean streak" behavior from everyone. Hence the Collegefields boys have a greater openness and a more favorable view of the social world.

8. Careful examination of the research results confirms the informal observations that consistent gains were made by the Collegefields Graduates. Inconsistent results for the Non-graduates suggest that this group improved in some measures, e.g., Otis I.Q., and became more vulnerable in others, e.g., more variable in their self-evaluations. Closer study shows that after six months the Non-graduates

score much like the Graduates did on entering the program. It is possible that for the Non-graduate the experience served to increase readiness for rehabilitation and that as a group, they are ripe for a second opportunity.

9. There is ample evidence that the research methods and instruments employed in this study can provide a valuable basis for further research efforts in this field.

10. Although not all hypotheses led to significant findings and an additional follow-up study is called for, nevertheless, in all major aspects the Collegefields experiment can at this time be evaluated as a successful program for the rehabilitation of many 14- and 15-year-old delinquents.

THE RESEARCH PROGRAM

This research has been made possible by the many persons who gave generously of their knowledge, their skills, and their time. In addition to the authors of the study the following persons made special contributions to the testing, statistical analysis and preparation of the final report:

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A P P E N D I X

Appendix A

SUBCULTURAL DICTIONARY OF THE COLLEGEFIELDS BOYS

adjustments	letting a boy know how he is making out in the program
busted	caught breaking the law
care	show concern
catch the wind	run-a-way
checking-up	visiting a boy's home after sessions to make sure a boy is not breaking a requirement
check yourself	think it over; are you sure?
clean-up	an excuse to get out of a situation
clique	anything that can get you busted on the outside
cliquing	holding back from the boys
cohesion	group working together
Collegefields	rehabilitation center; help program, talking program
comparing	trying to make a situation look O.K. by saying somebody else did the same (trying to justify your own behavior by saying somebody else did it too.)
concern	care
confessing	when you have done something

	(not necessarily cliquing) and you or another boy tell the boys about it
confident	feeling a boy can handle his problems
conning	deceiving the boys
control your own meeting	boy keeps group's attention focussed on himself in order to get help
ditching	cutting into a line
duking	fist-fighting
easily influenced	ready to do what someone else does without questioning the consequences
fag	a homosexual or; general derogatory term
freezing the meeting	restriction by staff of the boys' power to release a boy from the program
friend	buddy
F.U. attitude	trying to tell the boys you don't care about anything
general meeting	all boys meet at one time
getting on a boy	verbally abusing a boy (sit- uation determines whether this is positive or negative behavior)
going deep	finding out what a boy thinks about (feelings-deep insight)

group meeting	afternoon guided group interaction meeting
help	better understanding of oneself and others
hiking	"getting on" a boy without any reason
hours	time to think about why a boy broke a requirement and why he won't do it again
impression	unsure thought
jail	State Home for Boys
life	either get help at Collegefields or be sent to State Home
light-fingered	stealing problem
lying	not telling the whole truth
meeting's meeting	all boys meet together to discuss specific problems such as poor behavior on campus or other program weaknesses
new boy	subcultural status position-a boy starting the program
old boy	subcultural status position-someone who has been in the program for a while and "knows the ropes"
opinions	describing a boy (used at the beginning of a meeting to decide for whom the meeting is held; also used to decide if a boy should be returned to court)

out of sight	not getting through to the boys
playing with a boy	not showing honest care for a boy's life
possibilities	the chances in a situation: things that could happen in situations; consequences of behavior
prejudging	jumping to conclusions
privileges	not allowed to smoke or have deserts; not allowed to go to cafeteria (negative sanctions for deviant behavior)
problem	behavior or action which a boy and/or the boys consider needs analysis and understanding
psyching	teasing a boy to get adverse reaction
punk	boy who plays the role of a tough
punked out	quitting when things get tough
recommend yourself	boy recognized his violation of breaking group norms and tells group about it (requests to be sent to "Jail")
respect	having consideration for yourself and others
responsibilities	accepting and handling tasks assigned by the boys

responsible boy	status position in the group earned through adherence to norms
role playing	not being your true self; acting for approval
setting the example	conforming to group norms
shifting the weight	avoiding a situation; trying to get around a boy; trying to get out of a tough situation
situation	being on the spot; role playing to see reaction
slicking	supposed to be working; loafing
sneaky	doing something unacceptable to the group and hoping not to be found out
split	separating when performing a task
sponging	when two or more boys clique and withhold the information from the group
sponging with staff	establish relationship with staff member to gain approval or favor
spotting	showing care for a boy by reporting negative behavior to the group
staff	any adult working in the program
stick	marijuana

support	giving another help to prove a point
taking advantage of a situation	using the program for your own benefit not for help
temporary helped boy	boy released from the program but attending until placement
touching	any physical contact
true feelings	the way you really feel
true self	what you really are; your normal self
trouble	anything that would bring a boy in contact with the law; anything that could get a boy busted
undesirable	anybody who can get a boy busted
understanding	knowing why you got into trouble and why you won't get into trouble again
you don't get what you want	boys control your activities for your good

Appendix B

DESCRIPTION OF PROBLEM AREAS IN
THE COLLEGEFIELDS CULTURE

aggravation problem	boy cannot control his temper; angers easily
barbiturate problem	boy who takes or sniffs anything, other than alcohol, which can get him "high;" also pill-popping problem
cold-hearted problem	boy has no conscience; deliber- ately hurts people or animals
drinking problem	boy who drinks
duking problem	solving problems through use of fists
easily discouraged problem	boy who "gives up" easily
easily influenced problem	ready to follow anyone's lead without considering the con- sequences
family problem	boy who cannot get along with his family
gambling problem	any form of betting
impressing problem	trying to make yourself bigger (more positive) than you are
inconsiderate problem	boy who does not care about himself or others
light-fingered problem	stealing
lying problem	falsifying

math problem	resistance to learning mathematics--continued belief that you can't learn
nasty problem	any deviate sexual behavior
non-acceptance problem	refusal to recognize a problem evident to the other boys
prejudice problem	disliking people who are different
pride problem	ashamed of home and/or himself
reading problem	resistance to learning to read--continued belief that you can't learn
revenge problem	getting even

Appendix C

NORMATIVE ANALYSIS OF COLLEGEFIELDS

- I Norms involving a boy's relationship to and perception of Collegefields.
1. The boys have considerable control and power in deciding what happens at Collegefields with the knowledge that the court recognizes their activity as long as it is responsible and helpful to the treatment of a boy.
 2. Collegefields is a place where a boy can change his "outside ways" and develop ways that help him "make it" on the outside.
 3. A boy should feel fortunate to have the opportunities that Collegefields provides.
 4. Collegefields is a program where you talk about your problems.
 5. A boy should work on problems and change his behavior both in the program and at home.
 6. If a boy wants to change, he will have to change others' perception of him. It is, therefore, important that he leaves good impressions of himself and the Collegefields program.
 7. Collegefields gives a boy a chance to prove he can make something of himself.
 8. Since a boy's future might be severely affected by commitment to a State Home for Boys, it is important that a boy sees and takes seriously the need to change himself and help other boys change.
 9. Recognize the need for continuing your education.
 10. Accept but try to improve your academic status.

11. Show care and respect for school and personal property.
12. Take pride in your accomplishments and achievements.

II Norms involving a boy's responsibilities and relationship to the other boys in the program.

1. Be concerned about helping another boy understand himself and change his behavior. "You can help yourself by helping others."
2. Do what the other boys think will help you. They know you and can see your behavior the best.
3. Help another boy get out his true feelings.
4. Tell the boys when you or another boy has done something which might have gotten you or him in difficulty with the law or with the group.
5. Point out to another boy when you do not feel he is concerned about his life or the lives of the other boys.
6. Help another boy even though you may not like him.
7. Try to gain the respect and confidence of the other boys.
8. Be honest with yourself, the boys, and the staff.
9. Always show respect for the feelings of another boy.
10. Do not let others influence you into doing something which you know is wrong.
11. Do not be afraid of the other boys.
12. Do not physically touch another boy in the program.
13. Feel the responsibility for your behavior and the

behavior of the other boys.

14. Check-up on other boys after you leave the program each day and on the weekends.

III Norms relating to boys' relationship to the Collegefields staff.

