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ESTABLISHMENT OF A WAGE AND ALLOWANCE PLAN
FOR STUDENTS AT THE ILLINOIS STATE
TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

by

Robert Laurence Kehoe

A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the School of Social Work
of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Social Work

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to show the various steps taken in establishing a pay-for-work program for students at the Illinois State Training School for Boys at St. Charles, Illinois. In developing the subject, a brief description of the institution is given, mentioning such general points as immediate causes leading up to commitment, the physical plant, and the underlying philosophy of dealing with individual needs in a group setting which is geared to meeting these needs. Recognizing, then, the reality of money values in normal community living and the institution's desire to prepare the boy adequately for his return to society, a brief historical sketch is given, showing the trend away from the punitive aspects of institutional living and in the direction of a positive approach.

The School, which is under the direction of the Illinois State Department of Public Welfare, houses nearly five hundred delinquent boys who have been committed from various parts of the state for law violations ranging from misdemeanors to serious crimes, the legal weight of which has been lessened at the discretion of the state's attorney's office and the court.

The total campus of the institution occupies over twelve hundred acres, approximately 800 of which is in cultivation. The boys reside in cottages, eighteen in all, which are located both inside and without the twelve foot wire fence which surrounds the main body of the campus. Aside from the residence cottages, there are approximately thirty other buildings, including office space, academic school rooms, trade shops, barns, etc. The physical plant is designed to serve the needs of boys who, at an early age, have failed to achieve success in social living.

For many years now, the administration of the School has tended in the direction of recognizing the boys as being socially ill as evidenced by their violations of society's codes. Faced then with the fact of social illness, the administration has assumed as its first responsibility the diagnosis of the trouble. Using the accepted techniques of social work, psychiatry and psychology in the diagnostic process, it has been possible to isolate many of the underlying causes of the boys' delinquencies. In the light of this understanding of a boy's individual problems it is possible to manipulate his program in such a way that his observable needs may be more adequately met. This process has come to be known as individual treatment.

Administration has also been well aware of a second responsibility, that of providing a wholesome group atmosphere which will duplicate, as nearly as possible, normal community life. Implementing this are such institutional-wide realities as

cottage living, intramural and varsity athletic programs, religious services, field trips to points of special interest away from the campus, weekly movies, roller skating, a candy store, cigarettes and any number of other things which are normal to teen-age boys. In short, every effort has been made to provide the type of environment which lends itself to the rehabilitative process. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Welfare Department, the Training School administration and the State Legislature should get together to supply a normal human need, namely, money in payment for work services rendered, or, in the case of a school boy, an allowance.

The provision of such an atmosphere as described above is in marked contrast to the type of thinking that prevailed in behalf of institutionalized offenders in an earlier era. Highlighting an early nineteenth century battle over the merits of work for prison inmates was the concept held by one school of penologists, namely that the provision of work, as advocated by the other school, "did away with the essential reformatory feature of the prison, repentance through meditation."¹ About the same time, still another fight was being waged, this in favor of removing delinquent children from confinement with adult offenders, derelicts and the poor. This movement eventually re-

1 Murray and Flynn, Social Problems, New York, 1938, 487.

sulted in the establishment of state institutions for delinquent boys whose means of salvation would be work and rigid discipline. Work was a very important part of the program in these early institutions, and most often took precedence over academic learning. The contract system, whereby labor was performed by the boys for private contractors, was universally in use, with production being the motivating factor. While the contract system eventually was abandoned due to the evils inherent in it, the work programs continued to be an integral part of the institutions. Nor was the negative approach to work abandoned as evidenced by the documentary material of the period.²

The work programs in the early state institutions under the contract system, while inadequate, represented, nevertheless, considerable progress from the time when the children were housed with the adult criminal. In much the same way then, a mid-twentieth century pay-for-work and school allowance program represents alert, progressive thinking, atune to the better understanding of the causes of delinquent behavior and the most effective way of dealing with the problem. The modern approach does not differ from that of a century ago by deleting work from the institutional program. The change is in emphasis. Work in progressive schools for boys does not have as its ultimate objective keeping the boy busy and hence out of mischief. Rather

² Grace Abbott, The Child and The State, Chicago, 1938, 326-327.

it takes on a positive aspect as is shown so well by John R. Ellington, Special Advisor for Youth, American Law Institute when he said:

Any rehabilitation program for adolescents that fails to absorb most of a youth's energies in work that he can see is useful and that earns him respect is a sham. A first task of any such program worth its salt must be to introduce maladjusted youths to the satisfactions of useful work well done. Most of them have never known those satisfactions, which is one reason for their maladjustment.³

Mr. Ellington also cites the California Youth Authority as having successfully demonstrated by effective methods that work⁴ can be meaningful for the delinquent.

A significant part of work programs for youth is the benefit derived from the receipt of tangible compensation. In his book entitled Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems, Dr. Douglas A. Thom discusses this point when he says:

In so far as possible, it is well for youth to have certain obligations in the household, for which he is compensated by his care, food, clothing and other necessities, and such an allowance as is in keeping with the family budget and his needs....There is no better way to help young people get an idea of money values, and what is expected at any age period than to have them toil for their own money.⁵

³ John R. Ellington, Protecting Our Children From Criminal Careers, New York, 1948, 103.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Douglas A. Thom, Normal Youth and Its Everyday Problems, New York, 1940, 141.

The growing acceptance of this principle is evidenced by its application in other than American schools for delinquent youth. Writing about the Boy's Republic at Santa Marinella, Italy, Ethel S. Beer, in the July 1951 issue of The Survey, brings out this school's positive attitude when she points out that:

Every effort is made to develop a sense of responsibility in the boys, who must earn their keep. Only their clothes... are given to them. Meals and bed are paid for by merits, awarded for school work and manual labor....Thus the boys learn to be thrifty and to value what they receive. Even those who have never turned an honest penny respond amazingly.⁶

In England, the Borstal Institutions, those excellent pre-war British schools for training youthful offenders, found the wage system to be a very valuable part of their program as indicated by the following statement:

With the exception of those in the penal class, all Borstal lads are paid for their work. Though the pay is small, the wage system has proven to be a great incentive. Weekly rates vary from a few pennies to a maximum of two shillings, with output and skill the basis for the reckoning. Part of their earnings may be spent at the institution canteen for candy, tobacco,...matches, and so on. Profits from the canteen go to purchase such things as additional sport equipment for the use of the boys....Boys clock into and out from work exactly as they would do in a factory, and tardiness is punished by deductions from pay. Every boy must save a minimum of three shillings before he is released....⁷

Typical of the thinking in American schools which have adopted a

6 Ethel S. Beer, "The Boys of Santa Marinella," The Survey, July, 1951, 322.

7 Healy and Alper, Criminal Youth and the Borstal System, New York, 1941, 137.

wage system is the statement in the brochure introducing Boy's Republic, a school for problem boys at Farmington, Michigan, which says: "Earning while learning is not an empty phrase--the boys get paid for their work....The system is intended to let the boys learn to appreciate money values and economic security."⁸

In Illinois, the Deputy Director of the Department of Public Welfare in charge of correctional service, was convinced of the desirability of having a pay-for-work program at St. Chales, the familiar title designating the Illinois State Training School for Boys. He thought that such a program could greatly assist the rehabilitative process by providing each boy with an opportunity for personal satisfaction and some degree of financial security, particularly as the boy prepared for parole. Giving impetus, therefore, to his convictions, the Deputy Director, General Thornton, discussed the idea with Mr. Clifford Shaw of the Institute of Juvenile Research, Chicago, and Mr. Edward Hopper of the Division for Youth and Community Service, Springfield, both agencies of the Illinois Department of Public Welfare. These men were asked to prepare a proposal for a wage program which would be submitted to the legislature, requesting the necessary appropriation. In carrying out this request, Dr. Shaw and Mr. Hopper sought the assistance of Professor Donald

⁸ Brochure, Boys Republic, Farmington, Michigan.

Taft and Dr. Conway Esselstyn of the Sociology Department of the University of Illinois. Dr. Taft received correspondence from such renowned institutional authorities as Mr. Austin McCormick, formerly of the Osborne Association and Henley V. Bastin, Superintendent of Ormsby Village, a school for boys at Anchorage, Kentucky. Letters from these two authorities, favoring a wage plan lent weight to the final proposal which, when submitted to the 1950 Illinois General Assembly, received favorable action in the form of the necessary appropriations.⁹ The proposal to the legislature is contained in full in Appendix I. Excerpts from the letters of Mr. McCormick and Mr. Bastin may be found in Appendices II and III, respectively.

The appropriation, calling for \$100,000 for the biennium ending, July 1, 1953, was thereby placed in the budget for the Illinois State Training School for Boys wherein it was to be placed in a trust fund and designated for boy's wages.

⁹ Horace E. Thornton, Letter, giving information concerning preliminary thinking and action leading to the appropriation, March 31, 1952.

CHAPTER II

EXPERIENCES OF OTHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

IN PAYING WAGES TO BOYS

The purpose of this chapter is to bring out some of the experiences had by other training schools in the matter of paying wages to boys committed to their care, or, as is the case with many of the schools, their total lack of any such experience. In putting a wage plan into effect in the Illinois Training School it was felt that much could be gained by sharing the thinking of other school administrators on this subject.

