

BOSCOVILLE AND SOCIAL
ADJUSTMENT

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BOSCOVILLE AND SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT

by

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A thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Memorial University of Newfoundland, Department
of Sociology, in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of Master of Arts
Degree.

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Abstract

This thesis reports data on a study of the attitudes of juvenile delinquents committed to a reform school in Quebec called "Boscoville." It also considers the rehabilitation policies associated with these attitudes and the problem of social adjustment of juveniles following their release from the centre. The chief aim of the investigation was the generation of a grounded theory of commitment to delinquency.

The phenomenon of juvenile delinquency is approached from the point of view of the subjective career; men create special realities through a process of interpretation of events directly connected with their major identities. Using this principle as a starting point, one can clearly distinguish between two basic types of delinquency.

1. Drift: the life of the individual is not organized around crime nor does lawbreaking become part of his identity. Juveniles in drift do not share the background traits that characterize most delinquents in Boscoville such as inadequate family relations, failure in school, and repeated deviant activities. Lawbreaking to them is not a permanent solution to life's problems.

2. Commitment: the individual becomes aware of his association with deviance when he recognizes that he is forced into a career within it. Juveniles who identify thus deviance share certain attitudes towards their major life experiences (some of which were investigated in this study). They internalize the community definitions of deviance and live up to that image, so that regardless of the differences in their personal identities, they share a social identity based on the deviant role they play.

CONTENTS

The attitudes of juvenile delinquents in drift differ from the attitudes of juveniles who are attached to deviance. An investigation of those attitudes and their causes may help guide rehabilitation favourable to the inmate's social adjustment. Indeed, Boscoville eliminates the deviant identities of its inmates, by offering them the possibility of reentering the conventional world by enhancing their self-images and by engendering an awareness of the world and its time-space relationships.

Rehabilitation in Boscoville, however, does not necessarily eliminate lawbreaking activities motivated by for financial gain. In fact, an awareness of the consequences of one's action also makes one more conscious of the implications of one's criminal action. Boscoville can help an individual become better adjusted to the world he lives in, even though it may help some become better thieves.

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CHAPTER I

TYPES OF CRIMINALITY

Theoretical Background

According to David Matza, modern criminology is a positivist reaction to the older classical school formed by Beccaria, Bentham, Carrara, and others. It is based on three fundamental assumptions. The first is the primacy of the criminal instead of the law he has supposedly broken. The second is the belief in the determinism of human behaviour; man ultimately has little choice in his fate. The third is the belief that the criminal is somehow fundamentally different from the law-abiding.

(Matza, 1964: 1 - 12)

Traditionally, sociologists' treatment of juvenile delinquency has been carried out within the framework of this positivistic criminology. In this study I shall depart from the conventional wisdom of this school to approach the phenomenon of juvenile delinquency from a newer, but increasingly popular slant: the study of deviance. Deviance, as considered in sociology, shares none of the three assumptions of positivistic criminology; indeed, it tends to assume their opposites. This chapter

is devoted to a brief examination of some of the principal suppositions and findings of the study of deviance.

On the abstract level, moral values seem to be dichotomized in terms of opposites such as good/evil, right/wrong, honest/dishonest, and the like. In concrete situations, however, these values overlap and come into conflict with each other, and a choice frequently has to be made between priorities. For example, an adolescent might find himself in the dilemma where he must either agree to go for a ride with his friends in a stolen car or be considered a coward; he must choose between being rejected by the group or breaking the law. If his option is to break the law and he gets caught, he will be accused of car theft and labelled a juvenile delinquent, which includes the usual negative traits associated with this identity, such as dishonesty, unreliability, and so forth.

A distinction should be made between action and moral conviction; a salesman may believe the product he is selling is useless, and even though this belief may give him ulcers, he still tries to sell the product. The same principle applies to delinquents who feel guilty about

breaking the law but still do it. Norms can in fact be broken without surrendering allegiance to them. (Matza, 1964: 60) So delinquents are not necessarily a category of people who lack conventional socialization or want to oppose conventional society. That is to say, it is often not what the individual believes to be morally right that determines his action but rather the circumstances and opportunities he faces at the moment. Hartshorne and May conducted several experiments that indicate that people cannot be divided into honest and dishonest types; honesty and dishonesty are situational and are frequently not associated with acceptance of moral principles on a verbal level. (West, 1967: 43 - 44)

Though delinquents may not necessarily be different from 'normal' people, they are treated as if they are. In interaction, meaning is established through role-taking and stereotypes; that is, pivotal categories are formed which enable alter to develop a frame of reference or attitude towards ego and thus to organize a response towards him. (Lofland, 1969: 124) The placing of ego in any of these categories will depend

upon the roles he has been known to play. If stealing is considered bad, this instance of badness is generalized by others to the total identity of the thief. Thus a distinction has to be made between an individual's "virtual" and "actual" identity; social relations are based on an anticipated other (singleness of life) rather than on a personal identity (multiplicity of self). (Goffman, 1963: 19) In this regard, Becker (1963) speaks of delinquency and deviance as a master status; an identity that, because of its high priority in society, implies certain expected characteristics even though they may not actually be present. Of course, stigmatized individuals do not necessarily believe they are different from normal persons, even while those around them define them as different. (Goffman, 1963: 108)

In the past, the social sciences have tended to rely on extreme categories. This shortcoming was particularly noticeable in the positive school of criminology which argued that there are basic differences, biological, psychological and social, between conventional members of society and criminals. Matza criticized this approach,

which he called "hard determinism" (that the criminal has no choice and thus is not responsible for his action), and offered "soft determinism" as an alternative to it. Matza's proposition is that as man "vacillates between choice and constraint", he retains some freedom to will which is at the basis of action. (Matza, 1964: 27)

While contemporary theorists in juvenile delinquency often seem to accept soft determinism, they have generally failed to provide an appropriate analytical classification of juvenile delinquents. And this is why most theories cannot be generalized to the population of juvenile delinquents. Let us take as an example Merton's theory of anomie. It states that juvenile delinquency is the result of a malintegration between culturally-prescribed aspirations and socially-structured avenues of realizing these aspirations. Failure to achieve goals through legitimate means is occasionally attributed to the social order, morally freeing these individuals to attempt a deviant solution to their problems. (Cloward and Ohlin, 1960)

Yet anomie theory fails to account for the fact that juvenile delinquency may also be non-functional. Cohen, for instance, argues that delinquent subcultures are non-utilitarian and negativistic. (Cohen, 1955) For Cohen, and Cloward and Ohlin, juvenile delinquency is primarily the result of lower-class instead of middle-class values.

It must be remembered, however, that criminal statistics are biased, since perhaps 80 percent of normal people have engaged in at least one delinquent act of some sort. (Lofland, 1969: 27 - 28) Fifty boys who had never been in court admitted perpetrating a high number of offenses, 99 percent of which had never been detected or at least acted upon. (West, 1964: 41)

Thus agencies of social control may be said to act on a selective basis, selection depending on a number of factors: 1) The visibility of the delinquent act. (When someone commits a perfect crime, he is not considered criminal.) 2) The popularity or ubiquity of the act. While popular acts may be prohibited by the law, the only form of control possible is their segregation in certain

sections of the city. 3) The police identification of the actor. One person may be more likely to be apprehended for a given offence than another. For example, studies on the distribution of crime in Croydon in 1953, show that one's chances of being convicted are $8\frac{1}{2}$ percent greater if one lived in one section of town instead of another. (Jones, 1965: 72)

Cohen recognizes the bias involved in criminal statistics and the fact that youths from the lower classes are more likely to be incarcerated. He fails, however, to include middle-class delinquents in his analysis. Even though it is not the act which defines crime but the reaction of the community toward that act, some middle-class juveniles are, in fact, convicted. One cannot disregard them simply because they do not fit the theoretical framework. Walter B. Miller explains middle-class juvenile delinquency as resulting from the diffusion of lower-class values, especially through the mass media.

Still, both Cohen and Miller consider crime an unnatural phenomenon that exists because of extenuating circumstances. On the other hand, Klausner's book,

Why Man Takes Chances, shows that people may intentionally seek stress. (Klausner, 1968) And John Lofland commits a chapter of his book, Deviance and Identity, to the treatment of what he calls "the adventurous deviant act". In this sort of activity, men derive pleasures from increasing stress should it fall below a certain level. When there is a prohibition, the challenge creates a certain pleasant fearfulness in violating that prohibition. Even though some kinds of activities are pleasantly fearful in themselves, such as an LSD trip, pleasant fearfulness can be derived by merely doing something that is prohibited and getting away with it. Pleasant fearfulness derived from deviant acts is not necessarily the result of the violation of moral norms but can also be derived from the "contest of social life". (Lofland, 1969: 104 - 120)

Social scientists who are used to smoothly-running systems think that the idea of "social animal" connotes harmonious belonging. The animal part is never mentioned, as Goodman observes. (Goodman, 1960: 10 - 11) This weakness is especially noticeable where criminologists

are dealing with etiology. Etiology has been considered pertinent to corrections, and most research on delinquency has been concerned with knowledge about causation in order to rid established society of such behaviour. However, when dealing with corrections in this way, one may lose sight of delinquency, since one is unable to separate standards of morality from description. (Matza, 1969: 15 - 17)

Three Orientations Towards Criminality

I wish to suggest three types of orientations towards criminality which are to be analytically distinguished when dealing with the subject. A failure to distinguish between them may result in confusion and ineffectiveness since the attitudes of those engaging in each type of behaviour vary and are essential for understanding their crimes.

A - Drift: Circumstances may lead an individual into a situation where he is confronted with a set of choices. The alternative he chooses is the one he considers the most rewarding, and it may be deviant. This

sort of incidental lawbreaking, however, does not mean that the life of the individual is organized around law-breaking and that lawbreaking necessarily becomes part of the actor's identity at this time. What it does mean is that the actor may start to "drift" toward delinquency. (Matza, 1964: 27 - 31)

Drift is a series of situational attitude changes, whereby the actor is momentarily released from certain moral constraints and thus enabled to participate in delinquent activities. Drift is possible either because he does not think of the implications of his action or because in those particular circumstances the rewards of the deviant activity are more salient than the potential penalties of the law, or both.

Juveniles often act in a delinquent fashion, without necessarily identifying with that behaviour. Indeed, most delinquents feel guilty about their delinquency and tend to justify their actions through various "techniques of neutralization". (Matza, 1964: 40 - 41)

Delinquents often have no explicit ideology. Instead, they infer cues from each other, and it frequently happens

that each believes the others to be attached to delinquency and himself to be an exception, so that cues are really miscues. (Matza, 1964: 51 - 52)

B - Continuance Commitment: Unless he ends his criminality first, the actor stops drifting when he becomes committed to the identity of criminal. In commitment, the actor is said to have developed a degree of awareness of his deviance and its implications, and, consequently, he begins to identify himself in this way. That is, he becomes aware of the "relative impossibility of choosing a different social identity...because of the imminence of penalties involved in making the switch". (Stebbins, 1971: 35) In drift, the actor has behaved in a deviant manner without associating his behaviour with the identity inherent in it. The committed actor, on the other hand, is conscious of his identity, to the point where he recognizes he is forced into a career within it. It is a master status around which he must organize much of his past, present and future life. Commitment to criminality usually develops when the actor perceives himself as a publicly-labelled deviant.

Still, being committed on a continuance basis does not always prevent one from interacting with those outside the circle of people holding the expectation. This is possible because most people lead more or less compartmentalized lives; in each circle their roles are different, their relations different, and they reveal different facets of their personalities.

There is usually an organization of the whole self with reference to the community to which we belong and the situation in which we find ourselves... we can be different selves and it is dependent upon the set of social reactions that are involved as to which self we are going to be. (Strauss, 1964: 207 - 208)

In his relations with conventional society, the deviant usually attempts, where possible, to "pass" or present a non-deviant self. Such a strategy minimizes the possibility of penalties or mistreatment owing to his differentness. Fear of rejection by non-deviants is one of the reasons why he attempts to pass. And even passing sometimes exposes the individual to unwanted experiences which is partly why deviants prefer the company of other deviants. (Freedman and Doob, 1968: 11, 26 - 27, 48 - 49)

Consequently, the dependence of actor on the deviant group is likely to increase as he becomes increasingly aware of the imminence of penalizing experiences in interaction with those outside it. On the other hand, the visibility of his deviancy will increase to the extent that he succeeds in maintaining his link with the group. If this continues, deviance becomes more publicly recognized.

