THE DELAWARE COUNTY CHILDREN'S HOME:

A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Honors Program
Ball State University

In Completion
of the Requirements for
Graduation with Honors

by
Jill Elaine Brown

Advisor: Dr. Whitney Gordon

Ball State University
Muncie Indiana
May, 1972
St. Call
These
LP
468
24
1972
B77
I recommend this thesis for acceptance by the Honors Program of Ball State University for graduation with honors.

Advisor: [Signature]

Dr. Whitney Gordon
Professor of Sociology
PREFACE

In this paper I have attempted to synthesize and express four different aspects of my life at Ball State University: extracurricular work in Student Voluntary Services (SVS) and curricular work in English, Sociology, and Social Work.

I have worked as a volunteer tutor for SVS at the Delaware County Children's Home for three years. It was this experience that initiated my interest in these children and led to my decision to live at the Children's Home. My studies as an English minor are represented particularly in the prologue of this paper. In this prologue, I have attempted to express my empathy for the thousands of children who have had experiences similar to those which have brought children to the Home.

My sociology and social work majors form the foundation for the remainder of the paper. Indeed, aspects of sociological research are the core of the initial sections which review the literature and discuss the theoretical model for the institution. Social work training forms the basis of a later section which is a case study of one girl who lived at the Home. My experiences while living at the Home for ten days forms the central sections of the paper which incorporates both fields of study. These sections are, equally, an in-depth home study (such as foster homes might receive) and the field experience of a participant observer.
Before continuing, I would like to suggest that this paper should not be shown or given to staff members at the Delaware County Children's Home. Although I feel that reform is needed in some areas, I believe that this paper would not result in positive changes. It is possible that the reaction to these findings would become a detriment to certain children and certain existing programs at the Home.

Finally, I should like to express my deep and sincere appreciation to Dr. Whitney Gordon who provided the invaluable assistance that helped me to complete this paper.
Who is this
that comes among us
with a smile?
They always smile,
you know.
That is,
their lips curve up,
but sometimes their eyes
are dark.
I have seen those smiles
many,
many times
for I am old,
without age.
Long ago
I had a mother and a father
who smiled,
but
when my father left
he took
my mother's smile.
That's the way
of smiles,
you know.
Even the good ones
that shine the eyes
still
fade away
somehow.
And now
I have grown old
watching
for smiles that do not return.
This stranger here
has a good smile.
See
the softness
that brights her eyes
and the hands that smile upon me
in tenderness.
Perhaps
I should trust her,
but
I am old--
in all my twenty months of life
there has been no smile
to last.

PROLOGUE
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limitations</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theories on Development of Self</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of Institutionalization of Adults</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effects of Institutionalization on Infants</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE INSTITUTION IN THEORY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Principles</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punishment and Privileges</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. AN INSTITUTION IN FACT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facilities</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION  PAGE

V. LIFE AT THE HOME  
Introduction ........................................ 29
Intake .................................................. 29
Daily Routine ......................................... 30
Weekend Routine ..................................... 32
Rules and Punishment ................................. 33
Interpersonal Relationships ......................... 34
Out-Processing ........................................ 36

VI. THE CHILDREN  
Introduction ........................................ 38
John's Interview ...................................... 38
Mary's Interview ..................................... 39
Other Interviews ..................................... 40

VII. A CASE STUDY  
Introduction ........................................ 42
The Original Study .................................... 42
Follow-up Study ...................................... 44
Conclusion of Case ................................... 45

VIII. GENERAL CONCLUSION  
Introduction ........................................ 47
A Comparison of Model and Actual Institutions .. 47
Effects of Institutionalization on Adolescents .. 51
Effects upon Self-Concept ........................... 52
Conclusion ............................................ 54
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FOOTNOTES</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Introduction

Research indicates that over half of the institutions established for the care of dependent and neglected children were opened before 1920. Rosemary Dinnage and M. L. Kellmer, who co-authored a review of research on residential child care, noted that "the general routine of Homes and the feelings of staff working there have been almost entirely neglected as subjects of research or description." To gather such material, they suggested a method of "living in and observing" for a period of time.

Dinnage and Kellmer also stated that "studies of foster children . . . suggest that there is an association between self-knowledge and good adjustment." They proceeded to emphasize that "a study of 'self-concept' of the child in residential care—how he sees himself in relation to his past and future and to the people in his life—similar to studies of foster children, would be illuminating."

Purpose

Following closely along the lines suggested by Dinnage and Kellmer, the purpose of this paper is twofold: First, to describe one particular children's home in its many aspects from facilities and staff through routines and procedures; and second, to develop by inference notions about the effects
of institutionalization upon a child's self-concept. This study of self-concept is the underlying theme in the descriptive material presented; however, no attempt was made to measure or determine self-concept directly since such study was felt to be premature without the general descriptive information.

Method

The material presented in this paper was gathered in several ways. General information was acquired during a three-year association with the children at the Home as a voluntary tutor. Specific information, including interviews with staff and children, was gathered during the ten day period in which this writer lived at the Home. Thus, observation, research, participation, and interviews are compiled and presented in this paper.

This writer feels she was well received by both children and staff at the Home. My role in the institution was neither that of a staff member nor that of a child, yet it included elements of both. With the children, this writer shared their accommodations and some of their work. Like the staff, I was free to move about the Home at my own discretion and was given charge of groups of children occasionally.

I lived in the senior girls' division and shared their schedule of rising, dressing, eating, and working. I was provided a bed in their dormitory and a locker as they had
for storage. After breakfast and after dinner, I visited one of the two junior divisions where my role was both that of an assistant staff and that of a visitor.

During the ten-day period, all of the five senior girls were interviewed. However, only four of the fourteen senior boys were interviewed because it was felt to be "not quite proper" for me to be in the senior boys' division. The director of the Home granted a long and very informative interview. Of the other staff, three of the four regular housemothers (those that are assigned to one division) were interviewed as was one of the two cooks. Of the four "spares" (house-mothers not assigned to one particular division), one of the two part-time women was interviewed.

Interviews, in general, were informal and not structured. Guideline questions were prepared prior to the interview, but additional questions were asked as they seemed appropriate. Notes were taken during the interview; however, staff members and children were assured that identities would remain confidential.

Limitations

There are several limitations of this study which should be mentioned before the body of the paper is discussed. First, the literature in this field presents a problem to the researcher; extensive research is available in related fields, but little research has been completed specifically dealing
with adolescents in institutions or with the self-concept of such adolescents.

Other limitations of this study occurred in the Home setting itself; one obvious limitation being that the participant observation period was confined to ten days only. The interviewing process presents other problems as well: first, the interviewer was unskilled, and second, few checks on the credibility of those interviewed were available. Also, the interviewing was not as extensive as it might have been. It was thought wise to halt it when the director raised some objections.

Finally, it should be emphasized that this study encompasses only one children's home at one point in time. Generalizations made from such data are speculative at best.

Organization

Sections II and III of this paper provide materials obtained from research. General information on the effects of institutionalization as well as specific information on the theoretical organization and provisions of a children's institution are discussed.

