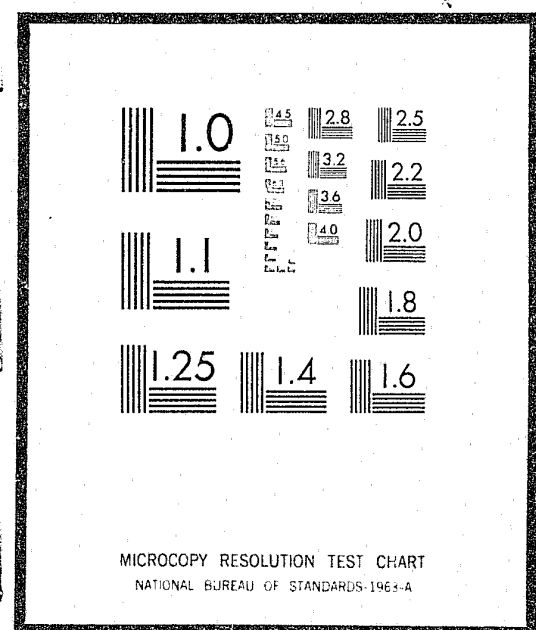


NCJRS

This microfiche was produced from documents received for inclusion in the NCJRS data base. Since NCJRS cannot exercise control over the physical condition of the documents submitted, the individual frame quality will vary. The resolution chart on this frame may be used to evaluate the document quality.



Microfilming procedures used to create this fiche comply with the standards set forth in 41CFR 101-11.504

Points of view or opinions stated in this document are those of the author(s) and do not represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION
NATIONAL CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFERENCE SERVICE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20531

9/1/77
Date filmed

THE COMMUNITY ADJUSTMENT OF MALE TRAINING SCHOOL RECIDIVISTS: I. THE FOLLOW-UP INTERVIEW

By

APR 20 1977

ACQUISITIONS

A. C. BIRKENMAVER
and
MARIAN POLONOSKI



MINISTRY OF
CORRECTIONAL
SERVICES

Honourable John Smith
Minister
Glenn R. Thompson
Deputy Minister

40604

MINISTRY OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO



PLANNING AND SUPPORT SERVICES DIVISION

M. J. Algar,
Assistant Deputy Minister

PLANNING AND RESEARCH BRANCH

James J. Hug, Ph.D.
Director

Leah R. Lambert,
Chief, Research Services

Project Staff:

Supervisor: A. C. Birkenmayer

Research Assistant: Marian Polonoski

Interviewers: P. G. Madden
R. Shortt
R. E. Johnston

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The interviews would have been impossible to carry out without the splendid co-operation of the Probation and After-Care Services of the Ministry of Correctional Services. In addition the frankness and co-operation of the respondents must be applauded.

December 1975

ABSTRACT

One hundred boys who had already been returned to a training school at least once were interviewed at least three months after their latest graduation. The average time elapsed from graduation to date of interview was 5.8 months (with a range of three to 13 months). Of the 100 boys, 47 had had some experience at the DARE programme although only 42 graduated. Even though 37 of the 42 DARE graduates had positive feelings about their DARE experience, and only 22% of the total sample had any positive feelings about their training school experience, the DARE experience did not seem to make a great deal of difference in terms of outcome.

Outcome was determined on the basis of work or school experience as well as renewed delinquent activities. The outcomes obtained from the interview data were:

OUTCOME	PROGRAMME						
	DARE Graduate		Non-DARE		DARE Failure		TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Good	12	29	19	36	0	0	31
Marginal	16	38	17	32	0	0	33
Unacceptable	14	33	17	32	5	100	36
100% =	42		53		5		100

There were no differences between the boys who completed DARE and those who did not go to DARE, in terms of outcome or any other variable. The only salient feature was that the very small number of boys (5) who failed to complete the DARE programme all ended up with an unacceptable outcome.

To a large extent the situations in which the boys found themselves were similar to their previous community experience. Sixty-three of the boys were placed with the same people with whom they were living prior to their first training school admission. Almost all of these placements involved returning to live with at least one natural parent. The instability of placement situations was indicated by the fact that 48 had at least one other

placement before being interviewed and of these only six returned to live with a natural parent. Furthermore, 37 wards had some other person moving into their family constellation.

On the whole, the wards indicated positive feelings about their placement situations, in terms of their locale, living companions and house conditions. The methods of discipline reported by the wards did not seem to them to be unreasonable. These features give the overt appearance of positive environments, yet if one considers the negative family backgrounds of these wards, which were marked by severe drinking problems (60%), poor parenting (28%), sibling delinquency (28%) and community agency involvements (52%) as well as the large number of wards' placement changes, it appears that these environments were not without problems.

Changes in the ward's placement did not necessarily mean changes in his circle of friends. Forty per cent of the boys reported having in excess of six (and some reported over 20) "close" friends and 67% maintained relationships with the friends they had before entering training school.

A third of the wards reported that their friends got into trouble with the law and 36% reported that their trouble with the law was caused by their friends. Over half the boys (59%) felt that they got into more trouble when in the company of their peers. Only 61% of the boys were spending their leisure time with friends for whom they had a preference. Leisure time activities did not really require the company of preferred friends since on the whole these activities involved "hanging around" (78%), watching T.V. and listening to the radio (65%). Constructive or creative endeavours were lacking.

Patterns of response to problem situations and to being "hassled" by other people showed that the boys had a low tolerance of frustration in that under both circumstances wards reacted with physical violence or verbal abuse. The pressures acting upon wards in the peer environment, such as delinquent friends, few creative leisure time activities and poor response patterns further describe the stumbling blocks faced by these wards in the community.

In the work environment almost all the boys tried to find a job, while 89 actually worked. These 89 boys held 178 jobs and the largest proportion of the jobs (61%) were held for under one month and only 43% of those working were still employed at the time of the interview. The categories on a job classification listing which were used most often by the boys were in the areas of sales/services and general labour. Pay for these jobs was poor, for only

43% received a wage above the minimum wage in their highest paying job. Of the boys still employed, 71% were also receiving their highest wage earned. On the whole, reports from the boys expressed more positive feelings for their work than negative feelings.

Difficulties in locating and holding jobs were experienced and 67 wards sought assistance in finding a job. Sixty-four wards reported that they ran out of money often or once in a while. Wards therefore sought various means of supplementing their finances, the most popular of which were to approach their parents and rely on job income. Expenses which depleted finances generally were luxuries over and above basic living requirements. The work experience then did not provide many benefits for wards in that much effort was expended in locating and keeping poor-paying jobs.

A return to school was experienced by 35% of the boys, and only 12 were still in school when interviewed. Boredom and disinterest proved to be the major difficulty in school and the predominant reason for leaving it.

Involvement with the police in the community was considerable with 38% of the wards having been convicted by the courts. Fourteen pending cases, if disposed of similarly, would escalate this conviction figure to 52%. The fact that 79 boys were involved in 478 separate police incidents and only 38% experienced a conviction suggests that police were dispensing with these incidents more subtly than by involving the courts.

Seventy-two boys who reported on how often they saw their Probation and Aftercare Officer (PACO), saw him an average of 3.99 times before being interviewed. The sample was divided fairly evenly as to the degree of help offered by the PACO; 53% received some help from the PACO and 47% received no help. When asked to whom they turned for help or advice, wards turned mostly (60%) to their own family constellation and 25% turned to no one.

As mentioned, outcome was determined by the degree of work/school involvement and of delinquent activities. The outcome classifications in relation to the interview data produced several results. Boys with marginal outcomes (70%) generally had been placed with the same people after training school as before. If wards had delinquent peers their outcomes were worse. Wards with placement changes were unlikely to have good outcomes (54%) as were wards who resorted to violent reactions in settling problems. An interest in continuing education was shown by wards with good outcomes (71%). There was a tendency for wards with marginal outcomes to receive more attention from their PACO and these wards (64%) found their PACO to be more helpful than those with good or unacceptable outcomes. Differences between boys as to the types of problems faced in the community did not emerge although some boys seemed to cope with their problems more adequately than others.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i
ABSTRACT	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
I INTRODUCTION	1
A. Study Group	1
B. Design	2
II RESULTS	4
A. D.A.R.E.	4
B. Background Characteristics	4
III THE INTERVIEW DATA	6
A. Living Situation	6
B. Friendship and Peer Relations	7
C. Work Experience	9
D. School Experience	13
E. Police Contacts	14
F. After Care	
IV CRITERION VARIABLES AND OUTCOME	16
V CONCLUSIONS	23
APPENDIX A	25

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE	TITLE	PAGE
1	Some Variables of Interest where DARE Graduates are Compared to Non-DARE Participants	5
2	Modality of Dealing with Problems which Arise	10
3	Outcome by Whether Friends Get Into Trouble	18
4	Outcome by If Ward Still Living with Same People	18
5	Outcome by Whether Ward Resorts to Physical Violence when Bothered by Others	20
6	Outcome by Frequency of Meeting with Probation and After-Care Officers	20
7	Outcome by Reported Problem Areas	21

I INTRODUCTION

The present report is the first of a series emanating from a study of older boys who have been returned to training school. The research focus was twofold. The first purpose was to study the problems faced by these boys in adapting to the community. The second was to evaluate the long-term effectiveness of the D.A.R.E. (Development through Adventure, Responsibility and Education) programme at Portage Lake.

In the present paper, the results of a follow-up interview will be discussed. This interview was designed to probe specific interactional and experiential factors which were deemed to be indicative of community adjustment.

A. Study Group

This study examined the histories of 166 boys who had been returned to training schools. In order to be included in the sample the boy must have been at least 15 years of age upon his return to training school. In part, the goal of this research was to evaluate the effectiveness of the D.A.R.E. programme at Portage Lake. Therefore, some of the boys who went to Portage Lake and were slightly under the criterion age were allowed in the sample. Of the 166 boys in the sample, 82 went to D.A.R.E. and 84 did not. Study files were opened on all the boys who were returned to training school between January, 1973 and August, 1973. Even though every effort was made to locate all returnees during this period, it is not certain whether all were in fact located.

The present report describes the results of a follow-up interview which was administered at least three months after graduation into the community. On the average boys were interviewed 5.8 months after graduation. The interview schedule was highly structured and required about 45 minutes to administer. Unfortunately, we were only able to locate and interview 100 wards in the total study sample.

The reasons why the 66 boys could not be followed-up are given below:

	<u>N</u>
1. Could not make contact with boys, or placement environment	14
2. Ward or parents refused	6
3. Living out of province or in very remote area	7
4. AWOL for extended period of time	9
5. Still in training school or in Ministry group home	21
6. Terminated before interview due date	9

TOTAL

66

There is a potential source of concern whether the 100 (60%) of the boys were representative of the total sample, therefore an examination of the file data was carried out. In terms of any background variables examined, there were no differences between the boys who were interviewed and those who were not. Thus, it is reasonably safe to assume that the interviewed wards represent an adequate sampling of the total study population.

B. Design

The design of the study followed a longitudinal model. As the wards were returned to training school, each was administered a test battery designed to measure traits related to self-esteem. Just prior to graduation each boy was re-tested on the same test. Behaviour ratings were obtained just prior to graduation from training school staff, and again three months after graduation from Probation and Aftercare Officers. Also three months after graduation an attempt was initiated to locate each ward and to administer an interview designed to probe the adjustment of wards to their placement environments. Throughout the study period, the Main Office file of each ward was examined and summarized. This process was continued until wardship was terminated or a period of one year after graduation had elapsed.

As mentioned the study was primarily to be of a longitudinal design. In order to help explain the various time periods covered, Figure 1 has been prepared. The data descriptive of the pre-study period was obtained from Main Office case files. The data collected during the study period was based on primary observation, augmented by file data.

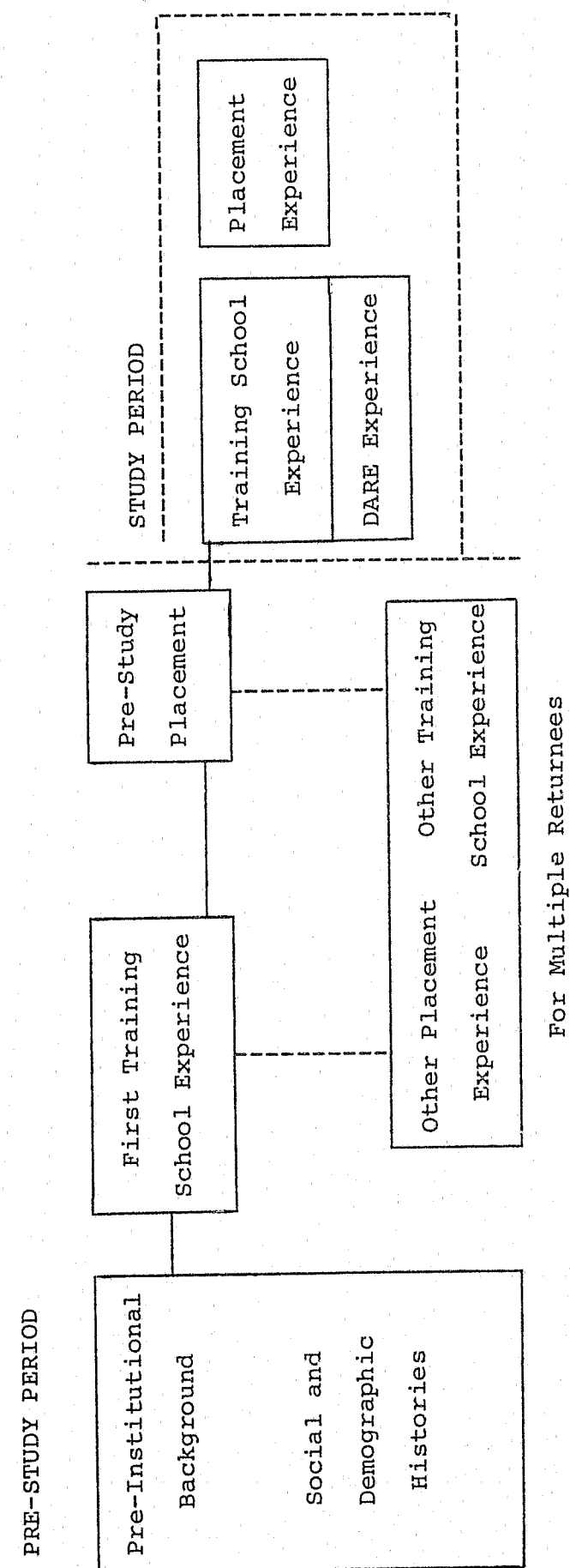


FIGURE 1 : The Time Course of the Study

II RESULTS

A. D.A.R.E.

An integral part of the research focus was an interest in those wards who were transferred to the DARE programme at Portage Lake. Of the 166 wards in the total study sample, 81 (49%) of the wards were sent to the Portage Lake programme. Of these 81 only 66 (81%) successfully completed the three month programme. Within the sample of 100 boys who were interviewed, 47 had some experience with DARE and 53 did not. Of the 47 who went to DARE five did not complete the programme and were returned to a regular training school. For purposes of the present report the five wards who did not complete the DARE programme must be considered as part of the regular training school programme. However, it must be noted that the data of the 42 wards who completed DARE were carefully compared to that of the 53 wards who had no DARE experiences. No differences between these two groups were discovered (see Table 1), therefore, it would serve no useful purpose to consider the two as separate groups. Consequently, the present report will focus on describing the experiences of the 100 interviewed wards as a single group.

It must be noted parenthetically that while only 22 of the boys had any positive feelings about their training school experience, 37 of 42 (88%) of the boys who completed DARE had positive comments to make about DARE. It would appear that while DARE does not make a difference in terms of outcome, the boys feel better about being at DARE than in a regular training school.

B. Background Characteristics

An examination of the background characteristics of those boys interviewed, compared to those who are not interviewed revealed no reliable differences. The prior history of the interviewed wards is outlined in Appendix A. The reader will note several anomalies in these data. For one, even though 32 of the 100 wards were initially admitted under TSA Sec. 8, 93 had committed a TSA Sec. 9 type offence prior to their first training school admission. This discrepancy cannot be explained by the age of the wards for only 6 wards were under the age of 12 when first admitted to training school. Moreover, 75 boys had prior court appearances which were unrelated to their admission to training school. Thus, one can conclude that even if 32% of the boys were admitted under TSA Sec. 8, a large number of these could have just as easily been sent to

TABLE 1

SOME VARIABLES OF INTEREST WHERE DARE GRADUATES ARE
COMPARED TO NON-DARE PARTICIPANTS

	DARE (N=42)		NON-DARE (N=53)		DARE FAILURE (N=5)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Placed with same people as before latest training school experience	26	62	33	62	4	80
2. Moved during period prior to interview	21	50	25	47	2	40
3. Still living with same people at time of interview	24	51	26	49	2	40
4. Ever see old friends	26	62	37	70	4	80
5. Friends get into trouble	17	40	17	32	4	80
6. Wards get into trouble mostly when: Alone	8	19	13	24	2	40
With Friends	28	67	28	53	3	60
7. Friends major cause of ward being in trouble	10	24	20	38	2	40
8. Ward had trouble getting job	11	26	15	28	2	40
9. Ward had difficulty keeping job	3	7	6	11	-	
10. Ward still working at time of interview	17	41	21	40	-	
11. Ward went back to school	15	36	19	36	1	10
12. Ward still in school	5	12	7	13	-	
13. Ward had police contacts	31	74	41	77	5	100
14. Charges laid against ward	21	50	21	40	2	40
15. Ward found guilty of charges	14	33	12	23	4	80
16. Ward incarcerated	13	31	12	24	2	40
17. Outcome: Good	12	29	19	36	0	
Marginal	16	38	17	32	0	
Unacceptable	1	33	17	32	5	100

training school under TSA Sec. 9. It must be emphasized that for many of these boys attempts at local solutions to their problems were not successful, for 75 had prior court appearances and 54 had a prior probation experience. Furthermore, 11 boys had the CAS involved in their training school admission.

The family environments from which these boys emerged were not the most encouraging. Even though 86 had lived with at least one natural parent, these living situations were not the most propitious. In 24 of the 86 cases (28%) there were indications of the parent(s) having a problem which would interfere with the parental role. Moreover, in 52 (60%) of the family units there was a severe drinking problem. The magnitude of these problems can be gauged by the fact that in 28 families there was at least one sibling who also had a history of delinquency. Furthermore, 52 families received some form of assistance from a community or welfare agency. What is surprising, is that 66 wards were placed to the home of their parent(s) in their pre-study placements and that a further 11 were replaced home by the TSAB. Thus, 77 boys had some experience in their own home prior to their return to training school. In addition, 27 of the 30 multiple returnees had some contact with the home of their parents during their 'other' placements. In light of the family background it may not be surprising that these boys were returned to training school. This would be especially true if one were to consider that it was these environments that led to the first training school admission.

III THE INTERVIEW DATA

A. Living Situation

Sixty-three of the 100 interviewed wards were initially placed with the same people with whom they were living prior to their first training school admission. Of these 63 wards 43 (68%) were placed in a situation in which both natural parents were present, 17 (27%) were with one natural parent and the remainder (3) found themselves with relatives or in some other situation. The instability of the placement situations is exemplified by the fact that 48 wards had moved at least once in the period prior to their being interviewed. It must be noted that these 48 wards moved a total of 70 times. Ten of these moves involved the TSAB, and 23 wards were moved as a result of their own request or with their family. At the time of their interview, only 52 wards were still living with the same people with whom they were placed.

Only 6 of the 48 wards who had moved ended up living with a natural parent. The instability of the living situations is further characterized by the fact that in 37 cases another person moved into the family situation.

It must be noted that 90% of the 100 wards reported that they liked living in their placement situation. Forty-eight felt positively about the locale, 67 liked the people with whom they lived and 54 liked the house/facilities.

The respondents were asked how discipline was maintained within their placement situation. Their responses were as follows:

35 were disciplined by having privileges withheld.

5 were subjected to verbal abuse.

52 were in situations where problems were discussed and reasoned out.

Thus, the methods of discipline used within the home environment were not particularly unhealthy. The home environments were marked by some instability but there is no particular reason to suppose that the families themselves would lead to further problems, were it not for the fact that they had done so in the past. However, the transient nature of a large number of these placement environments does not bode well for a successful community adjustment.

B. Friendship and Peer Relations

The boys were asked directly how many close friends they had. In response to this question eight boys reported that they had no friends, 52 reported between one and six close friends, 31 reported between seven and 20 friends and the remaining nine reported that they had in excess of 20 close friends. The number of close friendships which some of these boys reported would indicate a certain degree of social immaturity.

The placement situations did not preclude the maintenance of previously established friendships. Sixty-seven of the wards reported that they still saw the friend(s) they had prior to being sent to training school. Twenty-five of the 67 boys had detected a change in the attitude of their friends with regard to themselves. In most of these instances the respondents felt that the change was in a positive direction.

In 38 instances the boys reported that their friends got into trouble. Thirty-six cases involved the law and in addition 13 involved some other responsible adult. The pervacity of these peer relations is evident when it is noted that 36 of the wards reported that their own trouble with the law was caused by their friends. Moreover, twenty boys felt that their problems in the home or school were caused by their friends. In all 59 boys felt that they got into more trouble when they were with their friends, and only 23 reported that they got into more trouble when they were alone than when they were with friends.

To further probe the nature of the interpersonal relationships which these boys had, they were asked with whom they spent the bulk of their free time, and with whom they would prefer to spend most of their time. Their answers to these questions are outlined below:

Spent time with		Prefer to spend time with
11	alone	7
17	one close friend	10
19	a few close friends	15
14	a group of friends	15
13	family	13
21	girlfriend	30
5	other	10

There was a reasonably strong relationship between the two response sets ($r = .433$, $df=98$, $p<.001$). However, for a large number of boys reality did not match preference. In all only 61 boys spent most of their leisure time with those for whom they had a preference.

Forty-eight of the boys reported having a steady girlfriend, yet 75 reported going out with a girl on the average of once a week. However, it must be noted that only 21 of the boys reported spending most of their spare time with a girlfriend and only 30 would have preferred to spend more time with their girlfriends.

To discover the nature of the spare time activities in which the boys engaged, they were asked to enumerate exactly what they did in their spare time. The responses to this question were quite varied but were primarily characterized by a lack of creative leisure time activities. Forty-two boys reported engaging in

outdoor activities such as camping, fishing, boating, etc. (only 20 of the 42 DARE graduates reported such activities). Sixty-five boys reported that they spent a large portion of their time watching T.V. or listening to the radio. The majority of the boys (78) preferred social activities which included "hanging around". Only 25 boys engaged in hobby or craft endeavours and 17 belonged to organizations or clubs.

In order to explore the quality of the social responses of these boys, they were asked what their normal response was when bothered or "hassled" by other people. Similarly, they were asked what their normal pattern of response was when situations arose which bothered them. The responses to these questions are summarized in Table 2. Clearly, most of the responses to both questions were in the direction of a violent physical or verbal response. Such a pattern of responses would certainly be indicative of low tolerance to frustration.

In summary, not only were the majority of the wards placed into the same environment in which they had failed at least twice before, but it would appear that the same social pressures are acting on them. The prevalence of delinquent peers, and the lack of creative leisure time activities does not fill one with hope for the future prospects of these boys. This feeling must be strengthened by their usual response pattern in difficult situations.

C. Work Experience

Fully 95 of the 100 wards tried to get jobs while they were out in the community and of these 28 reported some difficulty in getting a job. In the final analysis, 89 boys had found some sort of employment. These 89 boys reported holding a total of 178 jobs. Sixty-one percent (109) of these jobs lasted less than a month, 45 (25%) of these jobs lasted 1 month to 3 months, 17 (10%) lasted longer than 3 months, and 7 (4%) were part time jobs. The types of jobs held by these boys were in the following areas:

- a) sales and services (N=57)
- b) seasonal (logging, farming, etc.) (N=17)
- c) production work (N=35)
- d) labourer (N=58)
- e) unclassified (N=8)

It is surprising that only 9 boys reported trouble in keeping their jobs for only 38 (43%) were still employed at the time of the interview. The wages

TABLE 2

MODALITY OF DEALING WITH PROBLEMS WHICH ARISE

PROBLEMATIC SITUATIONS	RESPONSES	PROBLEMS IN DEALING WITH OTHERS
12	run away	5
22	get angry, argue	18
18	resort to physical violence	56
27	hold it in	10
--	verbal abuse	17
16	talk it out with someone else	14
13	take mind off problem by doing something else	--
4	take out anger on others	--
23	ignore problems	26
6	work it out	6

paid for the jobs were not very remunerative in that 16 (18%) boys received \$2.00 or less in their highest paying job, 24 (27%) received between \$2.00 and \$2.50 and 43 (48%) received more than \$2.50 as their highest paying wages (the remaining boys were earning an indeterminable amount of money). However, 27 (71%) of the boys who were still working reported that they still had their highest paying job.

Several questions in the interview protocol were designed to probe the affect and feelings of wards in certain situations. One of these questions dealt with feelings about the jobs which the wards held. Both positive and negative responses were recorded concerning the following job related issues:

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
Physical condition of job	9	17
Social condition of job	25	13
Independence	5	0
Wages	10	10
Interest in job	25	13
Difficulty of job	9	14
Non-specific affect	27	12

The number of positive and negative responses were accumulated for each ward, to yield the following figures:

<u>Number of Responses</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
No Response	30	46
1	42	33
2	19	17
3	6	4
4	3	0

It would appear that there were more positive job related feelings than negative job feelings. However, it must be noted that six of the wards made a totally ambivalent response and 14 made no response in any category.

Clearly these wards had some difficulty in finding and holding jobs. Yet they received substantial assistance in looking for and finding jobs. Sixty-seven of the wards reported that they were helped in looking for a job.

	<u>Help Looking for Job</u>	<u>Job Found Through</u>
Parents	26	43
Sibling	9	
Another Relative	8	
Friend	12	28
Manpower	20	27
Probation and Aftercare Officer	9	5
Other Agency	3	2
Other	8	8

Thirty-seven of the 86 wards who got a job reported that one of these jobs was obtained primarily by their own initiative. The remaining jobs were obtained with some assistance.

The poor employment histories of these boys would prompt some concern with regard to how they met their financial needs. The boys were asked how often they ran out of money. Thirty-six reported that they never ran out of money, whereas 39 reported that they were often short of funds, and 25 reported that they ran out of money every once in a while. When asked where they got money when they needed it the boys responded in the following manner:

1. parents (N=60)
2. siblings and relatives (N=21)
3. peers (N=12)
4. girlfriend (N=5)
5. welfare (N=4)
6. own resources (N=12)
7. from jobs (N=71)
8. other (N=19)

It would appear that most boys had to supplement their income from other sources. However, only 31 of the boys owed money and 29 had some money saved. The financial

situation of these boys would prompt some concern with regard to the major drain on their resources. The boys were asked to outline the major expenses for which they need money. Their responses were:

1. living expenses (N=27)
2. cigarettes (N=28)
3. entertainment (N=39)
4. clothing (N=32)
5. alcohol and/or drugs (N=12)
6. miscellaneous (N=18)

These boys seemed to be employed in situations which were poorly paid and short-lived. It is disappointing that so few boys were able to maintain positive job experiences. It would appear that the boys received significant assistance in looking for and getting jobs, but once a job was obtained they had some difficulty in maintaining it. Furthermore, since the wards were poorly paid, they resorted to other means of acquiring financial gains.

D. School Experience

When the respondents were asked about their school experience, 35 reported going back to school after their last training school experience. Of these only 12 were still in school at the time of the interview. The reasons given for leaving school were:

1. desired course unavailable (N=3)
2. returned to training school (N=2)
3. school was boring (N=11)
4. got job (N=2)
5. work too difficult (N=1)
6. expelled or asked to leave (N=2)

None of the wards who left school had completed the courses in which they had been enrolled.

Those boys who went to school were asked to outline the major problems that they faced while in school. The problems given were:

1. keeping up grades (N=5)
2. troubles with friends (N=2)
3. boring/uninteresting, (N=20)
4. poor relationship with teachers (N=12)
5. poor relationship with principals (N=6)
6. trouble readjusting after training school or accepting authority (N=5)

E. Police Contacts

The respondents were asked if they had been picked up or stopped by the police during their latest community experience. Seventy-nine wards responded affirmatively to this question. When details were requested it became evident that these 79 boys had been involved in at least 478 separate incidents with the police (4 wards were not sure of the number of contacts which they had had). The nature of these contacts and the number of individuals involved is described below:

	<u>N</u>
1. questioned outside of station	36
2. questioned at station	27
3. warning issued	13
4. arrested	14
5. summons issued	4
6. charges formally laid	52
7. incarcerated	13
8. other	18

At least 73 charges were laid against the 52 individuals concerned. For 14 of the 52 boys their cases were still pending before the courts or the sentence had not yet been handed down. A total of 26 wards were either returned to training school by the court or, as a result of their court appearance were sent to an adult institution. A further 12 wards received a sentence involving probation or a fine. Thus, 38% of the wards had been convicted by the courts. If the 14 outstanding cases are dealt with similarly a total of 52% of the wards would be re-convicted prior to the end of their first year of placement.

A major problem which becomes evident is the large number of police contacts reported by these boys. It would be difficult to determine if these numerous contacts represent police harassment or police discretion in that so few charges resulted from these contacts. In all probability there would be components of both in these incidents.

F. After Care

The boys were asked how often they saw their PACO and twenty-eight gave no answer to this question. The remaining 72 boys reported that they saw their PACO an average of 3.99 times prior to their being interviewed.

It must be noted that these wards were interviewed between three and 13 months after graduation. Fifty-three reported that the PACO was of some help in adjusting to the community, whereas 47 reported that the PACO was of no assistance. The areas in which the PACO was of assistance were reported as follows:

1. financial assistance (N=3)
2. helped when ward was in trouble with police (N=6)
3. helpful in terms of general advice given (N=18)
4. helped in finding job (N=15)
5. helped smooth out family problems (N=3)
6. general help with regard to interacting with systems (N=8)

The 47 boys who responded that the PACO was of no help were asked in what area the PACO could have been of assistance. Seventeen boys maintained that the PACO could not have been of any assistance and a further 11 reported that they were not in any need of help.

The remainder (19) reported as follows:

1. PACO could have helped by being more supportive (N=7)
2. PACO could have helped by exerting less control (N=3)
3. Could have helped find job or with finances (N=7)
4. Other (N=2)

When the wards were asked to whom they turned for help and advice, they gave the following responses:

	N	
1. Father	24	} N=80 (60%)
2. Mother	30	
3. Siblings	17	
4. Other Relatives	9	
5. Friends	24	
6. Girlfriend	9	
7. PACO or other Professional	25	
	138	

In 60% of the cases the wards preferred to seek assistance and advice within their own family circle.

Yet 25 of all the wards questioned sought advice and assistance from no one.

Of further concern were the contacts these boys made with other helping agencies. In all only 27 boys reported any contact with external agencies and of these only 14 boys reported that these contacts resulted in any assistance. What is particularly disturbing is that only three boys sought assistance from legal aid. The concern that one feels must be amplified by the fact that all but one of the boys were sixteen or older during the final stages of their placement and therefore subject to answering charges in the adult courts.

IV CRITERION VARIABLES AND OUTCOME

Two major criterion indices were compiled from the interview data. The first dealt with work or school performance and it consisted of the following 3 levels:

1. the ward is still in a work or school environment (N=47)
2. the ward found a job or went to school but is now neither working nor in school (N=46)
3. the ward did not get a job, nor did the ward go back to school (N=7)

The other criterion index consisted of the ward's history of further involvement with the criminal justice or correctional system. There were six levels within this variable:

1. no police contact of any sort (N=18)
2. no police contact, but returned to training school (N=3)
3. police contact but no charges laid (N=27)
4. charged, awaiting disposition (N=14)
5. convicted to adult institution or returned by court to training school (N=26)

It must be emphasized that the categories within the criterion variable dealing with delinquent behaviour are now mutually exclusive, with emphasis being placed on

the most serious disposition which the ward received. There was a strong relationship between the two criterion variables ($\chi^2=38.44$, $df=10$, $p<.001$). It must be noted that only 21% of the boys who were still working or in school were involved with the courts, whereas 53% of the other boys had received a disposition from the court.

On the basis of the criterion variables an index of outcome was compiled. Three categories of outcome were used: good, marginal and unacceptable. The "good" classification denotes a level of adjustment to the community environment which showed no great difficulty. Within the present context "marginal" means that some good characteristics were observed, and at the same time some difficulty in adjustment was evident. Therefore, the ultimate outcome could potentially lead to either success or failure. The "unacceptable" category denoted a level of community adjustment which quite naturally was unacceptable. The reader is reminded that the outcome index is based not only on self-reported difficulty with the law, but also on work or school endeavours.

There were 31 boys who were classed as 'good', 33 were found to be 'marginal' and 36 had 'unacceptable' outcomes. It is not surprising that 22 (61%) of those classified as unacceptable were interviewed in an institution, whereas only 2 (6%) of the boys with marginal outcomes were interviewed in institutions.

In reviewing the other data obtained from the interview vis a vis the outcome classification some very interesting relationships become evident. For instance, 15 (48%) of the boys with a good outcome were placed with the same people with whom they were living prior to training school, whereas 48 (70%) of the boys who had some difficulties lived with the same people. Even though this difference did not quite reach statistical reliability, it is evocative in light of the following observation. The worse the outcome the more likely the boys were to report peers who got into difficulties (see Table 3).

Many of the placement situations can be characterized by mobility or instability. Twenty-two (71%) of the boys with a good outcome reported no moves whereas only 31 (46%) of those with some difficulties reported that they had not moved ($\chi^2=4.82$, $df=1$, $p<.05$). It is not surprising that fewer of the boys with unacceptable outcomes are still living in the same placement environment (see Table 4).

It goes without saying that all work, school and court-related variables were related to outcome since outcome was compiled on the basis of these variables.

TABLE 3

OUTCOME BY WHETHER FRIENDS GET INTO TROUBLE

FRIENDS GET INTO TROUBLE	OUTCOME			
	Good N %	Marginal N %	Unacceptable N %	100%
Yes	6 15.8	12 31.6	20 52.6	38
No	25 40.3	21 33.9	16 25.8	62
TOTAL	31	33	36	100

$$\chi^2=9.32, df=2, p=.0095$$

TABLE 4

OUTCOME BY IF WARD STILL LIVING WITH SAME PEOPLE

STILL LIVING WITH SAME PEOPLE	OUTCOME			
	Good N %	Marginal N %	Unacceptable N %	100%
Yes	21 40.4	22 42.3	9 25	52
No	10 20.8	11 22.9	27 56.5	48
TOTAL	31	33	36	100

$$\chi^2=16.44, df=2, p=.0003$$

It is of interest to note that a larger proportion (22, 71%) of the boys with a good outcome had indicated an interest in continuing their education while still at training school. Only 22 (32%) of the other boys showed such interest.

In terms of adjustment to conflict with other people, there was an increasing tendency for boys with poorer outcomes to use physical violence and other abusive responses. On the other hand boys with a good outcome tended to be much more tolerant of conflict (Table 5).

The outcome index was developed on the basis of behaviour; that is, behaviour in the work and school environment, as well as general behaviour that would lead to further difficulties with the law. Of some concern would be whether the PACO's were able to detect the problems as they arose. One would suspect that boys who were doing well would be perceived as such and have less contact with their PACO. This hypothesis is explored in Table 6. There was a tendency for the boys with marginal outcomes to receive more attention. When the marginal group was compared to the other groups combined it was found that they had indeed received more attention ($\chi^2=6.43$, $df=2$, $p<.05$). The high proportion of boys with unacceptable outcomes who did not see their PACO would be accounted for by their rapid demise in the community environment. The boys were also asked whether they perceived the PACO as being helpful. Twelve (41%) of the boys with good outcome responded 'yes' to that question, as did 21 (64%) of the marginals and 19 (54%) of the boys with an unacceptable outcome.

The respondents were also asked to outline their greatest sources of concern and/or problems while in their respective placement environments. The responses are outlined in Table 7. It must be noted that no one area elicited a pattern of responses which was related to outcome, nor did the total number of affirmative responses reflect outcome. It must be concluded that all the boys experienced equal difficulties in the various areas of endeavour, but some were better able to cope with their problems.

In terms of any of the indicators of pre-institutional school problems there were no differences between the boys in the various outcome categories. However, it must be noted that a higher proportion (26 or 79%) of the boys with a marginal outcome exhibited maladjusted behaviour during that period (18 or 58% acceptable; 18 or 50% unacceptable).

During their training school careers the boys with the unacceptable outcome had been AWOL more frequently and had more behaviour reports filed which were not related to AWOL's. Those data are presented as follows:

TABLE 5

OUTCOME BY WHETHER WARD RESORTS TO PHYSICAL VIOLENCE WHEN BOTHERED BY OTHERS

	OUTCOME						
RESORT TO VIOLENCE	Good		Marginal		Unacceptable		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Yes	12	21	18	32	26	47	56
No	19	43	15	34	10	23	44
TOTAL	31		33		36		100

$$\chi^2=7.634, df=2, p=0.0220$$

TABLE 6

OUTCOME BY FREQUENCY OF MEETING WITH PROBATION AND AFTER-CARE OFFICERS

	OUTCOME						
FREQUENCY OF CONTACT	Good N	%	Marginal N	%	Unacceptable N	%	100%
Never	10	36	4	14	14	50	28
1 - 3	13	33	16	40	11	27	40
More Than 3 Times	8	25	13	41	11	34	32
TOTAL	31		33		36		100

$$\chi^2=7.08136, df=4, p>.10$$

TABLE 7

OUTCOME BY REPORTED PROBLEM AREAS

PROBLEM AREA	OUTCOME					
	Good N	%	Marginal N	%	Unacceptable N	%
Family	6	25	8	33	10	42
Living Situation	7	28	8	32	10	40
Friends	2	22	2	22	5	56
School	5	30	6	35	6	35
Work	11	39	7	25	10	36
Finances	4	45	2	22	3	33
Police	3	25	4	33	5	42
Drugs/ Alcohol	4	23	3	18	10	59
TOTAL	42 43.7		40 46.5		59 50.8	

OUTCOME	1. AWOL's		2. Behaviour Reports		100%
	N	%	N	%	
good	16	51.6	11	35.5	31
marginal	17	51.5	20	60.6	33
unacceptable	29	80.6	27	75.0	36

1. $\chi^2 = 8.22$, $df=2$, $p=0.0164$

2. $\chi^2 = 10.814$, $df=2$, $p=0.0045$

In terms of behaviour it would appear that more boys in the good category had been adapting successfully to the training school environment. In other words, fewer of the boys in the good category exhibited maladaptive behaviour while in training school. It is not surprising therefore that these boys tended to spend a shorter period of time in their first training school experience.

V CONCLUSIONS

As mentioned, the present paper is the first in a series on male returnees and the problems they encountered in the community. The follow-up interview was based on the self-reports of the wards, therefore these findings form basically a general perspective of the wards on how they perceive their experiences and situations in their relative environments. As a result, these findings should not be considered conclusive, since many of these statements can be further checked against factual data emanating from the future analyses.

What these boys were doing at least three months after leaving the Ministry training school depended more on the boy's individual preparedness to cope in the community than on the type of training school programme experienced. Comparing the follow-up interviews of those wards attending and not attending DARE revealed no important difference between the groups, other than a reported enjoyment of the DARE experience. Homogeneity existed among the wards as to their pre-, intra-, and post-institutional histories, as well as to the types of problems they faced in the community after the training school experience. These problems as well as the social pressures were basically the same as those faced before training school. The continuing circle of boys who will not or cannot return to school because of lack of interest or financial insecurities and who therefore must accept many poor-paying jobs to get by, find themselves dependent on others for their maintenance. While 75 boys admittedly needed assistance and advice, only 22 went to a professional agency, and the greatest numbers sought their family unit, which itself was not necessarily stable, or "no one". Only half the boys considered their PACO as helpful, leaving a large portion of the counselling to peers and other unqualified individuals. Most of the boys themselves were socially immature and suffered low toleration to frustration, and these factors acting in problem environments without adequate support allowed only those with more personal coping ability to overcome these great difficulties.

Even though DARE offers a capable educational programme, the fact that these boys were resorting to life styles in the community similar to those of the regular wards, suggests that these boys are not acquiring sufficient real skills which can be used immediately to produce some gratification. Programmes should be placing greater stress on work skills to improve employability, available community services, and on other general life skills information.

Furthermore, the application of the training acquired should be within the context of active emotional

and social support in the community. Improved support services would help the good outcomes remain good, the marginals not slip into the lower outcome category, the unacceptables better their positions and the DARE programme to become more meaningful. Long-term programme effectiveness would perhaps then be increased.

APPENDIX A

Pre-study Characteristics of Interviewed Wards

1-Pre-training school background (n=100)

	<u>N</u>
just admitted under TSA Sec. 8	32
TSA Sec. 9	68
had prior court appearances	75
had prior period of probation	54
age at admission	
UNDER 12 yrs.	6
12	10
13	32
14	35
15	17
size of town in which lived	
less than 10,000	32
10,000 to 50,000	11
50,000 to 200,000	20
200,000 +	36
prior living situation	
with both parents	53
with one natural parent	36
in some other family situation	5
in group home/other situation	6
parent having history of problem which would disrupt parental role	24
parent with drinking problem	52
sibling delinquency	28
family receiving social/welfare assistance	52
father's work	
no father in family unit	37
unemployed	12
unskilled	41
semi-skilled	10

	<u>N</u>
mother working outside of home	32
family problems: death	16
separation	47
abuse/neglect of ward	15
<u>2-Problem areas of wards (n=100)</u>	
special treatment in community	49
academic problems	24
discipline problems in school	30
suspended or expelled	30
personality dysfunction	21
maladaptive behaviour	62
committed Sec. 9-type offence	93
history of running away	64
truancy	63
spent time in detention	34
had delinquent peers or associates	61
<u>3-Training school history (n=100)</u>	
first training school attended	
Pine Ridge	7
White Oaks	3
Brookside	32
Sprucedale	4
Glendale	8
Cecil Facer	9
St. John	22
St. Joseph	15
more than one return from placement	30
had gone AWOL from training school	62
had behaviour report (not related to AWOL)	58

<u>4-First training school experience (n=100)</u>		<u>N</u>
received remedial education		19
received psychiatric treatment		30
had academic problems		50
exhibited indication of personality dysfunction		45
exhibited maladaptive behaviour		78
aggressive toward peers (bully)		41
scapegoat		23
length first stay in training school		
	less than 6 mos.	20
	6 - 12 mos.	69
	more than 12 mos.	11
<u>5-Other placement experiences for multiple returnees (n=30)</u>		
duration of placement		
	less than 3 mos.	10
	3 - 6 mos.	9
	6 mos. plus	11
placed same setting as before training school admission		27
indication that relevant adults could not cope with placement		9
problem areas:		
	academic	15
	truancy	18
	AWOLS	21
	personality	2
	behaviour	17
delinquent behaviour: Sec. 9-type offences		22
	charges formally laid	14
	appeared in court	12
	stay in detention	11
indication ward had delinquent peers		15

6-Other training school experiences for multiple
returnees (n=30)

	<u>N</u>
problem areas	
academic	13
personality	7
behaviour	17

7-Placement experience just prior to study period
(n=100)

- placed to own home	66
- placed in same setting as before training school admission	65
- replaced by TSAB	25
- replaced by TSAB to own home	11
- placed to go to school	89
- placed to go to work	11

placement duration	
less than 3 mos.	28
3 - 6 mos.	29
6 mos. plus	43

problem areas	
academic	24
truancy	55
AWOLS	49
behaviour	40

delinquent behaviour	
Sec. 9 offences	65
charges formally laid	56
appeared in court	43
stay in detention	30

indication ward had delinquent peers	32
--------------------------------------	----

END