

VOCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE ADOLESCENT OFFENDER

Some Applications to New Haven and
B.C. Borstal Association groups.

by

FRANK BACH

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard
required for the degree
of Master of Social Work

.....

.....

School of Social Work

1961

The University of British Columbia

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfilment of the requirements for an advanced degree at the University of British Columbia, I agree that the Library shall make it freely available for reference and study. I further agree that permission for extensive copying of this thesis for scholarly purposes may be granted by the Head of my Department or by his representatives. It is understood that copying or publication of this thesis for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Department of

School of Social Work

The University of British Columbia,
Vancouver 8, Canada.

Date

July 31 / 61

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Adolescence and The "Vocational Threshold"

General problems of adolescence ... Importance of the "Vocational Threshold"... Inadequacies of the labour market and the personality of the individual as possible sources of difficulty in occupational adjustment ... Significance of the B.C. Borstal System ... Selection and description of the sample ----- 1

Chapter 2. Borstal and the "Occupational Bridge"

The New Haven Community and the B. C. Borstal Program... The success of Group I and the failure of Group II as measured by the "Determinants of Occupational Adjustment": economic status and stability of family; amount of education; wise or haphazard choice of occupation; character of first employments; and character of "significant" relationships ... Significance of Borstal relationships ----- 37

Chapter 3. Borstal and Incipient Manhood

Emotional maturity... Comparison of groups in relation to indicators of personality adjustment: marital status; time of first marriage; and recidivism... The relevance of psychiatric reports... Limited effectiveness of Borstal Treatment ----- 69

Chapter 4. The Community and the Young Worker

Specialized treatment services: social casework; institutional treatment programs; and casework in a vocational guidance setting... Broad community services - labour market organization: The British "Youth Employment Service"; the Canadian Youth Commission study... The high school "dropout" as a typical "disadvantaged" adolescent... Requirements of a comprehensive youth employment program... Concluding Remarks -- 79

Appendices:	A. New Haven Form Used for Vocational Training Report -----	104
	B. New Haven Form Used for Monthly Report -----	105
	C. Duties of Sponsor -----	106
	D. Bibliography -----	107

TABLES AND CHARTS IN THIS TEXT

(a) Tables

Table 1.	Occupational status of fathers	47
Table 2.	Academic achievement of Groups I and II	48
Table 3.	Reasons for leaving school, Groups I and II	50
Table 4.	Occupational classification, prior to entering New Haven	52
Table 5.	Average duration of employment prior to entering New Haven	53
Table 6.	Character of masculine relationships	54
Table 7.	Comparison of Groups in relation to marital status ..	71
Table 8.	Number of first marriages during specific periods ..	72
Table 9.	Comparison of Groups in relation to recidivism	74
Table 10.	Comparison of Groups in relation to psychiatric diagnoses	75

(b) Charts

Fig. 1.	Proportionate securance of the principal levels of education, in relation to the most typical occupational classes to which they lead	16A
Fig. 2.	Numbers of Men and Job Duration (Range and Average) according to Occupational Groups - Group I	33
Fig. 3.	Number of Men and Job Duration (Range and Average) according to Occupational Groups - Group II	33
Fig. 4.	Comparison of periods in terms of the Determinants of Occupational Adjustment and the degree of change in prognosis - Group I	57

ABSTRACT

The transition from school to work is a highly significant event in the lives of all young people. For adolescent boys, especially, it warrants thoughtful planning and preparation, since the type of work a man does will have far-reaching effects on his life as a whole. The amount of planning and the nature and extent of his preparation, in the form of education and training, will be major factors in determining his status in one of the main occupational categories - professional, technical, semi-skilled or unskilled. At the same time, many youths do not plan or prepare themselves because of lack of ability or opportunity, and are thereby at a disadvantage in striving to attain higher occupational status. The limitations to individual ability and opportunity are grouped under "Personality Inadequacies" and "Labour Market Inadequacies".

This study is concerned primarily with the occupational adjustment problems of the "disadvantaged" adolescent boy. The sample selected is a group of former young offenders - "graduates of the New Haven "Community" and the B.C. Borstal system. The advantages in selection of this group are the high incidence of employment problems, to which a remedial program has been applied, with some members achieving occupational adjustment (Group I), and some failing to do so (Group II). Reasonably complete records are also available. A limiting factor is the delinquent behaviour of youths in the sample, which distinguishes them from non-delinquent, "disadvantaged" youngsters. However, since all persons in the sample have been delinquent, the findings in terms of occupational adjustment of both groups should not be affected.

To investigate the reasons for achievement and non-achievement, the "Determinants of Occupational Adjustment" were applied to the sample in order to establish which of three factors might explain these differences in eventual occupational adjustment: differences in the pre-New Haven period, differential treatment; or differential response to treatment. These "Determinants" are: economic status and stability of family; amount of education; wise or haphazard choice of occupation; character of first employments; and character of significant relationships. These do not exhaust all possible factors but are representative of the major influences upon a man's "working life".

It must be emphasized that this is a small sample, which can, however, serve for illustrative purposes. On the basis of the "Determinants", characteristics of youths in both groups in the pre-New Haven period would contraindicate eventual occupational adjustment. Young men in both groups received equal treatment at New Haven and on parole. Therefore groups differ in their response to treatment. These differences are closely linked to relative capacity for satisfactory interpersonal relationships with staff and sponsors. This conclusion is corroborated by the eventual successful social adjustment of Group I and the unsuccessful performance of Group II as evidenced in few marriages, unstable marital relationships, and a high incidence of recidivism. Psychiatric reports indicated more severe personality disturbance in Group II. Thus, Borstal treatment emphasizing interpersonal relationships, "work therapy", vocational guidance and job placement was not effective for Group II because the degree of personality disturbance of young men in this group constituted a barrier to response. Therefore alternative specialized treatment is required. But the Borstal program was effective for Group I. Since there are many similarities between this group, the high school "dropout" and other disadvantaged adolescents, a similar approach, combining opportunity for positive relationships with adults and help in planning, preparation and job placement, should be helpful to these other troubled adolescents as well. A comprehensive youth employment program would contribute to prevention of occupational maladjustment and its effects in terms of both individual and national welfare.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am happy to express my appreciation for the guidance and helpful suggestions offered by both Dr. Leonard Marsh and Mr. John Fornataro. To Members of the Board of Directors and staff of Catholic Family Service of Calgary I am grateful for continued interest and encouragement. And finally a sincere thank you to my wife and family.

VOCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE

A Study of Youthful Offenders and their Induction
into Employment through the B. C. Borstal System

CHAPTER 1

Adolescence And the "Vocational Threshold"

Adolescence is often referred to as the period of transition from childhood to adulthood. Just as any period of transition involves adaptation to changing conditions, so must the adolescent struggle to resolve the various conflicts which are so characteristic of this crucial phase of life. While he often wants and certainly needs help in this adjustment process, he finds it difficult to accept the advice or guidance of parents, teachers, and others, because, to him, this would undermine the independence which he so desperately needs to establish. Thus, adults who come in contact with him are often baffled by the inconsistencies of his attitudes and behaviour. They may then react by becoming overly permissive or by setting up rigid controls for the youth under their care.

Various writers have referred to this lack of understanding of the adolescent in Canada and the United States. Among them is Blodwen Davies, in his book based on the findings of the Canadian Youth Commission. He points to the approach of primitive peoples in dealing with their adolescent members and explains:

"In primitive societies, the point at which youth was incorporated into the adulthood of the tribe was recognized by formalities and even by rituals of considerable significance. Primitive people

recognized the importance of the crisis, both to youth and to the tribe, in assuming new responsibilities and new rights. By experience we are learning that the slurring over of the event in modern society is a symptom of our lack of understanding of human nature."¹

While Mr. Davies compares our approach unfavourably to that of primitive peoples, a juvenile court judge in the United States observes that present day European countries provide services to youth which also reflect greater understanding of human nature. Judge Mary Kohler believes that the attitude of Americans (and this could be applied equally to Canadians), is not only one of lack of understanding but one of hostility, as compared with Europeans, who:

"... recognize the adolescent for the half-man, half-child that he is, understanding that the process of growing from childhood to manhood is not an easy one, that even under the most favourable circumstances, it might give rise to serious problems which will call for patience and special handling on the part of the whole community."²

1. Davies, Blodwen, *Youth Speaks Its Mind*. The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1948; p. 61.

2. Kohler, Mary Conway, Judge, "Why Does Europe Have Less Delinquency." The Saturday Evening Post. Nov. 7, 1959; p. 19.

It is not difficult to see that insufficient understanding of the young person and his problems, coupled with the demands his behaviour places on adults who are responsible for him, could produce considerable frustration and lead to hostile attitudes and "lashing-out" behaviour, as Judge Kohler suggests.

The social worker is concerned with adjustments during adolescence as he is concerned with adjustments during other critical periods of a person's life span, e.g. marriage; parenthood; aging. Since many of the adolescent's conflicts must be dealt with in terms of inter-personal relationships, the social worker who has professional competence in this area must assume responsibility for the development of various appropriate services and resources. In the words of Mrs. Margaret S. Davis, in a paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Welfare Council in 1953,

"The social worker's concern with adolescents manifests itself obviously on two fronts:

1. There is first the interest of the practitioner, be he caseworker or group worker, in refining his own skills in working with individuals. This means also sharpening his diagnostic sense in order that he can recognize quickly when what he has to offer is not suitable or sufficient to help a given youth, so that other methods or resources are required.

2. There is also the broader area of concern, namely, community planning for the adolescent. What range of resources should we have to meet all types of adolescent need?"¹

The theme of Mrs. Davis' two points is the necessity of continuing evaluation of needs of individuals, treatment methods and available resources, and exploration and development of more effective and appropriate methods and resources. All of the problems of adolescence are of concern to the social worker and reference to many of these will be made from time to time in this study. However, special consideration will be given to the adolescent boy who encounters difficulty in the transition from school to work.

Although this process of induction into employment may not always be recognized as a basic welfare issue, it is, nevertheless, and requires urgent attention, because "the employment maladjustment of the adolescent is the unemployment problem of the adult in the future."²

1. Davis, Margaret Svendsen, "New Approaches to the Treatment of Adolescents". New Approaches to the Treatment of Adolescents. May 29, 1953, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa; p. 1.

2. Marsh, Leonard C., Employment Research. Oxford University Press; Toronto; 1935; p. 125.

Before considering vocational problems of adolescence in detail, it is desirable to discuss the more general problems of the person in this crucial period.

General Problems of Adolescence

Adolescence is characterized perhaps most accurately by its constant change and growth. Although physical growth is accompanied by an increase in self-confidence, once the reproductive organs begin to function the adolescent is overwhelmed by the intense sexual impulses and becomes insecure in every area of his functioning. He has a great supply of energy but has difficulty organizing and directing it along constructive lines.

Nevertheless he must gradually adapt to his changing body and become ~~more~~ independent of his parents, both emotionally and economically. ✓

This involves the formulation of values and consideration of life goals and means of achieving them. For the boy this includes assuming the role of a masculine person, embarking on a career, and developing appropriate and satisfying relationships with members of his own and the opposite sex, with a view to eventual marriage and parenthood.

This struggle of the adolescent to "find himself" is described by Erikson, a psycho-analyst, in a special study of social and cultural influences on personality development. He discusses the total life span in terms of the "eight stages of man". The fifth of these stages is titled "Identity vs Role Diffusion", and includes an excellent description of the plight of the adolescent:

"The growing and developing youths, faced with this physiological revolution within them, are now primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others as compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day. In their search for a new sense of continuity and sameness, adolescents have to re-fight many of the battles of earlier years even though to do so they must artificially appoint perfectly well-meaning people to play the roles of enemies; and they are ever ready to install lasting idols and ideals as guardians of a final identity...."¹

To Erikson normal personality development requires that the individual deal with these various conflicts as a means of establishing his identity as a person. He goes on to say that the individual who is unable to resolve these conflicts in a satisfactory way does not achieve this identity, is therefore troubled with repeated self-doubts, and experiences extreme difficulty in realistic planning for the future. This is, of course, the condition described in the term "Role Diffusion" which will be illustrated further in later sections dealing with problems of occupational maladjustment.

Development, of the normal adolescent, as described above, can now be considered in further detail in three major areas: adapting to his changing body; "Identification"; and the drive for independence.

1. Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society. W. W. Norton and Co. Inc.; New York; 1950; pp. 227-228.

Adapting to His Changing Body

Physiological changes and the re-awakening of sexual interest are exciting but yet frightening experiences. The youth becomes pre-occupied with these bodily changes and sensations and becomes anxious about whether he is developing properly. Natural variation in the rate of maturation of different individuals contributes to these anxious feelings. He characteristically becomes over-concerned about his physical appearance and regards even minor faults as defects which will be a barrier to his normal social functioning. But the underlying reason for the adolescent's pre-occupation with his body is self-doubt and consequent anxiety about whether he will ever be acceptable to the opposite sex and able to attain manhood, in terms of marriage and parenthood.

The adolescent who has received some preparation for these bodily changes and their effects is, of course, much better able to work out means of adjustment and control of his impulses and feelings without developing extreme anxiety. While he still experiences considerable conflict he can be more confident in dealing with it.

Identification

This is the process by which an individual assimilates within his own personality, character traits and methods of conduct which he considers desirable in some important person in his life. This is more than mere imitation. It means that this person takes into himself and integrates with his own personality part of this outside important person, so that unconsciously, he feels, sees, hears and acts as this other person would see, hear and behave. This process of identification is important throughout the person's life, but especially during the formative years. Its impact on the child's character formation is extremely diverse, and by this means he develops the manual skills, social facility and the system of values which he will carry with him throughout his life. ¹

1. Tucker, Fredrick G., "Love of Child and Parent". The Catholic Social Life Conference Proceedings. 1960. Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa; pp. 81-3.

It therefore becomes clear that the quality of the relationship between the boy and his father is highly significant in this process of achieving manhood. His relationship with other men in his life, teachers, relatives, club leaders, etc., are, of course, also important. The adolescent who has had the benefit of healthy models of manhood in his earlier years, and has felt accepted by them, would probably manage to internalize these identifications fairly readily and thereby establish his identity. The young lad who has been rejected by his father and has not had the benefit of other healthy masculine relationships, could understandably encounter difficulty in this area, with resultant personality disturbance as described by Erikson in his term "Role Diffusion".

The Drive for Independence

The adolescent experiences an increasing need to achieve freedom from domination and protection, to symbolize the attainment of adult status. This involves denial of parental standards, questioning of their controls and, for a time, profound acceptance of standards or codes set by peer groups (i. e. youngsters of his own age). This rebellion at the same time induces anxiety in the child, often to the point of overwhelming guilt. The person at this age will therefore vacillate between periods of defiant and aggressive behaviour and periods of withdrawal, remorse and uncertainty. While he wishes so desperately to achieve his independence, he nevertheless ✓

feels the recurrent need to retreat to the protection and security of his parents. In this area it is certainly important for parents to understand that the adolescent's self-assertion and defiance are not a basic revolt against them but merely a manifestation of normal development during this period.

One of the complicating factors in dealing with this drive for independence is the difficulty the youth has in communicating with his parents. Although he wants and needs help with his problems he finds it hard to talk about his concerns, sometimes because of some guilt, but essentially because of his need to be self-reliant. He feels he must work out his problems on his own, because to seek help from his parents or other adults, would be an admission of his lack of competence.

This discussion of some of the more important elements of adolescent personality development may be summed up by stating the two major tasks which the adolescent faces. These may be seen as a test of the degree to which he has been able to integrate previous experiences, education and training. These tasks are (a) to become economically independent of parents by developing means of providing for his material needs and those of future dependents - ordinarily stable employment, and (b) to become emotionally independent of parents by developing means of providing for his emotional needs in a socially acceptable way - satisfying social relation-

ships usually including marriage.