1. The staff is here to help the boys help themselves.
2. Do what the staff asks you to do.
3. Show respect to the staff at all times.
4. Be honest with the staff.
5. Do not talk to the staff about your problems unless you have permission from the boys.
6. Do not ask the staff questions the boys can answer.
7. Always listen to what the staff is saying. Sometimes the staff sees things the boys can't see.

IV Norms relating to a boy's personal responsibilities and achievements.

1. Be honest with yourself.
2. Show you want to be helped.
3. Take the program seriously; your future may depend on how much help you get at Collegefields.
4. Learn the difference between right and wrong.
5. Accept responsibility for your own behavior and that of the group.
6. Try to get an understanding of why you got into trouble with the law and the school and why you would not get into trouble again.

7. Admit your faults so that the boys know what you are really like.
8. Do not become discouraged with yourself.
9. Do not be easily influenced into changing your mind.
10. Help others become aware of your feelings.
11. Do not do anything that might get you into trouble on the outside.
12. Weigh the consequences of your actions.

V Norms centering around group meetings.

1. Every boy must attend all group meetings.
2. Every boy should show interest and concern for the boy who has the meeting for the day.
3. Every boy should help a boy bring out his true feelings in the meeting.
4. One of the ways a boy can show his concern about getting help is by asking for a meeting.
5. The group decides which boy or boys need the most help for the day. The boy who needs the most help may get the entire meeting.
6. A boy must tell everything that he has done prior to his coming to Collegefields that might have gotten him in trouble. This would include all problem areas. (boy tells his "story")
7. A boy is not allowed to leave the meeting without the permission of the boys or the staff.
8. Whatever is talked about in the meeting is kept within the program.

9. Always be aware of all a boy says in the meeting. What may not seem important now could help you help the boy later.
10. Talk up in meetings. It is possible that whatever you are thinking and not saying may be just what the boy needs to help him. You might understand something the other boys do not.
11. Be sure you know the problems of every boy.
12. Every boy should ask for a monthly adjustment.
13. Be aware of the actions of every boy at all times and be prepared to give adjustments and opinions if necessary.

VI Boy's relationship to his home and community.

1. Show respect to both your parents.
2. Talk to your parents about what the boys feel is a family problem.
3. Explain the program to your parents so that they will understand why the boys visit your home or call on the telephone.
4. Do not blame your parents for what you are. Your parents are not in the program and will not be able to solve "your" problems by doing everything you want.
5. Do not associate with boys in the community who might directly or indirectly get you into trouble. (undesirables)
6. All boys must be home by 10 p.m..
7. All boys must report to the program at the designated time.

Appendix D

ADOLESCENT INTEGRITY FROM HIGHFIELDS

TO ESSEXFIELDS AND COLLEGEFIELDS

by:

Saul Pilnick
Robert F. Allen
Neale Clapp

Presented to

National Conference on Social Welfare

Chicago, Illinois

May 1966

Sixteen years ago, in lonely but picturesque surroundings, a new concept in the rehabilitation of juvenile delinquents had its origin. The Highfields program initiated by Lloyd W. McCorkle and F. Lovell Bixby, and carried forth by Albert Elias,¹ utilizing the charm of the old Lindberg estate in Hopewell, New Jersey, began a tradition whose momentum has yet to cease. Prior to the Highfields experience for the most part, the treatment of delinquents was primarily a clinical procedure to be performed under the aegis of psychiatrically oriented staff members. Social deviance was regarded as manifestation of emotional pathology and, therefore, its remedy could only occur within the security of the uniquely intimate therapeutic relationship. The creators of Highfields, however, were utilizing a more recent trend in the body of data developing out of the study of delinquent behavior. The premise that much of delinquency is basically a group phenomenon had attracted increasing attention by various observers ranging from Breckenridge and Abbott² to Aichhorn³ and Redl⁴ and to Cloward and Ohlin.⁵ The impact of the peer group upon each of its members has been noted to be considerable. Delinquent subcultures can be viewed as a social system containing within its environs a host of meaningful norms, attitudes, and values.

In 1961, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, the Department of Correction and Parole in the State of New Jersey, established a group rehabilitation center in the heart of Newark, New Jersey. This program, as was Highfields, was designed to rehabilitate sixteen- and seventeen-year-old delinquent boys referred by the local juvenile court. However, unlike Highfields, the Essexfields boys lived at home and attended the program during the day and evening. The non-residential character of Essexfields was a significant variation on the Highfields theme and created a situation where the boys' participation in the program was intertwined with their normal involvement in the community. This enabled the process of testing out of new behavior to occur in a real life environment.

"Essexfields is basically a self-contained social system with its own subculture. Norms, traditions, language, and conceptions of deviancy have developed which are indigenous to the system... Intrinsic to the new norms built into the Essexfields experience is an emphasis upon a freedom of choice. Delinquents, not unlike other adolescents, present a pattern of rigidity of behavior. Alternative forms of reacting to life situations are rarely considered by the delinquent adolescent. Consequently, the effort at Essexfields is to create a social system which, through the utilization of group pressures, results in a greater freedom of behavioral choices."⁶

Guided group interaction is a form of group treatment which utilizes the very dynamics and strengths of the peer group for the purpose of behavior norms, values, and attitudes. Since the delinquent adolescent peer group exerts an enormous pressure upon its members to commit acts of deviancy, it is regarded by the authors as having a similar potential for the creation of equally effective pressures upon its members not only to commit pro social acts, but to explore the elements to individual change. The peer group is viewed then as a given human resource with potential energy to be tapped. The therapeutic task is to build into the interaction patterns of the group, new norms, values, and attitudes which are directed to the exploration of alternative ways of viewing the world and of behavior. In order to achieve these goals, it is vital that the group be regarded as being the most significant aspect of the

therapeutic experience. Encouragement must be given to the members of the group to have an impact upon each other. All efforts by the therapist should be directed at increasing this impact and not on increasing the significance of his relationship with the members of the group.

The following excerpt from a group meeting at the Essexfields Group Rehabilitation Center highlights this point:

"Jim began to tell why he thought he was helped and he ran into trouble immediately. In fact, the meeting tonight was extremely probing and each time Jim gave a reason for his behavior, someone asked him another question, demanding that he explain why. At times Jim took the boys around in circles--obviously because he didn't know the answer. For example, on one occasion he told the meeting that the reason why he used to get into trouble was because he wanted to be a big man in his neighborhood--a top hood. He wanted to do this because he always likes to feel right about everything. However, Jim was unable to explain why he likes to have this feeling and he seemed quite perplexed. As the meeting wore on, Jim became more and more dejected. On one occasion he explained that he wanted the respect of the adults in his neighborhood and this is why he wanted to be helped. However, under constant questioning by the boys, he was unable to explain why this respect was so important to him. Finally he was accused by Robert and Stan of lying."

The above illustrates the involvement of each of the members of the group in helping process. The focus is on the interaction amongst the boys and not upon the adult as the helping person. The group leader hardly said anything throughout the entire meeting.

The above goals are achieved at Essexfields through a program design which combines a basic work experience with daily guided group interaction sessions.

In 1965, the Essexfields concept was expanded as an effective treatment agent in the Collegefields Group Educational Center, located at Newark State College in Union,

New Jersey, through a grant from the Office of Juvenile Delinquency, Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Collegefields is a non-residential treatment center for fourteen- and fifteen-year-old boys. As in the case of the Essexfields program, Collegefields provides a daily experience in guided group interaction. However, instead of the work experience, the Collegefields boys experience an intensive educational program which is designed to assist potential school drop-outs in developing sufficient skills and motivations to want to remain in school after release from the Collegefields program. Consequently, through Collegefields, an attempt is being made to cope with educational limitations as well as delinquent patterns.

In this program, the guided group interaction phase is combined with a special educational curriculum and a social work program directed toward helping the families of the boys in the program. Boys admitted to the program must be currently enrolled in the Newark Public School System and must be residents of Newark at the time of referral. The behavior pattern of these boys consists of a combination of school difficulties and antisocial behavior either in the school or in the community. Excluded from the program are boys who have previously been committed to a correctional institution, as well as boys with histories of psychotic or severe neurotic difficulties.

