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**THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE REEDUCATION OF JUVENILE.
BOSCOVILLE : A CLASSIC CASE**

**Marc LeBlanc
(1987)**



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JUVENILE - BOSCOVILLE: A CLASSIC CASE

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TO: Pierrette, Nathalie and Martin

The research concerned here could never have been accomplished without the constant collaboration of the boys admitted to Boscoville in 1974 and 1975, without the support of the educators and directors of Boscoville and without the help of the parents and practitioners in the social service and justice systems.

This programme of research is a collective work in which the following persons participated:

Pier-Angelo Achille, Maurice Cusson, Jean Ducharme, Robert Ménard, Pierrette Trudeau-LeBlanc, Michel Boss, Ghislaine Legendre, Diane Maisonneuve, Jeanne Meilleur, Françoise Deschênes, Luc Gaudreau, Pierre Bélanger, Yvon Bourdon, Anne Dussault, Pierre Lavoie and Carole Mailloux.

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RESUME FRANCAIS

RÉSUMÉ

Notre voyage à travers Boscoville a duré sept années. Nous en avons reconnu le milieu physique et organisationnel. Nous avons identifié la conception qu'on s'y fait du jeune délinquant et la théorie de la rééducation qu'on y a adoptée. Nous avons découvert l'articulation entre les moyens d'action thérapeutique et pédagogique et la théorie choisie. Cet inventaire de Boscoville du milieu des années 1970 nous a conduit à apprécier l'effort de rééducation, c'est-à-dire la qualité du personnel et de son intervention, ainsi que la qualité de la vie de groupe qui y est maintenue par les éducateurs. Ayant constaté le niveau de l'effort, nous nous sommes attachés à définir la clientèle, les sujets de l'intervention, et son cheminement à l'internat.

L'ensemble de ces préalables nous a conduit à l'étude de l'efficacité, efficacité non seulement en terme de récidive mais surtout spécifiée comme l'adaptation sociale, le développement psychologique et la progression dans les étapes de la rééducation. Ce fut notre voyage à travers Boscoville, voyage dénommé évaluation compréhensive. Qu'en avons-nous retenu?

Boscoville a formulé de façon précise des objectifs généraux et particuliers. Les premiers peuvent être résumés ainsi, transformer la personnalité des jeunes délinquants et arrêter leurs agir antisociaux, ceci chez tous les clients admis en traitement. De manière à rencontrer ces objectifs généraux, un objectif particulier au modèle boscovillien a été fixé; c'est de faire traverser aux pensionnaires les étapes de la rééducation, donc faire traverser l'étape personnalité, la dernière étape du processus de la rééducation.

Les pensionnaires de Boscoville traversent-ils toutes les étapes de la rééducation?

Il nous est apparu évident que Boscoville n'atteint pas l'objectif fixé, à savoir faire traverser toutes les étapes de la rééducation à tous ses pensionnaires. Tout au plus, ceux-ci progressent d'une ou deux étapes. Voilà mis à jour un autre paradoxe: Boscoville est

plutôt amélioration du fonctionnement psychologique; il n'y a pas adaptation sociale de tous les jeunes traités mais plutôt une meilleure intégration de certains; il n'y a pas un cheminement complet à travers les étapes mais plutôt un déplacement sur quelques étapes.

Cette constante faiblesse des résultats signifie que les objectifs constituent des idéaux, peut-être non atteignables en regard du développement des connaissances scientifiques et pratiques actuelles. Boscoville est exigeant pour les jeunes, il l'est aussi pour lui-même. Peut-être l'est-il trop? Nous ne pensons pas. Toutefois il paraît illusoire d'espérer que quelque programme que ce soit puisse atteindre l'ensemble des objectifs poursuivis par cet internat et obtenir des résultats satisfaisants avec l'ensemble des jeunes délinquants.

Boscoville reçoit une grande variété de jeunes délinquants, parmi les plus difficiles et les plus perturbés; son modèle a du succès avec certains. Il ne pourrait en avoir avec tous sans changer son cadre théorique, son programme, etc. Sa méthode de rééducation est efficace avec certains jeunes délinquants. Si l'on l'améliorait, nous ne pensons pas qu'il pourrait avoir beaucoup plus de succès ou du succès avec un nombre beaucoup plus grand de clients, ceci parce qu'il n'accroche pas un certain groupe de jeunes délinquants: ceux qui sont le plus imperméables au relationnel et à l'abstrait, ceux qui sont ancrés dans un mode de vie délinquant.