Importance of the "Vocational Threshold"

In some way or another, the majority of adolescents manage to make the transition from school to work, from adolescence to adulthood. But it is evident that for many persons the transition is less than satisfactory: they could be more satisfied workers and thus be happier people. This relationship between the kind of work a man does and the kind of life he leads is generally accepted. It would, however, be helpful to reflect for a moment on Mr. Davies' comments about the significance of the job as an influence in the lives of men:

"The job puts its imprint upon social habits, the means for establishing family life, the relationship to neighbours, dictates the kind of environment and the kind of leisure the worker will experience. It will color the outlook upon local, national and international affairs and upon all the values of life as the worker perceives them."¹

This statement of the far-reaching effects of a man's occupation on his life as a whole points to the urgency of thoughtful planning and adequate preparation for employment. Although individual endowment and earlier childhood experiences are factors in eventual occupational choice, the most important time of life in terms of planning and preparation is the adolescent period. This is so for the following reasons:

1. Davies, loc. cit.

1. The major decisions affecting the person's future career must be made during this time.
2. Adolescence is a period of keen desire for knowledge and greater capacity for learning, and therefore the amount of time and quality of education or industrial training the adolescent can acquire during this period will be one of the chief factors in shaping his future achievement.
3. The habits of work and the various character traits which influence a person's job performance are largely formed during adolescence. ¹

It may be readily observed that young people vary in their ability to make realistic decisions about leaving school or taking training required by their chosen occupation. Individuals, of course, also differ in their desire for knowledge and their ability to learn, as well as in the degree to which they develop good character traits and work habits. Nevertheless, although individual personality characteristics are significant in formulating realistic occupational roles and achieving them, there are other important considerations as well. ^{various} Various other possible sources of difficulty in occupational adjustment can be grouped under two broad headings: ✓

1. Marsh, loc. cit.

1. Labour Market Inadequacies

This category includes insufficient provision for vocational planning and ready access to appropriate educational and training facilities, and insufficient coordination between schools, placement services and employers.

2. Personality Inadequacies

This term is used to describe various manifestations of emotional insecurity which might complicate the process of occupational adjustment e.g. behaviour in accordance with the "pleasure principle"; extreme defiance of authority; negative attitudes to work and poor work habits.

Labour Market Inadequacies

Effects of labour market organization on the individual will be dealt with in relation to both the normal and the "disadvantaged" adolescent.

The Normal Adolescent¹

The number and variety of educational and training facilities in Canada

1. As opposed to the adolescent who is disadvantaged in terms of personality problems, economic limitations or intellectual limitations.

and the existence of the National Employment Service might at first glance suggest a reasonably adequate organization of the labour market. On closer observation, however, it becomes evident that there is insufficient appreciation of the adolescent's occupational adjustment problems by the various groups concerned and a lack of coordination of their views. The educator often assumes satisfactory adjustment on the job to naturally result from the acquiring of an academic diploma, attending a "career day", talking with the school counsellor, and so forth. The employer demands performance equal to that of adult members of his organization. Government and labour alike are sometimes engrossed in setting standards, e. g. child labour laws and apprenticeship regulations, but trusting largely to chance or individual initiative in bringing youth and job together. School counselling services and youth sections of the National Employment Service are important exceptions, but unfortunately, the proportion of counselling staff to students makes it impossible to provide sufficient assistance to all students who require help in planning a course of studies with a view to realistic occupational choice. Youth sections of the N. E. S. account for a minority (25 per/cent in Vancouver) of all jobs filled by young people. There is also generally little coordination of vocational counselling and job placement processes.¹ In some instances National Employment Service Placement

1. N.E.S. has created a number of positions for psychologists to do aptitude testing and vocational counselling. These services have been instituted on a trial basis in a number of the larger Canadian centres.

Officers actually find themselves working at cross-purposes with school counsellors; for example, counsellors in some cases recommend that students with poor performance records leave school and go to work. Placement Officers, on the other hand, find that (a) employers are unwilling to hire "drop-outs" because they cannot be covered by Workmen's Compensation before age 16 and because a poor student may be a poor employee, and (b) employers engaging apprentices consider it to their advantage to select from vocational school classes. Thus the Placement Officer tries to encourage the lad to return to school. There is also a possibility of considerable duplication, in that both N. E. S. staff and school counsellors explore employment opportunities and arrange placements.

It is recognized that the emotionally secure, reasonably well adjusted youth can avail himself of education and training and find himself a job without the help of the vocational counsellor or placement officer. In too many instances however, the characteristic uncertainty and emotional conflict of adolescence militate against formulation and execution of a realistic plan.

Although parents may formerly have been of some assistance to their children in choosing and training for a career there are probably few parents who could effectively assume this role in the 1960s. The increasing complexity of modern industrial society and the rapid advancement of technology make it difficult for parents to gain sufficient understanding of present day job requirements and opportunities. It is, therefore, highly

unlikely that their knowledge of probable future trends would be adequate to enable them to assist their young people in making wise occupational choices.

In view of these limitations it is reasonable to conclude that without specialized outside help, even some reasonably well adjusted youths may develop only a fraction of their potential. It is granted that all jobs can not be highly satisfying. It is also true, however, that many could be more satisfying and less frustrating if the persons who hold them had been able to obtain help in realistic evaluation of their abilities and capacities during their school years and some preparation to meet job requirements. Those who are fortunate enough to have completed high school, commercial or technical courses can find suitable positions more easily. There are many others, however, who experience difficulty because of limited education.¹ In trying to visualize this group in relation to all youth entering employment, the following diagram (Figure 1), will be of some value.² It shows clearly

1. It should be noted that while insufficient vocational counselling and guidance services are being considered in relation to the normal adolescent's failure to obtain adequate education, there are other factors which will be discussed later - insufficient economic resources, intellectual limitations, and personality problems.

2. Marsh, Leonard C., Canadians In and Out of Work. Oxford University Press; Toronto; 1940; p. 247. *Used by permission of the author.*

THE ACCESS TO SCHOOL

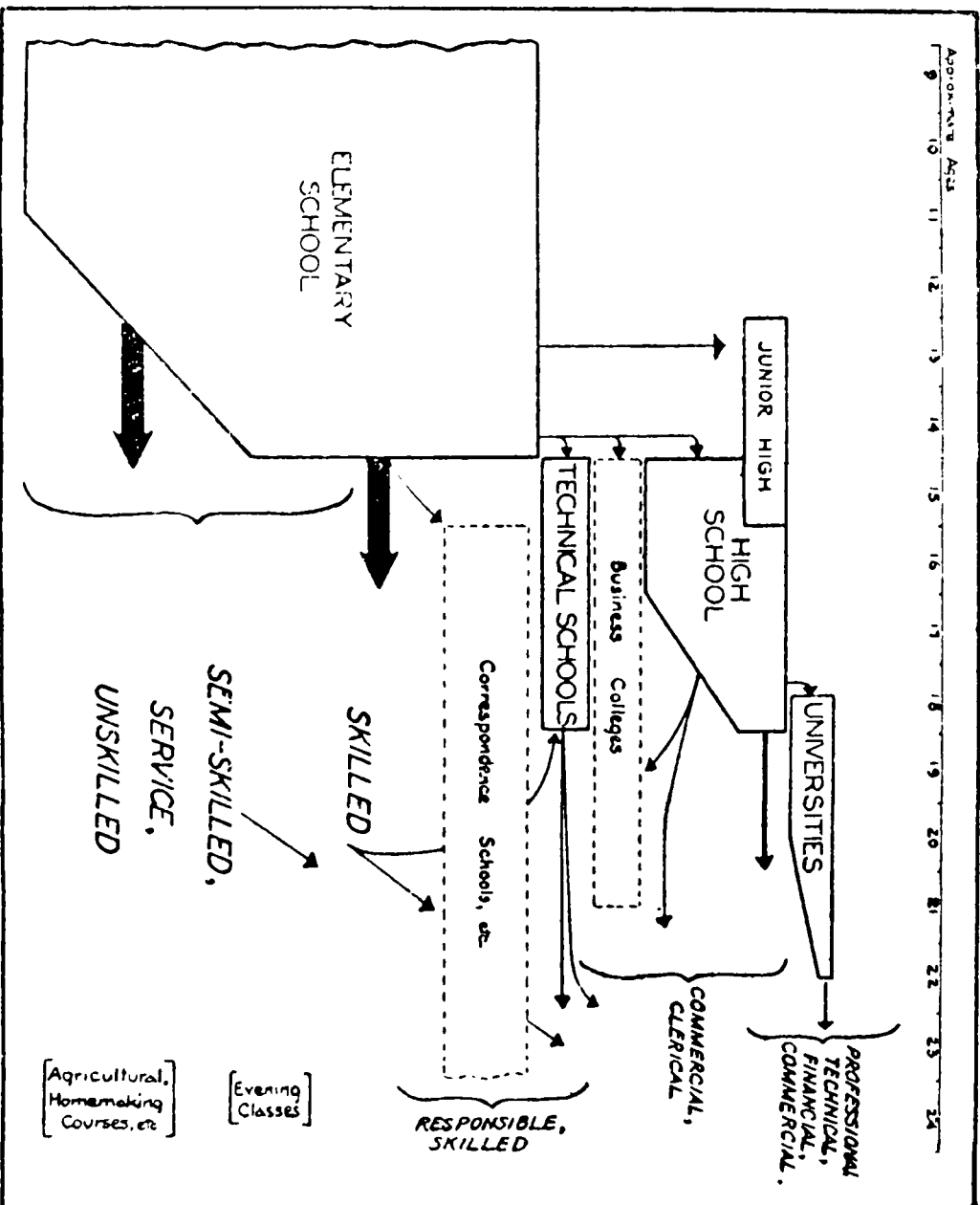


Fig. —Proportionate sequence of the principal levels of education, in relation to the most typical occupational classes to which they lead. (Approximate only).

the relationship between educational attainment and occupational strata and indicates the relatively smaller numbers who go on to higher education. The diagram illustrates some mobility to higher occupational classes at later periods in the life span. Various training resources are used in this process including evening classes, correspondence courses and agricultural courses. It must be remembered, however, that even though some persons are able to acquire and develop skills later in life, they were nevertheless at a disadvantage when they left elementary school to look for a job.

Although the picture has improved somewhat in the twenty years since this compilation was prepared, there is still a large mass of young people who cannot qualify for available jobs because of their educational limitations. The statistics are deceiving. In Vancouver, B. C., for example, the "drop-out" rate in high schools has been decreasing steadily, that is Grade XII enrollment in 1951 was only 52 per/cent of the 1947 Grade VIII enrollment, whereas in 1959 this percentage was up to 66 per/cent of the 1955 Grade VIII enrollment.¹ At the same time, however, the number of jobs requiring post-elementary education and training have increased continuously while those in unskilled categories have remained constant or decreased. The gap between supply and demand is probably increasing. This trend is expected to continue according to the United States Bureau of Labour

1. Findings of the educational division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1952-54 Survey, indicates that only 7.3% of all Canadians of "College Age" (18-21) were enrolled as full-time University students.

Statistics. For the period 1955 to 1965, anticipated changes indicate a need for ten to forty-three per/cent more persons in various skilled occupational groups - professional, technical, clerical, trade, etc. In the same period the number of labouring jobs is expected to remain constant. Farm jobs will likely be fewer by 15-20%. ¹

It may be concluded from this discussion that the normal adolescent may have difficulty in realistic vocational planning because of the relative instability of this period of life. Parents are often unable to provide sufficient help in view of the continuous trend toward more specialized technical knowledge and skills. But this is nevertheless the time of life when the person must make a choice and acquire education and training. Therefore some specialized outside help is needed in many cases (i. e. improved labour market organization).

1. In the light of these trends, failure to develop some means of enabling increasing numbers of our youth to develop appropriate skills in order to meet requirements of available jobs could have disastrous effects, not only in terms of the welfare of the individual but on the entire economy. Mass unemployment and a crippling of industry, as a result of insufficient numbers of persons with essential technical knowledge and skills, would be some of the more obvious consequences. Better organization of the labour market can therefore be seen as a vital issue of concern to the social scientist, the legislator, the social worker and of course the average citizen.

The "Disadvantaged" Adolescent

It is difficult to separate the various factors which influence occupational adjustment unfavourably. However, economic and intellectual limitations will be discussed in this section as they are relevant to labour market organization. Emotional problems which interfere with the vocational adjustment process, and thus place a youth at a disadvantage, will be discussed in the following section titled "Personality Inadequacies". It should be noted here, however, that many of these persons could probably make a successful adjustment in varying degrees depending on the degree of disturbance and the extent to which they are able to obtain effective help in this transition from the school room to the job. In some cases treatment of the personality disturbance may be indicated; in many others, however, persons could probably cope with the various stresses with the help of vocational guidance and improved placement procedures. The adolescent in the low income family may experience a number of special emotional problems as a result of tensions in family relationships brought on by economic stresses. Although these are significant in relation to occupational maladjustment of this group they will also be discussed more appropriately under "Personality Inadequacies". But there are other difficulties peculiar to the youth in the marginal income family which are relevant to labour market organization and will therefore be considered here.

Lack of knowledge of job opportunities and requirements in low income families is an important limiting factor in the children's vocational planning as the following comments exemplify:

"Consider the experience of a typical manual worker during the formative years of, say fifteen to twenty-five. He grows up in a family whose occupational horizon is quite limited. The job which the father knows best is his own, but few working-class parents want their children to follow their own occupation. If they think about the matter at all, they want the child to rise to something above the level of manual labour. They have little conception, however, of the great variety of jobs in the higher occupational strata, of prospective earnings from these jobs, or of the kind of preparation needed for them. Many wage-earning families believe that more education will somehow propel the child into a higher stratum. This belief is not based on concrete knowledge, however, and is easily overborne by stress of financial circumstances or by the child's own desire to drop out of school." ¹

While these remarks may not apply in all low income families, the description is probably valid in most instances. On the other hand, the young lad who has managed to explore employment opportunities and make some tentative plans may find it necessary to discontinue his education and accept any available job in order to assist in the support of his family. Even in families where this does not become necessary, it is unlikely that advanced education or technical training could be financed without outside assistance.

1. Reynolds, Lloyd G., and Shister, Joseph, Job Horizons; A Study of Job Satisfaction and Labor Mobility. Harper and Bros; New York; 1949; pp. 81-82.

Youths in low income families may therefore encounter considerable difficulty in finding suitable employment and may develop varying degrees of occupational maladjustment. Measures to prevent this would necessarily involve supplementing the family income, and/or grants to finance education and training. ¹

The adolescent with limited intellectual capacities² is of course also at a disadvantage in making the transition from school to job. The academic emphasis in the school curriculum can be extremely frustrating and damaging to the self-confidence of the "slow learner". Although he may have other capabilities these often remain insufficiently developed to meet job requirements. More flexibility in the school system and provision of appropriate training facilities would certainly aid the establishment of many "borderline" or "low-normal" adolescents in suitable employment.

1. Canadian Vocational Training grants fill such a need to a limited extent at present. They are available only for a restricted number of courses and are intended primarily as a means of assisting the adult worker (Schedule M) or the handicapped person (Schedule R) in developing skills in order to qualify for available jobs. A youth may apply for a grant after one year in employment.

2. According to a recent enquiry, 30 per cent of high school "drop-outs" in the U. S. are in this category. ("Dropout Tragedies". Life. May 2, 1960; p. 106A.

Some consideration has been given to the needs of both the "normal" and the "disadvantaged" adolescent with relation to realistic planning and preparation for employment. It has been concluded that better labour market organization could meet some of these needs. However, discussion of remedial approaches will be left for the final chapter. As mentioned previously, personality traits also interfere with wise choice and realistic planning and therefore require some attention.

Personality Inadequacies

Although better organization of the labour market may in some cases relieve certain stresses on the individual with some personality problems or prevent personality disturbances caused by anxiety about the future, personality deficiencies are not primarily ⁱⁿ with the sphere of labour market organization. These special problems of individuals must be dealt with by means of specialized treatment services. It is recognized, however, that absolute distinctions cannot be made and therefore close cooperation between therapist and vocational counsellor or placement officer may be indicated in some cases.

The relationship between personality problems and employment maladjustment requires further elaboration at this point and will be discussed in four major areas: emotional insecurity; "pleasure principle"; defiance of authority; and negative attitudes to work and poor work habits.

Emotional Insecurity

This is an enormous subject and cannot be discussed in any detail at this point. But it is necessary to consider the ways in which the insecure

youth is handicapped in choosing and embarking upon a career.

