Extended Report of the Impact of Fantasy on a Treatment Program

Richard H. Dana
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Program Evaluation: Nevada Girls' Training Center

Richard H. Dana
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The Nevada Girls' Training Center has been in operation one full year. In this period staff has been trained, a program developed, and an unobtrusive security maintained. Community resources and support have been mobilized. A comfortable, tolerable, non-institutional substitute home atmosphere has been created.

The purposes of this preliminary report are to describe and document problems and to consider possible program improvements. It has been prepared for Center staff and other interested persons. The critical nature of some of the contents are in no way intended to minimize the splendid accomplishments of the initial year. In order to present these problems the Center's goals and program will be briefly described.

Goals. A training center has twin goals, custody and rehabilitation. Traditional custodial techniques and security measures do not afford adequate rehabilitation resources. In fact, custody and rehabilitation may be antithetical. Minimizing the custodial impact and maximizing rehabilitation possibilities becomes the major problem in Caliente or in similar institutions.

Adolescents who are remanded by the court to a training center have been damaged in their capacity for trusting adults. They have failed to develop proper techniques for relating to other persons and for expressing feeling. And most important they have not learned to control their impulses or behavior. Custody, the fact of institutionalization, provides a context in which controls can be learned, in which feeling can be expressed without reactions of violence or indifference which have characterized the past experiences of these girls. Custody alone, however, will not provide permanent changes in
behavior for many girls. A rehabilitation program which enables individual success through accomplishment and learning about the self from daily events which are interpreted to them is necessary. The salient change for most girls which precedes behavior changes noticeable to others is a change in feelings about the self. These girls feel unloved and unwanted and therefore unworthy of being loved. They lack faith in themselves and in other persons. Rehabilitation, in this sense, is not dissimilar from a psychotherapy process. It is, however, residential in nature and the product of cumulative experiences under the watchful eye of staff who understand both the girls and themselves as agents in a living treatment process.

Since its inception the Caliente school has been oriented toward rehabilitation. This has meant an emphasis on socialization or resocialization. Socialization is learning to meet one's own needs in terms of the needs, beliefs, and feelings of those with whom one lives. Socialization does not occur without discipline and love. Socialization proceeds more smoothly under conditions of mutual respect for person integrity between parent and child. Fear and lack of trust impede socialization. These girls are typically undersocialized; parents have not cared enough to impose limits on behavior. For a few girls there has been restrictive overcontrol; parents have not cared enough to permit independent behavior. In either instance the result has been too little control by the girl over her own behavior.

Socialization has meant an individual educational program, the imposition of discipline, and the development of a substitute and accepting home atmosphere. Education, discipline, and home atmosphere constitute the environmental aspects of the program.

Program

When a girl enters the Center she is assigned a private room in a circular
cottage with 19 other girls, and taken to town to select her own clothes. A woman counselor, whose primary responsibility is that of Group Supervisor in the Cottage, talks with her once a week in a formal counseling session and informally as often as the girl wishes. The girl may talk with any staff member following a written or oral request. An academic program is set up following standard achievement tests. A work placement in the kitchen, the office, or the infirmary, is made if appropriate.

After 30 days of residence a Classification Committee meets to develop a treatment plan. Reports from the academic and social adjustment counselors are read. Cottage reports based on log entries and individual notes are read. The Parole Officer and other staff members provide pertinent data. There are two results of this meeting: (a) recommendations for 30, 60, or 90 day continuance or parole are made; (b) academic and social adjustment goals are formulated. The outcome of this meeting, the number of days and the specific goals in writing, are made known to the girl immediately. If the recommendation is for parole, discharge is made within a 30 day period.

Counseling proceeds in terms of four to six simple, concise goals stated in writing. Motivation is affected by relating day by day behavior to progress in meeting the goals. The achievement of goals is the necessary condition for obtaining parole and the girls know that this is the fact of their life at Caliente.