Collegefields boys participate in daily guided group interaction sessions, and receive individualized remedial academic instruction as well as supportive guidance and counselling. The Collegefields staff includes a guidance counselor from the Newark Schools who maintains a close working relationship with the program and with the school system in order to help each boy and his respective school prepare for the boy's return and continuance in school.

The objectives of the Collegefields program are to:

1. Re-orient the participant's attitudes and conduct in a positive, constructive, and law-abiding direction.
2. Motivate the participants, who are potential school drop-outs, to either continue their education beyond the age of 16 or to make an adequate vocational adjustment.

3. Provide assistance in gaining those educational skills and attitudes necessary for completion of academic and/or vocational program.
4. Encourage the integration of community services with university and educational programs in accomplishing the above aims.

Collegefields boys come to the program ranging in school placement (but usually not in achievement) from sixth through tenth grade. Standardized testing is done within the first week of admission to the program, and is followed up immediately after release. During a stay in the program of from four to seven months, boys may advance in achievement by as much as three academic years.

One of the major challenges of the Collegefields program has been to integrate the guided group interaction meetings with the classroom experience. This challenge has been well met. Nowhere is this integration more noticeable than in the classroom where the teachers who originally felt themselves to be responsible for classroom discipline and motivation now utilize the tremendous resources of the peer group and are consequently able to devote all of their time to teaching.

Rather than risking an unnecessary battle with the boys and consequently losing the educational atmosphere of the classroom, the teachers employ the resources of the peer group to bring each boy's needs to his awareness and to motivate him to solve his problem.

Highfields, Essexfields, and Collegefields are described here not only because they have in common certain basic techniques and philosophy, but more importantly, the human products of these three programs are united in a common subcultural bond. The boys who experienced the first Highfields interaction sessions became the first culture carriers of a new non-delinquent sub-group. Highfields boys in 1961 were used to "seed" the Essexfields program. In 1965, Essexfields graduates assisted in "seeding" the Collegefields program. In fact, a number of youth programs were initiated

with the assistance of Essexfields and Collegefields boys, thereby perpetuating a unique subcultural system or norms and values throughout a variety of social agencies and institutions. The Job Corps Center at Camp Kilmer in Edison, New Jersey; the New York State START programs, and various school systems in the New York-New Jersey area have all looked toward the Essexfields graduates for a point of view, and for traditions, so that they, too, might develop viable and effective youth programs.

The nature of cultural transmission has been the subject of many sociological treatises-but rarely has there been an opportunity to observe cultural transmission and cultural change of so many generations of youth as is the case of the range stretching from Highfields through Collegefields. Given an average stay of approximately four months for each generation, there have been about forty-eight generations of youth graduating from these programs. The early traditions of a boy's wish to help another boy, and the significance of the group as a vehicle of change, are still maintained at Collegefields. Such behavioral norms as expressing your own feelings, going deep into your own problems, and trying to change yourself and your community, have made their presence felt for the past sixteen years through these three delinquent projects. At the date of this writing, over 1,000 boys in the New Jersey area consider themselves to be alumni of these three projects. Interestingly, culture transmission is not without its variations and change. The jargon has not remained the same, nor have the specific interests of the boys. From time to time a particularly insightful delinquent will creatively infuse the interaction process with a new concept of how one can be helped, or how to make the program more effective. Essentially, a tradition has existed lasting more than a decade and a half, and is stronger today than ever before. This tradition is flexible and creative and somehow seems to remain with the graduates of Highfields, Essexfields and Collegefields. The oldest alumni are now thirty-four years old, while the youngest was released yesterday. He is 14½. Despite the disparity of age, and despite the impact of the intervening years, graduates of these programs tend to look back upon their experience as being one of the most significant periods of their lives. In overwhelming numbers, they return periodically for visits--usually to tell about a new job or to

proudly display pictures of their wives and babies. Many are employed and making a social contribution; others are successfully maintaining themselves in branches of the armed services; but regardless of their date of graduation, this unique group of alumni persist in their desire to be of assistance to the programs from which they graduated and to the community in which they reside. For example, a number of Essexfields graduates have become full participants in local civil rights groups, while others are employed as group leaders and community aides in a variety of anti-poverty settings in the New York-New Jersey area.

The experience in these three programs, which totals better than a decade and a half, must certainly speak as a social commentary upon a segment of our society. It has often been said that youth in our culture are irresponsible, inconsistent, and childlike. We have also said that programs must be created not to develop their expanding capabilities and creativity, but rather to contain their wild exuberance and irresponsibility. The nature of adolescence in our American society has been an ever-changing one. It is a cliché to say that adolescence represents that phase in life when the individual is somewhere in between childhood and adulthood, but it is still true. Somehow the individual in transition must bridge this gap without too much self-stress and without disturbing the rest of society. However, as our complex industrial society moves further into the Twentieth Century, the requirements for adulthood become ever so much more difficult. A short fifty years ago, a young male was an adult because he could become employed at the age of sixteen. We have now reached that point when middle-class adolescents are expected not only to obtain a college degree, but even graduate work is required before he has met the criteria for adulthood. The elasticity of the adolescent period of life in our modern society has created a large pool of young people who are trying to find some meaning to their existence while society fearfully avoids providing responsible roles for them to play. Hopefully, we have not come to the point where the most we can hope for is to amuse and entertain these restless youngsters. It might be said that society is producing an adolescent subculture which is transmitting the norms of helplessness, meaninglessness, and irresponsibility.

It is against this tide which the Highfields to Essexfields and Collegefields tradition must be viewed. The past sixteen years have demonstrated that it is entirely possible to create new subcultural group norms which are in direct opposition to the powerful tendencies which have developed in our culture. It is possible to change hopelessness to optimism--ineffectiveness to power. It is perhaps most significant that this phenomenon has occurred not with these youngsters toward whom we all look as our hope for the future, but rather with those youngsters who are in every way viewed as society's rejects. The tradition of self-help, of community concern and social change, has been promulgated by the youth of the ghetto, the youth of the juvenile courts, and the youth of the broken family. For these adolescents, the peer group has been their opportunity structure and it is the peer group which has opened up real and legitimate opportunity channels. Perhaps these uniquely engineered subcultures, located in the State of New Jersey, can provide guidelines for our youth in middle-class suburban ghettos and in the university and college settings. A careful joining together of an understanding of social systems and how they work, a knowledge of adolescents, their needs and problems, and a belief in social change, can indeed make possible the application of the Highfields to Collegefields story to other social environments dealing with youth. New possibilities are opening up for adolescent peer groups to play a significant role in the social and personal growth of its members. The role of the adolescent peer group has been significant in a wide variety of settings ranging from correctional institutions to school systems.

In the absence of allegiance to community and nation, the adolescent has turned to his peer group in his search for meaning, status, and identity. Our efforts in the past have been directed at dealing with individuals, and not the immediate social groups in which they are embedded. Consequently, we have failed to recognize the significance of the peer group as a social system. Frequently this social system co-exists on a hostile battlefield with other systems representing the adult world. What are needed are approaches which work with adolescent peer groups wherever we may find them. Otherwise, we may continue to deal with the individual unrealistically, failing to comprehend the strong pressures placed upon him by the only world he sees as being meaningful--

the world of the peer group.

The large amounts of anti-poverty funds which are now being funneled into our urban centers are having profound effects upon those social agencies and institutions which have traditionally served the adolescent. New dimensions of treatment and adolescent change are being explored and need to be explored further if the growth of our young people is to be encouraged and their integrity enhanced. One such effort has recently been underway.