Insecurity may stem from a variety of experiences in earlier years e. g. extremely rigid or over-protective home atmosphere; serious illness or other trauma; severe economic pressures etc. The child who has been expected to measure up to tasks which are too difficult for him, and thus fails repeatedly, will develop a defeatist rather than a self-confident attitude. The child who has been shielded from difficulties and has thus remained too dependent on others likewise fails to experience the satisfaction of mastering problems for himself. This satisfaction is the basis of emotional security. The additional stresses of adolescence serve to increase the individual's serious self-doubts and thus produce increasing anxiety¹ some times to the extent of immobilizing him.

The insecure adolescent is not sufficiently prepared for adult life. At the same time he is under pressure to establish independence of his parents both emotionally and economically, and therefore experiences mounting tension. Under certain conditions, without help in resolving these

1. Towle, Charlotte, Common Human Needs. National Association of Social Workers; New York; 1945; p. 47. The author explains the adolescent's dynamics as follows: "... fear of insecurity, present in children of all ages becomes at adolescence an anxiety of the future, in which schooling, career, and marriage are absorbing concerns."

conflicts, the adolescent may be propelled into pathological behaviour as a means of relieving his intense anxiety. This may take the form of withdrawal (e. g. restriction of social relationships, truancy or school "drop-out", or in extreme cases a psychotic episode), or aggressive behaviour (e. g. acts of violence or delinquency).¹

"Pleasure Principle"

The emotionally insecure youth has usually suffered some deprivation of affection and support in his earlier years. Therefore, especially at such a time of great stress, he will often turn to infantile means of gaining satisfaction because he has found more mature means too frustrating.

He may for this reason lose interest in school and his future and take the first available job to earn money which will buy some satisfaction. On the other hand he may use socially unacceptable means for immediate gratification of his needs and wants e. g. theft, sexual behaviour etc.. Such behaviour is in opposition to the "reality principle" which implies postponement of gratification; a rational approach to long range goals with realization of responsibility for behaviour.

1. Wilensky, Harold L., and Lebeaux, Charles N., Industrial Society and Social Welfare. Russell Sage Foundation; New York; 1958; p. 194. This text includes a special section in which the authors examine a number of delinquency theories before concluding the delinquent behaviour is a solution to "status anxiety". Their position is briefly as follows: "Boys are more exposed than girls to the demand for job achievement; lower class youth are more disadvantaged than other youth in the scramble for the 'success' they all want. It is thus in the male, working-class sector that there is a common core of status anxiety and discontent, for which the delinquent sub-culture seems an appropriate solution."

Defiance of Authority

The emotionally insecure adolescent is under greater pressure than the more stable youth to prove to himself and others that he is capable of functioning independently. Thus he may have an extreme need to adopt a hostile behaviour pattern which would include flouting of standards and controls of home, school and community. To some, quitting school or job signifies independence of adult standards and controls. Others resort to delinquent acts as a means of asserting their self assurance and emancipation.

Negative Attitudes to Work and Poor Work Habits

Attitudes to work and work habits are ordinarily influenced largely by parental attitudes and example. In some cases negative attitudes and poor habits in the child are merely the result of poor training. In the emotionally insecure youth, however, such attitudes and habits can often be related to rejection of parental and social standards or to the immobilized condition of the person. ¹

Finally, before leaving this discussion of personality factors and their relationship to occupational maladjustment it should be noted that emotional insecurity and resultant anxiety may be increased in the case of

1. Witmer, Helen L., and Kotinsky, Ruth, eds., New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency. U. S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare; 1955; pp. 10-12. Included in this publication is a discussion by Erik H. Erikson in which he describes his concept of "work paralysis" as "the inability to enjoy the mastery of materials and of co-operative situations" He states that this seriously inhibits identity formation.

the adolescent in the marginal income family. This may happen in various ways. Charlotte Towle, in her study of the significance of public assistance in meeting human needs, comments on the "special stresses" to which adolescents in public assistance families are subjected. These could reasonably also apply in the case of the marginal income family:

"Adolescents in families who are living precariously from the economic standpoint are subjected to certain special stresses. Frequently more adult demands are placed on them at an early age. Opportunities to plan for the future are more meager and the future itself has greater uncertainties than in the economically secure family. Frequently also, the parents, anxious, uncertain, defeated because they have found the world a too-competitive arena, convey their insecurity to the child." ¹

In view of greater demands, more limited opportunities and the anxious home atmosphere, it could be expected that emancipation problems would be intensified in the low income family. Adolescents in such families may become overly dependent on parents because they feel incompetent on their own, or they may feel compelled to escape from the uncertainties of home and family.

The foregoing discussion has pointed to some manifestations of behaviour disturbances as a result of anxiety about the future in terms of transition from school to work and adolescence to adulthood. It has not been exhaustive. It has however served to underline the necessity of considering various possible factors in attempting to understand the "school dropout" or the drifter" in employment.

1. Towle, op. cit.; pp. 48-49.

Significance of the B. C. Borstal System

The present study is concerned with occupational adjustment problems of the adolescent boy, and the effectiveness of methods of dealing with them. For this purpose it was considered desirable to choose a sample group of previously maladjusted young men who had achieved stability in employment after having received remedial help. The search for a suitable group of adolescents with a high incidence of employment problems led to selection of a sample of young offenders.

It may be argued that, because of the possible relationship between occupational maladjustment and delinquency, this would not be a valid sample. But delinquent and criminal behaviour are a constant for this group. Therefore emphasis can be given to occupational adjustment problems in an effort to throw some further light on this area of enquiry. Although there are no doubt marked differences between the sample and the normal adolescent, there will likely be some similarities to the "disadvantaged" adolescent.¹

1. See description of the "typical young offender", p. 28.

Description of New Haven Inmates - The young offender sentenced to New Haven during the period under consideration is described by John Braithewaite in his exhaustive study of the Borstal System in 1956. He indicates that the following set of requirements was used in sentencing an individual to this institution. They therefore describe the "typical young offender" being considered in this study: ¹

1. Age range, 16-23 years.
2. A sentence providing for a minimum of six months in the institution.
3. Stability - sufficient to function in the open institution.
4. Intelligence - sufficient to benefit from the training.
(Average intelligence of New Haven boys in 1954, as defined by Wechsler Bellevue scales was 100).
5. Type of offense is not a limiting factor.
6. The offender requiring constant supervision (e.g. the drug addict and the aggressive homosexual), is considered ineligible.

According to Braithewaite, New Haven originally received the less pronounced delinquent -

1. Braithewaite, John Wm., An Approach to Evaluative Research in a Correctional Setting. Master of Social Work Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1956; p.15.

"... the more immature offender without extreme personality disorders. With the growth of probation services fewer boys of this type are being incarcerated. The result is that the institution has been receiving some of the more seriously disturbed such as the pre-psychotic and psychopathic personality types. However they are still very much in the minority." ¹

This description gives some understanding of the persons in the sample and indicates that the majority are not severely disturbed personalities.

Advantages in Selection of the Illustrative Sample

Emphasis on Occupational Adjustment - The Borstal program is built around work, and is geared primarily to vocational education and therapy. This is in accordance with the requirement that specific treatment methods had been applied to problems of occupational maladjustment, (p. 27) .

Appropriate Age - These are older adolescents and young men who had been out of school sufficiently long to have an employment record. Other studies discuss "the problem of youth employment" with relation to age groups 15 to 24, ² and 16 to 24. ³. Youths in this group are in a similar age range since only those between 16 and 23 years old may be sentenced to New Haven.

1. Braithewaite, op. cit; p. 16.

2. Canadian Youth Commission, Youths and Jobs in Canada. The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1945.

3. Bell, Howard M., Youth Tell Their Story; conducted for the American Youth Commission, American Council on Education; Washington, D. C.; 1938.

Available Records - In view of this emphasis on work and the age of the inmate population, records of both the institution and the after-care association contain detailed occupational data. It is thus possible to obtain some information about the individual's adjustment in each of three periods of his life: before admission to New Haven; from admission to New Haven until discharge from parole; and the post-parole period.

Verification of Data - The progress of each youth is evaluated at regular intervals by staff at New Haven and by both the social worker and the lay sponsor during the post-release period. It is thus possible to obtain a much more comprehensive "picture" of the young man than if a judgment were made by one person of a particular profession or outlook, and on the basis of a less intensive relationship.

Selection of the Sample

The total number of young men discharged from parole over the two year period 1955-56 was 90. A one-in-two sample of these records was drawn from the files of the B. C. Borstal Association. Information on the records was further supplemented by staff personnel and sponsors of B. C. Borstal Association and by New Haven staff persons. These years (1955-56) were decided upon in accordance with John Braithewaite's recommendation that some year after 1952 (year of discharge from New Haven) should be chosen for any further studies since he had found that records prior to that year did not contain sufficient factual material. His further comments regarding the greater significance of adjustment in the post-parole period were also noted. He argues:

"No matter what criteria are employed... their most valid application is during the post-parole period. Borstal is an integrated program of institutional treatment and supervised parole. Therefore the ultimate value of the total program for the individual offender can only be assessed at some time following the completion of his parole. Anything short of this is an evaluation of adjustment prior to the termination of the individual's total treatment." ¹

Availability of appropriate data, as well as length of post-parole period, were therefore considered before choosing 1955 and 1956. Many of the lads discharged from parole in 1955 were discharged from New Haven in 1954, which is only one year later than the earliest year suggested. Although this results in a shorter post-parole period, by one year, a sampling indicated that these records contained more significant and useful material than those of the previous year. This leaves a four to five year post-parole period which permits reasonable observations to be made. ✓

The 45 cases selected were divided into two groups according to performance in employment since discharge from parole. Group I consists of 26 young men who have attained occupational "adjustment". Group II comprises 14 who are considered "maladjusted" occupationally. Those not classifiable because of insufficient facts on recent performance, totalled 5 persons.

1. Braithewaite, op. cit.; p. 79.

The judgment regarding occupational "adjustment" or "maladjustment", which was a requirement for appropriate allocation of these persons, was based on a number of factors which will now be considered. Figs. 2 and 3 illustrate striking contrasts between the two groups of the sample.

Duration of Present or Related Employment

This information was readily available for Group I. It was observed that fifteen, or 58 per/cent, have a stable work record of 5 years or longer, and only two have been at their present, or a related job, less than 2 years.

Data for Group II was not as detailed and complete. In view of the extremely short duration of jobs in most cases, it was difficult to maintain up-to-date records. Jobs which lasted for a few days were not considered significant enough to record. Nevertheless, the pattern is obvious. Persons in Group II generally held a series of short-term jobs, varying in duration from several days to six months.

Attitude to Work - Social and Moral Values

In this area three measures were found to be of some value: desire to do good work; positive relationship with employer; and some evidence of development of a sense of responsibility.

A high positive correlation with duration of employment was noted in both groups.

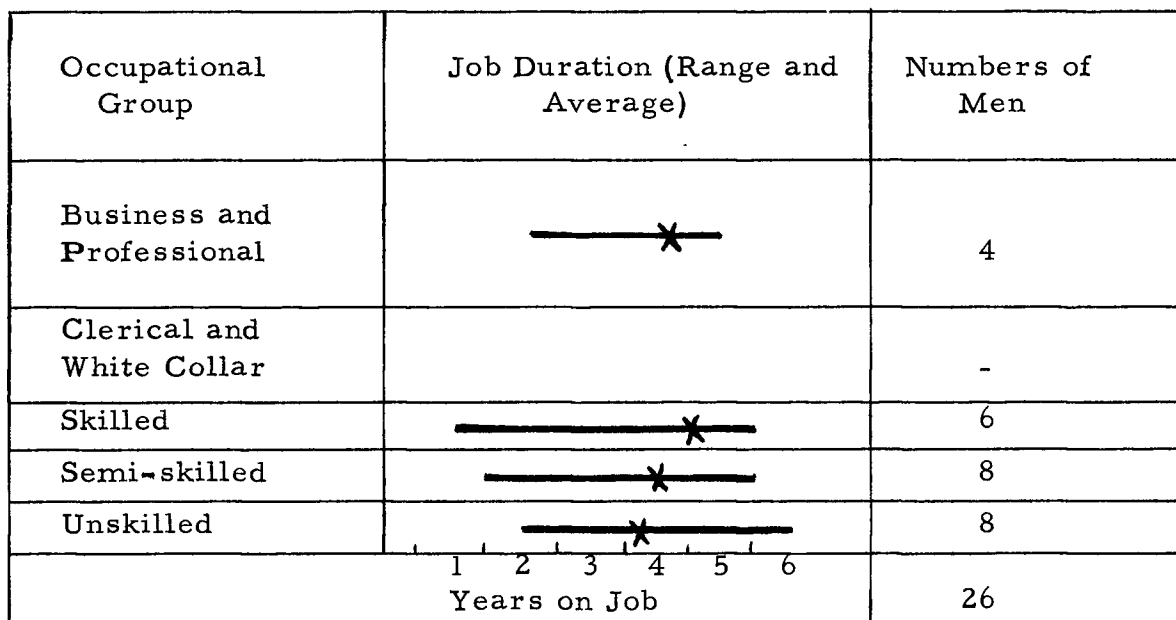


Fig. 2. Numbers of Men and Job Duration (Range and Average) according to Occupational Groups - Group I

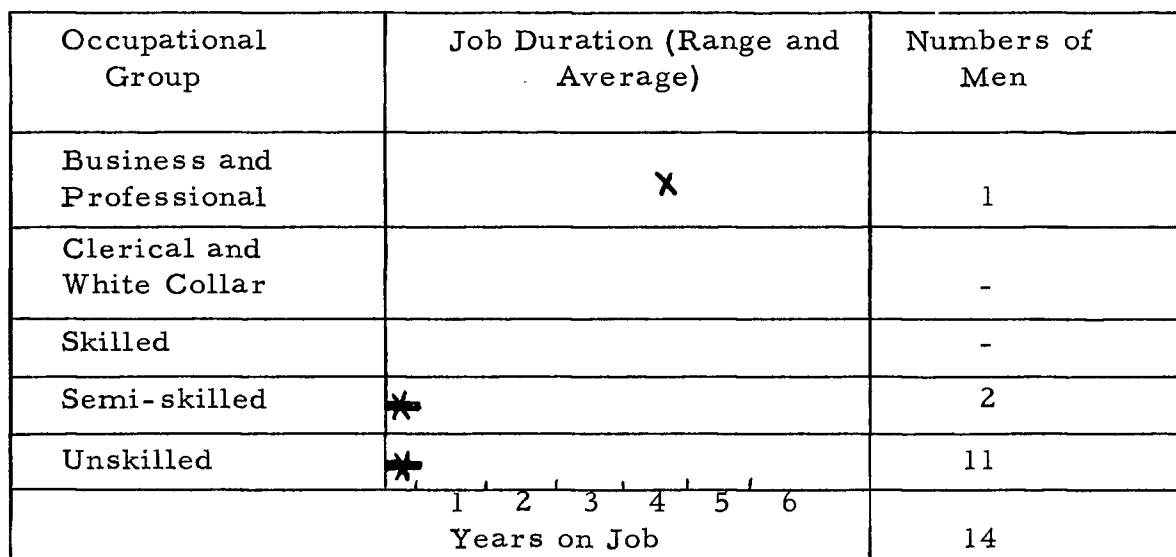


Fig. 3. Numbers of Men and Job Duration (Range and Average) according to Occupational Groups - Group II

Development of Skills and Advancement in Employment

The majority of the young men in Group I had developed at least some skills by the time of this enquiry. As indicated in Fig. 2, they are distributed largely in the "Business and Professional", "Skilled" and "Semi-skilled" groups. Only 30 per/cent of their number were employed in unskilled jobs.

Several men in Group I had received promotions in employment. The most outstanding achievements included such responsible positions as chief draftsman, town engineer and plant foreman.

The performance of Group I in mastering skills and attaining advancement in employment thus reflects a high degree of incentive and application.

By comparison, 79 per/cent of Group II continued in the ranks of unskilled workers. Only one man achieved advancement. Members of this Group are therefore characterized by a decided absence of positive incentives and the inability to apply themselves.

While any one of the above criteria would not have been sufficient in itself, when considered together they provided a means of classifying the sample according to the two groups. A high positive correlation between the three criteria was observed. Nevertheless there were some exceptions which will serve to illustrate the classification process:

1. One young man had been on his job only one year as compared to the average, for his group, of about four years. He had not gained any advancement. On the other hand he had developed some skills in a trade and had a

positive relationship with his employer. He had also offered to assist the Borstal Association in placing other young men with his firm. This would imply a developing sense of responsibility. He was therefore considered sufficiently involved in the process of occupational adjustment to include him in Group I in spite of his relatively brief period of employment.