The Classification Committee also has access to all discipline reports. Discipline is meted out for incidents which vary in severity from sneak smoking to runaway. Incidents are handled when they occur, reported in writing, and specific action is taken after discussion with the girl relating the incident to her goals. The punishment for incidents is in terms of restrictions to the grounds (except for all-cottage events) which is limited to three days
per incident except at the discretion of senior staff. The purpose of the incident report procedure is to document patterns of behavior and to provide learning experience within a discipline context.

The recreation program is a major part of life in the Center. In a 52 day sample period each girl was off grounds an average of five times, with a range from once to 15 times. Private cars are used whenever possible to avoid possible embarrassment. Church attendance off grounds is regular and voluntary. Town visits are made for meals, ball games, rides, walks, sodas, swimming, and home visits with families. On grounds recreation is planned and includes sports, movies, singing, and barbecues. Birthdays are celebrated with cakes and singing. The major purpose of this process is to create ideal home conditions.

Program description would be incomplete without recognition of the security measures. Sight supervision is the primary means of maintaining security. This requires that all girls be in sight of a supervisor or other staff members at all times. A girl may go alone from one building to another as long as supervisors on both ends are in full sight of her at all times. The circular design of the cottages and the provision for the presence of two female staff members, except from 12:00 P.M. to 6:00 A.M., enables constant supervision. A fairly rigid time schedule maintains a constant flow from cottages to academic and dining buildings. An executive officer on duty from 6:00 A.M. to 10:00 P.M. and on call after that focuses authority and responsibility at any time. In addition, all buildings are equipped with a sensitive monitoring system which provides centralized awareness of potential disturbances. The policy of handling crisis immediately promotes the feeling among the girls that they are unlikely to "get away" with anything. The most serious potential problem, runaway, has occurred five times. However, four
of these attempts have been nonserious, impulsive acting out with relatively rapid return to the cottage, while the fifth was based on a panic reaction inspired by bad staff judgment. If all other security measures fail, transfer out of state is a last resort. \textless{} girls have been transferred.

Description thus far has included the custodial and rehabilitation goals of a training center, the major aspects of program, and something of the process each girl undergoes during her stay at the Center. This descriptive context is necessary for understanding of the problems. While there is no cavil with the splendid staff training and program accomplishments of the first year, the rehabilitation goals are unlikely to be implemented without attention to some implicitly destructive practices.

Problem

There are four major problems which interfere with the rehabilitation goals. (a) Dedication is substituted for conscientiousness on the basis of fear and artificial dependency of staff upon the institution. Loyalty is exacted from staff members by power over their time which eventually becomes a compelling influence on their personal lives. (b) Male staff members behave inconsistently toward the girls and consequently are inadequate father figures. This staff behavior results in using girls as "pets" and sexualizing the institutional atmosphere. (c) The goal of custody takes precedence over rehabilitation because of an excellent communication system which violates confidentiality and makes counseling relationships based on faith difficult to achieve. (d) Both discipline and counseling roles are handled by the same person, the supervisor, at different times, on and off duty. The resultant conflict affects both rapport and the counselor's confidence. The use of physical punishment is rare; its threat and disorganizing potential upon disturbed girls is not understood.
The high cost of dedication. Dedication is the byword at Caliente. Loyalty is the miracle which has enabled much to be done in little time with untrained staff and meager resources. Staff members spend on an average $57$ hours per week with larger amounts of time spent by administrative staff. Dedication should be sharply distinguished from conscientious performance of a job. Conscientiousness means that the personal integrity of the employee stimulates him to do the job to the best of his ability. Dedication means that the job comes first - before one's private life, family responsibilities, and physical or mental health.

The superintendent makes it clear to all staff members that the job comes first and must come first or they will lose it. Everyone is on call at all times. All counseling, paper work, and time with individual girls comes after and outside of the regular shift. This means that a supervisor may have up to five girls as counselees whom she is expected to see at least one hour per week each. She will have one or more of these girls coming up for Classification during any given month and has to write a comprehensive and detailed behavioral report integrating all of the cottage and counseling data. In addition, her own home has to be open at all times to the girls.