Some criminals are known to the agencies of social control. When an individual's deviancy is discovered by these agencies, deviant activity which may have been self-enhancing in the deviant subculture becomes even more self-degrading in conventional society. The result may be that the actor ultimately ends most of his associations with the conventional world.

The difference between being publicly stigmatized and being a deviant known only among other deviants is significant. When the actor is stigmatized, often the final step is taken toward development of commitment to a deviant identity.¹ The actor no longer tries to be part

¹There are other alternatives, such as trying to leave the identity, but they are usually unacceptable to the deviant.

of both worlds, but develops a consistent orientation toward all the roles he performs.

This orientation is the perspective of the deviant group to which he now firmly belongs. It is expressed in the restricted code of that subculture:

Speech is the standard in which special types of relations are synthesized, linguistic differences between status groups which rather than reflecting different innate capacities, result from entirely different modes of speech which are typical of these strata...different social structures place their stress on different possibilities inherent in language use, and once this stress is placed, then the resulting linguistic form is one of the most important means of eliciting and strengthening ways of feeling and thinking which are functionally related to the social group. (Bernstein, 1964: 251)

That is, language structures thought and outlines relevant experiences. It demarcates concepts which have a global and extensive range of alternatives in the case of "elaborated codes". On the other hand, in the case of "restrictive codes", a large number of concepts may be of no relevance to the speaker who may limit himself to the use of a restricted range of alternatives. An

example of restricted codes is the terminology of drug addicts, which is almost completely restricted to drugs.

C - Attachment: Attachment occurs when the "self-image available for anyone entering a particular position is one of which he may become affectively and cognitively enamoured, desiring and expecting to see himself in terms of the enactment of the role and the self-identification emerging from this enactment".

(Goffman, 1961: 89) In the case of self-degrading continuance commitment, criminality is a solution, whether temporary or permanent, which is unacceptable to the individual as a final answer to his aspirations in life, whereas in the case of attachment, or self-enhancing continuance commitment, the individual finds his deviancy to be acceptable and therefore desirable. Here he aspires to be a deviant; even though he is forced to play this role, owing to the imminence of penalties.

It must be remembered that, whether the actor is committed or attached or drifting, the context as well as the act should be considered in explaining criminality, since his definition of the situation determines how he

will act. That definition is more important than "objective" fact, for penalties and rewards are not necessarily actual. But so long as actor perceives them as real, they are real in their consequences.

The types of criminal behaviour presented in this chapter are not necessarily in a sequence, for they may occur simultaneously or even be skipped. These types are merely analytical classifications which hopefully permit better comprehension of the different orientations of criminals in relation to crime, and therefore provide a basis for insight into how corrective institutions function well in the case of one person and poorly in the case of another.

CHAPTER II

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

According to David Matza (1964: 3), Naturalism, in the philosophical sense, is the doctrine that urges us to "remain faithful to the nature of the phenomenon under study". In the case of the natural sciences, variable analysis is valid because one is dealing with factors that have direct and predetermined relationships to each other; for example, if one combines H_2O , the result is always water. In the case of the social sciences, on the other hand, such direct relationships between factors and human behaviour hardly exist, since the actor interprets the factors and meaning becomes an intervening condition. Men are not just objects, since they do more than react to stimuli; rather, they create their reality through a process of interpretation in such a way that different actors react differently to the same objective influences. Consequently, a naturalistic approach to the social sciences should emphasize meaning, if not consider it central in its own rights. (Blumer, 1967: 84 - 94)

The literature on the subjective approach to careers in the sociology of occupations illustrates this

point well by considering subjective careers as predispositions connected with a particular identity. In other words, action is determined by the individual's definition of the situation, his interpretation of his position or social identity in the context of the immediate world around him. A definition of the situation includes, at times, activated subjective careers or the combined awareness of important contingencies the actor has encountered or believes he will encounter - his predispositions, his aspirations, and certain situational factors. (Stebbins, 1970)

The juvenile delinquent centre of Boscoville is primarily concerned with the subjective aspect of delinquency. They believe that the major source of the juvenile's antisocial behaviour lies at the cognitive level. This - according to the clinical coordinator - is in no way linked to intellectual capacity but rather is the result of a "malformation in a juvenile's perception of the world and of self". Consequently, the strategy of the centre's administration is to submit the juvenile to a set of corrective experiences and alter this malforma-

tion. Since the Boscoville approach to juvenile delinquency is compatible with the symbolic interactionist approach to deviance, I believed this institution to be an appropriate setting for research on the attitudes of juvenile delinquents towards major life experiences. Boscoville stimulated certain questions, such as, what is the world view of delinquents and what are their conceptions of self? Is self-image the basis of delinquency? Is the institution really successful in changing the self-image of delinquents? What accounts for the rate of recidivism?

The Grounded Theory Approach

When I started my fieldwork, I had these questions in mind but no working hypotheses to guide the collection of data. Instead, I followed the suggestions of Glaser and Strauss for the construction of Grounded Theory. (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) Rather than trying to verify propositions by quantitative analysis, I gathered data and proceeded to examine them for subjective categories and the interrelationship of these categories along certain dimensions.

The Glaser and Strauss methodology is easily defensible. The classical research method is to formulate hypotheses and try to confirm or disconfirm them through the use of quantitative data. But the problem is that "with ingenuity one can impart a quantitative dimension to almost any qualitative item". (Blumer, 1967: 88) So the question emerges: does the theory fit the data or is the data forced into a theoretical framework?

With increased sophistication in quantitative techniques, the generation of new theories has largely been ignored, while the established theories have been tested without concern for the fact that they often lack an initial grounding in the data of direct experience.

Theoretical conceptions can be built from impressions of conventional usage, and as a result they often reflect, the attitudes held by the dominant segment of society at the time of the emergence of those theories. The general development of a theory often seems to be toward change corresponding to the shifts of public knowledge rather than toward sharpening of valid generalizations. For example, in penology in feudal Europe, a

wrong act was believed to stem from the fact that the individual was possessed by spirits, and the way to determine innocence of such a person was trial by ordeal. Whereas, around 1930, the Auburn or Silent Prison System was based on the assumption that there is a difference between criminals and non-criminals: a criminal does not endorse the moral precepts of religion and society. The silent system forces him to meditate on his evil state. Today the criminal is considered psychologically "sick" and in need of treatment.

One way of avoiding preconceived notions is to ignore the literature in the area of study in order to ensure the emergence and recognition of existing categories and dimensions. It is nearly impossible to eliminate completely the influence of established ideas, but it is possible to control it. Thus, I did most of my reading in juvenile delinquency after I returned from the field; and since I disregarded the literature initially, I did not have a structured questionnaire that could influence the responses obtained and inhibit the emergence of possible alternative categories.

The Fieldwork

The focus of the study was the attitudes of juvenile delinquents towards major life experiences, before entry into Boscoville, and after release from this institution. Six categories of life experiences were considered: experiences at home, at school, in court, with other delinquents, with non-deviant members of the community (outside family, school, and court), in carrying out deviant activities. Each category has been shown to be associated with the perpetration of delinquent acts and the development of delinquent identities. There were three main aims in the study: 1) to describe some of the attitudes shared by most juveniles; 2) to describe any changes that occurred as a result of being sent to Boscoville; and 3) to generate hypotheses capable of explaining these changes.

It is a well-known fact that juveniles often develop attitudes of "doing their time" in institutions of rehabilitation, but that the effects of correction may be short-lived. Another reason for following up those released was that, assuming the self-image of juveniles

is in fact changed, the costs endured by stigmatized juveniles as they enter the wider community may also be a cause of recidivism.

In the field, I proceeded in the following manner: When I arrived in Boscoville, I was given access to the files, and introduced into one of the quarters of juveniles called "Limites". My presence was justified by the staff. I explained to the boys that I was not part of the Boscoville staff, but was interested in the workings of the institution for my thesis. The purpose of this phase of the study was to familiarize myself with daily routine and establish an informal contact with the juveniles. I observed the different activities of the day, sometimes actually taking part, such as in the ceramics class where I worked on my own ashtray.

I did not pressure the boys with questions, for two reasons: 1) I believed rapport would be most effectively established by waiting for the boys to accept my presence before asking personal questions; 2) I wanted the theoretical categories to emerge from interaction with the subjects rather than from the more limited context

of certain preset questions which I happened to consider relevant.

After about a month in the institution, I started developing a questionnaire based on the issues that emerged in the course of my informal talks with the inmates. The questionnaire consisted of two sets of questions - the first aimed at describing the past experiences and attitudes of the juveniles, and the second describing the juveniles' adaptation to the institution.

Although I had gathered most of the information in the course of informal conversations, construction of the questionnaire during the first part of the study enabled me to pretest the questions used in the second part. The reason for the use of the questionnaire was that I could expect to have no more than one interviewing session with the boys who were released, so that I had to be sure I could get as much relevant information as possible within such a limited period of time.

It has been suggested to me by Pierre-Paul Lachapelle, a psychologist conducting research in

Boscoville, that the different quarters in Boscoville provide the juvenile with different experiences which may be reflected in the rate of recidivism. For this reason, I chose to conduct my research in two quarters described by the Boscoville personnel as very different: "Plateau" and "Limites".

In a sense, Limites is considered a model quarter of the institution. Conflict is minimal. A high degree of cooperation enables the juveniles to perform favourably in such competitive contests as football. When I arrived in Limites, most juveniles volunteered to answer my questions as a demonstration that their quarter was "willing to help".

Institutional activities in Limites are consistently carried out without much resistance on the part of the juveniles, even though on some occasions certain activities are noisier than others. During my observations, no juvenile refused to do anything demanded of him. When a juvenile does break a rule, authoritative interventions follow soon and put an end to the behaviour. For example,

one boy told an educator² to "eat shit". The educator demanded a public apology as well as a fine. Once these were elicited, the incident was closed.

In Limites, the absence of conflict and 'acting out' aids the juvenile in adopting institutional values. However, living in the quarter also has certain disadvantages:

1 - The juvenile is exposed to an unusual environment characterized by the absence of contradictory values. Conditions are controlled so as to create harmonious coexistence. Upon release, the juvenile experiences the shock of facing controversial issues. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that two juveniles who had been released from Limites voluntarily returned to the institution.³ As one of these juveniles put it:

Communication is so different outside.
It is hard to make friends - nobody
really cares about anyone else, whereas,
in Boscoville, we learned to care for
each other.

² Individual who is responsible for assuming the various reeducative activities of the juvenile.

³ One of the juveniles returned without having recidivated, whereas the other had asked to be readmitted in the institution in July but gained admittance only in September. In August, however, he got arrested for theft.

The other juvenile believed that when one leaves Boscoville, the experience one has in the institution becomes "almost unreal"; there are very few connections between the life in Boscoville and that after release.

2 - Another disadvantage of Limites is that decisions are taken mainly by educators, since there is limited overt resistance from juveniles. This proves to be a handicap upon release since the juveniles develop a greater dependence on educators.

On the other hand, Plateau is less stable because of the recent transfer of one of their educators. Juveniles in Plateau demonstrate a slightly higher degree of initiative. For instance, the boys are planning to form a band, and during recreation periods one can hear their music coming from the 'music room'. They are also keeping a monkey and a rabbit as pets.

The attitude of these boys toward authority also differs from that of boys in Limites. Incidents were observed in which they refused to repeat a theatre exercise, criticized a general-knowledge activity, which included throwing their copybooks on the table as a sign of rejec-

tion at the end of the period. They also disagree more openly with educators. For example, in the course of a 'civic reunion', a juvenile demanded that an educator abstain from voting when the decision to be taken did not concern him. At the protest of the educator, the juvenile replied: "if you want me to respect your opinion, you should also respect mine". The juvenile later explained to me that "educators are usually right but they must not feel it". In other words, juveniles are actively involved in reducing the gap between themselves and the educators, or levelling the stratification of the quarter.

The tendency to "play the game" is more marked in Limites than in Plateau. For example, one juvenile from this quarter told me he wanted to play in a band when he gets out of Boscoville. Then one day he started saying he wanted to be an electrician. When I asked why he changed his mind, he answered that actually he had not. But "they" should not know otherwise, for they would not release him since the music world is linked to the drug world. However, despite the fact that the attitude of

the juvenile differs, this does not necessarily imply a significant difference in recidivism, since the reeducation methods are applied homogeneously in both quarters.