The following two sections of the paper form a unit which describes the Delaware County Children's Home specifically. In order to present a wide-range view of the life of any child in this institution, details concerning the staff, the facilities, the routine, and the procedures are described.
Sections VI and VII focus on the children at the Home who are, indeed, the true focus of the whole paper. Two interviews are presented in detail along with excerpts from other interviews with senior division children. In addition, the case of one child is discussed in greater detail.

The final section reviews the findings of the paper. On the basis of these findings and on the theoretical information presented, conclusions are drawn to close the paper.
II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Erving Goffman has defined the total institution as "a place of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the society for an appreciable period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." Kenneth Keniston applied Goffman's definition to homes for dependent and neglected children. He divided total institutions into "instrumental," "therapeutic," and "developmental," the latter of which he applied to children's homes. Keniston added that developmental institutions accept as their primary objective the promotion of the 'normal' or optimal development of their charges or residents. They, therefore, usually try to ally themselves with what they take to be the natural forces for growth and development in the individual.

Keniston further noted that many institutions seem to have answered the question "What is normal development?" with "an unconscious desire to produce children who will be as little trouble as possible, a goal that can only be reached by sacrificing the child's individuality." If, instead, the goal is to develop the child's individuality, institutions need to know how individuality develops and how it may be fostered.
Theories on Development of Self

There is a vast number of theorists both in psychology and in sociology who have presented ideas on the development of self, or individuality. Only a few key theorists are presented here and those merely in a summarized fashion to provide a basic understanding of their ideas. Other theorists such as Carl Rogers, Gardner Murphy, and Gordon Allport as well as Tamotsu Shibutani and John W. Gardner have developed valuable ideas as well. For more detailed information, the reader may wish to read texts on personality theory or social psychology such as Marx and Hillix's Systems and Theories in Psychology (New York: Mc Graw-Hill, 1963) or Hollander and Hunt's Current Perspectives in Social Psychology (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967).

George Herbert Mead, Charles H. Cooley, and Harry Stack Sullivan are, perhaps, the major figures in sociological theories on the development of self. Although each has a slightly different perspective, all concentrate on social interaction as the crucial factor in the development of self.

George Herbert Mead developed a set of conceptions which came to be called "interactionism." In his theory, Mead explained that any one person "perceives, thinks, forms judgments, and controls himself according to the frame of reference of the group in which he is participating." In other words, the individual comes to view his world and his own
actions in terms of general norms which he extracts from his society. This Mead called "taking the role of the generalized other."10

In a similar vein, Charles H. Cooley, in his concept of the "looking glass self," indicated that "individuals are able to experience social influences from various group sources in an imaginative way."11 In Cooley's words, "a self idea of this sort seems to have three principal elements: the imagination of our appearance to the other person, the imagination of his judgement of that appearance, and some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification."12 Thus, we depend on others to reflect back our image for our own judgement.

Harry Stack Sullivan refined this social interaction emphasis to, what he termed, "significant others." With Cooley, he agreed that the self alters as the individual "perceives it through his social interactions."13 However, it is not the majority of "others" that are as important as the "significant others" or "those who hold, or seem to hold, the keys to security in one's own personal situation, whatever its nature."14 Even once a self-concept is developed, new "significant others," such as a therapeutic group for example, actually can alter the individual's typical pattern of interpersonal behavior.15

Erik Erikson amended these theories by dividing personality growth into a series of psychosocial stages. Each step
in the series must be successfully achieved before the next step can be attained. In childhood and adolescence there must be a synthesis and resynthesis of the sense of self before an integrated configuration of the self can emerge. For the adolescent, development involves "identifying with persons significant in one's life and with ideological forces."16

"If this task is not accomplished, he faces the danger of identity confusion or identity diffusion—the failure to establish a sense of self-worth."17

To summarize, Mead, Cooley, and Sullivan seem to be saying that the self or identity of an individual develops out of his interaction with the "others" who are most important to him. Erikson adds to this the theory that adolescence is a crucial time in this self development.

Effects of Institutionalization on Adults

The effects of institutionalization on the self-concept of adults has been studied by some researchers, notably Erving Goffman. Goffman denotes several strains upon the self-concept in an institutional setting: barriers to the outside world, forced social relationships, and forced obedience to rules.

In his book, *Asylums*, Goffman states:

The recruit comes into the establishment with a conception of himself made possible by certain stable social arrangements in his home world. Upon entrance, he is immediately stripped of the support provided by these arrangements........ He begins some radical shifts in his moral career, a career composed of the progressive changes that occur in the beliefs that he has concerning himself and significant others.18
A barrier is set up between the individual and the outside world and he finds that certain roles are lost to him because of this barrier. Furthermore, most individual possessions are removed or kept in storage. As Gresham Sykes has observed in regard to this same phenomena among prisoners, "material possessions are so large a part of the individual's conception of himself that to be stripped of them is to attack the deepest layers of personality."

The individual loses not only his accustomed possessions and accustomed roles, but also he becomes "contaminated by forced interpersonal contact and in consequence, a forced social relationship." The individual is placed in a situation of close association with both staff persons and other inmates. Any action likely will be seen by or reported to staff members who then can use this information to check or "guide" behavior. No longer can the individual separate his "self" into appropriate roles for varying situations as he did on the outside. Now, any discrepancies in behavior are noted and can be used to control the individual.

Under this constant observation, the potential for control over the individual is very great. Using this control, institutions can set out to produce a personal reorganization (and conscientiously do so, according to Goffman). To this end, the institution provides "house rules," "a relatively formal set of prescriptions and proscriptions" that establish requirements for conduct. Next, there is a small number
of rewards and privileges which are granted, according to Goffman, in exchange for "obedience to staff in action and spirit." Finally, he adds, there is punishment for breaking the rules, particularly "the temporary or permanent withdrawal of privileges or the abrogation of the right to try and earn them." These privileges and punishments are not those found on the outside. Many times, Goffman notes, a privilege is merely "the absence of deprivations one ordinarily expects not to have to sustain."

Effects of Institutionalization on Infants

A great many researchers have studied the effects of institutionalization on infants and toddlers. Some of the earliest work in this area was done by Harold Skeels in the 1930's. At first by accident, and later by controlled design, Skeels found that children in institutions classed as non-nurturant homes frequently became retarded and increasingly so over a period of time. On an experimental basis, he placed institutional children under the affectionate care of selected women in mental homes. Results indicated that most of the children showed definite gains in I.Q. level, which was astounding at that time since I.Q. was believed to be an absolute measure. Skeels finally concluded that "a close bond of love and affection between a given child and one or two adults who assume a very personal parental role appears to be a dynamic factor of great importance."
John Bowlby expanded the work of Skeels and focused it more particularly on the results of maternal deprivation, the theory that "if a young child is separated from its mother and placed in an institution, it will suffer severe physical, emotional, and intellectual disturbances, no matter how 'hygienic' its new environment may be." Based on his study of forty-five different researches, Bowlby concluded that "it is now demonstrated that maternal care in infancy and early childhood is essential for mental health."28

Following Bowlby's work, many researchers entered the field of maternal deprivation for further study. René Spitz was notable for studies of children under one year of age. In one particular study, he found not only that the Developmental Quotient of the "foundling home" children dropped steadily during the period of study, but also that 37% of the infants died within the first two years of life.29 Several classic studies were conducted by William Goldfarb, one of them based on the Rorschach test. He found institutional children to be inferior in their perception of reality, judgment, control, and maturity; a general "impairment of personality."30

In 1962, M. D. Ainsworth summarized and analyzed the research up to that time into nine basic points. Although several of these points emphasize duration and age of onset of deprivation, there are three points which deal with long term effects more relevant to this paper:
1) relief from fairly prolonged deprivation in infancy may result in rapid improvement, although vocalization, and possibly other aspects of personality functioning may be retarded;
2) language, the ability for abstract thinking, and capacity for affection seem to be more permanently affected than other functions;
3) subsequent stressful experience probably reinforces the effect of earlier deprivation.