Several hypotheses were tested in order to provide additional information. The Chief Supervisor ranked her 19 group and senior supervisors independently for both competence and dedication. When these rankings were tested statistically, no relationship was discovered. Competence and dedication were unrelated. As a result of private discussions with each staff member, an estimate of major changes in private life since employment at the Center was made. Each estimate was based on at least three independent statements relevant to the private life of each staff member. The results show that for those low on dedication, regardless of competence, six of 10 staff members
had no major change in their private lives while the other four were new employees. For the nine employees high on dedication, regardless of competence, seven had major changes in their personal life since employment. These changes include separation, divorce, neglect of own children, and psychological disturbance. While not all of these personal situations can be directly attributed to pressure for service, the manner in which dedication has been obtained in all cases minimizes extrainstitutional sources of pressure.

Dedication itself may be an admirable quality; however, the means by which this unhealthy dedication was stimulated are relevant. The superintendent uses a consistent and deliberate technique to create dedicated staff members. Initially much time is spent with each new staff member in a process of encouraging them to talk about themselves. Rapport is built in a manner analogous to psychotherapy. They are explicitly told to submerge their personal lives, that the institution must come first; e.g., a mother is expected to leave a sick child; a birthday party with family is interrupted for a five hour escort trip that someone else could have easily made. Their weaknesses are found and the superintendent uses any minor infraction of rules to play bully until the breaking point is found. The supervisor is reduced to inarticulateness and tears. Beyond anger, threatened with job loss, terrorization and humiliation in front of the girls, the superintendent then calms the supervisor and builds her up again to the point of being able to work - albeit self-consciously. Since all the supervisors have seen the public tirades, and the shame and reduced effectiveness with girls which result, the private tyranny does influence their behavior. This process, or "shock treatment" as it is called by the staff, could not occur without a well-functioning communication system (to be discussed separately) in which all
employees and all girls literally tell on each other because they are afraid of the consequences of being detected. The net effect of these tactics is dependent employees, worshipping and fearing their superintendent. Unfortunately, these techniques do not end with staff but are used with equal potential for heartbreak and behavior control with the girls. And the girls stand between love and fear as surely as do their supervisors.

Some sample quotes illustrate the effectiveness of these methods:

(a) "I don't lie to Mr. S because I am afraid of him. I'm not scared of him but of his power."

(b) "He chews us up."

(c) "Don't disagree; don't do anything. Don't try to rationalize. Ask him how to do it right."

(d) "I have become hard, cold, and mean. I can't express feeling except that when I am alone I cry. I will do whatever I have to do in order to hold my job. There are no limits to my self-abnegation."

(e) "Somewhere in the process I lost myself. I want to cease being wife, mother, supervisor, and counselor."

(f) "I feel as responsible for my counselees as I do for my own kids - maybe more so. Really not even a job - just a way of life."

(g) "I'd much rather have him pat me on the back than in the face."

The problem here is that there are other ways to successfully implement program. Dependent and frightened employees do not always succeed in being conscientious in spite of their dedication. The lack of relationship between competence and dedication supports this conclusion. Even more questionable is public use of power. This becomes another way of feeding the fantasy of disturbed adolescents who already have such formidable problems with authority that they need to be institutionalized. Arbitrary, unlimited, and public use
of power endows the state appointed guardians with the same attributes as the girls' own fathers. Irascibility and too much threat has already distorted their capacity for relating with men into blind gropings of promiscuity, destructiveness, and flight. It is unlikely that more of the same kind of behavior can be helpful.

A caricature of love. Female staff members serve as counselors in relatively unambiguous mother roles. The male staff members are less consistent and do not act as counselors. Ostensibly being good fathers, kind and fair and stern, they are also seductive and partial, arbitrarily powerful and capricious. And the girls know this and role-play the child woman, manipulative and wanton, brazen and shy, subtle and exploitative.

This problem is complex; only those male staff members who identify with the superintendent display this behavior. It is also questionable whether or not these behaviors are consciously determined. In addition, much of the fantasy of these girls is already sexualized. Sex is a solitary avenue of relating for some; for others it is a narcissistic ritual; for others it is remunerative for a "good time"; still others it is exploitative; for others it is a hostile act of conquest; for all it is a source of frustration while they are "locked up"; for most it is a mechanistic, casual act devoid of feeling or purpose. In a word, sexual problems have a major responsibility in their presence at Caliente.

Thus, the behavior of the male staff members is of critical importance and plays a continuous role in the girls' sexual fantasy. When female staff members reiterate that "It's disgusting," "They are in love with these old men," and "They are all but making love in the ad building every night," the magnitude of the problem is apparent.

There are several aspects of this situation. (a) Male staff members are not counselors because of an explicit fear that this might be an inappropriate relationship. (b) Male staff members have "pets" or favorites
with whom they spend disproportionate amounts of time, especially at night; simultaneously, the girls are enjoined from forming close attachments with each other because they must inevitably be short term in nature.

It is the use of girls as "pets" which occasions additional problems for the girls themselves and for relevant use of staff time. The girls entertain unreal expectations that their unlimited demands for staff time will be met. The result is additional pressure for time, especially evening time from 7:00 P.M. to 10 or 11:00 P.M. A girl can request to talk with a staff member at any time, day or night, and staff are obliged to comply, although not necessarily immediately. This adds to the intensity of the relationship by enabling easy manipulation of staff time, especially time that staff would usually be spending with their own families. This built-in ability to put any staff member on perpetual call fosters "pets" or girls who "belong" to a male staff member and demand a large proportion of his time. Other girls become jealous and these feelings are openly expressed to staff members and to the girls who are designated as "pets." As "pets" gain prestige in the group and additional attention, the intensity of the relationship with the male staff member is increased. Fantasy and dreams about sexual activity with the male staff member occur. Thus, the reinforcement provided by the male staff member who accedes to simple requests for time and attention becomes an additional problem for the girl. Eventual rejection and disappointment, frustration of the fantasied relationship is inevitable.

This emotional upheaval is a constant environmental pressure. As soon as the relationship diminishes in intensity, another takes its place: feeling waxes and wanes in an artificial and unreal world. The superintendent's directive that no close relationships among the girls be made adds to the easy impetus of staff relationships.
As an example, one male staff member whose wife is a supervisor openly flirts with "pets" by rubbing legs and sitting close while his wife and other girls are present. This upsets the wife and delights some of the girls who are aware of the drama. The wife reacts to this by greater involvement in the program, more and more hours per week, eschewing sleep and any time at home.

One male staff member is consistent in his father role. He is also the only male staff member unequivocally liked by girls (see Figure 1) and the reiterated comment is, "I can flirt with him all I want to - he's safe."

The impact of this behavior on the part of the male staff members is difficult to document. One interesting bit of information comes from the spontaneous lines made from the initials F A T H E R. The father which emerges is weak, brutal, alcoholic, and foolish, someone to be depreciated and held as a promise. This is the father they want to love; their institutional fathers do little to dispel this image.

Whether this behavior on the part of male staff members stems from sheer inexperience or naivete is unknown. Certainly male staff members are acting out their own marital and sexual problems in a situation that is relatively safe for them. There is no evidence to suggest that actual sex play occurs between male staff and the girls. Rather, it is the environment which is being sexualized, wittingly or unwittingly, even more so than it is already. Since the girls have some awareness of the sexual overtures of the superintendent with the female staff members, acceptance of this emotionally charged atmosphere as "right" and "good" is promoted.

Security, communication, confidentiality, and trust. The greatest paradox of institutional life lies in the uneasy coexistence of open communication and absolute trust. Security rests on open lines of communication. The deemphasis
on security and the absence of major violations of security attest to the completeness of communication.