Si la question n'est pas celle de la nature des objectifs, ni celle de la nature ou de la qualité des moyens mis en oeuvre, quelle est-elle? Il s'agit peut-être de la spécification de la cible de l'intervention. Cibler l'ensemble des jeunes délinquants, voilà peut-être l'erreur. Il nous semble que l'ensemble de nos résultats démontre, et l'analyse des paradoxes qui en découle l'assure, que Boscoville peut obtenir une efficacité maximale avec certains jeunes délinquants; elle ne sera jamais totale dans les meilleures des conditions, mais elle pourra sûrement dépasser le niveau actuel, ceci si Boscoville applique sa méthode au groupe le plus approprié de jeunes délinquants. La délimitation d'une cible peut être la façon de combler le fossé existant encore les objectifs poursuivis et les résultats

obtenus; cette conviction, nous l'acquerrons en se rappelant la cohérence du modèle, la qualité de la formation des éducateurs, la santé psycho-sociale du milieu, l'avancement des moyens pédagogiques, ... et surtout en nous rappelant qu'il est clair que ce programme a un impact indéniable sur certains jeunes délinquants.

L'ensemble des discussions, que nous venons de mener sur l'efficacité de Boscoville, se ramènent à un paradoxe fondamental: les résultats d'une intervention thérapeutique ne sont pas en proportion directe de l'effort, de la qualité de celle-ci. L'articulation de l'effort et de l'efficacité dépend de la spécificité de la cible. Il est donc illusoire de penser, comme l'ont fait les concepteurs de Boscoville, qu'un même type d'intervention, qu'une même approche thérapeutique peut s'avérer efficace dans la généralité des cas, quelque soit le niveau de développement ou de maturation atteint par les jeunes délinquants reçus pour traitement.





PREFACE

PREFACE

I have never analyzed the reasons why an author asks someone to write the preface of a new publication. However, I know that most readers often find the prefaces so little worthwhile that many do not even take the trouble to read them if they don't know the person who signs them.

In this case, Marc LeBlanc has asked an educator, an idealist by profession and by choice, to present a scientific work based on the strict techniques of evaluative research.

I have chosen to introduce my text with a parody of the well-known maxim: "Paradox, all is but a paradox." ... at least in appearance. How is one to present a scientific work with any pertinence when one's only merit is a certain faith in human nature, a certain consideration for persons in difficulty, a certain confidence in the quality of coherent intervention, and a certain conviction that professionals who assume special educational responsibilities must constantly seek to improve their professional competence.

The author's request is understandable considering his choice of Boscoville as the target of a scientific study of the effectiveness of intervention among juvenile delinquents. "The treatment programme at Boscoville" he writes, "is consistent, strictly applied and precisely planned down to the minutest detail". By coming to one of the initiators of this reeducation centre and who has been its director for many years, the author could hope that the writer of his preface would present his book with full knowledge of the place. This meant taking a risk, of course, but I agreed to share it with him.

The first question that may come to mind is: "Has the researcher fully understood and conveyed the theory (general and specific) under-

lying the treatment of youngsters at Boscoville and how it is applied? The reading of the first two chapters of his book leads me to believe that the author has understood and admirably conveyed the underlying principles of Boscoville's system of treatment.

Two details, however, could disturb the purist. When the author speaks of the activities, he seems to confuse backwardness in school and mental retardation, which, in my opinion, seem to be quite different when describing the clientele of Boscoville. Again, he gives the impression that the "citizen" should have reached his "personality" stage before being entrusted with any official responsibility. We would hope, rather, that at this stage, the young person could be engaged in the service of his own social group, of his "neighbourhood" (living quarters) without the support of an official responsibility, such as that of a councillor or similar office.

The first detail shows how easy it is to confuse certain aspects of human functioning; one can imagine what it can be concerning the functioning of a delinquent. As to the second, it would seem that Marc LeBlanc did not want to point up the idealism of the "young" educators who, at the time, had conceived the course of the reeducative tactics. He shows in his first chapters a profound intellectual honesty that at once reinforces the import of the analysis of the results found in the other chapters.