In order to obtain the desired information, the Superintendent of the Illinois State Training School for Boys, Mr. Charles W. Leonard, sent out a uniform letter to the managing officers of seventy-seven training schools for boys in the United States and Canada. The text of this letter is contained in Appendix IV. In all, thirty six replies were received. Of this number, twenty four indicated they had no funds and hence were lacking experience in this type of project. Several of the remaining twelve replies mentioned varying methods used in providing spending money for boys. Only six, however, had experience

in actually paying wages to boys for work or school allowances carried on within the training school itself. While this number is small in comparison with the total number of replies received, it is noteworthy that six other superintendents specifically indicated a desire to have such a plan in the future and eleven more were anxious to learn the results of the new program at St. Charles. On the otherhand, two correspondents took a pessimistic view of the undertaking.

The replies received in answer to the points raised in the questionnaire are difficult to tabulate because of the many variations in experiences of other institutions in handling the money matters of their students. For this reason it has been necessary to break this material down into two broad categories. The first concerns itself with points brought up in the replies which are both interesting and constructive but, are not necessarily associated with an actual program of paying wages and allowances out of public funds for services rendered at the school. These will be termed general considerations. The second category deals specifically with the experiences of those several schools which have money in their budget for such a program.

Typical of the six replies which state a desire to inaugurate the plan in the future is an excerpt from one of these letters, as follows:

We have, in the past, thought of instituting some plan whereby boys would have the opportunity of earning nominal

amounts of money, in order to train them in the use of money and also to assist them in gaining some adequate appreciation of values. However, we have not reached the point where we are ready to try any such plan as yet. If...you develop what you feel is a real workable plan, I should be very pleased to receive an outline of it to assist us in developing our ideas along this line.¹

Then too, there are the eleven other superintendents who asked for information concerning the results of setting the program up in Illinois. Whereas it is impossible to assess the use to which such a study would be put by these school administrators, they are nevertheless interested in the experiment. The superintendent of a neighboring school reported that "we are about in the same position as your institution;...We too have recently been informed that we have funds with which to pay boys for working."²

It is difficult to evaluate the pessimism for the project which was shown in one of the letters. The reason being that a brief summary of this school's experience showed that boys are given bonus money for extra services rendered as well as an allowance based on seniority. In spite of this actual experience in providing money to the students, all but one staff member at this institution did not favor the project outlined in the questionnaire.³

1 Gerald G. Spencer, Letter, California, 1951.

2 Marvin R. McMahon, Letter, Wisconsin, 1951.

3 A. L. Evans, Letter, Quebec, 1951.

BOOKKEEPING .

One of the big considerations in planning for a wage and allowance program for nearly five hundred boys is how the bookkeeping will be handled for such an undertaking. Entries have to be made on hours worked, prevailing rates, deductions for commissary, etc. This problem loomed so great for some of the correspondents that they felt this to be the major stumbling block. This is evidenced by the following quotation from one of the letters:

Your letter in regard to paying money to boys in a Training school is not intriguing. I personally do not think it is practical and for that reason, I would like to see you or someone else try it because it is extremely worth while. My reason for feeling that it is impractical in most of our schools is based largely upon the tremendous amount of book-keeping that becomes involved.⁴

Another superintendent, at whose institution, wages were formerly paid to boys, made the comment on the project that: "It will be a big undertaking but I feel that if you can recruit sufficient office help that it should be a real advantage to your program."⁵ Surprisingly enough, there were only a few other letters which made reference to this point.

⁴ Frederic A. Fitch, Letter, New Jersey, 1951.

⁵ W. J. Eastaugh, Letter, Ontario, Canada, 1951.

WORK-OUT AND WORK-CAMP

Whereas most of the institutions indicated they had no wage program as such, fourteen reported having a "work-out" plan, whereby boys could earn money while working outside the school at jobs such as farming, lawn mowing, fire fighting, caddying, berry picking, jobs in town, etc. In many instances this work is seasonal and consequently affords income for only a few months during the year. The selection for these jobs is usually based on such factors as seniority, age, size, and ability to conform to a certain standard of behavior at the school as well as while out on the job. In most of the schools using this system, the money earned is split between the wage earner himself and a general fund which is set up either for those who have no money resources at all for their commissary needs or for the general needs of the student body, such as recreational equipment, special cottage furnishings, etc. One letter in particular seems to cover some of the advantages and disadvantages of the "work-out" program and, in part, it reads as follows:

The administration has felt that the off-campus work program is a very fine thing in most instances. Where boys are carefully selected and carefully supervised it has worked out very well. Many of the staff members have not been able to accept it too enthusiastically because they feel that it has created some problems in group living. They believe that the boys that are on off-campus work have a feeling of superiority over their fellow students, and there is some decline in their general behavior.⁶

⁶ Claud H. Pratt, Letter, Utah, 1951.

Many of the points mentioned in relation to this type of system apply equally as well to the wage-allowance program as such and consequently are discussed under specific points such as boys' attitudes, encouragement to save, etc.

Another type of program mentioned in one of the letters is being given more and more consideration by some American training schools. This is the work-camp plan which here is described by the superintendent of a far western school:

We do have....a work camp program which has just been initiated this summer and is under our direct administration. Boys work under the supervision of the State Parks Department in a type of program similar to that of the C.C.C. They receive \$1.00 per six hour day, plus their board and room, and all work clothing. All boys in camp are eligible to work unless they are grounded in camp by the work supervisor.⁷

In Illinois, the Training School has had one two week experience with a work-camp which proved very satisfactory for boys and administration. Further use of this type of program is being planned.

STAFF ATTITUDES

The question pertaining to staff attitudes brought a number of interesting comments which should prove valuable in planning any program of payment of wages to training school boys. While many of the comments related to a wide range of methods in

7 James Lamb, Letter, Oregon, 1951.

providing money for boys it is quite possible that they reflect, in many cases, the type of comments that will have a bearing on the plan proposed for Illinois. Some correspondents reported that staff members were highly in favor of a program of wages, while others, like the one referred to earlier in the chapter, were generally opposed to the idea. At one of the schools using the work-out plan, the vocational instructors resented boys going out to work.⁸ While the reason for this opposition was not specifically mentioned, it is possible that it may be related to the boys being taken from their work in the classroom. One letter in particular points to some of the factors inherent in the training school setup which make for difficulty in trying to plan a successful wage-allowance program. However, in spite of these foreseen obstacles, the corresponding superintendent is anxious that the program be successful. The following quotation from his letter covers both his doubts and his best wishes:

....the student stays...with us less than a year. We are subject to recalls by the courts, necessity of accepting any and all who enter the doors etc. Then too one of the major problems and one where apparently you have already found the solution, is using taxpayers' money in this manner....We do know that there is real value in having boys placed in a position where they can earn some money of their own.... While I have considerable doubt about the practicability of the project, I think you're already over one of the large hurdles, namely, that of the funds, and would very much like to see an effort made in that direction.⁹

8 Windell W. Fewell, Letter, Indiana, 1951.

9 Frederic A. Fitch, Letter, New Jersey, 1951.

The Illinois training school is faced with the same problems of length of stay, the possibility of recalls, and the inability to control intake. Actually, it is necessary to bear these three factors in mind when preparing for any long range institutional program, such as academic curriculum, varsity sports program, long range psycho-therapy or vocational development, such as preparation for becoming a licensed barber, an apprenticeship in a trade, and even for the completion of a 4H project. A little different staff reaction was seen in another letter which mentions that some staff members felt that there were problems in the selectivity of boys for work and consequently all or no boys should receive wages. Others on the same staff questioned the particular wage scales that had been set up. The superintendent indicated he was probing for a satisfactory solution to these questions.¹⁰ Still another letter pointed to universal satisfaction among staff members for the wage program which actually they had recommended for adoption through their inter-departmental meetings,¹¹ the after-care department taking the lead.

BOYS' ATTITUDES

Since the ultimate objective, as described in Chapter I, in setting up payment of wages to boys, is to aid in

10 J. Donald Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

11 William T. Little, Letter, Ontario, Canada, 1951.

rehabilitating delinquents for a happier community life, one of the important points in the questionnaire relates to the boys own attitudes about receiving such wages. Eight replies referred specifically to this point, seven of these being definitely positive. The eighth letter, while it brought out some negatives, came from an institution which has considerable experience with paying wages, and which is working continuously to improve the program because of its overall desirability. The following excerpt from this letter, while somewhat philosophic, is nevertheless helpful in anticipating the course that such a program can take:

At first the boys reacted favorably toward the program but as time went on they requested more allowances, more wages, and in general lost their appreciation for the allowances and wages system. This of course is a characteristic of boys to be happy for a short time under any system of privileges and then expect further concessions. I suppose this is a human trait....¹²

On the other hand, a second institution having a similar wage-allowance system reports that "the boys are most heartily in favor of same and we consider it a fine builder of morale."¹³

One school which has a seasonal work-out plan mentions some of the reasons why the opportunity to earn money appeals to the boys when it states that:

We have found this project to be very beneficial to a great

12 J. Donald Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

13 Norman M. Huckabee, Letter, South Carolina, 1951.

number of boys because it solves a great many of their financial difficulties. Not only their own personal ones but it also helps to alleviate some of the difficulties at home so therefore about 90% of the boys like this project of being able to work during the potato harvest.¹⁴

One superintendent summed up his experiences with paying wages when he very briefly stated that: "Boys like to earn money."¹⁵

The other comments on this point were equally brief and uniformly favorable.