2. One man had held his job since release from Oakalla Provincial Gaol six months previous to the time of this enquiry. His employer considered him a good worker. However since the employment period was relatively short and since the sponsor still had some question about the man's attitude toward society, he was not considered sufficiently well adjusted for Group I.

3. One man had held his job for four years and had been promoted to the position of sales manager of a magazine sales agency. He would thus ordinarily be considered "settled" in employment in view of the amount of time on the job and the obvious advancement. In terms of moral and social values, however, he did not measure up, and was consequently placed in Group II. He had been involved in a number of sales promotions which had resulted in a series of charges being laid against him. Although some of these had been dismissed, staff persons who know this man are in agreement that he is an "habitual white collar criminal."¹

1. These judgments are substantiated by the psychiatric report which suggests that his "ethical apparatus was arrested in development". The report concludes with a statement that he will remain on the fringe of anti-social activity and step over with alcohol.

Cases have thus been classified on the basis of adjustment in employment at the time of this enquiry. Persons in Group I have achieved stability on their jobs, while those in Group II have not.

In attempting to investigate this, three possibilities arise; differences in the earlier period; differential treatment; and differential response to treatment. To explore the importance of these factors with relation to the occupational adjustment of Group I and the maladjustment of Group II, the Borstal treatment program will be examined and the two groups will be compared with relation to their pre-New Haven histories.

CHAPTER 2

BORSTAL AND THE "OCCUPATIONAL BRIDGE"

"Borstal", according to the "Sponsor's Guide", has been described as "perhaps the most outstanding example of the principle of rehabilitation and individualized treatment of young offenders".¹

It was in an English village bearing the name "Borstal", that the first such institution was established in 1908. British Columbia's implementation of "Borstal-type" training is unique in North America.

The Sponsor's Guide states that the "object" of New Haven is

"... to provide a training institution for those youthful offenders appearing before the adult courts of British Columbia who upon examination are found to be in need of institutional care and are likely to prove amenable to treatment and training under "open" conditions and the "Honour System".

A later statement describes in more detailed fashion the "aim" of the New Haven community:

1. British Columbia Borstal Association, Sponsor's Guide, January, 1952. Vancouver, B. C.; p. 1.

"... to develop a new outlook in minds and characters as yet unfully formed; through the example, influence and the close association and interplay of staff and lads sharing a common life, to attempt to build up a standard of social behaviour which will prove lasting; through vocational training to inculcate habits of industry and application; through education in its broadest sense to stimulate the intelligence, broaden horizons and develop new and healthy interests; through sport and athletics to instill sound sportsmanship and the 'spirit of the game'; to allow and to encourage recreational outlets of the right kind and as much freedom as is consistent with a lift of discipline; to place increasing trust and responsibility in each individual as he progresses from stage to stage in his training".¹

During the period 1953-55 when these young men were at New Haven, the program was organized around one "house". One housemaster and a number of supervisors were responsible for the group, averaging 36-40 persons. These young men were received at New Haven usually after a short period at Oakalla Prison, during which time a psychiatric assessment was made and a battery of psychological tests administered. A psychiatric report and psychologist's statement of test results are on file on each lad at New Haven. The psychological tests include the following:

1. Ibid. (For further details concerning the history, philosophy and treatment methods of the Borstal system in both Britain and British Columbia, see Braithwaite, John, M.S.W. thesis cited earlier).

1. Wechsler Bellevue Intelligence Test
2. Lee Thorpe Occupational Interest
3. Mental Health Analysis
4. Bennett Test of Mechanical Comprehension

In a number of cases the last three tests were administered by the social worker at New Haven.

On arrival at New Haven the lad was usually assigned to maintenance work, to permit him to become familiar with the layout of the buildings and grounds. This also enabled staff persons to get to know him, with a view to more permanent assignment to a work group on the basis of his needs. Any positive interests expressed by the young man were also considered in making such placement. There were four major work areas: farm, kitchen, wood shop and metal shop. A lad in the kitchen could learn enough about cooking and baking to qualify for a job on release if he remained at New Haven for a year or longer. The experience of the farm may also have been helpful in this regard. This was not true of the shop work, however, and in fact any gains made in developing special skills were only incidental to the main purpose of vocational experiences in the New Haven community: "... to inculcate habits of industry and application."¹

The typical lad committed to New Haven is an unsatisfactory candidate for a vocational training program geared to development of special skills and techniques. He is poorly disposed and unprepared to meet the rigorous

1. Ibid.

demands of technical training, i. e. he is lacking in motivation and self-discipline, which are essential to perseverance in such a course. It is this pre-requisite learning experience rather than actual skills which the New Haven work program aims to provide. The monthly report form completed by the instructor in each lad's major work area consists of the following headings, which may be considered the components of the "New Haven brand" of vocational training: initiative and persistence; personal habits; attitude; performance; co-operation; reliability. According to the U. S. Department of Labor these qualities closely resemble those which employers emphasize: ability, dependability, initiative, reliability, good attendance, efficiency, loyalty, cheerfulness, helpfulness, unselfishness and perseverance. The Department also proclaims that a number of studies indicate that "... more workers lose their jobs due to poor character qualities than to lack of skill".¹ The inculcation of these essential qualities is attempted in the day to day routine of work assignments at New Haven. After a brief observation period and consultation with other staff persons, it is possible for the instructor to make tentative judgments regarding the individual's ability, his potential and the amount of stress he can tolerate.

Once an appropriate task is assigned the lad is required to work hard at it until it is completed according to specifications. The majority of these young men are unaccustomed to such perseverance and striving for

1. United States Department of Labor, How to Get and Hold the Right Job. U. S. Government Printing Office; Washington; 1953; pp. 15-16.

a requisite standard of performance, and find this extremely difficult for a time. Instructors offer some encouragement but continue to "push" each lad to utilize his abilities to the utmost. Any article which fails to meet requirements is destroyed and the "craftsman" must begin again.

Each lad is required to be on the job for an eight-hour day and is held responsible for being on time, caring for tools, etc. These routines result in further development of good work habits in preparation for any future employment situation the young man may find himself in. Progress in the work area is also one of the primary conditions for advancement within the institution¹ and release on parole. A token pay is increased with improvement in work habits and job performance.

In addition to work, each youth participates in a compulsory educational program three nights each week. A variety of correspondence courses is available. Religious discussion and worship, recreational activities and hobby classes round out the busy weekly schedule.

1. During the period 1953-55, the New Haven program provided for promotion of inmates from "Junior" to "Senior" status in recognition of progress in development of positive attitudes, initiative and responsibility. Later "Intermediate" and "Leader" categories were added. It is now only the exceptional lad who achieves "Senior" status. Each promotion provides additional privileges (e.g. a "Leader" may leave the institution for an "outing" with his sponsor; a "Senior" may go out on his own).

New Haven Staff

There are no specific academic requirements for employment at New Haven. The majority of staff members are high school graduates. Personal qualities generally synonymous with "good character" or "maturity" are given major emphasis in selection of staff persons, since their example is basic to the training program. These men are encouraged to increase their knowledge of human behaviour and to develop skills in working with people. They are given an opportunity to do so through enrollment in appropriate evening classes, participation in staff conferences, informal sessions with individual members of the staff, etc..

The After-care Association

Borstal training has always been divided into two parts, that carried on within the institution and that part served on license or parole, under supervision. The supervision of lads from New Haven is carried on by the B. C. Borstal Association, a voluntary society, whose membership is made up of primarily business and professional men. The 1954 Annual Report of the Association lists the services provided for young offenders released from New Haven at that time:

1. Providing each dischargée with a sponsor.
2. Providing suitable employment for each lad. (Very few have their own resources and cannot leave New Haven until they have a job). ¹

1. Release is also approved on the basis of a realistic educational or occupational training plan.

3. Providing housing accomodation for those without homes or families.
4. Making money available for those requiring such items as subsistence allowance until the first pay cheque; room and board payments in advance; union fees in order to get a job; clothing; transportation; etc..
5. Providing counselling service for those on license; also for those still in the Institution, with regard to their future plans.
6. Providing entertainment at New Haven for the purpose of acquainting the boys with the Association and the sponsors before being placed in their care. ¹

The Executive Secretary of the Association co-ordinates these various services and provides supervision for the sponsors. He also provides some direct counselling as indicated in item 5 above. During the time under consideration the Executive Secretary was a Social Worker, but he was able to provide very little in the way of continuing casework treatment since his time was required for the numerous other duties. In some cases he also assumed the role of sponsor when no other suitable person was available.

The sponsor's task is a sizeable one. He must get to know his lad prior to release and also establish contact with family members and employer. He becomes the counsellor, disciplinarian and friend during this difficult period of adjustment to job, home and community. He must maintain regular

1. British Columbia Borstal Association, Annual Report, November 29, 1954; Vancouver, B. C.; p. 3.

contact with his young charge and must submit a monthly report to the Executive Secretary of the Association. If a lad persistently violates the conditions of his parole, the sponsor has the authority and the responsibility to recommend that the parole order be revoked and that he be returned to New Haven. (See Appendix C, "Duties of Sponsor", for a detailed account of the sponsor's role).

Comparison of Groups I and II

In considering a possible framework for further examination of these two groups, for the period prior to arrival at New Haven, a search of the literature revealed a variety of approaches, of which the "Ward Classification" is one illustration.¹ Many of these writers, however, concentrate on developing classifications of vocational problems, rather than on the more fundamental question of what facilitates occupational adjustment, or what impedes it. Although such listings of "symptoms" may be of some value in vocational counselling and guidance they would serve no useful purpose in analysis of statistical material obtained for Groups I and II. An early Canadian study was found to be most adaptable to this purpose. Leonard

1. Ward, Roswell, Out-of-School Vocational Guidance. Harper and Bros.; New York; 1949; p. 61. The "Tentative Ward Classification of Vocational Guidance Problems" includes, Vocational; Immaturity; Confusion; Insecurity; Mis-direction; Fixation; Conflict.

Marsh arrived at what he termed "determinants of the success of a man's working life". These are stated as follows:

"The economic status of the family in which he is born and the social and economic stability of his early life, the amount of education received, the wise or haphazard choice of occupation, the character of his first employments" ¹

These "determinants" were then considered in relation to the two broad categories of factors which may contribute to occupational maladjustment - "Labour Market Inadequacies" and "Personality Inadequacies". This comparison revealed many similarities as would be expected. It was also found that slight alterations in the wording of the "determinants", which would not alter their essential meanings, would make it possible to classify them according to the two previously established categories. ² Therefore the Determinants of Occupational Adjustment which are to be applied to the sample, are as follows: Economic status and stability of family; amount of education; wise or haphazard choice of occupation; character of first employments; and character of significant ³ relationships.

It may be seen that the first four "determinants" involve primarily "labour market" considerations. The final one is of course basic to any dis-

1. Marsh, op. cit.; p. 128.

2. The kind of material available in case records was an additional consideration in changing the wording of the "determinants".

3. i. e. of primary importance in personality development. This ordinarily refers to relationships with parents, but sometimes a relationship with another person can be a major influence in this formative process.

cussion of "personality inadequacies" or personality strengths with relation to occupation adjustment.

One factor not included is age. It is often suggested that a young offender or any young man who has had difficulty "settling down" to a job, later manages to do so primarily because he is older and "more mature". While this may be true in some instances it is not borne out as a major factor in comparison of the two groups. At the time of this enquiry, ages of these men range from 22-30 years with the majority in each group under 26 years. An average of $6\frac{1}{2}$ years have elapsed since each was received at New Haven. There is no significant difference in age distribution of Groups I and II.

Economic Status and Stability of Family

The only useful "yardstick" for measurement of the degree of status and stability attained by the families of individuals in these groups was the occupational status of their fathers. This is given in the following table.

1. The "Determinants of Occupational Adjustment" provide a basis for comparison of groups of the sample. They do not necessarily include all of the possible factors which may be operative. But they are representative of the major influences upon a person's "working life".

Table 1. Occupational Status of Fathers

Occupational Group	Group I	Group II
White collar	-	1
Skilled and semi-skilled	4	5
Unskilled	8	3
Father deceased or separated	14	5
Total	26	14

Very nearly half (19 of a total of 40), of these youths had lost their fathers through either death or separation of parents. In some cases, boys lived with fathers for varying periods after separation of parents, although this was not generally true. In terms of socioeconomic status, then, these 19 families would likely rate low, since income was limited primarily to earnings of the mother. In some cases the subject or other siblings supplemented the mother's earnings. The unskilled group, approximately one-fourth of the total, would probably rate only slightly higher. Three of these were in part-time or seasonal employment. Thus, 75 per/cent of the total would be in the low income group, subject to a great variety of "budget-shattering contingencies", and therefore highly unstable economically. The remaining 25 per/cent of fathers in the white-collar, skilled and unskilled

categories included a range of jobs from welder to administrator, with, no doubt, a correspondingly wide range of annual incomes. Three of this group were in part-time or seasonal employment.

Differences between Groups I and II are minimal. The higher percentage of deceased or separated fathers, 54 percent in Group I, as compared with 36 percent in Group II, may be meaningful, but will be discussed more appropriately in a later section.

Amount of Education

Table 2. Academic Achievement of Groups I and II

Completed Grades	Group I	Group II	Percentage Distribution Both Groups
Below Grade 8	6	3	22.5
Above Grade 8 but below Grade 10	15	9	60.0
Above Grade 10 but below Grade 12	3	1	10.0
Grade 12 or better	2	1	7.5
Total	26	14	100.0

It is evident from the above table that distribution according to educational achievement categories is proportionate between groups. There are however, some marked differences between this group as a whole and the total population. For example in the U. S. in 1958, about 55 per cent of youths graduated from high school ¹ as compared to 7.5 per cent of the

1. Wilensky, Harold L., and Lebeaux, Charles N., Industrial Society and Social Welfare, Russell Sage Foundation; New York; 1958; p. 109.

sample. The figure for our group is in fact only slightly higher than that recorded in the 1936 census in rural Saskatchewan - 5.2 per cent ¹. Thus, there is no question but that individuals in this sample were disadvantaged according to the educational determinant.

Wise or Haphazard Choice of Occupation

Although measurement in this area is difficult, it is nevertheless possible to obtain some clues about the amount of planning that preceded choice of occupation and actual entry into employment by considering the reasons why each subject left school. Table 3 describes this transitional situation.

1. Canadian Youth Commission, Youth and Jobs in Canada, The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1945; p. 36.

Table 3. Reasons for Leaving School
Groups I and II

Reasons (Given or Determined)	Group I	Group II
Lack of Interest	15	6
Problems with teacher	2	1
Family-Support	2	4
Self-Support	1	-
Low Normal Intelligence	3	1
"Sufficient Academic Training" (High School Graduate)	2	1
Arrest	1	1
Total	26	14

With the exception of "Family-Support", (the significance of which can not be determined from available material), there are no appreciable differences between Groups I and II. Therefore, comments will apply to the total group under study. The two boys who left school because of arrest had no choice as to occupation at that time. Those in other categories experienced varying degrees of pressure to find work quickly and could thus not afford to take the time to survey the market. This was probably most pronounced in the case of self or family-support, and again in the predicament of the youngster who welcomed any job in order to justify his leaving school, which had for some reason become distasteful to him. It was nevertheless also true,

though to a lesser degree, in the case of the high school graduates. Seven of the total study group indicated specific occupational plans upon leaving school. These plans materialized in only 4 cases. The 33 youngsters who left school without a specific plan and the 3 whose plans did not materialize spent periods of time varying from a few days to 3 months in search of work, which even then was most often of a seasonal or short-term nature. This element of pressure therefore probably contributed to a haphazard approach to occupational choice in the majority of these cases.

Another factor which tends to limit wise choice and planning is lack of knowledge about job opportunities and requirements, on the part of both children and parents in working-class families. This has already been explained in some detail in an earlier section.

Character of First Employments

For purposes of this study, "first employments" are defined as including all jobs held from the time the individual left school until he was sentenced to New Haven. Type of work and average job duration have been established as a means of defining the "character" of these "first employments", and the results appear in Tables 4 and 5. Although the length of time between school-leaving and confinement at New Haven varied considerably, it is probably of no consequence here.