True, these results are disappointing to me as an educator and will no doubt be depressing to those who still try to bring a ray of hope to a situation that was so black in the years 55-60 that we felt justified in saying that there was no longer much hope with delinquents of this age and so deeply rooted in their delinquency.¹

1. Thoughts verbalized by Gregory Zilboorg, Boscoville, 1958.

It took a good dose of idealism, certainly, to start such a venture; we used methods - that LeBlanc enumerates - which we believed at the time were appropriate to our objectives. And we did not fail to explain them.

Already in 1965, I hoped, along with the entire Boscoville team, that our work would be systematically evaluated by research-evaluators, because I was aware of the effort made by the men and women who were devoting their professional skills to the reeducation of young delinquents; because I knew, too, the considerable sums - for those times - that society was investing in the Boscoville experiment, and the ultimate hope that our work held out to the youngsters and their parents. Why, then, in 1982, should we be disappointed with what has been done because the results of LeBlanc's study do not come up to all the expectations of the educators and the data that preliminary studies led us to anticipate?

I would like to succeed in convincing educators to read the following pages; doing so might make some of their expectations, even their ambitions, more realistic. But it should in no way take away their confidence in the potential of the youngsters in their charge, nor in the efforts they will continue to make to help them.

When parents - a mother, a father - think about their children's future giving free rein to their imagination, they often dream that their offspring will be very this or very that, and will become men and women of whom their parents can be proud. This attitude of the parents is even seen as essential to the development of the child. Unfortunate is the child who has not felt this type of dynamic ideal on the part of his parents, for says Jean Vanier, life will no doubt make the ideal more realistic.

During adolescence, when the young person makes personal choices, each one becomes what he can be. How many parents then have the impression that their children have not lived up to their dreams! Often much later, with the hindsight that a certain wisdom brings, these same parents discover inwardly that the important thing is what their children themselves have accomplished and not what they first dreamed of for them. However, no one can tell the influence their idealistic projections have on the accomplishments of their children.

Educators reading Marc LeBlanc's book are presented with other educators who have accomplished excellent work, who have created a milieu where, in spite of everything, life is good, who have initiated stimulating educational conditions, in short, who have made of Boscoville "a model perhaps unique in the world". They might come to the conclusion that this is what "great aspirations" can lead to!

But at the same time, they will see figures that show that these same educators were far too ambitious: their objectives were too high, too idealistic; their consistency is such that it may perhaps be seen as "rigidity", considering the impressive number of "clinical mortalities"; their very conception of delinquency and reeducation is far too abstract; they did not know the importance of following up the youngsters after they left a place where they were so well protected. In short, "The desired ideal fell short of concrete results that measured up to their ambitions".

Marc LeBlanc once remarked that the results of his study had put the educators on the defensive rather than arousing any doubts. They are evidently reassured when Edgar Morin writes that science too - like education - plays "the game of truth and error", adding:

"the history of science shows that scientific theories are ever-changing, that is, their

"validity is temporary. Consideration of data that has been overlooked and the emergence of new data, due to the progress in techniques of observation and experimentation, invalidate theories that have become inadequate and call for new ones".²

One must understand the educators. Those who have taken part or are still carrying on the Boscoville experiment, as well as many others, have had to fight numerous battles, first with themselves ("I'm o.k. as I am!") and finally with organizations ("we do too much for these young people!"). They now feel they have a new battle on their hands, a fight against the figures that would measure their effectiveness, or pseudo-effectiveness. And like the educator concluding a report of treatment whose results gave rise to numerous questions, they could say:

"The instruments of measurement used in research generally claim to give an accurate picture of the reality, but we are of the opinion that, in the social science field, at least, the time has not yet come when the complex inner changes that occur in the individual and that mark the stages of his development can be transposed into little mathematical symbols."³

We must be aware that Marc LeBlanc and his research team did not fall into the trap of "over-simplification"⁴ that would briefly

-
2. MORIN, Edgar (1981). Pour sortir du vingtième siècle, Fernand Nathan, P. 206.
 3. TETREAU, Elise (1982). Rapport d'expérience professionnelle, Ecole de Psycho-Education, Université de Montréal, p. 147.
 4. WATZLAWICK, P., HELMICK-BEAVIN, J., JACKSON, D. (1972) Une logique de la communication, Paris: Seuil.

reveal criminology's best side, where at last one answer had been found to this extremely complex human problem of the psycho-social education of juvenile delinquents.

He writes, in fact: "There have been no definitive answers to the questions we have dealt with in this book". The researcher does not present a final conclusion to a human experiment that reflects "the present state of scientific advancement and progress in clinical practice".