Scientific Resources Incorporated, a behavioral science group in New Jersey, has put into its employ eight Essexfields graduates, ages 18 and 19. They are not to be office boys or learn a traditional trade. SRI is utilizing these boys as human resources consultants. A human resources consultant is a young man from a disadvantaged area who has participated in an intensive training program such as Highfields, Essexfields, or Collegefields, and who has received additional specialized training by SRI as a consultant to various anti-poverty agencies, school systems, and social agencies. The wish to help others, and the ability to perceive the meaning of individual and social change, coupled with life experience in the ghetto, qualify a young man in New Jersey to become a human resources consultant. These culture carriers have considerable knowledge and insight into their neighborhood and its traditions. They communicate easily with others, largely because of their experience in verbalizing feelings within the guided group interaction meetings. They are able to talk the language of the poor and know the problems of the disadvantaged and powerless. Unlike the typical youth in urban slums, Highfields, Essexfields, and Collegefields graduates are able to look to the future with hope and pride. In addition, they feel a degree of control over their own lives and insist on a voice in decisions made about them. Presently, these human resources consultants are being prepared for jobs in the area of human services, somewhat along the lines suggested by Frank Riessman and Arthur Perle in the book entitled "New Careers for the Poor." The eight Essexfields graduates and future trainees are being trained to serve as:

- consultants to various professional and sub-professional groups such as: educators, social workers, psychologists, police, etc. It is contemplated that teachers' colleges, schools of social work, etc., might well employ such young people to serve as training consultants in pre-service educational programs.
- lecturers and participants with other human resources consultants in panel presentations designed to educate teachers and prospective teachers, parent-teacher associations, community and church groups, civic organizations, etc., to the problems of poverty groups, the need for the elimination of poverty, and the possible approaches to the solution of poverty problems.
- consultants with OEO staffs regarding proposed programs and implementation problems.
- educational tutors of disadvantaged youths.
- initiators of guided group interaction groups in school systems, job corps centers, etc.
- community organizers and community aides.
- neighborhood coordinators with housing and renewal projects.
- aides in conducting health programs.
- surveyors of neighborhoods for welfare agencies.
- aides in the administration of tests for disadvantaged youths.
- nursing aides.
- teacher aides.

It is important to note that the training of these young consultants is geared toward the creation, not of a

temporary and interesting job, but rather of a life-long career. However, for these youths to work successfully as human resources consultants, they have had to achieve certain personal, social, and academic skills. For example, it is important that they perceive the dynamics of human interaction situations and understand the meaning of individual and group behavior. Many are learning the skills needed to run a meeting or conduct an interview. Their experiences in the Highfields to Collegefields traditions have prepared them for preventing their own feelings from getting in their way in dealing with others and provided them with the rudiments of a professional approach to their work. Academic skills such as reading, writing, speaking, and mathematics have been incorporated in their training program so that the basic interpersonal skills they have obtained can be utilized for success experiences. The trainees continue to meet together so that they may explore and evaluate their progress. The peer group, therefore, continues to exert its influence as a growth force upon the lives of Essexfields graduates.

It is clear that the human resources concept is within the new tradition of the poor having a voice in the decisions which will determine the course of their lives. It is also clear that this tradition began in New Jersey not with the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, but rather with the statute which established the reality of Highfields. The utilization of the peer group as a source of change, allows for responsible and creative decision-making to occur and invariably results in the preservation of adolescent integrity.

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Appendix E

TEXT OF SOCIAL WORKERS' FINAL REPORT TO PROJECT DIRECTOR
THE PARTICIPATION OF THE FAMILY SERVICE BUREAU
IN THE COLLEGEFIELDS PROJECT

On February 17, 1965, the Family Service Bureau began its first experience in cooperation with other disciplines to achieve a common goal, namely to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents.

Dr. Saul Pilnick called the entire staff of Collegefields together to orient us into the philosophy of the new program and to help us define our various roles within the project.

At this meeting Dr. Pilnick made the following observations that Collegefields and its predecessors in New Jersey, Essexfields and Highfields, all have been based on the idea that, if the delinquent is going to be helped, it is not going to be by a professional person but by his peer group, especially since most delinquency takes place in a group setting.

Since the program's origin, 16 years ago, the peer group has become increasingly important. A key to the success of the peer group has been the sense of power which the boys develop. With this goes self-respect and pride. These represent changed attitudes and contribute to the boys' rehabilitation. The boys themselves are encouraged to take responsibility and participate in making decisions about one another.

The 14- and 15-year-old boys in Collegefields will be expected to develop their own values and goals, and effect changes in behavior. The Essexfield experience indicated boys do develop responsibility, and those who do get out of hand are controlled by loss of status within the peer group.

In the beginning, two Essexfields boys will assist the

Guided Group Interaction Specialist in the orientation of the Collegefields boys into the method. This is in accordance with the plan that the adult at the very onset not impose limits and directions, as the boys will develop the program more quickly if allowed to set their own pace.

The teaching staff will experiment with methods to motivate these boys to want to continue in school. They will develop methods and techniques appropriate to the needs of each individual boy. This will amount to almost a tutorial system, since the educational needs of each boy will probably be very different. The object will be to give the boys a successful experience at the level where they can achieve success, and then encourage them to continue as they are able. The object is to improve their reading skills and mathematical abilities, so they will fit into a normal grade placement when they are returned to public school.

Social Workers are to become acquainted with the families of the boys, since it is recognized that many delinquents come from multi-problem homes. Family Service Bureau is to identify these problems and offer whatever help is appropriate, such as individual counseling with disturbed parents, or referral to other health and welfare agencies. While at the present time Family Service Bureau is to rely upon the peer group interaction to effect direct changes within the boys, it is recognized that many of these families will need ongoing casework help at the close of the Collegefields program. The Family Service Bureau, as an ongoing community social agency, can provide this service.

The research team is in the process of refining their research design, and all staff will be asked to cooperate with them as required.

Boys who do not conform to group sanctions and expectations will be recommended by the group for return to Juvenile Court for other disposition of their case. This is not to be used as a threat by adults but be a means of controlling behavior by the boys themselves.

Following this first explanatory meeting with all of the staff and Dr. Pilnick, other smaller meetings were held with teachers and researchers trying to work out the details of our functioning.

It was decided that Family Service Bureau would begin its relationships with the parents at the onset of the boys' entrance into the program. Family Service Bureau would interview the mothers for research purposes as the boys were receiving their tests at Juvenile Court. In this way, Family Service Bureau would be immediately identified with Collegefields by the families; and while our first interview would necessarily be structured, Family Service Bureau felt it could pave the way for future casework help. Family Service Bureau also agreed to make at least one home visit on each boy entering the program, for research purposes, to be continued as caseworkers in whatever way was required.

The researchers asked Family Service Bureau to use a modified Glueck scale (predicting juvenile delinquency) and a modified Geiss and Ayres Family Life Scale. They asked Family Service Bureau to score, on a one to five scale, the factors of Supervision, Discipline, and Cohesiveness of Family. Family Service Bureau verified its scoring by cross checking each other's records and found that by using a culturally oriented approach there was general agreement. Family Service Bureau continued its scoring by a narrative justifying its scores of each factor.

In September of 1965 testing of boys and interviews with the mothers was changed from the Juvenile Court to the offices of The Family Service Bureau. This change was of positive value in every way. The atmosphere was less threatening, both boys and mothers were more relaxed and responded to the test questions and the interview much more freely. The six months' follow-up retesting also took place at the Family Service Bureau and is still continuing even though the Collegefields Project is no longer active. An additional value to this change of venue, and in line with the participation of the Family Service Bureau as described in the Proposal, has been to make the agency known as a resource for help to the boys and their families after the close of Collegefields.

As Family Service Bureau became involved with the parents, it found many problems existing in the families as it had expected. These ranged from employment difficulties, need for financial assistance, health problems, to mental illness and retardation. In every case Family Service Bureau offered whatever service it could and made referrals to other community agencies. As an illustration: One mother, her son and daughter were trying to live on a \$75.00 a month government pension the daughter received as the result of the death of her father in Korea. The mother thought they were ineligible for supplementary help because her daughter was receiving the pension. The boy was at Collegefields because he had stolen clothing. Needless to say, the financial problem compounded by ignorance and unsophistication with New Jersey resources could have been a main factor in the boy's delinquency. Certainly the situation was eased when help was added.

By and large, we found most parents very interested in the program. They often did not quite understand the rationale behind some of the aspects of the program and were sometimes quite critical of such things as "checking". Several objected to the use of street language in the group sessions. Sometimes we found boys exaggerating to their parents in an effort to get their parents to support their desire to leave the program.

A good many boys had pretty rough going at first in the program. They were unwilling and reluctant to look at themselves squarely and resented the other boys' opinions. When their parents accepted their stories and backed them up, it seemed to give a sort of quasi-acceptance to the boys for being truant from the program.