Table 4. Occupational Classification, Prior to Entering New Haven .

Type of Occupation	Group I	Group II	Total
Seasonal Labourer	4	2	6
Non-seasonal Labourer	14	7	21
'On the Job' training (Trades & Business)	7	4	11
Student	1	1	2
Total	26	14	40

Slightly under one-third of the total group had been involved in educational courses or job training (Table 4). Categories represent the usual types of jobs held during the period although there may have been some shifting to other types of work, for short periods.

Table 5. Average Duration of Employment
Prior to Entering New Haven

Time Period	Group I	Group II	Total
Less than 2 months	3	2	5
2-6 months	9	9	18
6-12 months	6	2	8
1-2 years	5	-	5
Over 2 years	2	-	2
Student	1	1	2
Total	26	14	40

Although there are no significant differences between groups as to type of employment, there is notable variation in job duration. About 80 percent of Group II were unable to hold jobs longer than 6 months, while only 46 percent of Group I were found to be in this category. In view of the fact that the majority of these lads had been out of school about 4 years, and some as long as 8 years, these figures depict a pervasive aimlessness.

Character of Significant Relationships

The importance of the parent-child relationship in shaping personality was discussed in Chapter 1. However, not only is it necessary for the child to feel the love and support of his parents in his earlier years when he takes his first step and becomes the toddler, but also later in life - when he steps

into his first job, if he is to become a good worker.

Measurement of the quality of parent-child relationship is difficult. However, some material is available from case records. This is classified in Table 6.

Table 6. Character of Masculine Relationships

Masculine Relationships	Group I	Group II	Total
<u>Father at Home</u>			
Good relationship	6	1	7
Fair relationship	1	1	2
Poor relationship	5	7	12
Total	12	9	21
<u>Father Absent</u>			
Good earlier relationship	2	-	2
Poor earlier relationship	4	2	6
No earlier relationship	8	3	11
Total	14	5	19

As indicated previously, almost half of these young men came from homes where the father had been absent for various periods as a result of

death, or separation of parents. Some were fortunate in having the benefit of a good father-son relationship at least for a time; others even with father present did not have this advantage. There was no semblance of a good masculine relationship in 58 per cent¹ of cases in Group I as compared with 86 per cent of Group II. At the same time more fathers were "present" in the latter group; 64 per cent, as compared with 46 per cent in Group I. In view of the limited sample and numerous variables, these findings do not permit any valid conclusions, but, they do suggest that this is a worthwhile area for further study. It would appear that the inability to establish a positive relationship with a father who is available may be more damaging than the absence of the father person from the home. Relationships with mothers followed much the same pattern for both groups. Although most boys stayed with their mothers after separation of parents, and fewer mothers were deceased, positive relationships with mothers were no greater in number than those with fathers.

Thus it is apparent that, according to the five determinants of occupational adjustment, the two groups were similar. Both groups measured up very unfavorably for the period between leaving school and entering New Haven. Therefore, prognosis for both groups would appear to be extremely poor. In spite of this however, a significant proportion (Group I) did achieve

1. According to Table 6, 17 lads in Group I did not have positive relationships with their fathers. In fact, however, there was evidence of a positive masculine relationship with a stepfather in two of these cases.

occupational adjustment in the post-parole period (Fig. 2). Therefore the pre-New Haven history is not significant in explaining the differences between the two groups. As a next step the New Haven training program will be considered in order to determine whether or not it provided the elements of successful adjustment of Group I. Thus, the same determinants will be applied to Group I in the post-parole period, to investigate the treatment methods and how they have helped these young men in resolving their problems which were so pronounced in the earlier period. Results are summarized in Fig. 4, but each area will be discussed in detail.

Economic Status and Stability of Family

There was probably little change in family circumstances during the time each youth was in New Haven.¹ However, a number of these men did not return to the "family of orientation" because of previous marriage, estrangement from parents or employment outside the home community. Those who did return home were less dependent on parents for support, and thus, less influenced and limited by family conditions than they had been earlier.

Amount of Education

Compulsory correspondence courses at New Haven provided only slight increase in academic achievement. In terms of specific work skills, with the exception of cooking and farm work, there were few gains. The real growth apparently took place in development of good work habits and more positive attitudes. These will be fully discussed in the later section on Borstal

1. The average time spent in this institution was 7.9 months.

Determinants of Occupational Adjustment

Determinant	Pre-New Haven	Post-Parole
1. Economic Status and Stability of Family	Low economic status and high degree of instability. Very limited resources.	No major differences, but subject is less affected by family's limitations because of his greater independence.
2. Amount of Education	Majority are disadvantaged academically. No evidence of vocational training or preparation for worker role.	Slight increase in academic status. Some vocational training. Marked increase in ability to tolerate work stresses.
3. Wise or Haphazard Choice of Occupation.	Pressure to accept any job because of reasons for leaving school. Limited knowledge of job opportunities and requirements. Parents of little help because of their socio-economic status and effects of social change.	Less outside pressure. Focus on job possibilities during stay in New Haven and finalization prior to release. Increase in knowledge through discussion and experience. Staff, social worker and sponsor are more knowledgeable and capable of providing guidance.
4. Character of First Employments	Two-thirds engaged in unskilled, short-term jobs. Little identity as a worker. Status anxiety.	Two-thirds employed in a trade or business occupation. Majority have some skills and stable, long-term employment. Identity as a worker. Decrease in anxiety.
5. Character of Significant Relationships	Absence of father in about half of these cases. Confused and negative relationships. Little opportunity for masculine identification.	Positive relationships with staff, social worker and sponsor; masculine identification.

Fig. 4. Comparison of periods in terms of the Determinants of Occupational Adjustment and the degree of change in prognosis - Group I.

relationships.

Wise or Haphazard Choice of Occupation

There was less pressure to accept just any job at the time of release from New Haven. Some weeks or months prior to release, the sponsor and the social worker of the Borstal Association discussed the lad's interests and aptitudes with him and squared these with available jobs and additional prospects. Even before that time the subject had often come up in informal talks with housemaster, supervisor, instructor or social worker. Sometimes job openings were limited ¹ and choice had to be more restricted, but it was generally possible to arrange placement in accordance with interests and abilities which had been subjected to some scrutiny.

In marked contrast to the earlier picture of the adolescent searching anxiously for any job opening, the New Haven lad has the opportunity to draw on the wide experience of professional and business persons in choosing an occupation, and along with it their assistance and encouragement in finding and holding a suitable job.

Character of First Employments

Although there was some shifting in employment, the majority of these young men were stabilized by the time of their discharge from parole. Two-thirds of them developed some trade or business skills, whereas prior to New Haven two-thirds of them were in seasonal and labouring jobs. This work stability is in decided contrast to the "work paralysis" of the previous

1. Employer resistance to hiring parolees was appreciable at the time these young men were released. Much of this has since been dispelled as a result of an educational program for employers, initiated by the Borstal Association, and the proven worth of these men over the years.

period. The competence achieved on the job can reasonably be seen as some measure of success and a means of dispelling the "status anxiety" which characterized the earlier period.

Character of Significant Relationships

This is perhaps where the greatest differences between the two periods may be seen. It is quite probable that without considerable improvement in this area, little movement would have been possible in other areas, as described above, since interaction in a good relationship is essential to attitude change. Mrs. Helen Perlman, a distinguished social worker, is more precise in her statement of the requirements of a "growth-oriented" relationship: "all relationships that naturally or by conscious intent contribute to an individual's growth must contain these essential components of support and stimulus, acceptance and expectation".¹

Many of the young men in this study group had not had the benefit of a proper balance of these components in their family relationships. The over-protective parent provides too much acceptance and support and fails to stimulate the child sufficiently toward developing his potentialities. The rejecting, disinterested, or "part-time" parent, on the other hand, may set unrealistic goals for a child and fail to provide sufficient support or acceptance or in fact may provide neither support nor stimulus. Since the natural process of emotional growth was apparently interrupted as a result of disturbances in

1. Perlman, Helen Harris, *Social Casework; (A Problem-solving Process)*. University of Chicago Press; Chicago; 1957

natural relationships, therapeutic relationships were required to enable the individual to resume this process.¹

Observations

The "growth" of the young men in Group I has been considered according to the "Determinants of Occupational Adjustment". It has been noted that, in the interval between admission to New Haven and discharge from parole, changes in economic factors and formal education were minimal. Marked advantages were observed in the later transition (from New Haven to job as compared to the earlier transition from school to job), in the areas of planning, choice of occupation, and placement in suitable employment. The later period, therefore, is characterized by relief of some outside pressures through the guidance and placement procedures, coupled with greater ability to tolerate stress. The consequent relief of anxiety allows the youth to direct his energy along more constructive lines. As already mentioned, however, probably the most productive gains were made in the quality of the young man's relationships. The ability to participate in satisfying relationships may be seen as the key to relinquishment of negative attitudes, development of normal identifications and motivation toward achievement of more realistic goals.

Some of these advantages were brought about by what might be viewed as better labour market organization to overcome the disadvantages of the earlier period, (e. g. instruction and guidance with a view of occupational choice and job placement). Other gains were made in combatting "personality inadequacies" by means of "growth-oriented" relationships. It is of course impossible to

1. The importance of these relationships warrants further detailed attention, which will be given later in this chapter.

attribute specific results entirely to the application of one of these methods. The individual's progress often reflects a combination of the two. Decrease in outside pressures results from guidance and job-placement and ability to tolerate stress is increased through therapeutic relationships.

While this sample is not representative of the entire adolescent population, these observations suggest that better labour market organization, alone or in combination with treatment directed toward more adequate personality development, may be effective in preventing or resolving vocational problems of other young people. These possibilities will be given further consideration in connection with a discussion of requirements of a comprehensive youth employment program in the final chapter.

The importance of the parent-child relationship in personality development has been underlined repeatedly. There is some indication that the relationships in the Borstal system are a major component in the treatment process. Therefore, some further observation and discussion of these substitute relationships is warranted.

Significance of Borstal Relationships

The casework relationship is readily recognized as having therapeutic effects, through the provision of reasonable goals and sufficient emotional support to make it possible for the client to attain them. Thus, the individual's growth is a matter of "conscious intent". But the relationships formed between staff, or sponsors, and lads in the B. C. Borstal System, although less formalized, also appear to be growth-oriented relationships with therapeutic effects.

While there are elements in common with the casework relationship, there are differences as well. The personnel of the Borstal System place less emphasis on the professional nature of their relationships with these young men; in fact they develop some features of the father-son relationship. Therefore, some consideration will be given to a more general approach - "the training process".

A philosopher, Father Ernest R. Hull, in an analysis of character training, states that all real training is self-training, and "success will be achieved only so far as we can induce the boy to take his own self-training in hand according to the lines laid out before him".¹ He suggests that the components of the training process are instruction, discipline and example and proceeds to explain the dynamics of this process:

"A distinction must be made between formal instruction and informal - formal being the set task systematically imposed, while informal is the outcome of adult intercourse, conversation, observation, spontaneous reading, etc. A similar distinction must be made in case of discipline - the informal being that which naturally arises from the tone of the circle in which the boy lives. An important place in the training of the young must be attributed to this informal instruction and discipline derived from the adult environment....

Thirdly, example, which covers the whole ground of instruction and discipline, is in its own way a more potent factor of influence than either. Besides appealing to the natural instinct of imitation, it reveals the possibilities of achievement, excites the aspirations of the young, helps in the formation of their own ideals, and gradually focuses their energies down to a definite line of self-development."²

1. Father Ernest R. Hull, S.J., The Formation of Character. B. Herder Book Co.; St. Louis; p. 166.

2. Ibid; pp. 166-167.

These components of the training process are applicable to the Borstal treatment program. They describe a major part of what happened to these young offenders, while at New Haven and on parole. In order to understand this more clearly and precisely, the characteristics of each of the major relationships in which these youths became involved, from the time of admission to New Haven until discharge from parole, will be examined. Relationships with shop instructor, supervisor and sponsor have been selected for this purpose and will be considered both in terms of Mrs. Perlman's criteria of a therapeutic relationship, and Father Hull's components of the training process.

The Shop Instructor.

The instructor "accepted" the young man as an inexperienced worker, communicated knowledge and demonstrated activity. But he also expected a response in the form of application on the part of the lad to the assigned task. His allowance for mistakes and his giving of recognition were supportive but he also set standards of performance and let it be known that they were within the competence of the individual and that he was expected to strive for and attain them (Appendix A). These young men repeatedly expressed their amazement at being able to complete tasks which they would have considered impossible only a few months before (e. g. one youngster built a model of a tug boat which was made up of hundreds of parts and required twenty thousand rivets to fasten small metal plates to cover the wooden hull).

The consistent stimulus to attain realistic goals and continued support gradually enabled the lad to gain satisfaction from the "mastery of materials" with the realization that he had the ability to complete something of value.

This realization constituted an alternative solution to "work paralysis" thus lessening the tendency to the "delinquent solution". A striking example is the statement of one young lad, after a few months at New Haven: "I always talked loud and threw my weight around 'cause I didn't know nothin'. Now I feel like a different person. I don't have to be loud anymore 'cause the fellas know I can cook". This recognition from other lads and staff, and the realization that he had the ability to make things, and to make them well, was the turning point for many of these young men. Erikson's statement, quoted earlier, indicates that this mastery of materials is "the backbone of identity formation".

The instructor at New Haven employed primarily formal instruction and discipline. While there were some informal aspects, (e. g. friendly conversation with the instructor or showing consideration for other lads in the shop), these were minimal. The example of the instructor in the proper use and care of tools, good work habits, patience and perseverance was also a major factor in influencing the lad (once he had overcome his negative identifications), to imitate and gradually identify with him as a competent workman.¹

1. Erikson, in discussing his concept of "work paralysis" (referred to in Chapter 1), suggests that delinquent activity and the legal process confirm a youth's negative identity, making "further striving and disappointment unnecessary". This is another way of saying that delinquent activity and firm establishment of negative identifications is a means of protecting the ego. The psychological defence mechanism of denial is utilized in controlling increasing "status anxiety". Since this defence is a barrier to any "self" involvement in treatment or training it must be relinquished at some stage of the therapeutic process if growth is to take place. Thus, as with other pathological defense mechanisms, the weak ego (of the more severely disturbed personality) will be more threatened and therefore more resistant to giving up the negative identity than the stronger more integrated one. This consideration will be helpful later in determining possible reasons for the growth of Group I and the apparent "fixation" of Group II.

The Supervisor

The Supervisor was responsible for the lad's training during the time he was away from his work area. This relationship was also therapeutic in that he gave the young man attention and recognition as an individual and encouraged him to develop abilities and attain satisfactions in social and recreational activity. At the same time he conveyed the fact that he expected the lad to show consideration for others and generally strive to regulate his behaviour according to social standards (Appendix B).

This was probably the most intensive relationship at New Haven. It involved largely informal instruction and informal as well as formal discipline. Example was a major factor in the training provided by the supervisor. Since this relationship developed around a number of activities and interests as compared to the instructor-youth relationship, the focus was largely on identification with the person rather than the activity. The informal nature of the training and the emphasis on example brought about a more emotionally charged relationship than the instructor-youth relationship, for example, and this in turn enhanced the process of identification. Therefore, although mastery of materials and eventual attainment of occupational identity constituted a major step towards masculine identity, the most important person for the New Haven lad who was striving for this identity was probably the supervisor.

The Borstal Sponsor

The voluntary sponsor worked under the supervision of the Executive Director, a professional social worker. He carried on, during the parole

period, with the training process which began when the youth was admitted to New Haven. The Sponsor's Guide contains several statements which identify this as a therapeutic relationship, according to Mrs. Perlman's definition (e. g. the sponsor must "befriend" and yet "supervise"; he must endeavour, "Through sympathetic understanding and patience to give counsel when needed, assist him to develop good work habits, teach him the art of budgeting money, encourage him to pursue healthy and beneficial leisure time activities and hobbies, and generally see to it, in a friendly way, that he lives up to the conditions of his license.")¹

Instruction and discipline in this relationship were primarily informal as indicated by the preceding quotation. The sponsor's responsibility for imposing the conditions of the licence, however, introduced a formal note. The example of the sponsor, who was usually a fairly mature and reasonably successful business or professional man was again perhaps the primary factor in this "growth-oriented relationship". The young man was able to gain a further experience in a close relationship with a person who was living testimony of the fact that manhood as well as occupational and business goals could be reached. This same "successful" person was no longer seen as a representative of a harsh, demanding society, but as a likeable person and one who was interested in his welfare. Mrs. Perlman observed that through such a relationship the "they" of society also begins to seem more hospitable - "There is a person, there are people, who care about me". Her further

1. Sponsor's Guide, op. cit.; p. 3.

comments on this point are particularly applicable to the sponsor-youth relationship.