Each staff member was asked privately the names of persons with whom he or she could talk with complete frankness about work and personal life (See Figure 2). The superintendent, assistant superintendent, and one supervisor (one of the two high dedication persons with no major change in personal life) control the communication system. With 20 persons involved, these three who communicate equally with each other have direct and intimate access to 13 of these persons. A fourth staff member who communicates equally with these other three adds four more persons to the communication network.

However, when the girls were asked anonymously the names of the staff members with whom they could openly relate anything that was important to them, the results are strikingly different (see Figure 1). Those staff members who are liked and trusted without question are not those who occupy important places in the staff communication network.

It is apparent that in spite of efforts to the contrary there are two separate worlds in Caliente, staff and girls. The staff are largely oriented toward completeness of communication based on fear of reprisals from the superintendent. The acceptable and dedicated staff believe that "rules and regulations" are more important than human beings, that the institution comes first, last, and always. The girls are counting days, conforming as best they can in terms of their personal resources to what they perceive as a prison. They are wary of staff overtures, of self revelation because they know that all information is fed into the Classification Committee and has a direct bearing on the number of days they must serve. Those staff members they can trust do not relate everything they say to the Classification
Committee; they are able to winnow the relevant from the sacred. Those staff members who are least dedicated and less subject to intimidation and absolute communication are those potentially able to be most effective with the girls as counselors.

Confidentiality has always been a precursor of trust, a hallmark of friendship, a criterion of ethical psychotherapy. The system then demands complete communication in the service of security, one goal of the residential process. The twin goal of rehabilitation requires confidentiality in order to develop trust. Completeness of communication enables the superintendent to exercise power over the lives of staff and girls. This power is used to control the personal and working lives of staff members. It thus appears that a basic confusion of administrative and treatment roles has occurred. This confusion permits personal needs to be served at the expense of the treatment or rehabilitation process.

Discipline and rehabilitation. At Caliente the counseling is done by supervisors in their off duty hours. While on duty the preoccupation is with discipline and maintaining order in the cottages, the dining room, or on the grounds. The supervisors try to clearly distinguish their roles to their counselees. This task is not uniformly successful. Nonetheless, in spite of recognition of a conflict, the supervisor's role comes first, the counseling role is secondary in time, place, and energy devoted to it. The supervisors feel inadequate as counselors for it is an imposed "extra" that demands feeling, involvement, and skill. Guilt is experienced for not being more adequate, better trained, and having more time and energy to expend in counseling.

There are two untoward effects of the disciplinarian's role upon the counseling aspect of the rehabilitation program. The role conflict affects
rapport and trust: at one time the girl is punished while at another time she is expected to "tell all" without fear. The supervisor's counseling role is typically clouded by feelings of inadequacy and often of sheer physical fatigue. Effective counseling cannot occur under these conditions. There is no supervision of the counseling process.

The disciplinary actions which may be legitimately used are limited to incident reports and restrictions. If these techniques fail, then transfer to another institution is the ultimate punishment. However, there have been a few examples of genuine violence especially on the part of male staff members which have become part of every girl's expectations. The tragedy of the isolated acts of violence is twofold: (a) the threat of violence is always present; (b) violence is characteristically applied to the most disturbed girls whose lack of control over means-end behavior is thoroughly exasperating to the staff. These girls are then sporadically reinforced in their expectations of the worst from their environment. Whatever therapeutic potential exists in the Center for them is quickly lost and these girls are transferred out.

Examples:

"What is Mr. X gonna do? He's gonna slap your face; that's what he's gonna do."

A disturbed girl was thrown across the day room, dragged by her hair, slapped repeatedly, as a result of an argument with the superintendent.

These examples differ from those in which a girl provokes a staff member into slapping her. In these instances the implicit message is, "What are the limits you will tolerate for my behavior? Do you care enough to stop me?" It is not the act of physical punishment which is important in itself. While it is lamentable that loss of control on the part of the staff member is the usual circumstance under which physical punishment generally
occurs, it is the meaning of this act to the girl that is important. And it requires more than training in meting out discipline and enforcing rules to understand this meaning.

Recommendations

Four major problem areas have been described. The dedication based on fear damages a rehabilitation program which is soundly designed. Supervisors and other staff cannot honestly place the institution first and their personal lives and families second. Time alone is not the ingredient which makes a program successful. The quality of feeling which is expressed during the time worked has an impact on the girls which exceeds any sum of clock hours. A tired supervisor, a worried mother, a wife escaping from home problems which she has neither time nor energy to cope with, cannot be expected to function adequately as either a disciplinarian or a counselor.

It is recommended that the work day in the cottage for supervisors be reduced to five hours with three additional hours allotted for counseling, writing of incident reports, preparation of material for Classification conferences, and professional supervision of the counseling function. This would not put into effect a 40 hour week but would guarantee some free time for personal living. In addition, the policy that the institution comes before family should be altered. Loyalty cannot be gained by fear regardless of the amount of respect which is present at the same time. Employees need an identity separate from the place in which they work. They have to be enabled to bring something from their own lives to the job rather than substitute the job for all other existence.

The personal "bind" by which the superintendent forces the majority of the staff to be dependent upon the institution is unhealthy for the individual staff members and for the goals of the institution. Staff
persons cannot be used as objects, manipulated and exposed to ridicule and humiliation, either privately or in front of the girls. The communication which enables security also promotes a pervasive misuse of the power invested in the office of superintendent. By the same token the inconsistent and arbitrary use of power with the girls fosters the very problems the institution is designed to ameliorate. Only psychologically healthy staff members can deal rationally, honestly, and ethically with the girls in their care. Personal problems vitiate any effective counseling procedure and may have equally severe and untoward effects upon the security-discipline aspects of the program.

The problem of inconsistency and favoritism on the part of male staff is less amenable to clear cut solution. It is not known whether naivete or malice is responsible for the daily tugging at the heartstrings of these adolescent girls. The implication here is that male staff must be trained to be aware of the impact of their own behavior on the girls. This calls for inservice training by a qualified professional person. Here again the impact of the male staff member's own marital or sexual problems cannot be minimized or overlooked. In many treatment-oriented institutions personal psychotherapy is provided for staff persons who need more than inservice training to be effective in their positions. One beneficial use of the existing good communication system would be to maintain clear cut role relationships with the girls rather than to ferret out minor or petty infractions of rules by staff or girls.

Open communication and absolute trust are not an impossible dream. One of the novel and bold aspects of program is the combined discipline-counseling role. It cannot be said flatly that this dual responsibility is either unreal or impossible. Certainly information must be gathered
for the Classification Committee meeting. However, the gathering of that information should not become part of a culturally sanctioned set of role behaviors, girls playing the "good," conforming child and supervisors being "for" or "against" the system, withholding or reporting all confidences. It is this very set of role behaviors which makes for two sets of mores, two sets of behaviors which are at cross purposes. The institution and the girls simultaneously try to outwit each other. The prize is, of course, freedom for the individual girl. It is just this kind of unrecognized institutional nonsense that defeats many well intentioned programs.

It is recommended that each counselor be supervised by a qualified professional person. The purposes of this supervision would be to define the limits of the counseling relationship, to stimulate confidence in the counselor, and to decide how the uses of information can affect trust. Since the ultimate goal is rehabilitation of a particular girl, there are no formal rules for deciding when the interests of the girl and of society are best served by complete communication to the Classification Committee. There has to be respect for privacy, for the privilege of confidence even in an institution that values its custodial and security functions. Unless this occurs there can be little real involvement in the counseling process and merely an intensification of conforming role behaviors by the girls.

When disturbed adolescents begin to assume controls over their own behaviors, greater overt signs of emotional upheaval often accompany the tentative social preliminaries. Successful treatment implies change in behavior; increased acting out is the essence of change and has to be tolerated and not punished if rehabilitation goals are to be more than an empty litany repeated by each girl in the anticipation of parole. Genuine personality change must be more than the "right" words and the "right"
behaviors for a given period of time. Genuine personality change demands motivation for such change as opposed to motivation for early parole. And not all the girls can be reached in this manner. Nonetheless, such motivation will first occur if there is absolute trust. Confidentiality is a permeable membrane, permeable with the understanding of the girl and the counselor involved in a relationship based on mutual respect for each other's integrity. No violence need be done or should be done to the function of the Classification Committee. Here again is an excellent procedure which should be used with flexibility and thoughtfulness rather than in terms of a set of impersonal rules.

Discipline is not a series of events based on infractions of rules and isolated from the rehabilitation process. Discipline is a way of enabling socialization, of working through lifetime problems with authority, of coming to grips with the emptiness and lack of self respect that is so typical of these girls. The problem here is tied in with punishment and with time to be served in the institution rather than with the individual girl and what effective controls can modify her behavior. A discipline plan needs to be evolved for each girl, preferably as part of the classification procedure. Such an individualized plan would allow predictions of changes in behavior, of increases in acting out or management problems. These discipline plans would make use of the existing incident reporting system. The plan requires that discipline be geared to the counseling process and that it becomes part of the experience that the counselor undergoes in supervision.

The substance of these recommendations is to implement the rehabilitation process and to convert it into a genuine treatment experience. In this vein the implications of the final punishment, transfer to an out-of-
state institution, cannot be overlooked. This final punishment reduces the possibilities of rehabilitating a girl. A solution which would be feasible and would save the state money would entail a separate building for the more disturbed girls with greater controls and supervision and intensive psychotherapy. Such an intensive treatment facility would have the important motivation that the girl would be returned to one of the other cottages when her disturbance had lessened. This would also make maximum use of the dampening effect of the institutional environment upon psychopathology. In other words, the social climate at the Center is better than the home which most of the girls have previously encountered. One result for many girls is an immediate lessening of symptomatology, a dramatic change in behavior which is so typical for Caliente and atypical elsewhere. The fact of security, the hope that someone finally cares enough, is a potent facilitator of personality change. The Center's potential for helping the more disturbed girls and for those currently in out-of-state placements should be recognized.

Summary

The Nevada Girls Training Center has developed novel and excellent programs and trained staff in a remarkably short period of time. However, some of the means used in this process are open to question. This report considers the program in terms of security and rehabilitation goals. The major problem has been the manipulation of staff and girls by the superintendent, a creation of artificial and crippling dependence in the name of service to the institution. The high costs of such dedication are discussed. Secondly, the behavior of the male staff members toward the girls exposes inconsistency and confusion of roles such that the environment has been unnecessarily sexualized. Thirdly, an excellent communication system
has been used for security and the maintenance of absolute control rather than for the development of trust in the process of rehabilitation. Fourthly, there has been little awareness of the paradox provided by investment of the counselor with discipline perogatives. The net effect of these four problems has been to maximize security and minimize rehabilitation possibilities of the program. Specific suggestions are offered for amelioration of these conditions.
The Caliente Story
A Program Shaped By Fantasy and its Effects
Upon Staff Members and Girls

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Figure 2. Interstaff Communication. Each Circle Represents a Staff Member. The Number of Supervisors Who Communicate Freely and Intimately With Each Member of the Administrative And Supervisory Staff Is Indicated By The Number In The Circle. The Circles Are Located In The Same Positions As Those On Figure 1 So That Comparison Between The Two Figures May Be Made.

Administration

Miscellaneous

Supervisory
Figure 1. Staff-Girl Relationships. Each Circle Represents a Staff Member. The Number of Positive Relationships Appears Above the Number of Negative Relationships Within Each Circle For Each Staff Member.

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