In short, studies of maternal deprivation have uncovered that infants suffer a regression of development when placed in institutions. The infant develops with impairments in abstract thinking and in capacity for affection which may remain throughout his life. Additionally, institutionalized infants have a far higher mortality rate than their non-institutionalized counterparts. Margaret Mead has suggested that "the lethal element in orphanages may be the cultural acceptance of the 'unwanted' state of the infant, rather than any specific way this unwantedness is mediated to an infant."
Introduction

According to the United States Children's Bureau, the institution ideally offers:

- A variety of relationships and activities with adults and other children which can be used to understand and help a child more fully; less intense adult-child relationships for the child who is unwilling or unable to handle close emotional ties; a more favorable setting for absorbing and redirecting disturbing behavior of the child who is unusually upset, disorganized, or destructive;
- Protection to the community from the destructive behavior of such a child; and a combination of professional services which can be integrated around a child's specific needs.

Similarly, according to standards set by the Child Welfare League of America, the institution seeks "to foster normal maturation, to correct or modify the effect of previous unsatisfactory experiences, and to ameliorate social and emotional problems interfering with the child's personality development and functioning."

General Principles

To accomplish such goals, there are several basic principles which ideally should be followed in treatment of and provision for the children. Individuality is one of these crucial principles. Flint stated that "such things as individual clothes, bed covers, toys, toothbrushes, combs and brushes, cupboards, beds, drawers for possessions, and a particular place in a dining room, bedroom, or playroom all
lend a feeling of self-importance to a growing child."35

In personal relationships, as well, the child desperately needs to be considered as a distinct and separate individual. This principle of individuality relates closely to the theories discussed earlier on development of self in our culture, particularly in reference to Mead, Cooley, and Sullivan.

The second principle is that the child needs dependent relationships. Flint has stated that mental health is fostered in an infant by the sympathetic dependable relationships established by a mothering agent . . . . It is, therefore, fundamental to the success of an institution that sufficient staff be available to permit special relationships to develop between a child and one or two selected staff members who are uniquely "his".36

Thus, the child needs both dependent and dependable relationships in his home setting. The work of Bowlby and others on maternal deprivation substantiates this point.

The third principle of child development is consistency of care and discipline from all of those in authority. This vital factor is mentioned in several sources. Flint, in her study of deprivation and recovery, contended that consistency of care is a "required" element. She stated that only with a consistent environment can a child build a feeling of a dependable world in which he can predict the consequences of his behavior . . . . It is this predictable aspect of life that . . . . enables him to cope adequately with the demands of group life.37
A publication of the Child Welfare League pointed out that "adolescents are very aware of adult inconsistencies" and this can become a barrier to communication. Institutional children, this pamphlet said, often have "a deep distrust of the adult world" since "many of them have never experienced protection, love or respect from adults." The child needs close and consistent care and discipline to overcome his distrust and hostility toward the adult world.

Furthermore, the institutionalized child needs to feel a sense of consistency or continuity about his own life. Dinnage and Kellmer indicated that because these children have such a variety of persons in their background, they have a special need for elements of consistency or continuity such as files of personal letters and photographs as well as complete records of their backgrounds and histories. Not only does this aid the child in his sense of self and individuality, but also this is an attempt at normalcy—since such photographs and records are the common accouterments of the family-reared child.

Facilities

To implement these general principles, it is recommended that an institution should provide for not more than fifty children in order that the children can attend community schools and community functions. This group should not include infants or preschool children or family groups since
they are better provided for in foster homes. Some sources indicate that children should be divided into "small 'family' groups of varying ages and both sexes, each in the charge of a house-mother, and preferably also of a house-father." Other sources maintain that homogeneous groups, consisting of one sex within a three or four year age range, is the more desirable arrangement. However, in all instances it is felt that these "family" groups should be kept small; eight is ideal and twelve is maximum. Groups of such dimensions permit individual attention and discipline rather than impersonal rules.

Whatever the type, "family" groups should be housed in "cottage" homes; that is, small separate houses rather than a congregate institutional building. The Child Welfare League recommends that large-unit cottages or congregate buildings should be subdivided by partitions. "Not more than four children should ever occupy one room, so that the individual needs of each child in the group can be met." Furthermore, "at least one-third of the bedrooms should be single rooms for children who need them, regardless of the age of the children served by the institution." Separate spaces should be provided for quiet study, general relaxation, and active play.

Staff

Given this kind of setting, it is important, then, to have trained and competent staff. Besides the director,
"the professional staff should ideally consist of a social worker, registered nurse, recreation leader, house parents, physician, dentist, psychiatrist, and psychologist." 49
Child Welfare League's Standards indicate that the supervisor or director should have professional training in social work including two years of training in a graduate school of social work and previous experience in work with children in groups. 50

Of all the staff, generally it is the house parent who spends the most time with the child yet she has the least training--often none at all--for her job. Dinnage and Kellmer noted that "training for this field has perhaps been under-valued because the heart of the matter of caring for children cannot be taught academically." 51 Publications from the Child Welfare League indicate that the "increased recognition of emotional and personality disturbances among children needing group care has resulted in an ever-increasing demand for training programs for cottage parents." 52

In addition to training, it is recommended that "there should not be too great a difference in age of houseparents and children." 53 "The most desirable age range is from 25 to 50." 54 Furthermore, both men and women should be employed since "it is important for both boys and girls to have someone of the same sex with whom they can identify and someone of the opposite sex to whom they can learn to relate successfully." 55
Within the cottage or home the house parent becomes a parental figure. Most institutionalized children have had no fixed parental figure in their background or "have experienced distorted familial relationships, and are in need of corrective experiences." Cottage parents must be allowed freedom in interpreting and adapting rules for the children under their care. This gives their authority the personal quality and intimacy needed to generate good relationships. In fact, whenever possible and appropriate both "children and staff should have an opportunity to participate in deciding about routines and regulations, so that these may be more acceptable and effective."  