"To be cared about is in itself a sign of one's worth; to be cared about by someone for whom one has respect and liking enhances the personality. All of us know ourselves by our reflections in the eyes of other people who seem important. When those eyes reflect an image that is likeable, respectable, understandable, then our self-esteem is raised and secured. ¹

Summary

Examination of the Borstal treatment program and comparison of the two groups for the period prior to New Haven has thus revealed that:

1. Persons in both groups were poorly adjusted in employment.

They differed only in the somewhat better performance of Group I in terms of job duration, and the greater proportion of good masculine relationships in this group.

2. There was no evidence of differential treatment. Both groups had the benefit of institutional training and planned induction into employment.

The failure of Group II to attain occupational adjustment must therefore be due to the inability of these persons to respond to the treatment methods employed in the Borstal system. Since the study of the progress of Group I disclosed that involvement in therapeutic relationships was probably the prerequisite to positive response to the various aspects of the treatment program, perhaps it is in this area that the major difference between the groups exists.

1. Perlman, op. cit.; p. 73.

The ability to participate in close satisfying relationships is of course largely dependent upon some flexibility in the personality - i. e. there must be no severe personality disturbance and therefore no rigid defensive structure. A further examination of available data is thus indicated at this point in order to determine whether or not this tentative conclusion can be substantiated otherwise than in terms of occupational adjustment. In other words, if it is true that for Group I, the generally more flexible personality could be influenced, through therapeutic relationships, to respond to the treatment program and become occupationally adjusted, and the rigidity of personality (or the more severe personality disturbance) of Group II interfered with this adjustment process, it should be possible to find some evidence of disparity in other areas of adjustment in the post-parole period.

In general terms, therefore, what is being sought are some indicators of total personality adjustment. This search will be taken up in the following chapter. Before proceeding however, it would be helpful to recall the two tasks with which all young people are confronted.¹ The first task, "to become economically independent of parents", has been discussed with relation to the two groups of the sample. The second task, "To become emotionally independent of parents", corresponds to the enquiry proposed for the next chapter.

1. See page 10.

CHAPTER 3

Borstal and Incipient Manhood

Examination of personality adjustment of persons in the sample in the post-parole period necessarily involves consideration of the adult personality. The well adjusted adult is often described as an emotionally mature person. But maturity is an elusive concept which requires some exposition. Charlotte Towle refers to the difficulty in definition of this term, but identifies a number of characteristics as maturity:

"That largely hypothetical person, an emotionally mature adult, defies a precise descriptive definition. Perhaps certain characteristics of what we mean by the term 'maturity' might be stated roughly as those of a person in whom enjoyment of dependence or inordinate pride in independence are replaced by gratification in interdependence. He still has considerable need to depend on others, a need to be loved, and a need to be cared for at such times and in those areas of his life in which he is unable to care for himself. He has a need also to have an opportunity to care for himself and to contribute to the welfare of others.... Insofar as the individual is basically secure through having experienced relationships in which he has been adequately loved and through having experienced opportunities for maximum development of his mental and physical capacities, his emancipation from his parents will have occurred naturally, gradually, and completely. He will, therefore, have little anxiety about either his need to depend

on others or his need to compete with others,
that is, his wish to excel others."¹

Towle emphasizes the mature person's natural ability to "give and take", as described in the term "interdependence", because he has achieved a sufficient degree of emotional security. Contrasted with this is the person who is troubled with anxiety, because of his insecurity, and who therefore becomes extremely dependent, or competitive and independent, in an attempt to control or relieve his anxious feelings. As noted earlier (p. 23), this anxiety and the resultant behaviour have serious implications for the person in his struggle to emancipate himself from his parents and to develop means of providing for his emotional needs in a socially acceptable way. Thus the establishment of satisfying social relationships including marriage is seen as a test of the individual's personality integration or maturity. Therefore marital data may throw some light on personality development of persons in the two groups of the sample.

Marital Status

The facts regarding marital status were readily available for both groups. They are recorded in table 7. Striking differences are revealed. In Group I, 84.6 per/cent had at some time attained married status in comparison with only 35.7 per/cent of Group II.

1. Towle, op. cit.; p. 59.

Table 7. Comparison of Groups in Relation to Marital Status

Designation	Group I	Group II	Total
<u>Marital Status</u>			
Single	4	9	13
Married	22	3	25
Divorced or Separated	-	2	2
Total	26	14	40

While emotional maturity is not a requirement in attaining marital status, and while some mature persons may remain single, the majority of persons do marry and maturity is certainly a pre-requisite for a reasonably satisfying marital relationship. Marriage demands "interdependence" of the partners as opposed to clinging dependency or competition. Therefore it is not enough to say that married status was achieved. It is necessary to say also what kind of marital relationships they are.

Time of First Marriage

Marriages contracted in the pre-New Haven period would ordinarily have little chance of becoming satisfying relationships because the young men in both groups were anxious, conflicted, and poorly adjusted, both emotionally and occupationally. On the other hand marriage in the post-parole period may be indicative of some degree of maturity. In order to obtain some clues about the possible importance of the time of marriage, persons in both groups were classified according to three periods during which first marriages were

contracted. These results may be seen in table 8.

Table 8. Number of First Marriages During Specific Periods

+			
Time of First Marriage	Group I	Group II	Total
Before Committal to New Haven	1	4	5
Before Discharge from Parole	2	-	2
After Discharge from Parole	19	1	20
Not Married	4	9	13
Total	26	14	40

In Group II only one young man married in the post-parole period as opposed to four in the period before committal. Of these four, one has been divorced, remarried and separated, and another has been divorced. The remaining two are presently serving long terms in penal institutions. Single status has been maintained by 64 per/cent of Group II.

By comparison, the vast majority of Group I married in the post-parole period. According to available information, all are still living together and the majority have children.¹ The man married before committal was later divorced, and has recently entered what his sponsor considers a more "mature"

1. Stability of the marriage and children cannot be interpreted as criteria of the maturity of the marriage partners. However, this information, together with statements by staff and sponsors, that the majority of these relationships are reasonably happy, is perhaps of some value.

marriage. Two were recorded as "forced" marriages as a result of premarital pregnancies, but this is of course fairly prevalent in the general population. Only 15 per cent did not marry.

The time of marriage, therefore, appears to be of some importance in considering the maturity of the marital relationship. The men in Group II have either not married or have been unsuccessful in marriage, or are for other significant reasons separated from their wives.¹ Of those who did marry, four out of five married in the pre-New Haven period. By contrast a large majority of the men in Group I have attained some semblance of a mature marriage, and all but three of these married in the later period.

Although these observations are not conclusive, there is nevertheless some indication that the high incidence of marriage in the post-parole period is linked in some way with the emotional growth achieved by persons in Group I, through therapeutic relationships in the Borstal System. In Group II, the apparent reluctance to marry and the poor marital adjustment of those who did marry, likewise suggest emotional immaturity and failure to respond to the relationship therapy.

Recidivism

Since the sample under consideration is a group of former young offenders the incidence of recidivism may also throw some light on the degree of emotional maturity attained by men in both groups. As previously indicated, a pattern of delinquent and criminal behaviour is indicative of pathology in personality development.

1. Recidivism and consequent confinement in penal institutions.

Table 9. Comparison of Groups in Relation to Recidivism

Convictions (Post-parole)	Group I	Group II	Total
Number of Convictions	2	25	27
Persons Convicted	2	10	12
Persons Not convicted	24	4	28

Although the recidivism rate in Group I is already seen as extremely low, it is noted that of the two convictions recorded, one was of a minor nature - "creating a disturbance" - and disposition called for payment of a fine only. The other man was convicted of "theft over \$50.00", actually, riding in a stolen automobile, and was required to serve a sentence of two months. In Group II, only one offense was of a minor nature - "theft under \$50.00". Other offenses included forgery, possession of drugs, theft, breaking and entering, and indecent assault.

Observations

In comparing the two groups in relation to marriage and recidivism it was found that the positive response of Group I, noted in terms of occupational adjustment, carried over into these areas as well. At the same time, the poor performance of Group II in all areas was obvious. This again points to total personality involvement rather than merely response to labour market organization. It also lends support to the tentative conclusion that the individual's ability to involve himself in therapeutic re-

relationships is the key to growth and adjustment of the total person.

As a final check on these conclusions, a study of psychiatric reports was made. These reports were prepared when each youth was examined prior to being sentenced at New Haven. They were found to contain sufficient material for comparison of the two groups according to a number of diagnostic categories (table 10).

Table 10. Comparison of Groups in Relation to Psychiatric Diagnoses

Designation	Group I	Group II	Total
Psychotic	-	2	2
Pre-psychotic	1	1	2
Psychopathic	-	3	3
Parent-child Relationship - severe Disturbances	1	5	6
Parent-child Relationship - Moderate Disturbance	9	2	11
Inadequate Character training	13	1	14
No Established Delinquency	2	-	2
Total	26	14	40

The first four categories in the table involve severely pathological interpersonal relationships as evidenced in the following case illustrations:

1. In the case of one youth, the term "poor parental figures", as stated in the psychiatric

report, is a definite understatement. This boy was a ward of a Children's Aid Society and spent his childhood in "between twelve and fifteen foster homes". He recalls only two sets of parents with whom he was happy. Of the rest, he says he "hated them so much I could have kicked their teeth in". He was exposed early to excessive sexual activity and later sexual offenses were seen as an expression of hostility.

2. A lad diagnoses as a "psychopath" was seriously constricted with hostility as a result of severe "sibling rivalry". He had a twin brother who received every attention and recognition from his widowed mother while he was rejected.
3. A young man, who is presently in a mental hospital, has a long history of conflict with his father, who has been an ineffectual, highly unstable person (e. g. on one occasion the father absconded with several hundreds of dollars of the subject's earnings, which he had agreed to invest in a family business enterprise).

It is significant that 79 per/cent of Group II as compared with only 8 per/cent of Group I, are in one of these categories involving severe disturbances in social relationships. The remaining designations suggest less serious disturbance in social relationships, and include absent, passive, permissive and over-protective parents. The two youths who had not established a delinquent pattern would probably have responded on probation.

The more severe personality disturbance of the majority of persons in Group II, as measured by psychiatric examinations in the earlier period, would therefore support the tentative conclusions reached in considering occupational adjustment, marriage and recidivism, i. e. that the men in Group II failed to adjust in these various areas because of inability to

utilize the Borstal treatment services, which require participation in close interpersonal relationships. Before dealing with the additional implications of this, some attention will be given to the performance of Group II while at New Haven.

The young men in Group II, in spite of more severe disturbance in interpersonal relationships, adjusted reasonably well at New Haven. Some performed exceptionally well. This was, however, very often on a superficial level and did not represent real growth. Many of these lads had erected virtually impregnable defenses to protect extremely weak ego structures. Close relationships had been too painful in the past and could not be risked at this time. One example from a psychiatric report illustrates this: as a result of confusion regarding parental figures and no means of masculine identification, he had built a defensive system against neurosis, i. e. "treats circumstances lightly, resorts to aggression and is seriously lacking in self-discipline". But these traits are also characteristic of the lad with permissive parents, who received inadequate training. Thus, although the behaviour is very similar, there is a marked difference in terms of degree of pathology in these two broad categories. The young man whose character training is merely incomplete as a result of some deficiencies in the parent-child relationship responds fairly readily to the New Haven program. Although he has formed negative identifications, close relationships are less threatening and staff persons can gradually gain his co-operation in the task to "build-in" the qualities which his home training failed to do. On the other hand, the youth, whose defensive system is more rigid because of

more painful experiences in relationships, (and consequently has a weaker ego), will be much more resistant to change and will tend to persevere in this behaviour. In order to be able to give up these defenses, he must gain greater understanding of the meaning of his attitudes and behaviour and manage an increase in self-confidence.¹

Staff persons at New Haven believe that they could have provided more effective help for the lads in Group II if they could have held them in the institution for a longer period. This may have been true in some cases. It is evident, however, after consideration of the dynamics of this behaviour and the degree of disturbance of the majority of individuals in Group II, that the training program at New Haven would tend to threaten the weaker ego sufficiently to result in reinforcement of defenses. These persons therefore direct themselves to conformity rather than to real growth, i. e. adopt a utilitarian rather than an ethical or social standard. It is thus unlikely that a longer training period would have been much more effective. It is also noted that since psychiatric reports give a reasonably accurate description of the degree of personality disturbance, they could be utilized to greater advantage in determining, prior to sentencing, whether or not a youth is likely to respond to Borstal treatment.

1. Treatment considerations will be left for the final chapter.

CHAPTER 4

The Community and the Young Worker

We have traced the performance of the members of the sample through the three periods: pre-New Haven; New Haven and parole; and post-parole. We have observed that the Borstal System can provide effective treatment for the young offender suffering moderate personality disturbance and accompanying occupational problems. For certain others - the more severely disturbed - it has not been appropriate. Therefore, some discussion of alternative treatment methods is indicated. It is important, also, to consider some means of providing the right kind of help to the adolescent who, although a non-offender, is nevertheless "disadvantaged" in preparing for and finding suitable employment. Finally, as suggested in the first chapter, some normal adolescents could develop much more of their potential with appropriate help during this period of transition. A network of services, both remedial and preventative, is therefore required if the needs of these young people are to be effectively met. For the purpose of this discussion, the framework established in the first chapter will be utilized. That is, services will be discussed in two major categories; those designed to deal with personality inadequacies (specialized treatment services); and those developed to

to overcome labour market inadequacies (broad services - labour market organization).

Specialized Treatment Services

This is the area of concern for the Social Worker as a practitioner and includes both casework and groupwork methods.¹ Remedial help is required for adolescents with emotional problems before vocational guidance and job placement services can be effective, since difficulties in occupational adjustment are dynamically related to total personality disturbance. Casework, groupwork and psychiatric services are available separately, and in various combinations, to the adolescent living in his own home or in a substitute home (e.g. guidance clinics, family agencies, neighbourhood houses etc.). These services are also provided in a variety of institutions for the adolescent who for some reason cannot adjust to the requirements of society and requires twenty-four hour care.²

The limited effectiveness of the Borstal treatment program, noted in this study, underlines the necessity of a differential approach to the adolescent, in accordance with the nature and intensity of his problems.

1. Psychiatric treatment is of course required with some, more severely disturbed adolescents. While occasional references will be made to these services, major emphasis will be given to social work methods and particularly casework.

2. It is notable that none of these treatment approaches were utilized in the Borstal program to any appreciable extent. Although there is a social worker on staff, he is primarily concerned with orientation of inmates and periodic discussion of their progress. The psychiatrist at Oakalla Prison provides diagnostic material and occasional consultation, but no continuing treatment.

In our discussion of the failure of Group II to respond to Borstal treatment, it was pointed out that one of the major barriers to treatment of the disturbed personality is a rigid defensive structure. This is maintained to control extreme anxiety. As a result these persons relate on a superficial or intellectual level, but resist emotional involvement, which has been too painful in the past and is therefore too threatening. But, recognition and expression of feelings are essential in any therapeutic situation if it is to be effective. Therefore sufficient support must be provided to enable the weak ego to relinquish some of the constricting defenses before achieving more adequate integration. This more secure therapeutic situation is designed to enable the individual to interact more freely and can be provided in a variety of ways. The following are some possible methods: social casework; institutional treatment; and casework in a vocational guidance setting.

Social Casework

The caseworker is skilled in the use of both supportive and modifying treatment methods. He can enable the young person to feel more secure by relieving external stresses and clarifying pathological behaviour patterns. The casework technique of "clarification" is of major importance in treatment of the more severely impaired personality and therefore requires some elaboration. It is of course always accompanied by appropriate supportive techniques.