As social workers, our job with these boys and their families was to interpret the program to the parents and to try to win parental cooperation in keeping the boy in the program. Family Service Bureau had many conferences with the GGI specialist, developing our own understanding of the program, so that we could present it logically to the parents. When it was necessary to return a boy to court, we were in a position to advise the judge of the Juvenile Court as to the boy's home environment, the

family attitudes and feelings, and our own and Collegetields' efforts to correct the situation before returning the boy to court. The court found this helpful in making its decision and asked us to submit such a report regularly with every boy returned.

Family Service Bureau arranged its first Parents' Night at Collegetields in September of 1965. Parents were given an opportunity to see the actual Collegetields building on the Newark College State campus. This was for many the first visit they had ever made to a college campus, and for many the reality of their boys' attendance in a college setting gave them a sense of pride.

The parents enjoyed the opportunity to talk to each other, to compare experiences, to meet with and talk to the teachers and the GGI specialist. They asked many questions about the program and gained reassurance and respect for the program as their understanding of its goals became clear to them.

In December of the same year, we were able to plan a Christmas party for the boys and their parents, again at Collegetields. This was financed by the "Frontier's Club," a group of Negro business and professional men who were interested in the program. This was a great success. Everyone had a great time and enjoyed the singing and refreshments that followed. There was much interaction between the parents and staff and between the parents themselves. New mothers found encouragement from mothers of boys who were becoming successful in the program.

From these Open House nights Family Service Bureau began to think in terms of holding weekly group meetings for parents at the Family Service Bureau office. Mr. Kilduff, the Executive Director of the Family Service Bureau, wrote Dr. Pilnick, Collegetields Project Director, about this and Family Service was advised that he would make provision for this in the second phase of the program beginning in March 1966.

The social workers' participation, starting in January of 1966, can be summed up as follows:

1. Family Service Bureau interviewed the parent of each new boy coming in to the program, making at least one home visit on each boy.
2. Family Service Bureau administered a structured questionnaire to parents of boys called up for routine six months follow-up. This for both control and experimental groups.
3. Family Service Bureau gave ongoing case-work service to families with multiple problems, whether or not they affected the boy's adjustment at Collegefields.
4. Family Service Bureau followed up with the parents of boys having trouble adjusting to the program. Family Service Bureau was concerned with the parents' attitude, and whether they were creating or causing any of his difficulty.
5. Family Service Bureau held regular weekly conferences with others on the Collegefields staff about the individual boy's adjustment to the program and included the significance, if any, Family Service Bureau found between the boy's attitude at Collegefields and his home life.
6. Family Service Bureau submitted reports to the Juvenile Court on all of the boys being returned to court, and often took part in prehearing planning for the boy.
7. Family Service Bureau arranged to extend its service by providing time and place for weekly group meetings of the parents at the Family Service Bureau office.

The first meeting of the Collegefields parents was held at the Family Service Bureau on April 21, 1966. It

met for a total of sixteen sessions. Attendance averaged five or six, both mothers and fathers, and several times a brother or sister came. Discussion was lively. Parents of new boys had many questions to ask of the parents of older boys in the program. They were able to share their experiences and supported each other's feelings about their son's delinquency. Some had specific questions! They wanted to know the meaning of their son's new vocabulary, including such words as "impressions" and "hours". They asked for help in learning how to deal effectively with discipline problems, what kind of discipline is appropriate for the age group. From this they branched off into discussion of what is a good home, and what is a good mother. Aside from answering a few specific questions we allowed the group to function alone. They came prepared to ask questions of each other and were able to learn from each other. In fact, another way of describing the group might be to say that we permitted the peer group to set its own goals and take responsibility for its own development. It might be called the "parents' guided group interaction" meeting.

These meetings were highly successful. Family Service Bureau began to feel the difference in attitude with every home visit. The boys were really being supported by their families in their activity in the program. The parents felt Collegefields was on their side, and they were working with Collegefields to help their sons. The parents' meetings were reinforcing to the parents' self-esteem. Family Service Bureau social workers could actually see parents gained ego strength as their opinions were heard and respected by others, and Family Service Bureau felt these gains would be transposed to family life.

Reports of these meetings were submitted weekly to Collegefields. The staff found them informative and valuable in understanding the boys.

Near the end of the Collegefields program, the parents suggested submitting a petition to the Acting Superintendent of Newark Schools requesting the Newark Schools to continue the program. Many felt their boys had made immense gains in self-understanding, maturity and the acceptance of responsibility. They asked that any new program incorporate

plans for a parents group meeting right from the start. Several mothers of "helped boys" felt so strongly about the need for a continuation of Collegefields that they secured about 75 names on a petition which they personally submitted to the Acting Superintendent of Schools. They said they thought other youngsters should have the help that had been made available through Collegefields to their sons. There was generally very sincere regret that the Collegefields program was ending.

In conclusion, Family Service Bureau would like to say that the participation of the Family Service Bureau in the Collegefields program has added to its professional growth. Family Service Bureau has learned to work cooperatively with other disciplines, while experiencing the roughness of the beginning, and the effort it takes to define and interpret various roles and responsibilities. Yet, a smoothness of operation does develop as all learn to work together for a common goal. Family Service Bureau adds to the parents' regret at the ending of Collegefields, its own.

APPENDIX F

SCORING GUIDES AND SAMPLE TESTS

Scoring Guide for Variable - Reality of Vocational Choice

The Scoring for Reality of Vocational Choice is based on selected items from three of the tests in the series; Youth Opinion Survey C, Allen Incomplete Sentences Test, and Otis Test of Mental Ability. Five separate judgments are made by the rater. Each judgment results in a score of 3, 2 or 1, with 3 classified as most reality oriented. The five judgments are arbitrarily summed to get the final "reality" score.

Judgment I Item 6 on the Youth Opinion Survey, Vocational Choice, is compared with the boy's Pretest Otis I.Q. If the vocation is reasonably for one with the earned I.Q. then the high score of 3 is given.

e.g. Otis I.Q. 86, Vocational choice,

Truck driver - Score 3

Lawyer - Score 1

Printer - Score 2

Judgment II Youth Opinion Survey item 3; Education Expected; vocational school, college, academic program, etc. The vocational choice in Item 6 is matched with expected education in Item 3 to answer the question, "Does the boy know the education required for choice he has made on Item 6?"

- e.g. Vocational choice is Lawyer, Education expectation, work-study program--Score 1 (Lack of information)
- e.g. Vocational choice is Lawyer (disregard boys I.Q. level), education expected is College, then Score is 3. (Information reasonably adequate). The assumption here is that 15-year-old boys may lack self-knowledge but have a clear grasp of some vocational-preparation facts in modern world. With knowledge of the world the boy is in a position to learn more about who he is and what he can do in the world of work.
- e.g. Vocational Choice is Mechanic; education expected is college, Score - 1. This combination is unlikely and so it is scored as unrealistic.

Judgment III

From selected "Achievement Motive" items from the Allen Incomplete Sentences Test the evidence is obtained to answer the question, "Does the boy seem to recognize the need for effort, accomplishment, own responsibility, and high standards?"

- e.g. The way to get something you want is to _____.
- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|
| Boy's completion -- "steal it" | Score 1, |
| "work for it" | " 3, |

"ask for it"	Score 1,
"buy it"	" 2,
"earn it"	" 3,

Final judgment is not made until the 10 items of achievement motive scoring have been evaluated.

Judgment IV

Does the boy list more than one occupation in the space provided on Youth Opinion Survey, Item 5. The assumption is that at age 15, boys should be able to name alternate possibilities if they have been considering jobs at all. Vocational consideration at age 15 is assumed to be a real task of adolescents. If the boy mentions only Lawyer then Score is 1 because no alternates are provided. If he lists Lawyer and Big League Baseball Player he receives a score of 3. The fantasy level of choice is disregarded since evidence of awareness of alternatives and exploration is the real task of the 15-year-old boy.

Judgment V

Any evidence of rejection of a fantasy choice in any of the items of the Youth Opinion Survey or a completely consistent series of answers with regard to a given vocation which is a reasonable possibility for him.

e.g. Boy chooses "Foot ball Player" as vocational choice. At the very end in Item 8 "The type of work I will probably be doing when I am 30 years old is "Truck Driver, Score 3." Consistent reply of "Doctor" for boy with Otis I.Q. 80 - Score 1. If Otis I.Q. in this case is 110-Score becomes 2, evaluated as doubtful. Boy reports he wants to be a Printer but adds he will probably go into Army. This is scored 3 because it shows an expectation of having to adjust and adapt in vocational plans--even if, presumably, he might later continue in a "printing vocation."