Punishment and Privileges

When misbehavior occurs, punishment should not be the only response; occasionally purposeful nonintervention is most effective. Other responses include: "disapproval, discussion of the incident, changing the situation, physical restraint" and various forms of punishment. Group punishment, humiliating or degrading punishment, and corporal punishment should never be used. The Child Welfare League emphasizes that such punishment is viewed by the child as a manifestation of the adult's aggression rather than as punishment, and reinforces any feelings he may already have that the world is hostile. For many children, it is a repetition of experiences they have had at home and that have been a contributing factor to their problems.
The League also indicated that work assignments should not be used as punishment since that would encourage the child to regard all work as punishment.62

The institutionalized child should be granted a variety of rights and privileges. Parental and foster home visits constitute one such right of the child, and these should never be denied even as punishment.63 Both for the benefit of the child and as a privilege for him, the child should be allowed to participate in community activities sponsored by the school, churches, or youth agencies, and be allowed to visit personal friends.64 Within the Home, tutoring and vocational counseling should be arranged as well as classes in music, art, dancing, or crafts. Indoor and outdoor recreation should be organized, although mass excursions or imposed activities should be avoided and free time should be available.65

In brief, the principles of individuality, dependent relationships, and consistency should form the basis for treatment of children in an institution. Applying these same principles to the facilities provided for the child will result in such recommended practices as establishing small "family" groups, providing personal storage space, and permitting the children to help establish the rules. Ultimately, these principles and practices should help attain the desired goal of normal maturation for the child.
IV. AN INSTITUTION IN FACT

Introduction

Sociologist Barbara Wooten added a different perspective to the studies of maternal deprivation reviewed by Bowlby and others. Her comments seem equally appropriate for institutionalized children of any age:

What these studies of institutionalized children have revealed is not so much that children need dependable love—a truth which surely man has known in theory as long as he has ignored it in practice—as that, as things are, they are more likely to find this in families than in institutions. This, however, is a social, rather than a psychological, fact; it is a commentary on the way in which many institutions are, or have been, run.66

To examine "the way in which many institutions are, or have been, run," the history and current procedures of the Delaware County Children's Home will provide one example.

History

The provisions for orphaned or dependent children in Delaware County has altered gradually through the years. Originally, destitute children were "bound out" as servants; however, by the mid 1800's it was more usual to place such children with adults at the "poor farm."67 By the early 1890's, the need for special provision for children was recognized by certain local citizens who banded together to form the Delaware County Children's Home Association. The County Commissioners gave this association the task of
managing and maintaining a children's home in 1907 when the Commissioners purchased forty acres of farm land (the present location of the Delaware County Children's Home).

Facilities

The Delaware County Children's Home still retains about twelve acres of the original ground. It also retains the original farmhouse which forms the central core of the congregate building. (vide Appendix). This building was altered early in the 1900's when wings were added to house four divisions of children. Since that time, various minor additions have been made as well as general remodeling and maintenance endeavors.

The building houses four divisions, one each for senior boys, senior girls, junior boys, and junior girls. ("Junior" indicates children up to seventh grade. "Senior" indicates children of seventh grade or higher.) Although two of the divisions and the director's apartment are located on the second floor, all other main rooms are found on the ground floor. For public use, there is a parlor for visiting and a "library" for conferences. For the children, there is a large activity room and a large dining room. The kitchen complex of cooking and storage rooms is also located on the ground floor.

A brief description of the senior girls' division should serve to describe all four divisions in that they differ little.
The large living room is roughly thirty-five by fifteen feet in size, carpeted and furnished inexpensively. The television, radio, and aquarium make the room pleasant as do the twelve tall, narrow windows which add considerable light. However, the high ceiling and open, old-fashioned radiators indicate the age of the building.

Connecting the living room with the other rooms in the division is a locker room. Here, twelve gray school lockers provide the only source of private storage each child has. Opening from this room is the house-mother's private bedroom, the bathroom areas, and the dormitory.

All of the children in one division sleep in one large dormitory room. This enormous room houses fourteen (other divisions have eighteen) iron-frame beds reminiscent of old-style hospital beds. For fire safety, these beds are arranged in precise rows well away from all walls. This room also contains numerous radiators, a storage bin, and three closets.

The basement of the Home attests to the origin of the building in its very aged appearance. The area is divided into several rooms which vary widely in both usage and frequency of use. Summer crafts classes are held in one room while other rooms provide storage or facilities for weight-lifting, ping-pong, or pool.

During the period of study there were fifty-nine children at the Home. Of these, five were senior girls, fourteen were
senior boys, sixteen were junior girls, and twenty-four were junior boys. This number included thirteen family groups of children, and children in all of the following categories: pre-delinquent, delinquent, emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded, epileptic, diabetic, as well as dependent or neglected.

Staff

The director is the most important staff person at the Delaware County Children's Home. She makes virtually all decisions relative to the management of the Home, the other staff, and the children in the institution. She is directly responsible only to the county judge and to the Board of County Commissioners which approves decisions regarding budgeting or remodeling of the Home. The children in the Home are wards of the Delaware County Department of Public Welfare (some are wards of the court) which has authority in matters of placement, but seldom interferes with internal matters of the Home.

The present director is in her forties and has been at the Home as director for over twelve years. Prior to this position, she managed a dress shop. She considers her qualifications to be that she was somewhat underprivileged herself (she has been independent since age twelve) and that she ran a nursing home which housed eighteen people. She completed one year of college. Her goal for the children is to "try to
get kids to be good citizens in the community so that they won't make more kids like them--on the welfare rolls." She wants to "bring them up right, teach them to act right and do right" and to help them to get an education. She feels that most of the children she has had in the Home have "turned out right."

In talking with the director, she appears to be concerned for the children in the Home. She admitted that "maybe they don't get as much love as you did at home, but they get a lot more here than they ever would at home." She said that she worries about the children and encourages the ones who leave (at age eighteen) to call her collect should the need arise. The director feels that most of the children are better off at the Home than they would be anywhere else, particularly since the foster homes, she feels, are so bad.

Theoretically, the Delaware County Children's Home is not to have children under age six, although it presently houses five pre-schoolers. These are primarily instances in which there are also older brothers and sisters in need of care. The director of the Home pointed out that she "hates to see brothers and sisters divided." Upon occasion she has housed a mother with her children or very young infants when they had no other lodging. She does feel that certain children should be relocated elsewhere, such as those who steal, those who are retarded or epileptic, and those who are diabetic.
The director feels that eighteen is the best number of children for each division. Although she said "the housemother could handle more," the facilities are arranged only for eighteen. She would prefer to see the Home run at its capacity which is seventy-two children rather than just fifty-nine children (the number present at the time of this research). "This is the lowest we've been in a long time," she commented.

The director would like eventually to have a new building of a one-level design. She would plan eight to ten bedrooms per division with two children per room. She objected to a separate cottage plan establishment, however, since "you have to go so far to the dining room." She would plan to have a separate house on the grounds for the use of the director.

The Delaware County Children's Home has no resident caseworkers, social workers, psychiatrists, psychologists, physicians, dentists, registered nurses, or chaplains on its paid staff. People in those professions do serve the children of the Home, but simply as they would any other member of the community. The staff does include four regular house-mothers (one per division), two full-time house-mother "spares," two part-time "spares," two cooks, two laundry women, one sewing and cleaning woman, and one maintenance man who is the director's husband.