In spite of all the precautions that the author considered it wise to take, some readers, in a hurry to come to some conclusions, are in danger of simplifying far too much. I am thinking particularly, at this period of economic crisis, of certain administrators of public funds; perhaps they will try to find the reason in Marc LeBlanc's study that would immediately legitimize certain simplistic solutions - seemingly revolutionary - similar to those adopted in some northern American states.

Marc LeBlanc is a scientist; as such, he has a grave responsibility. It would have been easy for him to fan the flames of the latent battle between the so-called "level headed" and the "noble-hearted men and women". As the same educator I previously cited says in her report:

"Today, scientists and practitioners continue very often to see themselves as level-headed men and noble-hearted men, as engineers and poets, and in the writing of this report of treatment, we have not succeeded in escaping this scene of combat."⁵

5. TETRAULT, Elise, op. cit., p. 148

Marc has avoided this controversy in his research, and one feels throughout his volume his profound respect for the work of the practitioner. Will the practitioners, in turn, have enough respect to incorporate the work of the scientist in this period of the history of intervention and research, in order to assess it objectively and take from it whatever it may have to help the educator more effectively cope with these young people we call delinquents?

I would be remiss not to draw attention to a final paradox, one of the most intriguing: "specification of the target of the intervention".

"To include all young delinquents is perhaps a mistake. It seems to us that all our results show, and the analysis of the consequent paradoxes confirm, that Boscoville can obtain maximum effectiveness with certain juvenile delinquents; it will never be total under the best of conditions, but it can certainly go beyond the present level if Boscoville applies its method to the most appropriate group of young delinquents."⁶

The retraining would then be similar to an assembly line where a particular type of personality could be fitted in, but not another. I am not sure that the research is sufficiently advanced for us to be able to anticipate functioning only in this way. If there is a very high-level scientific, or even utopian, objective here that educators should nonetheless agree to consider, follow and evaluate in all honesty, there is also a danger - that of an extreme oversimplification of the complexity of reeducation.

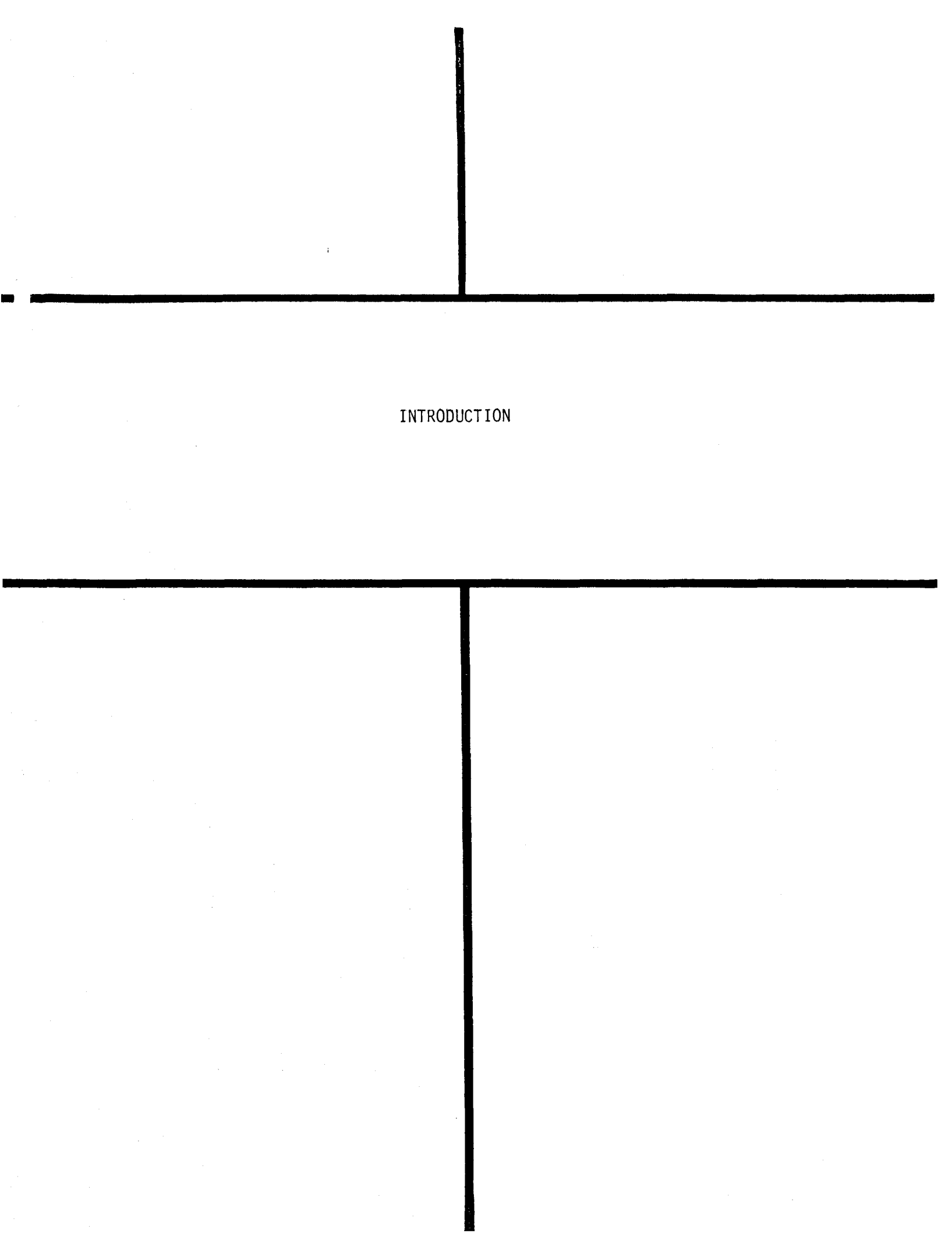
6. LEBLANC, Marc, The effectiveness of Reeducating Young Delinquents: Boscoville: A classic case.