Final score is the sum of the rating for the separate judgments. Thus a rare score of 15 would be the maximum obtainable reality score. Score of 5 would be lowest score, the fantasy score.

Initial Test Listing

Name _____ Case No. _____

Group Administered

1. Allen Sentence Completion
 2. Otis (Em)
 3. Gates Survey - Reading Form II
- (Break - refreshments)
(Return to Allen if not finished)
4. Darmstadt Adjective Check List of Teachers
 5. Adjective Check List for Self (Youtz Revision)
 6. Draw-A-Person Test
 7. Youth Opinion Survey C - Youth Form
- Others discontinued

Individually Administered Tests

8. Mach
9. Wisc
10. Barndt-Johnson Time Orientation Story

Other Information

Teachers Behavior Check on Boy
Bureau of Attendance Report
Child Guidance Report

Collegefields:

Engle Self - Concept (100 items)
Durrell Diagnostic Reading Test

Parent Tests and Interviews

Adjective Check List - Parent on Boy
Youth Opinion Survey - Parent Form
Inventory of Attitudes in Family Life and Children
Parent Interview

Retest - Six Months - Listing

Name _____ Case No. _____

Retest Program for Collegefields Evaluation-Six months Follow-up**Group Administered**

1. Allen Sentence Completion
2. Otis (B-FM)
3. Gates Survey - Reading Form I

(Break - refreshments)
(Return to Allen if not finished)

4. Darmstadt Adjective Check List of Teachers
5. Adjective Check List for Self (Youtz Revision)
6. Draw-A-Person Test
7. Youth Opinion Survey C - Youth Form

Individually Administered

8. Mach Test
9. WISC Short Form
10. Barndt-Johnson Time Orientation Story

Parent Tests and Information

Adjective Check List - Parent on Boy
Youth Opinion Survey - Parent Form
Parent Interview

Boy's Individual Interview

ALLEN INCOMPLETE SENTENCE BLANK

1. Complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.
2. Your answers are completely confidential. They will be seen by no one except the social scientists who are conducting the research. No one here at the court or of the school will ever see your answers.
3. There are no right or wrong answers; we are only interested in your opinions.
4. If you need any help in filling out the blank just raise your hand and you will get help.

1. I am _____.
2. Most boys _____.
3. If only teachers _____.
4. My problems with the law are _____.
5. A good way to get something you want is _____.
6. Work is _____.
7. Trusting people _____.
8. My future _____.
9. My teachers think that I _____.
10. School for me is _____.
11. One thing about me is _____.
12. When I get in trouble _____.
13. The world is _____.
14. I regret _____.
15. Most people think that I _____.
16. A good job is _____.
17. Most people _____.

18. My friends think that I _____.
19. Finishing high school for me is _____.
20. When I face a new problem _____.
21. The most important thing is _____.
22. Most girls _____.
23. When things don't go my way _____.
24. Helping other people _____.
25. My parents think that I _____.
26. I look forward to _____.
27. Most teachers _____.
28. The worst thing a person can do _____.
29. I got into difficulties with the law because _____
_____.
30. Working hard is _____.
31. My friends _____.
32. My greatest problem is _____.
33. My brothers and sisters _____.
34. When I get discouraged _____.
35. Most adults _____.
36. When I get angry _____.
37. My family _____.
38. Reading for me is _____.
39. My father _____.
40. My mother _____.

ALLEN INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

Scoring for Positive and Negative Self-Concept

I Purpose: Many low socio-economic boys seem to have low self concepts--and a sense of powerlessness. In contrast early adolescent boys often have a fantasy of power and importance. In either case, the self concept may be an indicator showing potential change under a rehabilitation program.

II Scoring: Each completed sentence may be scored

+ for positive self-concept

e.g. I am a good and normal boy.

e.g. I am a man among men.

e.g. When I face a new problem I try to work it out.

e.g. When I face a new problem I settle it.

e.g. One thing about me is I like work.

e.g. My friends think that I am crazy.

e.g. My friends think that I am not for real.

0 for neutral or contradictory meaning.

e.g. My parents think that I'm crazy.

e.g. My parents think that I'm trying to have my way.

e.g. One thing about me is that I don't like to fight.

e.g. I am a boy.

- for negative self concept.

e.g. My parents think that I play around in school.

e.g. Most girls say that I'm selfish.

e.g. My teachers think that I am ignorant.

e.g. When I face a new problem I do not know what to do.

Additional Directives for Scoring Vocational responses

If it represents an occupation which is probably related to demonstrative competence or prestige then score +. If it represents an occupation at lower levels of Socio-economic status or non prestige occupations with boys, then score 0. If a modifier such as good carpenter is included then score +.

Statement e.g. I don't like to be pressed. Focuses on negative aspect in which he has to struggle for self status. Therefore, likely to imply low self concept. Score -

Statement of stereotype comment literally as +
 e.g. My friends think I am all right or O.K. +
 e.g. My parents think I am nice. +

When Statement can't be deciphered - 0

If statement is from "hep" language then must be scored according to the group being considered.

e.g. My friends think I'm crazy - +
 e.g. My parents think I'm crazy - 0
 e.g. Most people think I'm crazy - 0 or +?

When doubt is expressed after a positive statement scores as negating prior positive.

One thing about me is I can do the school work - I hope. Score 0

III Those sentences which produce the largest number of positive self concept completions are:

1, 8, 9, 11, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25.

Those sentences producing the largest numbers of negative self concepts are:

1, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 25.

Therefore the positive and negative self concepts are scored on separate sheets.

It may be possible to correlate the negative and positive self concepts as scored on separate sheets to see if they are measuring essentially the same thing.

ALLEN INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

Scoring for Reference to School and Teachers

- I. If the Collegefields Program has given the experimental group a new view of the personal concern of staff for the progress and ability of boys, then the Allen Sentence Completion responses should show a change in favor of school and teachers. Again there is the problem of the constricted, stereotyped response, such as, "O.K.," "good" that calls for a screening out of these completions which are difficult to interpret.
- II. Each completed statement will be classified as falling into one of the following categories:

+ Free or original positive.

0 Constricted or stereotyped response.

Usually favorable or factual with one to three words or equivalent meaning.

- Free or original negative.

Examples:

+ Reading for me is easy.

+ The most important thing is to finish school.

+ My teachers think that I intelligent.

0 Most teachers is all right with me.

0 School for me is fair.

0 Finishing school for me is not too bad.

- If only teachers would talk things over with you.

- My teachers think that I am stupid.

- If only teachers would really explain the work their giving.

- Reading for me is hard.

III. Items to be scored:

#3, 9, 10, 21, 27, 38

ALLEN INCOMPLETE SENTENCES

Scoring for Achievement Motive

Purpose: According to McClelland's¹ findings the person with high achievement motive places high value on effective work, superior accomplishment, deferred gratifications, and low risk taking. Neither adolescents, delinquents, nor low socio-economic groups are characterized by these traits. Hence, if the Collegefields experimental group shows an increase in achievement motive they will be tending toward a pattern of upward mobility, maturity, and effective citizenship.