The director stated that there were no specific qualifications for house-mothers "that I know of." She seeks people
in good health, who like and can cope with children, and who do not smoke or drink. She feels that they should have a high school education, although she will accept less. She finds that it is difficult to get people, but feels that her staff is good. They have no exact orientation period, although some reading materials are given to new house-mothers by way of orientation. Regular staff meetings are held approximately once each week in order to discuss problems and distribute information on future events. Such meetings, the director said, help to "share ideas" and "get the women on the ball."

These house-mothers range in age from about fifty-five to sixty-five. There is a great variation in the amount of time each had been at the Home; from two weeks minimum to eleven years maximum. Most of these women seemed to feel that the children were "better off" at the Home than elsewhere and considered their jobs to be "just like a mother." Few felt able to suggest any improvements for the running of the Home.

In general, the house-mothers seemed to feel that the children would come to them if they had problems to discuss. Several of them had told the children that they could do so. However, the house-mothers apparently did not attempt to "reach" the children individually.

Only one of the house-mothers interviewed had suggestions for altering the Home for the benefit of the children. She agreed that the children did not have much privacy, actually
stating that they "have no privacy here at all." She would like to see the Home establish cottage-type settings or at least provide more partitions and storage space within the present structure. She also felt that eighteen children are too many in the junior divisions since "smaller ones require a lot of love and care." That number might be acceptable in the senior divisions. Although this house-mother has many ideas for change, observation indicates that she has made only minor attempts to implement them.

All aspects of the Home—including the children, the staff, and the facilities—ultimately center around the director; she is the ruling authority. Under her control, the various aspects of the Home are coordinated into a general pattern of life as will be discussed in the next section.
V. LIFE AT THE HOME

Introduction

The fine web of daily and weekly routines, as well as the broader pattern which consists of general procedures such as intake or rules, profoundly influences the life of an institutionalized child. Together, they form what Erving Goffman terms the "moral career" of the child; that is, "any social strand of any person's course through life." The "moral career" of a child at the Delaware County Children's Home begins at intake.

Intake

Before he can enter into the routine of the Home, each child must pass through an intake procedure which becomes part of his initiation to the Home. Before arriving at the Home, it is usual for the child to be made a ward of the County Welfare Department (or, in some cases, a ward of the court). The police or a caseworker from either Welfare or Probation will bring the child to the Children's Home.

The incoming child is taken to the appropriate division where he is deloused with Kupex and his hair is shampooed. Then he is bathed, sometimes "five or six times," the director said, "until he is clean." His own clothes are taken to the laundry and he is given clothes belonging to the institution. The child is given food, either a snack or a meal, after which he is released to become part of his division.
Daily Routine

After intake, the child begins to learn, through experience, the routine of life at the Home. This routine is highly organized, focusing sharply on meals and school.

The day begins at 5:30 a.m. when the house-mother, who rises at 5:00 a.m., awakens the children of her division. In the senior girls' division, this is accomplished by calling "girls" once and turning on the overhead lights. Since it is still dark at this time, the lights provide a striking contrast which is a very effective awakening. The children rise and begin immediately to make their beds after which they move to the locker room to dress in play clothes. Each child then has a particular job to do. Once each week, every child strips his bed, folds the blankets, and places the sheets in a wash bin. On other days, the children clean the division, younger ones dusting, older ones sweeping.

Approximately 6:15 a.m. when the buzzer sounds, the children, who are already lined up downstairs, file to their places in the dining room. After the morning prayer is sung, they take their seats, each in his own particular place. For breakfast and all other meals, the senior boys and senior girls are seated at opposite ends of the dining room with the two junior divisions in the middle. Although not obvious, there is a perceptibly larger space between tables of girls and tables of boys than between any two tables seating children of the same sex.
The children eat rather quickly and quietly. Talking is permitted, but "noisiness" is not. Some children interviewed felt that the "food is good" and it is substantial in quantity. Seconds are permitted occasionally for some foods and always for milk. For permission to leave the table (whether to get seconds or to carry his dishes to the kitchen) a child must raise his hand until his house-mother grants her permission. No child returns to his division until all children are ready to leave the dining room.

Not until after breakfast and chores does the child dress in school clothes. These clothes must be removed immediately after school. After school time is a free period until supper which is served at 5:15 p.m. Evenings are divided into a study hour from 6:30 to 7:30 p.m. and a free hour which is also used for baths or showers on the prescribed nights. Bedtime, depending upon the age of the child, ranges from 8:30 to 9:30 p.m.

All children who are deemed old enough to do so have the responsibility of helping to wash dishes once each day. Some children may help more than once per day; when they are being punished or when extra help is needed.

The only regularly scheduled weekday event is a Wednesday-night tutoring session provided by Ball State volunteers. However, special events may be scheduled for week nights. Outside groups may take groups of children to movies or to
places of interest. Other groups come into the Home to provide special events such as puppet shows or "Bible school" meetings. Attendance at such events is the decision of the director, not of the child; and misbehavior may result in the denial of such privileges.

Weekend Routine

The weekend routine is much less formal than that of the weekdays. Specific hours for rising, for breakfast, or for showers may vary between divisions, although generally all children in one division are kept to the same schedule.

Special events similar to those provided on weekdays are prevalent on weekends with the addition of parties given for all of the children. One such party is a birthday party given once every three months for those children who had birthdays within that period. (Little or no birthday observances, beyond singing "Happy Birthday," is provided on the individual child's birthday). Senior division children, particularly boys, are allowed to attend movies or bowl on Saturday afternoons. Eleventh and twelfth graders are permitted to date.

A number of children leave the Home on weekends for visits to their own or foster families. Such visits may be a prelude to foster placement and, as such, are both a pleasure and a trial to the child. Similar visits are arranged quite frequently for school holidays, particularly at Christmas time.
Rules and Punishment

Emerging through his experience with routine, the child begins to learn the rules of the Home, which are not available in written form. The following list was compiled through discussion with the director of the Children's Home:

1. Neither staff members nor children are permitted to smoke, to drink, or to use "foul language."
2. Children are not permitted to "talk back" to staff members.
3. Dating between two children who are both residents of the Home is not permitted.
4. Children of tenth grade or less are not permitted to date.
5. Children on dates must be in by 11:30 or 11:45 p.m.
6. Asking permission to attend any activity outside the Home is required.
7. Attendance at church and Sunday school is required.

Through the experience of living at the Home, this investigator found that there are additional regulations which are established at the Home. For example, girls must wear skirts and tie their hair back (if it is long) at mealtimes. Also, children are not permitted to touch the television, but must request that the house-mother undertake such an action.

Furthermore, children are permitted only one telephone call to friends each week. Incoming calls from outside children to Home children are not accepted.

From observation, it also might be concluded that few children are permitted to go alone to any place inside or outside the Home, with the possible exception of the older
boys. The children do not have free run of the house, but essentially are restricted to their division areas where supervision is more convenient.