"Boscoville", writes LeBlanc, "is a healthy environment. This ... simply means that there is a therapeutic potential, that the conditions are favourable to the personal development of the youngsters placed there and nothing more." In my opinion, then, the role of any educator is to see that there are the greatest number of conditions possible that are favourable to the development of young people and to guide and support them in their growth, first by sharing their experience and then giving them appropriate direction in their social integration. There his role and his responsibility end. The youngster's evolution can only come from him, especially when favourable outside conditions are ensured. I have nothing against the choice of a target-clientèle based on statistical studies, provided it is a matter of general orientation and not the expression of a determinist philosophy that would try to arrive simply at an appropriateness between the ideal subject and the environmental conditions, equally ideal, in which it would be placed.

We must admit that there is a certain conception of man here. If science can enlighten us concerning the conditions for effective intervention and, even further, on the delinquent himself, it will never be able to prevent educational guidance itself from being at all times a risk - the risk of being answered no when the best possible conditions have been set up to get a yes from the young.

This risk that every educator runs is in addition to the risk intrinsic to the profession of researcher. The researcher can have created all the conditions necessary for the reader to follow the logic of his approach, to understand the analysis of the results and accept the subsequent conclusions, but he has no power over the use the reader may make of this material. He can only hope that researchers and practitioners try a common reading of the reality of delinquency and together manage to distort it a little less.

Gilles Gendreau, psycho-educator



INTRODUCTION

Boscoville! Why so much interest in this centre for juvenile delinquents - this reeducation model praised by some and disparaged by others? Despite all controversies, the word Boscoville evokes a type of treatment that certainly enjoys prestige in criminological and specialized educational circles, whether European or North American.

Thus Boscoville has become a classic case that must be further analyzed, this time from a new angle. Not from the point of view of the designers and animators, the Gendreaus, Guindons, etc.; nor from the perspective of a statistical analysis based on the measure of recidivism, as Landreville or Petitclerc have done; even less from the viewpoint of visitors, who after a stay of several hours often base their reports on their first impressions, their emotions or even their ideologies. The analysis we present is a comprehensive evaluation made by an independent body, the Research Group on Juvenile Maladjustment, under the direction of persons whose training and experience can in no way be associated with psycho-education, and conducted with scientific methods based on statistics, sociology and psychology that are proper to neither criminology nor psycho-education.