SAVINGS ENCOURAGED

One of the tangible ways in which money earned can be of value in preparing a boy for his eventual return to the community is through the encouragement of saving. In many instances, boys in institutions have most of the essentials such as food, clothing, etc. provided for them. Therefore, any money that they are able to earn can be designated either for incidentals such as candy, ice cream, tooth paste, cigarettes and the like, or, for savings. Of the letters received, six answered the question on this point. All encourage saving, and some require it, as in the Borstal Institutions in England. Some interesting and helpful observations were made regarding savings. In two cases, a banking system has been worked out, as indicated by the excerpt from one letter which follows: "A boy is not required to save any of his

14 M. F. Pratt, Letter, Idaho, 1951.

15 William T. Little, Letter, Ontario, Canada

pay but some do voluntarily build up savings. We have a boy's bank and records are kept on deposits and withdrawals in a businesslike manner."¹⁶ Another important point covered was who is to determine the amount to be saved. One letter stated that "all debits for withdrawal or use of funds must be approved by the student advisor."¹⁷ A second, read in part: "Cottage parents determine the amounts boys must save out of their earnings on the basis of the boy's needs for spending money in individual cases."¹⁸ A third school has no hard and fast rule but encourages as much saving as is practical.¹⁹ While still another pointed out that it was not necessary for the boys to save in as much as the amount of money was so small to start with that little if anything would be left after they made their purchases for candy etc.²⁰

Closely associated with the idea of saving is, of course, the eventual parole from the school. The time, immediately following his return to the community, offers many occasions when the boy will need money before he is able to get employment. One school reports that its boys "are paid eight cents per day, two cents of this eight being held in reserve to

16 Norman M. Huckabee, Letter, South Carolina, 1951.

17 L.G. Thompson, Letter, North Dakota, 1951.

18 J. Donald Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

19 William T. Little, Letter, Ontario, 1951.

20 H. L. Miles, letter, Iowa, 1951.

be given to the boy at the time of his parole...." ²¹ Two features mentioned in another letter included the withholding of some savings at the time of parole in favor of spreading the money over periods of greater need, and also the provision of a revolving loan fund, available to boys going out on parole, the amounts borrowed being returnable when the boy is financially ²² able. Parole agents, as indicated in several of the letters, have been most interested in seeing wage programs developed because they realize the value in the boy having money available at the time of his release.

PAY WAGES TO BOYS

Earlier in this chapter, it was mentioned that the information presented would be general, that is, having a bearing on a program providing money for boys but yet not necessarily incorporated in a wage-allowance program as such, and specific, that information contained in the replies to the questionnaire which directly relate to the payment of money to boys in the form of wages and allowances. In the preceeding pages the general points have been brought out with corresponding documentation. Now, regarding the six schools which actually indicated experience with paying wages, it is evident that even within this small

21 E. B. McClure, Letter, Kentucky, 1951.

22 Windell W. Fewell, Letter, Indiana, 1951.

group there are several approaches in the manner in which money is paid to the boys. One school explained very briefly that it was "permitted to put seventy-five boys on our inmates payroll monthly."²³ Another reported selectivity for work done outside²⁴ the institution but that all boys earn money on the campus. In one state the program of wages appears to be well established as indicated by the following statement:

For some years we have been carrying on a system of boy's pay and the funds for this come directly from our state appropriation for maintenance and operation. A proviso in our State Appropriation Bill states that we must provide a system of pay based upon good behavior after the first 30 days residence and progressing from 5¢ to 10¢ per day.²⁵

A similar arrangement is reported by another superintendent, as follows:

We have in our budget, an appropriation which is termed the Girl's and Boys' Benefit Fund. This appropriation is used specifically to pay boys and girls who are on good behavior a \$1.25 every two weeks for candy, cigarettes, etc.²⁶

Still another plan, offers both allowances and pay for work done, as shown by the following excerpt from the reply to the questionnaire:

We have had experience...with allowances and wages paid to boys....All boys in the institution do receive allowances of

23 E. B. McClure, Letter, Kentucky, 1951.

24 William T. Little, Letter, Ontario, 1951.

25 N. M. Huckabee, Letter, South Carolina, 1951.

26 Alfred B. Morganstern, Letter, New Hampshire, 1951.

30¢ per week if they fulfill a complete program as prescribed by the clinical staff. Boys who work at institutional labor which is not classified as vocational training, or who work at jobs which require extra duty outside of regular work hours, receive pay for their work.... Work assignments for which boys receive pay are distinguished from vocational assignments on the basis of the amounts of vocational training involved in the work and also the hours of work.²⁷

The reports from these institutions thus provided interesting and valuable guideposts in organizing a wage-allowance program in Illinois.

WHO GETS PAID

One of the perplexing problems faced at the outset is how to select the recipients of the wages and allowances to be paid. In order for the entire program to achieve the goal for which it is intended, it is essential that the payment of money have a positive value for the boys. In most instances this factor is related to the recipient's work and behavior records over a given period of time. One letter brings this point out when it reads: "The only requirements that are necessary for the boys or girls to receive this cash allowance is that they must have a good report for the month; which means good work and good behavior for the month."²⁸ Another factor, namely length of stay, is mentioned

27 J. Dona ld Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

28 Alfred B. Morganstern, Letter, New Hampshire, 1951.

in the following plan:

All boys are divided into three groups, junior, intermediate and senior. These ratings are allocated according to the length of stay, conduct and effort. Only seniors and intermediates can earn the money off the grounds....All groups earn money on the grounds. They are selected for specific jobs on a rotation basis and according to the work party on duty.²⁹

One of the schools, whose program was cited on a previous page, has the selection for work assignments made by the boy with the approval of the clinical staff.³⁰ A further reference to discipline is mentioned in the following excerpt:

All boys receive pay after the first 30 days unless they are in the restricted group which corresponds to your Pierce* Cottage....

Every boy has some work duties. If he is in all-day school program he still works in the dining room or around the cottages in order to offset this full day school program.³¹

This latter point, pertaining to school boys, leads directly into a brief account of how this has been handled in those schools paying wages.

In working out a program of paying money for work done in an institution such as a training school, it is necessary to consider the needs of those boys who must or should be in school, rather than on a work assignment. This group includes the younger boys, who because of age and size definitely belong in school

²⁹ William T. Little, Letter, Ontario, 1951.

³⁰ J. Donald Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

³¹ N. M. Huckabee, Letter, South Carolina, 1951.

* Disciplinary Cottage at St. Charles.

except for unusual reasons, and also those older boys for whom it is felt an interruption of their academic education would be undesirable. It is often a difficult task for a boy in a training school to realize that schooling can be beneficial to him. It becomes all the more trying to keep the same boy in an academic course when his friends in the cottage are drawing wages from their work assignments. This problem is pointed up in one superintendent's reply, as follows:

School boys receive the same allowance as other boys who work but were not eligible for work wages. This does incline some of the boys who should be in school to want work jobs rather than school work. We have not worked out a satisfactory adjustment at this point.³²

In the case of three of the schools having a wage plan, the money is earned for work done before and after school.³³ While still another school reports a separate setup for school boys which is described briefly in the following excerpt: "The boys who do not work who are all day school boys, the young group who are from eight to twelve, receive 50¢ every two weeks for candy and other purchases."³⁴ It is quite likely that the school, which mentions the tendency for the boys to want to leave school in favor of work has more older boys, that is boys between sixteen and eighteen,

32 J. Donald Coldern, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

33 Letters, Ontario, Nebraska, South Carolina, 1951.

34 Alfred B. Morganstern, Letter, New Hampshire, 1951.

Than do the other schools cited above, where it seems most, if not all, of the boys are in school. In the Illinois school about seventy percent of the boys are in school at least a half day. Thus remains a good percentage of the boys who work either all or part of the day.

SCALE OF RAGES

In setting up a scale of wages two important factors must be borne in mind, the one, the amount of money available for the wage program, and the second, that the amount paid is sufficiently adequate to meet at least the minimum requirements of a training school boy, such as candy, ice cream, cigarettes, etc. Compared to even the minimum hourly rates on the lowest job in industry, the rates for work in training schools seem absurd. It has been reported that initially boys have scoffed at such rates as being hardly worth the effort. And yet, when they see that even such a small amount of money is adequate to take care of their immediate needs, the wage program begins to make sense.

One school reports that: "Money earned within the school area is largely paid on a piece work basis, 3¢ a row for hoeing potatoes, 10¢ a rod for fence painting etc." ³⁵ That care is necessary in establishing the prevailing wages is indicated by the

comments of one superintendent which follow:

There are varying scales of wages. Some jobs are paid on piece work basis. Other jobs are paid on a flat rate basis. For example, dairy boys receive 10¢ per milking; dining room boys receive 5¢ per meal; engine house boys who shovel coal receive 50¢ per day, and so on. Such decisions must be made in terms of institutional ability to pay and the type of job.³⁶

A third school pays a daily rate and graduates it, according to length of stay, from the starting rate of five cents per day to the top of ten cents per day. No pay is given for the first thirty days in the institution and a proportionate weekly cut is made for so many demerits.³⁷ Several of the other schools replied to the question on the scale of wages, and essentially these schools were alike in paying a flat rate, usually for a two week or month³⁸ period.

CONCLUSION

In this Chapter, an attempt has been made to bring together the various experiences had and the systems used in the payment of wages and allowances to boys in a training school. The information received in answer to the questionnaire proved very valuable in setting up the program at St. Charles. So also, were

36 J. Donald Coldren, Letter, Kansas, 1951.

37 N.M. Huckabee, Letter, South Carolina, 1951.

38 Letters, Kentucky, New Hampshire, Nebraska, 1951.

the encouraging sentiments and expressions of interest which were extended by superintendents who realized that Illinois was taking on a major undertaking.

Before concluding the Chapter, it must be acknowledged that much help came from two other sources. One was the letter from Mr. Bastin, Superintendent at Ormsby Village. As mentioned in Chapter One, excerpts from this letter may be found in Appendix III. The second source was a brochure published by Children's Village, Dobbs Ferry, New York, entitled Education For Money Management. This is a detailed outline of the Village's Plan which "Teaches A Boy How To Support Himself By Earning through working-Spending wisely-Saving intelligently."³⁹

³⁹ Brochure, Education For Money Management, Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1945.

CHAPTER III

SETTING UP WAGE-ALLOWANCE

PLAN AT ST. CHARLES

During May, 1951, the General Office of the Department of Public Welfare informed the Superintendent at St. Charles that a wage plan for the payment of money to boys working on regular assignments within the institution was being worked out in order to become effective for the biennium, commencing July 1, 1951. The plan called for a deduction of one hundred thousand dollars from the School's Personal Service budget and its replacement in the Contractual Service budget for St. Charles. At the same time, the Deputy Director requested a listing and description of the jobs¹ which would be likely to fall within the proposed wage plan. At the outset, the Superintendent and his Administrative Committee took the overall responsibility for planning the program, even though many of the actual details were worked out by a carefully selected sub-committee.

The planning of the program at the institutional level got started at the Administrative Committee meeting of July 11,

¹ Minutes, Administrative Committee Meeting, St. Charles, Illinois, May 13, 1951.

1951. Here it was recognized that a written outline of the plan as it would be put in operation must be prepared as quickly as possible. The vocational guidance counselor submitted a list² of work assignments that would be considered for wage payment. The Committee also considered many other factors, which gave evidence of making the planning far from simple. The group concluded that preliminary consideration be given to the whole program by the Academic School Department and by the Clinic Supervisory Committee. The former group was to determine the general attitudes and opinions of teachers towards this type of project and also to ascertain, if possible, how a plan of school allowances might effect class attendance. The Clinic group also was asked to consider the general aspects of a wage program, particularly in that much of the responsibility for making final recommendations would rest with the Clinic. While these two groups were working on the local aspects of the program, the Superintendent was to prepare a letter to other training schools. This letter, shown in Appendix IV, became the basis for the replies which were discussed in the previous chapter. Finally, it was decided that a sub-committee be formed to study the detailed aspects of the proposed program, which sub-committee was to report back to the Administrative Committee for the final adoption of a plan.³

2 List attached to Appendix I.

3 Minutes, Administrative Committee meeting, St. Charles, Illinois, July 11, 1951.

SUB-COMMITTEE AND ITS WORK

Very careful attention was given to the selection of those assigned to this sub-committee. It was felt that through careful planning at the outset, many anticipated problems could be eliminated, or at least, minimized. This sub-committee, therefore, was made up of representatives from all phases of institutional life which in any way would have a part to play in the eventual payment of wages to the boys. The vocational guidance counselor was appointed chairman because of his unique position in that he had close contact with the boys, the work supervisors, the disciplinarian, the clinic and teaching personnel, the cottage parents and the administrative group. Other participants on this sub-committee were the psychiatrist, the school principal, the disciplinarian, the business manager, the dietitian, the master mechanic, a cottage parent and several work foremen.⁴

At the first sub-committee meeting the staff psychiatrist discussed the therapeutic values to be derived from the payment of wages to boys. He stressed the point that a wage program was not to be considered as an end in itself, but rather as a means of helping in the overall task of rehabilitating delinquent boys to a useful life in society. In subsequent meetings, of which there were five in all, it was reported that lively discussions

4 Ibid.

were had on many points, and as each came up for a thorough airing, the group became more objective in their consideration of the various problems. Perhaps the biggest initial stumbling block was the feeling on the part of some members of the group, that sufficient emphasis would not be given to the necessity of each boy making a sincere effort to earn his pay. However, this was cleared up quickly when it was unanimously agreed that "no work, no pay" would be a fundamental rule. ⁵ From this point on, the group, weighing heavily on the experiences of the other institutions, came to grips with the various aspects of wage programs as they might effect St. Charles. A summary of the work done at the sub-committee meetings was presented to the Administrative Committee in a report dated November 28, 1951. This report included certain rules and regulations which it recommended being ⁶ followed in putting the program into operation. These recommendations, with certain additions and modifications, formed the basis for the official regulations as they appear in Appendix VII. A more detailed evaluation of these points is contained in the following paragraphs.

5 Interview with chairman of the sub-committee.

6 Report to Administrative Committee on progress of wage-allowance program for boys, St. Charles, Illinois, November 28, 1951.

ELIGIBILITY FOR WAGE

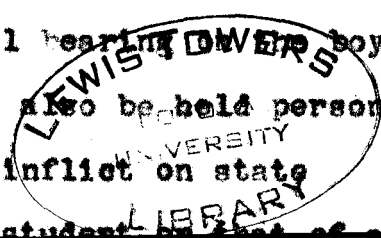
All boys who were assigned to a particular work detail would become eligible to earn wages after a two week observation period, during which time the boy would become acquainted with the various duties that would be expected of him; he would also be given some orientation in the use of equipment and methods in carrying out the assignment. At the same time, the work supervisor could evaluate the boy as to his interest in and aptitude for the job, and the type of relationship which could be established. Having satisfactorily completed this period, the boy would be started at the minimum wage rate. He would continue at this rate until such time as he showed sufficient progress on the job to merit an increase. On the other hand, if his work was unsatisfactory, the work supervisor could refer the matter to the disciplinarian, who in turn was authorized to make deductions from the boy's hourly wage. Initially, the disciplinarian was also authorized to deduct from wages for rule infractions which had no bearing on the job itself. This was later amended to provide that deductions could be made only for situations which related specifically to the job.⁷ Likewise, if the occasion arose wherein it became necessary to transfer a boy to another work assignment

⁷ Memorandum from the Superintendent to the Disciplinarian, St. Charles, Illinois, February 29, 1952.

because of disciplinary difficulties on the job, the boy would be required to go through another two week observation period before he would again be eligible for receiving wages.

Indirectly, boys could lose out on the payment of wages for disciplinary infractions which occurred off the job by virtue of his being assigned to the disciplinary cottage or on a special disciplinary work detail. At St. Charles, boys assigned to the disciplinary cottage are deprived of certain privileges that ordinarily accrue to them in their regular cottage. Boys who are given the disciplinary work assignments, remain in their cottage and continue to follow the normal cottage routine. However, they usually are assigned the less desirable work details, and they are not able to participate in their regular program. In either case, it was felt that work done while under disciplinary sanctions would be inconsistent with the aims of the wage program.

A system of fines was established for handling such violations of the "work for pay" idea as reading comic books, playing cards, etc. while on the job. It was also provided that a five dollar fine would be assessed against each boy who, upon running from the institution, was apprehended by someone other than an employee of the school. This sum was formerly taken from institutional funds and, as such, had no personal bearing on the boy himself. Under the wage program, boys would be held personally responsible for any damage they might inflict on state property, the personal property of another student or that of an



employee. Restitution would be made from their personal account.

Time spent in the daily hospital line would not be counted as wage time on the job. This blanket rule was made in an effort to cut down malingering among those boys who consistently used every insignificant physical reaction as a pretense for seeing the doctor and hence avoiding their regular assignments. In cases, however, which required hospitalization, the doctor could recommend that the boy's hourly rate be continued, as a form of sickness insurance.

Certain other situations were designated as "excused absences," and as such, would constitute time worked. Included in this category were such things as participation in band practice, and varsity sports; conferences with parole agents, chaplains and counselors. Because boys are urged to have frequent contact with clinic personnel, it was considered very important that the boys should not be penalized in the way of wages for the time spent at the clinic. To offset abuses, however, the Administrative Committee, upon considering the recommendations of the sub-committee, strongly urged all clinic personnel to be unusually careful in planning interview time, thus minimizing the time spent in the clinic reception room.

⁸
8 Minutes, Administrative Committee meeting, St. Charles, Illinois, February 13, 1952.

DETERMINATION OF WAGE

Wages were established at five, seven and ten cents an hour for the working boys and a flat rate of five cents per classroom hour was allotted for the school boy's allowance. Determining factors in establishing the rates at these levels were: 1. the full amount of the appropriation, prorated over a twenty four month period; 2. the average number of students eligible to draw wages; 3. the number of working hours per day; 4. the desirability of having a variation in rates to provide for merit increases; 5. the number of working boys as against the number of school boys. It was estimated that one thousand dollars a week would be required to cover the payroll, based on four hundred boys⁹ in the program.

TIMEKEEPING AND BUSINESS OFFICE

It was evident that an efficient system of timekeeping would have to be worked out. Various suggestions included that it be done by the business office, the vocational guidance counselor or by the individual work supervisor. It was finally decided that the supervising employee with whom the boy worked would be the timekeeper, e.g. the laundry foreman, the dairy supervisor, the dietitian, or, someone specifically designated by these super-

⁹ Interview with business manager regarding monetary aspects of the wage program.

visors. Time would be kept on a monthly basis, with the boy getting paid for the aggregate number of hours worked during the pay period. Time sheets would be turned over then to the vocational guidance counselor whose responsibility it was to check them against possible errors. The deadline for submitting the monthly payroll was established as the Friday of the first full work week of the month following the particular pay period. Once checked, the time sheets were to be turned over to the business office where entries would be made in each boy's account.¹⁰ The form used for timekeeping is included in Appendix V.

The business office procedures in themselves did not constitute a problem for the sub-committee, although they required careful attention on the part of the business manager and the superintendent. In as much as the institution's fiscal requirements are met on a quarterly basis, it was necessary to anticipate the boy's payroll needs over a three month period. Having arrived at the estimated quarterly budget, it was necessary that it be approved by the General Office of the Department of Public Welfare, and the Department of Finance, after which it was processed through the Central Accounting Department, wherein the funds were transferred from the appropriation to the available balance in a bookkeeping transaction. The monthly payroll was then

10 Interview with the chairman of the sub-committee.

processed through the institution's business office books and an invoice made, payable to the Training School, Inmates Trust Fund. A check was then mailed from the Office of the Auditor of Public Accounts to the institution, which check was deposited in a local bank and credited to the Inmates Trust Fund. The final step was the setting up of separate accounts for each boy. This additional work necessitated the business office making adjustments in staff¹¹ and work assignments. Indicative of this was the fact that the payment of school allowances was held up until March 1, 1952, in order to give the business office an opportunity to absorb the¹² increased load.

SPENDING WAGES EARNED

Weekly commissary spending for candy, ice cream, cigarettes, etc., was set at forty cents.¹³ Formerly, only twenty cents could be spent weekly. However, it was felt that with each boy having access to money under the wage-allowance program, some of the former monetary inequities would no longer exist. As in the past, the commissary spending continued to be a paper transaction, with the amount spent being deducted from the boy's account in the business office.

¹¹ Interview with the business manager regarding the monetary aspects of the wage program.

¹² Minutes, Administrative Meeting, February 13, 1952.

¹³ Minutes, Administrative Meeting, August 15, 1951.

Provision was also made for boys to spend money for special needs, such as personal clothes, bus fare for the annual Christmas furlough, a baseball glove, etc. However, in order to spend money beyond the weekly commissary amount, it was necessary to get the approval of the Superintendent and the supervisor of social service. The Administrative Committee discussed the possibility of providing a rule that would require a minimum of ten dollars in a boy's account before he could withdraw money for purposes other than commissary. But, because of the newness of the experience, no action was taken at that time on this point. A further recommendation of this Committee related to the establishment of a plan to have the business office handle the dry cleaning bills for the boy's personal clothes, which bills would then be deducted from the individual accounts. ¹⁴

SCHOOL ALLOWANCES

Initially, the idea of giving boys money for time spent in the classroom was not a popular one. However, two considerations made it advisable to make the payment of an allowance to school boys. First, it was desirable that all boys have some money of their own to use for their limited personal needs. With the tremendous variation in family economic backgrounds, as well as in the attitudes of certain families towards the institution-

alized boy, it was difficult to keep track of the individual accounts to see if money was available at least for weekly commissary. Therefore, an allowance plan for school boys, in conjunction with the wage program, would enable all boys to have an equal opportunity to have money in their account. The second point took into consideration the likelihood that with the inauguration of a wage program for working boys, school boys would feel that they were being penalized by remaining in school, even though they rightly belonged in an academic program.¹⁵

The sub-committee in the academic department studied the factors involved in the allowance plan and decided that a flat rate of five cents an hour would be established for all school boys. Unlike the plan for working boys which provided a two week observation period before the boy could draw wages, the school boy would become eligible as soon as he entered the academic program. Stress was placed on the necessity of the student doing a reasonable amount of classwork in accordance with his own capacities, in order to receive an allowance for a given classroom session. Rules were also established, outlining the conduct expected of the boys while in the classroom, the school building, the play ground or coming to and from school. Failing in this regard, the boy could lose part or all of his allowance at the

¹⁵ Interview with the chairman of the sub-committee.

discretion of the teacher. However, it was strongly emphasized that any recommendation by a teacher for a deduction in a boy's allowance should be immediately followed by an explanation to the boy that such a recommendation was made and why it was made. This was followed up by the establishment of a "Gripe Committee" to which both boys and teachers could carry their grievances as they related to allowances. In any event, all recommendations for allowance deductions had to be made on a form prepared for this purpose which required an explanation for the requested action and the approval of the principal.¹⁶ This form may be found in Appendix VI.

In addition to the above points which were incorporated into the official rules, the academic sub-committee made two other recommendations which, although they were not incorporated into the program, were given considerable attention. The first point was that it might be advisable for the boys to pay for their entertainment, such as the weekly movie. It was felt that in this way the boy might better appreciate the fruits of his work by being able to purchase something desirable, as in the case of entertainment. The second suggestion related to payment of an allowance for regular cottage chores.¹⁷ The decision to exclude cottage work from the wage plan was based on the conviction

¹⁶ Rules, Governing School Allowances, February 21, 1952.

¹⁷ Report, academic sub-committee, October 17, 1951.

that each boy should have a personal responsibility for the care and appearance of his own home, and that any personal compensation derived therefrom should be psychological rather than monetary. It was also felt that in placing the burden of timekeeping on the house parents, they would be drawn away from their more important responsibilities.

MONEY PAYMENTS BEGUN

The first wage payments were made on November 19, 1951 to boys working in the dairy, the employees dining room and in the barber shop. These groups of boys were selected for the initial experience because the nature and hours of their work differed substantially from the other institutional assignments, thus making it possible to observe this relatively small group rather closely before making the program available for all boys. On December 13, 1951, the Superintendent put out a memorandum to staff members, listing the tentative rules governing the payment of wages, and also announcing that a permanent set of rules would be forthcoming in February after the program had been functioning for two months.

Based on the observations made during the first two months of operation, the way was cleared for the inclusion of other groups of working boys into the wage program. On February

18 Report to Administrative Committee, November 28, 1951.

19 Superintendent's Bulletin, #120, December 13, 1951.

18, 1952, The Superintendent issued the permanent regulations which would be in effect until amended on the basis of further experience. The contents of this memorandum, which was made available to both boys and employees, are contained in Appendix VII. Within a week a supplementary set of rules, pertaining specifically to school matters, was set up to govern the allowance phase of the total program. These will be found in Appendix VIII. And so, with the inclusion of the school group, all eligible boys in the institution were brought under the wage-allowance program by March 1, 1952.

Realizing that the success of the whole program required a thorough understanding of it and full cooperation with it, the Superintendent discussed the whole plan and its various ramifications at a staff meeting and also at an assembly of the entire student body. To both groups, he outlined the philosophy underlying such a program and that, in an institution which aimed at rehabilitating a boy in accord with his individual needs, such a program made good sense. He pointed out to the boys that the people of Illinois, through their official representatives, were hereby giving tangible evidence of their confidence in training school boys being successfully rehabilitated to normal community living. This confidence, placed in them as individuals and as a group, must not be violated. This, it was explained, could best be done, by each boy remembering that, whereas he was being given a

privilege and a benefit, certain duties were also made binding on him by nature of the newly acquired opportunity. In this way, the boys were given to understand that they had a personal contribution to make to the success of the program, and if it succeeded,²⁰ the boys themselves would be the chief benefactors.

20 Notes on Superintendent's talk to the students,
February 18, 1952.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

In this thesis an attempt has been made to consolidate several important aspects of the broad subject of paying money in the form of wages for work done by students in a training school. The first chapter contained a discussion of the theoretical base upon which a program such as this is predicated, the preliminary thinking that went into the establishment of the program in Illinois, and finally, the granting of the appropriation by the General Assembly, thus making the whole undertaking possible. In the second chapter, the experiences of other training schools were laid open in much the same way as was done by the Committee at St. Charles, the reason being that other schools faced similar situations and a pooling of experiences on this subject could certainly be helpful in indicating to inexperienced planners, some of the factors that have to be taken into consideration. Then, in the third chapter, the actual planning of the program at St. Charles was outlined, thus showing the very practical side of having to set up a budget, to devise a set of rules for operation, to give interpretation to boys and staff, and to stand by, ready to plug loopholes and to make improvements as experience proves them necessary.

~~For the State of Illinois, this study gives evidence of~~

one of the means being employed to provide better and more consistent service for those unfortunate boys who have had to be committed by the courts to the Training School. Statewide statistics adequately demonstrate that the upward spiral of incarceration for the non-rehabilitated offender places a heavy tax burden on the people of the State, not to mention the great loss to humanity. The necessity of checking recidivism, therefore, is quite apparent. Such well informed groups as the American Law Institute and the Osborne Association are aware of this, and have thrown their weight behind programs for early rehabilitation. The idea of a wage program for juvenile offenders in a training school has their hearty support.

For the Training School at St. Charles, the study provides a compilation of the thinking that went into the organization of the program. This can be particularly valuable as a guide to future planning in as much as it provides the philosophy, the experiences of other schools and an outline of the initial planning at the school itself. On the otherhand, it can act as reference material for critics of the program whose antagonisms are based on the feeling that the wage-allowance plan was something that was thrown together without careful thought or planning. To offset this, the contents of this study could be used as the basis for an orientation session on the practical issues of the wage plan in everyday institutional life.

Then too, there are several other state sponsored insti-

tutions which might find this study valuable in giving consideration as to how a wage-allowance program could prove advantageous in helping to rehabilitate its boys or girls to wholesome community living.

To training schools outside of Illinois, the study can likewise be beneficial. As indicated in chapter two, a number of the schools are anxious to learn the results of the establishment of the program in Illinois. There may be schools that will be in the same position as St. Charles was when it started out, realizing that the opportunity for a real service is at hand, but lacking in the practical experience to set it up without avoidable mistakes. On the other hand there may be schools which, having been sceptical of a wage plan, can here get a picture of how the program has worked in several institutions to the mutual satisfaction of boys and staff. All in all, it was fairly evident from the letters referred to in chapter two that there was a great deal of interest among the superintendents in this type of program.

It was mentioned in chapter one that the Deputy Director of Public Welfare was responsible for the preliminary planning at the General Office level for the wage-allowance plan which went into full effect at St. Charles by March 1, 1952. In order not to lose track of the program as it developed on the campus, it was felt that an initial follow-up study of the program in its early stages should be done. A report on this study was made on February 6, 1952, and it will be found in Appendix IX. This report

was quite inclusive and represented a careful evaluation of the developmental stage of the program. It was pointed out that certain problems were being experienced in the academic school, but that for the most part these were anticipated. It was also noted that careful attention would have to be paid that certain employees did not abuse the program because of their own personal feelings about the boys. Whereas caution was taken against this sort of thing in the rules governing the administration of the program, it seemed advisable that this point be observed closely. The report favored the daily posting of hours in the laundry, thus giving the boys in that area an opportunity to evaluate their own achievements. It was also noted that boys in general were taking more interest in their work as indicated by the enthusiasm shown on the job, the number of new candidates for extra work and the decline in disciplinary infractions. Akin to this point, was the noticeable drop in the daily hospital line, estimated roughly at fifty percent.

The report called attention to some of the tentative plans which seem to have considerable merit, mentioning in particular the idea of trade boys setting aside a certain amount of their earnings for the purchase of equipment, such as barber tools, which the boys will need when they leave the institution. It was also suggested that some plans should be made for devising some system of banking or checking so that the boys themselves could have some part in the handling of their accounts rather than

having only the current system of paper transactions, confined exclusively to the business office records. Furthermore, it was urged that the entire program be used to test the degree of socialization that could be achieved by the boys handling the money themselves, rather than through the approval of certain members of the staff. Finally, it was recommended that a re-examination of the program be made after it had been in operation for a year.

In as much as this has been an evaluation of the preliminary thinking, planning and early steps in organizing the wage-allowance plan at St. Charles, no attempt has been made here to evaluate the program, its merits and demerits. As has been suggested, the program needs re-evaluation in the light of a full year's operation. In conclusion, it is recommended that a supplementary study focus on the day to day activities, the breakdown of statistical records on discipline, recidivism, the use of money on parole, and many other factors which should prove revealing and helpful in evaluating the full worth of a wage-allowance program in a training school.

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APPENDIX I

A PROPOSAL TO THE ILLINOIS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 1951,
RECOMMENDING A PAY FOR WORK PROGRAM AT THE
ILLINOIS STATE TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS

ILLINOIS TRAINING SCHOOL FOR BOYS-ST. CHARLES

A proposal designed to aid in the Training and
Reformation of boys committed to the above
institution.

The program at the St. Charles School has a twofold purpose. It receives boys who have failed to make satisfactory social adjustment in their own communities and attempts in any practicable fashion to (1) change the attitudes of these boys so that they become socialized and able to fit into their communities, and (2) to furnish to these boys education and training which will assist them in job placement and in other material ways facilitate their adjustment.

To facilitate the achievement of these two objectives in the lives of the boys confined in the Illinois State Training School for Boys, it is proposed that the legislature appropriate a small sum of money to be used to finance an on-the-job training program at the school. At the present time there are a large number and wide variety of jobs that the youngsters perform for which they receive no compensation. There is very good reason to believe that if the state embarked upon a program in which these boys would receive compensation in the school certain values would accrue not only to the boys themselves but to the state as a whole.

In the first place compensating the boys for their services should greatly intensify their interest in performing the task to which they would be assigned. This in turn should enhance the educational and training values inherent in the performances of the services. In the second place, compensating the boys for their work should help to instill in them a sense of financial responsibility and a feeling that they were earning their own way. In the third place, this program would provide an opportunity for the boys to secure a small sum of money, some of which could be used to make purchases while they are in the institution, and the remainder would be available to them when they are released on parole. This money, since it would be earned by the youngsters, should not only help to make them more satisfied while in the institution but should serve to help them make a more satisfactory adjustment when they return to their home.

Some of the tasks (which are outlined in the attached page) they are now doing without compensation. Some of this is difficult labor and some only arduous tasks. Nevertheless it is

the kind of work they will be expected to do when they return to community life. In the past it has been the practice to assign boys to certain of these details as a matter of punishment. While this practice does not exist at the present time, it still does exist in the minds of the boys to a large extent. We believe that this is poor training and an excellent way to contribute to the formation of poor work habits. We believe, however, that if there were compensation for these tasks the idea of work for punishment could be eliminated with wholesome effects.

It is not the intention of this program to compete financially with the present labor market. This would seem foolish on the face of it. It also is not the intention at the other end of the scale to pay anything less than a respectable wage. The sum of 10 cents per hour is suggested. It is further the intention that a system of bookkeeping be set up to allow the boys to save money and to spend for so-called "outside" items a certain percentage of their earnings. We suggest not more than 25 per cent. We suggest that each boy be given a bank book and a number of checks so that he may maintain his own record of savings and expenditures. We believe that in this manner each boy may obtain some measure of respect for the value of money and that this will to some degree be a socializing influence. We believe further that the use to which each boy puts his money may be some indication also of the effect of the socializing influence.

In this manner we hope to be able to show that two things are being effected in some degree through the use of this program; one, that the boy is receiving some socializing benefits, and secondly, that he is learning certain good work habits as well as a skill in some trade or perhaps as a laborer. It is, of course, assumed that work assignments will be made on the basis of individual ability.

This program looks forward in the future to the establishment of some industrial development. Perhaps a good example of hope for future development would be in the establishment of a cleaning and pressing business. Such a business would be self-supporting and would give invaluable training not only in the use of money but more especially, in learnign trades which will be of untold values to boys as they return to their neighborhoods in search of gainful employment.

It seems inescapable that such a program with its many values, not only intangible but tangible as well, would more than pay for the small outlay of cash in the better chance which each boy will have for adequate social adjustment on his return to the community.

List of jobs:

A. Cleaning details

Old employees building
New employees building
School building
Gymnasium
Clinic
Administration
Hospital
Industrial building
Chapel
Kitchen
Root cellar
Garage

B. Regular details

Sewage disposal
Coal pile
Power house
Garbage detail
Stone mason
Plumber
Steam fitter
Roofer
Painter
Carpenter
Electrician
Sheet metal worker
Printer
Machinist
Garage
Barber shop
Bakery
Laundry
Shoe shop

C. Farm

Dairy
Greenhouse
Gardens
6 farms

D. Cannery

E. Landscaping

F. Extra detail

APPENDIX II

EXCERPT FROM LETTER BY AUSTIN MCCORMACK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE OSBURN ASSOCIATION FAVORING PAY FOR WORK PROGRAM FOR TRAINING SCHOOLS

If it is properly administered and taking away the privilege of earning money as punishment is not done arbitrarily or whimsically, I can think of no argument against the plan. It will be good for the boy's morale and self-respect, and will have the very practical value of giving them some spending money, and money when they leave, which most of them need. I have advocated wages for adult prisoners for years, as I know you have, and I think some sort of incentive payment to boys in state training schools is needed just as much from the standpoint of family need. As you know, the Federal Prison Industries not only pay wages but also enable the prisoners to earn additional good time for work in the industries. The Army has set up in its disciplinary barracks a system of extra good time for men who are not working on assignments that carry a wage (some are paid).

In short, the idea of extra compensation of some sort is well established, and it seems to me particularly appropriate for boys to whom even a small amount of earnings would seem very attractive. Boys in training schools, furthermore, are inclined to be a little cynical about the value of the work they are doing. Some of them know that much of what is called vocational training is actually maintenance work or just a method of keeping them busy. Others resent their work assignments on the ground that they are a form of penal servitude, even when the work is interesting and not too hard. I think anything that makes them feel that the work they are doing has value that is recognized realistically in the form of a cash compensation is all to the good....¹

1 Berkley, California, March 27, 1951.

APPENDIX III

EXCERPTS FROM LETTER OUTLINING

WAGE-ALLOWANCE PROGRAM

AT ORMSBY VILLAGE

We have been paying vocational allowance for a number of years and feel that it has worked out very well indeed here. The amounts involved are not large, but they have a great deal of meaning to the children and we would not think of giving up the plan.

In addition to vocational allowance, we also pay an allowance to all children regardless of vocational assignments and according to the following plan:

Junior Citizens---	35¢	per	mo.
Citizens	45¢	"	"
Senior Citizens	55¢	"	"
Honor Citizens	60¢	"	"

A junior citizen is one who has 28 days continuous clear record; a Citizen, 56 days; a Senior Citizen, 112 days; an Honor Citizen, 196 days. You will note that the number of days in each category is a multiple of 7 and, in terms of weeks would be 4 weeks, 8 weeks, 16 weeks, 28 weeks.

The vocational payments have no reference to citizenship, and the citizenship payments have no reference to vocational assignments, or the lack of them.

The cost of repairing or replacing breakage or destruction of property, if it has been done carelessly or wilfully, may be deducted in reasonable amounts from either allowance or vocational pay. We have to be careful not to over-do the matter in case the cost of repairing the breakage thru carelessness or wilfulness to a minimum, and probably saves in the run of a year the total cost of the two allowance programs. The present amount set up for these items in our budget is \$5,800 a year.

We pay the money to the children in cash once each month, and we leave the spending of it, as well as the disposition of their money, to them. Theft of money from one to another

happens rarely. From time to time gambling becomes a problem. Our rule with reference to gambling is as follows: Any child caught gambling or standing by in a gambling has all money in the game and all on his person confiscated, and this money goes into the school activity fund. The result is that gambling is not a very popular past-time.

Now one word with reference to productive enterprises. We do not believe that productive enterprises should be a part of a training school program. By productive, I mean having boys do work that should be done by adults. We operate a 500 acre farm; we have a crew of 17 men working on the farm. These men are able to take care of all farm activities without help from the boys; however, during the planting, growing and harvesting season there is opportunity for considerable amount of boy employment that does not interfere with his school work. We have boys working in kitchen, bakery, laundry, carpenter shop and elsewhere, but these assignments are not for the purpose of getting work done but to give training to the boy in a natural situation.

In this connection, we might also point out that all of our boys and girls are in school, and at three levels:

(1) Regular accredited academic course going thru high school graduation, which admits to college.

(2) An academic course on a lower level thru high school, which does not admit to college.

(3) A trade course for those who are unable to do either of the above courses-and yet who on reaching 16 years of age, and who have performed satisfactorily for 300 shop hours in some shop or other work activity, and who have had the equivalent of 3 school hours for a 9 month's school period in English, mathematics, and social studies, will receive his appropriate trade certificate. The level of these three academic subjects will be at whatever the boy can reasonably do; it may be at the second, third or fourth grade level. We find that for the duller boy there is an interest in the trade course in which he can make progress and against which he does not rebel - the same not being the case when attempt is made to fit him into the regular academic course.

All boys and girls at Ormsby Village and Ridgewood who are assigned to regularly approved work jobs shall receive a Vocational Allowance based on the time spent in the shop, adjustment on the job, and quality of work done.

In figuring Vocational Allowance a period shall be

defined as a work period of 45 minutes during school time, September to June, and 60 minutes at other times.

The Vocational Allowance shall be paid on Thursday of the week of the 20th of each month.

The amount of Vocational Allowance paid each month shall be determined by the following schedule when worked continuously in the same shop:

Period per day	First 4 mos.	Second 4 mos.	Third 4 mos.	Second Year
1	.25	.25	.50	.75
2	.50	.75	1.00	1.25
3	.75	1.00	1.25	1.50
4	1.00	1.50	2.00	2.50
5	1.25	2.00	2.75	3.50
6 or more	1.50	2.50	3.50	4.50

Five dollars a month shall be paid for cleaning the gym.

When a boy has attained top pay in a shop and is transferred to another shop, he shall continue to receive top pay in the new shop.

A Bonus up to 25% shall be added to the allowance of the student doing exceptionally fine work, on recommendation of the shop foreman.

Deductions from this allowance shall be made in the following amounts:

Ten cents for each unexcused absence

Three cents for each unexcused absence

And a fair amount for poor work or misconduct on the job....¹

¹ Henley V. Bastin, Anchorage, Kentucky, April 4, 1951.

APPENDIX IV

SUPERINTENDENT'S LETTER TO OTHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

We have recently received a rather large sum of money in our budget to be used as a project to pay wages to boys for work done. This money will be deposited in each boy's account which is a part of a total Trust Fund in the Business Office of this institution. The boy in turn will be able to spend part of this money for candy, cigarettes, clothing, etc., the remainder will be given to the boy when he is paroled.

We are wondering if you have had any experience in giving your boys money in the form of wages earned. Because of the numerous complications that are involved in a project such as this we are writing you in an effort to profit from your experiences.

Some of the questions we are specifically interested in might be listed as follows:

1. How do you select boys to receive these wages?
2. What distinction do you make as to work assignments? Do you have any measure for drawing this line?
3. How much do you pay?
 - (A) Do you have different scales of wages in relation to types of work?
 - (B) Do you have any other way of breaking this down?
4. What percentage of these earnings must a boy save?
5. How did this wage project affect boys who were in an all-day school program, 5 days a week, thereby not having the opportunity to earn a wage?
 - (A) Did you have any system of paying for work done in the cottages in order to offset the above point and, if so, how did you avoid duplication in cases where boys had other assignments or other details in addition to cottage work?

6. What was the reaction of your staff to this type of project?
7. What was the reaction of the boys to this type of project?

There must be many other questions that we have been unable to think of and we would appreciate all of the comments that you might care to make at this time.

Thanking you for your cooperation in this matter, I remain,

Very truly yours,

S/ Charles W. Leonard
Superintendent

St. Charles, Illinois
July 25, 1951.

APPENDIX V

TIME SHEET FOR MONTHLY
POSTING OF BOYS
WAGES

MONTH _____

BOYS COMPENSATION PROGRAM

SHOP _____

NAME—LIST LAST NAME FIRST		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	TOTAL HOURS	RATE	AMOUNT EARNED
COTTAGE _____	A. M.																																		
	P. M.																																		
	TOTAL																																		
COTTAGE _____	A. M.																																		
	P. M.																																		
	TOTAL																																		
COTTAGE _____	A. M.																																		
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COTTAGE _____	A. M.																																		
	P. M.																																		
	TOTAL																																		

FILL IN ALL SPACES—USE O FOR ABSENTEES.

SIGNED _____ INSTRUCTOR

APPENDIX VI

FORM USED FOR ALLOWANCE DEDUCTION
IN ACADEMIC SCHOOL

(RECOMMENDATION FOR ALLOWANCE DEDUCTION

Date: _____

From: _____

To: The Principal

Re: _____

I recommend that ____ hour(s) be deducted
from the above named boy's allowance
because:

Approved: _____ Signed _____

APPENDIX VII

RULES GOVERNING THE OPERATION OF THE WAGE PROGRAM

1. Boys wages shall be at the rate of 5¢, 7¢, and 10¢ per hour.
2. All boys will start at 5¢ an hour and can only be raised to 7¢ or 10¢ when they have proved to their work supervisor over a reasonable period of time that they have earned the raise. What a boy earns is dependent upon his own ability, effort, and desire to work up to his own capacity.

Supervisors will determine the duties required for various jobs.

3. There will be a percentage bonus paid to all boys who have been on the job for six months and who have shown outstanding ability, initiative, and total institutional adjustment.

The amount of the bonus will be based on the total money earned during a six month period. The percentage of bonus will be determined and announced at a later date.

4. New and Return boys must work without pay for, at least, a two week period of observation. The supervisor will determine if wages should start at this time depending upon the boy's attitude and performance.
5. There will be a two week period of no pay for all boys who must be transferred for disciplinary reasons or poor work. The resumption of wages will depend upon the recommendation of the new supervisor.
6. There will be no pay for boys assigned to Pierce. (Disciplinary Cottage.)
7. There will be no pay for time spent on Work Detail. (For minor disciplinary infractions.)
8. There will be an hourly deduction for time spent in the sick line.

9. Boys will be paid for excused or approved absences from their assignments.
10. There will be instances where a boy or an employee will not feel that a promotion or transfer was justified. These cases will be turned over to a "Gripe Committee."
11. When a boy destroys State property or property belonging to another, he will be required to pay for the damaged property.
12. A fine may be levied by Pierce Court on all boys who run away from the institution. This fine will be taken from funds previously earned, or charged against funds not yet earned, as in the cases of New or Return boys.
13. Expenditures other than the regular weekly allowances must be approved by the supervisor of Social Service and the Superintendent.
14. Card playing is absolutely forbidden on detail or during detail time at any place or on any detail in the institution. Boys will be fined and supervising employees will be held responsible for such activity.

When a boy brings a deck of cards or any other type of game on a detail, the cards or game, should be confiscated by the employee and turned over to Mr. McMillion, the vocational guidance counselor.