The sample of released boys consisted of those sent to the institution in 1965. The reason for selecting this year was that I wanted them to have sufficient time to adjust to the outside world. Although previous research on Boscoville indicates that the institution improves over the years, I believe there is little to gain by a follow-up study of boys released in 1970 since there would be no way of determining the long-term adaptations of individuals' so recently released. Despite the fact that the 1965 sample may not match one drawn in 1970 in every respect, the career patterns of those released from Boscoville may still be assumed to be fairly typical of those today. A change in the rate of recidivism does not necessarily imply a change in the analytical categories of the kind sought in this study:

Once a category or property is conceived, a change in the evidence that indicated it will not necessarily alter, clarify, or destroy it...concepts, categories, and their properties have a life apart from the evidence that gave rise to them. (Glaser and Strauss; 1969: 36)

In my follow-up investigation of the released inmates, I was faced with a problem; the only information available in the Boscoville files pertaining to their whereabouts were addresses which were five years old. Most of the boys had moved and there was no way of finding them. The telephone book was of little help, since the names were usually common and the listings in Montreal ran for several pages. For this reason, I had to settle for less than the ideal sample size. Another restriction on the size of my sample was that many of those selected lived in different parts of the Province of Quebec. Because of financial limitations, I had to be content with those individuals who could be reached in Montreal (9 boys) and Quebec City (2 boys).

I began by attempting to write to the boys at their old addresses. I received only two replies, the remaining letters being either returned to me or unanswered. So I set appointments with my first two respondents, and after my interviews were finished I discussed my sampling problem with them. I asked if they knew where I could contact any of the other boys. This

proved to be very helpful, especially in the case of one individual who had changed his name in order to escape police surveillance. His comments play an important role in the development of my theoretical interpretation.

I managed to interview eleven boys. Only one of those contacted refused to see me. From the standpoint of verification, this is a meagre sample indeed. Yet, given the nature of my research, statistical methods are not required; for in generating grounded theory, it is the emerging categories that are crucial. Quantitative data may extend or modify theory, but they can never destroy these theoretical abstractions. Since "accurate evidence is not so crucial for generating theory, the kind of evidence, as well as the number of cases, is also not so crucial". (Glaser and Strauss, 1969: 30)

CHAPTER III

HISTORY AND STRATEGIES OF BOSCOVILLE

Boscoville is a French-speaking rehabilitation centre for juvenile delinquents, financed by the Ministry of Social Welfare of the Province of Quebec. The responsibility for administering the centre, however, is in the hands of a civil committee, which employs its own personnel and determines the strategies to be followed for rehabilitation. In this sense, Boscoville is completely autonomous, except that it must submit its budget annually for approval to the Ministry.

Boscoville was founded in 1947 by Father Albert Roger, as a summer camp at Lac des Français. It was initially operated by volunteers who took custody of juveniles entrusted by a judge for a period of eight weeks. In 1949 Boscoville moved from Lac des Français to its present location on Rivière des Prairies, Montreal, where it began its first systematic attempts at reeducation. But it was only in 1954 that a team of 'educators' acquired the present locale, donated by the Ministry of Social Welfare, and adopted the present methods of rehabilitation. This experimental period for Boscoville seems to have been

essential, since it allowed its personnel to choose strategies of correction. Boscoville recognized that the first principle in correction is that the basic needs of adolescents should be fulfilled.

Among the most important needs of juveniles is the need to be loved and respected. Often, juvenile delinquents have heard adults refer to them as worthless or bad individuals, and they, in turn, come to confirm the adults' beliefs by playing the roles that are attributed to them. Juvenile delinquents are therefore suspicious and aggressive even when they face sympathetic adults, but this attitude generally subsides with further contact. The first step that should be taken by such an institution, then is to make the juveniles feel they are worthy of respect.

Love is not enough, however, for a juvenile must also be taught to reestablish a bond with the society that has rejected him, by finding the roles which he can play within that society in a way acceptable to it. Many juveniles come to the institution with high potential but are so convinced of their low value that they never dis-

cover their aptitudes. Thus, the second step taken by the institution in rehabilitating juvenile delinquents is to help the juvenile develop confidence in his abilities. Confidence in oneself is essential to developing effective ties with learning. In this regard educators must ensure that juveniles become instruments in their own rehabilitation by making them:

- a) take responsibility for their acts,
- b) exercise self-control in their acts,
- c) experience the joy of discovery,
- d) take pride in success (see activities).

Criteria of Admission

The criteria for admission to Boscoville are somewhat more complex than in other institutions of rehabilitation. First, an application must be made to the Assistant Director of Boscoville, who makes his decision on the basis of the documents he receives about the candidate. These documents include a report from the probation officer, the candidate's history, psychological tests, and a medical examination. The Assistant Director bases

his decision on whether or not Boscoville can help the candidate. Where he has doubts about admitting a juvenile, he consults the Clinical Coordinator and, where they disagree, the case is discussed by the Committee of Coordinators.

There are three conditions a candidate must fulfil for acceptance.

1 - He must have at least a Grade Four education and possess the fundamentals of arithmetic, reading and writing so as to be able to follow the individualized program of instruction offered by the institution. This program runs from Grades Five through Eleven.

2 - The candidate must have an IQ of over ninety.

3 - The candidate must have emotional problems that require special treatment. Boscoville avoids admitting juveniles who can be helped by other institutions which have less expensive services, or juveniles with pathological problems such as kleptomania or paranoia, which the institution is poorly equipped to cope with.

Upon admittance, the juvenile enters an institution which is almost totally integrated; he faces a succession of events that follow an orderly arrangement

of space and time. This affords him an opportunity to discover a position in an established order that is compatible with his personality. The totality of the institutional complex, from the physical premises to the different daily activities offer the juvenile a coherent world - a style of life.

Physical Premises

Although Boscoville is surrounded by fields, it has no barriers - an observation made by most juveniles upon arrival. The arrangement of the pavilions resembles the plan of a city. In Diagram I, the physical layout of the institution is presented.

DIAGRAM I

Physical Layout

Athletics Field

3. Projects

5. Gym

4. Ceramics

1. City Hall

8. Quarters
Terrace: Plateau

9. To become next
quarters

7. Quarters
Limites: Montée

6. Quarters
Carrefour: Place

entrance

2. Suburb

entrance



Each pavilion serves a special function: The Hôtel de Ville or City Hall houses the administrative offices. The gymnasium is used as a concert hall and self-service restaurant, where all the juveniles (three-quarters at a time) as well as members of the administration gather for meals. The Banlieu or Suburb is similar to the other quarters (Buildings 6, 7 and 8) except that it is equipped with certain security measures: the windows are wired and the doors locked at night. The reason for these measures is that, for a short period, the suburb houses new arrivals. At this stage, juveniles generally hold an attitude that can best be illustrated in the words of one of the inmates:

When I came to Boscoville, the first thing I was thinking of was of a way to escape. I had been told by friends that Boscoville was the best place to go to if one gets convicted and that I should try to get in there. Even though I knew that if I escaped I would probably be sent to some other institution for a while, I did not care - I only had one thing on my mind.

In the Projects Room (3), activities such as cinema, theatre, and laboratory are carried out. The Studio Room (4) is specially designed for ceramics,

sculpture and other artistic activities. It is a large room with three potters' wheels and other artists' instruments, such as special knives and paint. Each quarter has its private lockers in which to keep the 'creations'. The Gymnasium (5) is the newest building in the institution; it consists of a swimming pool, dressing rooms, bowling alleys, basketball courts and the like.

Each of the buildings marked "Quarters" (6, 7, 8) is divided into two smaller quarters, which include a study, living room, dormitory, bathroom and two offices for the educators. Each quarter is autonomous, and contains a maximum of fifteen boys under the supervision of three educators and two trainees in psychopedagogies. The subdivision of the institution into quarters makes group rehabilitation possible. It is clear, from such studies as Cottage Six (Polsky, 1962) that individual psychology is insufficient, since juvenile delinquency often is closely associated with the influences of the peer group.

The small size of the groups enables educators to observe the boys closely and to develop strategies suited to the individual as well as manipulate certain events to suit the purpose of rehabilitation. For example, there is a traditional aggressiveness between two quarters in Boscoville: Terrace and Plateau. Educators are coping with the situation by organizing football games that combine the two quarters as one team.⁴

Another advantage of rehabilitating in small groups is that anonymity is precluded. This encourages juveniles to develop close relationships with each other and to identify with their quarter. Identification with the quarter, in turn, fosters the internalization of institutional norms.

The adoption of institutional norms is nurtured more by the established or socialized members of the quarter. For instance, they are intolerant of 'bad conduct', such as bullying and untidiness, from new

⁴Educators have been trained in the discipline of psychology and use the findings of such scientists as Sherif and Skinner for the purpose of rehabilitation.

arrivals. They also serve as examples of the results of institutionalization. For instance, in ceramics, the older boys are capable of producing fairly elaborate works and this often makes the new arrivals aspire to do the same.

Another factor that contributes to the adoption of institutional norms by juveniles is the original rehabilitation method used in Boscoville, called "Stages of Rehabilitation".

Stages of Rehabilitation

A juvenile entering Boscoville is convicted by the judge for an indefinite period and released when the institution believes him to be ready. Release usually occurs when the juvenile has successfully completed the four stages of rehabilitation. The length of time spent by him in each stage varies with the quality of his performance. For example, the first stage ranges from eight to twelve weeks of consecutive, successful performance. The juvenile is thus responsible for his own release.

Performance is evaluated by a system of ratings linked to a system of rewards. Grade 'A' means that the

juvenile's behaviour has been satisfactory, and that he deserves certain privileges, such as minimum pay, and leave.⁵ A week of Grade 'B', on the other hand, deprives him of these privileges. It is important to note, however, that evaluations are not supposed to imply personal degeneration but simply tell the juvenile what he has done wrong and how to correct it.

Stage 1: Acclimatization or Adaptation

When a juvenile arrives in the suburb, an educator acquaints him with the institution and informs him of the code of conduct he is expected to follow. The main emphasis in this stage is the preparation of the juvenile for 'city life' or life in the quarters. He is therefore introduced to the different activities in Boscoville, although the tasks he performs are simple and give immediate results.

The participation of the juvenile in the

⁵ Pocket money ranges from seventy-five cents to two dollars per week, depending on the stage the juvenile is in. Leaves are granted with from three to eight weeks for Grade 'A', starting with one leave every three weeks, then one leave every two weeks, then one leave every weekend, and so forth.

various activities upon arrival serves several purposes. Firstly, the requirement of coordinating task and time plus participation in a regular sequence of activities ultimately teaches the juvenile to expect certain events. A feeling of security results. Secondly, the simple tasks he performs, if done successfully, give him confidence. Eventually, he is led to seek further participation in activities. Finally, certain activities, such as sports, tend to reduce aggressive behaviour by channelling the juvenile's energy in 'acceptable' directions.⁶

Toward the end of his stay in the suburb, the juvenile starts to participate in some of the activities of the quarter to which he will move. This is part of a gradual transition, which lasts about three days. Soon after, the juvenile moves into one of the quarters where he receives his card of citizenship, which represents a

⁶Other means of reducing aggressive behaviour in the suburb are: each individual sleeps in a separate room which is locked during the night; educators are constantly present during the day; such hardware as knives and belts with nails, believed to encourage aggressiveness, are forbidden.

public commitment to the code and traditions of the group.

Stage 2: Control

At this stage of rehabilitation, the juvenile who has become familiar with the workings of the institution, is expected to have achieved a measure of self-control in his participation in the activities as well as in interaction with the group. He is now expected to know cause-effect relations between efforts and results and to adapt himself intelligently to his surroundings rather than just react to them. For example, he will discover that in ceramics, the more one models clay, the better the results are likely to be and that a choice of techniques has to be made in order to achieve the desired results. A graphic presentation of the task the juvenile is about to perform usually helps him develop a plan of action. The use of self-appraisal methods at the end of the activity enable the juvenile to repeat the activity without repeating the mistakes.

Stage 3: Production

Here, the juvenile is expected to be able to describe, verbally, his performance during the different

activities, since he now possesses a coherent plan of action and is able to express it in an orderly fashion.