Scoring: Criteria of scoring achievement motive:

+ or 0

- + any mention of work, accomplishment, persistence in work.
- + or task well done, e.g., A good way to get something you want is work for it.
- + My future I want to have a good job to do.
- + One thing about me is I like to work.
- + Any mention of success through effort.
- + Perseverance toward a goal.
- + Outstanding accomplishment through personal effort and deliberate plan.
- + e.g., A good job is one you can hold and understand the work.
- + The most important thing in my life is my career.
- + A good job is very nice to have because you can make more money.
- + A good job is a good thing to hold on to. (persistence)
- + A good job is working in an office. (upward mobility for these boys.
- + A good job is something you earn. (striving)
- + A good job is good experience. (accomplishment)
- + When I get discouraged try to get it over with

¹ McClelland 1953, Atkinson 1958

- + When I get discouraged I face it like a man.
- + The most important thing is that I get through school.
- + My future is I want to be a carpenter. (Voluntary expression of vocational choice so specific that it represents clear, or upward mobility.)
- + I look forward to being a great person in life. (distinction even if fantasied)
- + When I face a new problem I think first. (thought before achievement)

- 0 Work is all right. (Stereotyped answer)
- 0 My future I want to be rich.
- 0 One thing about me is I like nice clothes.
- 0 A good way to get what you want is to ask for it.
- 0 When things don't go my way that's the brakes
- 0 Working hard is a tiresome feeling for me.
- 0 A good job is good money. (simple description)
- 0 A good job is something I'd like to have.
- 0 A good job is working with brick masons. (affiliation)
- 0 A good way to get what you want is to buy it.
- 0 Work is something everyone should do.
- 0 Working hard is not difficult. (striving not necessary)
- 0 My future I want to be a father and have a job.
- 0 The most important thing is my future.
- 0 When I face a new problem I think. (no evidence of solution)

Items scored:

#5, 6, 8, 11, 16, 20, 21, 26, 30, 34

ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST - TEACHERS (DARMSTADT REVISION)

Directions:

Place a check after the words which you feel describe teachers.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------|-------|-----------------|
| F- 1. | Friendly | U-24. | Plays favorites |
| N- 2. | Cool | N-25. | Rich |
| U- 3. | Mean | F-26. | Helpful |
| U- 4. | Crabby | F-27. | Cooperative |
| F- 5. | Nice | F-28. | Understanding |
| F- 6. | Happy | U-29. | On the warpath |
| U- 7. | Selfish | N-30. | Big |
| F- 8. | Unselfish | F-31. | Sincere |
| N- 9. | Silly | N-32. | Poor |
| N-10. | Smooth | U-33. | Stupid |
| N-11. | Rough | F-34. | Kind |
| F-12. | Hard Working | F-35. | Generous |
| U-13. | Stubborn | F-36. | O.K. |
| U-14. | Useless | U-37. | Unfair |
| N-15. | Busy | U-38. | Hard-headed |
| U-16. | Lazy | U-39. | Suspicious |
| N-17. | Business-like | N-40. | Square |
| F-18. | Needed | U-41. | Prejudiced |
| N-19. | Old | F-42. | Tolerant |
| F-20. | Honest | F-43. | Calm |
| N-21. | Young | U-44. | Cold |
| U-22. | Angry | N-45. | Good-looking |
| U-23. | Nagging | N-46. | Tall |

Scored Favorable (F), Unfavorable (U), Neutral (N)-% of Total checked.

ADJECTIVE CHECK LIST - SELF (YOUTZ REVISION)

Directions: Read through this list of words or phrases and place a check mark after those which describe yourself.

- | | |
|--|--|
| U- 1. Feelings easily hurt | F-26. Sociable (likes to get along with others) |
| U- 2. Nervous | N-27. Takes chances |
| F- 3. Interested in a lot of things | U-28. Hard-headed |
| U- 4. Jealous | N-29. Excitable |
| U- 5. Worried | F-30. Calm (cool) |
| F- 6. Unselfish | F-31. Hard-working |
| F- 7. Responsible | N-32. Free-spending |
| U- 8. Carries a chip | U-33. Sometimes day-dreams |
| U- 9. Clumsy | F-34. Steady (not easily influenced) |
| F-10. Friendly | U-35. Destructive physically (breaks things) |
| F-11. Active | F-36. Considerate (gives others the same break) |
| F-12. Understanding | F-37. Self-controlled (stops getting mad) |
| U-13. Feels sorry for self | U-38. Talkative (runs off at the mouth) |
| F-14. Truthful | F-39. Independent (do for yourself) |
| U-15. Easily influenced | U-40. Loses temper easily |
| N-16. Feels cooler than others | U-41. Acts like having no feelings |
| N-17. Thinks others are kind and honest | F-42. Hopeful (looks for something good to happen) |
| F-18. Interested in sex | U-43. Puzzled (mixed up) |
| N-19. Shy | F-44. Likes peace and quiet |
| F-20. Accepting of self (likes self) | U-45. Give up on yourself (quits easily) |
| F-21. Mature | U-46. Impatient (can't put up with things) |
| F-22. Other people can trust you | U-47. Grouchy |
| F-23. Ambitious (wants to get somewhere) | N-48. Sorry for others, soft-hearted |
| U-24. Feels blue | U-49. Lazy |
| N-25. Sure of self | U-50. Untrustworthy (sneaky, dishonest) |

Scored Favorable (F), Unfavorable (U), Neutral (N)-% of Total checked.

YOUTH OPINION SURVEY -C- YOUTH FORM

PLEASE FOLLOW THE DIRECTIONS:

1. Read each item carefully. Answer to the best of your knowledge.
2. Complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.
3. Your answers are completely confidential. They will be seen by no one except the social scientists who are conducting the research. No one here at the court or of the school will ever see your answers.
4. There are no right or wrong answers; we are only interested in your opinions.
5. If you need any help in filling out the blank just raise your hand and you will get help.

- 1.) About how many more years of schooling do you expect to complete as things now stand?

0 years more	()	5 years more	()
1 year more	()	6 years more	()
2 years more	()	7 years more	()
3 years more	()	8 years more	()
4 years more	()	9 or more	()

- 2.) If you could have your unlimited choice and there was nothing to stand in your way, about how many more years of schooling would you like to complete?

0 years more	()	5 years more	()
1 year more	()	6 years more	()
2 years more	()	7 years more	()
3 years more	()	8 years more	()
4 years more	()	9 years more	()

- 3.) In thinking about your future education do you usually think about attending:

A vocational school	()
A work study program	()
A academic program	()
A college	()
Other _____	

4.) If you had your choice as of today would you:

- Quit school
- Work harder
- Stay in school but do just about as much as I have been doing.

5.) The occupation which I have thought about going into is:

- a. _____.
- b. _____.
- c. _____.
- d. _____.

6.) The occupation that I think I will follow is _____.

7.) If I were absolutely free to go into any kind of work I wanted my choice would be _____.

8.) The type of work I would like to be doing when I am 30 years old is _____.

REVISED MACH SCALE

Youth Form

Scored 1-5 or 5-1

Directions: I'm going to read you some sentences. After each sentence I will ask you whether you agree with the sentence or not. Here is a pointer (Special equipment). You can use it to show me whether you strongly agree -- slightly agree, etc. (Demonstrate)

Now here is the first sentence:

1. Never tell anyone the real reason you did something unless it is useful to do so.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

2. The best way to handle people is to tell them what they want to hear.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

3. It is best to assume that everybody has a mean streak in them and it will come out when they are given a chance.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

4. Most people underneath are good and kind.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

5. There is no excuse for lying to someone else.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

6. People who get ahead are those who work hard even if they don't have to.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
---------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	------------------------	------------------------

- 2 -

7. Anyone who completely trusts anyone else is asking for trouble.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

8. The biggest difference between most criminals and other people is that the criminals are unlucky enough to get caught.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

9. Most men are brave.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

10. It is wise to flatter important people.

Strongly Agree 5	Slightly Agree 4	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 2	Strongly Disagree 1
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

11. It is possible to be good in all respects.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

12. A person should take action only when he feels strongly that it is the right thing to do.

Strongly Agree 1	Slightly Agree 2	Neutral No Opinion 3	Slightly Disagree 4	Strongly Disagree 5
------------------	------------------	----------------------	---------------------	---------------------

Responses to items worded in the positive direction are scored from one to five in the order given. Those responses to items worded in the negative direction are scored from one to five in the opposite direction.

BARNDT - JOHNSON TELL-A-STORY TEST

Directions:

"I want to see what kind of a story you can tell. I'll start a story and you finish it. You can make it any kind of story you wish. I'll start it now." -- "About 3:00 o'clock one bright, sunny afternoon in May two boys were walking along a street near the edge of town." -- "Now you start there and finish the story any way you want to."

Write from dictation:

Inquiry: If it is not evident from the story, ask - "How long was this from the start of the story?"

Barndt, Robert J. & D.M. Johnson, "Time Orientations in Delinquents" Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1955, 51, 343 - 345.

SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT INQUIRY

Name _____ Inquiry by _____

School _____ Date of Inquiry _____

This boy is a member of the Collegefields Evaluation Project, and we are interested in his adjustment and progress.

