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City University of New York PH.D. 1980

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by

James Lawrence Thomas

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1980

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

TOKEN ECONOMIES IN AN ADOLESCENT HOME

by

James Lawrence Thomas

Adviser: Professor Harold Wilensky

Two different types of token economies were implemented sequentially in an adolescent home for fifty-two weeks. The first token system was a simple points system whereby residence could receive rewards by completing selected desirable behaviors. The second system was a "Level System." In this system each resident was at one of six different levels, one through five and the "elite" level. Level one was the poorest level of behavior, and level five was the highest level of monitored behavior. An elite was a client who had graduated out of the token system, and all privileges were given free. Though level systems have been noted in the literature comparisons between a level system and a conventional token economy had not been studied in detail.

A time-series analysis revealed significantly improved behaviors between baseline and the points system

in school attendance, rising behavior, bedtime behavior, and curfew violations. Significant differences between the points system and the last phase, the level system, revealed further improvements, rising behavior, bedtime behavior, curfew violations, fights, substance abuse, and other violations. Differences between boys and girls were also found in an analysis of variance.

A final chapter presented a detailed organizational analysis of the agency in which the study took place and is based on the writings of Bion, A. K. Rice and Phillip Slater. This chapter is meant to provide the overall context of the year long project, and can also be used as an organizational assessment model.

## PREFACE

In April of 1978 I was hired on a one year research grant to design and develop a token economy at an adolescent home. The agency did not know what a token economy was since the grant had been applied for by a previous director. In fact, they were even unclear what behavior modification was. This gave my entry into the organization rather weak ideological justification, and much of the year I found myself explaining basic principles of the behavioral method to the unknowing staff.

As the year went on I began to notice organizational issues that seemed interesting and critically important, and the token economy literature seldom discussed them. Thus, the shape of this dissertation evolved into looking at an experimental field study, the token economy at this emergency shelter, in two ways: from the points of view of the behaviorist and the organizational psychologist.

The behavioral study compares the results of a recent innovation in token economies, a level system, to a more conventional token system. Also examined are the differences between the boy and girl clients, a comparison rarely seen in the literature. These results are shown with data from seven different behaviors over a 52 week period. The standard format of an experimental study is followed--a review of the behavioral and token economy literature; the method and description of the setting, clients, and token systems; the results, including differences between the token systems, the behaviors of the boys and girls, and the interactions of the two; and a discussion of these results.

The organizational perspective is presented in Chapter 5, and examines in detail the structure, processes, and basic themes of the organization of the agency. This discussion includes a review of the relevant literature. Without this larger perspective the study does not make complete sense; it gives the reader a better understanding of the organization as a whole. This contextual perspective is rarely discussed in the behavioral literature. There is also an attempt to generalize from these organizational issues so that principles can be applied elsewhere. The reader who wishes to understand the context of the study and the major organizational issues is invited to read Chapter 5 before Chapters 1 through 4.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation combines in one work viewpoints from two different schools of psychological thought: the behaviorist and the psychoanalytically oriented organizational psychologist. Without the continuing support and encouragement of Dr. Harold Wilensky, my dissertation chairman, this approach might not have evolved. Special thanks also is given to Dr. Terry Anderson for his clear and knowledgeable advice, and to Dr. Laurence Gould for his patience, support, and rich training opportunities which enabled this perspective to exist in the first place. Professor Lou Gerstman gave very generously of his time in the statistical work including the computer work, and the interpretation of printouts--always with tremendous enthusiasm. These people were always helpful and available whenever I needed them. I will remember them with gratitude, and, in turn, try to be as responsive when I find myself on the other side of such situations. I also want to thank Les Goldberg for introducing me to the token economy level system, and Dick Scallon for helping us develcp it at the agency. Also, Rob Davis was very flexible with my work schedule in allowing me to finish the dissertation. And lastly, the agency where this study was done must be thanked anonymously (and called anonymously in this work as Shelter House): To all the administrators, secretaries, and line staff, whose patience with me and frequent dedication in helping these youngsters deserves the highest praise, I give my warm thanks and respect.

J. L. T.

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# CHAPTER 1

# REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Several areas relate to the current work, including adolescence, behaviorism in general, and token economies. Only the relevant aspects of token systems will be reviewed in detail.

## Adolescence and Delinquency

Much of the literature of adolescence deals with the alienation and separation from the family (Erikson, 1968; Blos, 1962; Keniston, 1965). Indeed, the issue of becoming autonomous, a normal task at this stage of development (Erikson, 1950), can cause much strain in the family and can lead to various kinds of deviancy. The specific causes of deviancy have been thought by behaviorally oriented psychologists to develop along several dimensions. Patterson, Cobb and Ray (1973) provide a description of typical parental styles that contribute to creating a pre-delinquent child. Wahler (1967) has shown that peer attention can act as positive reinforcers for deviant activities, and thereby contribute to the continuation of behavior problems. Horton (1973) has shown that aggressive behavior tends to generalize to other situations, and this may explain the acting-out problems that some children present, seemingly without provocation. Though these are only a few findings of adolescent problems, all of them seem to become exacerbated in minority groups.

Minority Adolescents

Several overlapping concepts can be used in looking at the difficulties of minorities. Groups can be variously labeled as culturally disadvantaged, lower class, or of certain racial groups. In our discussion, however, all these apply since the emphasis will be on black, urban ghetto teenagers (Hyram, 1972). Some of the points reviewed here will relate to different concepts. For example, disadvantaged children tend to score more poorly on various psychological tests than advantaged children, even though the disadvantaged may catch up later (Richmond and Aliotti, 1977). Some authors have rejoined that the tests usually given are culturally biased and it is questionable whether true potential is measured (Schmidt & Hunter, 1974; Hunter & Schmidt, 1976). Bazemore and Noblit (1978) note that delinquent involvement is related to lack of success at school. Kaplan (1978) notes that deviancy, especially delinquency, can be reinforcing to lower socioeconomic adolescents. In these negative acts they have power over others and receive prestige from their peers which they cannot obtain in the school environment. These children do poorly in school and frequently drop out without acquiring the cognitive skills necessary for successful competition in society (Staats, Minke & Butts, 1970). It is not surprising, then, to find that black youths are less vocationally mature than whites (Rosenthal et al., 1979), though this study found no difference in self concept between the two groups. Thus, a vicious cycle is created that can go on generation after generation unless methods are developed to alter the process.

Sex Differences

In reviewing the literature Pomerantz (1973) notes that the most recurrent difference among male and female adolescents was the interpersonal focus of the females. Walch (1977) in reviewing the literature on male and female adolescents and suicide points out that the lower self-esteem of females tends to make them rely on external sources of support more than males. Disruptions in these external supports (common in adolescence) are experienced more acutely by females than males, and therefore, females may react more drastically in order to control or save the situation. This may help explain why girls behave better in school than boys. Duke (1978) has pointed out that girls may find school more enjoyable since they have fewer non-school activities than boys. Girl delinquents have also been noted to rate significantly lower in family relations than boy delinquents (Duke, 1978). However, boys are more likely to become involved in substance abuse (Levine & Kozak, 1979). All these factors suggest that when girls become deviant they may do so for different reasons than boys; and in the setting of an adolescent home they may behave differently on several measures.

Proposed Remedies

Several authors have noted that success has often been limited in dealing with adolescents. Carpenter and Carom (1968) have reported that traditional psychotherapy is frustrating and difficult with teenagers who lack verbal and conceptual skills. Renn (1973) has reported that juveniles have a high recidivism rate when they go through the court and legal systems. The usual method of handling adolescents has been punishment, and there seems to be strong social approval for this attitude (Graziano, 1975).

Despite the difficulties in helping adolescents progress has been made in the last decade. Drabman, Jarvie and Hammer (1978) give an overview of residential child treatment and focus primarily on behavior modification techniques. Other behavior modification techniques found to be successful with adolescents have been reviewed by Davidson and Seidman (1974). Some techniques that show promise are systems that help the adolescent family negotiate conflicts (Kifer, et al., 1974), contingency contracting among family members (Alexander & Parsons, 1973), strengthening desirable behaviors that are incompatible with violent behavior (Schmidt & Ulrich, 1969), and increasing social skills in dealing with everyday problems (Freedman, et al., 1978).

Minority delinquents and their special needs have not been addressed adequately. Staats and his colleagues have been working for over a decade with disadvantaged, minority children (Staats, Minke & Butts, 1970; Staats & Butterfield, 1965; Staats, 1972). In their 1970 article they call for methods to penetrate the vicious cycle of the minorities' problems. They suggest that behavior modification can help motivate these youngsters. Others have found the inner-city minority children respond well to token economy programs (Rollins et al., 1974). It has never been clear, however, how circumstances could be made more effective when dealing with minority clients.

## Behaviorism and the Rationale for Token Economies

The greatest values of behavior modification are that it has been applied systematically and has been empirically validated (Stein, 1975). It can be fully explicated to clients, and can be monitored in process and in outcome. As a result, Stein claims it is the most ethical means of accomplishing change.

To achieve this clarity the behaviors must be defined so they are measurable. Typically this is done by counting behaviors, such as numbers of times a child does something desirable, the number of minutes in a classroom seat, the number of fights, or the number of times a thought occurs to a person. A typical strategy would be to reward good behavior with something the client likes, and ignore negative behavior. In the everyday environment, negative behavior is sometimes rewarded, and this, the behaviorist claims, is what keeps the behavior occurring. By changing the circumstances, or contingencies, the situation can be improved.

## Token Economies

The token economy, one development of behavior modification, contains the basic elements of this approach. Setting up a token economy involves selecting a series of behaviors that are desirable and wished to be increased and each is given a positive value--for example, a certain number of points for each behavior. A medium of exchange is devised and could be anything--tokens, poker chips, pennies, jelly beans, play money, or checks on a card. Negative behaviors in turn may have a minus value. The values are determined by their relative desirability and usually have a clear and systematic basis. The points may be exchanged for concrete rewards (back-up reinforcers) which all vary in price. On the surface it seems simple. An artificial economy has been created with the focus on motivating desirable behavior.

There are many variations, however, and all relate to the success of the system. Token systems are usually incentive programs on the organizational level, i.e., the point values and rewards are the same for everyone, though individual systems also have been designed (e.g., Alvord, 1973). The other common method of contingency management is behavioral contracting. A contract is negotiated and written between a client and a significant figure in his treatment or natural environment, and includes incentives for behaving in prescribed ways (Braukmann, et al., 1975). The behavioral contract can be an effective complement to the token economy.

The advantage of the behavioral approach on the organizational level, in this case a token economy, is that is has clearly defined behaviors, rules, and rewards. Another advantage to a token system is that because it encourages positive behavior it is more likely to be a preventative model (Braukmann, et al., 1975). Pathology in behavior can be forestalled in some cases if new, positive adaptive behaviors are learned and maintained. Pre-delinquents have, in fact, been shown to have reduced recidivism rates after going through a token economy program (Cohen & Filipczak, 1965; Cohen, 1972; Wolf, et al., 1976).

Objections to Token Economies

Despite its apparent logical soundness, token economy systems have received several criticisms. Saunders and Repucci (1978) report that when they began their system in a youth offenders training school, they were accused of brainwashing. In this and other contexts behavior modification can be seen as an ideological symbol. Some researchers have admitted that token programs are one of the most misused therapeutic programs (O'Leary, Poulos & Devine, 1976), but most of the objections are on theoretical grounds. For example, the use of tangible reinforcers has been called bribery. This issue has been discussed in the literature (Becker, 1969; Shaefer & Martin, 1969). In the vast majority of cases tokens or reinforcers are used to enhance behaviors generally evaluated as beneficial for the client. Incentive programs are also important in developing certain behaviors the client may not have yet learned to be reinforcing. These issues to token systems are discussed by O'Leary, Poulos and Devine (1972) and Kazdin (1977).

A series of articles have criticized token economies in terms of overjustification (Greene, 1974; Levine & Fasnacht, 1974; Greene et al., 1976). The overjustification hypothesis claims that when a child engages in an activity for an extrinsic reward, the behavior will decrease when the reward is gone. Other researchers have pointed out that long term follow-up did not show decreased motivation (Feingold & Mahoney, 1975), and the conditions of the over-justification experiments were very different than most token economy environments (Kazdin, 1977; Davidson & Bucher, 1978).

## Token Economies: General Considerations

Before reviewing the relevant token economy literature, some of the elements, contingencies, and techniques of the systems will be presented. The fundamental premise rests on operant conditioning and that positive reinforcement of desirable behavior increases its occurrence. These origins date back to 1935 with Skinner's work (1945, 1938) and animal studies in 1936 and 1937 (cf. O'Leary and Drabman, 1971). Reviews of these origins and developments have been done by Carlson and his colleagues (1972). These authors have recognized that much current work in token economies follow Skinner's work, in which he encouraged the objective definition and measurement of behavior, the analysis of the individual organism's behavior, and the emphasis on the relation of behavior to its environmental consequences.

Early work employing operant conditioning and rewards to humans was done by several investigators around the same time (Lindsley, 1963; Ayllon & Azrin, 1965; Birnbauer, Wolf & Kidder, 1965; Cohen, Filipczak & Bis, 1968;

Burchard, 1967; Wolf, Giles & Hall, 1965), but the token economy as such is generally credited to Ayllon and Azrin (1968) who developed the first program at Anna State Hospital in 1961. Much of their work, applied to chronic women mental patients, is still valid today.

Since then numerous successful applications of token systems have been reported, including such diverse behavior, or circumstances as controlling diet, potassium level and blood urea for hemodialysis patients (Magrab & Papadopoulou, 1977; Hart, 1979); increasing productivity of moving van drivers (Bookwalter, 1978); nocturnal enuresis (Popler, 1976), drug addicts and problem drinkers (cf. Kazdin, 1977, pp. 126-129); therapy of married couples (Knox, 1971; Stuart, 1969); chronic pain (Ritchie, 1976); constipation (Wright & Bunch, 1977); journal reshelving in a library (Meyers, Nathan & Kopel, 1977); and pollution control, energy conservation, racial integration, military training, and more (cf. Kazdin, 1977). The most complete recent review of the vast literature in this field and its extensive application is Kazdin's book (1977). Other important reviews are Kazdin and Bootzin (1972), O'Leary and Drabman (1971), and Gripp and Magaro (1974).

The elements of a token economy are the positive and negative behaviors and their numerical values, tokens or the equivalent, the rewards or back-up reinforcers, and the rules or contingencies. In addition, there must be some kind of accounting system to keep track of all this. Detailed analysis of these elements can be found in Kazdin (1973b, 1977). One token program that is spelled out explicitly (not typically done in the literature) is Kelley and Henderson (1971).

## Behaviors

The behaviors are usually defined operationally and as clearly as possible. It is usually believed better to concentrate on the encouragement of positive behavior rather than the punishment of negative behavior. A few of the vast number of behaviors to consider have been mentioned and hint at the range of possibilities. A criticism of these targeted behaviors is that they are sometimes irrelevant to therapeutic growth and are selected more out of convenience to staff (Winnet & Winkler, 1972; Kazdin, 1977, pp. 197-99). However, management concerns of staff are by no means trivial and are often the necessary first steps in therapeutic change.

## Tokens as Reinforcers

Tokens function as an intermediate reinforcer and provide a medium of exchange in much the same way that currency in our economies functions. There are several advantages in using tokens or their equivalent. Many reinforcers, such as food or other consumable items, activities, and privileges, are not always available. With tokens staff members do not have to constantly carry around these items or make activities always available. Tokens or points can be given out immediately, and they are reinforcing because of their exchange value. Besides avoiding this delay in reinforcement, dispensing tokens or marking points also allows the behavior to continue uninterrupted. Further, because a variety of reinforcers are paired with tokens or points, satiation is minimized. Token systems are also the only way to begin some behaviors that a child would not perform (Wahler, 1968); and others have shown that sometimes praise is not enough (Schumaker, et al., 1977). The use of actual tokens has been shown to be especially effective with autistic children and normal young children (Ferster & De Meyer, 1961, 1962; Lovaas, et al., 1973; Bijou & Baer, 1966).

Reinforcers

The number of possible reinforcers or rewards is usually a function of what is available to the institution and what the clients want. There are some limitations, however. Recent legal decisions do not allow the use of necessary items--food, a bed to sleep in, the use of a shower--to be used as contingent rewards (cf. Kazdin, 1977, ch. 10). Most agencies with token systems have a community store where many small items can be purchased by clients (Kazdin & Bootzin, 1972). Frequent items are combs, tobacco, candy, small articles of clothes. A rarely researched areas are the preferences that clients have for rewards. Ruskin and Maley (1972) have reported on preferences of psychiatric ward patients and found that tobacco was the most popular item followed by edibles (candy, coffee, crackers).

Forness (1973) discusses general aspects of reinforcers--who tends to respond to what, including such factors as age differences, retardates, and type and magnitude of reinforcers. He proposed a reinforcement hierarchy of seven levels: edibles (food, M&Ms), tangibles (toys and trinkets), tokens or check marks (exchanged for reinforcers), contingent activity (Premack principle), social approval (praise), being correct (feedback), and competence (skill acquisition). He notes that the last three levels exist in the natural environment. Aiming reinforcements at the correct level is important in order to initiate or sustain a behavior change. Other studies of reinforcers include the use of non-material rewards (Wood, 1977), the use of praise (Rameckers & Wertenbroch, 1976), feedback (Drabman & Lahey, 1974), immediate versus delayed rewards (Jesness & De Risi, 1963), and rewards selected by classroom children (Karraker, 1977).

### Timing

With respect to the timing of rewards, as desirable behavior is completed, reinforcement should follow as soon as possible. In a token system this would usually mean that a child is notified that he has earned the tokens or points. This communication should ideally be accompanied by a praise of some kind, thus pairing the token reward with social reinforcement.

### Response Cost

This is when an undesirable behavior has a negative value in the system. For example, fighting may cost the client ten points. Since this is a punishment procedure it should generally be used as an adjunct to the positive reinforcement program; it can sometimes have undesirable side effects (Kazdin, 1975b). Further, a response cost by itself does not tell the client what is supposed to be done--only what is not supposed to be done. Bucher and Hawkins (1973) however, point out that response cost did not have adverse effects on the children in their study, and seemed to work as well as positive reinforcement.

### Contingencies

Group, individual and standardized contingencies have been reviewed by Kazdin (1977, pp. 60-64). Individualized contingencies are essentially individual contracts between the client and the staff member. Different behaviors would result in different back-reinforcers depending on the client's desires and the idiosyncratic behavior in question. This tailor-made procedure maximizes client behavior change. Individualized contingencies have been used successfully in the classroom (McLaughlin, 1974). But in an agency setting it would take far too much time and effort to do this for each client.

Standardized contingencies apply to all clients in a setting. The behaviors, the rewards, and their values are the same for everyone. Most token programs are of this type. A major advantage is that staff members need remember only one set of rules, and this is ideal for any institution with a large number of clients and few staff.

Group contingencies occur when one individual's performance determines the whole group's rewards. This has been done primarily in the classroom (Greenwood, Hops, Delquadri & Guild, 1974; Litow & Pumroy, 1974; McLaughlin, 1974). Advantages are that children will help each other out since there is an incentive to increase another's performance. It is inexpensive and easy to implement since accounting methods are simpler than a standardized system; it can be done in large groups; and it usually has shown results as good as individual methods (Mc Laughlin, 1974). The negative features are that individual or standardized contingencies are more fair to the children; some parents get upset over this technique, especially if the reward is based on the lowest performing child; and some children may be harrassed. Many other behavioral techniques could be considered as potential contingencies--response priming, reinforcer sampling--especially in regards to enhancing responsiveness to the token system, and they are discussed systematically by Kazdin (1977, pp. 155-163). The types of contingencies best used depends on the goals and practical constraints of the institution.

Burchard (1973) points out that there is considerable variation among behavior modification programs, and this applies equally well to token economies. Very few programs are described in detail, and this makes it almost impossible to compare systems with one another. An exception to this is Jesness and his colleagues, where a token system was compared to a transactional analysis group program, both almost identical schools for delinquents (Jesness, 1975; Jesness & De Risi, 1973; Burchard & Harig, 1976). Despite the vast literature one could not design a complete token system without a great deal of invention occurring during the design process.

Another general consideration are the failures encountered when using token economies. Several articles discuss problems to avoid if systems are to be successful (Hall & Baker, 1973; Wodarski, 1976; Repucci, 1973, 1977; Repucci & Saunders, 1977; Atthowe, 1973 a, b). Within well functioning token systems, however, there has been consistent evidence that 10 to 20 percent of subjects do not respond well--across a wide variety of settings (Kazdin, 1973a, 1977; Franks & Wilson, 1974). Further, as the client population becomes more difficult the percentage of non-respondents increases (Moran, Kass & Munz, 1977). As there is less control in the environment, and with older clients or the chronically ill, less clients respond positively to token programs (Liberman, et al., 1975). Various solutions to unresponsiveness in clients are presented by Kazdin (1973a, 1977), but he concedes that token economies may just not be suitable for certain clinical problems.

## Token Economies in Institutions

### Psychiatric Hospitals

In regard to psychiatric hospitals the reader is referred to several reviews of token systems in these institutions (Gripp & Magaro, 1974; Kazdin, 1977; Hersen & Bellack, 1978), as well as some more recent studies that discuss methodological issues and implement sophisticated experimental designs (Baker, Hall, Hutchinson & Bridge, 1977; Hall & Baker, 1977; Gershone, et al., 1977; Nelson, 1977; Miller & Dermer, 1979; Greenberg & Meagher, 1977; Jeger, 1977). Recent trends in token economy research in psychiatric wards include the development of social behaviors (Jeger, 1977; Bennett & Maley, 1973; Nelson, 1977), generalization (Elliot, 1977), individual contract plans (Gershone, et al., 1977), social versus material rewards (Hall & Baker, 1977; Baker, et al., 1977).

## Institutions for the Retarded

Mansdorf (1977) has noted that token economies have to be a standardized procedure for the retarded. Numerous programs have been developed with success (Thompson & Grabowski, 1972; Kazdin, 1977; pp. 93-101; Burchard & Harig, 1976; Johnson & Bailey, 1977; Baer, 1978; Pelechano & Acebes, 1977; Nelson, Lipinski & Black, 1976). And there seems to be little controversy that behavioral therapeutic methods are appropriate to this population. Most of the work with retardates has been with self-care behaviors (Birnbauer, 1976), toilet training (Azrin & Foxx, 1971), self-feeding (Azrin & Armstrong, 1973), and reducing disruptive behavior.

Some recent trends in token systems for the retarded include training for social interaction (Johnson & Bailey, 1977), the use of non-material reinforcers (Baer, 1978; Pelechano & Acebes, 1977), and self-recording (Nelson, Lipinski & Black, 1976).

## Token Economics in Prisons

Early in the development of token economies in prisons a lively controversy arose concerning aversive techniques used on prisoners. It led to much bad publicity for behavior modification (cf. Jazdin, 1977, p. 120), and resulted in a senate investigation on individual rights (Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, 1974). Particular attention was focussed on START (Special Treatment and Rehabilitation Training), a program for very difficult aggressive prisoners who were regularly in solitary confinement. The program was not only unsuccessful (only one out of 20 completed all phases of the program), but became embroiled in controversy because of alleged unplanned abuse and deprivation of privileges. Under litigation the program was voluntarily terminated. Since then, only a few studies have come out of correctional institutions.

Some work has been reported with delinquent soldiers (Colman & Boren, 1969; Boren & Colman, 1970), patients in a correctional hospital (Lawson, Greene, Richardson, McClure & Padina, 1971), inmates at a minimal security prison farm (Bassett, Blanchard & Koshland, 1975).

Braukmann, et al. (1975), in an overall review of contingency management programs in correctional institutions, concludes that token systems have been effective in reducing recidivism and in maintaining some behavioral gains, though difficulties in methodology make results somewhat questionable. These authors describe their work in behaviorism clearly to the criminology professional and explain its relevance to criminal justice concerns. For another review of prisons and token economies see Kazdin (1977, pp. 119-126).

Despite various methodological problems, token economies have generally been reported to be successful in institutional environments. Generally speaking, the more difficult the population the less is their improvement and the higher the failure rate. Recent trends in token economy research have been the development of social skills, increased generalization, using non-material reinforcers, and community development.

## Token Economies in Classrooms

Behavioral techniques have been applied more extensively to the classroom than any other setting (see Kazdin, 1975a, 1975b). As early as 1529 Erasmus advocated the use of cherries and cakes to help children learn (O'Leary & Drabman, 1971). In the present day token economies have been applied across diverse populations (e.g., pre-school, high school, college), and settings (institutions, special education, adjustment classes). For reviews and guidelines the reader is referred to others (Drabman, 1976; Kazdin & Bootzin, 1972; Mc Laughlin, 1974; O'Leary, 1973; O'Leary & Drabman, 1971; O'Leary & O'Leary, 1972). Readers interested in pursuing behavior therapy in educational settings are referred to Klein, Kapkiewicz and Roden (1973) for volumes with numerous articles in the field.

Most classroom token economies have been limited in scope. Usually these programs had poorly behaved children as subjects, no home monitoring, no rigorous follow-up, and little attempt at generalization. They have usually been in one classroom that is a special "token culture" (O'Leary & Drabman, 1971). Most programs have been for disadvantaged children. Token systems have been shown to be effective repeatedly in reducing disruptive behavior, increasing study behavior, and increasing academic achievement. Further, comparing token contingencies with many other conditions (praise, structuring time, feedback, reviewing rules) has revealed token systems to work the best (O'Leary & Drabman, 1971; O'Leary & O'Leary, 1972; Klein, et al., 1973; Kazdin, 1977). Part of the success of classroom systems may be due to the fact that classrooms are more controlled environments than other token economy environments. They are usually limited in time boundaries, spatially ordered and contained; tasks are easily definable, and disruptive behavior is clear to researchers; and many fine-grained behaviors have been studied, less feasible in other settings. In recent years, the limitations and criticisms of O'Leary and Drabman (1971) have been answered to an increasing extent.

In considering token economy work in classrooms, one must be aware of the more controlled atmosphere of this environment compared to other applied settings. Therefore, results are more likely to appear dramatic, and the development of token systems may seem deceptively easy.

Recent trends that show promise include using other children to help in generalization and other aspects of the system, involvement of parents in home-based systems, the reinforcement of social behaviors, and self regulation of behaviors.

## Token Economies with Delinquents and Pre-Delinquents

The use of behavior modification techniques with difficult teenagers has been divided into two categories according to the clients--delinquent and pre-delinquent (Burchard, 1973). Working with pre-delinquents is considered preventive (since they have not yet been caught at a crime), while working with delinquents is considered rehabilitation. It is not clear how these populations differ in personality or behavioral dimensions. The early delinquent programs, such as the CASE project (Cohen, 1972; Cohen, et al., 1965; Cohen & Filipczak, 1971) seemed more intensive and demanding than the early pre-delinquent programs such as Achievement Place (Phillips, 1968; Bailey, Wolf & Phillips, 1970; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1971).

Of the early token systems with delinquents the CASE project (Contingencies Applicable for Specific Education) was the most notable. It was an ambitious project set up in Washington, D.C. for boys who had committed serious offenses (e.g., homicide, rape). By means of extrinsic reinforcers the 16 boys were encouraged to improve their academic achievement, learning, and study behavior. It was successful and expanded to a 24 hour system. The boys were gradually shaped into group academic settings, making successive approximations to the traditional classroom. Unfortunately, no control groups were used, so conclusions are tentative since the individual instruction alone may have produced the change. Good results, however, were obtained and included high rates of academic and social behaviors. At follow-up of one and two years the CASE boys showed lower recidivism than similar untreated boys. Even though at three year follow-up both groups were found to be about equal in recidivism, this work was an important beginning in juvenile delinquent token economies.

Cohen went on to develop another system, PICA (Programming Interpersonal Curricular for Adolescents), which taught interpersonal skills and involved the parents (Cohen, 1972). Completion of specified tasks led to contingent rewards, and transferring behavioral gains to a normal school system was part of the program. Some results were that the boys had less juvenile delinquent charges, 10 of the 12 were still in school, the parents reported good maintenance of gains and better home relationships, and the mean IQ increased nine points. Though PICA dealt with delinquents it has been praised as a preventive program attacking the roots of the problem by giving the boys positive, enhancing social skills and teaching them to evaluate their own behavior (Ribes-Inesta, 1972).

An interesting street corner project was developed by Schweitzgebel (1964, 1967, 1969; Schweitzgebel & Kolb, 1964). Operant conditioning was used to shape delinquents to attend interviews. They got paid for attending these interviews and were simply asked to talk about themselves for an hour. Thus, the staff did not openly fight the delinquency, but were sympathetic and sharing. The project was successful in reducing arrests and time spent incarcerated. This loose approach avoided many of the undesired side effects often seen in the conditioning of humans. Replications produced similar results (Schweitzgebel, 1967, 1969).

## Achievement Place

Achievement Place is the most well known token economy project for pre-delinquent boys. A great deal of research has come out of this Kansas-based operation (Phillips, 1968; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1971, 1972; Fixsen, Phillips & Wolf, 1972, 1973; Phillips, Phillips, Wolf & Fixsen, 1973; Braukman, et al., 1975; Kirigen, et al., 1975). The most complete reference is The Teaching-Family Handbook (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1972), and this includes a more complete description of the systems and procedures than any of the research papers.

The project was located in a series of cozy suburban houses on tree-lined streets, and friendly dogs playing on the well kept grass. From six to 10 boys were in each house, with a supervising adult couple called "Teaching-Parents." These boys had been adjudicated (but for some reason were considered "pre-delinquent") and eighty percent were labeled as behavior problems in school. In the seminal article, Phillips (1968) described the elements of the token system and presented five separate experiments demonstrating its effectiveness. Each of the experiments was an A-B-A reversal design, focusing on different behaviors.

The first experiment was directed at the reduction of aggressive verbalization. The contingencies included verbal correction, loss of tokens, and threat of penalties. The penalty condition was the most effective. The second experiment resulted in selecting the most effective peer management arrangement, which turned out to be allowing the boys to elect their own manager. The target behavior of the third experiment was to eliminate coming late to school, and the most effective contingency was token fines. The last two behaviors, completing homework and eliminating "ain't" from speech, were most successfully handled by using fines within the general contingency system.

In subsequent articles numerous behaviors have been successfully treated including promptness, room cleaning, saving money, correct answers on quizzes on newscasts (Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1971); accuracy in self-report of behaviors (Fixsen, Phillips, & Wolf, 1972); social skills (Timbers, Timbers, Fixsen, Phillips & Wolf, 1973); and conversational skills in girls (Minkin, et al., 1976). Over and over again these studies demonstrated that only contingencies with back-up reinforcers produced lasting change, and that fines are often necessary in reducing negative behaviors, but mild punishment is preferable to more harsh measures.

Another set of studies developed methods of peer management (Phillips, et al., 1973; Fixsen, et al., 1973). The Phillips et al. (1973) study is an excellent example of using the experimental method to arrive at the most desirable system. Various conditions were presented in having a peer manager--auctioning the managership, appointing a manager, electing a manager, rewarding and/or fining these conditions in varying amounts. The most desirable system was found to be the elected manager condition. Daily conferences were held with both staff and residents for possible injustices. This system also seemed to reduce arguments between the manager and the boys. Fixsen et al. (1973) followed this work with a semi-self government that consisted of four components: how to develop rules, reporting violations, deciding guilt, and assigning consequences. One interesting finding was that when the boys were given responsibility to call trials, they called very few.

The Achievement Place studies are impressive in their clarity in design and in their step-wise procedures for teaching social responsibility to pre-delinquent boys. It legitimately serves as a model program for treating pre-delinquent boys. The environment of the project, however, is substantially more opulent than what might be available to other human service agencies. Each unit is a complete house with a small number of boys (6 to 8 in most cases). Direct and detailed control over behaviors is possible, and the dramatic results probably stemmed in part from this scrutiny. Other agencies may not have available to them this relatively ideal environment. It is also questionable whether it could be considered an organizational system (as the present work is), as opposed to treatment of individuals. This criticism, however, could be made of most token economies since they usually work with a small number of clients. Another rarely mentioned aspect is that the program is associated with the University of Kansas, Department of Human Development. Scores of graduate students are available for research, and some of them are likely to be involved with Achievement Place during their residence.

Attempts at replication of Achievement Place studies have had mixed results. Liberman et al. (1975) had a different population (Mexican-Americans) in a different locale (California) and setting (closer to stores and a suburban commercial strip). Some behaviors did not improve as much as at the Kanses-based system, particularly: saving money; threats worked as well as fines in reducing the boys' interruptions into conversations; and cleaning was not effected at all by contingencies. The Liberman group concludes that the high level of training of the Achievement Place staff possibly contributes to their results, and different ethnic groups and programs in different settings are important variables. Even replications by Phillips (Phillips, et al., 1973), did not run as smoothly as his original reports (Phillips, 1968).

Several conclusions can be derived from the substantial Achievement Place work. The points system was the single most powerful tool in improving behavior in the boys. Response cost, in the form of mild or moderate fines, does not detract from the program and, in fact, seems to be the only technique that reduces some very negative behavior. Self government can work well but only under very careful adult supervision. Unfortunately there is no evidence that self government can work on a large scale with this population. Daily contingencies are helpful in encouraging consistent day-to-day behavior, especially since weekly point totals to determine rewards had weaknesses (Phillips, et al., 1971). Follow-up work has shown that Achievement Place boys are more likely to be in school and less likely to be reinstitutionalized (Kirigen, et al., 1974). Lastly, the cost of the Achievement Place program is about half that of the traditional institutional environment (Braukmann, et al., 1975; Phillips, et al., 1972).

Home and Community Based Programs

Few token programs have been devised for home use. This is unfortunate since behavioral gains may be lost or negative behaviors may reappear once the person is returned to their home environment (Kazdin & Bootzin, 1973). With the exception of Holland (1977) and Alvold (1971) token economies for only the home have not been reported. Since it has been shown to be effective with so many childhood problems one must wonder why. One reason could be that a token system is deceptively simple, and superficial attempts would frequently fail since the token system is meant to restructure whole sets of interactions--not just having a set of rules and rewards. Other interesting home based or community based behavioral interventions are worth mentioning.

Tharp and Wetzel's (1969) well known work consisted of a contingency management system (but not a token economy *per se*), and they provided consultation to various community "mediators" (parents, teachers) to 89 delinquents. They instructed these mediators in contingency management and did not intervene themselves. Follow-up data indicated declines in delinquent offenses, increases in grade point averages, and improvements in behavioral ratings.

Alexander and Parsons (1973) compared several interventions in working with families of delinquents--behavioral, client-centered, a church sponsored insight oriented group, and a no contact control group. After treatment the behavioral group had significant more balanced family discussions and less recidivism than the other groups.

The Hartwig project deserves mention because it set up behavioral programs for inner-city teenagers, 8 to 16 years old, in Detroit (Rose, et al., 1970). It was a non-residential program, and used various behavior modification procedures. The staff worked with parents, teachers and peers to set up hierarchies of problems and strategies. The staff also made themselves available for crisis situations, as well as coordinating community resources. They found that the most powerful technique in helping these youngsters improve their behavior was selecting positive reinforcers.

Other work has been done in home based behavioral programs, and the interested reader may investigate Fo and O'Donnell (1974), Berkowitz and Graziano (1972), and Maybanks and Bryce (1979). Arnold (1978) presents several modalities besides behavior modification in his book on how to help parents with their children.

One of the few home based systems that is a token economy is Holland's work (1977), which included an ingenious pattern of reinforcement designed to maintain behavioral gains. The child receives continuous reinforcement of two or three tokens for the first 15 days, and a variable reinforcement schedule thereafter. On the sixteenth day there is no reinforcement, but on the seventeenth there are five tokens emphasizing to the child the importance of his good behavior. A series of guidelines are given so professionals can modify the system for individual cases if necessary. Alvold (1971, 1973) has devised a home token system sold in kit form, but results of using this system are unknown.

## Other Programs

Every once in a while a near perfect opportunity for field research presents itself. Jesness and his colleagues (Jesness, De Risis, McCormick & Wedge, 1972; Jesness & De Risis, 1973; Jesness, 1975) happened to be around when two identical facilities were designed to each house 400 delinquent boys, 15 to 21 years old. The buildings were similar in layout, staff patterns and organizational structure. All staff were new and started at the same time. Two treatment models were used, one in each facility: a transactional analysis approach and behavior modification. The transactional analysis facility focussed on insight, self concept, and subjective perceptions. The behavioral group included systematic desensitization and assertive training, but the most basic strategy was a token system. Some of the token contingencies included the ability to get out early, privileges, goods, a private room, passes, and furloughs. The results indicated that the transactional analysis boys gave staff higher ratings, seemed more satisfied, and seemed to have greater gains in attitudinal and self-report measures. The behavioral group, however, had greater gains on observer ratings of behavior even though they had a more negative evaluation. Though this work is important it is unclear what techniques were effective in the behavioral facility. Both worked equally well in reducing special security placements by 60 percent, so apparently just having a structured program contributed strongly to the improved behavior.

Only a few other large scale token economies (i.e., more than 30 clients) have been reported, and most of these have been anecdotal (Karacki & Levinson, 1970; Hobbs & Holt, 1976; Cohen & Filipczak, 1971). Generally the results are positive, but not nearly as dramatic or as detailed as the more typical smaller studies (e.g., Achievement Place).

## Critiques of Pre-delinquent and Delinquent Token Systems

Many of the criticisms of behavioral methods found in other sections of this chapter can be applied here. Graziano (1975) reviews and critiques the literature on behavioral interventions with adolescents. He asks if changes would have occurred anyway considering that the teenage years are times of rapid change. Unfortunately this would be rather cumbersome to test, requiring large numbers of subjects as control and experimental groups over a long period of time. Further, a multiple baseline design with reversal conditions seems to satisfy this objection (Kazdin, 1975a, b; Baer, Wolf & Risley, 1968). A final point on this issue is that there is often tremendous pressure to do something (now!) to improve the behavior of disruptive teenagers; and Graziano and others have recognized this.

One issue Graziano did not raise was the lack of research examining effects of these programs on staff members. Wilkenson and Repucci (1973) reported that in their large scale token system staff personal biases and pressures were reduced; they worried less about other staff supporting them. The mood of the environment, as measured by a psychosocial environment scale (Moos, 1968), was much improved over pre-token days.

Graziano also points out that it is rare to have an unquestionably stable baseline before beginning treatment conditions. Also there does not seem to be enough systematic variation of treatments in an attempt to separate out the most efficacious mechanisms. Other critiques include a call for multiple measures of assessment, the use of control groups, unbiased data collectors, and more long term follow-ups. This last issue has been one of the most neglected aspects, and is particularly important in convincing a variety of people to use behavioral techniques. Unfortunately all these techniques usually involve more time and more trained personnel, as well as potentially creating political tensions in the setting. In addition, scarcity of funds limits attempts to answer these objections.

## Leveled Systems

One of the major aspects of this dissertation is testing the efficacy of a "level system." A level system consists of a series of stages, or levels, which the client attains, one after the other, as his/her behavior improves (cf. Kazdin, 1977, pp. 74 ff.). Typically the lowest level has the minimum privileges and rewards and consists of the clients with the poorest behaviors. The highest level has maximum privileges including some special, bonus-like rewards normally not otherwise available. The levels are graded steps, usually no more than six, and designed to provide step-wise incentives for clients to improve. In many systems of this type, at the highest level the client is no longer subject to the token contingencies, and is monitored in informal ways. Thus, there is a means to graduate out of the token system, though attaining this level usually has stringent requirements. Several token systems have had aspects of their programs like levels, starting with the work of Ayllon and Azrin (1968).

Narrol (1967) developed the first leveled system in treating alcoholics. The levels were as follows: (1) closed ward, drab environment; (2) closed ward but more pleasant social and material environment; (3) semi-closed ward, ground privileges, off-ward employment, and even better environment; (4) open ward, short passes, plus the above; (5) open ward of choice, longer passes, and the above. A client, in this system, could only advance one level per week, thus creating a sense of stability in the system. Atthowe and Krasner (1968) had only two levels, the lower one containing most of the psychiatric patients, the upper level patients having carte blanche to all privileges. This system and other systems with few levels (Lloyd & Abel, 1970) do not seem to provide fine enough steps so patients can improve gradually--a basic behavioral principle.

Moran et al. (1977) combined a token level system with a behavioral contracting, and seems very appropriate for well staffed settings. Other systems have interesting privileges attached to each level, including contingencies with clothes (Karacki & Levinson, 1970), spending more time at home (Phillips, et al., 1971), becoming more integrated into the community (Repucci, 1973). Leveled systems have been reported for drug addiction treatment (Melin & Gotestam, 1973) and classrooms (Simmons, 1977). Atthowe (1973a) outlined basic principles to be included in a level system, similar to the discussion above. In reviewing this literature it is this author's general impression that systems with four to six levels seem to work best, and especially when there are significant enticements at each level above the lowest one. More precise understanding of this phenomena, however, awaits further research.

The advantages of a leveled system over other token systems have not been discussed by authors, nor have there been experimental manipulations done to compare leveled systems with a more usual token system. The advantage of placing all reinforcers on the leveled system is that the rewards become automatically organized and one is able to place many more rewards in this arrangement than by considering each separately. Ten or more rewards arranged in a step-wise manner, appear to the client as a comprehensive system where everything seems to be on a contingent basis. Thus, generalization is set up within a system which does not involve the fading of contingencies. Another advantage of a level system is that each client has a label which corresponds to a certain level of behavior. A staff members knows in a general sense what privileges are due to the client and rewards not covered in the system (and there are many) can be given accordingly.

The only reported experimental manipulation of a level system was Simmon's (1977) work in a classroom setting. The level portion of the token system was removed and individual differences were noted. Oppositional children dropped markedly in their productivity, and learning disabled children dropped the greatest; children who were described as withdrawn, passive, dependent and neurotic were affected the least.

## Recent Trends

Some of the recent trends in token economy research have been mentioned in the above discussions. In this section the most well-defined trends will be presented including individual differences, generalization, and social systems issues.

The literature in behavioral analysis, of which token economies is a sub-field, has seen a decrease in the number of conceptual articles and an increase in technical articles and applied research (Kazdin, 1975a). Also, some behaviorists have begun to accept some subjectiveness as part of their research (Wolf, 1978). At the same time others are making initial attempts to integrate psychoanalytic thinking with behaviorism (Wachtel, 1977).

Individual Differences

Very little research has been done on the individual differences of clients subject to a token economy. That is, who responds and who does not? Kazdin (1977) has pointed out that the diversity of studies on token systems across differences--age, sex, intelligence, diagnoses, amount of institutionalization--seems to indicate that differences are not clearly related to token economies. In previous discussions, however, it has been pointed out that as the population becomes more difficult (e.g., aggressive prisoners, violent youth, brain damaged patients), the overall success of the token system decreases, though the evidence is still tentative. Ayllon and Azrin (1968) noted that catatonics were more likely to not respond. Moral et al. (1977) tried to see which of the high risk offenders they studied succeeded in their token system. They found that the longer the stay at a job previous to admission, and the higher the grade of school completed predicted more success. In males, higher age and IQ's implied success, while in females, the later when first arrested contributed to more success. Among blacks age was related to success in the token system.

Other differences that suggest greater gains from a token program are physical attractiveness (Choban, Carior & Bennet, 1974), more education and longer hospitalization (Golub, 1969). One reason researchers are so eager to pin down individual differences is that in virtually all token economies there are at least 10 to 20 percent who do not respond. The only system that had 100 percent compliance was Cotter (1967), and he achieved this by three days of total starvation!

## Generalization

Since the beginning of token economy research researchers have emphasized the need to generalize behavioral gains to other settings, situations, and for future maintenance (Baer, Wolf & Risely, 1968; Ayllon & Azrin, 1968). Most major researchers in behavior modification have called for more attention to be paid to generalization in their review or philosophical articles (Gardner, 1973; Kazdin & Bootzin, 1972, 1973; Atthowe, 1973a, b; Burchard, 1973; Kazdin, 1977; Stokes & Baer, 1977; Drabman, 1973). It is an extremely important issue because a major criticism of behavior modification is that the gains do not last long. Defined simply, generalization includes all those procedures that help make the treatment "stick."

The transfer of improvements in behaviors is not easy to accomplish. Specific planning in the program is necessary; it will not automatically occur, as authors have often pointed out (Baer, Wolf & Risely, 1968; Marholin, et al., 1976; Kazdin, 1977; Stokes & Baer, 1977). Despite the need, research in generalization is new. Further, separate techniques are sometimes combined, so it is hard to tell which ones contributed to the maintenance of behavior (Kazdin, 1977, p. 194).

Several articles have appeared that consist of a series of suggestions to enhance generalization (Atthowe, 1973b; Stokes & Baer, 1977; Walker & Buckley, 1972). The use of multiple therapists is recommended (Marholin, et al., 1976), as well as the use of peers (Stokes & Baer, 1977); using non-precise stimuli or contingencies, more than one setting are examples of the more general principle of Stokes and Baer (1977)--"train loosely." Others have recommended utilizing a treatment environment that approximates the natural environment conditions; then the new behaviors will be supported (Baer & Wolf, 1970; Braukmann, et al., 1975; Stokes & Baer, 1977; Walker & Buckley, 1972). Braukmann and colleagues have suggested that training of significant figures in the environment behavioral techniques. Fading contingencies out gradually and sometimes continuing only social approval, as well as delaying reinforcement has been suggested (Braukmann, et al., 1975; Kazdin, 1977).

Social Systems Trends

One of the most pervasive trends in recent years has been behaviorists entering larger arenas of study. This has been exemplified by much research including classroom token systems linked with home management; transitional programs helping the psychiatric patient adjust to his natural environment; delinquent and pre-delinquent programs designed to provide steps of readjustment to their normal home life. Several authors have called for behaviorists to stretch the usual limits they work under to penetrate into the community environment and to begin to correct contingencies that produce social ills in the first place (Atthow, 1973a). Hall and Baker (1973) encouraged professionals to think of token economies as "open systems," in the sense of allowing continued transactions with the environment in an adaptive, self regulatory fashion. Reflecting this attitude, the staff at Achievement Place have developed procedures to assess "customer satisfaction" with respect to their program. They have researched the opinions of the teenage clients, parents, police, and agencies in determining the effectiveness of their token program (Braukmann et al., 1975). In a similar vein, Rockwood and Foreyt (1976) have shown the benefit of cost savings to government agencies in using token systems with mental patients. In a more general way Repucci and his colleagues have discussed the need for the behaviorist to study and understand the interface between the behavioral interventions and the ecology or setting in which it is implemented (Repucci, 1973, 1977; Repucci & Saunders, 1975, 1977, 1978; Saunders & Repucci, 1978). It must be assumed that mental health professionals will be held increasingly accountable for their interventions. Behaviorists are not only suited to this trend by virtue of their data collection methods and clarity in operational definitions, but because they are now actively developing channels of communication to other parts of their ecological context.

One specific area that behaviorists have been concerned with in recent years has been the use of the natural contingencies of the client's environment, but this is often difficult since the natural contingencies are either quite sparse or non-existent (Atthowe, 1973b; Saunders & Repucci, 1978; Stokes & Baer, 1977). Tharp and Wetzel (1969) developed a system where the natural controllers of a teenager's environment--parents, teachers, spouses, friends, bartenders, employers--were taught behavioral techniques in order to improve the young person's behavior. Karraker (1971) discusses implications of using a token system in an ordinary classroom without a large support system as is often the case with most research projects. Saunders et al. (1976) have described a step-wise token system to re-integrate former mental patients into their natural environment. Much of the focus of this five level program, interestingly, is on the development of social behaviors. Burchard and Harig (1976) have shown, however, that when more natural contingencies are introduced in the token system for retardates, the behavior subsequently deteriorates.

The effects of taking on this new perspective are numerous. First, improved communications with the critics of behaviorism will result (Saunders & Repucci, 1978; Repucci & Saunders, 1975), because as one's perspective expands the issues of others are understood as well as the use of a more common terminology. As noted above, however, the variables increase dramatically and there becomes much less control in a more broadly considered project. The behaviorist may consider seriously that there are settings where it is best not to intervene, and where failure is almost unavoidable (Saunders & Repucci, 1978). As this movement towards overlapping of other areas in psychology continues one may foresee the time when psychological intervention consists of a series of interlocking subsystems, but all are part of an overall scheme.

## The Contribution of this Work

There are several issues that have not been studied sufficiently which will be addressed in this work, besides the analysis of the organization already discussed. The first is that using a token economy for urban, disadvantaged teenagers in a crisis setting has not been documented. Secondly, this work employs a token system on a relatively large scale, 80 to 95 teenagers, and about 100 staff members. This is in contrast to most reports which deal with small numbers of clients. As a result of working in an existing large agency, some control over variables, otherwise obtained in a smaller setting, is lost. Third, this study compares the effectiveness of a level system to a more usual token system, documenting an innovation that has been used for a while. Lastly, the behaviors of the boys and girls, subsystems of the whole agency, are compared.

# CHAPTER 2

# METHOD

## Description

Shelter House, part of a large charitable organization in a major urban center, is a temporary shelter that provides residential care for up to 95 adolescents, ages 12 to 18 years. Brief descriptions will be given of the setting and the clients.

### The Setting

Shelter House is located in one of the most rundown areas of the city. Within a four block radius are several other shelters, mostly for vagrants or alcoholics. The physical plant consists of a five story, tattered building with an asphalt covered playground as part of the grounds. The first floor contains most of the offices and the residents' lounge. The second floor houses the girls, about 35 at capacity, and the third floor houses about 35 of the boys, similar to the second floor. The fourth floor, smaller than the first three, houses about 10 retarded or neurologically impaired boys who were excluded from the study. The fifth floor, even smaller, houses only one group of about 10 boys. The building is full of corners, twisting hallways, small unused spaces, dim corridors and stairwells, much dangerous roof space (for teenagers to play on), many fire exits where outsiders can gain entrance. It is a difficult building in which to house over 80 acting-out, restless teenagers. The staff believe that the structure is a major handicap in the management of the House. They note that the building was not originally designed for this population. And because of this, the building has suffered much vandalism in the last three years, and has required extensive maintenance. It has also been a factor in the morale of the staff.

The Clients

Since the agency was a temporary shelter the population of adolescents changed almost daily. Over the year during which this study took place over 500 teenagers were served. The length of stay varied from one day to nine months with a mean of 55 days. At most times there was an average of 85 youngsters living in the house. The house was divided into eight groups, three groups of girls (all on one floor), and five groups of boys.

The mean IQ was 80, and over two-thirds were reading at two grades or more below their expected level. Almost all the clients came from disadvantaged backgrounds, and frequently did poorly in school. Most (75%) were black, and the remainder Hispanic. Rarely did a white teenager come to Shelter House, and when they did they did not stay long. The only refusals were those profoundly retarded, actively psychotic, drug addicted, and adjudicated delinquents.

Almost all the adolescents were in some crisis which necessitated that they stay at Shelter House. The clients were referred by the court and/or child welfare system on a 24 hours basis, 7 days per week, all year. Circumstances could include child abuse, sudden parental death, sleeping on the streets, being thrown out of the house, and violent incest. Most were upset; many were angry; violence sometimes occurred with little provocation. Further, neither the youngster nor the staff knew where the resident would be going. When discharge plans were made, the teenager would often be discharged the same day.

Almost all clients were educationally deprived, and school was usually a difficult and frustrating experience for them, contributing to feelings of failure and low self-esteem. They tended to deal with their problems impulsively, by striking out at others, by abusing of drugs or alcohol, or by being sexually promiscuous. With very few exceptions the young clients came from disadvantaged backgrounds; over 80% were black, with the remainder being of Spanish descent. Excluded from the data were residents on pass, missing notations, and AWOLs that led to eventual discharge.

## Behaviors

Two kinds of behavior were monitored throughout the study. Desirable behavior had positive point values, and undesirable behaviors had negative point values. The positive behaviors of the "Daily Routine" are presented in Table 1. The definitions were the same throughout the study; values applied to the Token I and Token II phases. As can be seen, school and bedtime were more heavily weighted, and reflected the importance staff gave to them. In the analysis below, six positive behaviors and four negative behaviors were followed.

The four morning behaviors, one through four, have been collectively considered as Rising behavior. In order for a resident to be counted as complying, all four behaviors had to be done well (rating of one). If only one of the four behaviors had a 0 score, it was counted as not complying.

Compliance with School/Program was counted if the adolescent received 4 points or more. Since 3 points meant one-half day of attendance, this meant that at least one-half school or school-like day was completed. Though this criterion may seem lenient, it will be recalled that these youngsters had experienced repeated failure at school and were quite averse to it. The bonus of 20 points for perfect attendance (five scores of 8) was designed as a goal to strive for.

Table 1

Definitions and Values of Behaviors

| Behaviors | Point Value | Definition |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Getting up on time | 1 | 6:30 A.M. weekdays (8 A.M. in summer); 8 A.M. weekends |
| 2. Washing up | 1 | Brush teeth, take shower, comb hair, have on clean clothes |
| 3. Room neat | 1 | Clothes put away, bed made, desk neat, furniture in place, swept floor |
| 4. Breakfast | 1 | Cooperative behavior, good manners, going in a group on time, cleaning up after oneself |
| 5. School/ Program | 8 | School or daily activities approved by staff; 9:30 to 11 A.M. and 1 to 2:30 P.M. Approved activities should be similar to school. Twenty point bonus for perfect attendance. |
| 6. Lunch | 1 | Cooperative, same as breakfast |
| 7. Check-in | 1 | Being on the floor at change of shift, 3:30 to 4 P.M. |
| 8. Dinner | 1 | Cooperative, same as lunch |
| 9. Study hour | 1 | Doing study activities, 6:30 to 7:30 P.M.; homework, or reading an approved book, or writing an essay |
| 10. Bed | 4 | On time for bed, in own bed, under covers, in proper clothes; must stay there whole night, quiet |

Bed behavior was counted as compliant if the score was 3 or 4. Perfect was 4, but 3 meant only a minor disruption.

The negative behaviors analyzed in this study, with minus point values and sometimes other response cost contingencies, were Curfew Violations, Fights, Substance Abuse, and Other Violations.

Curfew violation meant coming in at night after the appointed time. During Token I (Appendix A) the curfew was 9:30 P.M. weekdays and 11 P.M. weekends, and for each half-hour late, the resident lost 2 points. During Token II (Appendix B) curfew varied according to the level of the resident. Whatever amount of time he/she was overdue was owed in "restricted time," i.e., time spent on the floor with no privileges. For this behavior the contingencies changed somewhat from Token I to Token II. For the purpose of analysis, curfew violations were counted as either occurring or not.

Fights meant a fight with some physical violence. Verbal arguments, no matter how disruptive, were not considered fights. During both token phases fights received minus points.

Substance Abuse was counted if any of the following words were noted in the log sheets: high, smoking pot, intoxicated, drunk, staggering, and other behaviors specifically indicating intoxication.

Other Violations included a collection of violent or destructive activities not clearly definable as a fight or substance abuse. Some examples were dumping out cartons of milk on the floor, throwing a chair across the room, spray painting someone's wardrobe, and other destructive acts.

## Procedure

### Reliability

Reliability checks were made on all the behaviors considered in this study. Two counselors, each familiar with the behavior of the resident at that time, were asked to rate the behavior. This was done on every shift for all behaviors, for both boys and girls. The ratings were compared on each item. Agreement was counted when the raters agreed to the extent as behaviors were defined above. That is, two ratings of School that were 6 and 8 were counted as an agreement; but two ratings of 4 and 2 were not. Reliability was calculated by dividing the number of agreements by the number of agreements plus disagreements and multiplying it times 100.

### Baseline

During the first five weeks counselors marked whether behaviors occurred or not but no back-up reinforcers were given on a contingent basis. All rewards that were later part of the token systems were available to the clients on a non-contingent basis. Each resident, for example, got $4 allowance regardless of his/her behavior.

Token I

During this condition the token economy was put into effect throughout the agency for 33 weeks, and contained three basic elements. Behaviors that earned points consisted of the daily routine, presented in Table 2, as well as opportunities for earning extra points. Behaviors that lost points were verbal abuse, fights, destroying property, and others. The third element, rewards, consisted largely of monetary rewards on a weekly basis. Allowance was based on the percentage of points that were possible for a resident to obtain. Thus, if a youngster got 90 percent of his points, the allowance was $4.00; 75 percent was $2.00; 50 percent was $1.00. A job for pay was available to the highest point holder of each group, and the resident could work for eight hours for $2.00 per hour. The behaviors and their values, as well as the rewards and contingencies are found detailed in Appendix A. The design of both the Token I and Token II systems was done by group decisions of the supervisory staff.

Token II

This condition was similar to Token I except that all rewards and privileges were based on a level system. This phase was 14 weeks long. In Token II there were six levels of behavior--levels one through five, and "Elite." Level 1 indicated the poorest behavior; level 5 was the highest level while still on the token (or points) system. Elite was a special level and meant that a person had graduated out of the points system by being at level 5 (100 percent of the weekly points) for four weeks in a row. Although an Elite was no longer monitored by points, a significant negative act would put him back into the points system at Level 5. A shortened version of the privilege chart is presented in Table 2. Each of the privileges is broken down into steps. As the resident works up the levels the rewards become more desirable, while at the lower levels few rewards are available. For example, in the job for pay category as one goes up the levels the number of hours to work increases, as well as the rate of pay. Also, the resident has top priority in choosing the job to work, will be chosen first, and can be assigned a regular job.

The new resident enters at Level 3 and can move up one level per week until he reaches Level 5. To stay at Level 3 one must obtain at least 75 percent of the points; otherwise there is a warning for one week, and if the proper number of points is not maintained the next week, the resident is dropped one level. Basically, the behavioral requirements of each succeeding level are more stringent, just as the rewards become more desirable.

Table 2

Privilege Chart

| Reward or Privilege | Level I | II | III | IV | V | Elite |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Allowance | .50 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 4.00 | 4.00 | 5.00 |
| Weekend Money | none | Yes, in a group | Yes, in a group | Yes, individual | Yes, individual | Yes, individual |
| Curfew | | | | | | |
| weekdays | 9:30 | 9:30 | 10:00 | 11:00 | 11:00 | 11:00 |
| weekends | 11:00 | 11:00 | 11:30 | | | |
| 16 years + | | | | 1 A.M. | 3 A.M. | 3 A.M. |
| under 16 | | | | 1 A.M. | 1 A.M. | 1 A.M. |
| Jobs for pay | | | | | | |
| max. # hours | none | none | 2 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| rate of pay | ---- | ---- | 1.50 | 2.00 | 2.00 | 2.50 |
| job priority | ---- | ---- | last | third | second | first |
| Sleeping Late on Weekends | | | | | | |
| Saturday | no | no | no | 9 A.M. | 10 A.M. | 11 A.M. |
| Sunday | no | no | no | 10 A.M. | 10 A.M. | 11 A.M. |
| Visit Floor of Opposite Sex | no | no | only at visiting hour | only at visiting hour | only at visiting hour | extended at discretion of counselor |
| Extra Phone Calls | | | | | | |
| priority | none | none | last | third | second | first |
| Single Room | | | | | | |
| priority | none | none | last | third | second | first |
| Special Trips | none | none | last | third | second | first |
| Bonus Prizes | never | never | never | last choice | second choice | first choice |

There are many other rules and details to the Token II system, and the complete version is found in Appendix B.

# CHAPTER 3

# RESULTS

## Reliability

Reliability was calculated on all seven behaviors and is presented in Table 3. The range of agreement was from 75 to 100 percent, with a mean of 87.9 percent. The behavior that had the lowest reliability, Rising, actually consisted of four distinct behaviors, so it is not surprising this is low considering that if there was any one behavior in disagreement the whole category was counted as a disagreement.

## Computation of Positive Behaviors

The three positive behaviors that were followed--rising behavior, school/program, and good bedtime behavior--were considered as a percentage of compliance. This method was used because the population was very unstable during the year of the study. The method of calculation was to divide the total number of completed behaviors of all the residents during the week by the number of behaviors that could have been completed and multiplied

Table 3

Reliability of Behaviors

| Behavior | Reliability in Percent |
|---|---|
| Rising Behavior | 75.0 |
| School Attendance | 90.8 |
| Bedtime Behavior | 91.8 |
| Curfew Violations | 90.0 |
| Fights | 100.0 |
| Substance Abuse | 95.0 |
| Other Violations | 85.0 |
| MEAN | 87.9 |

by 100. Excluded from the calculations were subjects on pass, missing notations, and AWOLs that resulted in discharge of the subject. This latter category frequently meant that the adolescent found some other living circumstance, such as moving in with a relative, and was not considered a non-complier. The method of using the percentage of appropriate behavior has been used with some frequency in the literature (Hobbs & Holt, 1976; Eriksson, et al., 1975); Fixsen, Phillips & Wolf, 1973; McLaughlin & Malaby, 1972; Panyan, Boozer & Morris, 1970).

## Computation of Negative Behaviors

Curfew violations were calculated similarly, but as a percentage of non-compliance. The number of curfew violations was divided by the total number of residents who were in the house that night, and multiplied by 100. Fights, substance abuse and other violations were simply counted as the number of recorded violations per week.

## Graphs of Data Over Time

The data is presented in Figures 1 through 7 for all seven behaviors showing graphically the changes over time between the phases. Upward trends are seen in the positive behaviors, rising behavior, school, and bedtime behavior, while downward changes are seen in the remaining undesirable behaviors. Visual inspection, however, is supplemented by the time-series analysis.

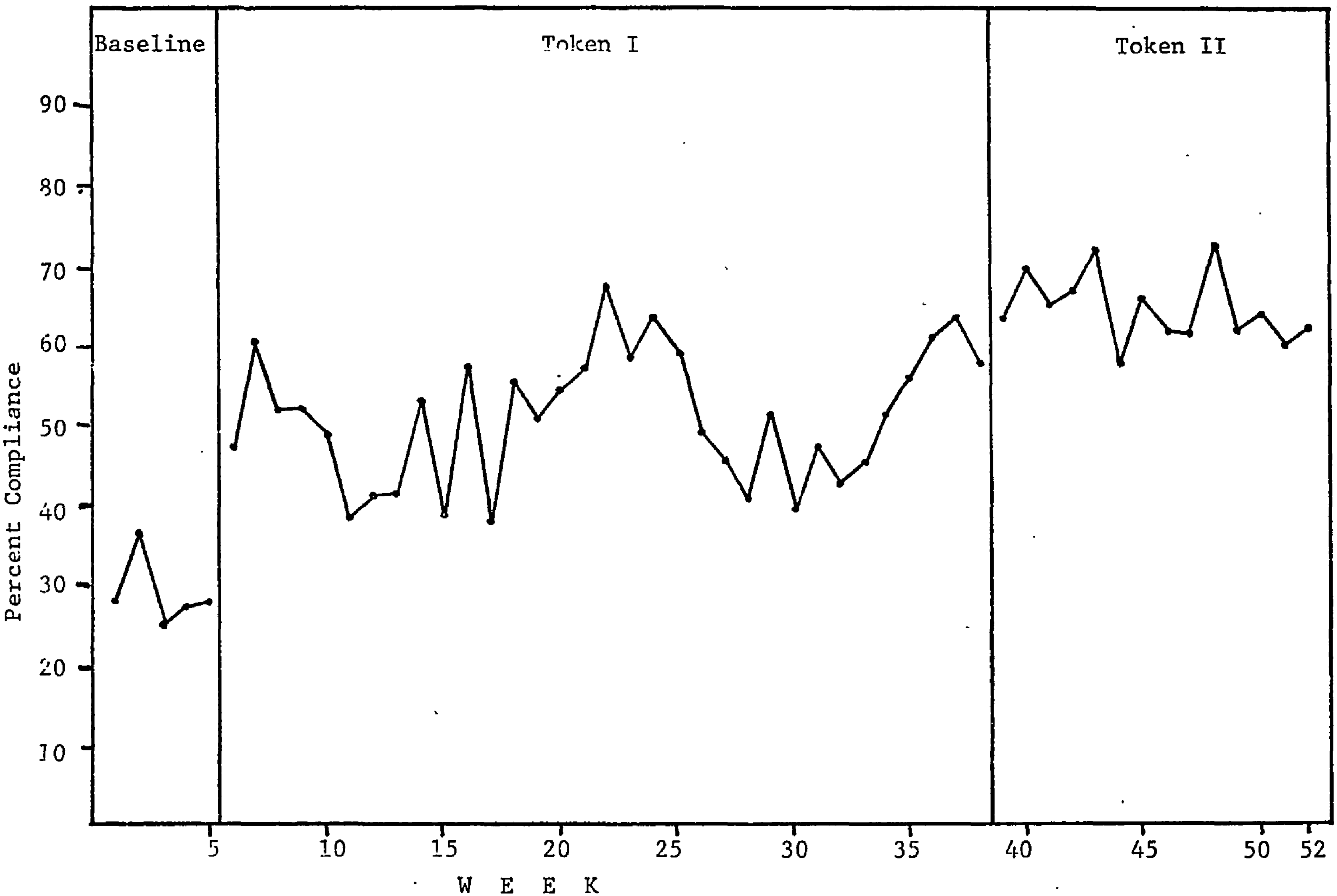



Figure 1: Rising Behavior

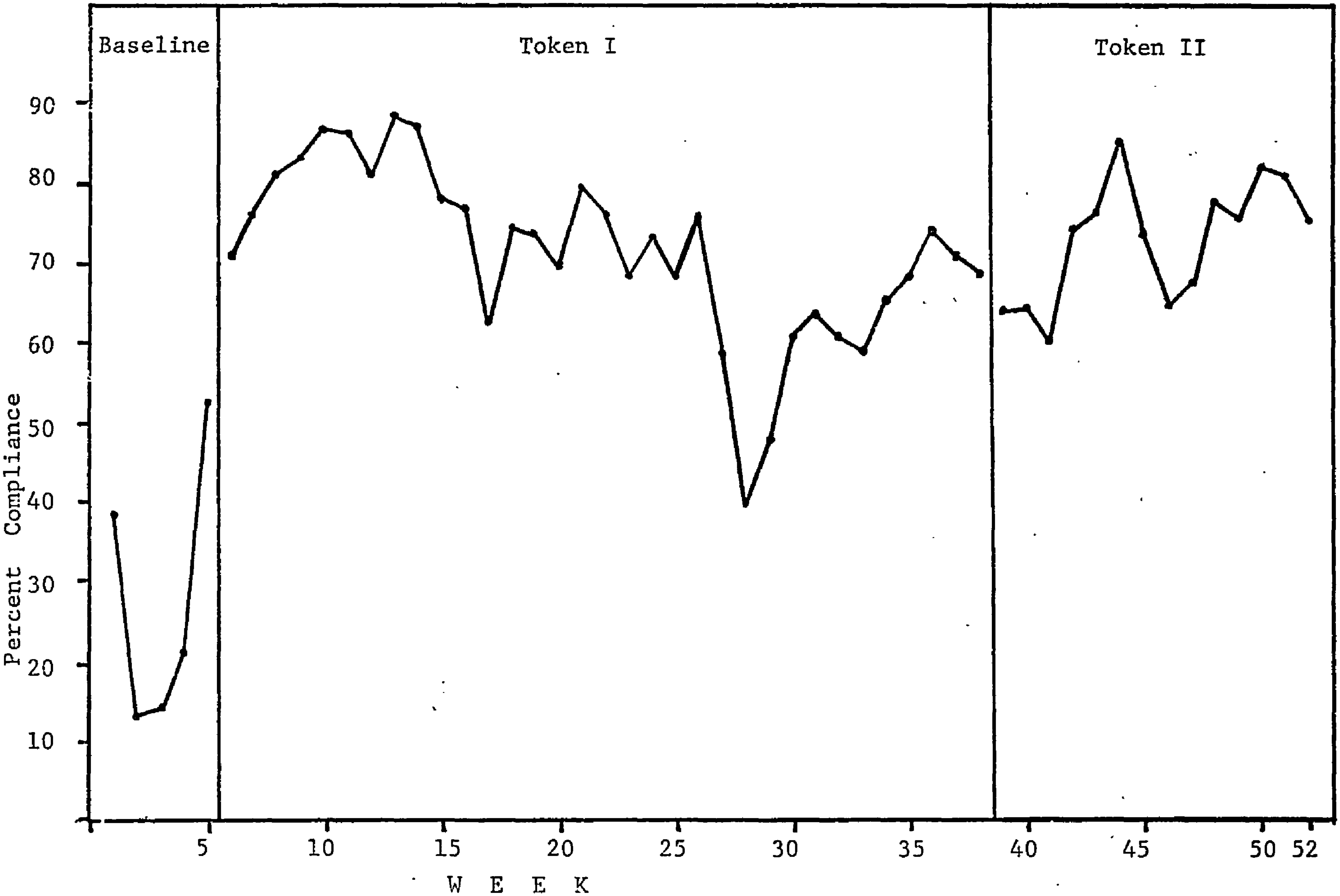



Figure 2: School Attendance

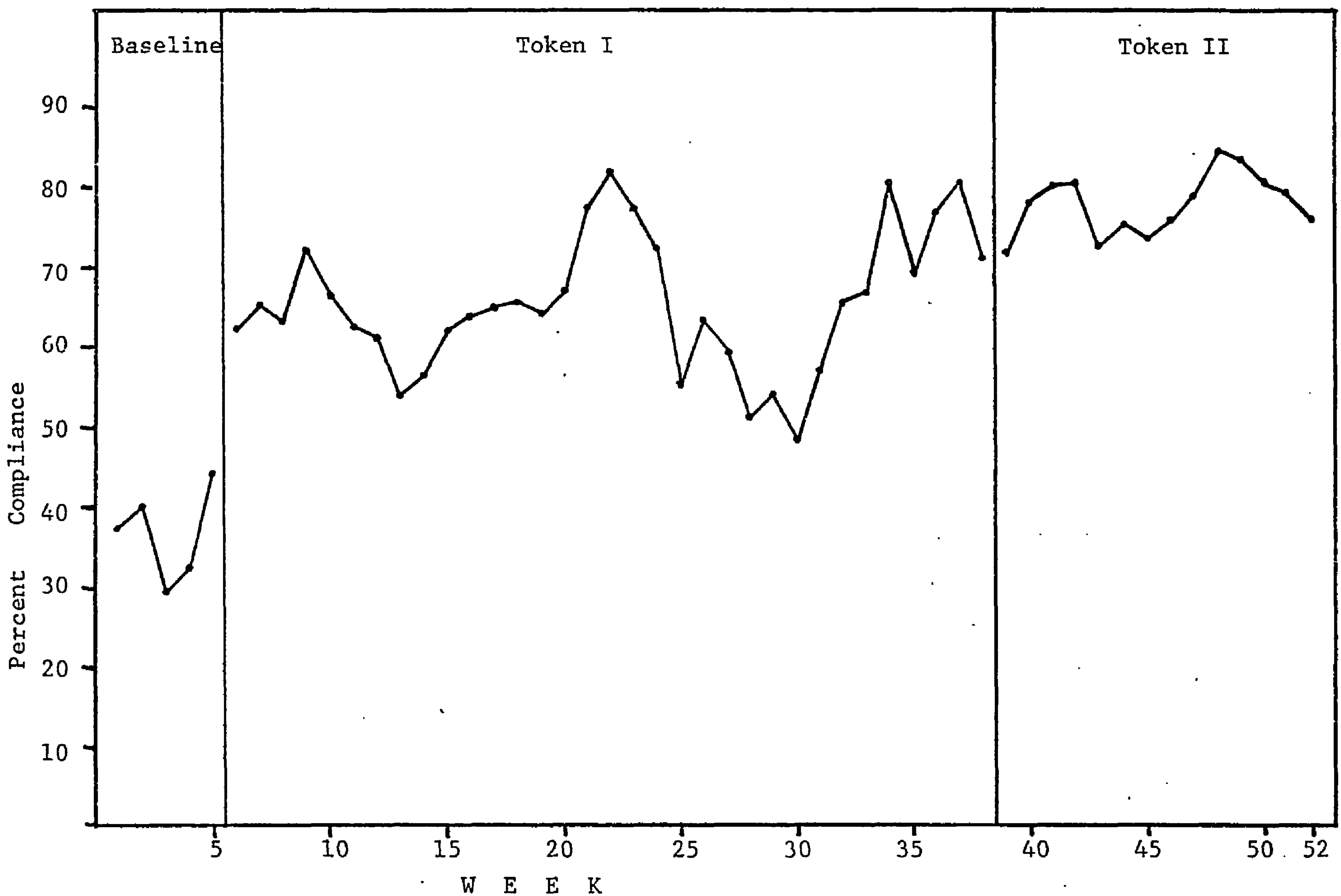



Figure 3: Bedtime Behavior

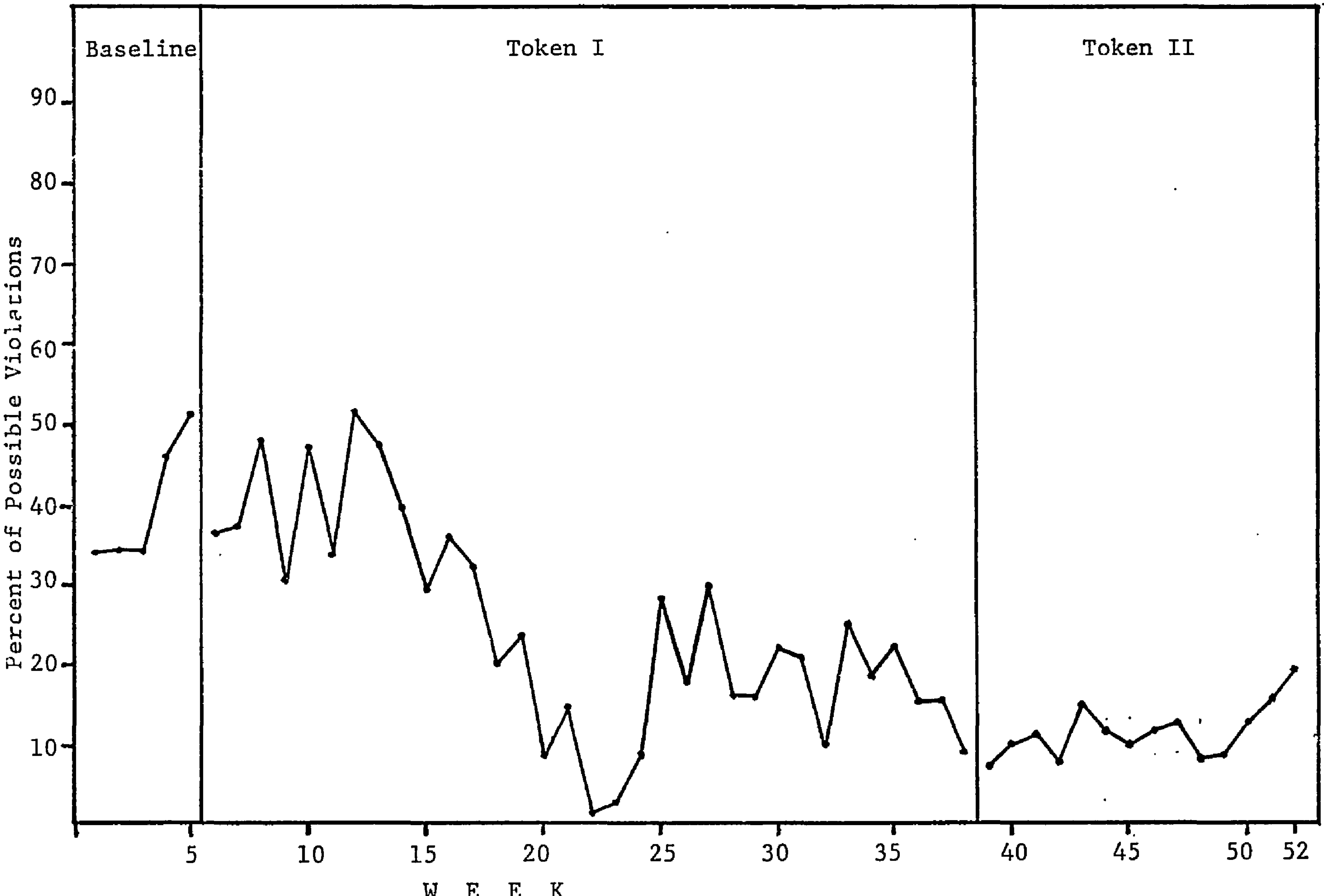



Figure 4: Curfew Violations

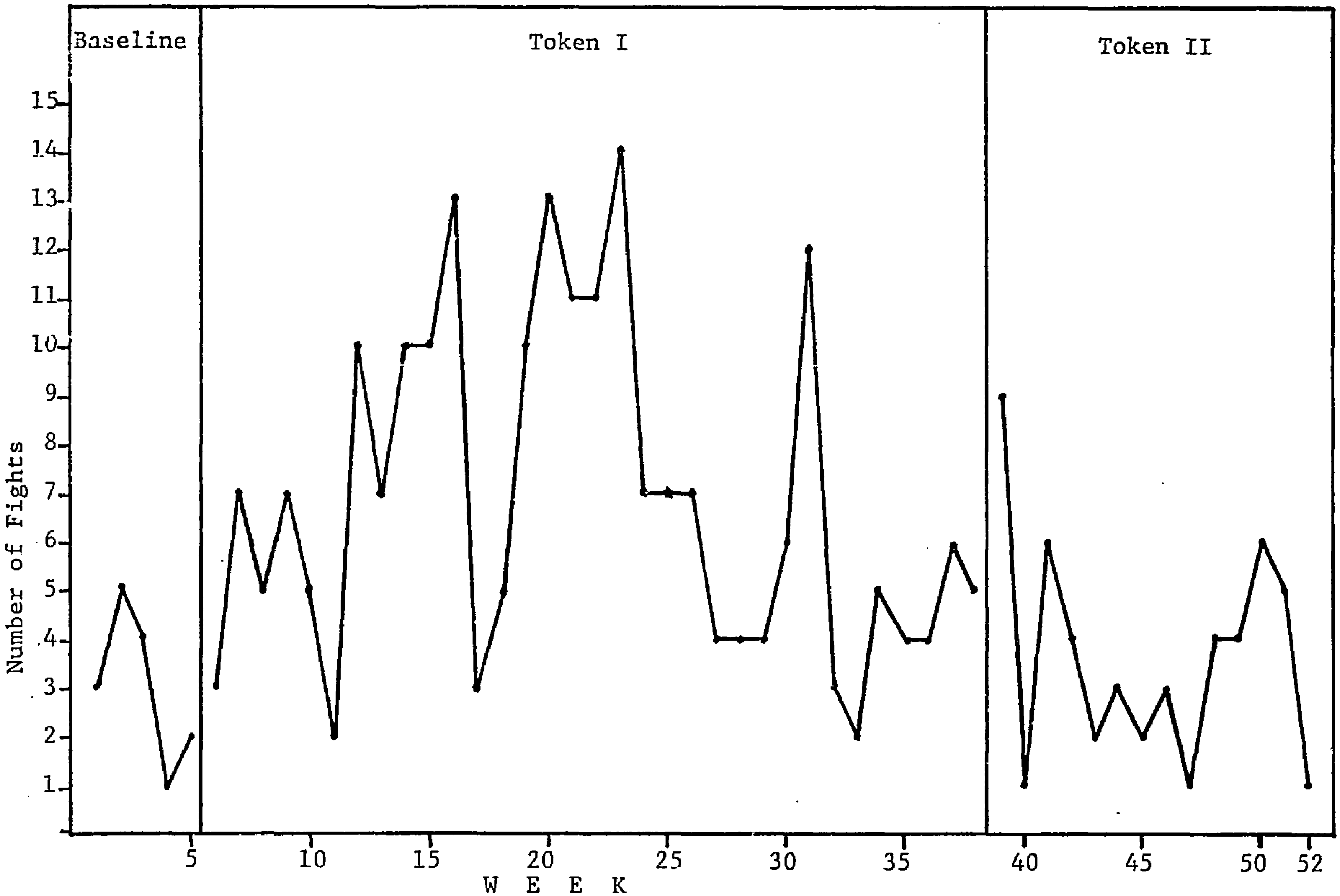



Figure 5: Fights

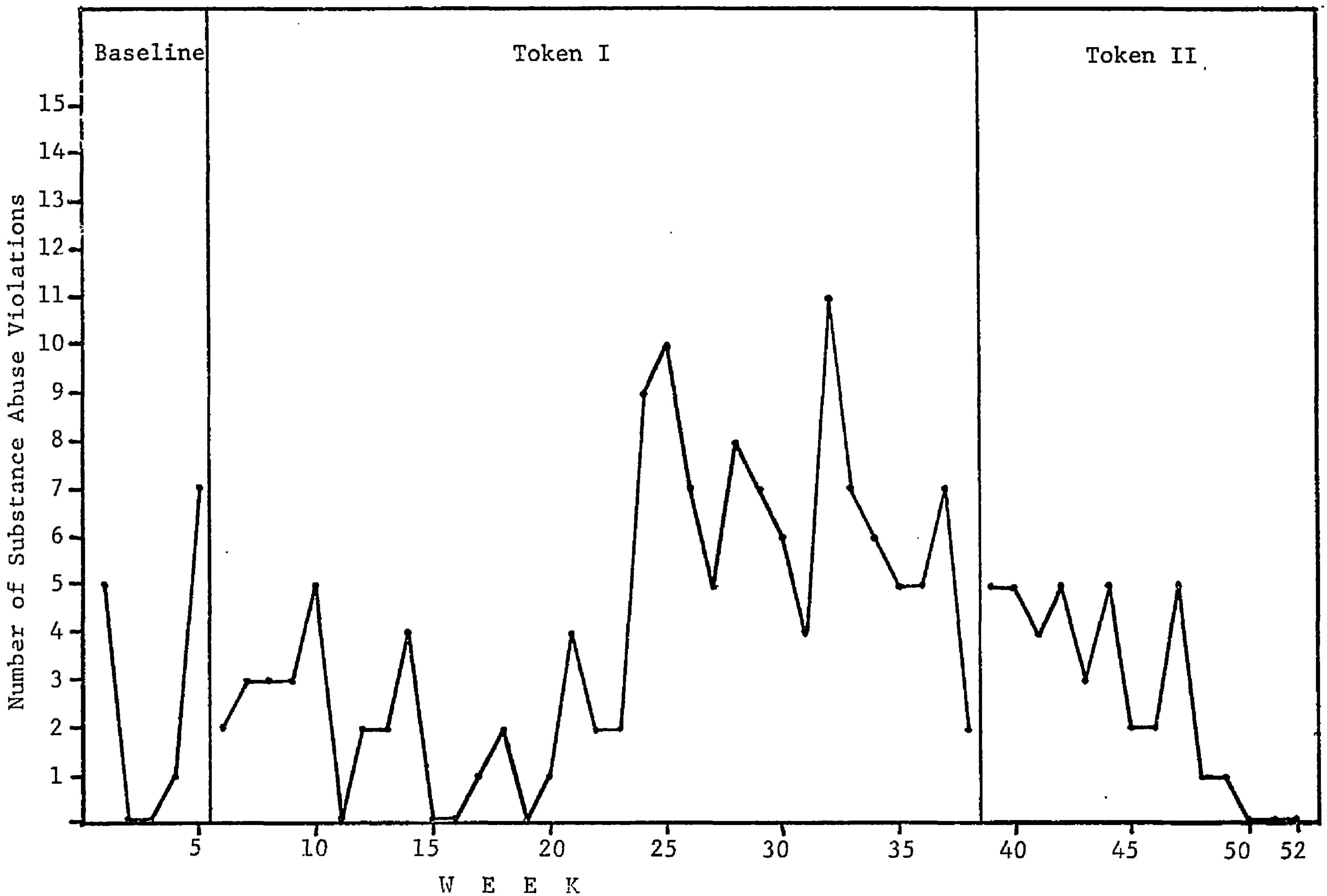



Figure 6: Substance Abuse Violations

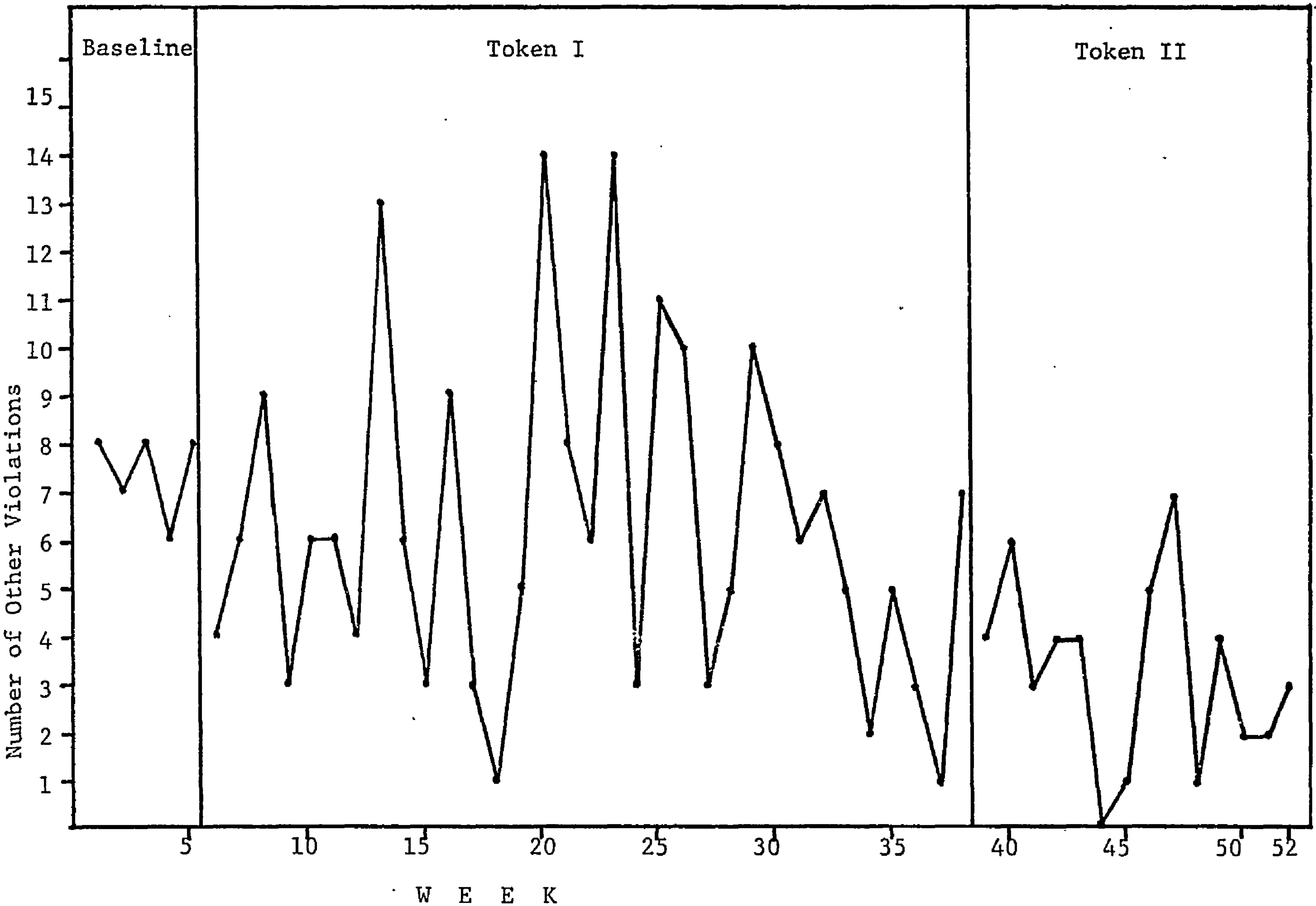


Figure 7: Other Violations

## Time Series Analysis

Time-series analysis is the appropriate statistical method for data that have serial dependency (Jones, Vaught & Weinrott, 1977). That is, if the measures are taken at regular intervals of time, as is the case with operant conditioning studies, they are, to some extent, more dependent on points closer in time than points farther away in time (Jones, Vaught & Weinrott, 1977; Jones, Weinrott & Vaught, 1978; Simonton, 1977; Marmor & Marmor, 1978). The mathematical details are relatively complex, and the interested reader is referred to the above cited authors and others (Glass, Willson & Gottman, 1975).

A time-series analysis was calculated by computer program (Eagle, 1977) on all seven behaviors, and comparisons were made between Baseline and Token I. Likewise, the Token II system was compared to Token I. The time-series results are presented in Table 4. The behaviors were further broken down into boys and girls. Boys are considered here as the three groups of boys on one of the floors. Retarded boys and a single group of boys in another part of the agency were excluded. These latter boys were smaller and younger than the other boys, and in several senses functioned more independently than other groups in the agency. The category "Girls" consisted of all three groups of girls, all on one floor, just as the "Boys" group. The category "All," however, includes both sexes.

The results of the time-series analysis yield two factors of significance--changes in level and slope. A change in level is analogous to comparing differences of the means of each phase except that the statistics correct for the serial dependency of the data. While this result is powerful, a change in slope is also potentially meaningful and is not ordinarily available in other statistical tests. A time-series analysis computes regression equations (specifically, auto-regression) that yield straight lines as the best approximations of the data for each phase. These regression lines can change in slope from phase to phase but not necessarily change in level. A significant change in slope but not in level would imply that the data, considered as a function of time, is going in a certain direction but has not yet shown a change in overall level.

## Baseline to Token I

The results in Table 6 indicate significant improvements from Baseline to Token I in level for all groups in Rising Behavior, School, and Bedtime Behavior. Curfew Violations decreased for the whole house ($p < .01$), while for girls there was a significant downward trend ($p < .05$).

Table 4

Time-Series Analysis Results*

| Behavior | Level of Significance in Change Between Phases: Baseline to Token I | Token I to Token II |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Rising Behavior | | |
| All | .001 | .001 |
| Girls | .001 | .001 |
| Boys | .001 | .001 |
| 2. School Attendance | | |
| All | .001 | .01 |
| Girls | .001 | NS |
| Boys | .001 | .05[d] |
| 3. Bedtime Behavior | | |
| All | .001 | .001 |
| Girls | .01 | NS |
| Boys | .001 | NS |
| 4. Curfew Violations | | |
| All | .01 | NS |
| Girls | .05[a] | NS |
| Boys | .02[b] | .01 |
| 5. Fights | | |
| All | .02[c] | .01 |
| Girls | .05[c] | .05 |
| Boys | NS | NS |
| 6. Substance Abuse | | |
| All | NS | .001 |
| Girls | NS | NS |
| Boys | NS | .001[e] |
| 7. Other Violations | | |
| All | NS | .01 |
| Girls | NS | .05 |
| Boys | .02 | .05 |

* See notes a-e on following page

All changes are improvements in behaviors, i.e., positive behaviors increase (numbers 1-3) and negative behaviors decrease (numbers 4-7), unless otherwise noted. All are changes in level unless otherwise noted.

Notes to Table 4

[a]Indicates change in slope but not in level.

[b]Indicates an upward change in level ($p < .05$), but a downward change in slope ($p < .02$).

[c]Indicates change was upward in level.

[d]Indicates a change in slope upward but not a change in level.

[e]Indicates a change in level upward ($p < .001$), but a change in slope downwards ($p < .001$).

Boys' Curfew Violations rose in level ($p < .05$), but had a downward trend ($p < .02$). Fights increased from Baseline to the Token I phase for the whole house ($p < .02$) and for the girls ($p < .05$), with no significant difference in Boys. Substance abuse revealed no significant differences. The only significant decrease in Other Violations was the group of Boys ($p < .02$).

Token I to Token II

Rising Behavior significantly improved for all three categories ($p < .001$) in the Token II condition. School Attendance improved for the house as a whole ($p < .01$), and the Boys had a significant trend upward ($p < .05$) but not a change in level. Good Bedtime Behavior improved for the whole house ($p < .001$), but the subgroups of Boys and Girls showed no significant change. Only the Curfew Violations of the Boys declined significantly ($p < .01$) in the Token II phase. In Fights, significant reductions were achieved in Girls ($p < .05$) and the house as a whole ($p < .01$), and these are better results than the Token I condition. Likewise, Substance Abuse declined for all the clients ($p < .001$), and a downward trend was found with the Boys ($p < .001$). Also, Other Violations were reduced for all the residents ($p < .01$) as well as the subgroups ($p < .05$), in contrast to the Token I results where only the Boys declined in this behavior.

Thus, the time-series analysis results indicate significant improvement in at least some subjects for all behaviors monitored in this study.

Analysis of Variance

In order to delineate differences between Boys and Girls an analysis of variance was computed. Since significant differences between phrases were analyzed by the time-series analysis, only the effects of sex and the interaction of phase by sex are presented in Table 5. Considering the whole 52 weeks of the study, the girls were better behaved than the boys in School attendance ($p < .05$) and in a lower frequency of substance abuse ($p < .005$). Boys, overall, however, were better in Bedtime behavior ($p < .005$) and had fewer fights than the girls ($p < .005$). Other behaviors showed no significant overall differences.

The interactions of Phase by Sex show significance in School ($p < .05$), Bedtime Behavior ($p < .001$), and Curfew Violations ($p < .005$). Rising Behavior is noted since it comes close to the .05 level of significance. A post-hoc test, the Scheffe, was calculated and is seen in Table 6. Girls behaved significantly better than boys only in School Attendance in the Token II condition, while the boys behaved better than the girls in Bedtime Behavior and Curfew Violations in the Token I condition.

It is interesting that in some behaviors the boys and girls behave differently regardless of the contingency

Table 5

Analysis of Variance:
Levels of Significance cf Sex Effects
and Interactions of Phase X Sex

| Behavior | Level of Significance Sex | Phase X Sex |
|---|---|---|
| Rising Behavior | NS | .051 |
| School | .041$^{G}$ | .006 |
| Bedtime Behavior | .002$^{B}$ | .001 |
| Curfew Violations | NS | .004 |
| Fight | .045$^{B}$ | NS |
| Substance Abuse | .005$^{G}$ | NS |
| Other Violation | NS | NS |

NS - not significant
G - indicates that girls behaved better than boys
B - indicates that boys behaved better than girls

Table 6

Levels of Significance from
Scheffé Test of Significant ANOVA Interactions,
Phase by Sex

| Behavior | Baseline | Token I | Token II |
|---|---|---|---|
| School | NS | NS | .05[G] |
| Bedtime Behavior | NS | .001[B] | NS |
| Curfew Violations | NS | .01[B] | NS |

NS - not significant
G - indicates that girls behaved better than boys
B - indicates that boys behaved better than girls

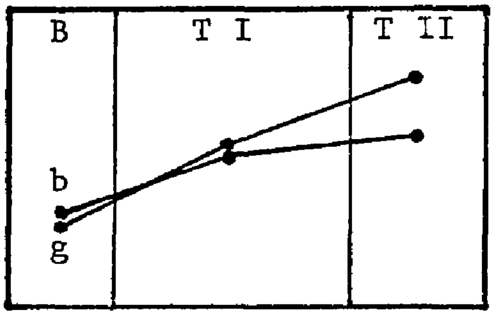
systems, be it the no contingency condition of Baseline, the contingency system of Token I, or the contingency system of Token II which cuts across many rewards in a systematic way. Other behaviors, those with significant interaction effects, are responded to differentially, in one of the phases but not the other.

In Figure 8 simplified diagrams are presented showing the analysis of variance data graphically. The data points are the means of each behavior with respect to the phase, and the diagrams show how the values compare by phase.

Figure 8:

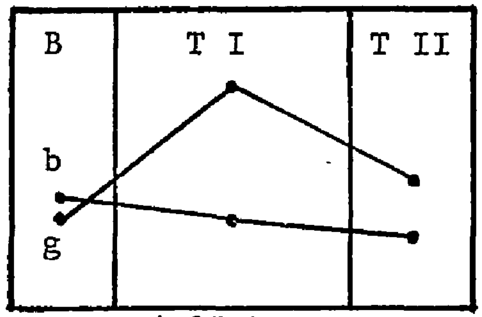
Simplified diagrams of ANOVA interactions

Rising



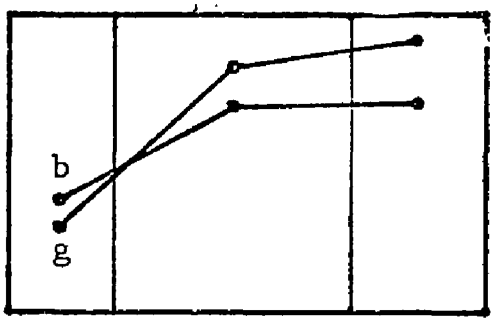

ns ns ns

Fights



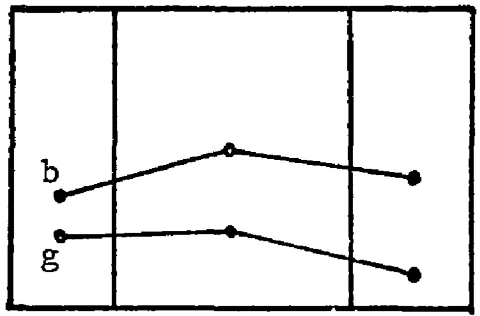

$p < .05$ by Sex

School



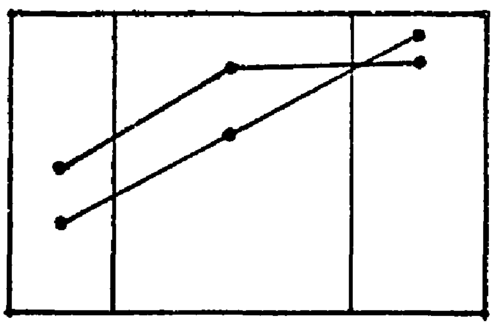

ns ns $p < .05$

Substance Abuse



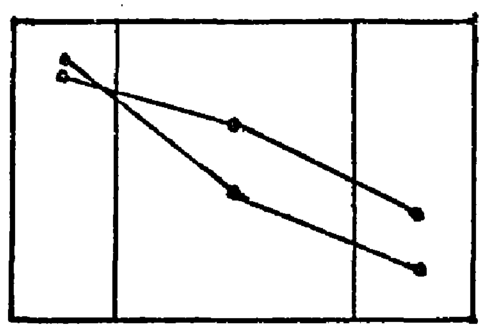

$p < .005$ by Sex

Bed



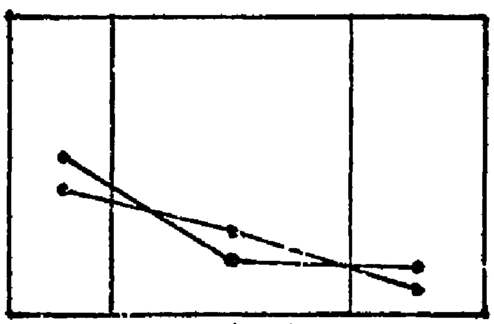
ns $p < .001$ ns

Other Violations



ns by Sex

Curfew Violations



ns $p < .01$ ns

Symbols

B= Baseline
T I= Token I condition
T II= Token II condition
g= girls
b= boys
ns= not significant

Data points are the means of each phase as found by the analysis of variance.

# CHAPTER 4

## DISCUSSION OF DATA

The purposes of this study were several: (1) to document the effectiveness of a leveled token system compared to a usual token system; (2) to apply the techniques of token economies to a new and difficult population (disadvantaged teenagers in crisis); and (3) to explore differences in responses to the two token conditions of boys and girls, subsystems of the large system of the agency.

Chapanis (1979) has discussed differences between laboratory and applied research, noting the latter as being complicated, messy, unruly and untidy. All of this was true at Shelter House. There was little control over many variables, and in this case it included changes in organizational policy, staff changes, outside agency influences and many others. It is important to note the variables, try to understand them, and be cautious in interpreting the results. Chapter 5 includes a discussion of the organizational issues. This chapter will discuss the data presented in the chapter on the results.

Kazdin, in his monograph on method in applied research (1973b) has written that in applied research the treatment conditions occur in packages, and the professional often does not care which particular techniques were the effective ones. This was true with the Token I and the Token II systems, where each condition included several variables. These considerations should be kept in mind when the advantages of each system are discussed.

A significant change from baseline to the Token I condition was found in several behaviors, and can lead us to conclude that token systems can be applied effectively to this difficult population. One strength of this work is the use of multiple measures of outcome, as recommended by some methodologists (Cook & Campbell, 1979; Davidson & Seidman, 1974). It will be admitted, however, that the curfew and bedtime behaviors are linked, and do in fact show similar results.

It is unclear why the two negative behaviors of fights and substance abuse increased in frequency in the Token I condition, however. One possibility is that the baseline of five weeks was too short to stabilize, probably because these items were relatively infrequent (about two to seven per week) compared to the three positive behaviors (several hundred observations per week). Another reason could be that the initial contingency system of Token I created pressure and expectations that had not existed before, and this change was experienced as stressful. These youngsters tended to deal with stress by acting out. Girls tended to get in fights, and boys tended to get involved with illegal substances, as seen in the analysis of variance results. That disadvantaged adolescents tend to act out and be more aggressive has been supported in the literature (Luchterland & Weller, 1976). It is important to note, however, that girls' fights were much less likely to result in injury than the boys' fights.

Anecdotally, it should be added, the first several months of the system were stressful for everyone. There was frequent testing and challenging done by these youngsters, who, by and large, had not had nearly this amount of structure before in their lives. Further, the contingencies on these negative behaviors were response cost techniques--minus points, staying in at night, withholding allowance. It is well known in the behavioral literature that these techniques work less well than positive reinforcement (Kazdin, 1977; Phillips, et al., 1972). Therefore, a gradual improvement in negative behaviors is more likely than sudden change after a token system has been introduced; and this has been seen by others (e.g. Phillips, 1968).

Advantages of the Level System

It is interesting to speculate why the Token II condition worked as well as it did. Simmons (1977) has noted that level systems seem appropriate for oppositional young people. The fact that the level system clarified the contingencies and cut across several reinforcement categories has been mentioned. The Token II system also presented a series of graded, reachable goals with clear guidelines how to achieve them. The teenage clients' thirst for direction and structure, well known in the adolescent literature (cf. Masterson, 1972), could have been satisfied to some degree by the Token II condition. The relatively good fit between the contingency system and the client needs may account for continued success of the system for a year after the implementor left the agency.

In the Token II condition, the negative behaviors of Fights, Substance Abuse, and Other Violations went down. Although it could have been due to a gradual decline as noted above, another explanation is that by cutting across reinforcement categories the clients were more motivated to improve. The increase in positive behavior gradually began to substitute the negative behavior. A level system thus might be a promising innovation for clients with several negative behavior patterns. Phillips (1968) has noted that monetary rewards, the central rewards of the Token I system at Shelter House, work less well than other contingencies; and this may be particularly true in modifying negative behaviors. Future research comparing types of rewards, however, is needed for more precise conclusions.

An overall consideration in these results is the ratio of clients to staff. Achievement Place has had excellent results and this may be due, at least in part, to their small, carefully monitored settings (Phillips, 1968; Phillips, et al., 1972). With a similar population, but a client/staff ratio of 7 to 1, Hobbs and Holt (1976) had less dramatic results. The staff ratio at Shelter House was 11 to 1 and frequently more. Further, the environments of Achievement Place are pleasant, home-like settings with well trained staff and good community relations. The setting at Shelter House was considerably less ideal. Nonetheless, as seen by Figures 1 through 8, the results show improvement in behavior and the statistical tests revealed significant findings. A smaller staff to client ratio and/or a better setting would probably yield more dramatic results. It is also the belief of this author that with a client/staff ratio of much more than 11 to 1, a token system could not operate effectively.

The percentage of clients who did not seem to respond was similar to the 10 to 20 percent rate reported across a variety of settings (Franks & Wilson, 1974). Most remedies that have been suggested to bring in these reluctant clients have been individualized contingencies (Kazdin, 1977); but this was not possible because of the relatively unskilled staff and the size of the project.

Sex Differences

Interpreting the differences between the boys and the girls must be done cautiously. Although each had their own floor in the building and were about equal in number, the supervisors and staff were different. The girls' supervisor, for example, was well-respected and forceful, while the boys' supervisor seemed less capable. Nevertheless, the analysis of variance results can be seen as consonant with the literature on sex differences in adolescents. In the present study, girls were found to go to school more and have more fights than boys, considering the total 52 weeks of the study. Duke (1978) has discussed why adolescent girls tend to not misbehave in school, and he suggests that girls are seen as more compliant and less aggressive, as well as having more expectations of the external environment.

Similarly, Pomerantz (1979) in his review has noted that the predominant recurrent difference between male and female adolescents was the interpersonal focus of the female. This interpersonal focus can help explain the girls' more compliant school behavior as well as their tendency to get into fights. The girls at Shelter House were in some kind of crisis; and usually it was related to family problems. Walch (1977) in his review pointed out that the lower self-esteem of female adolescents (compared to boys) tends to make them rely on external sources of support. When there are disruptions in these supports they may be experienced more severely by females than males in order to control or save the situation.

Even though the Shelter House was an institution, it served as a substitute family, and became for these girls a source of external support. Coming from a crisis situation, it is understandable that their conflicts and tensions became expressed in interpersonal ways in their environment--fights with other girls. And it has already been mentioned that minority adolescents tend to be more aggressive and act out more than non-minority teenagers (Luchterland & Weller, 1976).

Another interesting consideration is the phase by sex interactions from the analysis of variance (see Figure 8). The Token II system was a more organized, clear, and pervasive system than Token I; and, as such, a more predictable external environment. The only behavior in which the girls showed significant improvement was school, itself the most structured and lengthy behavior in the agency. Boys, on the other hand, responded significantly better to the bed and curfew behaviors in Token I condition.

This could be interpreted in various ways, such as (1) a way to get the most points for the least effort; (2) their continued aversion to school as compared to the girls; (3) their initial responsiveness to contingencies did not give them too much room for improvement.

Another way to interpret the differences between girls and boys is considering them as subsystems of the whole agency. Homeostasis is a concept that developed in family systems theory (cf., Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967; Jackson, 1957), and implies a delicate balance between members of a family or the parts of any system. It can be applied to social systems, and each subsystem can behave in a relatively coherent way, contributing to the whole. Each subsystem, further, may take on certain role characteristics, as Menzies (1967) has developed with the subsystems of a hospital. Much of this is discussed descriptively in Chapter 5, but in this section the data of the differences between boys and girls is available for interpretation. Thus, the boys and girls each selected different ways to act out, each somewhat similarly to the adult roles of a marital dyad. The girls expressed their tensions in interpersonal ways, while the boys chose the impersonal behavior of substance abuse, frequently done away from the home by adults. The girls responded to the more pervasive contingency system by becoming involved in the more total system of the school, while the boys responded to the system more centered around monetary rewards and responding to the night time behaviors of going to bed on time and curfew. These behaviors taken together could also be interpreted as complementary: each half of the pair (of the two subsystems) takes on one good behavior and one acting-out behavior. Though originally discussed in terms of the marriage dyad (Watzlawick, et al., 1967, p. 68), this concept of complementarity may be even more applicable to the subsystems of boys and girls at Shelter House than homeostasis. Though these interpretations are speculative, there is some evidence that the concept of homeostasis holds for subsystems in a token economy (Mandelker, Brigham & Bushnell, 1970). In their study, contingencies were alternately given to two groups, and their behavior improved. But when given to both groups the behaviors were not as good as one group alone.

The above discussion of sex differences and the possible complementary relationship of subsystems within a social system may be considered a tentative contribution to the literature in these areas since there is some data to support these interpretations. Still, it is unclear how much these patterns may reflect minority group issues interacting with sex role differences, since almost all the adolescents were black and Hispanic. Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) discuss sex differences in depth, but unfortunately provide no developed discussion on sex differences in minority groups to help us in interpreting this data.

Future research could productively explore these sex and social system issues as well as other areas. One phenomenon that was informally noted by staff members at Shelter House was that girls tended to be bad when boys were not. Then, about one to three weeks later the groups would switch, and the boys would be bad. Wahler (1972) has suggested in passing that deviant behavior in adolescents may have unique scheduling phenomena. This could also imply complementary cycles of boys versus girls. Cycles of behavior in time-series analysis are just beginning to be proposed (Gottman, 1979), but are even more mathematically complex than the usual time-series analysis. It is likely, however, that the data would have to be far more precise than the data obtained from Shelter House.

## Limitations

Some of the specific limitations of the project were factors in the design of the token systems at Shelter House. That these factors tend to reduce the efficacy of a token system but were necessary in the design has been noted by other researchers, and include: (1) no tangible tokens (Hall & Baker, 1973; Liberman, 1968); (2) a permanently enforced token system since new teenagers came in every week (Meyers, Nathan & Kopel, 1977); (3) flexibility with respect to daytime routine since the youngsters had a wide variety of personal and situational problems; (4) no individualized contingencies because of too few qualified staff (Tyler & Brown, 1968); (5) no control group or lengthy baseline (Burchard & Harig, 1976).

There were some limitations special to Shelter House and its particular contingencies. The setting was not closed, and the youngsters could come and go almost freely. There was no systematic monitoring of extramural behavior. This could have affected the results. For example, although the negative behaviors of fights and substance abuse declined in the Token II condition, it is not know to what extent these behaviors may have changed outside the physical plant of Shelter House (even though the counselors were urged to apply the same rules when they knew of these activities).

The population of clients also had some ambiguities. These disadvantaged minority teenagers were not necessarily typical adolescents. They were in crisis with a wide range of behaviors, many of which were pathological--yet they were not diagnosable psychopathological disorders. Burchard and Harig (1976) have noted the frequently inconsistent definitions of young people called pre-delinquents and delinquents. The clients at Shelter House, however, seem to best fit the descriptions of pre-delinquent youth by Phillips (1968; Phillips, Phillips, Fixsen & Wolf, 1972).

Another qualification is that both the Token I and Token II conditions were extensively tailored to meet the needs of the agency. Tailoring, however, is done with most token systems at the present stage of research. A future research goal might be to apply systematized programs across settings.

With the introduction of the Token II system two changes occurred, seemingly inextricably related. On one hand, the level system clarified the contingencies by varying the rules according to the level the resident was on. On the other hand, it increased the use of rewards by systematizing them in this step-wise fashion. Was it the clarity of of contingencies and rewards that was the effective element, or because the level system cut across 14 rewards? Research has shown that making contingencies clear can help clients respond better (Ayllon & Azrin, 1968; Kazdin, 1977). And in discussions above, generalization across situations has had beneficial results. One could speculate when so many rewards are included in a level system, the client has the sense that everything is included. That is, there is a generalization of rewards. The effect on negative behavior may be different than if only a few rewards were available. It should be noted that all the rewards of Token II were available during Token I, and all staff were asked to adjust them according to the residents' behavior. This limitation of Token I reflects the interface of behavioral application and organizational dynamics. Also the Token I condition seemed more complicated than the Token II.

Several experimental limitations occurred. Because the population constantly changed and several residents were on pass every day, the agency itself was treated as the unit (i.e., n=1). This obscures individual differences within the house population and statistical power is lost. On the other hand, it addresses the issue where many administrators would like to--the agency considered as a whole. Glass, Willson and Gottman (1975) discuss a similar phenomenon, called a unit replicative study in time-series analysis, where the group changes in population slightly from week to week. They point out that large changes in time-series results cannot be logically attributed to a change in composition of the experimental unit (p. 15).

A control group could not be used for several reasons. First, there was tremendous pressure from staff to include all the youngsters in the contingencies. Second, staff believed a control group would create unnecessary tension; and, finally, the groups had different compositions for administrative reasons (i.e., they were not comparable), and differential results could have been attributed to these factors. Not using control groups in applied research has been discussed by others (Kazdin, 1977, 1975a; Kazdin and Bootzin, 1973).

The staff pressure also accounted for the baseline not being as stable as possible, and not having a reversal condition mid-way in the project. The limitations of reversal designs have been discussed by Kazdin and Bootzin (1972), Kazdin (1973), Glass et al. (1975), and O'Leary and Drabman (1971). Specifically, the implications of a reversal are not clear: it could mean, for example, that the intervention failed to generalize. Put in another way, new learning is not necessarily reversible (Glass, et al., 1975). To avoid the reversibility problem a multiple baseline design can be used (Baer, et al., 1968; Kazdin, 1973b; Sidman, 1960). The method used in this work, however, would be more accurately described as a multiple component design (cf., Jones, Vaught & Weinrott, 1977) or a component analysis (Hayes, Rincover & Solnick, 1979). In this instance components would be successively added to see if there is additional change. No control or comparison groups are used in this technique. An advantage of using a time-series analysis is that the changes between phases can be made more accurately than either visual inspection or analysis of variance, and some of the demands of having a stable baseline can be reduced (Jones, et al., 1977; Jones, et al., 1978).

In raising basic issues concerning the rationale for token systems, Fisher et al. (1978) note that the success of the reported results raises serious theoretical questions to traditional psychodynamic beliefs. That is, token systems have almost consistently shown that normal and abnormal subjects respond equally well, and this implies their behavior is situation specific--not the result of an "underlying illness." Though this issue is too large to discuss here, it will be asserted that the psychodynamic perspective may be valuable where behaviorism is not--in identifying underlying trends not otherwise examined, for example, at the organizational level, as developed in the next chapter. Rarely discussed in the literature is the simple issue of management. That is, it is valuable in some circumstances to use behavioral techniques to make an environment calm enough to achieve the goals of the agency. This is especially true where violence is a daily threat. The generalization and maintenance of behavioral gains, although important in its own right, may have to take second priority in such an agency. Phillips (1968) pointed out that future research on token economies needs to examine larger programs and more behaviors, as well as natural (i.e., non-research) settings. It is worth stressing that as larger systems are studied, the issues become increasingly concerned with organizational problems, and operant conditioning applications become more simplified if only to ensure their correct use on a large scale. Though just management of an adolescent home is a modest goal, doing so on the scale of some 80 youngsters is not.

## Future Research

One important area of future research in token economies is the examination of individual differences, i.e., who responds to what. The present work is a modest contribution to differential responses of boys and girls. More work is needed, however, especially if we are to address the rather stable failure rate of 10 to 20 percent that is found in almost all token systems. Another aspect of individual differences is differences between racial groups. At Shelter House there were virtually no white teenagers, so this issue could not be studied. Differences along several dimensions between middle class and the disadvantaged, racial or minority groups were discussed in the review. These differences were felt acutely by the author throughout the year, and they will be described in Chapter 5. These differences could explain, for example, why the boys got caught with liquor in the agency, since black teenagers tend to drink more within the family environments than white teenagers (Higgins, et al., 1977).

Probably the most compelling area of future research, especially considering the viewpoint of this entire work, is the bringing together of behavioral interventionists and relevant large scale issues, as seen in the work of organizational psychology. This work has only brought these two vast areas of study together in the simplest way--a two part dissertation. It is hoped, however, that progress will continue, and that relations will grow between the separate areas of psychology so that eventually we can approach human problems under a unified banner.

# CHAPTER 5

## DISCUSSION OF ORGANIZATIONAL ISSUES

It is typical in behavioral studies to discuss problems in implementing research in the discussion section. Organizational issues are sometimes brought in at this point, qualifying and rounding out the picture, giving the reader a sense of the context of the experiment. In this discussion organizational issues will be presented in a systematic way, relying on the organizational literature of A. K. Rice, Bion, and Slater. This chapter is also meant to be a method of assessment as much as a method of analysis, and the outline presented here could be used by others in assessing the likely success of implementing organizational change.

A brief review of some basic concepts of this literature will be presented, but the emphasis will be on the application to Shelter House. The advantage in looking at the organization in this way is that more general or universal themes are considered than the strict scientist would investigate.

## Review of Organizational Literature

### The Basic Assumption Group

Wilfred Bion developed group techniques in his wartime and post-wartime work that facilitated the study of underlying psychological processes in groups (Bion and Rickman, 1943; Bion, 1946; Bion, 1961). A more in-depth look at his work can be found in Greenberg et al. (1975) and Rioch (1970). Bion saw that in any group there are really two groups operating: the work group and the basic assumption group.

The work group carries on the task of the group, deals with external pressures, makes hypotheses and tests them, recognizes, utilizes, and develops the skills of its members. This 'sophisticated activity,' as Bion calls it, is consciously directed to the task for which the group has met, and for the most part this activity is rational.

The basic assumption group, however, is the group which operates as if there were certain unspoken assumptions the members have made about the nature of the group. Bion enumerated three basic types of basic assumptions: the dependency group, the pairing group, and the fight-flight group (Bion, 1961; Lawrence, 1979). The dependency group operates as if there is a significant dependency of members on an omnipotent and omniscient leader. The pairing group behaves in a hopeful, expectant way, so that two members will pair to bring forth a messiah that will solve all the group's problems. The fight-flight group is ready for action, and the leader helps mobilize the group to flee or battle in order to preserve itself. The mood is generally one of paranoia.

There is rarely a group that operates on only one basic assumption; sometimes the group vacillates between the three basic assumptions and the work group. When the prevalent basic assumption group, however, is incompatible with the work group a series of tensions may arise making the pursuit of the task difficult. For example, if the prevalent basic assumption of a group were the dependency group, but the task of the group was to foster independence, the group members might find themselves getting nowhere with respect to work. This theoretical work is closely linked to the language and assumptions of psychoanalysis (which is no surprise since Bion was an analyst). In particular, Bion was influenced greatly by the work of Melanie Klein, the British psychoanalyst (cf. Bion, 1961).

Just as there is an individual unconscious according to the analyst, so too is there a group unconscious, here taken in the form of the basic assumptions. One need not accept all aspects of psychoanalysis, however, in order to use this approach heuristically.

The Contribution of A. K. Rice

A leading figure in the development of the Tavistock school of organizational dynamics was A. K. Rice. He was influenced strongly by the work of Bion, and published widely on various organizational issues (see Miller, 1976, pp. ix-xv). He studied the underlying group and organizational processes in a laboratory fashion, i.e., in the here-and-now experience. In his book with Miller, Systems of Organization (Miller & Rice, 1967), he describes and interprets these processes. A few of these concepts will be presented: the primary task of an organization, the import-conversion export process and the regulation of its boundaries, and the leadership function of a group as analogous to the ego of the individual.

In psychoanalytic theory the ego mediates between the inner life of the individual and the external environment. The ego, also, to a certain extent manages and interprets the inner life itself--emotions, thoughts, beliefs, and so on. In a group, the leadership functions as the group's ego. It mediates between the external pressures on the group and the inner life of the group (Miller & Rice, 1967). The external environment may consist of any individual, group, or institution outside the group in question. The inner life consists of first, the contributions of the members towards the purpose of the group, and second, the beliefs, feelings, and attitudes the members have towards one another. Miller and Rice call these two concepts the task and sentient systems respectively. They correspond to the two levels of group life that Bion described, the work group and the basic assumption group.

The function of leadership is to manage both of these aspects of the group, and the relations between them. The leadership function does not have to be one designated person. It may shift between individuals, at different times and under different circumstances. The leadership may have to contend with potential conflicts between the task and sentient systems. Another major function is the control of transactions across the boundaries of the group. In fact, the leader in a certain sense does function as the boundary. This may have definite limits. For example, any group over 12 to 16 members will tend to split so that a single group has no more than this amount. Each group would need some kind of leadership function (Miller & Rice, 1967, p. 19; Rice, 1965, p. 12); and it thus creates a boundary between it and the other groups in the organization. These boundaries have a "thickness," or an import and export process, which is maintained by the leader. Thus, the leader fulfills a variety of functions crucial to the integrity of the group.

The processing of an organization can be conceived as a series of three phases: import, conversion, and export

(Miller & Rice, 1967; Singer, Astrachan, Gould & Klein, 1975). As implied above, each of these phases has its own resources and procedures, and takes a certain amount of time. They also become ways of defining the organization. In the import phase plans are made, policies are formed especially as to who and what is brought into the organization; a contract of some kind is made between the representatives of the organization and the incoming person(s) or material. During the export phase the organization prepares for the ending of the relationship between the organization and the existing members. Singer et al. (1975) note that groups which provide psychological services (of which Shelter House is an example) have little in the way of procedures or structures to help clients make a successful transition to their back-home world. The conversion process includes the above discussion of the leader managing the activities of the system. More importantly it includes the purpose of the organization, which Rice has called the primary task (Rice, 1958; Miller & Rice, 1967).

The primary task of an organization is that task the organization must perform in order to survive (Miller & Rice, 1967, p. 25). The primary task determines to a great extent allocation of resources in shaping the import-conversion-export process, and in determining the priorities of activities. It is not always a simple matter to identify the primary task. The administration may believe it to be one task (i.e., to make a profit), while the workers may believe another (i.e., to provide a good product). By assessing who believes what, one can often pinpoint fundamental differences that contribute to conflicts and tensions in an organization. One can also observe members and see if they behave "as if" a certain primary task were operating. This may pinpoint conflicts between belief and behavior.

## Covert Themes

Philip Slater in his work Microcosm (1966) explored several covert themes as they apply to small study groups, where the task was to learn about group processes. Many of the concepts unfortunately do not apply to the present organization, an adolescent shelter. The scale of Shelter House was much larger, and small group processes are not the focus. But the attempt to interpret patterns of group behavior in a symbolic or interpretive way can be useful here. It can help us look for wholes or gestalts in relatively large scale human behavior (say, of more than 50 people). Slater develops a series of themes which he admits are not severely logical, nor do they cling rigorously to his data (which consists of a series of recalled excerpts). Some examples of themes are: the tendency for the group to deify the leader; the subsequent move towards killing (overthrowing) the leader; the theme of the sacred king, whereby group members give supernatural qualities to the leader so they too can share them. Slater develops these themes in a richly symbolic way with frequent quotations from mythology, Freud, and the Bible. He is poetic to a point where it sometimes is hard to see how the interpretations relate to the described phenomena. One of his main contributions, however, is to expand the range of covert dynamics beyond Bion's three basic assumption groups, to almost an unlimited number of interpretations.

The themes chosen to analyze Shelter House will be based on the most obvious underlying dynamics for two reasons. There are restrictions of space in this work, and it is believed that one need not get highly speculative or symbolic in order to clarify patterns of behavior in an organization. One can stick reasonably close to the data and derive interesting insights that can explain much of the otherwise confusing behavior without straying too far from the data. Sofer has pointed out, for example, that "every organization is suffused with the dominant values of its environment" (1972, p. 215). In this case the environment could mean the prevailing social issues. Therefore one might see current organizational dynamics reflect these current societal concerns, or "act out" some of the dilemmas in society, as if the organization were a microcosm of the larger social world.

In summarizing this brief review, the author would like to advocate a multi-model approach to the analysis of organizations. None of the approaches discussed are scientific in the sense that behavior modification studies are. But from the organizational-interpretive point of view the change agent would do well to develop several skills since they are all useful in different ways. The Tavistock approach of Rice can give the overall framework of the structure, boundaries, and roles of the organization, and the task and sentient processes. Since Rice and his followers did not develop the concept of sentience fully, additional insights into the sentient or covert dynamics can be gained by applying Bion's three basic assumption groups--fight-flight, pairing, and dependency. Slater goes further into the underlying dynamics and interprets them in a rich, symbolic way, using religious and mythological imagery; his loose, poetic approach can help us form many more interpretive gestalts of group behavioral patterns. Thus, the group or organizational consultant can have a hierarchy or system of approaches, each one potentially pointed in a different direction as the situation demands.

## Organizational Issues at Shelter House

### The Basic Assumption Group

The basic assumption group of dependency seems to be most applicable to Shelter House, for at least two reasons. The first is that religious and medical organizations tend to act as if the dependency group were operating, that is, as if there were an omnipotent leader that will satisfy the needs of the group. Secondly, this adolescent shelter or home is likely to have similar patterns of behavior as those occurring in the families from which these teenagers come.

The notion that religious organizations act as if the basic assumption of dependency existed was first discussed by Bion (1946), later by Gustafason (1979), and elaborated more fully by Reed and Palmer (1976). Shelter House was a religious organization, in which many religious aspects were visibly present. In Reed and Palmer's discussion (1976) of the dynamics of the church and its environment it is clear that the issue of the omnipotent leader (God) is conscious and actively affirmed. Parishioners typically engage in or accept activities and declarations that define themselves as humble and dependent. looking up to the powerful divine figure for guidance, comfort, and even their very existence. One could not design a more dependent system. Several other aspects go along with this assumption. As parishioners go from their daily life into church worship there seems to be a regression to dependence (Reed & Palmer, 1976, p. 270), and the person in some ways becomes less skilled. One example these authors cite is that clergy sometimes complain that successful businessmen are not eager to use their skills in helping the church. Also, in the church the priest is often regarded as weak, and one is reluctant to criticize the clergy, sparing them the more sordid aspects of life "as though they were innocent children who would be shattered by these disclosures" (Reed & Palmer, 1976, p. 270).

All these patterns were apparent at Shelter House, though in a more subtle form. The fact that I was perceived as a very powerful authority figure soon after my arrival would imply that the organization was thirsty for leadership. Staff also tended to act in deferential ways to authority figures, rarely questioning them or even asking for basic information. Several times I recall competent staff members expressing rather magnified and disproportionate fear of losing their jobs. Staff members also rarely seemed to utilize the full range of their skills, even though the teenagers were often receptive to learn. Many children and staff seemed to behave in a more calm, respectful, innocent way to the vestmented clergy. Yet up on the floor, where these clergymen were usually out of sight, the same people behaved in sharp contrast to this reverential esteem.

Another principle frequent in dependency groups is the myth of oneness and blissfulness (Lawrence, 1979, p. 9), and this is true of many religious organizations. This pattern arose at Shelter House in management meetings in the tendency for administration to, in effect, say, "Let's all be friends. We all really agree, don't we?" This attitude sometimes reinforced the group cohesion, but denied the conflict and stopped any resolution of problems.

One particularly salient attitude that derives from religious atmosphere and reinforces the basic assumption of dependency is the notion of charity. The administration, as mentioned above, considered itself to be charitable to both the teenagers and staff. It was unclear, however, if there was a priority as to who would be served first. For example, if the teenagers were to be first priority one might dismiss staff members who did not perform their job adequately (that is, in serving the clients). But if the priority was unclear, one might keep staff on in order to allow them an income, that is, as a charitable function; and their competence on the job might be overlooked. This, in fact, occurred to some extent. Staff were almost never let go because of poor job performance. The higher administrative officials were very reluctant to dismiss a staff member. Reflecting for a moment on a microcosm of church activity--the church service--one might see a parallel. That is, the priest will almost never turn away a parishioner who comes to the institution with basically good intentions. The notion of charity and acceptance is broad and pervasive.

A brief note with respect to medical organizations as operating on the basic assumption of dependency. Shelter House was a protective shelter, and as such could be considered a relative of medical institutions. Operationally, too, there were close ties between Shelter House and several local hospitals, including dealing with some of the same clients. Shelter House also had its own infirmary, nursing staff, and full time psychiatrist. Further, my own background and role as a psychologist accentuated the medical affiliations. The stereotypical behavior in these institutions is to blindly follow the advice of the all-knowing doctors--a different slant on the dependency dynamic. It should be noted, however, that the medical analogy was much less apparent than the religious one.

One begins to see built in sources of conflict between the basic assumption and its derivative ideas, and the organization. The most obvious is the mismatch between the polite, reverent parish--merely asking for silence, or at most the prayerful love of God--and a group of 80 to 90 very active, disadvantaged, angry ghetto teenagers. A mirror of this conflict was acted out when house meetings, held in the chapel, almost always turned into chaos, and sometimes violence. The other major conflict had to do with the fact that Shelter House was functioning as a substitute home for the teenagers.

A parallel can be drawn between the structure of a parish and that of a family--strong authority figures, dependent followers,. a set of emotional bonds. And it is reasonable to see a certain amount of dependency in a family system. A major issue in adolescence, however, is the development of independence, and the transition to adulthood. An adolescent home, too, would have as the general task, a substitute healthy family, to help the teenagers develop skills and attitudes of independence. These youngsters, however, frequently had very stressful family histories. And much has been written that pathological family systems tend to resist the maturation of the adolescent (Shapiro & Zinner, 1979; Minuchin, 1974; Haley, 1963, 1979; Lidz, Fleck & Cornelison, 1965). As the teenagers came to Shelter House they also brought with them their histories and their family experiences. Since this was the only family they knew, there might be strong tendencies for them to expect these patterns to occur again--and if they didn't happen, to provoke them. Thus the staff could be drawn into a pattern of behavior that resembled a family that restricted growth.

Thus, several factors at Shelter House led the organization to behave as if the basic assumption of dependency was operating--religious aspects, medical influence, and the clients' stressful family backgrounds. There are, however, negative implications for an organization that is dominated by the basic assumption. In refernce to this dilemma, Bion wrote:

> If the specialized work group cannot, or does not, cope with the basic assumption phenomena that are its province, then the work-group functions of the main group are vitiated by the pressure of these basic assumptions. For these basic assumptions become dangerous in proportion as the attempt is made to translate them into action . . . basic assumption mentality does not lend itself to translation into action. (Bion, 1961, p. 192)

One could correctly argue that because these teenagers were difficult, a strong sense of authority was needed, and this would lend itself to a dependency pattern. Also, that just because an organization is strongly influenced by religion does not imply it is necessarily handicapped in running such an adolescent home. In fact, another home similar to Shelter House (same population, same city) and run by a similar religious organization was considered a model of its kind. The difference between the two institutions was that at Shelter House there was a lack of clear structure and definition of roles and tasks. This allowed the basic assumption to emerge and unduly influence the behavior patterns in the organization. A corollary could be that as structures develop (such as a token economy) the dependency behavior will diminish.

If a secondary basic assumption group were to be considered in this organization it would be the fight-flight group. Many of the teenage clients had histories of fights, and these habits did not stop when they came to Shelter House. The fighting took various forms--physical, verbal, property destruction, grafitti, rebellious acts--and was a frequent source of disruption in programmed activities. The administration acted out this assumption in the usual manifestation of the fight-flight group--paranoia. There was a tendency to blame other agencies and institutions for the troubles Shelter House encountered. Though these complaints were often true it tended to deflect responsibility elsewhere, and foster a pattern of avoidance in dealing with sensitive issues.

Before closing this discussion of the basic assumption of Shelter House a few concluding remarks are in order. It should be assumed that the basic assumptions are resistant to change. One reason is that the patterns tend to become ingrained over time, and most people become unaware that they are operating. (Psychoanalysts might call this the unconscious; Bion, in fact, does). Gosling (1979) developed the idea of conservatism in groups, that is, why institutions tend to remain in status quo. He writes of the reluctance to give up a relationship (for example, based on a certain pattern of dependency), fear of the unknown and the natural development of group sentience as major components. These tendencies, of course, increase greatly as the organization becomes larger. This is mentioned in hopes of tempering the change agents' aspirations, and minimizing disappointments. On the other hand, the energy of the basic assumption may be channeled more effectively into constructive purposes if structures and processes are understood and designed properly.

Import, Conversion, and Export Processes

The import-conversion-export processes are one way of looking at the processes of an organization. Here the import-conversion-export process will be discussed in terms of the purpose of the organization, providing adolescent care. But since the major conversion process of the organization, the primary task, is such an important process, it will be discussed separately.

The import phase of the teenagers has been described in Chapter 2. Briefly, they were admitted at any time of day or night, seven days a week, and were usually in some kind of crisis. Almost every teenager who came was admitted. This sometimes put a great deal of strain on staff. For example, adolescents who had been previously discharged for poor behavior (usually violence) were sometimes readmitted, and they knew this upset staff. The residents then became triumphant and cocky, while the staff felt impotent, frustrated, and angry. Levinson and Astrachan, in their excellent analysis of entry into mental health systems (1976), wrote that when an entry system operates ineffectively, there will be an overabundance or scarcity of clients, or inappropriate clients relative to the services offered (p. 217).

It will be recalled that the only psychopathological categories of non-admission were active psychosis, profound mental retardation, and known drug addiction. Needless to say, many teenagers could be quite difficult to handle without fitting one of these categories. There were several difficulties with this in that none of the child care staff had any training in mental health, and training programs at Shelter House for staff were almost non-existent. It was an unlocked facility, and the teenagers could come and go as they pleased, as well as sneak in friends through the rear exits. Levinson and Astrachan (1976), commenting on this phenomena, wrote that when the staff perceive the import process, or external boundaries as a very open, leaky sieve they will find their own ways to form protective boundaries. As a result clients may be neglected, transferred, or discharged, contributing to the revolving door phenomena of many agencies.

Besides the lack of discrimination of clients there was very little orientation given to the youngsters. With perhaps a five minute talk by a counselor they were shown a bed on the floor with 25 other youngsters (in various stages of crisis), and left to their own devices. Several days after admission they would meet their social worker; and once a week there was an orientation meeting.

There was little discrimination in the selection of staff, too. Many workers were there because current employees recommended them; but the pay was too low to set any meaningful minimum standards. Staff also received very little orientation and frequently spent days not knowing what their job was. All these factors of the import process contributed to the atmosphere of tension (from the staff) and crisis (from the teenagers).

Besides the important conversion process of the primary task, there was an informal conversion process the residents experienced. As common in penal institutions, these children learned from one another how to steal, mug people, break into places, as well as get involved with alcohol and drugs. There was some indication that some staff held similar views. A few T.V.'s disappeared; clothes from locked storage areas vanished; a few employees were caught drinking on the job; and excessive spending of agency money occurred. Here again, the dynamics or patterns of behavior of the clients were also played out to some extent by staff. This general phenomenon is seen in many institutions, especially hospital settings and business organizations (Menzies, 1960; Miller & Gwynne, 1972).

Just as the import process was sudden and seemed to lack discrimination, so too did the export phase at Shelter House. When the client was notified that they had a place to go, they were usually discharged immediately. There was no transitional period to "work through" leaving the agency. Singer and his colleagues (1975) point out that members in these kinds of institutions should be prepared for the export phase at all stages of the groups' life (p. 43). It has been pointed out that in mental health institutions it is rare to find an adequate transition system to help the client leave the institution and enter another life system (Singer et al., 1975). Levinson and Astrachan (1976) noted that the

> problems most frequently encountered in the process of termination will be directly related to the problems in the entry process that went unresolved at entry and were neglected during the course of treatment (p. 226).

In some ways, then, the export phase mirrored aspects of the import phase. The staff paralleled the client dynamics in some ways: when staff members were terminated they usually left immediately, and usually under relatively negative circumstances.

Looking at the import-conversion-export system is valuable since it defines basic universal processes in any organization. It can also pinpoint the weaknesses of import and export rather clearly, once it is understood that these two processes take time and resources, and therefore deserve attention and organization. Next we will look at the most powerful concept of the conversion process: the primary task.

The Primary Task

The task the organization must perform in order to survive, the primary task, is not always clear. Each subgroup may believe the organization has a different overall task; or the task may be agreed upon, but the behavior implies that another task is really operating. With a clear understanding of these discrepancies, weaknesses of the conversion system of the organization can be seen clearly since the primary task is the cohering idea around which the resources are marshalled. Understanding the dimensions of the primary task will help locate other dynamics in the organization and understand their impact. In the ideal case where the primary task is understood, agreed upon and effectively structured throughout the organization, irrelevant "unconscious" dynamics may be less likely to emerge in destructive ways. Doing this is not always easy.

It may be useful to look at the primary task at two levels: the operating primary task and the ideal primary task. The operating primary task can be defined as that task the organization seems to be performing by virtue of its observed behavior; it is the primary task that is actually occurring. The ideal primary task can be considered the task the organization should be doing or attempting to do. In some cases this would be an ideal towards which the organization moves.

The ideal task of an institution providing adolescent care would be to help the clients with problems of their life, and particularly to help them resolve the dilemmas of adolescence and develop skills of independence. Generally speaking, then, the primary task in this case would be to provide a therapeutic environment.

Observing the behavior of the staff and the administration at Shelter House, however, it became apparent that the primary task was to provide shelter, or, as it is sometimes referred to, custodial care (Watson, 1975; Hersen and Bellack, 1978). Discussions with the highest administrative officials confirmed this view, as did observation of staff behavior. There was no regularly instituted group or individual therapy, except on an occasional basis. There were very few people trained as therapists, and most of their time was spent with paperwork and administrative details. Also, the therapists believed in therapy that dealt with the teenagers' past rather than to help develop skills for the future. Furthermore, none of the outside agencies with which Shelter House interacted seemed to expect a therapeutic approach. In short, Shelter House was not organized on a therapeutic basis. The primary task of being a custodian arose more out of default than design, more because of lack of expertise than the deliberate establishment of priorities. Singer and his colleagues (1975) write that there is "an explicit or implicit priority which determines which task shall be pursued at the expense of the other," but "without a task priority system . . . the end result may at best be chaos, or at worst, destructive consequences for members and/or leader" (p. 24).

Charity and dependence as the primary task. The chaos, however, is not entirely senseless. Recalling the notion of the basic assumption, it was discussed that at Shelter House the basic assumption group was dependency. Under conditions where the organization does not set priorities, an appropriate primary task thereby fails to emerge, and the basic assumption of the group will prevail. At Shelter House the dependency group came primarily from the religious aspects of the organization. It is not surprising that the operating primary task seemed to be that of providing charity. Indeed, this is compatible with the operating task formulated as custodial care: one is a health service term, the other is its religious counterpart. The idea of providing charity, however, was extended to the staff, thus it pervaded the entire organization. For example, when one staff member was caught for a wrong doing, the typical reaction was to give the person a "second chance"--since this was what Shelter House was all about. But the idea of "second chance" originally applied only to the teenager clients (or providing shelter). To merge both staff and clients as recipients of the same task is some evidence of the primitive thinking. The basic assumption appropriate to that group or organization will tend to emerge in ways consonant to important features of the organization. Thus the idea of charity emerged, a common religious notion that also implies dependency on the part of the recipient. It substituted for the more appropriate but challenging task of providing a therapeutic conversion process.

Some of these difficulties are the result of not setting goals. Argyris (1960) argues that an effective organization is rational in the sense of having particular objectives in mind, and that is how a coherence can exist in decision-making. Fane (1978) has pointed out how important it is for an organization to establish goals and some kind of identity. In some settings it is possible that one would have a standard towards which one strives--an ideal goal.

We can contrast the existing or operating primary task to the ideal primary task, the task the organization would perform under ideal circumstances. The ideal primary task is more than simply setting goals. It is a concise statement which reflects an overall attitude that defines the purpose of the organization and clearly implies activities that will likely fulfill the purpose. It should be noted that in some organizations these two tasks may coincide. But at Shelter House the operating task was widely discrepant with the ideal task. The latter task can usually be derived from our nobler motives, but it is most useful if it can be expressed simply and in a way that implies a course of action. Otherwise one might find an administrative system tangled in misunderstandings.

Shapiro and Zinner (1976) propose that the family with adolescents have the primary task of promoting autonomy and identity formation. In the ideal sense Shelter House could be considered serving these psychological functions of the family, even though it was a temporary shelter.

In attempting to be more specific, Singer et al. (1975) give us the general guideline that the task of the group should fit the needs of the clients. In this case, the teenagers are usually in some kind of current crisis. This would be in addition to the needs with respect to adolescence itself. The needs for Shelter House residents, then, can be made more specific and derive directly from the primary task, to provide therapeutic processes: (1) to relieve current stresses the client is experiencing, including the reason for admission to Shelter House, family problems, school problems, problems at Shelter

House, and legal problems; (2) the development of behaviors that promote autonomy, self-esteem, constructive adaptation to society, and skills that would help in the prevention of psychological and social problems. The first need could be fulfilled by a system of crisis counseling, and the second by systems of therapeutic intervention or behavior change methods. The particular methods or orientations that might be used will not be discussed here. Nor would it be necessary to develop a therapeutic community (Jones, 1954; Wilner, 1958), that is, provide therapeutic services throughout the whole organization since these too have their own special problems (Herz, Wilensky & Earle, 1965). It is only asserted here that these therapeutic systems should exist in some form; and the better they are, the better the primary task will be performed.

One can be aided greatly in the analysis of the discrepancy between the ideal and operating primary tasks by speculating on the reasons behind it. In this case, the primary task of providing therapeutic systems would require much more skill and professional training of staff than the custodial task. Doing therapy successfully is difficult under good conditions, but with a difficult population and an unsophisticated staff, as with Shelter House, the probability of success declines. Good results would demand the best the mental health fields could offer. Clearly the custodial task is easier since it requires the staff do little more than exist. And, as discussed, no one in this larger system expected otherwise. Another factor was that the highest administrative officials were not psychologically minded.

The counseling staff also did not have therapeutic skills, but felt pressure to have these abilities because the teenagers were in such immediate need. As a result, the staff did their best to provide therapeutic services --by private talks, giving advice and relating their own past experiences, and good old-fashioned discipline. To accept the task of being a custodian to the teenagers would be tantamount to accepting a task that required almost no abilities other than to exist--a rather insulting position. Workers at Shelter House, in fact, sometimes felt unimportant and uselsss. Also, to accept the task of Shelter House as charity would imply, in part, that the staff members were accepting a hand-out. To hold on to the most basic elements of their self-esteem the staff had to believe that their role demanded some skillful abilities they could perform. This resulted in a vague belief in the primary task to provide therapeutic services. In other words, the counseling staff knew, though not clearly, what they should be doing; but they did not have the resources. The administration, by and large, kept the custodial idea of the primary task to themselves, thus allowing the issue to remain unaddressed; and the staff held on to a mythical purpose.

There are many additional implications of this discrepancy, both with respect to Shelter House and to organizations in general. At Shelter House it resulted in a chronic but vague tension between the administration and the counseling staff. The counselors thought the administration did not respect them (for not having therapeutic abilities, for example), while the administration complained that their staff was not of high enough quality and budget pressures forbade them to hire competent staff. This and other tensions affected staff morale and the performance of their duties. The teenage clients were sometimes the recipients of this staff tension, and then would act out. This created a self-perpetuating cycle of negative behavior between counseling staff and the residents. In more general terms, the implications of not providing therapeutic services in human service institutions have been discussed by several authors.

Graziano (1969) has noted that mental health organizations sometimes reach a point where they are primarily concerned with their own survival, and pay little attention to innovations in the field that are meant to help the clients they claim to serve. Their self-interest can sometimes conflict with humanitarian ideals and social progress. Hersen and Bellack (1978) more recently commented that sometimes because of battling factions in hospital politics, the primary goal of patient care is lost. Over three decades ago Selznick (1943) wrote that bureaucracies can generate problems which have little relation to the original goals of the organization, and become consuming to the point of substituting for the professional goals. All of these authors are essentially commenting on the loss of the ideal primary task.

Shapiro and Zinner (1976) look at this process in the psychoanalytic group sense (or from the view of the Tavistock school). They write that when the group's ego function (the leadership function) deteriorates and the task is lost sight of, more primitive forms of thinking and behaving emerge and a new organization of behavior becomes evident. It is dominated by unconscious fantasies and assumptions and represents a failed struggle to cope with the presented task--in this case the pursuit of the ideal primary task. The group survives but in the service of another task, the operating primary task (Shapiro & Zinner, 1976, p. 291; Turquet, 1975).

In most organizations there is probably some discrepancy between the operating and ideal primary tasks. There is also likely to be at least some recognition of the ideal conversion process, or task of the organization. The larger the discrepancy between the two tasks the more likely there will be organizational tensions and conflicts. An organization that does not have resources to measure up to the ideal task, such as Shelter House, but nonetheless sees its value may end up going through the motions, acting "as if" they were performing the more demanding task. Thus, therapy groups can meet and individual sessions can occur, but more out of pressures to do something that appears to be correct than actually contributing to an overall, understood purpose.

Human service organizations may find additional pressures to develop more viable overall tasks for their organizations. Recent legal decisions have stated that an institution that confines someone "cannot abdicate its duty to provide treatment by claiming lack of facilities" (Renn, 1973, p. 483).

Effecting change in the primary task. The token economy instituted at Shelter House in no small way changed the primary task from the custodial to the therapeutic orientation. The system encouraged the residents to improve their behavior, and it required consistent cooperation of the staff to do this. An advantage was that the primary task of custodian was dominant by default, and that counseling staff were thirsty for tools to do therapeutic work. If the custodial model had been more strongly supported, a behavioral program would have been very difficult to carry out. Hersen and Bellack (1978) have written that training is a low priority in the custodial model, done only after all custodial tasks are satisfied. This approach is basically incompatible with developing a behavioral program (p. 61).

Once one has derived the ideal primary task, and it is shown to be discrepant with the existing conditions, the attempt to implement this more noble task may not be easy. Resistance to any significant change in an organization is to be expected. But because the change implicitly challenged the existing primary task, it challenged the most fundamental aspect of the organization. This in turn implicitly challenged all the staff: were they competent to provide therapeutic services? Existing struggles, formerly vague, became more clearly defined because a very clear structure of accountability existed with the token system. To some extent the focus of complaints shifted from blaming the administration to blaming the behavioral system. To help minimize these conflicts it must be made clear that a given primary task requires a certain minimum of resources--trained staff, number of staff, training programs, physical resources. Without this, the output of the organization will not meet defined standards. Repucci (1977) has wisely advised that at this beginning stage of assessment the change agent may chose not to do the project. Buehler et al. (1973) has noted other difficulties one might encounter in implementing a reinforcement program. First, he points out that the larger the institution and the more eclectic the staff, the more diverse and conflicting will be the staff behavior. They may not all accept the new ideal primary task in the same spirit, and thereby slow down organizational development. Secondly, attempts to reward staff for properly implementing a program may be delayed in large agencies through administrative processes--if such rewards are available at all. Thus, there may not be clear incentives for staff to cooperate with such a program. Thirdly, there may be an underground reinforcement system among staff that would directly conflict with implementing a certain ideal primary task--for example, if some Shelter House staff became friends with some of the teenagers. Another impediment could be the strength of the basic assumption group. At Shelter House the dependency group had strong support from the religious character of the agency as well as acting as a substitute family. The basic assumption behavior could be so strong and fundamentally conflictual to the ideal task, as had been discussed, that the work of the organization could be frequently and mysteriously undermined.

Buehler et al. (1973) have several recommendations in this regard which we might add to previously noted ones (Repucci, 1973; Repucci & Saunders, 1974; Repucci, 1977; Hall & Baker, 1972; Wodarski, 1976). These, however, are more geared towards successfully convincing staff of providing therapeutic services. First, a small group of 20 to 100 clients should be handled, and not be a subsystem of a larger agency. Secondly, all processes and outcomes should be defined objectively in behavioral terms. All staff, at all levels, should be trained in operant conditioning principles. Lastly, decisions of rewards and punishments should rest with the staff that has face to face contact with the client. These suggestions help locate and clarify the power where it is likely to appropriately develop the behavioral program. With these suggestions with respect to the primary task let us turn to another import element in the assessment of the organization.

Organizational Boundaries

The boundary is a conceptual term that serves to delineate functions and roles in an organization. Levinson and Astrachan (1976) have written that a boundary serves two functions in an open system: to separate and distinguish what is within the system and what is external; and to enable useful intercourse between the system and its environment, that is, a transactional function. This latter function implies that the boundary is a region, not simply a line; that it has subsystems to regulate transactions essential to the survival of the organization. Rice has noted (1976) that in attempting to understand an organization it is useful to discover discontinuities in the processes that mark the boundaries of the systems of activities. Several excellent articles are useful in understanding this concept (Singer, at al., 1975; Levinson & Astrachan, 1976; Rice, 1976).

Physical boundaries. In an organization we can first look at the boundaries in the most obvious way--the physical boundaries. At Shelter House the building and grounds were distinctly delineated from the surrounding environment, but the boundaries were permeable in several ways. Teenagers from the surrounding community would typically play ball in the outdoor playground of Shelter House; they would also sometimes have meals in the cafeteria. Perhaps because of the ambiguity of this physical boundary, for example, several fights occurred between the outside teenagers and Shelter House residents during the year, and several of these community teenagers were suspected of selling drugs to the residents of Shelter House. Other non-residents could easily sneak into the agency, sometimes causing trouble. As has been mentioned the physical design of the building did not aid in the management of the house. In this regard, the floor plan of the house reflected a confusion of boundaries. On the girls' floor there were four offices next to the girls' bedrooms and bathrooms that had almost nothing to do with Shelter House. This lack of privacy (on both sides) may have contributed to the tensions on the girls' floor. The boys' groups were divided in a relatively arbitrary way, and tended to reflect a fragmentation of this subsystem. Numerous other ambiguities of physical boundaries could be given. It is enough to stress that fundamental issues in the maintenance of boundary integrity can be addressed by only looking at the floor plans and the physical attributes of the agency.

Functional boundaries. As we look at the boundaries of functions, the issues become more abstract. The dimensions can be broken down into several categories of functional boundaries: time, membership, role, and task (Singer, et al., 1975). As each of these are looked at, different people will draw the boundary at different places, and thus there will be confusion as to what is inside and what is outside (Rice, 1976, p. 30). Alderfer (1979) has noted in this regard that community organizations have much less defined boundaries than profit oriented companies. The distinctions of the primary task, who believes what and how various subsystems behave, has been discussed.

Time boundaries. The delineations of time were sometimes not clearly drawn in that (1) the agency was always operating and so there was a constant pressure to perform; and (2) there were ambiguities about which shift should do which jobs. For example, who was to make sure the residents were up--the midnight to 8 A.M. shift or the 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. shift? And did this change on weekends, since the residents got up later? These seemingly fine distinctions were important in the token system since a whole series of morning behaviors were to be marked--by someone. Another time boundary issue was that there was no overlapping time between shifts; therefore, there was no time to transfer information such as significant events, who was sick, etc., to the oncoming workers. Much information was lost in this discontinuous time system, and each shift began their work with less knowledge than the residents.

Membership boundaries. There was little screening in the membership of the residents, and almost everyone was admitted within the age group. Staff, too, had little screening as they came to the agency. This has been discussed, and we are beginning to see overlaps in issues with the application of different conceptual frameworks. Another membership boundary sometimes taken for granted is distinguishing staff from clients. While the overt distinction is clear, the issue was raised covertly when a young male staff member became emotionally close to an older girl resident. Also, in mental hospitals a frequent standing joke is the inability to distinguish who are staff and who are patients. If it becomes a reality, it is no joke. Membership is one of the most fundamental distinctions in an organization--especially in human service, since receiving help and giving it are clearly differentiated. Their confusion poses serious questions about the organization's integrity.

Role boundaries. The question of role boundaries is often the most revealing yet difficult to make clear. Those general aspects of roles affecting the entire institution will be discussed here; issues relevant to each general role will be discussed in the next section. The question "Will the real client stand up?" was posed by Singer et al. (1975). At Shelter House, as with many other agencies, outside forces dictate some parameters of the organization--salaries, number and type of clients, limits on certain budget items--and it becomes a real question who is running the organization for whom. Is one attempting to serve teenagers in trouble or an outside bureaucratic system? A director of an organization thus may find himself responsible for circumstances he cannot control, sometimes a no-win situation. Importantly, however, this impotence eventually filters down to all members of the organization. Another major issue is, who is responsible for what? Although this could be asked of everyone at the agency with some benefit, the point as A. K. Rice has put it, is "to be continually confused about the role/person boundaries or completely unable to define and maintain boundaries is to be mentally sick" (1976, p. 38).

The administration at Shelter House did not always clearly delineate responsibilities. This author believes it was because of the overly dominant basic assumption group of dependency. Recalling the tendency for blissful oneness in dependency and religious groups, it became manifest in Shelter House as a pseudomutual group. Gustafason (1976) describes such a group, and it is applicable to Shelter House dynamics. Members seem a blurred collection of good natured people; they are difficult to put into sharp focus. Their physical boundary is ingenuous, and it is difficult to come up against anything definite; they are difficult to pin down. Outright opposition evokes hurt feelings, and comments may be made about the unnecessary nastiness. If this doesn't calm the objector down, a suggestion might be made that he has a personal problem with the issue.

Another issue arising out of the basic assumption group of dependency is that a paternalistic organization has difficulty maintaining internal boundaries (Miller, 1979). This is because it is difficult for the administrator to delegate out responsibilities, especially if he is to appear omnipotent. Also the strength of emotional ties between subgroups can make it hard to differentiate the subsystems.

These underlying patterns--dependency, race, religion, the air of crisis--became more important at Shelter

House because of the lack of clearly defined boundaries. Issues were addressed as between individuals or groups rather than a delineation of roles and power networks, which Singer et al. (1975) recommend. It could also be helpful simply to ask concrete questions who does what; do supervisors really spend time with staff and supervise? Are the physical boundaries consonant with the roles and what people believe they are doing? These very basic questions are often avoided in organizations because they usually raise the issue of competence: who is doing their job satisfactorily? But when avoided, despair, distrust, and disaffection grows (Bowers, 1973). As these underlying dynamics arise in an organization there are patterns that emerge to defend against these feelings.

### Defenses

Anxieties in any human service institution are inevitable. The clients are usually there out of a clear if not desperate need, and they bring their anxieties with them. As staff members confront these anxieties in the clients, their own feelings respond, their own conflicts are awakened, and defenses come into play. Menzies (1960) has written an excellent case study of organizational defenses against anxiety, and it serves as a model for any such analysis. Her case study, however, was a hospital where patients would not infrequently die. The anxieties generated about fears of death are strong and clear--much more salient than the anxieties likely to be experienced elsewhere. Therefore, the attempt to delineate the defenses of subsystems will require more inference than in Menzies' example.

A main point in Menzies' work is that whole subsystems--such as nurses, doctors, custodial staff in a hospital--will defend against anxiety in a comprehensible and coherent way, almost as if the group were acting as one organism. At Shelter House the tensions the teenagers brought to the agency were considerable, and they more often than not expressed them openly. The anxieties of staff seemed to be fear of physical harm by residents, fear of being called incompetent, fear of losing their job, racial tensions, and guilt. The fear of physical harm was realistic, since there had been a few instances in the last couple of years where staff had gone to the hospital for injuries.

Racial issues related to the other less tangible issues. It will be remembered that all staff were black except the three highest administrators. Excessive leniency on the part of administration might be called "white guilt," since it seemed to occur under the guise of "let's give them a chance." By giving the black disadvantaged teenagers trips and parties, the white administrators seemed to be attempting to make up for past crimes of racial prejudice. It is interesting that the teenagers saw this tendency rather clearly and were very skillful in exploiting it, while the supposed well-trained, bright administrators seemed unaware of its existence.

Guilt seemed to exist in the counseling staff, too, but in an obverse way. Sometimes when a resident did something bad the staff would openly express embarrassment, as if the youngster were acting for the whole race. The guilt also seemed to come from the staff's acceptance of responsibility and their inability to control the teenagers, thus reflecting on their competence on the job. A third source of staff guilt could have come from feelings of their own background. Now that blacks theoretically have more opportunities to succeed and develop their lives, what happens to the older black who missed these supposed advantages? These staff then were asked to teach to the teenagers skills of development and success they never learned themselves. This was exacerbated by the fact that the salaries of the counseling staff were quite low and did not attract trained or educated people.

Though these latter anxieties were less realistic than those arising out of physical threats, the defensive maneuvers were pervasive and compelling. Avoidance and withdrawal from responsibilities were commonplace; questions from administrators were frequently answered "I don't know" or "I didn't know that." This was particularly frustrating in trying to develop an organizational system in which all staff were asked to actively cooperate. But for the most part the defensive maneuvers helped contain otherwise dysfunctional anxieties and allowed the work of the agency to be done. One aspect that should not be neglected in allowing staff work to be performed is that these youngsters were quite endearing in their sometimes clumsy and naive wanderings, and strong but sensitive emotional bonds developed between staff and clients that helped to awaken the counselors' sense of responsibility. As a result the defensive behavior was usually against the administration rather than the youngsters.