At the Children's Home, the temporary withdrawal of privileges is a commonly used form of punishment. Most frequently these privileges are attendance at parties or field trips. The loss of weekend visits may be threatened; however, the director indicated that she would not prevent a child from seeing relatives or foster families.

A wide range of other punishments also are used at the Home. Embarrassment is used by "yelling at" a child before the other children and by discussing a child's misbehavior with outsiders in his presence. Extra work assignments are used for punishment as are physical punishments such as spanking or standing with arms outstretched for long periods of time. Group punishment is also used.

Interpersonal Relationships

The director of the Home emphasized that they "try to run this on a home level, not an institution level" and that they try to avoid rigid rules. Obstensibly then, the formal relationships are not emphasized, and it could be expected that less formal relationships would develop. At the Delaware County Children's relationships may develop on three levels: relationships with the director, relationships with the house-mothers, and relationships with other children.
The child's relationship with the director generally is the most formal of the three. The director feels that the parents "don't teach the kids right," and she attempts to correct this situation. The director is the disciplinarian and ultimate authority within the Home; the child must come to her to request any privilege. This position of power results in formal relationships except in cases where the director herself chooses to step out of the authoritarian role. Since she explained, "I cut up a lot more with the boys," it would seem that she does step out of this role with some of the senior boys.

With the house-mothers, the child has a less formal relationship. The authority of each house-mother is limited to the child's behavior within the Home, particularly within the division. However, in most cases, the house-mother takes no initiative in this authority, but merely reflects the wishes of the director. The potential for a close house-mother - child relationship is present; however, the house-mothers observed did not seem to develop this relationship.

Relationships between children serve both to enforce and to ameliorate the regulations of the Home in general. Some of the children in each division will report the actions of the others, and such reporting frequently is encouraged by the staff. As one child explained, in reference to the other children at the Home, "sometimes you can get advice, but
most of the time they go back and tell on you." Exceptions to this "tell-tale" approach do occur in instances where two or more children become close friends. These friends may be companions in rule-breaking so that punishment is shared or, at least, may offer understanding to the friend in punishment.

Out-Processing

The young people in the Children's Home may end their residence there in one of three ways: release, placement, or escape. Release occurs when an adolescent reaches the age of eighteen and thereby ceases to be a ward of the Welfare Department. Released children, as a result of their long residence, are apt to consider the Children's Home as their "real" home. These children are encouraged to write or call, and some return for visits.

Placement is the most common means of leaving the Home. In this instance, the child's caseworker feels that the child would benefit by being placed in his original home, a foster home, or a different institution. Placement may not mean a permanent departure from the Home since the child may be returned if the new placement is not beneficial.

Escape, or "running away," is the third means of leaving the Home. This action is, perhaps, not common, but it is not rare. By way of example, during a specific two month period, three of the fifty-nine children in residence ran away. Escaping is not difficult, but it is seldom very permanent since many of the children are apprehended by the police
within twenty-four hours of their escape. Short-term runaways frequently are returned to the Home, while long-term runaways may be sent to the detention center for a time before being placed.
Introduction

To learn how the children in the Home react to their environment, the researcher interviewed nine of the nineteen adolescents residing in the Home. Only children over twelve years of age were selected for interviewing for two reasons: first, in comparison to the number of studies on institutionalized infants, very little research has been done on the institutionalized adolescent; and second, it was felt that adolescents would have had a wider range of experiences than the younger had had and, thus, they could give a broader perspective of the Home itself.

John's Interview

John is seventeen-year-old junior at Southside High School who has lived at the Home for four years. Describing the staff at the Home, John explained that he likes several of the housemothers for different reasons. However, he does not like the director whom he described as "two-faced," explaining that she is "mean when no one is around, but sweet when someone is." He added that she "yells too much" at all of the children.

John discussed a great variety of changes that he would like to make in the life at the Home. Primarily, he would change the rules to reduce the separation of boys and girls,
pointing out that "brothers and sisters can't even get together." He also contends that it is very unfair for certain children to be favorites when all of the children should be equal.

John had many suggestions for changing the procedures of the Home, e.g., permitting a child to go back to bed anytime he wished and allowing the house-mothers more free time. He would also like to reduce the number of children under the care of one house-mother from eighteen to eight, adding that this would benefit both the children and the house-mothers.

When asked to name the "best features" of the Home, John said he could not think of any. Interestingly, this boy who objects to favoritism and seeks a variety of changes in the Home, was named by other children as a staff favorite. He, himself, confirms that he is granted special privileges although he feels this is unfair. John's position of favorite in the Home might be explainable in that he is an alert, personable young man who is friendly and very cooperative.

Mary's Interview

Mary is a fifteen-year-old ninth grader at Wilson Junior High School who has been at the Children's Home for three months. Mary seems to have both positive and negative feelings for the staff, although the negative feelings tend to dominate. She was able to select one housemother she
liked and did say that the director is "pretty nice sometimes." However, within the same interview she stated that it would be an improvement for the Home to "get rid of all the people and start over." She also indicated that there was no adult at the Home whom "you can trust." She stated, by way of example, that the director had once said, "Nobody wants you girls. You're just going to have to accept it."

Concerning other aspects of the Home, Mary felt that the building was "kind of tough," but should be refurnished particularly in the dormitories. She felt that all of the children in the Home missed privacy, affection, and freedom. She would like to change the rules so that the children could bathe and wash their hair as often as they wish. She also objected to the "no smoking" rule.

Mary stated that "I think their goal is to make everybody crazy," adding that "I wish we had school all the time." Two days later Mary ran away from the Home.

Unlike John, Mary was decidedly not a favorite among the staff. She was considered "boy crazy" and every effort was made to keep her from the older boys. In general, the staff members felt she was ungrateful and uncooperative.

Other Interviews

The interviews of John and Mary represent two children who differed radically in their acceptance by staff members, but both were critical of the Home. Other children interviewed also presented a wide variety of opinions.
Two of the boys interviewed had few complaints about the Home. One felt that "everyone has about as much privileges as you want." However, three retarded senior girls did not agree. The criticisms offered by two of these girls centered on the director: she "thinks she cares, but it is fake, a lie," and she "gets mad" then "yells too much." Another girl from the senior division made similar comments about the director, adding that she has "a split personality." One boy refused to comment on the staff of the Home.

Most of the children agreed that the parties were the "best things" about the Home, although several of them also mentioned that the "food is good." Nearly all agreed that it made no difference to children at school if a child was from the Home. The one change that most would like to see implemented is to "let the boys and the girls get together."

Observation indicates that the staff of the Children's Home has specific "favorites" and "non-favorites" among the children at the Home. In general "favorites" are those senior boys who do well in school and in sports and who are cooperative around the Home. "Non-favorites" generally are those whom the staff perceives as "bad" and uncooperative. In addition, since grades are considered to be very important, many of the slow-learners and the retarded children are definitely "non-favorites." As one boy explained his life at the Home, "if they tell me to, I do it and no arguments."
VII. A CASE STUDY

Introduction

To understand how the Home effects the child, perspective is needed on the total life of the child. For that purpose, this section provides a case study of one child. Although this is one study of one child, many aspects of this child's life are not unlike those of other children in the Home.