I. Has the school a departmentalized program? Yes No

II. Does he attend Remedial Reading Class? Yes No

Other special reading plan? Joplin? Yes No

Homogeneous Grouping? Yes No

Other? _____

III. Does he participate in a remedial arithmetic program? Yes No

Joplin Plan? Yes No

Homogeneous Grouping? Yes No

Other? _____

IV. Does he have a size-age problem with respect to his class placement:

Yes

No

Uncertain

V. If his present program continues what does he wish to do at age sixteen?

Continue present schooling

Leave school

Get a job

Other? _____

Change to another type of school?

What would he prefer? _____

VI. In your opinion what is the school doing to help him?

- (1) Have a sense of growing competence in school subjects?
- (2) Gain respect for and ability to work with persons in authority?
- (3) Find satisfactions and constructive activities with peers.

VII. Does the Guidance Program provide

- (1) Vocational Guidance
- (2) Someone available to whom he can bring his problems?

Further comments.....

Has he taken advantage of the special services available to him?

- (a) Tutoring
- (b) Remedial
- (c) Counselor
- (d) Social Worker
- (e) Work Study Programs
- (f) Clubs
- (g) Additional

GUIDE TO PREMATURE RELEASE INTERVIEW

Tentative Form

Name _____ Court No. _____

Collegefields No. _____

Hearing Date _____

Date of Release from Collegefields _____

Disposition following release _____

Current status _____

Other information.

Interview:

Date of Interview _____ Place _____

Interviewer _____

Introduction: We want to find what can be done to make Collegefields a better program. You were at Collegefields for a while. I guess that Collegefields didn't work out too well for you.

Can you tell me about that?

Did you like going to Collegefields or not?

If no; then proceed with next sequence.

If yes or maybe, then say that every school has some things wrong, and proceed.

How was Collegefields different from regular school?

What did you like best about Collegefields?

What things made you not want to go to Collegefields?

- 2 -

What do you think should be changed to make Collegefields a better place?

How did members of your family feel about you going to Collegefields? Did you ever talk to them about it?

How did your friends think about you going to Collegefields?

When you think back what could they do to make the boys' meetings better?

Was there anybody in the program who had it in for you?

Do you think of anybody, either staff or one of the boys who is your friend?

What problem did you have that got you busted out of Collegefields?

What problems did the boys think you had?

Do you think you got a fair deal? Tell me about that.

Before you went to Collegefields, would you say that you had some kind of problem that got you in trouble with the law? What happened?

If not own problems, then say, Maybe it was not all your fault, but what problem of yours was part of it?

How is it here at State Home?

What is different here from the Collegefields Program?

If you could start over at Collegefields with what you know now, what would you do to stay?

When do you figure you will be back in Newark on Furlough?

What do you plan to do then?

When do you expect to be released from State Home?

How old will you be?

What do you plan to do then?

If when you left here you could do anything you wanted to do, what would that be?

Would you like to send a message to any of the boys at Collegefields?

What else should I ask you about your opinions?

Interviewer's Comments:

YOUTH OPINION SURVEY -C- PARENT FORM

PLEASE FOLLOW THE DIRECTIONS:

1. Read each item carefully. Answer to the best of your knowledge.
2. Complete these sentences to express your real feelings. Try to do every one. Be sure to make a complete sentence.
3. Your answers are completely confidential. They will be seen by no one except the social scientists who are conducting the research. No one here at the court or of the school will ever see your answers.
4. There are no right or wrong answers; we are only interested in your opinions.
5. If you need any help in filling out the blank just raise your hand and you will get help.

- 1.) About how many more years of schooling do you expect your son to complete as things now stand?

0 years more ()	5 years more ()
1 year more ()	6 years more ()
2 years more ()	7 years more ()
3 years more ()	8 years more ()
4 years more ()	9 or more ()

- 2.) If you could have your unlimited choice and there was nothing to stand in your son's way, about how many more years of schooling would you like your son to complete?

0 years more ()	5 years more ()
1 year more ()	6 years more ()
2 years more ()	7 years more ()
3 years more ()	8 years more ()
4 years more ()	9 or more ()

- 3.) In thinking about your son's future education do you usually think about his attending:

A vocational school	()
A work study program	()
A academic program	()
A college	()
Other _____	()

- 2 -

4.) If you had your choice as of today would you like your son to:

- Quit school
- Work harder
- Stay in school but do just about as much as he has been doing.

5.) The occupations which I have thought about my son going into are:

- a. _____.
- b. _____.
- c. _____.
- d. _____.

6.) The occupation that I think my son will follow is

_____.

7.) If my son were absolutely free to go into any kind of work he wanted my choice would be _____.

8.) The type of work I would like my son to be doing when he is 30 years old is _____.

PARENT INTERVIEW FORM I

Six-Months Follow-Up

Introduction:

Six months have passed since _____ (boy) was here for testing.

We're interested in how things are going now.

1. Who is living at home with you?

2. What are you doing now? Working?

3. What is _____ doing?

School _____
 School and Part time work _____
 Work and Part time school _____
 Work _____
 Nothing _____

(a) If job

Does he give some money to the family?

Yes _____

No _____

(b) How does he use his own money?

car _____
 clothes _____
 amusement _____
 school _____
 other _____

4. How is _____ getting along now?

good _____
 about same _____
 not good _____

He is getting older of course.

5. Would you say there has been a change in him in the last six months?

better _____
 no change _____
 worse _____

(a) If better

What do you feel caused this change?

(b) If worse

What do you feel caused the boy to be worse?

6. What are the others at home doing?

Father _____

Others _____

Mothers care for all their children of course but -

7. Who among the children do you feel closest to?

(Further comments - reassurance if required)

8. How does _____ get along with the others at home?

all right _____
 sometimes bad- _____
 sometimes good _____
 not good _____

9. How does he get along with his brothers and sisters?

good _____
 sometimes good- _____
 sometimes bad _____
 not very good _____

10. Has there been any change in the last six months in the way he gets along with his brothers and sisters?

better _____
 no change _____
 worse _____

Further comments:

In case there are no siblings at home make the inquiry about any other members of family. Specify

(omit 11 and 12 if no Father in home)

11. How does he get along with his Father?

companionable _____
 little contact _____
 bad relationship _____

Further comments:

12. Do you feel there has been any change in the last six months?

better _____
 same _____
 worse _____

Further comments:

If reply refers to step-father then ask

13. Does _____ ever ask about his own father?

yes _____
 no _____
 don't know _____

Further comments: (What does he ask, etc.)

14. What older men were important to _____ in his early years?

15. What kind of an influence did this person have on _____?

good _____
 bad _____
 don't know _____

16. How about recently - Who do you feel has the most influence with _____? (friends, etc.)

Further comments:

17. Has there been any change in the last six months in the friends he goes with?

yes _____
 no _____
 don't know _____

Further comments:

18. Do you feel they (his friends) are a good influence on him or not?

yes _____
 no _____
 don't know _____

Further comments:

Let's think back to last year when he was in trouble just before we met him.

19. Do you feel it was his fault that he was in trouble or was somebody else to blame?

own fault _____
 don't know _____
 others _____

Further details:

20. Does he agree with your about this?

yes _____
 no _____
 don't know _____

Further details:

21. Since we met him six months ago, have any new kinds of problems come up?

Further comments:

22. In what ways have you tried to keep him from getting into more trouble?

Comments:

23. Have you noticed any change in other members of your family because of the things that have happened to _____?
24. What is the one thing you would like to change about _____?
25. What is there that you wouldn't want to change about him?
26. What change in him do you expect might happen in the near future?
27. What are his plans for the future?

Sometimes after boys get into trouble with the law they are (1) given a warning or, (2) put on probation or, (3) sent to someplace like Collegefields or State Home for Boys.

Now _____ was (given warning, placed on probation, or sent to Collegefields)?

28. How do you feel it worked out?

very good _____
 good _____
 not good _____
 don't know _____
 other _____

Further comments:

If sent to Collegefields:

29. What was the best thing about Collegefields?
30. What was the worst thing about Collegefields?
31. How did _____ feel about Collegefields?

If sent to State Home for Boys:

32. What was the best thing about State Home for Boys?
33. What was the worst thing about State Home for Boys?
34. How did _____ feel about State Home for Boys?

Explain further:

35. What do you feel could have been done to help _____?
36. What else would you like to tell us?

Interviewer's Comments: