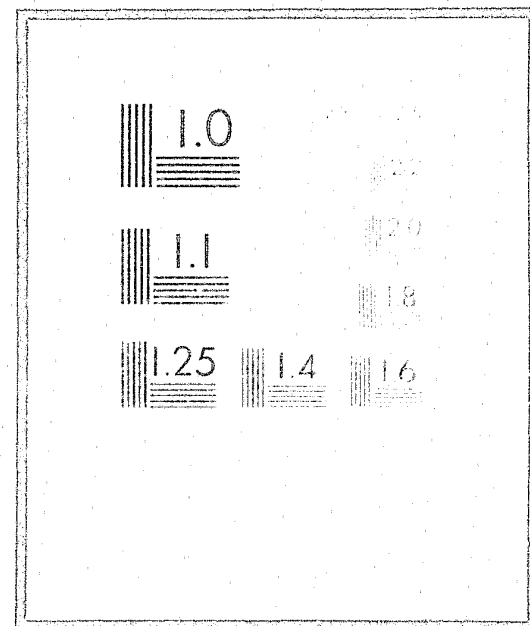


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THE COMMUNITY ADMINISTRATION OF MALE
TRAINING SCHOOL RECIDIVISTS
AND THE TOTAL EXPERIENCE
(A DESCRIPTION)

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT



MINISTRY OF
CORRECTIONAL
SERVICES

Honourable John Smith
Minister
Glen P. Thompson
Deputy Minister

40606

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

A. C. Birkenmayer
Acting Chief
Research Services

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I INTRODUCTION

The present report is the third in a series of reports dealing with the experiences of older boys who have been returned to training school. The first report (Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1975) described the results of a follow-up interview which was administered to 100 of these older boys at least three months after being placed into the community. The second report (Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1976) compared the graduates of the Project DARE Camp at Portage Lake to the graduates of the traditional training school programmes. This third report will focus on the experiences of those older boys who had been returned to training school at least one other time prior to being returned during the study period. Readers should be cautioned that these boys are an atypical sampling of the training school population. As a whole, they have proven to be consistent failures under almost all circumstances, and therefore, description of them is, for the most part, quite pessimistic.

A - STUDY GROUP

The original research project intended to examine the histories of 166 boys who were at least 15 years old and who had been returned to training school between January, 1973 and August, 1973. Although every effort was made to include all the male returnees during this period, it is not certain that all were, in fact, located. Individual study files were opened for all wards included in the sample.

Because of the influence of other operating criteria though, there were seven boys who were not returnees who were allowed into this sample. The discussion in this report will be concerned specifically with those remaining 159 older boys who experienced at least one previous return to training school. The seven non-returnees will be excluded from the discussion since their number was too small to be representative of a separate group. The entire study sample then can be broken down into the following:

- 100 boys with one prior return
- 59 boys with two or more prior returns
- 7 boys without prior returns and who are
_____ excluded from discussion.
- 166 Total

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 (T1) designed to measure traits related to self-esteem. This first test was readministered just prior to graduation from training school (T2).

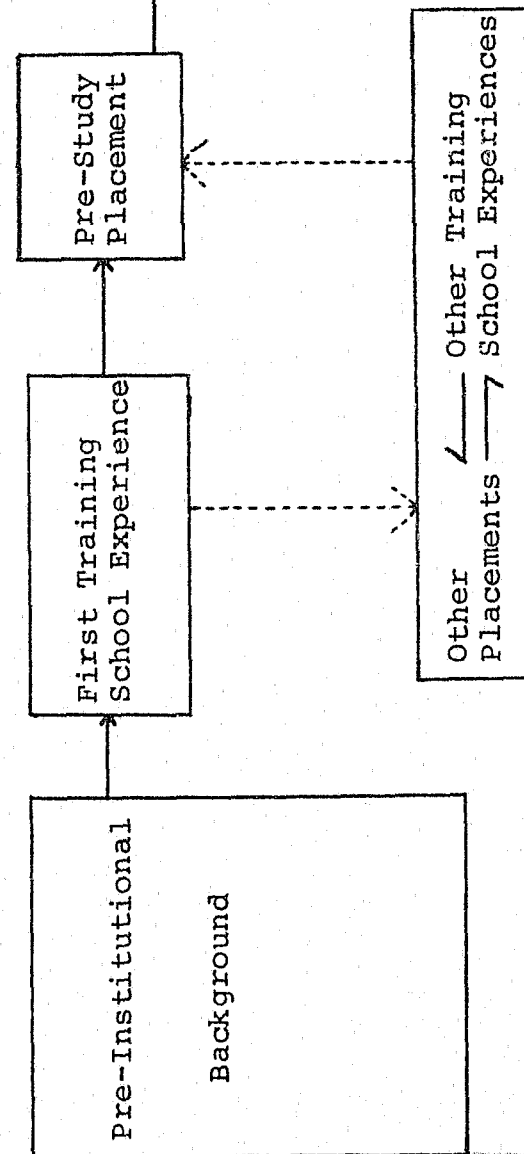
All tests were administered by Research Staff. Behaviour ratings were obtained just prior to graduation from training school staff (BR1), and again three months after graduation from Probation and Aftercare Officers (BR2). Also three months after graduation an attempt was initiated to administer to each ward a follow-up interview designed to probe the adjustment of wards to their placement environments. The results of these interviews were reported in the first report in this series (Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1975).

Data on the entire experience of the ward were collected from the Main Office ward files. These data included the period up to the termination of wardship or up to one year after graduation had elapsed. In order to explain the various time periods covered, Figure 1 has been prepared.

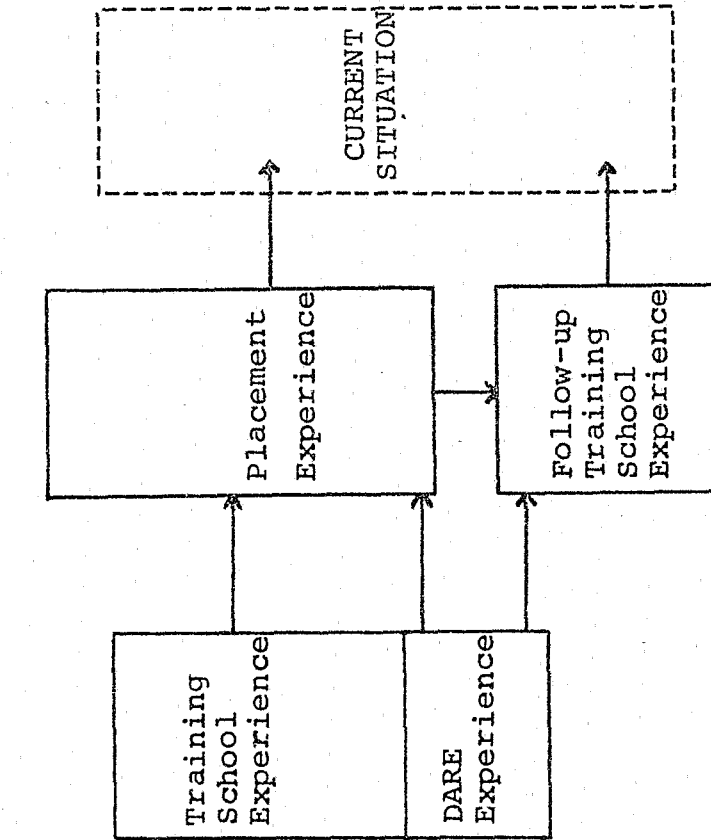
FIGURE 1

STUDY TIME PERIODS

PRE-STUDY PERIOD



STUDY PERIOD



II RESULTS

The ensuing results describe the significant features of 159 male returnees as they progressed through the training school system. The most outstanding features of this sample are their total subordination to a wide variety of problems simultaneously acting upon them and their resistance to positive change.

A - PRE-TRAINING SCHOOL HISTORY

OVERVIEW

The study sample was atypical of the regular training school population by being younger on first admission to training school and by already having an extensive background in criminality. The TSA Section under which first admitted was virtually meaningless with boys admitted under Sec.8 being quite delinquent and Sec.9 boys having considerable maladaptive behaviour and personality problems. As a result, no particular problem area emerged as distinct from the others nor was any boy a problem child distinct from the others. In fact, child-related problems co-existed in family environments which were neither positive nor stable. These, then, were multi-problem boys from multi-problem families, and which particular problem ultimately dominated over the others seemed to be by chance alone. Between their family and school environments, there was little room left for the development of personal capacities or for pursuing positive endeavours. It is not surprising that two-thirds of the sample should have a history of running away from home. These children faced difficulties in all spheres of life and in all likelihood would continue to do so.

A search of Main Office files was made for each ward and the data collected came under the following four headings:

- 1) basic demographic,
- 2) family-related problems,
- 3) child-related problems, and
- 4) history of delinquency.

In each of these areas, the information collected revealed that the environments from which these boys came were troubled. Many of these pre-institutional variables had

a significant effect on the behaviour of these boys in three particular subsequent time periods, which are discussed in Section F.

1) Basic Demographic

The study sample was somewhat atypical from the point of view of age on first admission. As a group these 159 boys tended to be younger than the average training school population: 34 (21%) were 12 years or younger at first admission; 50 (31%) were 13 years old; 54 (34%) were 14 and 21 (13%) were 15. It is more usual to see the bulk of the children being 14 or 15 years old on admission. Upon admission to training school 81 (51%) of the wards were living with both parents, 65 (41%) were living with one parent and the remaining 13 (8%) were living in some other environment.

Of the 159 boys in the sample, 73 (46%) came from towns with a population of less than 50,000, while the remaining 86 (54%) came from population centres larger than 50,000. In the past it has been frequently argued that the level of services available in the community setting influences admission to training school. In point of fact, there was no difference in the number of community agencies dealing with boys from the smaller centres and boys from the larger centres. However, there was a greater chance of boys from the smaller centres (25, 34%) than boys from larger centres (11, 13%) to be sent to training school at the first court appearance. Moreover, there were no differences in terms of the T.S.A. Section under which the boys were admitted. Twenty-six (36%) of the boys from the smaller centres and 30 (35%) of the boys from the larger centres were admitted under T.S.A. Sec.8.

2) Family-Related Problems

OVERVIEW

Family instability was widespread with 84% of the families suffering at least one major dysfunction and 72% having two or more. There tended to be an inconsistency in the dispensation of community assistance to these families since families which had experienced a parental separation were more likely to receive community help. While 65% of the single-parent families had at least two contacts with helping agencies, only 47% of the families with both parents received such help. Overall, too few of the families with definite dysfunctions received community aid. Divided families were further troubled by tending to have a higher incidence of criminal involvement among the parents. Family environments were particularly poor and receiving community assistance seemed to be an arbitrary decision related to the degree of family disunity.

In all, there were eight indicators of major family dysfunction collected, as listed here:

- 1) major problems in family setting;
- 2) family member with delinquency/criminal problems;
- 3) sibling delinquency;
- 4) family received help from social agency;
- 5) ward abandoned by parent;
- 6) parent died;
- 7) parents separated;
- 8) ward subjected to parental abuse.

In 134 (84%) of the cases there was at least one indicator of family disruption present. What is most telling is that 115 (72%) families displayed two or more indicators of instability. The average number of problems for each of the 134 families with problems was 2.78. It is not surprising that 98 (62%) of the boys had a history of running away from home. It must be added that in 42 (26%) of the families there was a record of at least one other delinquent sibling. It becomes quite clear that the boys in this sample came from difficult backgrounds. Furthermore, a Children's Aid Society (CAS) was involved in the training school committal of 28 (18%) of the boys. While this would indicate some degree of family dysfunction, it must not be misunderstood that for the other boys the family environment was in any way salubrious. It was clear that the 28 boys involved with the CAS did not differ from the 131 who were not involved.

In all, the child was separated for some reason from his parent(s) in 89 (56%) of the cases. The traditional view is that children coming from single parent families are more troubled or that these families show greater levels of dysfunction. In fact, 65 (41%) of these children came from single parent families and 81 (51%) came from families in which both parents were present. Sixteen (25%) of the single parent families and 26 (32%) of the families with both parents had major problems which would interrupt the proper discharge of the parental role. Therefore, from this point of view there was no difference between the two types of living situation ($z = 1.00$, $p = .317$).

The children of families with both parents present, however, received less assistance from community resources. Thirty-eight (47%) of the children of these families as compared to 42 (65%) of the children from single parent families had at least two contacts with community agencies ($z = 2.15$, $p = .032$). On the surface it would appear that community resources are mobilized not because there are more problems but because the implicit assumption is made that single parents are less able to cope with problems which may be present.

There would appear to be some inconsistency in the delivery of helping services. In 44 (28%) of the families, there was evidence of a problem which would interfere with proper parental functioning. Only two-thirds of the families with reported problems received assistance directed at these problems, whereas, almost half of the other families received such assistance. In all, 78 (49%) of the family units were receiving social or welfare assistance.

SERVICES	FAMILY PROBLEMS					
	Yes (N=44)		No (N=115)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Family received social assistance	29	66	49	43	2.64	.008
Ward placed in jail/detention	19	43	27	23	2.46	.014

The families with problems were more likely to receive assistance, however, one-third of the families with problems still did not receive assistance specifically aimed at these problems from community agencies. Surely, the social policy of this province is to provide assistance to all who need such help. These observations must be exacerbated by the fact that children of problem families had a higher probability of being placed in detention. In light of the fact that there were no differences in the level of delinquency between these two groups of boys these findings are very provocative.

There were 83 (52%) recorded instances of drug/alcohol abuse and/or criminality by parents or parent figures. The amount of criminality in the family constellation was related to whether there had been any parental separations but not to whether the family presently had one parent. Forty-three (64%) of the 67 families which had experienced a separation also had members who had had difficulties with the law. Only 40 (43%) of the families which had no separation had such difficulties ($z = 2.59$, $p = .010$).

Another traditional view is that children of working mothers tend to get into more trouble. In the present sample, the mothers of 50 boys (31%) were known to be working regularly.

PROBLEMS OF WARD	MOTHER WORKED					
	Yes (N=50)		No (N=109)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Had delinquent siblings	8	16	34	31	2.03	.042
Ward received psy- chiatric treatment	32	64	53	49	1.81	.07
Had academic prob- lems	22	44	24	22	2.86	.004

In less than a fifth of these families, there were delinquent siblings, which is significantly less than the number of boys without working mothers, who had delinquent siblings. There was, however, a tendency for more of the children of working mothers to receive psychiatric attention. This latter finding could be related to the fact that more of the boys with working mothers had academic problems.

3) Child-Related Problems

OVERVIEW

Child-related problems were widespread with all but two boys having some evidence of either school, behaviour, personality or peer problems. On the average, these boys suffered 4.39 such problems and most received some personal assistance from community agencies. Half of the boys had received psychiatric treatment in the community. Older boys faced more difficulties, in that they required psychiatric treatment, had personality dysfunctions, displayed maladaptive behaviour and required a stay in jail or detention centre. However, 84% of all 159 boys had at least one school-related problem. The T.S.A. Section under which first admitted to training school was on the whole, meaningless with equal proportions of both older and younger boys being admitted under T.S.A. Section 8.

Eighty-five (54%) of the boys had received psychiatric assessment and/or treatment. In fact, the professional reports dealing with these children were filled with a plethora of descriptive terms which purported to describe the behaviour and character of these boys. There seemed to be an amazing consistency with regard to the lack of specificity of the terms used, therefore, it was decided to

simplify the matter. For purposes of the present research all diagnostic, descriptive or labelling terms were subsumed under the rubrics of personality dysfunction and maladaptive behaviour. Personality dysfunction was defined by such terms as immature, insecure, impulsive, low self-esteem, hostile, aggressive, asocial, withdrawn, etc. Maladaptive behaviour described behaviours which were couched in terms of unmanageability, uncooperation, acting out, etc. These terms were applied to all labels which the child accumulated at every phase of the study (see especially Section H). During the pre-training school period 31 (20%) of the boys were given attributes which would be subsumed under personality dysfunction and 100 (63%) of the boys exhibited maladaptive behaviour. In fact, 29 (94%) of the boys with personality problems also had behaviour problems. This overlap would tend to indicate that behavioural problems were taken to be indicative of personality problems.

In all, ten indicators of maladjustment were available for each boy, as listed below:

- 1) ward received community treatment;
- 2) ward had personality dysfunction;
- 3) ward had maladaptive behaviour;
- 4) ward had academic or motivational problems;
- 5) ward was discipline or behaviour problem;
- 6) ward was suspended or expelled;
- 7) ward had history of truancy;
- 8) ward had history of absconding from home;
- 9) ward was held in jail or detention centre;
- 10) ward had delinquent associates.

Only two boys showed no evidence of any difficulty prior to coming to training school. The average number of problem areas for the other 157 children was 4.39 problems. Clearly this sample represents multi-problem children from multi-problem families. In fact, only 12 of these boys did not receive some form of aid from a helping agency prior to coming to training school. The 147 boys who did have agency contacts had at least 272 contacts. It can be concluded that for 92% of these boys a concerted attempt had been made at providing assistance in the community prior to their first training school admission.

As was mentioned above the study sample was younger on first admission to training school, than the typical training school population. The sampling criteria used would, to some extent, account for the younger age. However, an attempt was made to discover in what way the younger boys differed from the older boys. To this end younger boys were defined as being 13 years old or younger at first admission and the older boys were 14 or 15 years old at admission. There were 84 (53%) younger boys and 75 (47%) older boys.

To some extent the younger boys seemed to have been faced with fewer problems than the older boys. More of the older boys came from families in which there had been a parental death. However, more of the younger boys came from

TABLE 1

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AGE ON ADMISSION AND PROBLEMS
BEFORE TRAINING SCHOOL

PROBLEM AREA	AGE ON ADMISSION					
	YOUNGER (N=84)		OLDER (N=75)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Parental death	7	8	16	21	2.40	.016
Family problem	26	36	19	25	2.08	.039
Discipline problem	25	42	19	25	2.18	.029
Psychiatric treatment	33	45	52	62	1.95	.051
Personality dysfunction	9	12	22	26	2.13	.033
Maladaptive behaviour	38	52	62	72	2.63	.009
In jail/detention	12	16	34	40	3.24	.001

families in which there was an impediment to the proper discharge of a parental role. This single factor could account for the large number in the younger group. Judges would be more prone to send the younger boys to training school if the parents were unable to fulfil their role properly. It must be noted that T.S.A. Section of admission was not related to age; 30 (36%) of the younger boys as well as 26 (35%) of the older boys were admitted under Section 8, (see Table 1).

Another factor which could account for the younger age of the present sample is that more of the younger boys than older boys were discipline problems in the school setting. Surprisingly, there was a tendency for more of the older boys to get psychiatric treatment/ assessment prior to first coming to training school. Consequently, more of the older boys had been labelled with a personality dysfunction and as having maladaptive behaviours. It must also be noted that the older boys were more likely to be placed in jail or detention.

As is typical of the training school population, 134 (84%) of the boys had at least one school-related problem. Of these 134 boys 70 (52%) had two or more school problems. It is not surprising that 40 (25%) of the wards had been suspended or expelled from school and that 98 (62%) had a history of school truancy.

4) History of Delinquency

One of the greatest problem areas must be in the area of delinquency. It is of some concern that the T.S.A. Section under which these boys were admitted to training school was virtually meaningless. Section 8 allows for the admission of youngsters for status offences, yet all but eight of the 56 boys admitted under Section 8 had outstanding Section 9 type charges of delinquency. Thirty-seven had prior court appearances and 24 had been on probation. It must be granted that 12 (21%) of the Section 8 admissions were under 12 years old when first admitted. However, this would not account for the discrepancy. Parenthetically it must be noted that 58 (56%) of the boys admitted under Section 9 emitted behaviours indicative of unmanageability, compared to 42 (75%) of the Section 8 boys ($z = 2.34$, $p = .019$). The Section 8 boys also tended to commit more AWOL's (41, 73%) than the Section 9 boys (57, 55%; $z = 2.22$, $p = .026$).

B - THE TRAINING SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

OVERVIEW

All 159 boys had a stay in training school with 35% having been first admitted under Section 8 and the remaining 65% under Section 9. A total of 59 boys were multiple returnees since they had been returned to training school more than once prior to the study period. While in training school, all but 17 boys accumulated bad B.R.'s and/or absconded. Those who went AWOL or earned a bad B.R. tended to do so quite often. The number of AWOL's committed or B.R.'s collected were a direct function of the number of prior returns to training school. Approximately 84% of the sample had at least one school-related problem before entering training school, yet only 24% were deemed as being sufficiently handicapped to require a special remedial education programme. Half of those who received psychiatric care before training school also received it while in training school. Of the 159 boys, 78 suffered both a personality and behaviour problem. It is obvious that as well as having difficulty coping in the community, these boys had further trouble adjusting to the training school environment. Only a few received assistance for their educational problems and a small number gained some psychiatric care. It would seem that training school offered little more in the way of alleviating the multiple problems than had already been offered in the community.

1) The General Training School History

Data were collected to measure the progress of the 159 boys through the training school system. Two variables are of particular interest because they were collected to cover the entire range of those experiences. The first of these is the total number of times each boy went AWOL. The other variable is the total number of bad behaviour reports (BR) which were not associated with AWOLS, which were filed on each boy. Of the 159 boys in the study group 42 (26%) had not gone AWOL and 45 (28%) had not received behaviour reports. Only 17 (11%) of the boys did not go AWOL and did not receive behaviour reports. There was a strong relationship between the frequency with which a boy went AWOL and the frequency with which a boy got behaviour reports, as shown in Table 2.

The 117 boys who went AWOL did so at least 359 times ($\bar{X} = 3.068$) and the 114 boys with behaviour reports got at least 498 ($\bar{X} = 4.368$). Understandably both the number of AWOLS and the number of behaviour reports were related to the number of times the boys had been returned to training school. As the number of returns to training school increased, so did the mean number of AWOLS and B.R.'s (see Table 3).

TABLE 2

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ABSCONDING AND BEHAVIOUR REPORTS

NUMBER OF AWOLS	NUMBER OF BEHAVIOUR REPORTS				TOTAL
	0	1-3	4-6	7+	
0	17	18	4	3	42
1-3	25	32	5	16	78
4+	3	11	9	16	39
TOTAL	45	61	18	35	159

$$\chi^2=22.906, df=6, p<.001$$

TABLE 3

ABSCONDING AND BEHAVIOUR REPORTS AS RELATED TO NUMBER OF RETURNS TO TRAINING SCHOOL

PROBLEMS	RETURNS TO TRAINING SCHOOL			
	One (N=100)	Two or More (N=59)	z	p
Average Number of AWOLS	2.548	3.932	3.46	.0004
Average Number of Behaviour Reports	3.879	5.042	2.02	.04

Neither the number of behaviour reports nor the number of AWOL's were related to the length of stay during any one training school experience.

In spite of the fact that only 25 boys (16%) did not have a school-related problem prior to first admission to training school, only 38 received any remedial education at any time during their contacts with a training school. It must be granted that only 46 (29%) of these boys had been assessed as having specific academic or motivational problems, nevertheless, there was no relationship between academic problems in the community and special educational programmes received while in training school. Of course it could be argued that educational programmes in training school are specially geared to the population at hand. However, in all likelihood these boys were just too disenchanted with any form of education to receive much benefit from any special programmes.

Just over a third of these boys (56, 35%) had some contact with a psychiatrist during their training school experiences. Given that 85 (54%) of the boys had such contacts prior to first coming to training school these figures would not be encouraging were it not for the fact that there was a strong relationship between these two variables.

PSYCHIATRIC CONTACTS IN TRAINING SCHOOL	PRIOR PSYCHIATRIC CONTACTS		
	YES	NO	TOTAL
Yes	37	19	56
No	48	55	103

$$\chi^2 = 4.772, df=1, p=.0289$$

2) First Training School Experience

After initial assessment the 159 boys were assigned to the following training schools:

Training School	N	%
Pine Ridge	7	4
White Oaks	4	3
Brookside	61	38
Sprucedale	7	4
Glendale	10	6
Cecil Facer	15	9
St. John	33	21
St. Joseph (Champlain)	22	14
TOTAL	159	100

Quite understandably, due to the young age of this sample at first admission, the plurality of the wards were first assigned to Brookside. However, this younger age would also indicate that the boys came to training school in a more troubled state. During their first training school experience, 82 (52%) of the boys had academic problems, 78 (49%) displayed a personality dysfunction and 123 (77%) exhibited maladaptive behaviour. Seventy-one (91%) of the 78 boys with a personality problem also had a problem with behaviour. This high degree of overlap does not of necessity imply that the two indicators are redundant but rather that a larger number of boys had multiple problems while in training school (see Section H).

Other indicators of adjustment to the training school environment would tend to corroborate the notion that boys with behaviour problems were somewhat different from boys with personality problems. Boys with behaviour problems were more likely to go AWOL and to get behaviour reports than those without behaviour problems. There were no differences between those boys with and those without personality problems, as to the committal of AWOL's or getting behaviour reports (see Table 4). The boys with behaviour problems also got more behaviour reports and went AWOL more often than the boys who did not have such problems. However, it must be noted that a larger proportion (53, 43%) of the boys exhibiting maladaptive behaviour, during their first training school experience, as compared to boys who did not exhibit such behaviour (6, 17%) were returned to training school more than once ($z=2.90, p=.004$).

It would appear that a large number of these boys had considerable difficulty in dealing with their peers while in training school. Fifty-six (35%) had tendencies toward bullying their peers and a further 31 (20%) were the scapegoats for their peer group. Thus, 87 (55%) of these boys showed peer relations which were considered atypical.

3) Other Training School Experiences

Of the 159 boys in the sample 59 (37%) had been returned more than once prior to the commencement of the study period. During these other stays in training school the boys displayed patterns of behaviour which were similar to their behaviour during their first stay in training school. Thirty-two (54%) had academic problems, 20 (34%) displayed symptoms of a personality dysfunction and 37 (67%) exhibited maladaptive behaviour. It is not surprising, in light of their continuing poor behaviour, that these boys should spend so much time in a training school programme. However, what is curious is that the behaviour of these boys showed little change at all.

TABLE 4

ABSCONDING AND BEHAVIOUR REPORTS AS RELATED TO
BEHAVIOUR AND PERSONALITY PROBLEMS

AWOL'S AND BR'S	PERSONALITY DYSFUNCTION			BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS		
	Yes	No	z	Yes	No	z
Did not go AWOL	18(23%)	24(30%)	0.946	27(22%)	15(42%)	2.37*
Average AWOL'S	3.33	2.79	1.35	3.26	2.19	2.06*
Did not get BR'S	18(23%)	27(33%)	1.45	28(33%)	17(47%)	2.88*
Average BR'S	5.0	3.67	2.35*	4.73	2.58	2.86*

* $p < .05$

4) Study Period Training School Experience

All 159 boys had a study period training school experience, although for 74 boys (46%) this experience was followed by a stay at the Project DARE Camp at Portage Lake (see Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1976). Although some of the boys still had various difficulties during this training school stay, the frequencies of these difficulties had decreased considerably since the first training school experience. Of the 159 boys, 59 (37%) had academic problems, 42 (26%) showed a personality dysfunction and 81 (51%) demonstrated maladaptive behaviour. However, these problems or the lack of them were not related significantly to the ultimate outcome.

5) Follow-Up Training School Experience

Only 15 of the 74 boys who went to DARE in the study period, failed in that experience and were returned to the regular training school programme. In addition to these boys, 20 other boys were returned to training school as a result of their unsatisfactory behaviour while on study period placement. Thirty-five boys (22%), therefore, had a follow-up training school experience during the study period.

In training school, 13 (37%) had academic problems, 12 (34%) had a personality dysfunction and 21 (60%) showed maladaptive behaviour. Almost a third of these returnees (10, 29%) even committed delinquent acts while in or AWOL from training school. These data would indicate that these boys were a particularly disruptive and unmanageable group.

C - THE PLACEMENT EXPERIENCE

OVERVIEW

Fifty-nine boys had other placements from training school prior to the pre-study placement, during which they evidenced sufficiently poor behaviour to be returned again to training school. All 159 boys had a pre-study placement and for 100 of these boys this was their first placement. As many as 103 boys were placed again into their last living situation, and for most of these boys, this was to their own troubled homes. The co-existence of problems was evident with 70% of those with school problems, also having behaviour problems and half of those who were truants also had behaviour difficulties. Similarly, absconders were often also truants or detainees in jail. Those who were charged on pre-study placement, appeared in court, were held in jail/detention and had delinquent associates, tended to be returned to training school for these delinquencies. The boys' behaviour improved somewhat on the study placement although there was no apparent reason for it having done so. Delinquency remained widespread although the degree of criminal involvement was slightly less than on previous placements. Again a multiplicity of problems were acting upon these boys and quite clearly, they had as yet not acquired any new skills to cope with them while in training school. On the whole, these boys were continuing to display behaviours and attitudes similar to before training school.

1) Other Placements

While all the 159 boys had at least one placement experience prior to the study period, 59 (37%) had other placement experiences in addition to this one. These boys are the same boys who are discussed in the Other Training School Experience Section, as the multiple returnees.

Their stays in the community tended to be brief, yet replete with misbehaviour and delinquency. While on one of their community stays, 12 (20%) of these multiple returnees required replacement to a new setting. While their living situations were varied, these boys tended to also have short stays in the community in that 44 (75%) lasted less than six months. At one time or another 50 (85%) had been placed into the same living setting they had been in before their last return to training school. Furthermore, a quarter of the boys (14, 24%) were described by their responsible adults as being too difficult to cope with.

While attending community school, 27 (46%) of the boys had academic problems and 43 (73%) were truancy problems. Only 5 (9%) were considered to have a personality dysfunction, while 36 (61%) evidenced maladaptive behaviour. The frequency of these problems while on 'other placements' was similar to the frequency while on 'other training school stays'. As can be seen though, considerably fewer boys were said to have a personality dysfunction while in the community than during their first training school stay. This disparity is more likely a result of greater cognizance of such dysfunctions by training school staff rather than improved egos of the boys.

Over three-quarters (45, 76%) had criminal involvement with 31 (53%), as a result, being charged. Twenty-six (44%) subsequently had a court appearance and 21 (36%) found themselves in jail or detention at least once. Most had committed an AWOL (41, 70%) while a large proportion (26, 44%) were known to have delinquent associates.

On the whole, these boys continued to show sufficiently poor behaviour to necessitate their repeated returns to training school.

2) Pre-Study Placement Experience

All of the 159 boys had a pre-study placement experience, but for 100 boys (63%) this was the first placement they had had. For the remaining 59 boys (37%), this placement was another in a series. Discussion of particular differences between these single and multiple returnees is found in Section G.

At the outset of this pre-study placement, 109 of the boys were first placed into their own homes. Of these boys, 74 (68%) were truancy problems compared to 23 (46%) of the 'other placement' boys ($z = 2.64$, $p = .008$). Moreover, 55 (51%) of the 'own home' boys had court appearances during this placement compared to 15 (30%) of the 'other placement' boys ($z = 2.43$, $p = .015$). Most of the 'own home' boys were also living there when last sent to training school (102, 94%) while only one of the boys first placed elsewhere was placed into the same setting ($z = 11.278$, $p < .0002$). Only a small portion of the total 103 boys who were placed back into the same setting required later replacement (19, 18%).

A total of 40 boys were replaced to other living situations for a variety of reasons during this placement experience. It was found that the placement duration was much longer for the replaced boys since 27 (68%) of them had a community stay of over 6 months compared to only 35 (29%) of those not replaced ($\chi^2 = 20.643$, $df = 2$, $p = .001$). However, the longer time spent in the community could result from a greater variety of living situations tried. Moreover, more of those

who were replaced were involved in criminal activities (83%, 33 compared to 62%, 74 of those not replaced; $z = 2.38, p = .017$). Similarly, more of the replaced boys were truancy problems (70%, 28 compared to 50%, 60 of those not replaced; $z = 2.16, p = .031$). It is quite likely though, that these problems were the causes of the replacements to other situations as well as being a function of the longer time spent in the community.

Only 21 of the 159 boys were replaced home during this placement experience. For 6 (29%) of those replaced home, there were reports that the adults could not cope with them. Only 15 (11%) of those not replaced home could not be coped with ($z = 2.25$, $p = .024$). However, most of those requiring replacement (86%, 18) were later returned to training school for delinquency. Of those not replaced home, 74 (51%) were returned for delinquency ($\chi^2 = 8.734$, $df = 2$, $p = .013$). It would appear that being replaced home did little for boys who, in all likelihood, had already been tried there a short time before.

Those boys who spent more than 6 months on placement tended to be greater truancy problems than those who spent 6 months or less (76%, 47 compared to 52%, 50; $z = 3.08$, $p = .002$). The aversion to school may have, therefore, prompted many of the longer placement boys to work instead (39%, 24 compared to 20%, 19 of the shorter placement boys; $z = 2.65$, $p = .008$).

Adults responsible for these boys while they were in the community said they could not cope with 21 (13%) of them. Bearing in mind that this number is small, it would appear that these boys posed mostly behaviour problems. Most of those boys with whom adults were not having difficulties were involved in criminal activities (70%, 97), while only half of those said to be difficult to cope with were (48%, 10; $z = 2.07$, $p = .038$). Furthermore, only 7 of them (33%) were later charged for committing a criminal offence whereas 83 (60%) of those not troublesome to the adults were charged ($z = 2.32$, $p = .02$).

In the school situation, 47 boys (30%) had school problems and most of them were also truancy and/or behaviour problems, as seen in the table. This is not surprising since school problems are often acted out in other forms.

OTHER PROBLEMS ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	SCHOOL PROBLEMS ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT					
	Yes (N=47)		No (N=112)		Total (N=159)	
	N	%	N	%	N %	Z P
Was Truant	36	77	61	55	97 61	2.63 .009
Was Behaviour Problem	33	70	38	34	71 45	4.22 .0002

Of the 97 boys who were truancy problems, 54 (56%) were also described as having behaviour problems while only 17 (27%) of those not truant were behaviour problems ($z = 3.51$, $p = .0004$). Out of all 159 boys, only 11 (7%) were described as having a personality dysfunction.

Absconders were a particularly troublesome group during this placement. Almost a third of the 92 runners ended up held in jail or detention (35, 38%) while only 13 (19%) of the non-runners were held there ($z = 2.54, p = .011$). As might be expected, absconders were also truants since 57 (62%) of those who went AWOL were truants compared to 31 (46%) of the non-runners ($z = 1.98, p = .048$).

Of the 159 boys, 107 (67%) were again involved in criminal activities during this placement. While 82 (77%) were resultingly sent to training school, 43 (83%) of those without criminal involvement were returned for behaviour problems ($\chi^2 = 56.681$, $df = 2$, $p < .01$). In all instances, those wards who were involved in various delinquent behaviours were more often returned to training school for this delinquency while those boys not involved were in most cases returned for behaviour problems (see Table 5). As can be seen in the table, almost a third of the boys were held in a jail or detention centre and a third were known to have delinquent associates. Of the 90 boys charged, 35 (39%) were also placed in jail or detention, while 13 (19%) of those not charged were held in detention ($z = 2.75$, $p = .006$). Seventy boys appeared in court and of these 30 (43%) had been held in jail and 32 (46%) had delinquent associates. Moreover, 18 (20%) of those who did not have a court appearance had been held in jail ($z = 3.11$, $p = .002$), and 17 (19%) were known to have delinquent associates ($z = 3.63$, $p = .0004$).

3) Study Period Placement Experience

All but 8 of the 159 boys had a study period placement experience. The 8 who did not, had not yet graduated into the community at the study closing, but they are included in the totals since their number is small.

During this placement, 107 (67%) were first placed into their own homes and the remainder were placed elsewhere. Almost half of the boys (73, 46%) were again placed back into the same setting that they had been in on pre-study placement. The boys tended to stay on placement on the average for longer periods of time than previously, with 70 (51%) lasting for over 6 months. Complaints from responsible adults were few with only 32 (20%) of the boys said to be too difficult to cope with.

Immediately upon entering the community, 42 (26%) of the boys returned to school or were on school vacation. The rest of the boys either found work (65, 41%) or did nothing (30, 19%). While in school, 30 boys had academic problems.

TABLE 5

CRIMINAL INVOLVEMENT AND SUBSEQUENT
REASON FOR RETURN TO TRAINING SCHOOL

CRIMINAL ACTIVITY	REASON FOR RETURN*	
	Delinquency	Behaviour
Charged		
Yes (N=90)	74 (82%)	15 (17%)
No (N=69)	15 (22%)	52 (75%)
Appeared in Court		
Yes (N=70)	57 (81%)	12 (17%)
No (N=89)	32 (36%)	55 (62%)
In Jail/Detention		
Yes (N=48)	36 (75%)	12 (25%)
No (N=111)	53 (48%)	55 (50%)
Delinquent Associates		
Yes (N=49)	40 (82%)	9 (18%)
No (N=110)	49 (45%)	58 (53%)

*All $p \leq .005$; reason for return was not known for 3 boys.

Only 15 (9%) displayed a personality dysfunction and 48 (30%) had maladaptive behaviour.

As mentioned 65 (41%) found work immediately upon entering the community. However, 96 (60%) of all the boys actually held a job at some time. Only 27 (17%) had difficulty in locating a job while 55 (35%) were enterprising enough to have found a second job after the termination of the first.

Although many of the boys made a great effort to remain positively inclined towards work/school functions, criminal activities among the boys continued to be fairly extensive. The following proportions of boys committed at least one of these offences:

OFFENCES	NUMBER	PERCENT
Property Offence	71	45
Person Offence	11	7
Law and Order	40	25
AWOL's	72	45

A total of 337 charges were laid against 87 boys, to give a mean number of 3.87 charges against each boy. These charges resulted in 79 boys (50%) having a court appearance and 53 (33%) being placed in jail/detention. Less than a third of the boys though (30%, 46) were known to have delinquent associates.

What is particularly telling about the advances made by these boys is the fact that 63 of the boys who were charged on study placement (72%) had also been involved in crime on their pre-study placement and had been charged at least once before entering training school. Obviously a large proportion of boys were not gaining from the training school experience, but were, in fact, behaving much the same as they had before being admitted to the institution. Furthermore, since these boys were approaching 16 years old it is likely that the authorities were loathe to return them to training school for their delinquency.

D - CURRENT SITUATION

OVERVIEW

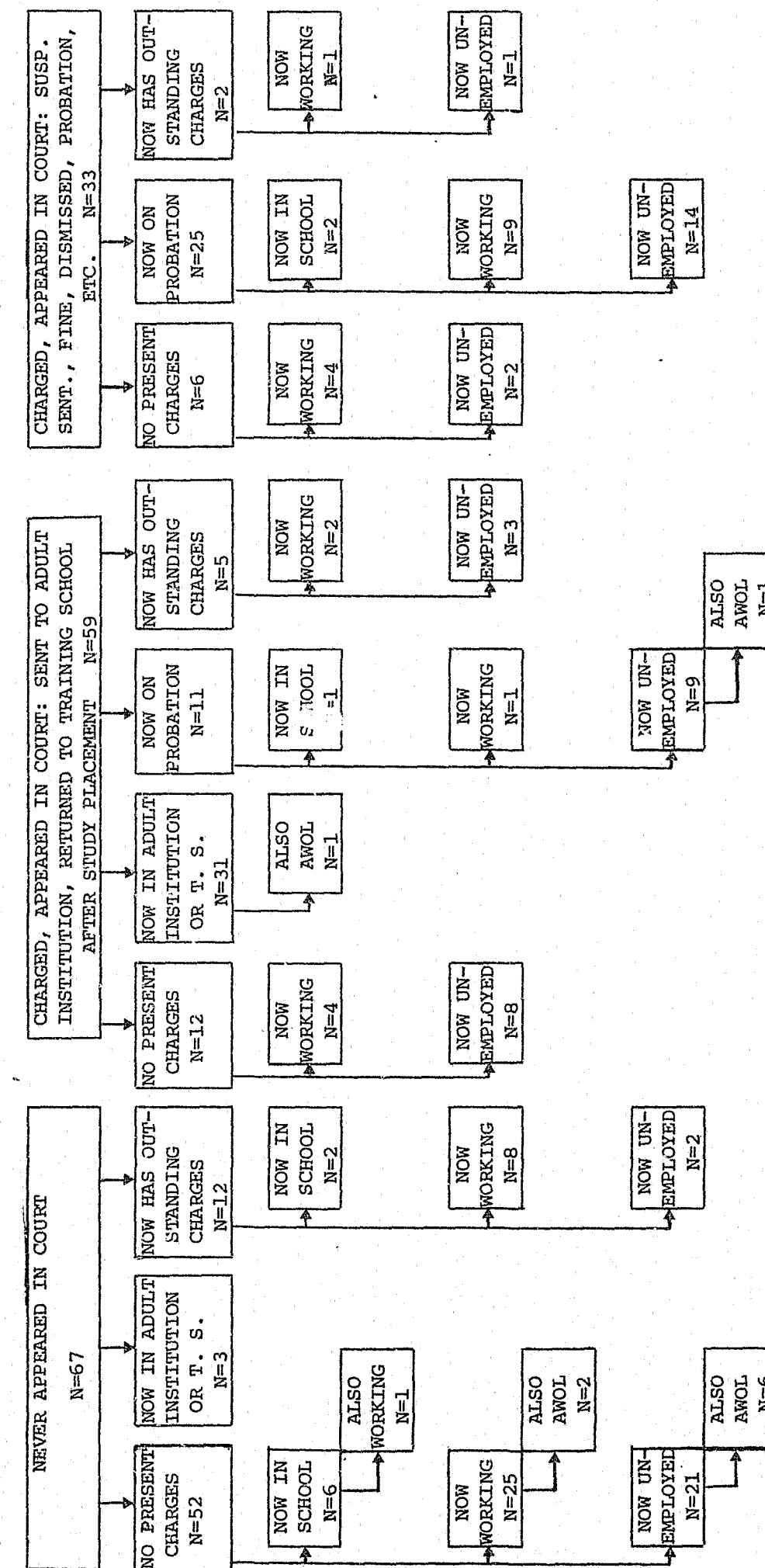
Although many boys were busied with school or work at the outset of the study period situations, circumstances existed to cause them to be no longer so involved. The lack of constructive activities permitted the boys to indulge in negative behaviours. While only 40% were attending school and/or working at the study closing, many others had tried to further themselves in one or both of these areas. Only 29 of these boys however, were not encumbered by outstanding charges, probation or being absent without leave. Sixty percent of the sample had a major incident with the law and all but three of these boys had a court appearance. Only 67 boys had not appeared in court during the study period and at the closing of the study, 52 boys still had not been charged. Just under half of the sample (68 boys) had had their wardship terminated although not all for "satisfactory behaviour".

The study was designed such that approximately 12 months after the graduation to the study period placement, data collection would cease and the study closed. In actuality though, the average follow-up period was 10.5 months with a range of less than one month to 17 months, and a mode of 12 months. This shift in the mean time lapse from graduation to study closing, was a result of so many boys having had their wardship terminated before the year was over. The last part of the study period was the "current situation" which embraced the ward's circumstances at the study or, in some cases, wardship closing. Figure 2 shows the current status of the boys (at study closing) according to whether or not they had ever appeared in court during the study period.

Although only a few boys were gainfully employed at study closing, many more, in fact, had attempted a work or school enterprise. Only 11 (7%) were attending school full-time in the community even though this included trade training courses and apprenticeships. However, many boys had left school since 42 (26%) of the sample had participated in an educational programme though they were not at closing still doing so. Only a third of the boys (35%, 55) were holding a job at study closing. However, a further 56 (35%) had worked previously, but were not working at the close of the study. Of the total then, 60 boys (38%) were neither attending school nor working at a job. It is important to note though that 25 of these boys did not have any outstanding

FIGURE 2

CURRENT STATUS OF BOYS BY WHETHER THEY APPEARED IN COURT DURING STUDY PERIOD



charges and were not AWOL at the study close, and so can be considered as only just avoiding trouble. It is, therefore, of interest that only 5 boys (3%) were receiving welfare or social assistance at the study closing. This number is extremely low in light of the fact that so many boys were without work to fill their time and pockets. As a result, it is not surprising that a large proportion of boys were involved with the law.

During these last living situations, 95 boys (60%) had a major incident with the law. The mean month at which this first occurred was 4.76 months after graduation. Each of these boys (as well as one other boy for whom the time lapse information was not available) was charged, although this charge and the first major incident were not necessarily one and the same. Most of these boys (92) appeared in court to receive the following dispositions:

DISPOSITION	NUMBER	PERCENT
Case Dismissed	1	0.6
Suspended Sentence	14	9
Fine	17	11
Probation	54	34
Adult Institution	38	24
Failed to Appear	17	11
Awaiting Disposition	24	15

It must be remembered that in some instances the probation was to be consecutive to an institutional stay. The probation terms of the 54 boys were lengthy, with 15 (28%) being placed on an order for a year or less, 35 (65%) for over a year and the other 4 (7%) for an uncertain length of time. The 38 boys who were sent to an adult institution were there for a mean of 6.19 months (information was available on all but one boy) and the range of stay was from one to 24 months. None of the boys were returned to training school from the courts.

When their wardships were terminated, or their study files closed, the majority of the wards, as can be seen in Figure 2, were involved in delinquent activities. Of the 67 boys who did not appear in court, 52 had no charges against them at the study closing and just over half of these were attending school or working. Of the 92 boys who had appeared in court at some time earlier during the study period, only 18 had no new charges at the study closing, were not in an adult institution, nor training school, nor on probation. Four of these eighteen boys were gainfully employed. The largest block of boys attending school was formed by those who had managed to avoid the courts during the whole study period.

Ten boys (6%) were AWOL, 2 (1%) were in an Ontario Hospital and 2 (1%) were married or living common-law. A total of 68 boys (43%) had their wardship terminated for reasons varying from "satisfactory behaviour" to "on probation to an adult court". Thirty-one of these boys had been first admitted to training school under Sec. 8 and the remaining 37 boys under Sec. 9.

E - CRITERION VARIABLES AND OUTCOME

OVERVIEW

The ultimate outcome variable was a compilation of the school, work and delinquency variables during the study period. Using the combined criteria, the data revealed 41 boys with a good outcome, who were adjusting well to the community experience, 42 boys with a marginal outcome who were only just managing in the community, and 76 boys with an unacceptable outcome, who were doing very poorly. Three-quarters then were failing again in the community. Boys with good outcomes were so by chance. They tended to have had more delinquent experiences prior to training school as well as more disrupted family histories. In training school, the good outcome boys were less involved in AWOL's and with BR's. During their training school stays and placements, the boys with good outcomes were less problematic: fewer school problems, less maladaptive, longer stays on placement, fewer AWOL's. Therefore, boys who would be expected to do worse because of their more troubled backgrounds, did better, later in training school and on placements.

The outcome variable was designed to reflect behaviour during the entire Study Placement experience. The computation of the outcome index involved the work, school, and delinquent history of the wards during the Study Placement, which also includes the current situation. The school history was compiled on the following basis:

- 1) originally went to school and still in school at study closing (N = 11);
- 2) went to school, but left prior to study closing (N = 42);
- 3) never returned to school (N = 87);
- 4) school history unknown (N = 19).

A similar index of work history was created which was distributed as follows:

- 1) good work history throughout the study placement and still working at study closing (N = 55);
- 2) worked at some time during study placement but was not working at study closing (N = 56);
- 3) never worked (N = 48).

In the computation of the work history any regular work experience was considered, whether or not it was full-time. This was felt to be quite valid in view of the very

difficult job market for the age cohort of the study sample. Therefore, a boy who went to school full-time and had a regular part-time job after school would be counted high on both work and school dimensions. Clearly, neither the work history nor the school history would independently give an accurate reflection of placement progress. The comparison of work history and school history is shown in Table 6.

The work history and the school history indices were combined to form a single variable which would reflect the work and/or school adjustment of each ward. The combined variable was defined as follows:

- 1) working or in school at study closing with a good history throughout the entire period (N = 65);
- 2) worked and/or went to school at some time during study placement but at study closing was engaged in neither activity (N = 66);
- 3) never worked and/or never went to school during study placement (N = 28).

Thus, in terms of work or school activities, 65 (41%) of the 159 boys had a consistently good experience. Sixty-six (42%) had a somewhat chequered experience and 28 (17%) made no apparent effort to either work or to go to school.

The major concern must be further criminal/delinquent behaviour. All the variables dealing with further delinquency were combined to form the following index:

- 1) received no court disposition (N = 67);
- 2) incarcerated by court or returned to training school for a Section 9 type offence (N = 59);
- 3) placed on probation or received some other type of sentence (N = 33).

The ultimate outcome was computed by combining the work/school history with the delinquency index. This combination is presented in Table 7. Three levels of outcome were defined according to the following rules:

- 1) Good - In school or working, no court disposition (N = 41).
- 2) Marginal - In school or working but received 'other' sentence (N = 16).
 - Not working, not in school, but received no sentence (N = 18).
 - Never worked, never went to school, but no sentence (N = 8).
- 3) Unacceptable - Incarcerated or returned to training school (N = 59).
 - Not in school, not working, received 'other' sentence (N = 15).
 - Never worked nor went to school, received 'other' sentence (N = 2).

TABLE 6

THE COMBINATION OF WORK HISTORY AND SCHOOL HISTORY

SCHOOL HISTORY	WORK HISTORY			
	Still Working	Not Working	Never Worked	Total
Still in School	1	5	5	11
Left School	17	10	15	42
Never Went to School	36	38	13	87
Not Known	1	3	15	19
TOTAL	55	56	48	159

TABLE 7

THE COMBINATION OF WORK/SCHOOL HISTORY AND THE INDEX OF FURTHER DELINQUENCY

WORK/SCHOOL	DELINQUENCY			
	No Court Disposition	Incarcerated	Other Disposition	Total
Working/In School	41	8	16	65
Left School or Work	18	33	15	66
Never Worked nor Went to School	8	18	2	28
TOTAL	67	59	33	159

By these criteria 41 (26%) of the boys were judged to have a good outcome and therefore, could be said to be adjusting to the community experience. Forty-two (29%) of the sample were not making exemplary progress and therefore, were judged to have a marginal outcome. The plurality, 76 (48%) of the boys had not made satisfactory progress and consequently, were judged "unacceptable" in terms of outcome. It must be noted that in the strict terms the boys with a marginal outcome cannot be judged to be adapting to the community experience, in that they failed to greatly profit from their past experiences. However, it must be mentioned that 10 of the 41 boys with a good outcome had charges pending at the time of study closing. Thus, only 31 (20%) of the 159 boys can be described as being truly successful. Insofar as the dispositions against these boys are unknown and the nature of these charges was not overly serious, the outcome criteria described above must be used. Whichever way the data are examined, the salient feature remains that close to half of the boys once again failed a community placement and a further quarter were not doing well in the community.

The data were examined in an attempt to devise a profile of the 41 boys with a good outcome. The results of this effort proved to be counter-intuitive. The pre-institutional history of the boys with a good outcome was more delinquent and more troubled. However, the training school history and the placement experience of these wards were more successful.

A larger proportion of the boys with a good outcome (37, 90%) than the other boys (86, 73%) had prior court appearances before their first training school admission ($z = 2.30$, $p = .021$). Consequently, proportionately more of the 'good' boys (29, 71%) than the other boys (59, 50%) were on probation prior to being sent to training school ($z = 2.32$, $p = .02$). The nature of the involvement in delinquency of the good boys seemed to be more serious. The boys with a good outcome (17, 41%) as compared to the other boys (29, 25%) were more likely to be placed in detention ($z = 2.07$, $p = .038$). There were ten other indicators of problems in the pre-training school environment as mentioned in Section A. On the average, the boys with a good outcome ($\bar{X} = 4.95$) had significantly more of these problems than the other boys ($\bar{X} = 4.19$; $z = 2.04$, $p = .04$).

The family background of the 'good' boys tended to be more traumatic. More of the boys with a good outcome (7, 17%) than the boys with another outcome (5, 4%) were abandoned by their parents ($z = 2.74$, $p = .006$). In addition, there was evidence to suggest that a large proportion of the 'good' wards (10, 24%) as compared to the others (14, 12%) were subjected to parental abuse or neglect ($z = 1.96$, $p = .05$). It is perhaps, not surprising therefore, that a larger proportion (13, 32%) of the boys with the better outcome than the other boys (18, 15%) displayed evidence of personality dysfunction ($z = 2.304$, $p = .021$).

The first stay in training school tended to be shorter for the 'good' group with 13 (32%) of these boys being in for less than six months as compared to 17 (14%) of the other group ($z = 2.45$, $p = .014$). While in training school more of the boys with a good outcome did not go AWOL or get bad behaviour reports. Those of the 'good' group who did go AWOL or get BR's were less involved in such activities.

AWOLs & BRs	OUTCOME			
	GOOD (N = 41)	MARGINAL and UNACCEPTABLE (N = 118)	z	p
No AWOLs	19 (46%)	23 (20%)	3.386	.0006
Average AWOLs	2.05	3.31	2.483	.0132
No BRs	22 (54%)	23 (20%)	4.207	.0001
Average BRs	3.0	4.64	2.155	.0308

While in training school the boys with the good outcome (7, 17%) were less likely than the others (49, 42%) to get psychiatric assessment or treatment ($z = 2.84$, $p = .005$). Consequently, it is not surprising that fewer of the boys with a good outcome (13, 32%) as compared to the others (65, 55%) were labelled as exhibiting behaviour indicative of a personality dysfunction during their first training school experience ($z = 2.598$, $p = .009$). It would appear that for the boys with good outcomes, the first training school experience was less problematic in every area of endeavour. Even in the school area fewer of the 'good' boys (15, 37%) relative to the others (67, 57%) had problems ($z = 2.24$, $p = .025$).

The pattern of behaviour evident in the training school was carried over into the placement environment. Eleven of the good outcome boys had other placements and of these, 5 (45%) had an average duration of six months or more on their placements. Of the 48 other boys who had other placements, 10 (21%) lasted for six months or more ($z = 1.70$, $p = .089$). During the pre-study placement, proportionately fewer of the boys with a good outcome demonstrated problems.

PROBLEM AREAS ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	OUTCOME				
	GOOD (N=41)		MARGINAL AND UNACCEPTABLE (N=118)		z
	N	%	N	%	
School Problems	7	17	40	34	2.04
Maladaptive Behaviour	13	32	58	49	1.96
AWOL's	17	41	75	64	2.49
Placed in Jail/ Detention	7	17	41	35	2.14

Furthermore, since their problems were minimal, it is not surprising that the good outcome boys stayed in the community longer. Thirty-five (85%) of the 'good' boys stayed on placement for four months or more. Only 77 (65%) of the other boys managed to stay in the community that long ($z = 2.44$, $p = .015$). However, there was not a significant difference between groups on the reason for their return to training school. Twenty (49%) of the good outcome boys were returned for delinquent activities compared to 69 (58%) of the others ($z = 1.08$, $p = .28$).

In the study placement, there was a slight change in this pattern. Although the good outcome boys were in the community for a longer period of time (mean = 12.05 months) than the other boys (mean = 7.77 months, $z = 6.71$, $p < .0002$), they were having more difficulty in school. While 12 (29%) of the good outcome boys had academic problems, only 12 (10%) of the others had these problems ($z = 2.98$, $p = .003$). Similar to the pre-study placement though, more of the other outcome boys were committing AWOL's (60, 51%) than the good outcome boys (12, 29%; $z = 2.41$, $p = .016$).

In the current situation, it was apparent that the good outcome boys avoided any trouble with the law for a longer time than the others. The time lapse from graduation to the first incident with the law was a mean of 8.0 months compared to 4.3 months for the other boys ($z = 4.115$, $p < .0002$).

In summary, those boys who had a good outcome in the study placement tended to have a less troubled pre-study placement and to have less trouble in training school. It must be noted that this was not a continuation of the pattern which was evident prior to the first training school admission. During that period the boys with a good outcome tended to be more delinquent than the others. These data are somewhat difficult to interpret.

F - THE EFFECT OF SEVERAL PRE-INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS ON
SUBSEQUENT EXPERIENCES.

Relating pre-institutional variables to subsequent phases of the boy's training school career elicited a pattern which is, although distinct, quite difficult to interpret. Various elements in the early histories of these 159 boys had definite bearing upon events occurring after the boys' admissions to training school.

Table 8 lists those pre-institutional variables which were repeatedly significantly related to these subsequent events. Each variable is followed by the representation of the 159 boys. These background factors were particularly important in relation to the following time periods:

- 1) the general training school history,
- 2) the first training school experience and
- 3) the pre-study placement experience.

The relation between the pre-institutional variables and the first two phases may be understood more clearly if considered as a representation of threads of previous behaviour which are carried into the training school stay. The relation to the pre-study placement experience however, is more difficult to interpret. One consideration should be the fact that this placement is the first in which all the boys are represented, therefore, statistical relations would be more meaningful.

1) The General Training School History

OVERVIEW

Several pre-training school factors had particular relevance to the general training school history. Boys with extensive behaviour problems before training school tended to accumulate BR's in training school. In the past, these boys were often discipline problems, had psychiatric treatment, had been suspended/expelled from school, and were younger on admission. There was not a significant relationship between those boys who had school-related problems before training school and those who received remedial education in training school. There seemed to be some continuity in their conduct, since those displaying behaviour problems before training school showed them again inside the institution.

Pre-institutional factors were related to two particular variables in the general training school history of these 159 boys. Of major interest in the general history were the accumulation of bad behaviour reports and the receipt of remedial education.

TABLE 8

PRE-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES RELATED TO SUBSEQUENT PHASES

PRE-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLE	Yes N	No N
Prior court appearances	123	36
Prior probation	88	71
Age at admission		
13 yrs or under	84	-
14 yrs + 15 yrs.	75	-
T.S.A. Sec. Admitted under		
Sec. 8	56	-
Sec. 9	103	-
Town size		
≤ 49,999	73	-
50,000 +	86	-
Major family problems	44	115
Family received help from Social Agency	78	81
Mother worked	50	109
Ward abandoned by parent	12	147
Parent died	23	136
Parents separated	67	92
Ward received psychiatric treatment in community	85	74
Ward assessed as exhibiting maladaptive behaviour	100	59
Ward had academic or motivational problems in school	46	113
Ward had discipline or behaviour problems in school	54	105
Ward was suspended or expelled	40	119
History of absconding from place of residence	98	61
Placed in detention home or jail prior to admission to training school	46	113
Ward had delinquent peers	86	73

In considering the first of these, the accumulation of B.R.'s, we find that boys who were more behaviour problems than delinquents before training school, were more likely to act out sufficiently in training school to earn a bad B.R. As seen in Table 9, boys who had received psychiatric treatment in the community, were discipline problems, had been suspended or expelled, had not had prior court appearances and had not been in jail or detention before training school, tended to have accumulated B.R.'s more often. There were, however, no differences as to the mean number of reports earned by these boys.

Boys who came from families which had not received social assistance and boys who were not absconders before training school tended to have earned a greater mean number of B.R.'s. Younger boys were more likely to accumulate B.R.'s than older boys, and the mean number of reports collected by them was greater as well. Similarly, younger boys tended to commit more AWOL's from training school (Mean = 3.55) than older boys (Mean = 2.45; $z = 2.35$, $p = .019$) although neither group was more likely than the other to go AWOL. The explanation as to why younger boys should have more B.R.'s and be AWOL more, may lie in the fact that these wards were in training school for a longer time to enable them to do so. As might be expected, boys who were younger on admission were more likely to be multiple returnees (60%, 50) while the older boys had a greater likelihood of being single returnees (88%, 66; $z = 6.25$, $p < .0002$).

It appeared that certain boys were more likely to receive remedial education while in training school than others.

TRAINING SCHOOL HISTORY	PRE-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES							
	Had Working Mother		Ward was Abandoned		Younger Older Boys Boys		Was Discipline Problem	
	Yes	No	Yes	No			Yes	No
Received Remedial Education	N	7 31	- 38		27	11	18	20
	%	14 28	- 26		32	15	33	19
z		2.003	-		2.609		2.021	
p		.046	-		.009		.043	

Those who received remedial education tended to be younger on admission, were discipline problems, did not have mothers who were working and had never been abandoned by their parents.

TABLE 9

RELATION BETWEEN PRE-TRAINING SCHOOL VARIABLES AND THE ACCUMULATION OF BAD BEHAVIOUR REPORTS

PRE-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES		BAD BEHAVIOUR REPORTS						
		None		z	p	Mean #	z	p
		N	%					
Younger boys		15	18	3.102	.002	4.88	2.253	.024
Older boys		30	40			3.58		
Had prior court Appearance	Yes	40	33	2.198	.028	4.18	No Diff.*	No Diff.
	No	5	14			4.87		
Family received social assis- tance	Yes	23	30	No Diff.	No Diff.	3.73	2.799	.005
	No	22	27			5.27		
Ward received psychiatric treatment	Yes	18	21	2.144	.032	4.40	No Diff.	No Diff.
	No	27	37			4.32		
Discipline Problems	Yes	10	19	1.98	.048	4.55	No Diff.	No Diff.
	No	35	33			4.26		
Suspended/ Expelled	Yes	6	15	2.17	.03	4.47	No Diff.	No Diff.
	No	39	33			4.33		
Was AWOL	Yes	29	30	No Diff.	No Diff.	3.83	2.375	.017
	No	16	26			5.2		
l/Detention	Yes	19	41	2.34	.019	3.67	No Diff.	No Diff.
	No	26	23			4.59		

* no difference

Other miscellaneous factors were also related to the pre-institutional data. Half of those admitted to training school under Sec. 8 received psychiatric treatment while there (50%, 28). Only 28 (27%) of the Sec.9 boys, on the other hand, received such treatment ($z = 2.90$, $p = .004$). Also, more of the boys without previous probations (59, 83%) were placed into regular academic school programmes in training school than those with probation experience (65%, 57; $z = 2.62$, $p = .009$).

2) First Training School Experience

OVERVIEW

Age at admission to training school affected the initial reaction to the training school programme. Younger boys tended to have longer first stays, and were often bullies. Boys with prior academic problems tended to have a personality dysfunction on their first stay, while those with prior discipline problems later had academic problems. The co-existence of problem areas is again evident, although the boys at this point may not have had sufficient time to change.

One of the major variables in the first training school experience affected by pre-institutional factors is the length of the first stay in training school. Boys who had shorter first stays of under 6 months had no family problems and/or were older on admission. Only 9% or 4 of the boys with family problems stayed under 6 months on their first stay compared to 26 (23%) of those without family problems ($z = 1.97$, $p = .05$). The differences on age at admission are shown below.

AGE ON ADMISSION (PRE-HISTORY)	LENGTH OF FIRST STAY IN T.S.						
	< 6 mo.		6-12 mo.		12+ mo.		TOTAL
Younger Boys (13 yrs.& under)	10	12%	63	75%	11	13%	84
Older Boys (14 & 15 yrs.)	20	27%	52	69%	3	4%	75

$$\chi^2 = 8.474, df = 2, p < .02$$

While the bulk of the younger boys were in training school for over 6 months on the first stay, most of the older boys stayed for under 6 months. The younger boys were also considered to be bullies on their first stay in training school. While only 18 (24%) of the older boys bullied, 38 (45%) of the younger boys were described as bullying ($z = 2.816$, $p = .005$).

Of those with academic problems before going to training school, 29 (63%) were also described as having a personality dysfunction on their first stay. Only 49 (43%) of those without academic problems had a personality dysfunction ($z = 2.259$, $p = .024$). A similar proportion of boys who were discipline problems before training school had academic problems on their first stay (63%, 35). Of those not discipline problems 47 (45%) had academic problems ($z = 2.416$, $p = .016$).

Boys who were abused or scapegoated by their peers on their first stay in training school were boys who had not been in jail or detention previously and those who had had delinquent associates.

FIRST TRAINING SCHOOL VARIABLE	PRE-INSTITUTIONAL VARIABLES			
	In Jail/Detention		Delinquent Associates	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Was Abused/ Scapegoated	4 9	27 24	22 26	9 12
z	2.219		2.125	
p	.026		.003	

As seen from this table, it is difficult to determine how prior criminal activities might relate to abuse from peers in training school, although the relation does exist. The most plausible explanation is that these boys are quite docile. They, therefore, were not seen as posing threats and so were not placed in detention. The fact that they had delinquent associates probably means that they were followers of their delinquent peers.

3) Pre-Study Placement Experience

OVERVIEW

The family histories of these boys had considerable influence upon their behaviour on pre-study placement. The greater the dysfunctions operating in the family unit, the less the likelihood of criminal involvement on pre-study placement. However, boys who had prior problems in the school environment continued to have them on this placement. Therefore, it is not surprising that there was increased incidence of boys working. Previous delinquent experience increased the likelihood of criminal activity on this placement. It became quite evident that the Sec. 8 boys who had considerable experience in crime before training school were continuing to be delinquent in other phases. This would raise some question as to the use of Sec.8. Also of interest, is the fact that those who had not been held in jail or detention before training school were acting out criminally to a considerable degree.

The backgrounds from which these boys emerged had a considerable bearing upon their behaviour in the pre-study placement. More boys from large population centres (50,000 people or more) were truants on pre-study placement than boys from smaller centres (61, 71% compared to 36, 49%; $z = 2.815$, $p = .005$).

The home environments of these boys were important in relation to this placement. Whether or not the boys' families had problems affected the placement situations into which the boys were put. Understandably boys without family problems tended to be placed first in their own homes and many were returned to the same setting as before the last training school experience, as shown in Table 10. Boys with problem families, however, tended to be less involved in criminal activities.

Boys who came from families not receiving any social assistance (77%, 62) were more often placed into their own homes on pre-study placement than boys from families receiving assistance (60%, 47; $z = 2.219$, $p = .026$). Boys who had mothers who worked tended to have school problems in community school and displayed more maladaptive behaviour. The fact that their mothers worked also seemed to encourage some sons to work as well (Table 11).

Having been separated from his parents at least once prior to training school seemed to affect the boys' situation on pre-study placement, as seen in Table 12. Almost half of the boys abandoned by their parents before training school (5, 42%) were said to be difficult to cope with by their

TABLE 10

THE EFFECT OF FAMILY PROBLEMS ON THE PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT

PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT VARIABLES	FAMILY PROBLEMS					
	Yes (N=44)		No (N=115)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Placed to own home	24	55	85	74	2.368	.018
Ret'd to same setting	23	52	80	70	2.053	.04
Involved in crime	23	52	84	73	2.521	.012

TABLE 11

THE EFFECT OF MOTHER WORKING ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT

PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT VARIABLES	MOTHER WORKED					
	Yes (N=50)		No (N=109)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Had School Problems	20	40	27	25	1.97	.05
Had maladaptive behaviour	28	56	43	39	1.97	.05
Ward worked	19	38	24	22	2.121	.034

TABLE 12

THE EFFECT OF PARENTAL DEATH ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT
CRIME

CRIME ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	PARENTAL DEATH					
	Yes (N=23)		No (N=136)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Had charges	8	35	82	60	2.292	.004
Had court appearances	5	22	65	48	2.341	.019

responsible adults, while only 16 (11%) of those not abandoned were ($z = 3.036$, $p = .002$). The numbers were, however, small. Coming from a single-parent family helped to determine the boy's criminality on this placement. Boys from families with only one parent alive were less involved in crime, having both fewer charges and fewer court appearances. However, more of the boys with separated parents (34%, 23) were replaced on pre-study placement than those with both parents together (19%, 17; $z = 2.29$, $p = .022$). It would seem, therefore, that the more troubled the family background of these boys, the more likely they were to avoid any criminal activity on this placement.

Factors describing the boys themselves showed that boys who seemed difficult and problematic prior to training school were also difficult on pre-study placement. Younger boys tended to be more maladaptive in their behaviour (44, 52%) than those boys admitted at an older age (27, 36%; $z = 2.08$, $p = .038$). Also, boys who had received psychiatric treatment before entering training school tended to have fewer delinquent associates (20%, 17) than those who did not have prior treatment (43%, 32; $z = 3.192$, $p = .001$).

Having academic problems before entering training school also affected the pre-study placement in different ways. More of those with prior academic problems were truants, were placed in jail or detention and had worked in the community while on pre-study placement.

ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	HAD ACADEMIC PROBLEMS (BEFORE T. S.)					
	Yes (N=46)		No (N=113)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Was Truant	31	67	57	50	1.96	.05
Was in jail/ detention	20	44	28	25	2.338	.019
Ward worked	18	39	25	22	2.198	.028

This would indicate that boys who were having difficulties in school before training school were still having problems on pre-study placement and therefore, resorted to working rather than attending school.

Boys who were considered to be discipline problems before training school continued to have problems at school or with their behaviour. It would seem that boys who were having problems before training school had little likelihood of gaining interest in school later on.

PROBLEMS ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	DISCIPLINE PROBLEMS (BEFORE T.S.)					
	Yes (N=54)		No (N=105)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Had school problems	22	41	25	24	2.226	.026
Was behaviour problem	30	56	41	39	1.99	.047

Furthermore, 17 (43%) of those who were suspended or expelled had school problems in pre-study placement, compared to only 30 (25%) of those not suspended or expelled ($z = 2.083$, $p = .038$). Moreover, more of those who were maladaptive before training school also had school problems on placement (35%, 35, compared to 20%, 12 of those not maladaptive; $z = 1.98$, $p = .048$). The maladaptive boys, however, tended to not have delinquent associates (23%, 23) while those who were not maladaptive before training school had them (44%, 26; $z = 2.793$, $p = .005$).

The boy's history of delinquency prior to training school quite clearly affected his criminal activity while on pre-study and study placements. Although the T.S.A. Section under which admitted to training school was virtually meaningless throughout the study, the Section 8 boys themselves were of some particular interest. While Section 8 is usually reserved for admitting unmanageable/behaviour problem children and Section 9 for delinquency problems, all but 12 of these Section 8 boys had some criminal involvement before training school. As can be seen in Figure 3, between 60% and 70% of both Section 8 and Section 9 boys who were charged before training school were likely to be again charged on pre-study placement, and similarly on the study placement. Not only is it curious that so many Section 8 boys had a prior delinquent history, but also that such a large portion of them were repeating this type of activity in later phases. One would suspect that T.S.A. Section 8 has been improperly used in admitting these boys.

T.S.A. Section under which admitted was significantly related to the type of placement situations. Only 32 (57%) of the Section 8 boys were first placed to their own homes on pre-study placement, while 77 (75%) of the Section 9 boys were placed there ($z = 2.29$, $p = .022$). However, for 71% of the Section 9 boys (73), their placements were back in the same setting as before their last training school stay, compared to only 30 (54%) of the Section 8 boys ($z = 2.2$, $p = .028$).

A history of court appearances before training school seems to be a fairly good indicator of subsequent criminal involvement on placement (see Table 13). Boys who had court appearance prior to the one admitting them to training school tended to be again involved in crime on pre-study placement, charged with an offence and later returned to training school for their delinquency.

FIGURE 3

CONTINUING PATTERN OF DELINQUENCY OF BOYS
ADMITTED UNDER SECTION 8 AND SECTION 9

HAD PRE-INSTITUTIONAL CHARGES COMMITTED CRIME ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT CHARGED WHEN ON STUDY PLACEMENT

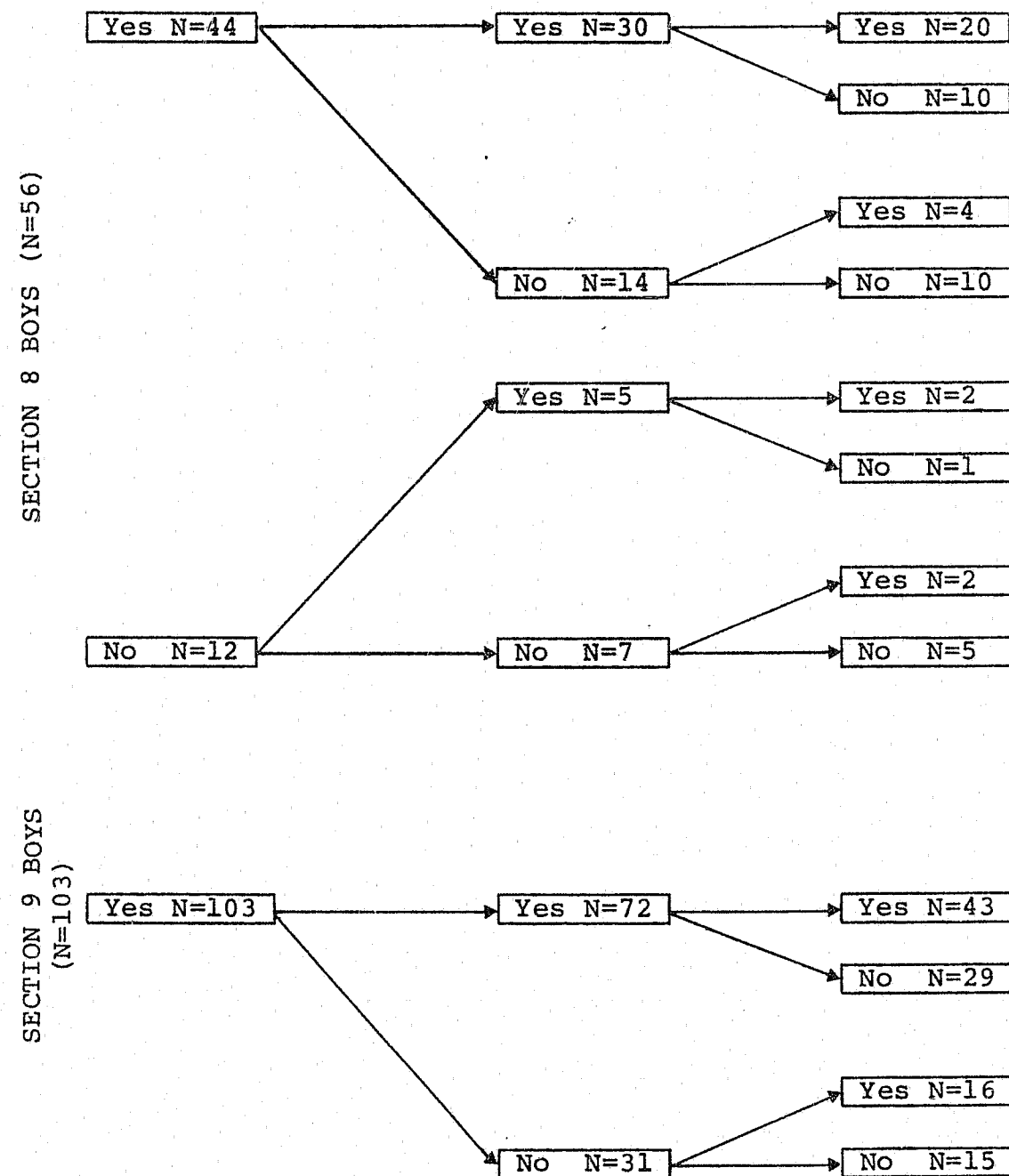


TABLE 13

THE EFFECT OF PRIOR COURT APPEARANCES ON PRE-STUDY
PLACEMENT CRIME

CRIME ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	PRIOR COURT APPEARANCES (BEFORE T. S.)					
	Yes (N=123)		No (N=36)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Was Involved in Crime	88	72	19	53	2.126	.033
Was charged	75	61	15	42	2.072	.038
Returned to T.S. for Delinquency	79	64	10	28	3.886	.0001

TABLE 14

THE EFFECT OF A PRIOR STAY IN JAIL ON PRE-STUDY
PLACEMENT CRIME

	IN JAIL/DETENTION (BEFORE T. S.)					
CRIME ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT	Yes (N=46)		No (N=113)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Was Involved in Crime	25	54	82	73	2.227	.026
Was Charged	18	39	72	64	2.858	.004
Had Court Appearances	10	22	60	53	3.621	.0004

Similarly, those with prior probations (65%, 57) were later returned for delinquency as well (45%, 32; $z = 2.503$, $p = .012$). It is of interest that so many of those without prior appearances were involved in crime on this placement as well.

One apparent deterrent to later crime seemed to be a stay in jail or detention centre before training school. Boys who had an earlier stay in jail or detention centre were less likely to have been involved in crime, have been charged or have had court appearances on pre-study placement as shown in Table 14. It would appear that a prior appearance in court did not discourage further criminal activities as much as a stay in jail or detention centre did. However, it is important to note that a large proportion of those who had not had prior jail experience were now showing exceptionally poor behaviour. Possibly, this may reflect a part of the learning experience to be had in training school.

G - THE MULTIPLE RETURNEES

OVERVIEW

The study sample contained 59 multiple returnees and 100 single returnees. The multiple returnees experienced training school more extensively yet failed to gain any new coping skills from their added experiences. During their various placement situations, the multiple returnees maintained a greater level of misbehaviour. They tended to involve themselves in positive programmes such as work or school much less than the single returnees. There were no real differences between the returnee groups as to criminal involvement, although the multiple returnees of course, had more extensive prior criminal histories. The data would suggest that the single returnees would follow in the footsteps of their predecessors, the multiple returnees.

As mentioned, the sample contained 59 boys (37%) who were multiple returnees having been returned to training school more than once prior to the study period. The other 100 boys (63%) had had only one return to training school prior to the study period. Therefore, only the multiple returnees had other training school stays and other placements.

During their other training school stays, these multiple returnees showed a continuous pattern of poor behaviour with consistent academic personality and behaviour problems (see Section B). Their other placements tended to be short in duration and once again replete with the same problems as while in training school (see Section C). In addition, however, they showed considerable criminal tendencies. It would seem that these boys, although they had experienced the training school programme quite fully, had not yet improved their behaviour.

One hundred of the boys had not had a previous placement from training school, therefore, the pre-study placement was their first. For the other 59, this was just another placement from training school. It was not a surprise to learn that most of the single returnees were placed immediately into their original living situations as the first consideration. It would seem that the Ministry took an interest in the re-establishment of the family balance. As many as 77 (77%) of the single returnees were returned to their original living situation compared to 26 (44%) of the multiple returnees who found themselves in the same setting as before their last return. For 82 (82%) of the single returnees, their placement was to their own homes, while most (54%, 32) of the multiple returnees were settled into situations other than their own homes ($z = 3.78$, $p < .0002$).

The length of time spent on placement varied between the single and the multiple returnees as shown below. The boys who were experiencing a placement for the first time stayed in the community much longer than the multiple returnees.

NUMBER OF PLACEMENTS	DURATION OF PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT (MONTHS)				
	≤ 3		4-6	6+	TOTAL
	N	%	N	%	
Single Returnees	24	24	27	27	49 49
Multiple Returnees	23	39	23	39	13 22

$$\chi^2 = 11.432, df = 2, p = .0033$$

However, while in the community, more of the single returnees tended to keep delinquent associates (37%, 37) than the multiple returnees (20%, 12; $z = 2.21, p = .027$).

The number of pre-study placements did not seem to affect the study period placement in any way. The only significant difference which emerged between the groups was in the degree of poor behaviour. The multiple returnees tended to be more maladaptive than the single returnees (41%, 24 compared to 24%, 24; $z = 2.23, p = .026$), however, this is not surprising since the multiple returnees were always slightly more misbehaved.

In the current situation, only a small portion of either group were involved in an educational programme. However, there was still a difference between the single and multiple returnees shown in Table 15. More of the single returnees were not involved in any academic pursuits while more of the multiple returnees were in a training school or some other such programme.

In the work environment though, as seen in Table 16, the single returnees, although less inclined to attend school, were more inclined to work. The multiple returnees, on the other hand, still failed to occupy their time as constructively. The combination of these last two tables in Table 17 shows precisely how many boys were occupied at all at study closing.

These data indicated that a larger proportion of the boys had much time on their hands, therefore, it is not surprising that criminal involvement ensued. However, there

TABLE 15

NUMBER OF RETURNS BY SCHOOL INVOLVEMENT AT CLOSING

NUMBER OF PRE-STUDY PLACEMENTS	NOW ACADEMIC PURSUITS				TOTAL
	Yes	No	Training Sch./Other		
	N	%	N	%	
Single Returnees	6	6	78	78	16 16
Multiple Returnees	5	9	34	58	20 34

$$\chi^2 = 7.765, df = 2, p = .021$$

TABLE 16

NUMBER OF RETURNS BY WORK INVOLVEMENT AT CLOSING

NUMBER OF PRE-STUDY PLACEMENTS	NOW WORKING				TOTAL
	Yes	No	Other		
	N	%	N	%	
Single Returnees	43	43	44	44	13 13
Multiple Returnees	12	20	34	58	13 33

$$\chi^2 = 8.765, df = 2, p = .013$$

TABLE 17

NUMBER OF RETURNS BY SCHOOL/WORK INVOLVEMENT AT CLOSING

NUMBER OF PRE-STUDY PLACEMENTS	SCHOOL/WORK				TOTAL
	Now Working/ Now in School	Not Working/ Not in School	Never Worked/ Never went to School		
	N	%	N	%	
Single Returnees	48	48	37	37	15 15
Multiple Returnees	17	29	29	49	13 22

$$\chi^2 = 5.704, df = 2, p = .058$$

were no real differences between the types of crimes committed by these returnees. Of minor interest is the fact that the receipt of fines was a court disposition earned more by the single returnees. This might indicate that the delinquencies of these boys were of a more minor nature.

On the whole then, the multiple returnees seemed to consistently exhibit poor behaviour, so that they required several returns to a training school programme. The single returnees on the other hand were always slightly better behaved. What is uncertain is whether the difference is because the negative behaviour, like that of the multiple returnees, had not yet been learned by the single returnees. The foremost dividing feature between the groups was their degree of 'hardened delinquency'. The fact that the single returnees had been returned at the outset of the study period would suggest that this learning process was well underway.

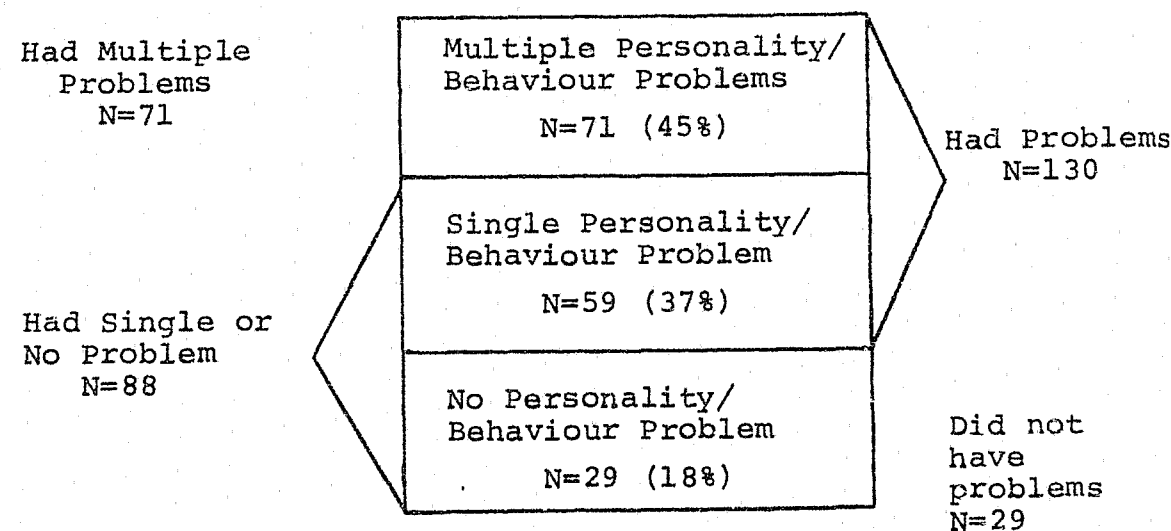
H - PERSONALITY AND BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS

OVERVIEW

On the basis of the incidence of personality dysfunctions and maladaptive behaviour among boys during their first training school stay, three problem groups emerged: 71 boys with multiple personality/behaviour problems, 59 boys with either a personality or behaviour problem and only 29 boys without either personality or behaviour problems. Well over three-quarters of the sample suffered at least one such dysfunction in training school and in almost half the cases there were multiple dysfunctions. The multi-problem boys tended to evidence difficulties before training school such as academic problems and the need for psychiatric treatment. Those without personality/behaviour problems in training school had a minimum of difficulties throughout their training experiences while those with problems continued to have them all through their subsequent stays. On placement, the no-problem boys stayed in the community longer, although they acted out as much as the boys with a single personality or behaviour problem. All groups were actively delinquent on pre-study placement although the single-problem boys were more so. The overlap of difficulties was again quite evident. Furthermore, various dysfunctions existed prior to and during training school and these did not lessen to any great degree as a result of the correctional experience.

A combined personality/behaviour problem variable was created on the basis of the incidence of personality dysfunctions and maladaptive behaviour exhibited in the first training school experience. Three 'problem' groups emerged among the 159 wards:

- 1) those with both personality and behaviour problems;
- 2) those with either a personality or behaviour problem;
- 3) those with neither type of problem.



As seen in the diagram, the co-existence of problem areas was extensive, and should have been a matter of prime concern to programmers. During this first training school experience, the multi-problem wards tended to have more academic difficulties (62%, 44) than either of the other two groups ($\chi^2 = 6.033$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). The combined single and no-problem boys tended to have better peer relations while at training school. Only 26 (30%) of these boys were bullies with their peers compared to 30 (42%) of the multi-problem group ($z = 1.69$, $p = .09$). Also, only 8 (9%) of the single/no-problem boys were scapegoats of their friends compared to 23 (32%) of the others ($z = 3.73$, $p < .0002$).

It must be noted that these problems demonstrated in the first training school experience were part of patterns of bad behaviour continued from before training school. The boys with multi-problems in training school had many problems before as well.

	PERSONALITY/BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS					
PROBLEMS PRIOR TO TRAINING SCHOOL	Had Multiple Problems (N=71)		Had Single/No Problems (N=88)		z	p
	N	%	N	%		
Academic Problems	28	39	18	20	2.63	.009
Suspended/ Expelled	23	32	17	19	1.91	.056
Received psy- chiatric treatment	44	62	41	47	1.96	.05

Prior to entering training school; the multi-problem boys had more academic problems and were more often suspended/expelled from school. Furthermore, they had received psychiatric care in the community and this pattern continued into training school. While 32 (45%) of the multi-problem group experienced psychiatric care in training school, only 24 (27%) of the others had ($z = 2.36$, $p = .018$).

On the whole, the personality/behaviour problem groups tended to have more than one return to training school (37%, 26 of the multi-problem boys; 49%, 29 of the single-problem group; 14%, 4 of the no-problem boys; $\chi^2 = 10.429$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). As might be expected though, the boys with no problems demonstrated better behaviour throughout their training school stays than those with problems. More of the boys without problems did not go AWOL or have bad behaviour reports written on them than those with problems. Moreover, those with problems tended to have a higher mean number of each in those cases where they were noted.

AWOL's & B.R.'s	PERSONALITY/BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS			
	No Problems (N=29)	Had Problems (N=130)	z	p
Did not go AWOL	12 (41%)	30 (23%)	2.03	.042
Average AWOL's	1.94	3.26	2.34	.019
Did not get B.R.'s	13 (45%)	32 (25%)	2.19	.029
Average BR's	2.63	4.65	2.50	.012

Upon leaving training school for the last time, there was a tendency for the boys who had fewer problems in the first training school experience to remain in an academic programme (45%, 32 of the multi-problem boys; 56%, 33 of the single-problem boys; 76%, 22 of the no-problem group; $\chi^2 = 7.935$, $df = 2$, $p < .02$).

As shown, behaviour and personality difficulties existed prior to the first training school experience. As well, the boys demonstrating these problems in the first training school experience continued to evidence them in all subsequent training school stays. During the study training school experience, those wards with behaviour/personality problems continued to demonstrate personality dysfunctions (30%, 39 compared to 10%, 3 of the no-problem group; $z = 2.18$, $p = .029$) and maladaptive behaviour (56%, 73 compared to 28%, 8 of the no-problem boys; $z = 2.80$, $p = .005$).

There were insufficient data available on the placement experience, with the exception of the pre-study placement. During this placement experience the single-problem boys showed much better behaviour than they had before, and the multiple and no-problem boys did considerably worse. The single-problem boys were placed in their own homes less often than the other groups (58%, 34 as compared to 72%, 51 of the multi-problem group, and 83%, 24 of the no-problem boys; $\chi^2 = 6.336$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). The length of stay on placement was considerably longer for the no-problem group than either of the other groups of boys, as shown in the following table:

PERSONALITY/ BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS	LENGTH OF STAY (MONTHS) ON PRE-STUDY PLACEMENT					
	<3		4-6		6+	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Multiple Problems	28	39	19	27	24	34
Single Problems	13	22	24	41	22	37
No Problems	6	21	7	24	16	55
TOTAL	47		50		62	

$$\chi^2 = 9.314, df = 4, p < .05$$

As mentioned though, it was during this experience that there was a reversal of the previously established pattern. The single-problem group showed considerably more criminal tendencies, while the no-problem group tended to behave much worse on all counts. The single-problem boys (48%, 28) were less truant than either of the other groups (69% or 69 of the others; $z = 2.72$, $p = .006$) and there was a trend for the single-problem boys to commit fewer AWOL's ($z = 2.05$, $p = .040$).

Criminal activity was considerably greater among the single-problem boys (80%, 47) than the multiple (59%, 42) and no-problem groups (62%, 18; $\chi^2 = 6.599$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$). Similarly, 42 (71%) of the single-problem boys were charged in the community compared to 32 (45%) of the multi-problem boys and 16 (55%) of the no-problem boys ($\chi^2 = 8.977$, $df = 2$, $p < .02$).

The placement experience in the study period though, showed once again the previously established pattern of boys with many personality/behaviour problems continuing to have

these difficulties as well as several other problems. Adults had greater difficulty in coping with the multi-problem group (30%, 21) than the single or no-problem groups (13%, 11; $z = 2.70$, $p = .007$). Furthermore, they were more likely to go AWOL (52%, 37) than the others (40%, 35; $z = 1.57$, $p = .116$). The first contact with the law occurred much sooner for the problem groups (Mean = 4.3 mo.) than for the no-problem boys (Mean = 6.9 mo.; $z = 3.07$, $p = .002$).

On the whole, the problem groups did have various other problems (psychiatric, school, etc.) over and above these personality/behaviour difficulties and these dysfunctions which existed prior to and during training school, did not lessen to any noticeable degree as a result of training school. Psychiatric treatment was extended to a majority of those wards requiring it, but one group of boys continued to be exceptionally troubled, that is, the multi-problem group.

The only diversion from this pattern of problems occurred during the pre-study period placement in which the single-problem group became increasingly delinquent and the behaviour of the no-problem boys deteriorated. One possible reason for this is that these boys sifted through the correctional system simply by being relatively inconspicuous problem children. Once on placement though, the difficulties which for so long remained dormant while in training school, reappeared.

III. OVERVIEW OF THE RESULTS

It becomes increasingly evident throughout this report that the 159 boys in this sample were multi-problem boys from multi-problem families. Behaviour management and delinquency problems overlapped to the extent that the T.S.A. Sections under which the boys were admitted to training school were virtually meaningless. All but 12 of the 159 boys (92%) had a history of delinquency before entering training school and all but two boys (99%) had a failing in the area of either their school, behaviour or personality. However, these boys were not a particularly homogenous group since each boy had these problems of varying types and intensities. Furthermore, difficulties existed in distressed family environments.

The family environments were, on the whole, too impoverished to support the development of personal skills among these boys. Family backgrounds tended to be quite disturbed and there was little indication of the potential for later improvement. Delivering community agency services to these families did not seem to solve their problems. What should be made then, is a concerted effort to help the boys to separate from their families with less trauma. An intensive life-skills programme, which could be made available to them in training school, would strengthen their individual responsibility for living in the community.

Boys in this sample were unable to cope with their community situations. Again and again they failed while on placement, through the lack of a positive environment and/or coping skills. All the boys failed on placement at least once before the study period and 59 failed more than once. Since failing was a common occurrence among these wards, perhaps a closer look should be taken at the supervision they received while in the community.

In the first report in this series, Birkenmayer and Polonoski (1975), the results of interviews with a sub-sample of 100 of these boys were examined. The reader may be assured that this sub-sample was found to be representative of the whole. Reviewing results from this first report shows that 47% of those interviewed felt their PACO was of no assistance to them. For those who found their PACO helpful, the help given was largely in the areas of general advice and job-finding. It would seem that for both the boys in the sub-sample and in the whole, active emotional support was lacking in the community. Although these were sentiments of the wards themselves, they should be accepted as an indicator of the need for increased quality of aftercare.

In addition, 25% of the boys were not seeking advice or assistance from anyone, but were relying on their own poor judgements. With the boys themselves, viewing their supervising

PACO's as irrelevant, doubt arises as to how proper help can be effectively given and received from them. The philosophy of the system must be closely examined when those whom the system is trying to help, do not view the system as being helpful. As a result, 60% of the sub-sample referred to their family unit for help and advice. When one considers the degree of disorder in these families, one cannot help but feel pessimistic about the kind of guidance the boys received. Of course, any guidance given to these youth should involve the notion that they must take some responsibility for the direction of their lives. However, this must be highly supported by helpful others. For example, it may be possible to use, more extensively, prime workers who could supply more comprehensive supervision and guidance to these fumbling youth. Also, special leaves from training school and other such contacts with the home community should be advocated, to maintain contact between the ward and the community environment, as well as to strengthen ties between after-care personnel and their clients.

Furthermore, any positive learning experiences acquired in the training school would be maintained through the increased use of supportive systems in the community, such as group homes. The California Youth Authority Group Homes Project, and especially Criswell House and Achievement Place, have stressed environments in which "boys can develop responsibility for making decisions affecting their own lives and those with whom they live" and where they can be oriented towards developing responsibilities in the community¹. Intensive group counselling would accentuate the peer group as a primary source of valuable information as well as allow for the ventilation of individual difficulties. A guided group interaction programme such as the Positive Peer Culture has been used with success, to encourage the discussion and sharing of the group's problems. Focus is on the entire population dealing with crises which may affect each one of them.

On the school scene, these boys were particularly disenchanting with the educational system. Only 16% (25) of the boys did not have a school-related problem prior to entering training school. While the proportion of boys who demonstrated such problems decreased slightly in training school, it was not apparent that the educational experience in training school lent much benefit to their later adjustment in the community.

A major presenting problem of these wards then was that they suffered severe academic and behaviour handicaps in school and that their family life was too negative to be conducive to their well-being. School problems were evident in all situations. This would suggest that either the school programmes were not practical for these children or these programmes were not geared properly to their needs. Most of the children entering the correctional system are achieving at levels lower than expected

1. Ontario, 1976, p.59.

for their age. What must be offered to these youth in training schools then are programmes which can encompass the most basic learning skills and basic survival skills. The Providence Educational Centre's programme (PEC) is of the opinion that long-term rehabilitation of delinquents is contingent on the development of those skills needed to experience success in school, in their family, in social relationships and on the job ². These programmes should be designed for a wide assortment of youth, as well as offering individual instruction geared to specific needs of a child, his learning style and speed. A result would be increased interest by the youth and greater individual achievement. Clearly, no benefit accrued from what schooling they had. These boys were not competent at the most basic level of instruction, therefore, they were limited in their performance. A significant need then is for an educational programme which will offer the basic skills through a truly innovative teaching method.

Performance difficulties were carried over into their work experiences. The fact that these boys were not doing much better on the employment scene suggests that they were not prepared for this experience either. The follow-up study of the sub-sample revealed that the greatest problem faced in school was boredom and disinterest. Both of these can be somewhat alleviated if the educational programme offers tangible results for the boys' efforts, such as through work experiences, which can vary from volunteer work (with some small remuneration) to regular employment. Job-related skills must be learned and a programme such as the work-study programme would be important in helping these boys get and hold jobs. It was learned from the follow-up interviews that 28% of the sub-sample had difficulty in locating work after leaving training school, although 89% finally found at least one job. The jobs themselves were in the nature of labour, sales and services. For 45% of the boys, their highest-paying job was \$2.50 per hour or less. Only 43% of the wards were still employed at the time of their interview (an average of 5.8 months after graduation). It is quite evident then that all these boys could use some assistance in developing job-related skills.

It was not just in the community that these boys evidenced adjustment problems. Extensive AWOL's and BR's in training school imply that children were not without difficulty adjusting there. Of the total 159 boys in the sample, 26% had never gone AWOL and 28% had not received a bad behaviour report. All but 17 boys (89%) had one or both of these on their records. Those who went AWOL, did so an average of 3.07 times and those who merited bad behaviour reports earned an average of 4.37. This would suggest that these boys had considerable difficulty in settling into that system as well.

The most fundamental question emerging from these data is concerned with the effect of the training school system on this particular group of boys. Reference may be made to Figures

2. U.S. Department of Justice, 1975, p.2.

4 and 5 in which the continuing patterns of delinquency of the single and multiple returnees are shown. In these diagrams we find little difference between criminality in the last study phase between the 100 single and 59 multiple returnees. In fact, the data in the whole report pointed to the fact that several training school stays did not deter behavioural or criminal acting out much more than a single stay. Furthermore, behaviour after any particular stay was similar to the behaviour shown prior to training school. It may, therefore, be more meaningful if an alternate approach was considered after the child had been returned to training school once. Which alternatives would be best suited at this stage, however, is entirely another problem requiring close scrutiny. However, it is quite evident that a highly specialized programme for returnees is required.

Given these trends, it is somewhat curious that any of these boys had a 'good' outcome at all, as a result of their experience. The ultimate outcome was rated as 'good' for only 41 boys (26%) in the whole sample. It would appear as if, almost by chance, this handful of boys managed to stay out of trouble with the law as well as keep up their school or work attendance. Only 29 boys (18%) were actively involved with work or school, had not had any contact with the law, and were not AWOL, at the study closing. For whatever reason, boys who had extremely disrupted backgrounds, other difficult experiences and who should, therefore, be expected to fail miserably, were doing surprisingly well at the close of the study.

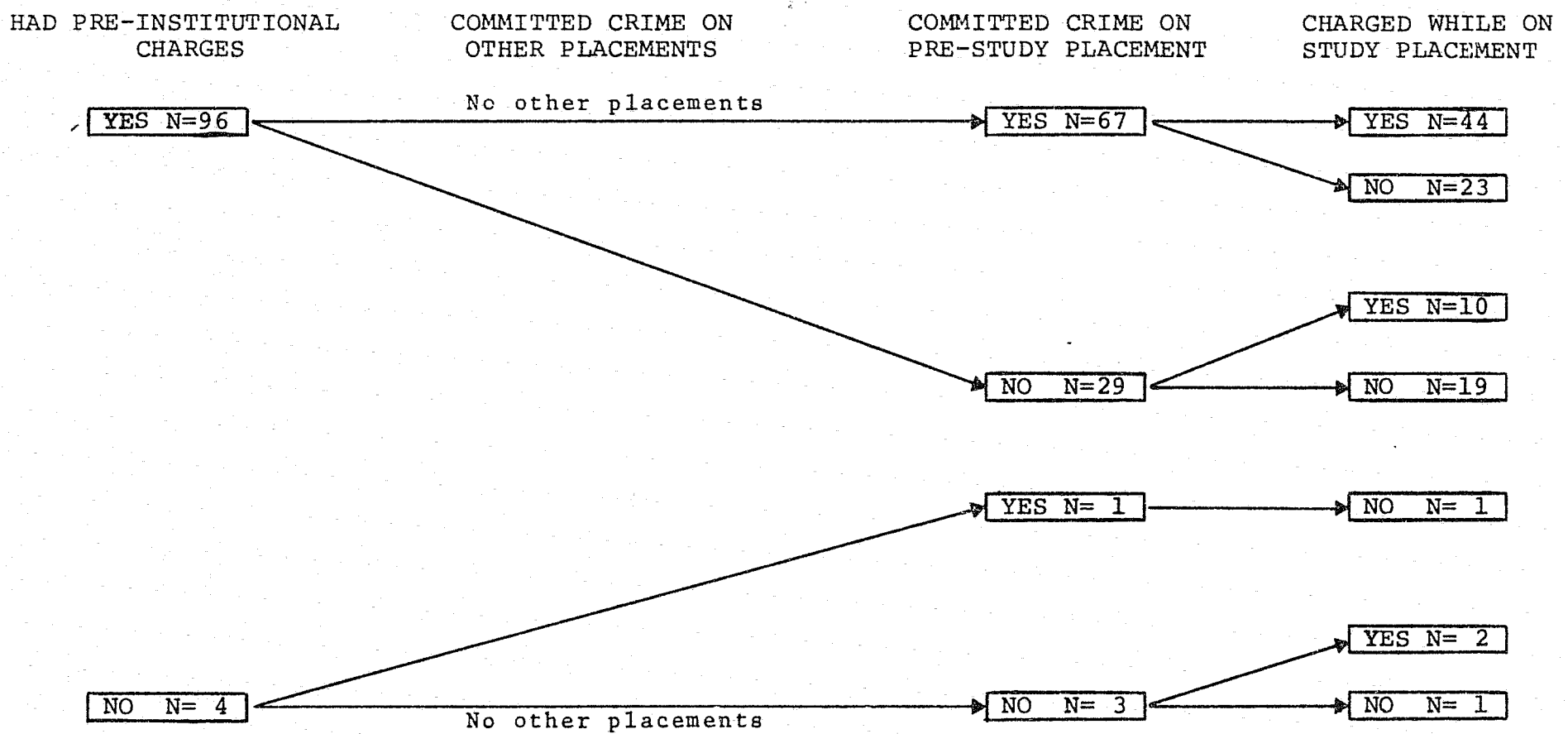
Level of maturity may have affected type of outcome. In the aforementioned follow-up study of the sub-sample of this group it was found that "most of the boys ... were socially immature and suffered low toleration to frustration, and these factors acting in problem environments without adequate support allowed only those with more personal coping ability to overcome these great difficulties"³.

As seen, the behaviour of these boys while in the community tended to be similar to that exhibited before a training school stay. At no time did it seem that any new capabilities had been acquired to make their way easier. Several existing problems continued to emerge at any time, to any degree, and since these boys were no more competent in handling their problems after training school than before it, old problems were solved by old methods. One such problem is in the area of their delinquent behaviour. In Figures 4 and 5, continuing patterns of delinquency are shown, although it is not difficult to see that no true 'patterns' in fact existed. There was a tendency though, for the manifestation of the boys' criminal inclinations to fluctuate from placement to placement. Delinquency either emerged or did not, depending probably on the difficulties the boy faced while in the community. This situation is similar for the single and multiple returnees, in that many of both types of returnees

3. Birkenmayer & Polonoski, 1975, p.23.

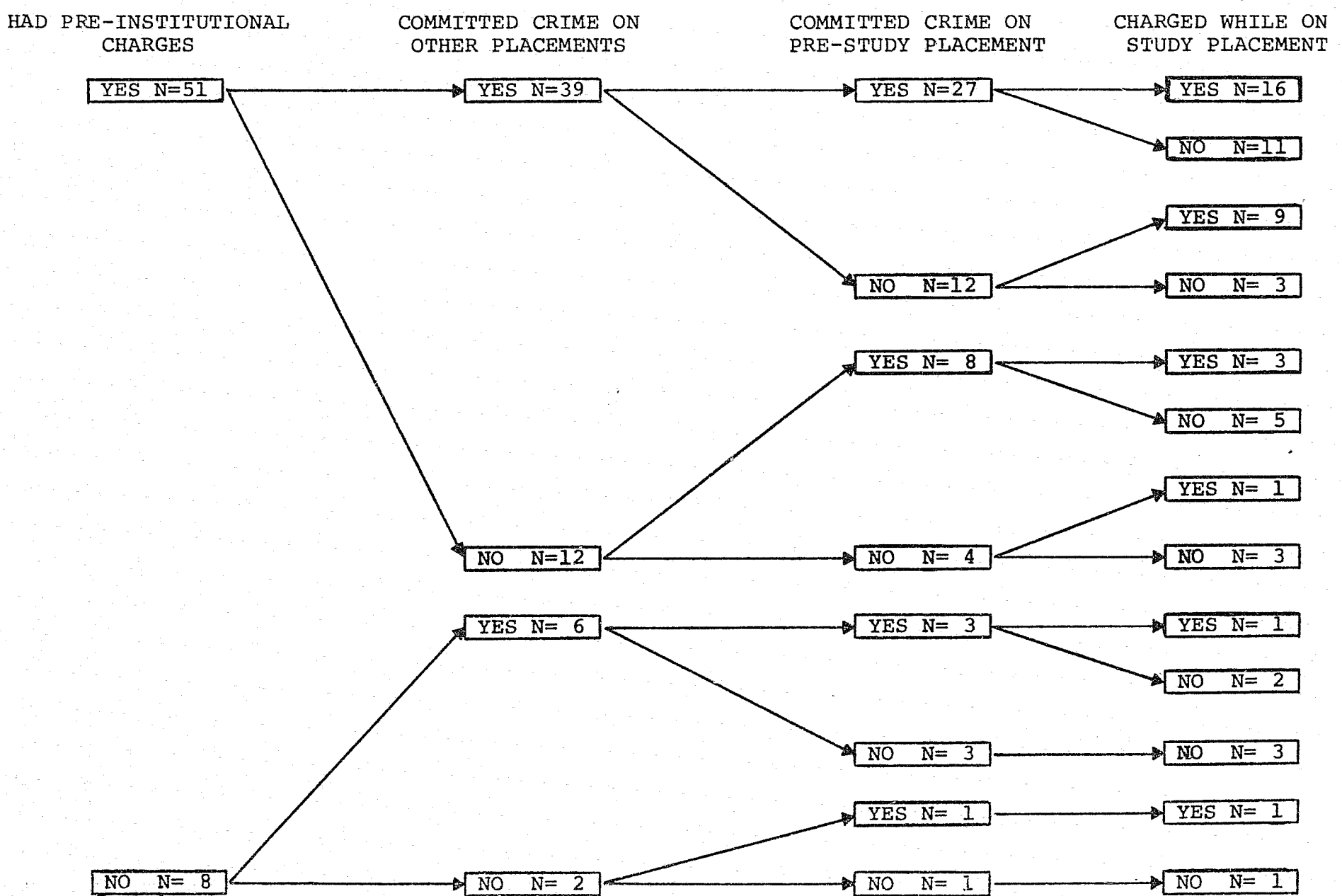
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were oscillating in their delinquent behaviour. Similarly, both groups had boys who continued to be delinquent as well as boys who continued to refrain from delinquency throughout all phases of the study. Reasons for this continuity, however, are not altogether clear. What does seem to be quite clear though, is that there existed a group of boys who remained unaffected by the correctional experience and also a group who were consistently non-criminal. One must immediately question why this latter group were in and out of the institution as much as they were. It is also important to investigate at this point the deterrent effect or rehabilitative purpose of the training school, as it stands. The point is that training school was not satisfying the educational needs of these boys, nor was it, after one stay or several, deterring their criminal acting out.

The major issue which emerges must centre around the reason for being returned to training school. A significant number of these boys were returned for no apparent delinquencies, therefore, they must have been returned for reasons such as replacement, medical treatment or school problems. Surely, these matters could be dealt with in the community. Perhaps a new direction should be taken in the Aftercare Service. More innovative programming should be possible, instead of the one-to-one crisis intervention model now generally in use. Here, volunteers could be used more effectively as well. A variety of group activities and programmes should be established which could help these youths with their social, behavioural, academic and job problems in the community. In this way, problems would be dealt with before they reached crisis proportions.

Moreover, it might be desirable to refuse to re-admit youngsters to training school without due process of law. To a large degree the system demands that our wards be better behaved than the average child in their age cohort. If return to training school was blocked as the primary option, the community could be forced to take a better approach to the whole question of caring for youth. However, it cannot be denied that there will still be a significant number of youth returned, since there are no optional programmes at present.

In answer to the question whether any short-term programme would work for these youth, the response would probably have to be negative. The obvious need is to develop intensive long-term programmes which have a theoretical basis for claiming some success. It must be realized though, that 100% success is not feasible.

The fact is that not much progress has been made in programming for delinquent youth. In 1972, Lambert and Birkenmayer argued that "... for the more unstable wards, the training school experience alone was not sufficient to prepare them to cope with the problems within the environment to which they were returned" (p.29). One solution, suggested at that time, was a very intensive long-term group home programme.

Unfortunately, widespread use of such facilities as group homes has never been adequately pursued by this Ministry. Consequently, there is no extant programme which can offer effective long-term care for very troubled youth. There can be no doubt that long-term programmes are necessary to overcome the many years of neglect, mismanagement and abuse to which these youth have been subjected.

In developing new programmes great care should be taken to avoid the pitfalls of fostering institutional management at the expense of future community adjustment. Programmes that foster smooth-running institutions rarely, if ever, contribute to improved community adjustment (Shortt, 1975). These youth must acquire the requisite skills which will enable them to survive effectively in the social milieu in which they will find themselves. Moreover, these skills must be supported by the appropriate attitudinal structure. It is quite evident that these boys have not acquired any pro-social attitudes.

In order to achieve effective programming for these youth, the following processes will be necessary:

- 1) Specification of the target behaviours and needs which will be the focus of the programme.
- 2) Specification of the processes that will impinge on the youth to achieve the acquisition of new skills and attitudes.
- 3) Specification of the theoretical or logical reason why these processes should work.
- 4) Specification of the desired outcome for the youth as well as the expected duration of the effect of this intervention.
- 5) Specification of the expected level of success.

At this point in time, there is a distinct paucity of programmes which could stand up to such a rigorous examination of their processes. Yet if a programme is to be effective it must comply with these requirements. Two such programmes, which are worthy to note, are Positive Peer Culture and Achievement Place. The merit of these programmes can be gauged by the fact that both are replicable. In the long run, the fact that a programme can be replicated is its best testimonial.

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