The original study, completed in May, 1971, included interview information from the girl who will be called Ann, and from her caseworker. Follow-up information was obtained in March, 1972, from a new caseworker presently handling Ann's case.

The Original Study

Ann is a bright, sixteen-year-old girl who seems to be giving serious thought to the problems of growing up. Ann's parents were divorced when she was three and both have remarried. She has seen her father, who lives in Florida, only twice and she has recently become more interested in knowing about him. Her mother, who was mentally ill, was hospitalized in Richmond for eight years. Since that time the mother has had two other children by her second husband, although Ann has not lived with them since she was four.

Ann lived with her grandparents while she was between the ages of four and nine. These five years were the longest
period of time she has spent in any one home. However, the large age difference between the child and her grandparents created problems in the home. Since the age of nine, Ann has lived in the homes of a number of relatives, in three different foster homes, and in the Children's Home on four separate occasions. Her foster home experiences were generally poor. She felt that she was being used and forced to do all the work of the house. She also felt that the rules in these homes were much too rigid and restrictive. However, her third foster home appears to have embodied a more normal family atmosphere, at least so Ann perceives such family differences. She formed close ties with the daughter who was near her age, but she was returned to the Children's Home when the daughter moved away from home.

Ann's only long-term relationship with an adult has been with her uncle who is her mother's brother. She has lived with his family several times and would like to stay there until she can be independent. At present, problems with her aunt seem to make this unlikely; however, the family does serve as a weekend retreat when other problems seem overwhelming.

Ann expresses a strong desire to be away from the Children's Home for these last years until she becomes eighteen (at which time she will no longer be a ward of the Welfare Department). She feels that it is a heavy responsibility
being the oldest girl in her division because the other girls come to her with their problems. She would like to enter another foster home, but realizes that it is difficult to find one that accepts older children. Occasionally, families will accept her for a weekend which is usually a trial period for foster placement. She has been disappointed when the placement was not made and sees this as a failure on her part rather than a matter of incompatibility with the foster parents.

Follow-up Study

Ann's caseworker left the Welfare Department in June, 1971. Her case was reassigned and this new caseworker was helpful in providing follow-up information.

Before leaving, Ann's caseworker made arrangements for her to be placed in the home of her uncle where Ann has remained for the past year. Apparently there were some adjustment problems initially, and, for a time, Ann considered living in the home of one of her teachers who had been friendly and who was willing to accept her. However, the problems between Ann and her uncle's family were resolved and she now plans to remain there until she becomes eighteen. She seems to be happier there than she was at the Children's Home.

For more than a year Ann had felt attached to one particular boy at school. She was eager to marry him and the boy "was willing" although he was young and not financially
stable. The caseworker convinced them to wait until the boy was able to be independent. Then, Ann was found to be pregnant early in August, but miscarried shortly thereafter. Learning of her pregnancy, Ann's boyfriend stopped seeing her and has not returned. However, she still seems to care for him and has tried to contact him.

Ann's future is not definite. Her caseworker believes that the relationship she had with the boy is now ended, although he also believes she may be married to someone else in a few years. Ann intends to remain at her uncle's home and to enter beautician's school soon. Early in 1973, Ann will be eighteen and no longer a ward of the Welfare Department.

Conclusion of Case

A psychologist's comments about Ann at age eleven are appropriate, perhaps, for many institutionalized children. This psychologist described Ann as being bright with normal or above average intelligence. However, her difficulty in relating emotionally to others results in intense loneliness. The psychologist judged that Ann felt "deeply inadequate and rejected and perceive[d] others as threatening and punishing."

Several elements of this case seem to be representative of many children in institutions; e.g., she lived in a variety of temporary homes, some of which made harsh demands upon her
and laid down very strict regulations. The child suffers not only from a lack of parental love, but also from a lack of a close and consistent relationships with adults. The child needs frequently to adjust to new environments and comes to feel she has failed in each case.
VIII. GENERAL CONCLUSION

Introduction

The underlying theme of this paper is based on the question--What factors of institutionalization may effect the child's self-concept? According to Standards for Services of Child Welfare Institutions, the institution seeks "to foster normal maturation, to correct or modify the effects of previous unsatisfactory experiences, and to ameliorate the social and emotional problems interfering with the child's personality development and functioning." Ideally, then, a model institution would have a positive effect on self-concept.

For the purposes of this study, the original question has been applied to one specific institution, the Delaware County Children's Home. Descriptive materials have been provided at length on the provisions and procedures of the Home, including the children's reactions to the Home. It now remains to consider two questions: 1) in what ways does this particular institution differ from the model institution? and 2) might these differences effect the child's self-concept?

A Comparison of Model and Actual Institutions

In developing a model for the ideal institution (vide Section III), the recommendations for facilities, staff,
and punishment and privileges were discussed in addition to three basic principles. For the present purpose of comparing the actual institution with the ideal or model institution, these recommendations will be considered in connection with the basic principles.

Individuality is the first basic principle of the model institution. This principle applies both to the provision for and the treatment of the children. At the Delaware County Children's Home, this principle is applied in regard to personal possessions; each child has, as Flint suggests, individual clothes, toothbrushes, combs and brushes, and a particular in the dining and bedroom. On a broader scale, however, the Delaware Home does not adhere to this principle, particularly in general provisions and in treatment.

In regard to general provisions, the Delaware Home violates several recommendations of the Child Welfare League; i.e., size of the Home, size of family groups, and living and sleeping arrangements (vide "Facilities," Section III). The League suggests that the institution provide for "not more than fifty children" whereas the Delaware Home provides for fifty to eighty children. Instead of small family groups of eight to twelve children as is desirable, the Delaware Home varied between five and twenty-four in a unit; the director felt that eighteen was a desirable number to have in each unit. Both the living and the sleeping arrangements
at the Home are organized on a large scale. The League suggests that "not more than four children should ever occupy a room" (bedroom); however, the Delaware Home utilizes a dormitory arrangement which provides for eighteen children in one sleeping room. Eating and recreational arrangements also are organized on a large scale.

The treatment of children at the Delaware Home seems to be more group-oriented than individualized. The director is, at times, an exception to this. Since children come to her for special permissions, she is in a position to deal with each one individually. However, the housemothers, who have the constant care of the children seem to base much of their communication on group directives rather than on individual conversation.

The second basic principle is that the child needs dependent relationships. Flint suggests that is "fundamental to the success of an institution that sufficient staff be available to permit special relationships to develop between a child and one or two selected staff members who are uniquely 'his'." The Delaware Home has a child-staff ratio which ranges between four to one and six to one. The Home provides staff for constant supervision of the children; thus, there is at least one staff available to the child at all times. However, these staff members generally are in charge of quite a number of children at the same time.
Furthermore, these staff members do not fulfill the recommendations made by the Child Welfare League (vide "Staff," Section III). It is recommended that the supervisor or director have "two years of training in a graduate school of social work." The director of the Delaware Home has had one year of college. House-mothers should have some training and should be in an age range of twenty-five to fifty. At the Delaware Home, house-mothers generally have some experience, but the majority are well over fifty. The Home also employs only one man out of the total number of thirteen staff members, contrary to the suggestion made by one writer, "it is important for both boys and girls to have someone of the same sex with whom they can identify and someone of the opposite sex to whom they can learn to relate successfully."