Stage 4: Personality

The juvenile's synthesis of his experiences help him develop a self-awareness as well as plan for his future by knowing his aptitudes.

Activities

In Boscoville, rehabilitation is achieved through the daily activities which are effective in so far as they involve the total person. In other words, the juvenile must not only turn in a good performance in an activity, but he must also internalize the values that are implicit in that activity. For example, in a football game, it is necessary to follow the rules of the game as well as to cooperate with the team. But playing football can only be a corrective experience in so far as the previously-mentioned values are internalized and generalized to other realms of experience.

Often a juvenile changes only superficially. According to one of the boys in *Limites*: "change should

be internal; some guys just do what they are told but they do not really change; it is really up to oneself to think of certain things". The administration is aware of the presence of juveniles who 'play the game'. And when this attitude is apparent, the juvenile is usually sent to another institution to make room for one who responds to the system in a positive way. However, it is often difficult to tell whether the juvenile is only playing the game or really has internalized institutional values.

There are certain pre-conditions to be met before the activities become successful instruments of rehabilitation. The programs should be of interest to the juvenile, and encourage him to maintain constant attention to the activities without frustrating his efforts to achieve positive results. In other words, a program should require concentration and effort; but the results should not be too difficult to attain, since building self-confidence is one of the main strategies of rehabilitation.

"Boulot" or scholastic achievements is one of several Boscoville activities. Most juveniles have been

frustrated in school. This is why the scholastic system in Boscoville avoids the usual student-teacher structure, by maintaining an individualized system of education where each person progresses according to his own speed and avoids competition with others. The level of education in the institution ranges from Grades Five through Eleven, with each school year being named. For example, Grade Five is called 'Ti Coq', and is comprised of a number of "fiches", which in aggregate are called "collection". The "collection" is introduced to the juvenile in two stages. Juveniles must complete one period before moving to the next and they must take an examination at the end of each period and at the end of each stage.

Juveniles have twelve to thirteen hours of "boulot" each week. They participate in their own education in the following way. Each stage has four sections or periods which in turn are comprised of a number of "fiches". Each fiche is composed of three parts, the first which presents a problem and guides thinking for a solution, the second which includes a self-correction test, and the third which includes a

test of progress corrected by the educator in charge of the activity. The educator is constantly present during the activity should the juvenile need help; however, he usually refers the juvenile to the section of the fiche which will answer his question, avoiding verbal explanation so that the juvenile learns to rely on himself.

Studio

The Studio activities are ceramics, sculpture, mosaic and painting, which alternate throughout the year. Juveniles spend one hour a day, five days a week in the studio. Each quarter has its own lockers in this building, where instruments are kept as well as unfinished work. Each quarter is also responsible for cleaning the studio for the next group. Juveniles can dispose of their productions as they please: they can give them away, put them in the living room of the quarter or sell them through a cooperative organization responsible for selling the productions of its members and redistributing the profit after it has kept a portion of it for expenses and capitalization. Another alternative is to keep works

of art for the yearly exhibition organized by Boscoville for the general public. The system of credits in the studio is divided into three categories: apprentice, potter, creator. Educators follow the juvenile's productions by means of a "production chart".

Studio allows artistic expression and compels juveniles to understand and obey the laws of matter. The more a juvenile moulds the clay, the better the results he will obtain. And an awareness of progress develops when the juvenile compares his earlier artwork with his later efforts.

Sports

The release of energy in sports allows the juvenile to express his aggression and also forces him to control his body and respect the rules of the game. In following the rules of the game, the juvenile must take the views of others into consideration. Thus he becomes aware of the expectations of the group.⁷ Sports

⁷George Herbert Mead (1934) and Charles Horton Cooley (1922) explain how this process operates.

can also help rehabilitate the deteriorated physique of many juveniles, thereby contributing to a more favourable self-image. A variety of sports is offered by the institution during the appropriate seasons, including football, basketball, track and field and others.

Projects

The function of "Projects" is to teach the juvenile to perform in a group as well as to teach him how to combine different modes of expression. For example, in the film project, each juvenile has a role depending on his experience - such as director, cameraman, scriptwriter, music director and so on. Each has a notebook in which is described the procedures used by him and the group. Educators often examine this notebook.

Leisure

In their free time juveniles have the opportunity to participate in clubs and activities of their own choice. Visits to the outside world such as Expo '67, or organized athletic events are also arranged during the year.

Heure de Reflexion

During one hour each week, juveniles as well as educators get together to discuss certain subjects such as birth control, rape, masturbation, et cetera. The purpose of these sessions is to inform the juveniles about subjects which often confuse them. The procedure followed is first a discussion, then a synthesis, then a discussion of the synthesis. After this, a conclusion is reached. Juveniles take notes on what is said.

Group Therapy

Two psychologists direct weekly group therapy sessions lasting one hour. During these sessions the juveniles develop a more conscious awareness of the structure of their group. Conflicts also come out in the open. These sessions, however, are given only at certain periods of the year when the psychologists are available.

Civic Reunions

These are weekly sessions of one hour between educators and juveniles in which practical problems of the quarter are discussed. As a typical example, conflict

frequently occurred when juveniles in the same quarter wanted to watch different television programs. This conflict was resolved during a Civic Reunion when it was decided that the channel which the majority wanted to watch should be kept on, unless four or more juveniles wanted to watch the other channel (there are only two French-speaking channels in Montreal). If this did not happen, then they had the right to keep it on.

During the Civic Reunions, a council of juveniles is elected. The candidates for president make a speech, which is followed by questions. Then the educators underline the fact that one should vote for the most capable candidate rather than the most popular. When this is done, educators as well as juveniles vote for the president. The president of the council in turn selects a council of ministers, one for every activity. Ministers must be citizens. However, if there are not enough citizens, a non-citizen may take charge of an activity.

The council makes a weekly report in the Civic Reunion of the group's performance in the various activities. For example, during one such report the

Minister of Projects mentioned that, in the film project, individuals interfered with each other's work and that they should try to refrain from doing so.

There was a distinct difference, however between the two quarters, Limites and Plateau, in the way elections were conducted. In Limites, elections ran smoothly; in Plateau, juveniles protested against the right of educators to vote.

General Knowledge

During this activity, juveniles develop a general knowledge which may be of use to them when they leave the institution. For example, they discuss the system of promotion in industry, the operation of the United Nations, the contributions of famous authors and so on.

The wide range of activities at Boscoville enables juveniles to discover their talents. With this knowledge they can better make decisions on the type of career they would like to pursue upon release.

Personnel

Outside the secretaries, cooks, and other service personnel, the staff of Boscoville is comprised of several types of specialists. There are educators specialized in maladjusted youth - the psycho-pedagogists from the University of Montreal. Educators are selected following a four-year course and a period of supervised training. They must also take a personality test since personality is the major instrument of rehabilitation.

The primary task of rehabilitation lies in the hands of educators who insure that juveniles perform the activities in a manner harmonious with the strategies of rehabilitation at Boscoville. Each is responsible for supervising an activity as well as certain routines such as supper, waking up, and so on. One educator is also in charge of weekly interviews with each juvenile. Each educator carries a notebook with the name of each juvenile, his stage of rehabilitation and a set of observations made during the activity he supervizes.

There are also clinical specialists responsible for conducting personality and progress tests for the

juveniles. A total of five tests are taken by each juvenile. The first determines whether the juvenile should be admitted to Boscoville; the other four measure his progress in the institution.

Another responsibility of the clinical committee is to arrange a meeting with the juvenile and his educators after his first eight months in the institution. During this meeting, the juvenile is told of the observations made by the educators about him and the attitude which they will adopt toward his behaviour. The juvenile is also asked to talk about the difficulties he has encountered in the institution.

Beyond the educators and clinicians, there is a body of service specialists such as a psychologist trained in personality measurement and a social worker who relates the institution and the outside world for its inmates. There are also medical doctors. These three categories of personnel as well as the administration are linked through a hierarchy of committees which ensure the cohesiveness of the institution.

The Comité d'Activités organizes and supervizes activities. It is presided over by a coordinator of activities. There are two Comité de Coordinateurs. One is for clinical coordination where the coordinators of the different quarters, the social worker, the clinical coordinator and the administration meet. The other is for activity coordination. It consists of the coordinators of activities, the coordinators of quarters, the clinical coordinator and the directors. The Comité Executif or Executive Committee consists of the clinical coordinator, the assistant director and the director. It handles administrative problems. The Conseil d'Administration organizes the rehabilitation in Boscoville. It is comprised of eight members from outside the institution, the director, the assistant director and a representative elected by educators. It is in the Comité Général or General Committee in which all the professional staff of Boscoville who are in direct contact with the juveniles assemble. And Sessions d'Etudes Annuelles enables the staff of Boscoville to assemble during one week each year to discuss new projects as well as to revise old approaches

to rehabilitation.

Through these different committees, Boscoville maintains channels of communication between the different levels of the administrative hierarchy and presents the juveniles with a consistent and unified image of the institution as a totality.

Financial Arrangements for Juveniles

Juveniles receive some pocket money from the institution, starting with seventy-five cents and running to two dollars. When a juvenile wants additional money, he can acquire a job through the institution, such as car washing or gardening. Juveniles also have a credit of \$2.50 per week for clothing.

There is also a source of revenue for the quarter which can be acquired by keeping the quarter clean and tidy. The council of the quarter receives \$4.00 per week as well as \$200.00 at the end of the year if they have kept it orderly. The money can be used for buying anything they believe is needed by the quarter, such as a television set or a record player.

For juveniles who, having finished their rehabilitation, would like to pursue their education, Boscoville offers financial assistance on the condition that they continue to reside in the institution. And those who would like to get a job upon release are often helped to find employment through the Manager of External Relations of Boscoville.

Summer Camp

Summer is a period of strain, for this is the time most escapes occur. Boscoville attempts to reduce summer tension by organizing a yearly camp in the country, two quarters at a time. At the camp, activities are very different from what they are at the institution. In the morning, juveniles have a swim and learn to dive and throw life buoys. Later in the day, they go for a mountain climbing expedition. After lunch, they clean up the grounds of the camp and make furniture for what they call "Diner Gastronomique" which is an outdoor barbecue held on the last day of their stay in camp. Shooting arrows and canoeing are the final two organized activities of

the day.

Camp is an important event for the juveniles. They believe it increases the esprit de corps of the group and that "a good camp means a good year".

Conclusion

Through its network of activities, Boscoville encourages the juveniles to take the initiative in their own rehabilitation. If a juvenile performs well in conventional areas and his efforts are rewarded by success, he usually gains self-confidence and develops a changed attitude. However, since the juvenile's resistance to change often results from the fear that nobody will believe he has changed and from the need for self-consistency, Boscoville also feels it is necessary that he feel understood both in the institution and in the community outside. This is why the External Relations Committee not only informs the parents of a juvenile's progress, but also issues pamphlets and shows television programs to inform the general public of the workings of the institution.

CHAPTER IV

DELINQUENT IDENTIFICATION

In the summer of 1969, twenty-one juveniles were present in both quarters. The number of boys in each quarter is greatly reduced at this time of year because of the high incidence of escapes. One juvenile described the summer period as the most difficult of the year because:

One would like to take off to a beach or lake, go fishing and the like, and instead he is required to stay in and constantly exercise self-control.

On the Nature and Causes of Theft

Twenty of the twenty-one boys responded to my questionnaire. The single exception had an interview with the Boscoville administration at the time I administered the forms. The results revealed that the most prevalent offence committed by the boys was theft, including car theft, simple theft, and break and entry. However, there was a discrepancy between the results of the survey and the court records.

The distribution of offences according to court records is presented in the following table.

TABLE I

Number of Offences in Court Records

	<u>Limites</u>	<u>Plateau</u>	<u>Total</u>
Protection ⁸	1	3	4
Theft	6	8	14
Drugs	1	0	1
Homicide	1	0	1
Total	9	11	20

While the court records indicate that 67 percent (or six out of nine) of the boys in Limites and 73 percent (or seven out of eleven) of those in Plateau were arrested for theft, the questionnaire data show that 77 percent (7) of the boys in Limites had been involved in theft, as contrasted with 81 percent (9) in Plateau.⁹

⁸Protection, a special delinquency prevention practice of the Social Welfare Court, is the commitment of juveniles to reform school even though they have not been arrested for lawbreaking. Protection cases are juveniles who have run away from home or are socially unadjusted. The courts usually resort to reform school after failing to place them in foster homes.

⁹Two of the protection cases - one from Limites and one from Plateau - had committed theft offences at least once. In one of the cases, the juvenile had been arrested but not taken to court, his father being in the police force. In the other, the victim did not press charges.

Despite the fact that theft offences were by far the most frequent, it is noteworthy that only 21 percent (3 boys) of theft offenders said their motive was material gain. A much higher proportion of juveniles (47 percent, or eight boys), said their aim was thrill, challenge or revenge. The remaining 32 percent (5 boys) scattered their responses among the categories, "I had no choice", "I was influenceable", and "I do not know". It is apparent for theft offenders that the attraction of juvenile delinquency is more emotional than functional. For example, one boy explained how he had stolen money from a store:

The cash register was open and I could have taken as much money as I wanted, but I only took ten dollars. I did not really care for the money I took. Now that I am older, I realize how silly it has been.

Another juvenile committed a "gaffe" or theft because it was a prerequisite to joining a gang.

Attitudes of Juveniles in Drift

I shall present two cases which, according to the educators, do not fit the typical delinquent image.

There is uncertainty concerning the status of these individuals. It stems from the fact that they do not share the background traits which characterize most delinquents in the institution, such as inadequate family relations, failure in school, and repeated delinquent activities.

The first is a case of homicide. The youth fatally stabbed an older man with whom he was alleged to have a homosexual relationship, in addition to the aunt of that man, who happened to walk into the room at the time. It is believed that the juvenile committed these murders when the male victim threatened to tell his parents of the deviant relationship.

The second is a case of protection of a youth who worked evenings to pay for his schooling. After a few months in school, he realized he was unable to handle both activities. So he asked the principal to refund his money and he would try to return the following year. The principal refused. So the juvenile, in collaboration with another youth, physically assaulted the principal.

Both are examples of offenders in drift, albeit briefly so. For these juveniles, their offences were the first and probably the last. It is a well-known fact that murder rarely is repeated except by professional killers. The youth under protection now regards his offence as demonstrating a "lack of common sense". Although murder and physical assault were not shameful acts for these boys, given the circumstances, lawbreaking has not become a permanent solution to life's problems. The two are now eager to "forget about the past". Although they realize they have to pay a price for their misconduct, they consider it will be paid when they leave the institution. Their beliefs are supported, in part, by the practice in Quebec of retaining no criminal records for juveniles.

Drift does not result in identity change. Instead, the deviant act is frequently qualified by various techniques of neutralization. One of the two juveniles expressed a fatalistic attitude towards his delinquency:

It was not voluntary; I had no time to think of anything - I do not know how it happened to me.

The difference between these two cases and those of the other eighteen juveniles is clarified in the next section.

Attitudes of the Typical Delinquent

Certain attitudes of the remaining eighteen juvenile delinquents towards their life experiences tend to obstruct the social and psychological forces that maintain their conventional lifestyle. The presence of such attitudes suggests these boys are more attached (self-enhancing continuance commitment) to crime as a way of life than the previous two cases defined as being in drift. These attitudes take several forms.

1 - Attitudes Towards the Offence and its Consequences:

The juvenile often ignores or suppresses the moral and social implications of lawbreaking behaviour.

a) Disapproved acts are usually accompanied by guilt feelings. But few juveniles (22 percent, or four) felt this way about their offences; most (78 percent, or

fourteen) either did not evaluate their actions, or experienced feelings of satisfaction or relief. Hence, moral restraint acted as a deterrent in only four cases.

b) The threat of agencies of social control is believed to restrain lawbreaking activities because of the penalties which may result from an offence. Still, most juveniles had lost their fear of arrest. Only four were disturbed by the possibility of being arrested. The others either did not consider the possible consequences of their action, assumed they would not be caught, or did not care what happened to them.

2 - Attitudes Towards Court:

An accused youth, especially a first offender, is usually frightened by a court summons. In fact, seven juveniles expressed fear of court experiences. Some explained that, had they been arrested and tried after their first offence, they would probably have refrained from further lawbreaking. But most juvenile offenders remained indifferent to the experience:

The judge's words slid off like water on the back of a duck; he talked and I did not care what he said.

Or they developed a desire to rebel:

I felt everybody was against me and this increased my desire to break the law even more than I did before.

Sometimes they were inwardly frightened by a court summons, but outwardly they appeared undisturbed:

On the outside I showed that I thought it was all very funny, but inside...

This pretence is fostered by the wish to live up to an image. The concept of a juvenile's image will be developed further in a later section of this chapter.

3 - Attitudes Towards Non-Deviants:

In general, juvenile delinquents are apprehensive of non-deviants. The following quotations from respondents illustrate this attitude:

One is afraid of others because one is not respected. I wanted to date a girl, but her father refused to let her date me.

One has been treated as a failure so often that one loses self-confidence as well as confidence in others.

I do not say everything I would like to because I am afraid people would see me in a strange way; I did not trust myself or others.

The result of this attitude of apprehension towards non-deviants is that the juvenile minimizes his contact with the conventional world and seeks contact with the deviant group. He rationalizes his feeling of apprehension by pretending not to care about the opinions of conventional society. Fourteen out of eighteen juveniles stated that they did not care about the opinions of non-deviant members of society.

4 - Attitudes Towards Delinquency:

Six boys denied their deviancy, stating that circumstances rather than their deeds themselves defined them as deviants. A juvenile delinquent is no different from other youths. Because he denies his deviance in the first place, he feels no pressure either to pursue a deviant career or to discontinue it.

A delinquent does not exist; it is only the others who define him as such.

Here the juvenile does not accept the identity of deviant; he feels that his deviant status was forced on him by others.

A delinquent is a youth who is not aware of reality - he is not responsible.

Other juveniles sought glorification in a deviant role. The desire to "be somebody" was fulfilled either by being accepted in a gang, or by being recognized as different. The desire for recognition is clearly one of the driving forces towards deviancy in the following statement from one of the respondents:

A delinquent is one who tries to draw attention to himself; he does not want to remain in the shadows.

Additionally, the feeling of dissatisfaction - often described by juveniles as 'revolt' may lead to aggressive or anti-social channels of action:

You lack confidence in yourself and others, so you act tough and you believe you are someone else.

These various attitudes develop because delinquency is not simply breaking the law; it is also an identity. Sometimes juveniles who have not broken the law are considered delinquents because they display a typical delinquent personality. This is well expressed by one juvenile who said:

When I was at home, I used to extend the feeling of dissatisfaction there to school, love and everything else.

By this he means that he universalizes his mood of revolt so that it encompasses all areas of social activity.

The pivotal category of delinquent is part of the community's social structure. That is, there is a social definition of a delinquent as well as a non-delinquent. The former distinction was internalized by many of the juveniles: they had an image of what a delinquent ought to be and how he ought to act. A thief, for example, is not expected to feel guilty. One juvenile explained that he felt guilty about his first offence, but tried to repress this feeling. He "could not tell" his companions about it. Hence, even without formal labelling, juveniles interpret their actions in terms of appropriate social definitions and develop corresponding attitudes. In the following section, I shall attempt to explain how these attitudes may develop.

Deviant Identification

Sixteen of the eighteen juveniles (89 percent) who are more or less attached to delinquency showed a high degree of correspondence between their functioning

at home and in school. When one of these juveniles rates highly in one, he is most likely to rate high in the other. The relationship between home and school is particularly significant since the number of socially acceptable roles which a juvenile may perform, and from which a self-conception emerges, are largely restricted to these realms of life. Failure in these leaves little room for achieving acceptable social recognition in a conventional manner. Only 5 percent (one out of eighteen) had a happy home and average success in school. The others, with unhappy homes and/or failure in school, usually both, were considered delinquent by others in 93 percent, or fourteen out of fifteen of the remaining cases.

Previous arrests seem to play an equally important role in identifying delinquents for 87 percent (twelve out of fifteen boys), of those who had inadequate home and school relations had been arrested previously. Although it is hard to determine from the data which factor was most decisive in identifying a delinquent, it is plausible to hypothesize that inadequacy in home and

school encourages labelling as a deviant. This assertion is supported by the fact that two cases in which juveniles had experienced no previous arrests but did have inadequate home and school relations, were considered delinquent. Another juvenile had no problems at home or in school but was labelled delinquent following an arrest. Labelling as delinquent, therefore, may follow either from an arrest or from inadequate home and school relations, or both. Of course, different agents of social control bestow the label of delinquent in these different settings. It is important to add that there is an association between one's self-image and the image of oneself held by others. Seventy-two percent (thirteen out of eighteen) of the boys who were labelled delinquent, also considered themselves delinquent. Many of the juveniles reported that when labelled, their desire for acceptance by conventional members of society diminished.

Since there is nowhere else to turn, the delinquents seek support among other delinquents. Support of one's peers increases with time, making the juvenile part of a subculture. Ninety-four percent of the juveniles

with previous offences committed crimes in collaboration with others (there was only one case where a recidivist juvenile had acted alone). Of the first offenders on the other hand, only 50 percent acted with others.

By participating in a delinquent subculture, the delinquent learns many motives for his anti-social behaviour and how to justify them, which encourage him to pursue further his deviant career. One juvenile explained that his peers used to refer to policemen as "damned dogs" and that once he sent so far as to steal a car and telephone the police to say, "I took that car, now you come and find me". This instance of police defiance was regarded as a sign of valour, since it implied courage. Another juvenile said:

At one time, I did all I could to break the law and it was believed that if a guy did not do the same, he was a coward.

In his search for recognition by his peers, the juvenile may break the law even though he does not wish to:

Sometimes I was not interested in lawbreaking activities, and yet I thought about what the others would say.

As a juvenile progresses in his delinquent career, his fear of the agencies of social control tends to disappear as his defiance of the established order increases. One juvenile explained:

After a while, one is eager to hear the sentence and get it over with; it is as if one is drifting.

Another said:

I heard tales about court and when I was arrested with a friend I remembered having been told that if the judge shook hands with me, I would be off the hook. I was sent to a reform school for a month, but I did not care; I knew my friends would wait for me at the door.

Indeed, 71 percent of the juveniles (ten out of fourteen) with previous arrests eventually replaced their fear with revolt or indifference. First offenders, on the other hand, were evenly distributed between fear and revolt with one boy describing himself as happy, because he wanted to get away from home. Hence, the greater the number of court summonses, the less penalizing they become.

It should be pointed out that a juvenile does not necessarily enter a delinquent career as a consequence of only one factor. Rather, there are interrelated social forces - only some of which were presented above - that contribute to the formation of attitudes which, in turn, foster the pursuance of delinquency.

Reeducation in Boscoville

Reeducation in Boscoville awakens in the individual a consciousness of the world around him in order that he may recognize, accept and eventually integrate himself into it.

1 - Awareness of consequences: The juvenile is made to think in terms of time-space relationships - that is, he must learn to be responsible for his actions and recognize their implications. This is achieved through the norms of the institution, any deviation from which has its consequences. Hence, the decision not to conform remains in the hands of the juvenile, forcing him into an awareness of the ramifications of every action. This becomes an especially important facet of reeducation

when it is realized that only 22 percent of the juveniles (four out of eighteen boys) admitted considering the consequences of their offences before commitment to Boscoville.

2 - Accepting and respecting the juvenile as a person is one of the main approaches used by the institution to alter his 'anti-social' or deviant identification. Juveniles are aware of this: "in Boscoville, we are not treated as crooks"; "in other institutions, we felt we were treated as animals". Acceptance and respect are essential if the juvenile is to develop confidence in his own 'goodness' and learn that social acceptance is possible.

Acceptance of the juvenile implies a compartmentalization of offences from personality. It implies that he is not necessarily bad. (The importance of this orientation will be made clearer in the next chapter.)

3 - Feelings about the offence are among the most important factors in commitment and the most difficult to deal with. It is hard to support some laws by moral values. For example, in certain cases, drug use may be

harmful neither to society nor the individual; a poor man cannot be considered bad because he has stolen from a rich man. (Robin Hood and Arsene Lupin are heroes among Quebec youth.) One can only say that stealing and drug use are against the law and that if the law is broken one should expect its enforcement. Hence it is often impossible, if not irrelevant, to change a juvenile's attitude towards certain offences, since he is being encouraged to think and evaluate rather than passively accepting what he is told. Indeed, only 35 percent (six out of eighteen boys) of the juveniles believed that a change in their personal values had been Boscoville's main contribution:

Now I would not break the law, not because of the consequences, but because it would destroy me, since I have acquired certain values which I believe in.

Most of the juveniles - that is, 65 percent (twelve out of eighteen boys), describe the advantages of Boscoville as lying in the security and the activities, which enable them to relate to all kinds of people and acquire self-confidence.

This does not mean that juveniles acquire no new values during their stay at the institution, but simply that their feelings towards offences often remain the same. This, however, has a certain advantage, since it prevents extreme idealism and permits a more realistic adjustment to the world.

4 - In 85 percent of the cases (fifteen out of eighteen boys), juveniles committed their offences with others, which indicates that most juveniles come to be affiliated with a delinquent sub-group. Once in Boscoville, they are cut off from this subculture. But a new bond is created with the group in the quarter, which involves the juveniles in socially acceptable activities. The juvenile from Limites who voluntarily returned to the centre explained that when he left Boscoville, his old "chums" were no longer of interest to him because their conversations were focussed on delinquent activities. They could not talk about anything else, whereas he had developed many diverse interests about which he could hardly communicate with them.

5 - School: Eighty percent (sixteen out of twenty) of the juveniles had problems in school. The individualized system of education in Boscoville, however, allows each individual to progress at his own speed, and many attain Grade Eleven standing before leaving the centre. In addition, those juveniles who wish to further their education, benefit from the special residence privilege explained in Chapter III.

6 - The family: The social worker acts as a mediator between the juvenile's home and Boscoville. There are often improvements in family relations, which are most often described by the juveniles as changes within themselves, changes in their family's attitude towards them, or both. It sometimes is the case that accidental factors contribute towards improving the relationship between the juvenile and his family. For example, one juvenile explained that his main problem was getting along with his father. While the juvenile was staying at the centre, his father died, thus improving greatly his relationship with his family.

An improvement in family relationships, however, does not necessarily mean that a juvenile is willing to resume living at home. One juvenile explained that he had eleven brothers and sisters, and even though he loved his family, he would not return to live with them. Another said that even though he got along with his parents, he would find it much too boring to live with them, since they lived in a remote area.

The importance of the family is reduced since the juvenile can legally and emotionally break his dependent relationship with his parents and therefore adopt a more detached attitude towards family problems.¹⁰ Hence, for these deviants, family environment is only a weak factor in continuance commitment.

7 - Juvenile delinquents do not have criminal records in the Province of Quebec. But Boscoville itself promotes labelling. According to one boy: "Even if I leave my old environment, I will still have the name of

¹⁰ It is law in Quebec that juveniles must stay with their families until they reach the age of eighteen.

Boscoville on my certificate." Even though the centre often helps juveniles find a job upon release, labelling and passing remain real problems.

The Role of Identification in Boscoville

The data presented in the last section show that the centre tends to reduce delinquent identification and that released juveniles tend to lean towards identification with conventional values. Now I shall describe the process by which a juvenile is encouraged to adopt these values; a process that contains minimal direct compulsion.

The main route to acceptable behaviour is through group identification. Even so, if the juvenile does not 'function' properly, he is threatened with isolation for a certain period of time in order to 'think' or 'cool off'; and in extreme cases, he may be sent to another more repressive institution. But these threats are often not carried out, except in extreme cases where misbehaviour disrupts the whole group.

Most of the juvenile's self-control springs from his wish to belong to a group with which he identifies. His first identification is with his peers, after which he may establish relations with educators. Juveniles usually go through a stage during which they follow the group. (In fact, I cannot remember one incident where the two new arrivals initiated any significant group action.) The older boys, on the other hand, belong to the council of the unit, and in collaboration with educators, make important decisions concerning the quarter. Hence, it is generally the older boys who direct the group. Since they have developed bonds with the institution and the educators, the group thus tends to abide by the norms of the institution. The rationalization for conformity is "maintaining the group spirit".

Group identification is one of the first forces committing a juvenile to a non-deviant outlook, since the positive bond he develops with his new peers leads him to accept their group norms. Only two juveniles deviated from this pattern. One expressed the desire to change quarters; the other was indifferent to the group

because he had just arrived the preceding week. All the others indicated that they were attached to their quarters. Therefore, the first step usually taken by a juvenile is to gain entrance to the group.

At first, juveniles, who generally distrust the adult world and reject authority, do not accept educators, but a favourable relationship with them tends to evolve with time. However long it takes, it is important that such a relationship be established between adults and juveniles. For instance, there was one juvenile who still distrusted educators after thirty-one months in the institution. For the majority, however, the relationship eventually evolves from distrust to friendship. Of the juveniles who spent less than twelve months in Boscoville, two described their relationship as one of trust. Among the older boys, all but one stated that, with time, this relationship had reached the level of friendship. The extent of this friendship varies. For instance, two juveniles explained that their trust toward educators was limited to problems concerning Boscoville and that they did not like to confide in them

about personal affairs. Other juveniles related differently to different educators.

Identification is only a means to an end. Through identification, the juvenile must find his identity and develop a more individual and autonomous orientation towards the world. It is not enough simply to participate in activities; rather the juvenile must reach the stage where he participates out of his own interest rather than for approval and support from others. There has been at least one juvenile who returned to Boscoville because he could not face the impersonal and competitive outside world. He was, in fact, overdependent on the support and approval of others.

Conditions which facilitate a deviant identity are reduced to such an extent that a juvenile finds it difficult to remain attached to a delinquent status upon release. That is, unless he has "played the game" during his stay in Boscoville. As one juvenile explained, this is "doing what you are told without thinking about it", that is, without internalizing it. But the possibility of constantly playing the game is slight, since it would

involve living an average of two to three years in pretence.

Certain commitment factors, however, may change without the intervention of Boscoville. For example, two boys believed that, under any circumstances, they would have discontinued their delinquent activities upon turning eighteen, since the penalties become much more severe at this point. Despite the fact that several boys believed they would have ended their delinquent careers at eighteen anyway, they still acknowledged the importance to them of Boscoville with such statements as:

I would have stopped but never would have been in society.

I would have stopped but it would have been much longer and harder.

CHAPTER V
THE OUTCOME

Forty-eight boys were admitted to Boscoville in 1965. Of these, only thirty-six have experienced significant rehabilitation. The others were either entrusted to the social welfare court because they had not benefitted from the rehabilitation methods of the institution¹¹ or they had escaped. For this portion of the study, my sample was approximately one-third of the population of thirty-six, or eleven boys. Unfortunately this number could not be increased since I was forced to restrict myself to respondents living in Montreal and Quebec City because I could not afford extensive travelling. Also it was difficult to trace individuals after they had departed from the centre. I recruited my respondents by writing to their old addresses. I received four replies. Fortunately these four directed me to eight more respondents, only seven of whom agreed to be interviewed.

The interviews were conducted privately, either

¹¹See Chapter III.

at my home or at the home of the respondent. Hence, privacy was insured with two exceptions. In one case the juvenile was accompanied by two friends; in the other, unexpected guests arrived at the respondent's home. When I offered to return at a later date, this respondent refused a later meeting because he was getting married and could spare no more time.

The interviews were divided into three sections: the first concerning the present, the second concerning Boscoville and the third concerning the period of the boy's life preceding Boscoville. Focussing on three periods of his life thus, enabled me to gain a picture of the deviant career. From the third section, it was clear that the juveniles' experiences and attitudes in 1965 were similar to those of the juveniles undergoing rehabilitation in Boscoville in 1969. A comparison between the 1965 and 1969 samples is presented in Table II. It shows that, even though the percentage of boys varies along the dimensions considered in the preceding chapter, the

dimensions themselves remain as important points of analysis for both years.

TABLE II

A Comparison Between 1965 and 1969

<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>1965</u>	<u>1969</u>
A - Not aware of the consequences of their action	82%	78%
B - Considered delinquent by others	82	85
C - Experienced no guilt towards the offence	100	78
D - Committed offences with others	82	85
E - Failure in school	73	85
F - Inadequate home situation	100	85

One would expect recidivism to be related to the degree of delinquent identification before Boscoville. But this is not necessarily the case, as I explained in the previous chapter. First, some factors, such as family influence, decrease in importance with time. When a juvenile is released, he is generally over eighteen and need not return to live with his family. Only four juveniles actually did so, because of the financial advantages this arrangement offered. Two had their own rooms

and led a relatively independent life.

Second, the influences of other factors change because of the reeducative experiences in Boscoville. We shall return to this matter later in the chapter. It is important to note that had Boscoville not intervened along the lines discussed in the previous chapter, a relationship between the degree of pre-Boscoville delinquent identification and recidivism would probably have been found among the respondents of this study. This suggests that the effectiveness of various rehabilitation centres should vary since they have different approaches to reeducation.

Recidivism

"Recidivism" refers to the number of individuals who, after serving prison terms, continue to break the law and organize their lives around crime. The table below shows that 27 percent of the juveniles (Subjects 1, 5, 7) recidivated, even though police records show only 9 percent returning to a correctional institution for a crime.

TABLE III

Types of Lawbreaking After Boscoville

<u>Subject</u>		<u>Recidivism</u>
1	Theft, drug sale, use of harder drugs	Yes
2	Driving without permit	No
3	Hunting without licence	No
4	Stealing a violin	No
5	Dealing in harder drugs, morphine use, occasional safe breaker	Yes
6	Smoking hashish	No
7	Dealing in softer drugs	Yes
8	Driving over the speed limit	No
9	Hunting out of season	No
10	Driving without permit	No
11	None	No

Occasional offenders can hardly be regarded as having returned to crime. Their offending is of a drift nature; it does not involve repeated lawbreaking or change of life-style. Subject 4 who, for example, stole a violin, explained that he liked music and would like to go to a conservatory. In the meantime, he worked in a

publishing company. He explained that he could not afford to buy the instrument, so he took it. But this is no return to crime. Indeed, on another occasion, a woman had forgotten her purse on a bus, which he turned in to the driver.

Offences which are frequently committed by members of conventional society can hardly be classified as a return to crime. Hence, Subjects 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, and 10 do not fall into this category, since these acts do not involve any significant change in the individual's way of life or conventional career.

There are, however, two kinds of recidivists - those attached to a criminal status and those temporarily committed to it. Juvenile delinquents cannot be committed to a delinquent status since they are often more or less unaware of the continuation and renunciation penalties¹³

¹³Stebbins has defined "renunciation penalties" as those penalties that arise when one attempts to leave a committed social identity. "Continuation penalties" are those penalties endured when the person remains in the identity to which he is committed. (Robert A. Stebbins, Commitment to Deviance, p. 42.) It should be remembered that commitment is defined here in subjective terms.

that accompany delinquent activities. Boscoville, however, by increasing the overall awareness of the juvenile, makes commitment possible.

Only Subject 5 can be described as being attached to his status (self-enhancing commitment). He explained that his ambition was to accumulate plenty of money and that breaking the law was the only way to get it. He added that he is perfectly content with his way of life and that the only thing troubling him was his morphine habit, because "it reduces my sexual potential".

Guilt feelings never troubled him:

Drug sale is no crime, stealing is not either; stealing from the rich is not stealing - bourgeois people also steal but in a hypocritical manner.

Crime is counterfeit money because it can ruin the economy of a country.
Murder and rape are also crimes.

Subjects 1 and 7, on the other hand, expressed the desire to avoid a career in crime. Subject 1 explained that he would like to find an interesting job. He had been arrested for attempted theft and, though released on parole, he felt that the consequences of crime are too

high a price to pay. His motive in the attempted theft was circumstantial; he had been unemployed for several months and needed money badly. (After the interview, he called me to say he had found a job.)

Subject 7 stated that he expected to pursue his education the following year. He had begun to do so when he first left Boscoville, but assuming he had failed his exams, he neglected to ask for his grades. By the time he found out that he had actually passed, the following school year was already under way and it was too late to register for it. Regarding his lawbreaking activities, he explained:

One may know that something is bad and do it all the same. Pushing drugs is bad because it is forbidden, but I still do it. However, I do not do it because it is bad since some things are bad but are not forbidden, like saying things that hurt people, though it is not forbidden it is bad all the same.

This quotation indicates that the respondent is not comfortable with his present status. He considers what he is doing bad and recognizes a wish for a change of career.

The following section deals with the social arrangements that can lead to commitment as perceived by

recidivists and non-recidivists upon release.

Commitment After Boscoville

1 - Upon release, the juvenile must move from a situation of dependence to one of total independence. Few juveniles benefit from the transitional facilities offered by the institution, such as finding jobs and acquiring further education through the special residence system (see Chapter III). They are caught between two needs: wanting to have fun and financial security. The average length of time spent in Boscoville is two years. Even though the institution has few restrictions (as explained in Chapter III), juveniles still feel they are "inside". Consequently, regardless of how intent the individual is upon making the "wise" decision of starting a conventional career when he leaves, the temptation to "take a break" is usually too great. The following quotation illustrates this outlook:

Boscoville offered me a job in the unions but I was not interested - I wanted to see people and have fun.

I did not want to study because I did not want to follow the routine any longer.

I did not want to work - I wanted to travel and recover lost time.

I was in residence for my Grade Eleven but I was fed up and quit.

Thus, denial of the wish to take a break acts as a penalty for those juveniles who seek financial security upon release.

2 - The individual eventually has to find a job in order to support himself. Financial insecurity was perceived as the most prominent difficulty:

a) In order to get a job, a juvenile must often pretend he got his degree in a private school. Few told their bosses the truth:

One must not say...I say my education was done in a private school. I avoid the question. If a guy has to reveal his past, it is very hard; some guys have so much confidence in the place that they create for themselves a terrible barrier; you may know the place but others may not.

One of the respondents explained that he lost a job because of Boscoville. He was deemed qualified, but when his prospective employer learned where he had received his education, he was not accepted. The next time he

applied for work, he went to meet his new boss in order to explain that a delinquent is no worse than anyone else. Sometimes "it makes me go into a rage, especially at the beginning".

b) The respondents usually had less than a Grade Eleven education and their lack of specialization made getting work even more difficult. One respondent explained that Boscoville's attitude is too idealistic and incorrectly focussed. It deals with a juvenile's personal problems when delinquency is the result of a social problem:

Boscoville is fine if a guy can find something which makes self-realization possible. What they give us is fine but not very useful. For example, when I came out, I walked around for a year with a badge that stated I was a member of the United Nations, then I wondered what it all meant when the big nations had the right of Veto...In a way I am sorry that I did not go to Mt. St. Antoine where I could have learned a trade.

Other respondents were of the same mind:

In Boscoville we could have benefitted from a technical training and a better knowledge of the market.

In Boscoville we lacked a practical sense of things.

There is a relationship between a respondent's attitude towards work and his return to crime. As a general rule, non-recidivists accepted a job even if they disliked it. The only exception was Subject 6 who took odd jobs while being supported by his wife the rest of the time. The following quotations from interviews with those who did not return to crime illustrate this view:

I work in mining - I would rather do something else, but it's all right...

I worked in distribution in a meat factory.

I used to work in a silk factory - now I am more satisfied since I play in a band and study electronics in the hope of opening a recording studio some day.

Most of the eleven respondents had menial, degrading jobs. This is significant, since Boscoville tries to enhance an individual's self-image, thereby heightening his expectations. This incongruance is illustrated by the attitude of Subject 6 mentioned above.

I do not want to take any job just to say that I am working; I demand a minimum pay and a job that is interesting; I will not centre my life around work and lose other things. I have a friend who

is a teacher - he works during the day and corrects papers at night; he never has peace. For a while I was a door-to-door salesman. I was good and earned a lot of money, but I got sick of selling things which were not worth a cent. Now I study a little. I would like to learn a trade, but for this I shall need money.

On the other hand, the attitude of recidivists differed, not in terms of motivation, since all from Boscoville seek financial security, but in terms of their definition of the situation:

- Subject 1: At first I worked in handicraft. But the market was not good, so I took a sales job which I did not like... I did not want to do any job, but something that interested me. I could not find work for several months and I resorted to theft.
- Subject 5: I want a lot of money and I cannot get it by working. I deal in hard drugs and because it is sometimes hard to sell, I also crack safes.
- Subject 7: I do not work. I tried it for two months but I did not like it. I would have liked to work in ceramics, but there are no possibilities in this direction... I deal in softer drugs. It might be easier to work. But if you work, you work all week, whereas being a pusher only involves a few hours risk and then you are

free the rest of the time. I would not deal in harder drugs like Subject 5 because once I saw a guy beg him and it made me sick.

This last quotation is particularly significant in terms of commitment, since it illustrates the element of choice. The respondent was not compelled to be a pusher; he just chose what appeared to be the better of two evils. For him, the cost of getting a job was much higher than that of being a pusher. The decision was only a temporary solution since, as previously mentioned, he intended ultimately to pursue his education. But in the meantime, he would not be content with a boring job.

3 - During his stay in Boscoville, a juvenile more or less severs ties with the outside world. His relations are limited to Boscoville personnel and other juveniles in the centre. After release, Boscoville discourages returning to the centre, as a way of pushing the individual towards independence. This situation usually causes a great deal of stress and juveniles often do not know where to turn:

I am often tempted to call
Boscoville, but you do not want
them to think you cannot manage
on your own.

This pressure is felt most strongly by non-recidivists
who are attempting to stay away from their old environ-
ment and develop new friendships. The obstacles to
making new friends are many:

a) "There are not many people you can talk to
without fearing that they might not understand. Your
experiences make you feel more mature, but you cannot
often speak your mind."

b) Public labelling proves to be a problem:

The parents of my fiancée do not
know; I must first prove that I
can go straight.

The parents of my girlfriend did not
want me to go out with her.

I was at a party at Ste-Genevieve and
the psychologist who was giving a
speech said he would not leave these
girls with boys from Boscoville.

c) "The manner of speech outside is different
from that in Boscoville. There you can be sincere, but
outside you have to beat about the bush."

Recidivists, on the other hand, in two cases out of three, went back to pre-Boscoville friendships (the third remained in contact with friends from Boscoville). Both confessed to having had difficulty in adjusting to their old friends, but seemed to find it easier to do that than to pretend to be someone they were not:

When I met them I thought they had changed but then I realized it was me who had changed, and I adapted myself to the situation...One cannot forget the past... I would like to go back to Boscoville but they would not like me to return with my motorcycle, and I do not want to be hypocritical; if I go, I shall go as I am.

The type of friends with whom one associates after release greatly affects recidivism. If one is part of an environment that does not respect the law, one will tend to do the same whether it be pushing drugs, or stealing. This lifestyle permeates one's attitude even to the point of intentionally disregarding red lights while driving. In sum, loneliness and the need to posture in social relations (renunciation penalties) encourage the post-Boscoville juvenile to seek the company

of delinquent friends, thereby increasing his chances of relapse.

Now let us turn to a consideration of the changes the respondents believe they have undergone in the centre in order to see how changes in commitment factors may act as a double-edged sword.

Boscoville influences the juveniles' self-awareness and their awareness of the world. All the respondents noted that Boscoville has helped them develop self-esteem and an awareness of the consequences of their actions. On the other hand, what they have learned can also help them become better criminals. First, I shall deal with the question of how the changes in some released juveniles - the non-recidivists - help them establish a value commitment to non-deviant careers. Then, I shall indicate how these same changes can aid other released juveniles - the recidivists - in pursuing a life of crime.

Non-Recidivists

a) Enhancing the self-esteem of an individual is an important element in reeducation. Eight out of eleven

of the respondents mentioned that one of the main factors behind delinquent behaviour was a need to prove oneself, stemming from a lack of self-confidence:

Now I am not as embarrassed - I am not afraid of establishing contact with people - I feel I have a place in society; before I was not myself - I constantly had to prove myself... now what I say is sincere; I do not try to be noticed.

Contact with the public is improved. One develops self-confidence and learns to face a group...The first time I did theatre in Boscoville I could not remember my lines, though they were not many. I used to be fat and people laughed at me. It was a bit like the Negroes in the United States. There comes a time when they shoot. I could no longer stand someone talking to me - I hit.

b) Boscoville has provided juveniles with interests other than delinquency. Again, eight out of eleven juveniles mentioned that a factor behind delinquent action is a lack of interest in socially-acceptable activities:

Now I have become more dynamic, I can be happy with little things such as a bookshelf I am presently building. I did not know the value of things; an adolescent needs guidance. But now I

am interested in things which had never mattered before.

Providing the individual with interests also gives him a channel through which he can integrate himself into society. It provides topics of conversation and the development of a more general vocabulary; that is, an elaborated code:¹⁴

I did not talk before, but activities provided me with subjects of conversation.

c) Awareness of the world enables juveniles to relate to society. This was clearly expressed by a juvenile who explained that his pre-Boscoville motivation for theft was:

I never had any money and it was nice to have some.

This juvenile's vision of poverty has now been extended from its earlier, restricted scope to a more universalistic and socialistic ideology.

d) Consciousness of space-time relationships enables an individual to adopt a more responsible attitude

¹⁴ See Chapter I on elaborated code.

towards the world. His outlook evolves from an emotional nature to a more rational one. One juvenile explained how, for him, this change occurred through an incident that took place during his stay in Boscoville. Instead of running a three-mile race, he took the bus. The educator gave him a penalty and told him to think ahead next time. He believes that this incident made him a more responsible person. The importance of space-time relations cannot be overstated, since the majority of juveniles admitted that they failed to consider the consequences of their actions.

Recidivists

In the case of juvenile delinquency, identity is attached to action. But:

When one grows up, especially in Boscoville, good and bad become relative.

A dissociation between offence and identity becomes possible. Delinquent acts are frequently emotion-laden; thus their consequences are given rather superficial consideration. But gradually, juveniles learn a

certain detachment from their actions:

Before I used to waste a lot of time because of my revolt; I could have progressed much faster; I was emotional and fought with myself. Now I am more rational.

Thus, for some post-Boscoville juveniles, crime becomes a rational means of achieving certain goals; it becomes a professional rather than a leisure activity. Awareness of space-time relationships contributed to making these individuals more objective about their pursuits:

I am smarter than I was - I will not steal a car for a joy ride. I do things functionally.

Respondents also develop an ability to fit into many different contexts; that is, "passing" becomes easier:

A guy may have his leather jacket, but if it is taken away from him, he is lost. Now I am in jeans and I feel fine, then I wear my velvet pants and go to a discotheque and feel just as well. In Boscoville one acquires a lot of general knowledge and becomes able to talk in any conversation. One becomes more curious and sociable.

Conclusion

Juvenile delinquents relate poorly to their conventional social environment because lawbreaking activities among adolescents often imply deviant identification. As noted in the preceding chapter, delinquent acts are frequently emotion-laden. Consequently, their ramifications are given rather superficial consideration. Juvenile delinquency is more emotional than functional. Boscoville eliminates this and other deviant traits among its inmates. Thus, it offers them the possibility of re-entering the conventional world, by enhancing their self-images and by engendering an awareness of the world and its space-time relationships.

Rehabilitation in Boscoville, however, does not necessarily eliminate law-breaking activities motivated by the desire for financial gain. In fact, an awareness of the consequences of one's actions also makes one more conscious of the implications of one's criminal actions. Boscoville can help the inmate become a better thief. In fact, Mr. Guy Lapointe, a Boscoville administrator, has said that one of Canada's most wanted criminals has done time in Boscoville. Greater consciousness of the criminal act was expressed by the respondents in such statements as, "I would not steal a car for a joy ride". It is also manifested in actions designed to avoid police surveillance, such as changing one's name and address. Hence, the final

choice concerning further deviance remains in the hands of the individual who decides on his priorities.

It is difficult to determine how far the changes in the juveniles' experiences are to be credited to the institution. For example, maturation could have been responsible for many if not all of these changes. Further research is needed including a comparison group outside of Boscoville in order to answer this question.

Chapter VI

Rehabilitation in Perspective

It is insufficient to appraise a juvenile delinquent centre without considering other common alternatives in the prevention of delinquency. The basis for examining the effectiveness of each alternative is its capacity to offer unique as well as effective solutions to delinquency prevention.

What are these alternatives and what do they have to offer?

A- THE DO-NOTHING PROGRAM:

It has been argued by Matza (1964) that juveniles may outgrow delinquency without intervention from agencies of social control. There is a great deal of evidence in support of this hypothesis, such as Glueck's (1966) theory of maturation. This theory implies that delinquency has a certain life span. Having lived so long from the age at which delinquency began - assuming it is accompanied by certain favourable factors - may lead to a spontaneous decline in the individual's criminal conduct. By associating age with delinquent career, Empey (1972: Chapt. 10) has arrived at a somewhat similar conclusion. Empey, however, proceeds to show that certain prevention programs do encourage maturational reform.

The Do-Nothing Program is still in a rather weak position for two reasons: Firstly, making a definitive statement on the effectiveness of this approach is impossible, since we have little data on unofficial delinquency. Secondly, our present judicial system as well as public opinion demand some degree of supervision and control at least for repeaters.

B- PROBATION:

A probation officer is responsible for representing the child's interests in court, compiling a cast history and investigating the circumstances of the child's life. Theoretically, the probation officer should be in a position to advise the child and his family and to help solve the problems which were the cause of court attention. Probation, then, could be, and is considered, an alternative to incarceration. Altering the circumstances of the child's environment may lead him to discontinue his lawbreaking activities.

Most juveniles who are incarcerated have also experienced probation, which is indicative of the present success rate of probation. This is not to say that the idea of probation is unsound, but rather that probation facilities are presently unsatisfactory. The reasons for this lack of success are the following:

1. Most juvenile courts are ill-equipped with the required probation assistance. Insufficient staff makes it impossible for a probation officer to devote the necessary time and effort for each case (Report of the Department of

Justice, Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1967: 173-6). In the Province of Quebec, for example, the caseload of probation officers is over eighty cases in half the fifteen probation services in the province. And most probation officers in the eleven rural centres have to travel an average of 1600 miles to exercise their functions.

(Plamandon, 1970: 408-413.) The problem of shortage of personnel in probation has become so acute that, in 1971, a resolution was passed to withdraw the probation officer from a case when the youth is committed to a rehabilitation centre.

2. Many probation officers are inadequately trained, this, however, is gradually changing.

3. The shortage of facilities, such as foster homes, group homes, hospitals with in-patient care and so on, often lead probation officers to send the child to a training school regardless of his needs (Report of the Department of Justice, Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1967: 177-85).

. . . In shopping for placement, probation officers are forced to lower their sights from what they know the child needs to what they can secure. Their sense of professional responsibility is steadily eroded. (Report of the Department of Justice, Committee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1967: 164.)

This statement by a judge of the New York State Family Court shows how probation could be effective only insofar as certain changes are made and facilities offered.

An interesting proposition has been advanced by Lenore Kupperstein in an article entitled "Treatment and Rehabilitation of Delinquent Youths: Some Sociocultural Considerations". He suggests a decrease of court referrals through the introduction of early prevention programs. Restricting the jurisdiction of the court to "hard-core" or recidivistic offenders, when other treatment facilities have failed, would reduce caseloads and free the courts to operate in their area of expertise (Kupperstein, 1971: 25-6, 65). This change is particularly desirable, since the youth sometimes wait for six months in an assessment centre before the courts make a decision about their case. I have experienced such incidents while working at a juvenile delinquency centre for girls, Notre Dame de Laval.

C- COMMUNITY PROGRAMS:

Another alternative is to allow a certain degree of freedom and thereby motivate youth to do something about their lack of achievement in the open society. By keeping youth in the community, the problems of stigma and alienation from conventional institutions are partly avoided. Therefore, the reintegration of offenders into society is unnecessary since cooperation between the offender and the public is assumed throughout the rehabilitation process (Empey, 1971: 15, 65-7). Several community programs have been developed. It is generally agreed that there is no single way to prevent delinquency, but that there are several major areas of attack;

1. Unemployment: Underemployment is perceived as the source of many social problems. Consequently, community projects have been established to deal with it. They attempt to motivate the unskilled toward greater vocational achievement and provide them with training and opportunity for stable and satisfying employment. Among the community projects working along these lines are the "Job Upgrading Project" (Amos, 1965: 23-32) and the "Carson Pirie Scott Double EE Program" (Amos, 1965: 43-7).

2. Educational Problems: In preliminary research on pre-delinquent youth, it was discovered that the majority of lower-class children start off with a considerable handicap in comparison with middle-class children (Gauthier, 1972: 129-31). Few parents of lower-class youth can help their children overcome this handicap; for example, they cannot afford tutors. Consequently, failure and dropping out is often the beginning, for the lower-class youth, of a chain reaction of repeated suspensions, followed by truancy, followed by adjudicated juvenile delinquency (Kupperstein, 1971: 20-2). In this way, such projects as the "Home Study Program" constitute a preventive measure to delinquency by providing volunteer tutors in the homes to assist and guide each individual academically (Amos, 1965: 33-42).

As Short and Strodbeck have pointed out (1965) the development of social skills is as important as the development of technical skills, particularly for gang boys.

And, "Higher Horizons" (Amos, 1965: 86-95) was developed for the purpose of broadening the cultural experience of youth from disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

3. Alienation: In an article entitled "Alienation of Youth" Eisner (1969: 81-90) states that youth are not given the opportunity to play significant roles in society, and that certain privileges of adult life are denied to them. To prevent this alienation, certain community projects have arisen to channel the energies of youth into constructive work projects of benefit to the community. The "Youth for Service" (Amos, 1965: 53-64) as well as the "Neighbourhood Commons" (Amos, 1965: 74-86) grew on that principle and proved to be helpful for youth as well as the community as a whole.

4. Needs for assistance and counselling: Programs offering assistance and counselling provide for the needs of youth, whether they be financial, emotional, or otherwise. Programs such as the "Denver Boys" (Amos, 1965: 121-9) and "Urban Service Corps" (Amos, 1965: 64-73) have been formed. "Big Brother" in Vancouver, "Aide a la Jeunesse" in Montreal, and the like are variants of these programs.

5. Inadequate environments: For the youth with inadequate family environments and social milieux, there are programs, such as Woods' Christian Homes and the Family Development Program in Calgary. Their organizers believe that in order to be effective, one has to consider the youth's

environment as well as the youth individually, since the roots of maladjustment lay in environmental pressures. Consequently, community workers hold sessions in the homes in order to increase the family's awareness of its problems and arrive at some solution to them. An attempt is also made to make community resources accessible to youth. This is close to the concept of "primary prevention" as used by Amos (1965). Other programs make no attempts to change the environment, but withdraw the youth from his milieu by placing him in group homes or foster homes.

6. Delinquent Subcultures: The importance of delinquent subcultures has been investigated and talked about since the turn of the century in such classics as The Gang (Thrasher, 1927). Among the most valuable community programs which attempt to eliminate these subcultures, is the "Silverlake Experiment". Here delinquent identification and street-corner activities were considerably reduced. A social system was established in which recognition was granted to those who adopted conventional values (Empey, 1971).

It is necessary to educate the community if such programs are to succeed. Its support is necessary. Failure to establish and preserve links with schools, families, neighbourhood, and other social institutions may result in failure of such programs. With the Silverlake Experiment, forty-six per cent of the experimental group as opposed to fifty per cent of the control group successfully completed the program,

because poor relationships with the community,

. . . not only decreased the opportunities of some delinquents for some legitimate achievement but probably increased the level of strain that they were already experiencing.

D- PROTECTIVE ENVIRONMENTS:

Why do we need protective environments?

1. We need them for protecting the community from the offender after other attempts at rehabilitation have failed.
2. We need them as a temporary manipulative device to stimulate youth to cooperate in the programs to which they were referred by the courts. Incarceration has been used for that end by both the "Provo Experiment" (Empey, 1972) and Boscoville.
3. Becoming delinquent occurs as a series of experiences, to which the juvenile adjusts. Intervention varies according to the stage of the juvenile's career. For example, when the problems of the youth in relating to the major socializing agents - school and home - become acute and result in delinquent identification, negative self-perception and lack of self-confidence, attempts at rehabilitation within the community are likely to be fruitless. Expecting the youth to live up to certain expectations which he is not ready to accept may only increase his strain. This has been demonstrated in the Silverlake Experiment, where recidivists were generally those whose problems with family disorganization and low academic achievement were greatest. This situation

indicated a need for control in a more sheltered environment with enriched programs and no competition from non-delinquents (Empey, 1971: 272).

Further evidence in support of the individualization of justice is found in Glueck's work. It shows that the rate of success of intramural programs is highest for youth with poor parental relationships, deep feelings of insecurity, and for whom the time between anti-social behavior and arrest for it is long (Glueck, 1966).

Protective environments, however, have their weaknesses. There are problems in reintegrating youth into the social mainstream after release:

1. Because of their isolation from conventional social institutions, protective environments rarely offer proper professional training programs. Boscoville is no exception: the wide range of activities allow no specialization. The result is a good general knowledge, but the possibility for a career in any of these fields of interest is quite limited. Considering that the motivation for much of adult crime is the goal of dishonest gain and that the majority of individuals released from Boscoville hold menial jobs, a definite improvement could be brought about by providing them with more extensive and specialized occupational training and broader knowledge of the job market. Moreover, it is unrealistic to expect juveniles to pursue further education in their fields of interest while deferring financial security.

2. Suddenly severing one's ties with the rehabilitation center in which one feels secure is unsettling. There is a great need for half-way houses and post-release counselling to help the reintegration of stigmatized individuals. Compared with other protective environments, Boscoville has the advantages of allowing frequent leaves for its youth as well as providing a transitional unit. Few, however, benefit from the latter because of the limited space as well as the impulse to be free. The availability of an off-premises half-way house is a needed alternative in Boscoville.

E- PREVENTION:

Sometimes prevention and rehabilitation services overlap. For example, community programs may be used for both purposes. Prevention is the process of "discovering at an early stage those children who are in danger of becoming delinquent and to correct their maladjustment at that time" (Report of the Department of Justice, 1967: 1). The earlier the detection, the greater the opportunity of rehabilitation, since behavioral problems have not yet developed into personality traits (Report of the Juvenile Delinquency Inquiry Board, 1960: 13-6). Prevention, however, is still in embryonic form. For example, surveys have shown that fifty to seventy per cent of juvenile delinquents can be recognized in school before they ever become delinquent (truancy and low marks being highly correlated with juvenile delinquency). But no serious attempts are made there to detect youths with such

difficulties and provide them with remedial services (Report of the Department of Justice, 1967: 233-4). To be effective, a prevention program must also be concerned with socio-cultural considerations, since disposition of the arrested juvenile and the application of the law varies with social background. In a study of social stigma, it was discovered that for an equal number of delinquent boys, twice as many adolescent lawbreakers (sixty per cent) from lower classes were labeled delinquent; whereas among middle- and upper-class boys, only thirty-two per cent of lawbreakers became official delinquents (LeBlanc, 1971: 135-6). The middle and upper classes tend to handle delinquency informally. Since it is often lower-class youth who become police statistics, effective prevention programs should provide them with the same facilities available to middle-class youth (Kupperstein, 1971: 20-2).

Conclusion

Each delinquency prevention program has its benefits and shortcomings. For example, both the Silverlake Experiment and Boscoville have been successful at eliminating some law-breaking behavior of the street-corner type. Further, recidivism in both has become more functional or utilitarian. Boscoville, being a protective environment, has perhaps been more successful in helping its youth with acute academic problems; although it has the disadvantage of cutting them off from the social mainstream.

I believe we should not compare follow-up statistics of different programs in order to determine the effectiveness of one method of rehabilitation as opposed to another, unless we can somehow match each individual with the type of program best designed to meet his needs. In fact, there is no "best" program: there are different programs which offer different services, some of which are more suitable to the needs of particular individuals than others.

This brings us to a crucial issue: coordination of services. Coordination is important if we are to draw the maximum benefit from available facilities, avoid duplication of services and develop a full range of necessary services. The Juvenile Delinquency Inquiry Board of British Columbia (1960) is a most ambitious attempt at coordination on a community level. The Board recommended that citizens' councils for the prevention of juvenile delinquency be established within selected communities to make planning possible; that a Provincial council be formed to assist the community councils and focus on Provincial progress; and, finally, that special counsellors be hired to establish links between councils, organizations, community resources and delinquents.

Many resources exist, many programs are in operation and many organizations, agencies, and individuals are taking positive and progressive steps to do something about juvenile delinquency. However . . . it is as if the sum value of these activities is being diluted by the over-all lack of organization and integration on the community level. (Inquiry Board, 1960: 14-5)

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