This is only a sketch of some defensive behaviors of subgroups in an organization. Though Menzies (1960) is a model, it is likely the assessor will have to dig further and infer more to arrive at some defensive patterns. The defenses are very helpful to identify since they can give clues to the change agent how to intervene. As with an individual, the professional must consider the consequences of openly interpreting the defenses or trying to remove them. Subgroups in organizations may need their defenses just as much as many individuals do.

Underlying Themes

Sometimes behavior patterns, or dynamics, can be identified by the unique characteristics of the organization and current issues in society. These dynamics usually occur unknowingly among staff (and could therefore be called unconscious dynamics), and all the members of the organization contribute to their ongoing, sometimes astoundingly systematic ways. By looking at them we may identify patterns before they become destructive. Some of these themes will make sense in other organizations since they reflect overall societal concerns, while others may be of interest to specialized institutions. In all cases, however, these patterns have a degree of universality and can be considered microcosms. Slater (1966) in his book Microcosm, has written some elaborate and poetic interpretations on underlying themes in groups. The following is more simple.

Accountability. This concept is a current obsession, particularly with government agencies. Shelter House was connected in important ways to municipal funding, and in fact throughout my tenure there were lengthy and significant negotiations occurring between Shelter House and various agencies. It is coincidental that some of these agencies were having doubts about the efficacy of Shelter House just at the time I was hired to design a token system--one of its salient aspects being the accountability of both clients and staff. A month after I left, Shelter House was visited by officials from an important supervising agency, and the token economy results were used as proof that a good job was being done. At another time in history these same results might have been used to show that research advances were being made, or that the teenagers were learning definite skills. The entire project of the token system could be seen as covertly fulfilling a need in the larger social system of these agencies--the need to keep track of each other and to show the job was being done.

The crisis dynamic. A typical process in Shelter House can be seen most clearly in the way physical maintenance was done. The original building had not been designed for these teenagers, with all its numerous nooks, twists and turns, dim hallways, and ample roof space. As damage occurred (at a frequent rate), repairs were made with an eye for prevention of future danger or vandalism. This type of patchwork solution is one example of the pattern of crisis. One can understand this further by looking at the characteristics of the clients.

The teenagers that came to Shelter House were in crisis situations. They were tense, angry, and confused. They spent much energy attempting to deny their present difficult situation and unknown futures. They manifested these feelings by being rebellious, acting tough, being "cool," getting in fights. Strong adult controls, symbolically analogous to a strong ego function in an individual's intrapsychic dynamics, were absent at Shelter House, and these primitive and chaotic feelings spilled over and contributed to dysfunctional behavior. The adult staff acted in response, rushing from one crisis to another, never having time to develop structures or processes to prevent crises in the first place. Repucci (1973) comments on this pattern noting that it fosters unplanned action in reaction to external events. The teenagers were unwittingly training the organization as a whole and individual staff members to act the way so many of their parents did: with no hopeful plans of the future, just making ends meet, precariously living from day to day. The organizational behavior was a mirror of the turbulent intrapsychic dynamics of the teenagers in crisis. This tendency frequently occurs in under-structured human service organizations--that the organization as a whole subtly acts out the concerns of the client (cf. Menzies, 1960).

Recounting my own experience is relevant here. Shortly after my arrival I found myself quickly immersed in a sea of large and small crises. Having made the mistake of calling myself manager, the staff saw me running the whole house, in all aspects. I began to be drawn into all kinds of tasks that were not being done by the proper people. I spent at least half my time in the first eight months working my way out of various stages and types of crises. I saw all kinds of organizational gaps and I spent time trying to solve them--designing weekday programs, writing job descriptions, organizing trips. After several frustrating months of this I backed off, but was never completely removed from the process: many situations demanded immediate authoritative attention. In the last few months of my stay I attempted to persuade the administration to formulate "battle plans," i.e., built-in mechanisms that facilitate immediate decisions and actions; but the suggestion was passed over.

Staff turnover. Some organizational psychologists have looked at temporary systems and their effects. Shelter House was a temporary system only with respect to being a temporary shelter for adolescents. The staff was not considered, overtly anyway, to be temporary. Curiously, however, this theme reflected itself as if Shelter House were a temporary institution. Keith (1978) points out that these institutions have less stability as seen in less developed socialization and inefficiency. There is always a certain newness, and staff turnover is high. The social bonds are less developed and may be a fundamental reason for the lack of clarification and delineation of roles. Some of these ideas have been discussed in reference to Shelter House. Indeed, the organization appeared to have absorbed the task of the agency--a temporary shelter--into its own behavior. The high staff turnover created a group of perpetual neophytes among staff, and produced role strain and lower productivity (Keith, 1978). This was not unique to Shelter House. Rosenfeld (1979) has noted the high turnover rate among child care workers. Four out of ten leave within a year in his study, and only seven percent remained for more than three years. Rosenfeld further suggests that the high turnover rate of staff contributes to the tendency towards custodial care instead of a therapeutic approach.

It will be recalled that the administration had persistent difficulty in planning and implementing weekday programs for the residents. Although one cause could be seen as the role confusion that was discussed, another could be that regular, daily programs are antithetical to adolescents in crisis. Repeated attempts by almost every administrator including myself to develop constructive programs continually met with failure, with various reasons given: not enough staff, changing staff patterns, no materials, kids are unruly. But there were enough suggestions to know what to do. Several excellent reports and program systems were completed. But the administration seemed paralyzed from acting in a constructive preventative manner in part because of the overwhelming quantity of the crisis dynamic, spilling over from the difficulties of these teenagers. Thus, there are several ways that Shelter House seemed to reflect the instability and poor planning ability that were characteristic of their teenage clients.

Racial/cultural differences. The most obvious element of the leadership at Shelter House was that the highest ranking staff were white and all the rest of the some 100 staff were black (with one or two exceptions) except a small percentage of staff were Hispanic. Interestingly, this issue was denied as being important by everyone even though some of the behavior patterns seemed to belong to another era and were painfully similar to a plantation. It was as if there were a wall between whites and blacks, and it was all the more strong because it was denied.

At first I was not aware of a racial wall. When I interviewed every staff member they gave me strong indications of wanting a good organizational system for the residents, the system I was hired to devise. I was impressed by their sincerity and dedication in many cases. Much later I began to realize that many of the staff may have been telling me what I wanted to hear. During these interviews I had a simple way of noting how good I thought the staff member was at the job. A year later I looked at them and was astounded at my apparently poor judgment.

The teenagers at Shelter House were known for regularly trying to "get over," or fool some staff in order to gain something, or sometimes just to feel they succeeded. They particularly enjoyed fooling white people and sometimes said how dumb white folks were in these instances. Even though one could argue that the staff came from similar backgrounds as the residents, one could also say that their tendency to fool or bamboozle white authority might have been heightened at Shelter House with the staff absorbing these dynamics. In this sense the staff and residents colluded against the administration.

The effect of the racial wall was that it caused distortion in implementing change. General systems theorists note that as the signal-to-noise ratio decreases, the probability of error increases (von Bertalanffy, 1968). The counselor's "noise" was dissatisfaction and anger at being told what to do by a brand-new, well-paid white person in power--a replay of a thousand scenarios of blacks, whites and power. This "noise" was manifested by the various forms of resistance such as forgetting to make notations, exercising idiosyncratic authority--anything that could go wrong usually did. On the other hand, there seemed to be an inappropriate exaltation of authority. One example is seen in two penalty notations in the log sheets. When a resident cursed out a staff member the notation was "cursing -10." But for cursing at the Director, the notation was "cursing at Mr. M____, - 20."

Other aspects of race at Shelter House seemed to reflect the situation of blacks in this society. No one in the child care department had or was pursuing an advanced degree; only a small handful had been to college (even though there were a few RNs). Most staff saw daytime programming as trips, games, crafts, knitting. They never seemed to consider programs as analogous to school or work; and therapeutic groups rarely occurred. In other words, achievement oriented, goal directed behavior did not exist, primarily because of the cultural/racial background of staff that had denied them a more expansive, hopeful vision.

In implementing the token system the cultural differences seemed to slow the project down. A main feature in such a behavior modification program is the positive reinforcement of improvements in behavior. As a youngster receives praises, improvement will be more likely. Indeed, the staff members were repeatedly encouraged to use verbal praise liberally--"that's good! I like that; good job!"--when giving out points. When I was around, however, I rarely saw this done. Perhaps the non-material reinforcement was more subtle, such as just not complaining. But it is understandable that individuals who have been disadvantaged, looked down upon, and had low paying jobs would have had little exposure in using praise and verbal rewards. Understanding the cultural and racial backgrounds and interaction patterns of staff may lead the change agent to consider different training, or even variations in the token system itself.

The Messiah. Aspects of the religious point of view that played a part in the organizational dynamics have been discussed above. The religious world view, in addition, can be seen in the evolution of my role at Shelter House. There are some striking coincidences that can be interpreted in a general way to parallel the life of Christ. This discussion differs, however, in the way Bion (1961) and Slater (1966) look at the Messiah. They see the messiah in group life as the unborn product of the pairing basic assumption group. It is not meant to be presumptuous to characterize my conversion of the staff as messianic. It is meant to be an illustration of an interesting and perhaps universal pattern, even though it may have more meaning here since Shelter House was run by Christian clergy, and the overall organization was a charitable and religious institution. Circumstances, then, may have been unconsciously set up for me.

Before I came to Shelter House I was referred to in a management meeting as God--jokingly. I was to bring order and structure to a chaotic environment. My task, then, was to take on the burdens of the organization that others did not want to tackle. I brought new knowledge that all staff knew little about, though the basics--learning theory and rewarding good behavior--were within the life experiences of everyone. It was my job to convert the staff to this new knowledge so they could see the truths by their own experience. One manifestation of this overall dynamic of being a messiah was that I was quickly perceived to have tremendous power. As the token system became part of Shelter House, every staff member, every resident quoted my name as an invocation on the Points System and most other matters. Also, during several long intervals of time when my perceived power was high, I was mistakenly called the director's name by at least one third of the residents. I was asked advice on everything, and began to be drawn into excessive responsibility as described above. I attracted a small following of what I thought were the best staff. These staff members were loyal, attentive, and supportive, but were also ingratiating and inappropriately admiring of me. Since I have left, these apostle-like staff members have been sources of strength in carrying on the system.

The conversion system was arduous. I spent long hours, at all times of the day and night, making sure I contacted and explained the system to the staff. For the most part they listened without responding. But during the last six weeks of my mission the staff converted. The system was accepted and had a life of its own. But since the conversion was completed I was no longer necessary. I had little to do with the active management of the agency since the new manager was performing well. I felt a loss of purpose. My original plans to phase myself out of the organization were succeeding painfully well.

As I began work with the data that had been collected for a year I saw interesting, new ways to analyze it. I asked the director if I could stay longer, but he said, no, because the grant had run out and the budget was low. I had vague images of being Christ brought before Pontius Pilate for the determination of his fate. But as we know, this authority figure deferred judgment to others and the crucifixion was carried out. I had sensed the "no" ahead of time, and I somehow felt that for the good of the organization I must be crucified in some symbolic way. Just as guilt of this act in history can be a motivator for Christians to do good works, so too could residual emotions act as a perpetuator in carrying on a just and constructive system.

My last day was characterized by a symbolic crucifixion--neglect. During the following weeks I dropped by Shelter House at unpredictable times out of necessity to clean up some old papers. I was always greeted enthusiastically and asked advice on various matters.

It is probably not necessary for the organizational innovator to make such direct parallels to his task as a divine mission. But there may be certain inherent tendencies in such a role, particularly the looking to the change agent for many answers to the organization's problems; the inflation of his power; the lack of response to new knowledge; the symbolic crucifixion when the task is completed. It is not clear to me if these tendencies occur often in organizational innovation programs. Other accounts may illuminate this pattern.

In summary, the basic themes outlined above can be applied to some total institutions. A way to unearth these patterns is noting the characteristics of the agency in terms of race, sex, age, education, cultural background, religion--all the sensitive issues. Next would be to look for stereotypical ways these various groups might behave, and see if, in fact, this is acted out in organizational behavior. Contrasting the existing behavior with current societal perspectives may help clarify these dynamics, and make us humble.

With these suggestions, we can conclude this section of analyzing the organization as a whole. The attempt was to present conceptual tools such that patterns within the organization could be delineated without losing an overall perspective. Thus, the basic assumption group, the import-conversion-export process, the primary task, the organizational boundaries, the defenses, and other underlying themes are all useful concepts to explore in the assessment of whether a project is likely to be successful. Now we can examine the three basic subgroups --the administration, the counseling staff, and the teenagers--as units unto themselves.

## The Administration

The responsibility of dealing with all of the issues raised so far is usually considered to reside with the administration of the organization. Indeed, when all the staff members were interviewed, complaints were frequently directed at the administration for a lack of unity, aloofness from day-to-day management, favoritism to certain employees, and lack of responsiveness to staff's urgent pleas for action. Given the vast responsibilities the administration had both as discussed in this chapter and the thousands of small day-to-day details, it is understandable that much could be left undone. Most of the responsibility was taken by the director of Shelter House, and therefore this role will be emphasized.

A simple way to look at the functions of a director is to see his role as one who manages external and internal boundaries of the organization. The external boundary means the organization's transactions with its environment, including all the agencies it deals with, as well as the surrounding physical environment. Levinson and Astrachan (1976) assert that the management of external boundaries of an organization must be the first priority.

> If top management centers its efforts on internal subsystems, the organization will become encapsulated and out of touch with its environment; it will then inevitably be weakened in its capacity for growth and for creative adaptation to changes in the environment (p. 220).

The effect of focusing on the internal subsystem is to primarily iron-out differences. Indeed, one of the characteristics of the pseudomutual group, as discussed by Gustafason (1976) is that the "outside world is barely represented in the group. One easily forgets about it" (1976, p. 71). Even though the above characteristics seemed true at Shelter House, it is not clear that the top management was avoiding the regulation of the external boundaries. There were some chronic difficulties in relationships with outside agencies that did not seem to improve, however. Repucci and Saunders (1974) refer to the inevitable external pressures that take their toll on programs. It is important to realize, as Terreberry pointed out over a decade ago (1968) that organizations are becoming more and more interconnected with one another. The successful director will become the one to see all these interagency relationships and work with them well.

In regard to internal boundaries, the relations between subsystems in an organization, two principles can be added to those already discussed. Alderfer and Klein (1978) review the history of one writer (McGregor, 1944, 1954) who stated that followers need certain qualities from their leader: consistent discipline, knowledge of what is expected, forewarning of changes, and an atmosphere of approval. These are all qualities of good internal management. Ten years after this, the same author, after he became a university president, learned that a leader must exercise authority, absorb hostility, and protect the institution from a hostile environment. These are more ominous qualities, and are more like managing external boundaries. Alderfer and Klein (1978) make the distinction clear: "attending to the emotional needs of subordinates is easier for lower-ranking managers in micro-systems than it is for leaders in macro-systems" (p. 23). To a certain extent the change agent must know these dilemmas. To put a thorough organizational system into effect one needs some degree of power, usually from the director. But staff will sabotage the implementor if they are not treated well, or if he does not navigate the internal boundaries well.

Several authors have commented on how important administrative support is to the success of a behavioral (or any other) program (Hersen and Bellack, 1978; Repucci & Saunders, 1977; Atthowe, 1973a; Wordarski, 1976). There is likely to be some ambivalence about giving this support. The administration usually does not realize how much power they will lose over the clients once the token system is in place. It is understandable why administration is reluctant to support the token system once the originator leaves (Hersen & Bellack, 1978). Secondly, the developer of the system is almost always a psychologist, while the director is usually another professional--an M.D., a social worker, a nurse. There is the usual conflict between the followers of the social learning model and the medical model.

In the case of Shelter House it was fortunate that the director gave me great latitude. I quickly defined myself close to the highest management because I saw the job as difficult and felt I needed power to make the project successful. This is supported by various authors who have noted that failures in token economy programs (or any program) are frequently the result of the inability to control certain contingencies (Poirer and Jones, 1977; Repucci & Saunders, 1974; Atthowe, 1973b; O'Leary, 1973). Schemerhorn (1964) wrote that "the power process crystallizes into more or less stable configurations designated as centers of power" (p. 18). Because the organization was in flux when I first came to Shelter House this crystallization was not yet fixed, and I was therefore carving out a new position. By the time I left the power process had settled, and the role of manager was an accepted fact. The new manager slipped in easily. Administrative support, then, consists simply in the delegation of power. But this power can either be consciously given by or assumed (i.e., taken) by the change agent. At Shelter House both occurred. One danger, however, is that if too much power is assumed one might find oneself saddled with extra and irrelevant duties.

Administrative support has qualities in addition to the amount of power that is delegated. At Shelter House, for example, the director had no knowledge of behavior modification, and therefore the laissez faire attitude was essentially an article of faith. Saunders and Repucci (1977) have studied administrators of human service organizations and noted that they learn of innovations in their fields through widely different sources, and that professional journals have a limited impact on these important people. Unknowledgeable support can also backfire if the director is called upon to justify the entire system. "I don't know" is not enough.

Another reason the director at Shelter House let me develop the behavioral program freely was that he was flooded with work. It has been noted that the director of Shelter House was fulfilling three levels of the management hierarchy--the director of the division, the director of Shelter House, and the director of child care. This situation created a confusion of roles and boundaries that by its very structure led to decreased accountability, neglect of previously performed duties, besides not having enough management personnel. If the child care director reported to the director of Shelter House on various tasks, checks on progress could be made, and improvements suggested. Likewise with the division director and Shelter House director roles. In this case accountability was not likely to be as rigorous.

Another way to put it, in A. K. Rice terms, is that being at three levels of the hierarchy forces one to cross the boundaries of the respective activity systems. The result is that these boundaries become inherently unmanageable (Miller & Rice, 1967).

One illustration of this problem is the failure of programming. It had always been the child care director's responsibility to design and supervise weekday programs and activities for the residents. These programs were supposed to be analogous to school activities, and would have required a great deal of time and energy to implement successfully. Since there virtually was no director, these programs did not develop. As a result many residents had little to do during the day, and consequently got into various kinds of trouble. This directly affected the behavioral program since viable weekday activity was required for a certain amount of points. If nothing was required the whole system looked foolish.

Important dimensions to look at in assessing the administrator's role are the amount and quality of support for the intervention program, confusion or overlapping of administrative roles, and the ability to develop other supportive systems (in this case, daytime programming) that help an intervention program make sense.

The Counseling Staff

The counseling staff was the largest staff group in the agency, and had the most face-to-face contact with the residents. There were other subgroups at Shelter House--the sewing ladies, the cooking staff, the social workers--but they will not be examined because their presence did not raise distinct issues otherwise not covered. As noted in the description chapter, the counselors were all minorities (under white authority), with low salaries, usually uneducated, and had street values similar to the residents. Their morale was low but they usually felt very reluctant to speak up or make complaints. Many seemed to be very afraid of losing their jobs. These descriptive items are important to the change agent but usually in indirect ways; they set the tone of the agency and give clues one should be sensitive to in order to facilitate implementation of the program. More direct resistances have several sources.

Staff resistance has been noted by all writers on token economy and organizational aspects to be the most common major obstacle in the development of a program. Particular issues will be examined here, in addition to those discussed in Chapter 2, with the intention of providing guidelines for assessment and implications for action. In general, passive resistance is much more likely than active opposition (Hersen & Bellack, 1978, p. 63).

This may take the form of forgetting, arriving late to crucial meetings, saying "yes" and doing the opposite, losing memoes--endless other possibilities.

A main form of resistance is the existing reinforcement patterns between staff and clients. Gelfand, Gelfand and Dobson (1967) have shown that some staff typically reinforce inappropriate behavior of patients, and end up increasing the same deviant behavior they say they want to eliminate. Others have had similar findings (Ayllon & Michael, 1959; Buehler et al., 1973; Wahler, 1972; Katz, et al., 1972). One study has shown that different staff members reinforce differently, and so clients will behave differently in their presence (Redd, 1969). Some authors claim that one of the most significant rationales for a token economy is to bring the staff-client interaction under systematic control (Kazdin, 1977). The habit patterns in an ongoing staff system are very different to break by trying to apply principles the behaviorist may verbally teach. Staff members should be made to feel minimal guilt concerning these patterns, and should be convinced that a system with a definite structure will help correct these potentially destructive habits and ease their day-to-day job burden. Training can serve this function to convince and motivate staff to develop and carry out the system with gusto.

In any large agency, however, there will be staff members who will not be able to change their old patterns. Hall and Baker (1973) report that their program was severely hampered by two staff members until they were replaced. Often the change agent will not have to do anything in particular to remove such employees. As the entire system develops many pressures will automatically come to bear on these resistant employees. Eventually they will find their own reasons for leaving.

Sometimes an agency has an existing orientation that conflicts with a token economy, and the reorienting of staff can be a problem. At Shelter House there was no active existing orientation. In fact, they were receptive to any orientation that sounded reasonable. If there is a possibly conflicting orientation, however, it is probably best to develop the program as if it had no orientation, and that you were just developing ideas from common sense. This approach is more likely to have greater appeal because of the grass roots quality. Because of lack of previous orientation another typical obstacle in implementing a token economy was avoided, and that was the issue of removing some authority from staff. Under the token program at Shelter House the staff now had the power to reward and discipline that they formerly did not have. The staff who lost informal power were those few who had strong and inappropriate interaction patterns with the teenagers. They felt the token system was "not flexible enough" because it minimized subjective judgments.

The level of sophistication of staff has sometimes been an issue. When Liberman et al. (1975) tried to replicate the Achievement Place token aconomy, his results were less dramatic. One interpretation was that his staff had no formal college or graduate school training as did the Achievement Place personnel. Scallon (1979) has suggested, however, that unsophisticated staff can sometimes be even better than college educated staff because a token system is concrete. It has definite rules, rewards, and behaviors, and also, makes good common sense. The rules can be viewed simply at face value, not up for learned discussion, as long as they seem like common sense. Getting enthusiastic, honest, and consistent staff, then, may be more important than so-called sophisticated staff.

Cultural differences between staff and the behavioral professional have not been addressed in the literature, yet are crucial to the smooth implementation of a program. In minority cultures there may be significant differences in values (cf. Nord, 1976) that a white male, for example, may take for granted. As such, differences can be misunderstood to mean that certain groups (Blacks and Hispanics in particular) are lazy, stupid and dishonest. For example, differences in time perception and punctuality can result in staff members being frequently late to meetings or to work. Relationships with authority may be characterized by cautious withdrawal and perhaps some underlying but unexpressed anger. The achievement orientation of minority staff may be low compared to whites, and may take the form of not accepting responsibility, setting low goals (for both themselves and clients), and taking no risks (Hyram, 1972).

In the program at Shelter House it was clear that staff were not used to paper and pencil methods of accountability. They also did not respond to written memoes from administration, even when there were important changes in policy. Quilitch (1975) has found that only feedback and assigned tasks increased appropriate staff behavior. All these differences seem to reflect that these groups have not had power in this society and consequently have not developed the various attributes of power and being organized. And since avenues of power have usually been blocked to them, minorities probably saw little reason to develop these new habits. At Shelter House I struggled with stereotypic prejudices. I found a successful way to reduce these feelings was to become friendly with a few staff members I respected. I then began to see a whole range of abilities they had that I did not have and could never have developed to their level--physical courage, spontaneity, sense of humor, "street" intelligence. After a while I saw the abilities of myself and staff as even, and my work with them began to be very productive (since we combined two sets of talents) and enjoyable. Nonetheless, there always existed a racial wall between the staff and me. They always seemed to respect me, but at the same time they were distant. There would always be a whole series of issues and communications I would not be privy to; the counseling staff were simply not used to trusting white people.

The implementation of a token system in a large agency (i.e., over 20 clients) is representative of an increase in structure in the organization. Behaviors of clients are graded and accounted for daily, in a uniform way; this information goes to a central source and has consequences for the clients. Indirectly it also has consequences for staff, since if this accounting is not done properly it is usually clear who was responsible.

There is an inevitable increase in tension after establishing a token program, and in one study it took the form of an increase in staff grievances (Dubin, 1965 cited in Nord, 1976). At Shelter House this was exacerbated by the fact that the counseling staff were, by and large, an undifferentiated large group of about eighty counselors. They also had no director. The four supervisors ended up absorbing all the stresses (complaints, staff problems, schedule changes) without being able to discharge them to a superior. Miller (1979) has pointed out that an underdeveloped (i.e., in this case undifferentiated) system can experience a relative lack of control over relations with one's environment. Elsewhere, it has been suggested that undifferentiated large groups are more prone to be dominated by the irrational basic assumptions (Turquet, 1975). This may explain, in part, why the staff felt out of control. The evidence for the basic assumptions consisted of rumors of staff having outside relationships (pairing), anger and fighting between staff and between staff and the residents (fight-flight); and craving of a leader (dependency).

One significant way the counseling staff were undifferentiated was that all counselors took on all the roles necessary to meet the teenagers' needs. Thus a counselor would be an advocate for each of 12 children with regard to clothes, hygiene, discipline, allowance, diet, talking over troubles, and so on. Recalling that each resident was frequently in some kind of crisis, one can understand how the tensions mounted. Besides the general chaos in this arrangement, it is important to note the existing duties of the counselor's role. One can understand a staff's resistance to accepting new token economy responsibilities (cf. Katz, et al., 1972).