The third and final basic principle is consistency of care and discipline. This principle is reasonably well applied at the Delaware Home in one sense. That is, the physical needs of each child are consistently and sufficiently met at the Home. In addition each individual child is treated consistently, but his treatment may not be the same as other children; i.e., the "non-favorite" may receive consistent discipline for his misdeeds, but he may be denied the affection that a "favorite" receives.

Since most discipline is administered by the director, some consistency is achieved. However, methods of discipline
do not follow those suggested by the Child Welfare League (vide "Punishment and Privileges," Section III). Group punishment, physical punishment, and extra work as punishment are all used contrary to the recommendations of the League.

Effects of Institutionalization on Adolescents

That institutionalization of children produces unmistakable results has been noted by several authors. B. M. Flint explained, "the milieu of an institution creates common distortions in behavior and affective life which can be isolated and described with remarkable similarity wherever the institution may exist."?

Certain of these "distortions in behavior" were described by John Bowlby in his report to the World Health Organization. He found that institutionalized children developed external obedience, yet internally they were afraid of close personal contacts; they "avoided making decisions, resented suggestions of independence, and made excessive material demands."? Such children were found frequently to have "an inability to form close relationships with adults or contemporaries, inadequate intellectual function, apathy, and indifference."?

In discussing the damaging aspects of the institution, Dinnage and Kellmer state:

The two potentially most damaging aspects of residential care are that a psychologically, culturally, and educationally restricted, impoverished or, at worst, even depriving substitute
environment may unintentionally be provided; secondly, that unless special steps are taken, children may grow up without a personal sense of identity, lacking a coherent picture of both their past and their future.76

Thus, Dinnage and Kellmer link the possible deprivations of the institution with the child's sense of identity, concluding that the environment, at worst, may be depriving and that the child may be "without" a personal sense of identity. The task which remains for this study is to show that such a link might exist between the observed deprivations at the Delaware County Children's Home and the child's sense of identity.

Effects upon Self-Concept

In comparing the actual and the ideal or model institution, three basic principles were used and certain discrepancies were noted. Using the three principles, once again, as a point of organization, these discrepancies will now be considered in terms of the second question: might these differences effect the self-concept?

The last principle discussed was consistency of care and discipline. Discussion of the actual institution indicated that the children of the Delaware Home receive consistent care physically, but not all children receive equal care or discipline. Furthermore, the Child Welfare League emphasized that methods of discipline such as those used at the Delaware Home tend to be "viewed by the child as a manifestation of
the adult's aggression rather than as punishment" a concept which "reinforces any feelings he may already have that the world is hostile."?7 In other words, the child may learn to perceive others as threatening and punishing just as Ann did.

Closely connected with discipline and its consistency is the privilege system of which discipline is but one part. In the system Goffman describes for asylums, there are many "house rules" and few rewards or privileges which are granted in exchange for "obedience to staff in action and spirit."?8 Such a system operates at the Delaware Home (vide "Rules and Punishment," Section V). Goffman further suggests that "it is largely the privilege system that provides a framework for personal reorganization."?9

The second principle discussed concerned the need for dependent relationships. In the institution studied, the development of dependent relationships was deterred by the fact that each housemother had many children in her care. Furthermore, there was little variation in age or sex or educational background which might aid the child in relating to one particular staff member. Studies of maternal deprivation indicate how vital such dependent relationships may be, actually deeming them "essential for mental health."?0

Finally, there is the crucial principle of individuality. In the Delaware Home, some individualization of personal property was common, but the general provisions and treatment
were found to be mass oriented. Many personal possessions (such as the child's clothes at intake) are removed and kept in storage. Sykes observed that "material possessions are so large a part of the individual's conception of himself that to be stripped of them is to attack the deepest layers of personality." 81

The theories on development of self which were discussed (vide Section II) relate closely to the idea of individuality. Erikson emphasized that adolescents are at a crucial period in their development of self. Also, Mead, Cooley, and Sullivan emphasized that interaction with others is a determining factor in self perception or self-concept. In application these theories imply that a child may learn to suppress his own individuality if most of the "others," particularly the "significant others," in his life fail to treat him as an individual.

Finally, it was noted that the children at the Delaware Home could be divided into "favorites" and "non-favorites" partially on the basis of their cooperativeness. Keniston observed that many institutions develop "an unconscious desire to produce children who will be as little trouble as possible, a goal that can be reached only by sacrificing the child's individuality." 82

Conclusion

Thus, the Delaware County Children's Home differs from the model institution in several respects. And, based on the
effects of institutionalization upon infants and adults, and on theories of the development of self, it can be seen that these discrepancies may effect the child's self-concept.

As a final note, this writer suggests that further research on this topic is sorely needed. This research might take the form of descriptive study of a particular institution or more detailed, direct research on the self-concept of the institutionalized child.
FOOTNOTES


3Ibid.

4Ibid., p. 28.

5Ibid., p. 29.


8Ibid., p. 5.


10Ibid., p. 76.

11Edwin P. Hollander, Principles and Methods of Social


15 Ibid., pp. 121-2.


17 Ibid.


19 Ibid., p. 16.


21 Goffman, p. 28.

22 Ibid., p. 48.

23 Ibid., p. 49.

24 Ibid., p. 50.

25 Ibid., p. 51.

26 Harold M. Skeels, Adult Status of Children with Contrasting


31 Dinnage and Kellmer, p. 6.


36 Ibid., pp. 142-3.

37 Ibid., p. 142.


39 Ibid.

40 Dinnage and Kel1mer, p. 28.

41 Child Welfare League, Standards, pp. 16-17.


44 Bowlby, Child Care, p. 156.


46 Child Welfare League, Standards, p. 82.

47 Ibid., p. 83.

48 Ibid., p. 86.


51 Dinnage and Kel1mer, p. 20.

52 Hyman Grossbeard, Cottage Parents: What They Have to Be, Know, and Do (New York: Child Welfare League of America, 1960), p. 3.
53Frederickson, p. 193.
55Ibid.
56Grossbeard, p. 9.
57Ibid., p. 11.
59Ibid., p. 44.
60Ibid., p. 46.
61Ibid.
62Ibid., p. 45.
63Ibid.
64Ibid., pp. 58-59.
65Ibid., p. 56.
67Historical information was provided by the director of the Delaware County Children's Home. Her source was not given.
68Goffman, p. 127.
70Flint, p. 142.
71Ibid., pp. 142-3.
73Flint, p. 3.
74 Bowlby, Child Care, p. 158.
75 Flint, p. xi.
76 Dinnage and Kellmer, p. 35.
77 Child Welfare League, Standards, p. 46.
78 Goffman, p. 49.
79 Ibid., p. 48.
80 Bowlby, Maternal Care, p. 59.
81 Sykes, p. 74.
82 Keniston, p. 5.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Erikson, Erik. Childhood and Society. quoted by J. McEwan