The report of a staff committee of a New York Social Agency describes the social casework treatment method including detailed explanation of the

technique of clarification. An excerpt from this statement will serve to illustrate this process:

"The technique of clarification is used to modify behaviour and attitudes by consistently increasing the client's awareness and understanding of the use, meaning, and effect of disabling patterns of response, eventually including the pathological use of a defense mechanism. . . . The client gradually assesses and responds to his current life experience more realistically and appropriately. His disabling behaviour and attitudes become more understandable to him, reducing to manageable proportions the anxiety and guilt that are manifestations of neurotic conflict. . . . As he has less need to respond inappropriately to his current life experience, the pathological use of the defense mechanisms that give rise to his stereotyped disabling behaviour gives way to more benign use. In other words, the mechanism that was primarily a repetitively used protective device becomes gradually more flexible and an instrument of adaptation to new situations. Ultimately, then, the client's ego-integrative adequacy is enhanced. More energy is available to him for continued self-scrutiny, self-understanding, and modification of disabling behaviour and attitudes."¹

As this statement indicates, the client is gradually able to participate more freely and actively in resolving his various problems, once he is able to rid himself of some of his crippling defensive structure. This intensive therapy would, of course, be possible only on a long term basis and with a client with sufficient intellectual capacity, ego strengths, and motivation for change. The case work approach is therefore not appropriate with all disturbed personalities.

1. Community Service Society of New York, Method and Process in Social Casework. Family Service Association of America; New York; 1958; pp. 20-22.

Institutional Treatment

The casework method, used alone, is of limited effectiveness with the disturbed adolescent. There are several reasons for this, as described by James McIsaac, administrator of an institutional treatment centre for adolescents:

"We have found that many factors operating within these disturbed adolescents, living in their own homes or foster homes, render their verbal communication with their case worker an unreliable and limited expression for the inner conflicts, problems and unmet needs which are so seriously handicapping them in their struggle toward adult maturity. While these upset children remain in the living situation which originally produced their disturbances, the case work interview often seems unable to penetrate beyond the continuous stream of current crisis. It is also evident that the defensive secrecy of this type of youngster, the accelerated pace of 'acting out' - their impulsiveness and accompanying anxieties, their fears and distrust of adults are just a few of the attributes which combine to make their verbal expressions in the interview an inadequate gauge of their feelings and thoughts...."¹

This difficulty in communication was seen as a characteristic of the normal adolescent and is of course magnified in the case of the troubled youngster. Mr. McIsaac proceeds with an argument for institutional treatment of adolescents because it provides the necessary living experiences in relationships with both peers and adults who provide acceptance of deviant behaviour and controls against harmful impulses. At the same time he recognizes that

1. McIsaac, James, "Residential Treatment For Adolescents". New Approaches to the Treatment of Adolescents; Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa; May 29, 1953; p. 26. Although this article describes an institutional program for adolescent girls, Maryvale Vocational School in Windsor, Ontario, the author's observations are nevertheless applicable to the emotionally disturbed adolescent boy as well.

such a program must include casework, group work and psychiatric services, for, "treatment of an emotionally upset adolescent must be clinically, as well as environmentally, oriented."¹ This conclusion would lend support to the suggestion that Borstal treatment could be more effective in cases of more severe pathology, if specialized clinical services were integrated in the program, instead of retaining the major emphasis on work and relationship therapy in all cases. If clinical services are not to be provided, psychiatric reports should be used in "screening out" the young offenders manifesting more severe emotional disturbance.²

Casework in a Vocational Guidance Setting

A rather interesting and unique approach to the young person troubled with emotional problems, especially in view of the emphasis in this study on vocational problems of adolescence, is the combination of casework with the vocational guidance framework. This treatment method is described by David Dobson, a social worker, and Director of the Jewish Vocational Service in Louisville, Kentucky:

1. McIsaac, *ibid*; p. 30.

2. The value of psychiatric reports in this connection was recognized in Chapter 3.

"The opportunity to help young persons with their apprehensions is perhaps greater in a counselling agency than in many others. Often, it is more acceptable to the young persons to project their personal conflicts onto doubts about a career. Recognizing the basic reasons for the anxieties, the vocational counsellor can remain within the vocational framework, and utilize not only the supportive therapy of the casework discipline, but the techniques of vocational testing. The ego-support thus derived helps the adolescent to gain badly needed assurance. Further, work with young people also allows for preventive work through modifying negative attitudes and strengthening those that influence work adjustment favorably.

The response to the item, 'to help me to understand my abilities better',¹ can thus be understood as an extension of the ego-support gained through the counselling process. The adolescent leaves the agency with an understanding of himself in relation to his abilities and limitations, a realistic self-image geared to a training or work program that he is capable of handling."²

Dobson agrees that, for young persons, difficulties in employment often reflect personal conflicts. He states that these persons can respond to casework treatment employing both modifying and supportive techniques. He suggests that the caseworker can remain in the vocational framework, and implies that this is an effective means of handling more basic personality

1. In a follow-up questionnaire, the majority of former clients of this agency indicated that the most important help they had received was greater self-understanding.

2. Dobson, David, "Client Reaction to Vocational Service". Social Casework. May, 1953; pp. 211-216.

problems. These would otherwise produce more anxiety if focused upon directly and the defensive structure would militate against access to treatment. It would, of course, be essential to have formulated an accurate diagnosis and to keep the goals of treatment in view. Some clients in such an agency may require or want only a specific type of help over a brief period. For others, focusing on employment may become a form of resistance to "tackling" more basic personality difficulties. In this event the client would require help in recognizing this before he could use further casework interviews to any advantage.

As already mentioned these are only a few of the possible treatment methods which can be effective with some emotionally disturbed adolescents. Other approaches are being tried and tested and a variety of experimental projects will need to be developed in the future, for, as James McIsaac observes,

"... the disturbed adolescent presents a challenge to known methods in social work and psychiatry today more than ever before. As we have brought into sharp focus the many difficulties confronting the adolescents in our culture in their struggle to attain adulthood, we have come to realize how much more we need to explore new avenues for understanding and helping them." ¹

1. McIsaac, op. cit.; p. 26.

In addition to applying known treatment methods and exploring new ways of helping troubled adolescents, any intelligent program of services must include (a) development of some means of reaching those who need help, and (b) involvement of the family as well as the "total person".

The "reaching out" or "aggressive casework" approach has been adopted with considerable success by a number of social agencies in Canada and the United States e.g. the New York "Services to Families and Children" project; the San Bernadino program of "Counselling Services to Parents and Children Involved in Divorce Proceedings"; and the Vancouver "Joint Family Services Project".¹

Specialized treatment services may also be viewed as having preventative aspects i.e. strengthening family relationships and preventing more severe personality disturbances. They are costly however in terms of staff time and are thus rarely available in sufficient supply to meet the need. It

1. The Vancouver experiment utilizing the group contact of a family member as a means of gaining access to the family as a whole "... demonstrates that the integration of case and group work methods ... can result in more effective service to families" The early detection of problems and prevention of further family breakdown were made possible through the combination of these two social work methods. (Community Chest and Council of Greater Vancouver, B.C., Social Planning Section, A Professional Analysis of the Joint Family Services Project, Vancouver, B.C.; 1959; p. 20). The other programs have produced similar positive results as reported in: New York City Youth Board, Reaching the Unreached Family. New York; 1958; and Paget, Norman W. and Kerns, Marcella, Counselling Services to Parents and Children Involved in Divorce Proceedings. State Department of Social Welfare in cooperation with the Council of Community Services and the Family Service Agency, San Bernadino, California; July 1960.

would therefore be reasonable to meet basic human needs before the frustration of unmet needs produces sufficient anxiety to precipitate pathological behaviour and family breakdown. With relation to adolescent boys, especially those who are at a disadvantage in choosing and preparing for a career (e. g. intellectual, economic, educational or personality limitations), one of the most important preventative programs is labour market organization. This has been suggested at various intervals in this study and will now be considered in further detail.

Broad Services - Labour Market Organization

Integration of all services concerned with the adolescent and his transition from classroom to job is long overdue in Canada. As indicated earlier, a number of European countries have recognized the needs of the adolescent and have developed and coordinated appropriate services.¹ An excellent example is the British program.

The British "Youth Employment Service"

As early as 1900, a few local education authorities had offered help to boys and girls in choosing jobs. By 1910, special youth departments had been set up in local labour exchanges and these services were given statutory sanction. Thereafter, the program grew steadily, attaining its present form when it was reconstituted under the Employment and Training Act of 1948.

1. In Germany, Austria and England, labour, management and government, in various ways, accept responsibility for helping young people move from school to job. It is recognized of course that these measures were introduced only after long experience with industrialization, urbanization, and the dangers of unskilled labour and blind - alley jobs.

In 1955, almost 500,000 young people were assisted by these services. By 1957 over 900 Youth Employment Officers were employed in more than 800 local offices.

The Youth Employment Service is operated jointly by local education authorities and the Ministry of Labour. Employers, who of course are also interested in getting the right young people into the right jobs, participate in providing a variety of training programs. The objectives of this service are as follows:

1. To assist the school-leaver in choice of an occupation.
2. To find him a job.
3. To help with any problems he may encounter in adjusting to the job situation.

Wendy Hall, in an article written for the Canadian Labour Gazette, describes how these objectives are translated into concrete services:

"The Youth Employment Service begins seriously to help youngsters in their last year at school - that is, when they are between 14 and 15 years of age. The Youth Employment Officer gives talks to groups of those about to leave school, stressing the need for some active thought about their future careers, and the avoidance of merely drifting into the first job that comes along.

The school usually arranges visits to local factories, offices, shops and so on, and may invite speakers from outside to address the children about their particular careers. Further information is made available in a series of booklets dealing with a wide range of careers, especially written for teen-agers, and officially produced. A number of films about careers have also been made for the Ministry of Labour, and can be borrowed by schools.

Meanwhile, in some districts, the Youth Employment Committee¹ invites parents of those who are leaving school to an 'open evening' when the problems of launching their children on a career can be discussed informally."

This educational process is designed to encourage thought and discussion of employment opportunities and requirements in preparation for realistic occupational choice. The role of the Youth Employment Officer in job selection and placement is explained by Miss Hall:

"The next stage is the personal interview with each boy or girl. Youth Employment Officer, parents, teacher and youngster discuss together the pros and cons of, perhaps, a job in a factory or a job in a shop, bearing in mind the youngster's abilities and interests.

The Youth Employment Officer now sets about placing the youngster in what he considers a suitable job, or if, as in some cases, the youth has set his heart on a career which the Youth Employment Officer cannot honestly advise, he nevertheless tries to find him a job in the career of his choice.

Once the youngster has started work, the Youth Employment Officer remains in touch with him, keeping his office s open one evening a week, so that new entrants with problems and difficulties may bring them to him. It may be that, in spite of thorough preliminary discussions, the youngster and the job do not, after all, suit each other: if this is so, the Youth Employment Officer is perfectly willing to make a fresh start."²

1. These local committees are composed of representatives of the local educational authority, teachers, employers, workers and other persons vitally interested in the welfare of young people.

2. Hall, Wendy, "Britain's Youth Employment Service". The Labour Gazette. April, 1957; p. 436.

The Youth Employment Officer thus provides continuity and coordination in the process of induction of the youth into employment. From the time of the initial group discussion, through individual interviews, choice of occupation, placement in a job and the follow-up period, he maintains his interest and offers specialized help. Another important feature of this program is the recognition of the significance of the parental role and the provision of opportunities for parents to remain involved in the guidance of their children during this period of transition.

The Canadian Youth Commission

The Canadian Youth Commission Study, published in 1945, likewise recognized and proclaimed the needs of young people and recommended organization and coordination of services, similar to those provided in Britain. Although these recommendations were apparently never implemented, they are nevertheless still a useful "blueprint for action", as illustrated by the following excerpts concerning the organization of community resources:

"In addition to the services that are to be expected of the schools and employment offices, many communities will be able to draw upon the resources of other agencies. Youth organizations, churches and social service agencies frequently have available trained personnel whose services could and should be utilized. The latter groups especially have developed scientific casework methods, and their experienced help should be employed in school and community counselling programmes. (School services to students could be immeasurably enriched through enlisting the assistance of persons from these various

various community agencies as required)." ¹

Schools and employment offices have made some beginnings in closer cooperation. For example, arrangements have been made in many centres for placement officers to visit high schools and to register senior students with a view to placement in employment. However, there are still numerous gaps, as indicated in the first chapter. The participation of other persons and agencies in the community has been confined to the annual "career day" in many instances. Although referrals are made to social agencies for casework services, this action is largely left to the individual school principal, teacher or placement officer and is ordinarily not a matter of policy.² This arbitrary, piecemeal approach is in decided contrast to the coordination visualized by the Youth Commission 15 years ago:

"The danger indeed in some cases is that the individual will be lost in a maze of conflicting advice. What seems indicated for each community is a council or committee of an existing council to plan and co-ordinate an adequate occupational adjustment programme. On such a council or committee should be represented all the major agencies able to render useful service in this field, including the local employment office, the school, employers, labour, youth organizations, social agencies and the public library.

1. The Canadian Youth Commission, Youth and Jobs in Canada, The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1945; p. 161.

2. Although some school systems have recognized the value of casework services and have created staff positions for caseworkers, this is not generally true. Counselling and guidance positions are usually filled by teachers. Many of these persons have taken training courses to become more competent in this work. However, they are not qualified to do a "casework job".

It is of the utmost importance that persons called upon to do work of this nature should have, in addition to interest in young people, a broad education and a sound knowledge of psychology. Amateurs who dispense merely 'good advice', and self-considered experts with an excessive faith in testing, are both to be avoided." ¹

This word of caution about the possible consequences of insufficient numbers of qualified personnel and lack of coordination of services is still applicable today. But there are indications of increasing recognition of the importance of more thoughtful planning and integration of services, with a view to providing a more "adequate occupational adjustment programme". These developments will be discussed more appropriately in a later section.

A number of specialized treatment methods and broader labour market organization programs, designed to assist young people in dealing with vocational problems, have now been considered. As mentioned previously, treatment services are indicated primarily in the case of the adolescent who has insufficient ego strengths or emotional security to be able to cope with adjustment problems in a satisfactory way, and thus experiences increasing anxiety. Labour market organization may be viewed as essential for these and otherwise "disadvantaged" adolescents, in relieving some of the stresses accompanying their induction into employment. But it is also beneficial to many other young people, through provision of opportunities for realistic planning rather than relying on chance factors.

1. Ibid; pp. 161-162.

The Borstal System employed some elements of both treatment services and labour market organization in assisting young offenders to attain occupational adjustment. Since most of the offenders in the sample were high school "dropouts", this discussion can be expanded to include the larger group of "dropouts" who, although not offenders, are nevertheless similarly at a disadvantage in establishing themselves in employment because of emotional difficulties, learning problems or economic limitations. The "dropout" problem has already been mentioned as an area of concern in connection with both personality and labour market inadequacies, but warrants some further attention here since it underlines the urgency of further integration of services for adolescents.

High School "Dropouts"

A recent article, based on an enquiry in the United States, refers to this as the "huge but ignored" problem of "Dropout Tragedies",¹ in terms of both individual and national waste. This statement is substantiated with statistical data which indicates that according to present trends one-third of U. S. adolescents will not complete high school in the ten year period 1960-1970². Also, by 1965, there will be three dropouts for every two unskilled jobs, and only five high school graduates for every seven jobs demanding post-elementary education and training.

1. "Dropout Tragedies". Life. May 2, 1960; p. 106A.

2. This approximates current figures for Vancouver, B.C., quoted in the first chapter.

In Canada, a recent brief presented to the Senate's special committee on manpower, by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, underlines the significance of the "dropout" problem with relation to unemployment. It states that, "Despite unemployment, there are jobs going begging for lack of trained workers", and suggests that present unemployment is due, to a great extent, to "frictional unemployment". This means that job demands of industry are not matched by the number of workers qualified and available for jobs.¹

The adolescent may leave school too early for a number of reasons. These have already been mentioned but a brief review will be helpful before proceeding with further discussion of the "dropout" problem.

Intellectual limitations make it impossible for 30 per/cent of "drop-outs" to complete the academic high school course of studies.

Economic limitations of some families restrict the opportunities for education of children. In some cases adolescents must go to work to provide for their own material needs, and in others, their earnings are required to supplement family income.

A variety of emotional factors could create sufficient anxiety to precipitate a "quitting" of school. Emotional insecurity, heightened in normal adolescence, is further intensified in some adolescents because of unsatisfactory, and sometimes damaging, earlier relationships and experiences. The tendency to withdraw from difficult tasks or become overly aggressive

1. "School Courses Held Inadequate For Industry's Needs", Calgary Herald, Calgary. March 10, 1961; p. 28.

are characteristic of these persons and can readily be seen as possible factors in voluntary withdrawal or expulsion from school. The emotionally deprived student who is compelled to seek immediate gratification of his needs and desires is also often unable to meet the demands of high school studies. Finally, to the adolescent who has for various reasons become defiant of authority and/or developed negative attitudes to work and other social expectations, leaving school can signify his disregard for the authority and controls of parents and teachers. This excessive need to defy or rebel will manifest itself in resentment of superiors on the job, and in quitting jobs, unless the underlying anxiety is relieved.

Specialized treatment services would of course be appropriate for adolescents who leave or are about to leave school because of more severe emotional distress.¹ But the majority of potential "dropouts" are not in this category. They have been referred to as youngsters who are "floundering", "shy", "lost" or "bored". A typical group of these young people is described in the following paragraphs:

"Long before such youngsters quit school physically, they have dropped out in spirit. They are not juvenile delinquents, even though humiliation often makes them sullen or disobedient. Retarded in reading since early elementary school, many can not learn from books, cannot use words to express ideas. Teachers have left them alone rather than

1. This sub-group of all potential "dropouts", alone, would illustrate the importance of employing social workers in the school system or at least developing more effective referral procedures.

hold back the entire class. The boys' apathy toward education ends in truancy and failed courses. By age 16 they have dropped one and two years behind their classmates.

Humiliated by the inability to keep up, bigger and older than the others in their classes, they suffer the epithet 'dumb'. Graduation seems far out of reach. They find reasons to quit - 'school's no good', or 'I don't like my teachers', or, the real reason: 'I'm too far behind'. At their age a job, no matter how menial, is a sudden badge of manhood. The money it brings will buy importance."¹

Thus, a variety of reading and learning problems, as well as intellectual limitations, and the related emotional factors, tend to produce a sense of failure, which grows in intensity and may result in a withdrawal from school unless effective methods of reversing this process can be applied.

A number of schools in New York City have organized small experimental classes, to give potential dropouts specialized vocational guidance and some remedial work before they leave. This more relaxed, less academic approach has produced some rather encouraging results. This one year program provided sufficient incentive and remedial help to enable 80 per/cent of these pupils to go on successfully to normal high school classes. Although these findings are based on very limited numbers, they point the way for further experimentation and development.

1. "Dropout Tragedies"; op. cit.; pp. 106B-107

Another program directed to helping the potential dropout is called "Job Upgrading". This is provided in the high school system of Detroit, Michigan, and involves close cooperation with employers, service clubs and the Detroit Council for Youth Services. It is described as "... the only program in the U. S. to attack this neglected problem on any sizable scale."¹

In a 16 week course, "Job Upgrading" provides schooling, work experience and job placement. After a few weeks of individual attention in special classes, some have regained sufficient interest and self-confidence to return to regular high or trade schools on either a part or full time basis. Some go into permanent employment. The remainder are placed in "work experience" jobs in order to learn what work is like. They are paid for this work from a community fund. On the basis of this experience they move on to further training or are assisted in finding suitable employment.

1. "A Hopeful Second Chance". Life. May 9, 1960; p. 102.

Concluding Remarks

The road to occupational adjustment and the possible hazards the adolescent may encounter along the way, have now been explored. A variety of services and methods of organization, designed to help him surmount these difficulties, have been examined. It now remains to "pull together" the main points discussed.

Requirements of a Comprehensive Youth Employment Program

1. Vocational Education and Guidance. This category includes any means of imparting useful information, stimulating thought, and encouraging the adolescent to prepare himself to make a realistic decision about his place in "the world of work". This must, of course, come early enough to enable him to take advantage of appropriate courses of study and training.
2. Education and Vocational Training. This phase of the program must be geared to meet requirements of available jobs. The continuing increase in the number of jobs involving higher education and special skills, in contrast to unskilled jobs, points to the urgency of more enlightened planning. More flexibility in the educational system and development and expansion of specialized training programs, both in educational institutions and "on the Job", would be worthwhile innovations.
3. Job Placement. The matching of youth and job is dependent upon the placement officer's thorough knowledge of both the individual's interest, aptitudes and limitations, and the skills and personal characteristics required for successful performance on the job. Placement officers must be free to establish and maintain close working relationships with employers, in order to learn about working conditions, and to keep themselves well informed on developments and trends in various industrial and commercial enterprises.¹

1. N.E.S. staff shortages, which have been a major factor in the limited use of the Service by both employers and prospective workers, are due largely to the staffing formula. This formula, which was arrived at on the basis of work load in the insurance branch of the service, is not applicable to placement work. The former involves primarily routine constant operations, while the latter includes a number of activities requiring variable allotments of time (e.g. interviewing time, travelling time, etc.). It is noteworthy that this staffing formula has been under study for possible revision.

4. Follow-up of progress after placement. Failure to provide an opportunity for communication and satisfactory solution of minor adjustment problems can often lead to separation of the worker from the job, or development of negative attitudes to work. Some employers are prepared to assist the young worker with difficulties during the adjustment period, but this is not generally true. Some continuing contact with the placement officer may therefore be helpful, especially in the case of the youth with emotional problems or limited intelligence. This phase of the employment program is also dependent on adequate staffing.

5. Economic aid. Young people in low income families require financial help if they are to prepare themselves for available jobs by means of appropriate education and training. Adequate public assistance and educational and vocational training grants would meet these needs.

These services are essential to any enlightened youth employment program. Since they are considered as broad basic services, they must be available to all persons who need them and wish to take advantage of them. Many adolescents prefer to choose an occupation, enroll for training, find a job and adjust to it, without consulting a vocational counsellor or placement officer. They manage to do so with varying degrees of success. Many others would welcome such services and could use them to real advantage towards greater development of their potential.¹ For some adolescent boys a youth employment program of this kind would constitute a preventive service, i. e. it could make the difference between occupational (and total personality

1. In England, "... at least 90 per/cent of school-leavers receive vocational guidance and of these about half are placed in their first jobs by the service; a high proportion of the second and later placings of young persons under 18 is also made by the service." (International Labour Office, National Employment Services, Great Britain. 1952. Geneva; p. 71.

adjustment, and a variety of personality and employment problems.¹

In general, these broad services should be provided through the co-operation of various levels of government and educational authorities, with some assistance from employers, labour unions and community agencies. It is therefore evident that co-ordination and clear definition of the role of each is essential to an effective program. For the immediate future, pending organization of more adequate government services, there is probably a case for a differential approach. In some communities, the school may have highly qualified staff and good training facilities, and would thus be the logical setting for the guidance and training services. In other centres the youth employment service may be prepared to give better service in these areas. As suggested in the report of the Canadian Youth Commission, a local council or committee, representative of all groups concerned with youth and occupational adjustment, can render a necessary service as a planning and co-ordinating body. Since occupational adjustment is fundamentally a welfare issue, it would be appropriate to organize such a committee in conjunction with the local Council of Community Services.

1. As already mentioned, an adequate referral system is essential to enable young people with more serious emotional problems to obtain appropriate specialized treatment.

Increasing concern about "the unemployment problem" in recent months has stimulated considerable thought and discussion of possible causes and remedies. The inadequacies of the school system, insufficient financial help and inadequate organization at the federal government level are repeatedly emphasized as major causative factors.

The associate director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education, Mr. A. V. Pigott, recently made the statement to a Senate committee that Canadian schools emphasize the status symbol of academic learning and are thus "out of whack" with the needs of business and industry. His solution is a new outlook by the public that would "honour the blue collar", and make trades training a more approved and acceptable thing to do. A brief presented on behalf of the Association proposes an "upgrading" scheme to deal with the "dropout" problem and a broad new retraining program for the unemployed including the provision of adequate public assistance during the training period.¹

Professor John Morgan of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, likewise calls for improved welfare benefits and more education and training. In a recent address at the Annual Education Conference of the Ontario Federation of Labour, In Niagara Falls, he recommended reorganization of various federal government departments. Of interest to us was his suggestion that the National Employment Service should become part of

1. "School Courses Held Inadequate for Industries Needs". Calgary Herald. Calgary. March 10, 1961; p. 28.

of the Department of Labour and be completely overhauled. He believes that among other functions its job should be "to maintain a continuous review of Canada's manpower and to develop a long-term plan for the effective deployment of the total manpower resources of the country." ¹

These statements serve to illustrate further the importance of adequate labour market organization for the adolescent if large scale unemployment or extensive retraining programs are to be avoided. They also underline the necessity of questioning attitudes about education and work and traditional methods of organization of services.

Emotionally disturbed adolescents present a challenge to known methods in social work. In like manner, other "disadvantaged" adolescents (e.g. high school "dropouts"), and even young people with average opportunities demand exploration and development of better ways of assisting them in achieving a reasonable degree of adjustment in a suitable occupation.

Perhaps this growing concern about unemployment in Canada constitutes the beginning of a movement towards a more enlightened and comprehensive program to help the adolescent boy in transition from schoolroom to job, and to manhood.

1. "Education Needed to Aid Unemployment". Calgary Herald, Calgary. February 20, 1961; p. 2.

Appendix A

NH - 11

NEW HAVEN

VOCATIONAL TRAINING REPORT

<u>GROUP</u>	<u>MONTHS</u>
Senior	---
Leader	1 2
Inter.	1 2
Junior	0 1 2 3

Name:

Training Party:

Period covered: From _____ to _____ Instructor _____

General Grade: Poor () Fair () Good () Very Good ()

INITIATIVE & PERSISTENCE:

PERSONAL HABITS:

ATTITUDE:

PERFORMANCE:

CO-OPERATION:

RELIABILITY:

FURTHER REMARKS:

Appendix BNEW HAVEN - Monthly Report
(Temporary Form)GROUP INDICATION

Sr (Blue paper)
 Ldr (Red ")
 Int (White ")
 Jr (Green ")

NAME

PERIOD COVERED: From to

Supervisor

FUNCTIONAL AREA	STANDARD REACHED BY THE END OF REPORTING PERIOD		ATTITUDE TOWARDS SELF-IMPROVEMENT		
	Deficient Poor Below Av.	Adequate Average Above Av.	Hostile	Indifferent	Commendable
1. Neatness					
2. Posture					
3. Courtesy					
4. Poise					
5. Initiative					
6. Punctuality					
7. Emotional Control					
8. Behavioural Maturity					
9. Obedience					
10. Reliability					
11. Co-operation					
12. Leadership					
13. Group Participation					
14. Sportsmanship					
15. Social Responsibility					
16. Immediate Reaction to Criticism					

GRADE FOR THIS PERIOD: (poor) (fair) (good) (very good)

REMARKS: (Use back of sheet if necessary)

Appendix C

DUTIES OF SPONSOR

1. To accept the responsibility of the supervision of your lad from the date of his release on license until the expiration of his sentence.
2. To have in your possession at all times a copy of your lad's license.
3. To see that your lad keeps the conditions of his "license" and by so doing you will further his attempts toward a satisfactory adjustment.
4. To report at least monthly on the progress of your lad, either in person or by letter, to the Executive Director of the Borstal Association.
5. To report to the Executive Director immediately any irregularities which may occur in the sponsorship of your lad; e.g. Sponsor becomes ill or leaves town; the lad is fired from his job, runs away or gets into trouble.
6. To have regular personal contacts with your lad, preferably at least once a week. This is most important.
7. To visit New Haven Borstal on one or two occasions prior to your lad's release in order that you may meet him and become better acquainted with his particular background, needs, strengths and weaknesses, and receive any suggestions that are given by the Executive Director as to how he may best be supervised when released. Out-of-town Sponsors will not be expected to make these visits.
8. To visit the lad's home prior to his release and become acquainted with his parents or wife. Interpret to them your role as Sponsor and what is expected of the lad while he is on license.
9. To visit and meet the lad's employer or school principal, and if not already done, acquaint him with your lad's background. Periodical contacts should be made to ascertain how your lad is progressing.
10. To assist, if called upon in obtaining employment for your lad.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Bell, Howard M., Youth Tell Their Story; conducted for The American Youth Commission, American Council on Education; Washington, D.C.; 1938.
- Canadian Youth Commission, Youth and Jobs in Canada, The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1945.
- Davies, Blodwen, Youth Speaks Its Mind. The Ryerson Press; Toronto; 1948.
- Erikson, Erik H., Childhood and Society. W.W. Norton and Co. Inc.; New York; 1950.
- Hull, Ernest R., S.J., The Formation of Character. B. Herder Book Co.; St. Louis.
- Marsh, Leonard C., Canadians In and Out of Work; A Survey of Economic Classes and their Relation to the Labour Market. University Press; Toronto; 1940.
- Marsh, Leonard C., Employment Research; An Introduction to the McGill Programme of Research in the Social Sciences, Oxford University Press; Toronto; 1935.
- Perlman, Helen Harris, Social Casework; A Problem-solving Process. Chicago Press, Chicago; 1957.
- Reynolds, Lloyd G., and Shister, Joseph, Job Horizons; A Study of Job Satisfaction and Labour Mobility. Harper and Bros.; New York; 1949.
- Towle, Charlotte, Common Human Needs. National Association of Social Workers; New York; 1945.
- Ward, Roswell, Out-of-School Vocational Guidance. Harper and Bros.; New York; 1949.
- Wilensky, Harold L., and Lebeaux, Charles N., Industrial Society and Social Welfare. Russell Sage Foundation; New York; 1958.

Articles, Reports and Other Studies

- British Columbia Borstal Association, Annual Reports; 1954; 1955; 1959. Vancouver, B.C..

British Columbia Borstal Association, Sponsor's Guide.
January 1952. Vancouver, B.C.,

Braithwaite, John Wm., An Approach to Evaluative Research in a
Correctional Setting. Master of Social Work Thesis,
University of British Columbia, 1956.

Community Service Society of New York, Method and Process in
Social Casework. 1958. Family Service Association of
America, New York.

Davis, Margaret Svendsen. "New Approaches to the Treatment
of Adolescents". New Approaches to the Treatment of
Adolescents. May 29, 1953. Canadian Welfare Council,
Ottawa.

Department of Labour, United States. How to Get and Hold the
Right Job. 1953. U.S. Government Printing Office,
Washington, D.C.

Department of Labour, United States. Job Guide for Young
Workers. 1958-59 Edition. U.S. Government Printing
Office, Washington, D.C.

Dobson, David, "Client Reaction to Vocational Service".
Social Casework. May, 1953.

Hall, Wendy. "Britain's Youth Employment Service".
The Labour Gazette. April, 1957.

International Labour Office. National Employment Services,
Canada. 1950. Geneva.

International Labour Office. National Employment Services,
Great Britain. 1952. Geneva.

Kohler, Mary Conway. "Why Does Europe Have Less Delinquency?".
The Saturday Evening Post. November 7, 1959.

McIsaac, James. "Residential Treatment for Adolescents".
New Approaches to the Treatment of Adolescents.
May 29, 1953. Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa.

Paget, Norman W., and Kerns, Marcella. "Counselling Services
to Parents and Children Involved in Divorce Proceedings".
July, 1960. State Department of Social Welfare in Co-
operation with the Council of Community Services and
the Family Service Agency, San Bernadino, California.

Tucker, Fredrick G.. "Love of Child and Parent". The Catholic Social Life Conference Proceedings. 1960. Canadian Catholic Conference, Ottawa.

Witmer, Helen L., and Kotinsky, Ruth, eds., New Perspectives for Research on Juvenile Delinquency. 1955. U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

A Professional Analysis of the Joint Family Services Project. 1959. Social Planning Section, Community Chest and Council of Greater Vancouver, Vancouver, B.C.

Reaching the Unreached Family. 1958. New York City Youth Board, New York.

"Dropout Tragedies". Life. May 2, 1960.

"A Hopeful Second Chance". Life. May 9, 1960.

"Education Needed to Aid Unemployment". Calgary Herald, Calgary. February 20, 1961; p. 2.

"School Courses Held Inadequate for Industries' Needs". Calgary Herald, Calgary. March 10, 1961; p. 28.