15. Reading of comic books is absolutely forbidden on details or during detail time at any place or on any detail in the institution. Boys will be fined and supervising employees will be held responsible for such activity.

When a boy brings a comic book on detail the comic book should be immediately destroyed by the supervising employee.

16. An allowance of 5¢ an hour is being granted to all boys in the Academic program starting March 1, 1952. The allowance is set at 5¢ an hour and there will be no increases.

Charles W. Leonard
Superintendent

St. Charles, Illinois, February 18, 1952.

APPENDIX VIII

RULES FOR SCHOOL ALLOWANCES

1. Boys will be eligible to start receiving allowance on the first day of entering school.
2. The allowance will be at the rate of five cents (5¢) per hour. There will be no increases.
3. Deductions are to be made on an hourly basis when boys are absent from classes such as, sick line, hospital, or unexcused absences. If a boy is absent for less than one-half of a period, no deduction will be made--if more than one-half of the period, full deduction for that period will be made.
4. A boy's conduct in the class room is to be judged by the teacher in charge. The teacher will submit a recommendation in writing to the office for the Principal's approval for deduction to be made in consideration of poor conduct. A form is provided for this purpose. These forms are to be submitted daily. The number of hours recommended for deduction and the reasons for such recommendation must be listed.
5. If a boy fails to do a reasonable amount of class room work, according to his ability, it is the class room teacher's responsibility to submit a recommendation that a deduction in allowance be made. Method of recommendation and reporting same as given in No. 4.
6. Regarding conduct in the school building when not in class room: A boy may have a portion or a ll of his daily allowance deducted:
 - (a) For offences such as the following - fighting, loud talking, wearing of cap, spitting on floor, dropping trash, using vulgar and obscene language, defacing property, bringing articles other than comb, handker-

- chief, billfold, into school and not conducting himself in a reasonable and proper manner.
- (b) For going to office without permission.
 - (c) For loud talking in office.
 - (d) Disorderly conduct in general.
7. Regarding conduct in school lines outside of school building: a boy may have a portion or all of his daily allowance deducted for:
- (a) Failing to stay to the right and on the walk.
 - (b) Failing to keep paired off.
 - (c) Causing disorder in the line, or fighting and pressuring.
8. Regarding conduct on playground: a boy may have a portion or all of his daily allowance deducted for;
- (a) Leaving equipment and apparel for which he is responsible on grounds.
 - (b) For wandering out of bounds.
 - (c) For returning to building without permission of teacher.
9. When a boy is judged to be out of order at any time and any place, it is the responsibility of the teacher observing the disorder or offense to make a report in writing to the office.
10. It is a MUST that when a recommendation for a deduction is made the teacher will inform the boy immediately that the recommendation has been made and why.
11. There will be instances when a boy or a teachers will not feel that a deduction or failure to make a deduction was justified. These cases will be turned over to a "Gripe Committee."

St. Charles, Illinois, February 21, 1952.

APPENDIX IX

REPORT TO DEPUTY DIRECTOR

FEBRUARY 1952

In accordance with the directive of your memorandum of January 22, 1952, I visited the St. Charles school and analyzed the program of payment of inmates, and I am forwarding herewith the report of that analysis. The program of payment to inmates at St. Charles has, in a small measure, been in effect since November 19, 1951. It is, however, still in its infancy, and this should be considered with regard to any statement which are made in this report. In all fairness, it would seem necessary to review the program again at the end of one year's operation. At that time it would seem probable that a follow-up study of boys leaving the institution would be profitable.

I am enclosing a copy of a memorandum to staff members, setting forth the rules through which the program is set up at St. Charles. I am enclosing also a copy of tentative rules and regulations which will probably be approved during this present week, and which will govern the payment of allowances for boys in the school program. Enclosed is also a copy of the original document proposing this program. Since November 19, 1951, at which time boys working in 3 shops were placed on the payroll, the institution has gradually added other boys, until at the present time only boys in school and those working on the farms are excluded. Boys in school are being considered at a committee meeting this week, and allowances for them will probably be ready within the next few days. The program for farm boys has been set up to begin next Monday, February 11.

The wage scale is from \$.05 to \$.10 an hour, with \$.07 being the intermediary step. On the face of it, this seems to be a very small amount of money, and one which might only be a joke with the boys involved. It should be considered, however, that this is \$.05 to \$.10 an hour more than they have ever made before at the institution. The maximum which a boy will be able to earn

over the work program will be about \$25 per month. The minimum on the work program will be \$6 per month. It is too early to have struck an average, but it is probable that the average will lie somewhere just below the median between these two amounts. In other words, the probability is that boys on the work program will average somewhere in the neighborhood of \$15 to \$18 per month. The average length of stay at the institution is between 9 and 10 months. Thus, during his stay the average boy should be able to earn something like \$150.

The opportunities for spending this money, are of course, limited. Forty cents per week may be spent in the commissary, and a boy may, upon the approval of the committee (which includes the superintendent), be allowed to spend money for other purposes which are suggested by the treatment staff. This includes clothing, articles for hobbies, and the like. The method of paying the funds upon parole has not yet been determined, but it will probably be worked out individually upon recommendations by the parole officer, taking into consideration the home circumstances of the boys involved.

There are many tentative plans and proposals, some of which seem extremely good. For example, the boys working in the barber shop are now receiving \$.10 per hour. Barbering, at the institutio, is in the nature of a personal service, and is worth more money than this. One of the principal difficulties with placing boys in this trade has been their lack of the proper tools of the trade. It is now seriously considered to set aside another \$.10 per hour in a fund which will be used to purchase these tools for the boy at the time of his parole. Consideration might also be given for tools necessary in other trades which the inmates are now learning.

It is interesting to note that in the original proposal the statement was made, "compensation of boys for their services should greatly intensify their interest in performing the task to which they would be assigned." In analyzing the program, I interviewed about 15 or 20 boys in an attempt to get their reaction to the program. It seemed obvious that this has been accomplished in many instances. Heretofore it has been impossible, without direct assignments, to provide extra help, especially over the weekend. In one cottage, 10 out of 25 boys volunteered for extra duty. This is true of every heretofore unpleasant assignment. In interviewing employees who are supervising boys on these jobs, I was struck by the enthusiasm which they had for the program. Discipline has become an easier thing. For example, the boys assigned to the employees dining room have heretofore been the cause of trouble almost continually. There are only 2 or 3 especially busy periods

during the time which they have to spend there. Between these times many, if not all of the boys, gave trouble. Since the institution of this program, rather than loafing the boys have been asking for extra assignments so that they may work a little longer in order to earn the extra money, and the supervisor there is extremely impressed by this. This is true in the dairy and in the laundry.

The school should be considered separately. Here is a problem which was seen originally and which must be wrestled with. On January 1, 1952, there were 443 boys in the institution. Of these, 131 were all day detail boys. A total of 191 boys spent all day in school, and 97 spent a half day in school, and half day on detail. Thus 288 of the 443 (well over half) boys would be penalized for being bright enough to attend school, if they did not receive some compensation. There is a good deal of feeling, however, against paying boys who attend school. The committee decided that it could overcome this feeling by putting school payment in the category of an allowance, rather than a salary. This seemed to solve the administrative problems, but interviews with the boys themselves indicated that the money paid school boys is considered by them to be a salary. Strangely enough, it seems to be only a problem with the administration, and not the inmates. The boys seemed relatively content with the arrangements.

Summary and Conclusions

The addition of a cash nexus adds to the institution a whole new set of problems, both theoretical and practical administrative. The thorough consideration by the committee of the program has minimized these problems. As stated before, the payment of such a small amount of money seems almost in the nature of "slave wages," and we might think that the boys would tend to make fun of such a program. In the school, where the program is only talked about and not yet in effect, I detected some light-hearted treatment by the boys on the subject. However, they are quite anxious on the whole to receive any amount of money. In the shops where the program has been in effect, this attitude was not observed at all. Obviously it is impossible to pay in cash or even in tokens, and so the whole thing becomes a paper transaction. Some system between this and an actual payment of cash, such as a checking account where the boys can keep their own books, might be advisable. It is interesting to note, that in the laundry forms are posted on the bulletin board for each boy, showing the hours which he has worked in an accumulative fashion. This seems to have added the spirit of a contest, and has intensified the interest of the boys concerned, and would strengthen the argument for allowing or requiring the boys to keep their own records.

One further problem that seems very serious is the possibility of employees using this money as an extra lever against the boys. Any employee who has any sadistic tendencies will find this cash an extra tool to use against the inmates. The strict rules governing the program are a help in overcoming this, and Mr. Leonard tends to minimize the danger, and yet it still seems advisable to watch over this problem with extreme caution.

One interesting sidenote is, that since the institution of this program (which you will note deducts for time spent in the hospital line) has been a drop in the hospital line of over 50%. This would bear with the thinking in the original memorandum which argued that such a program would intensify interest and tend to make boys more satisfied in the institution.

I would make the suggestion that more attention be given to the use of this program as a device to assist in testing socialization in the boys. The use to which they wish to put their money without direction from counselors or other authorities seems to me to be an invaluable index and to have great value in the treatment process.

I trust that this memorandum answers your directive. If you have any further questions, please let me know, and I will try to answer them. I should be very happy to re-evaluate the program at a later date if you so desire.

Edward P. Hopper