Respect and recognition of staff. It is very important in assessing staff to allow for their input--even if it goes against all reported knowledge. One important illustration should suffice. After the initial token system was in place at Shelter House I suggested that new residents not be part of the system for about three days so they could sample the reinforcers and learn that it was worthwhile to be good and get all these rewards. Reinforcement sampling has been used since the beginning of the token economy literature and often since then (Ayllon & Azrin, 1968; Curran, Lentz & Paul, 1973; McInnis, Himelstein, Doty & Paul, 1974; Sobell, Schaefer, Sobell & Krenner, 1970; Kazdin, 1977). The staff at Shelter House, however, unanimously wanted all teenagers to be swept into the points system and to become accountable for their behavior immediately. At first I was reluctant because it sounded to be based on a punitive approach. But I learned that these particular teenagers were often experts in surviving in the streets, and could assess an environment immediately and know its vulnerable points. The three days of no punishment would provide them with ample time to case the joint, make plans, and steal from the agency or other residents, without consequences from the token system. Later I discovered the agency had a long history of thefts and other negative behavior during the first few days of the resident's stay. The staff was absolutely correct. Weick (1977) has elaborated the idea of allowing the insiders of an organization to design their own systems; the consultant merely gives them a bare framework or a list of desired outcomes. The staff then integrate themselves into the design.

The most effective solutions for developing staff behavior have been monetary rewards (cf. Nord, 1976; Loeber, 1971), probably because they provide incentive as well as feedback. This should be done with care, however, since if the amount of money reaches a certain level and is then reduced, the staff behavior will fall dramatically (Katz, et al., 1972; Kazdin, 1974; Panyan, et al., 1970). Some work has shown that suggestions, instructions and feedback can be effective by themselves (Hall, Baker & Hutchinson, 1977). All writers of token economy development have noted that staff involvement in the development of the program is important. Organizational studies have noted employee satisfaction and productivity increases when there is an increase in employee participation in decision processes (Seashore & Bowers, 1963).

In sum, there is no substitute for the development of good relations with staff. And this would include understanding cultural differences and utilizing their strengths; providing incentives, positive feedback and training; recognizing the pressures and duties they face, and perhaps helping them get organized to some extent;

involving them in the development process; and having the program appear to be grounded in common sense.

The Clients

All clients of human service organizations are special in some way. The task is to articulate these unique characteristics that may have implications on the program development. The negative behavior of the teenagers was the most severe overall problem. In the interviews the staff complained of fights, drinking, boys sneaking on to the girls floor, curfew violation, cursing, graffiti, and smoking pot. Desirable behaviors were good personal hygiene, regular school attendance, going to bed on time, keeping normal hours, and having good manners. Some serious crimes had occurred in the immediate area, though no resident was ever convicted during my tenure. Besides the potential volatile nature of this population, almost all the clients were from disadvantaged and minority backgrounds. Most were familiar with criminal activity of some kind, and in this respect they can be seen as a particularly important population to try and help. If an intervention program were successful, it might mean that several decades of a criminal life, per youngster, would be eliminated. Multiply this by the number of clients per year (about 500) and the task quickly evolves into a mission. Similar projections could be considered by any change agent. This mission-like realization can fuel the developer to do the best possible job, and, indeed, in my case it moved me from ordinary ambition to zeal.

The culture of the residents could be described as a Black culture. During my stay I saw about six white teenagers out of the total of 500. White girls had a particularly difficult time and usually were beaten up. The only white boys who stayed had developed elaborate minority-like mannerisms. Very light-skinned Hispanics also had trouble.

Most residents were behind in school, and over two-thirds were reading at two grades below their expected level. Many were explosive, impatient, and had trouble concentrating. In many ways the residents resembled learning disabled, hyperactive syndromes (Gross and Wilson, 1974) and the borderline adolescent (Masterson, 1972). In either case, these clients benefit best by being provided with a great deal of structure. At Shelter House little structure was provided when I first arrived. Therefore, the agency tended to absorb the problems of the teenagers, and reflect these problems in their own (i.e., staff) dynamics. But regardless of the causes of the residents' problems, effective treatment can be applied, as Wahler (1972) has stated. Also, culturally deprived black children can respond well to behavioral programs (Staatz, Minke & Butts, 1970). In these ways, then, the population could be worked with.

There were two drawbacks, however, that had to do with the teenagers within the context of the agency. The first is that the facility was "open"--that is, the children could come and go almost as they pleased. This reduced control over the possible outside rewards. Indeed, they would frequently take off and go to another part of town by public transportation if they felt pressured. Secondly, Shelter House was situated in one of the worst areas of the city. They were continually bombarded with the more tawdry sides of life--substance abuse, fights, skid-row alcoholics. In this case, then, the most powerful limitations of the development of a viable program were not solely the difficulties of the clients (although this should not be minimized), but included the difficulties of the clients seen within the larger context.

An interesting phenomenon occurred in the informal group structure of the teenagers. Before the token system, status was achieved by how cleverly and how often a resident "got over," i.e., got away with something. Status was associated with deviance or badness. The more successful of these youngsters became friends with one another, usually in groups of three to five. They tended to support one another with a fierce loyalty of covert power over the other youngsters of the same sex. In most cases, these leaders were bright.

As the token system took hold, the status of being bad declined. In fact, by being especially good one got a rather tantalizing package of rewards. Positive status began to be associated with good behavior, and those youngsters who habitually behaved poorly became isolated and spent much of their time away from the house.

In assessing the clients it is important to articulate those unique characteristics and patterns within the institution that may influence the project. Besides the obvious factors of age, sex, cultural background, pathology, and intelligence, it is also critical to look at the clients within the context of larger system variables, even if nothing can be done about these issues. Some social systems variables, such as informal group structure, can be implicitly utilized to enhance the effect of a program.

All these assessment procedures outlined in this section can be done during the first few weeks of the project. The best source for piecing together all these issues is through interviewing every staff member. The "Outline for Organizational Assessment" in Appendix D is a summary of the ideas discussed in this chapter. It includes some charts whereby discrepancies of primary task, the drawing of boundaries, and the comparison of defenses and other organizational issues can be noted in summary form on a few pages. Arriving at the final outline could be the result of more detailed research than has been outlined. Each measure could be quantified from the staff interviews; the questions could be made more structured in order to yield countable items. Distilling the organizational factors down to such a form may give the prospective change agent clues in developing the strategies for implementing the project, or give him enough information to decline the project.

Fading Out and Follow Up

At the end of January, 1979 I began to develop plans to phase myself out, as Atthowe (1973b) has recommended in this type of work. The token system had been centered around me, and my time was running out--I had less than three months of full time work left. Much has been written on the tendency for a token system to fall apart when the originator leaves (Atthowe, 1973a, b; Kazdin & Bootzin, 1972; Kazdin, 1977; Bassett & Blanchard, 1977). I wanted to make the system self monitoring. I decided to cut my time to three quarters for several weeks, then half time for two months. A new manager was selected, and we worked jointly for a month. The organization, however, seemed to have its ways of pulling me back in. The new manager quit suddenly with only one day's notice, and I was manager once again. Another manager was found, a very bright, well organized, honest, and well-respected counselor. This proved to be an excellent strategy to select a manager from the counselors' peers. He was "one of them," not a distant administrator. He knew how to speak their language. A new training period began, when suddenly his wife became quite ill--again I was manager. This period was passed successfully and the current manager continues to do an excellent job as of this writing.

Another fading strategy, besides reduced hours, was to come in at various unpredictable times--but still at least every other day. This forced the new manager to come up with independent solutions, yet I always was available soon. Even after my last day I came back to the agency for a month to clean up old papers and collect more data. After this I continued to see the manager every week or two because we played paddleball together. He would usually ask me one or two questions at these times about some aspect of the token system, and gradually these questions were less frequently asked.

These fading strategies seemed to be effective. The fading of my appearance was gradual over approximately six months. The effects were positive. With the new manager the system worked even a little better than under my direction, and continues to function well as of this writing, one year after my last day.

In our paddleball games I noticed that the manager no longer asked me questions. He simply let me know the new developments. The token system and the manager were on their own.

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APPENDICES

# APPENDIX A

## TOKEN I: THE INITIAL SYSTEM

### EARNING POINTS

| Daily Routine<br>Shift to Mark Activities | | Points Earned (+) |
|---|---|---|
| 12-8 | Getting up on time: 6:30 A.M. (7:00 in summer), 7:30 A.M. on weekends | +1 |
| 12-8 | Washing up: brush teeth, take shower in morning or night before, comb hair, clean clothes | up to +1 |
| 12-8 | Room neat: clothes put away, bed is made, desk (if any) is neat, furniture in place, swept floor, in residence | up to +1 |
| 12-8 | Breakfast: cooperative behavior, including good manners, being on time, going up in a group, not yelling | up to +1 |
| 8-4 | Program: (School or activities approved by counselor); 9:30-11:30, 1:00-2:30 | up to +8 |
| | For perfect attendance and perfect behavior for the week, Mon.-Fri. | +20 bonus |
| | One half-day | up to +3 |
| 8-4 | Lunch: cooperative, as breakfast | up to +1 |
| 8-4 | Being on floor at change of shift: 3:30 to 4:00 P.M. | up to +1 |
| 4-12 | Dinner: cooperative, as breakfast and lunch | up to +1 |
| 4-12 | Study Hour: doing study activities during this time: (1) homework, (2) reading an approved book, (3) writing an essay | up to +1 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 4-12 | On time for bed: in own bed, under the covers, in proper clothes, by 11:00 P.M. weekdays; 11:30 P.M. on weekends; must stay in bed the whole night | +4 |

Some Times During the Week

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8-4, 4-12 | Attending recommended meeting: Dance program, gospel singing, rap sessions, etc. | +2 |
| 8-4 | House Check: once per week the whole house is checked for grafitti or other damage. If there is no damage to the building, each resident gets | +4 |

Being Helpful & Extra Points

Writing 2 to 5 page report, on one of the following topics:
"My Future Plans"
"What I Like About Myself"
"The Good Aspects of My Family"
"My Career Plans"
"How I Solve Problems Successfully"

This will be kept by the counselor; it will also be corrected, and you will be shown the mistakes, but you will not lose points for these mistakes unless they are done over and over again and we believe you are not trying; each page is worth — up to +1

| | |
|---|---|
| Washing Walls, per room | +4 |
| per lounge on II-V | +8 |
| Going to church or other religious service, in house or outside (must bring back a service program of that date) | +4 |
| Attending Doctor's appointment, on time and cooperative | up to +2 |
| Jobs around Saint Barnabas, per hour) (must be approved by counselor) | +2-3 |
| Initial Physical Exam, done cooperatively | up to +10 |
| Taking Prescribed Medicine, each time | +1 |

| | |
|---|---|
| <u>Initial Orientation Meeting</u>, cooperative | up to +4 |
| <u>Orientation school</u>, each day and bonus as with school, above | up to +8 |
| <u>Evening Reading Class</u> | up to +2 |

REWARDS

| | Percentage of possible Points to use | Approximate Weekday Points | Weekend Points |
|---|---|---|---|
| Lounge entrance, each day | 75% | 15 | 7 |
| Outdoor sports, basketball, volleyball, baseball, handball, etc. | 50% | 10 | 5 |
| Indoor activities, ping pong, pool, games, cards, monopoly, T.V., use of record player, air hockey, etc. | 50% | 10 | 5 |
| Visit to floor of opposite sex, 6:30 to 7:30 P.M., each evening only; with approval and supervision | 75% | 15 | 7 |
| Outside Events, such as bowling, ice skating | 75% | 15 | 7 |
| Special Big Events, Disco, Rock Concert, Trips, etc. | 90% | 18 | - |

Allowance

A resident will receive an allowance of $2.00 if he or she reaches 75% of the possible points; $4.00 if the person reaches 90% of the possible points; $5.00 if the person reaches 100% of the possible points; $1.00 for above 50%.

Jobs for Pay

If a resident is the highest point holder in the whole house, he or she can work up to 8 hours for $2.00 per hour during the next week. The top point holders in each of the remaining groups can work up to 4 hours for $2.00 per hour during the next week. All jobs must be approved in advance before the resident begins work by the person's supervisor. The resident will be paid at the next time allowances are given out. Each time the resident works a staff member must sign for the hours worked. A resident may lose this privilege if they are charged with a violation of -10 points or more.

## Single Room - Boys

In order to maintain a single room a resident must obtain each week at least 90% of possible points. If for 4 weeks in a row the resident falls below this level, the room is available to the next highest point holder who does not yet have a single room. If this individual does not want the room, the next highest point holder can have the room, and so on. But any resident taking the room must have at least 75% of possible points; otherwise it stays with the current occupant. Two serious violations (more than 10 points) will result in loss of room.

## Passes

Passes are available to those who are behaving at the level of 75% of possible points or above unless otherwise approved.

## Ways to Lose Points

| Common Items | Points Lost (-) |
|---|---|
| Verbal argument, verbal disruption, cursing at staff, or other residents | -10 |
| Physical Fighting, physically harming or the intention to harm others, or soiling their clothes or person with any substance that person does not want | -20 |
| Curfew Violation, for every 1/2 hour after curfew (during school year curfew is 10:00 P.M. weekdays, and 10:30 P.M. weekends. During summer, it is 10:30 P.M. weekdays, and 11:30 P.M. weekends. Weekends are Friday and Saturday nights only.) | - 2 |
| **Substance Abuse** | |
| Smoking Pot, anywhere on grounds or the immediate area | -20 |
| Being anywhere where pot is smelled strongly | -10 |
| Drinking Liquor, or anyone in room where drinking occurs | -20 |
| Behaving as if you are intoxicated: weaving walk, slurred speech, physically sick, behaving in non-sober manner, and/or disorderly conduct | -40 |
| Possession of Pot or Liquor, or any other illegal substance; it will be confiscated and | -20 |
| Possession of items related to any illegal substance use; must get it out of the building or it will be confiscated, and | - 5 |
| **Violation of House Rules** | |
| Smoking, in undesignated areas | - 4 |
| Hanging out in stairwell | - 2 |
| Loud Music, after 11 P.M.; 12 midnight, weekends | - 5 |
| In elevator, without staff | -10 |
| Hats on, in cafeteria or chapel | - 4 |

| | |
|---|---|
| On Roof, without permission | -10 |
| AWOL, back after 6 A.M. with respect to previous night's curfew; lose at least 30 points or double negative balance | -30 |
| In restricted area, without counselor | -10 |

Violence

| | |
|---|---|
| Physical fighting | -20 |
| Physical fighting with weapon, or any item that can harm someone | -100 |
| Possession of weapon | |
| Threatening a counselor or staff | -20 |

Destruction and Stealing

| | |
|---|---|
| Breaking into office, or locked space, press charges and | -60 |
| Stealing | -50 |
| Destroying St. Barnabas Property: it must be replaced out of all available allowance and money; or 1/2 of all money earned in the future, if necessary; and | -40 |
| Grafitti (each member of house does not get 4 points), person loses | -40 |
| Waste of Food, either taking too much food and not eating it, or wasting food in some other way | - 4 |
| Bringing merchandise into house, without a receipt; the merchandise will be confiscated, and | - 6 |

Respect

| | |
|---|---|
| Lying to counselor, or staff member | - 5 |
| Leaving meeting early, each 5 minutes | - 1 |
| Unjustified medical complaint | - 6 |
| Misbehaving when going to court, clinic, as other appointment; same as within house fines, and | - 6 |

Opposite Sex

| | |
|---|---|
| Obvious display of sexual behavior | -20 |
| Attempting to get on floor of opposite sex | - 5 |
| On floor of opposite sex, without approval | -20 |
| In room of opposite sex; possible discharge and | -80 |

# APPENDIX B

## TOKEN II: THE LEVEL SYSTEM

## RULES OF HOUSE SYSTEM

Earning Points: 20 points for each weekday, 10 points Saturday and Sunday add up to 120 points per week. Almost all points are from:

- Daily Routine- These are described in detail in House Guidelines

| | |
|---|---|
| Getting up on time | +1 |
| Washing up | +1 |
| Neat Room | +1 |
| Breakfast | +1 |
| Lunch | +1 |
| School or weekday program | +8* |
| On floor at shift change | +1 |
| Dinner | +1 |
| Study Hour | +1 |
| Going to bed on time and staying there | +4 |

*Bonus-perfect school attendance (all 8's) means Bonus of 20.

- Extra Points - The only extra points are:

| | |
|---|---|
| Chapel (Sundays) | +4 |
| Extra Reading or Math evening classes | +2 |
| Reading in Chapel | +2 |

- Saturday and Sunday - No School, On Floor, or Study Hour Points

Losing Points

| | |
|---|---|
| Verbal abuse | -1 |
| Fighting | -2 |
| Being where there is pot, alcohol or other illegal substance, seen, smelled, or other evidence | -2 |

Single room is lost when resident falls below Level IV for 2 weeks, and may be lost immediately for severe behavior.

Moving up Levels - You can move up one level per week. New residents enter at Level III.

| Level | Requirements |
|---|---|
| I | The lowest level. You are here if you get below 60 points or if you commit a severe behavior. |
| II | Must get 60 points or more |
| III | Must be at Level II for one week, and get at least 90 points |
| IV | Must be at Level III for one week, and get at least 108 points and attend school every day |
| V | Must be at Level IV for one week, get 120 points, and attend school every day |
| Elite (off point system) | Must be at Level V for 4 weeks in a row without warning. Any violation worth noting will result in resident being immediately put back on the Points System. |

Moving Down Levels - If you fall below the amount of points required to attain a Level you will be given a week of Warning (W). If after the Warning week you again fall below the required amount for your Level, you will drop one level.

Certain behaviors will result in a resident being dropped one Level immediately, and staying there until the end of the next accounting week. These include, but are not limited to: Being in a Restricted Area, such as the floor of the opposite sex, the Business Office, stairwells, the Lobby during school hours, Kitchen, and so on; taking tokens and not using them for the proper purpose, and so on.

Severe Behavior - dropped immediately to Level L for such behaviors as destroying St. Barnabas property, seriously attacking staff, setting fire alarm, police arrest, breaking into office space, stealing.

Curfew and AWOL - On the privilege Chart [see page 54] curfew varies according to which Level resident is at.

Curfew: The amount of time over curfew must be given back in terms of equivalent Restricted Time. For example, if a resident stays out 2 hours after curfew they owe 2 hours of Restricted time.

AWOL - This means if someone is not back by 5:00 A.M. For each day gone, the owed time is 8 hours, for a maximum of 3 days. If the first 2 days of a 3 day restriction are given, the third day is not required.

Restricted Time - This means no TV, no visitors, no games, no anything. The times available for making up time owed are limited to the following. Weekdays: 3 P.M. to 5 P.M. and 7:30 P.M. to 10 P.M. Saturday, Sunday and Holidays: 1 P.M. to 5 P.M. and 7:00 P.M. to 11:00 P.M. If restricted time is not made up allowance will be withheld with no chance to get it back. Upon discharge the resident will only be given 50¢ per week of withheld allowance.

Program Money - Residents who get Program Money given to them individually must bring back a receipt for the amount of money, otherwise they will never be given Program Money individually again, and this amount of money will be taken from the next week's allowance. Program Money is also not available to residents whose allowance is withheld because Restriction Time is not made up.

Jobs for Pay - Work voucher must be completely filled out and handed in to Manager by Thursday, 4:00 P.M. in order to get paid Friday.

## EARNING POINTS

| Daily Routine<br><br>Shift to Mark Activities | | Points Earned |
|---|---|---|
| 12-8* | Getting up on time: 6:30 A.M. weekdays (8:00 in summer); 8:00 A.M. on weekends | +1 |
| 12-8* | Washing up: brush teeth, take shower in morning, comb hair, clean clothes | +1 |
| 12-8* | Room neat: Clothes put away, bed is made, desk (if any) is neat, furniture in place, swept floor | +1 |
| 12-8* | Breakfast: cooperative behavior, including good manners, being on time, going up in a group, not yelling, cleaning up after oneself | up to +1 |
| 8-4 | School/Program: (school or activities approved by counselor); 9:30-11:30 A.M., 1:00-2:30 Monday to Friday. Programming should mean school-like activities, not recreational games or sports: These should be done after school hours. | up to +8 |
| | for perfect attendance and perfect behavior for the week | +20 |
| | one half-day | up to +3 |
| 8-4 | Lunch: Cooperative, same as breakfast | up to +1 |
| 8-4 | Being on floor at change of shift: 3:30 to 4:00 P.M. | up to +1 |
| 4-12 | Dinner: cooperative, same as breakfast and lunch | up to +1 |
| 4-12 | Study Hour: doing study activities during this time: (1) homework (2) reading an approved book; (3) writing an essay | up to +1 |
| 4-12 | On time for bed: in own bed, under the covers, in proper clothes by 11:00 P.M. on weekdays; 11:30 P.M. on weekends; must stay quiet in bed the whole night | up to +4 |

*8-4 shift marks these often on weekends, holidays, and vacations.

Extra Points

Writing 2 to 5 page report, on one of the following topics:

"My Future Plans"
"What I Like About Myself"
"The Good Aspects of My Family"
"My Career Plans"
"How I Solve Problems Successfully"

This will be kept by the counselor; it will also be corrected, and you will be shown the mistakes, but you will not lose points for these mistakes unless they are done over and over again and we believe you are not trying. Only one essay allowed per week.

| | |
|---|---|
| Each page is worth | up to +1 |
| Going to church or other religious service | +4 |
| For reading or being altar person | +2 |
| Evening Reading Class | up to +2 |

## Losing Points and Dropping Levels

This and other sections are noted briefly on Rules sheet. If negative behavior is done, the resident may either lose points, be dropped one level or be dropped all the way to Level I.

### Losing Points

Verbal Abuse (-1): This means any violent, explosive cursing a resident does, usually to a staff member. Because of the kinds of youngsters we have we probably can't mark down every verbal abuse violation; but we should mark down every incident that causes considerable tension or is very insulting to staff. The definition of these violations is left largely to the discretion of staff members.

Fight (-2): Usually this refers to any physical fight that is not just playing around. It also includes throwing food or other substances.

Being where there is pot, alcohol, or other illegal substances, etc. (-2): This is phrased this way because our residents are usually so good at denying their involvement, when we all know very well that they are guilty. This will also tend to let innocent victims know they should "clear out" of an area that has substance abuse going on.

### Losing Single Room

At the time of this writing only boys have single room privileges available to them. If he falls below Level IV for 2 weeks he should be moved out of that room immediately. Do not wait several days, because this tends to imply that staff is ineffective or lacks courage. Quick action also shows the boy we mean business--and that his behavior has consequences.

### Dropping Levels

Certain behaviors we have to treat more seriously than the losing of points. Some of these are listed on the Rules sheet; but others may occur. Discussions of whether a resident should be dropped should involve supervisor and Manager of Points System as soon as possible. Severe behavior such as attacking staff, and so on (noted on sheet) results in being dropped to Level I immediately. Quick, decisive action is recommended.

## Curfew and AWOL

The rules are noted clearly on the Rules sheet. It is important that residents be informed frequently when they owe time, and that they must make up all time in order to get any allowance. Once their allowance is withheld, they never have a chance to get it back. So let them know they will be losing money and that they should plan their curfew violations carefully.

### Other Aspects

Many other privileges may be available that are not listed on the Privilege Chart. We cannot list everything that may occur. Instead, we would like staff members to understand the philosophy of the system, and try to act in accordance with it. Only in this way will the system come alive and mean something. If residents know they must behave well, that they can't "get over" so easily by manipulating staff, then their behavior will begin to improve. But they will fight us. They will try every trick in the book. We must show them we are strong, that we believe in certain values, and that we stand behind our values and each other as one staff. That is one way to have pride in our work.

APPENDIX C

## LOG SHEET

COUNS SHIFT 1: (12-8) ______
COUNS SHIFT 2: (8-4) ______
GROUP ______ DAY ______ DATE ______ COUNS SHIFT 3: (4-12) ______

SIGNIFICANT INCIDENCES ______ TIME & SHIFT ______

ANNOUNCEMENTS: ______ TO STAFF: ______

| RESIDENTS & LEVEL / APPOINTMENTS | UP / WASH UP | RM NEAT / BREAK FAST | LUNCH | SCHOOL OR PRO GRAM | ON FLOOR | DINNER / STUDY HOUR | BED | CV RETURN TIME | TIME OWED | TOTAL |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13. | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | | | | | | | | | | |
| | POSITIVE POINTS | | | | | | | NEG PTS | | |

| CENSUS → | IN HOUSE | VACANT BEDS | INFIRMARY | HOSPITAL | CV | AWOL | CENSUS ___ | FILLED OUT EARLY MORN ← AFTER ABOVE DATE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | | |

J. L. Thomas 1976

ORIGINAL MANAGER AND SECRETARY OF HOUSE SYSTEM
CARBON RETURNED TO FLOOR AFTER VERIFICATION AND TABULATION

# APPENDIX D

## OUTLINE FOR ORGANIZATIONAL ASSESSMENT

### <u>The Organization as a Whole</u>

A. History of Agency - important factors

Religious Affiliation? ______________________________

Cultural/Ethnic Affiliation? ______________________________

B. <u>The Basic Assumption Group</u> <u>Evidence</u>

1. Dependency:

2. Fight-Flight:

3. Pairing:

4. Manifestations and Implications of Dominant Basic Assumption Group

| C. <u>Import-Export Process</u> | | <u>Descrip.</u> | <u>Implica.</u> | Area for <u>Improvement</u> |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Import | Clients | | | |
| | Staff | | | |
| 2. Export | Clients | | | |
| | Staff | | | |

D. Primary Task

1. Operating Primary Task:

2. Ideal Primary Task:

3. Discrepancy: If yes, how are tensions manifest?

4. Primary task subgroups believe they are performing

   Administration:

   Professional Staff:

   Line Staff:

   Clients:

E. Boundaries

1. Duties: What A thinks B's duties are

| A | Admin. | Prof. Staff | Line Staff | Clients |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Admin. | | | | |
| Prof. Staff | | | | |
| Line Staff | | | | |
| Clients | | | | |

2. Physical Space: Consonant with the role? Its communication to Organization.

   Admin.: ______________________________

   Prof. Staff: __________________________

   ______________________________

   Line Staff: __________________________

F. Defenses

| Subsystem | Task | Fear | Defense | Manifestation of Defense |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Admin. | | | | |
| Prof. Staff | | | | |
| Line Staff | | | | |
| Clients | | | | |

Subsystems

| | Skills of Staff | Needs of Staff | Discrepancy and Suggested Training |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. Administration (managing external boundaries) | | | |
| II. Professional Staff | | | |
| III. Line Staff | | | |
| IV. Clients | | | |