The evaluation of Boscoville that we present comes at an opportune moment in the present debate between those who say it is possible to change young delinquents and those who hold that none of the known methods of intervention is effective. This was the major debate among the scientific community during the 1970's, a debate over the favourable position of Palmer and the unfavourable one at the Martinson boys' centre (See Martinson et al., 1976). The community of administrators, on the other hand, was torn between the abolitionists and the supporters of the training school, the former even succeeding in closing the large training centres in Massachusetts or at least having policies adopted to freeze the construction of residential centres or a law giving priority to keeping the child in his natural milieu, similar to the Quebec law on Youth Protection. Along with these upheavals among the scientists and administrators, the community

of educators was going through what Gendreau (1978) called the intervention crisis - an identity crisis where punishment and education are in conflict, where social and professional responsibility are the subject of controversy, where roles are considered insufficiently or too delimited.

In this context, a comprehensive evaluation of a typical case, such as Boscoville, seems useful in clarifying a debate that often is not based on scientific facts or is based on partial or biased data. Our evaluation is comprehensive because of the research plan, the definition of effectiveness used and the study of the relationship between effort and effectiveness.

Evaluations of residential centres for juvenile delinquents have always been based on the results obtained once the youngsters had left the centre, except for the works on Provo (Empey and Lubeck, 1971) and Silverlake (Empey and Erickson, 1972). Thus in most of the studies, it was impossible to assess the changes in conduct or personality because the point of reference had become absolute zero - the absence of recidivism. To remove the ambiguity and vulnerability of such a criterion, we adopted an approach that permitted a direct comparison of the conduct and personality of the young delinquents before and after their stay at the residence - the before-after experimental model.

In addition to adopting a comprehensive research plan, we decided to measure effectiveness by not only measuring the known recidivism, but also the personality before and after treatment, as well as the lifestyle and the deviant and delinquent behaviour before and after the stay in the training centre. These diverse and seldom used approaches to the assessment of effectiveness enable us to look at recidivism in terms of the protection of society, and from the point of view of the individual whose per-

sonality and/or conduct we have asked him to change - two indissociable facets of a comprehensive concept of effectiveness. Having done this, we were able to get out of the woods, where effectiveness is synonymous with the absence or presence of recidivism and where only the disappearance of the maladjustment will do, whereas the reality of life would lead us to expect simply a reduction of the delinquency. This perspective is all the more interesting in that it leads us to expect an improvement in the personality and a reduction in delinquent activity but not a radical change in personality or a total renouncement of the delinquency.

A new approach to the idea of effectiveness would not be complete without an adequate assessment of the effort put into achieving effectiveness. The major weakness of previous evaluations has been the focus on effectiveness without evaluating the quality of the effort made in terms of applying the theoretical model as well as the quality and humanity of the intervention. We propose to fill this gap by making an evaluation that will enable us to see more clearly the relationship between effort and effectiveness. In our opinion, this relationship is the cornerstone of any evaluative research.

In accepting the responsibility of evaluating Boscoville, we were fully conscious of having no more than a rudimentary knowledge of this training school. That is why the first question to arise was as elementary as: What is Boscoville? Assuming that most readers would not be more informed than we were, we have tried, in the first chapter, to present a theoretical model of Boscoville and its methods that does justice to what it proposes to do. This knowledge acquired, the question immediately comes to mind: Is the theoretical model applied? or what kind of treatment is given? This is the subject of the second chapter. To know what the theoretical model is and assess its application is to evaluate the effort;

but before going into the question of effectiveness, we wanted to know for whom and above all on whom the treatment is applied. To answer this, we have described the characteristics of the clientèle and how it is selected.

Once the theoretical model, its application, the quality of the treatment and the clientèle were known, we felt we were in a position to go into the matter of effectiveness; this takes up the next two chapters of the book. In chapter three, we deal with the central question regarding Boscoville: does it change the personality of the young delinquents? Chapter four concerns the permanency of these changes and effectiveness in terms of the protection of society. This is followed by a chapter of conclusions called "The Paradoxes of an Evaluation"; these are thoughts about the often contradictory results that emerge throughout this book and their consequences for administrators and practitioners.

Our approach is complex and the results are not simple. This is perhaps the unfortunate effect of an evaluation that seeks to be as comprehensive as possible but could still not be exhaustive. But before beginning, let us remember that the subject of this book is Boscoville, theory and practice from 1974 to 1979, the last time any social science research has been done here. However, it is reasonable to suppose that the centre has not changed very much since the research was done and that the latter would not vary much in the space of ten years or so.

CHAPTER I

A MILIEU, ITS METHODS, AND

REEDUCATION PROCESS: THEORETICAL MODEL AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The present chapter, as its title indicates, is a description of Boscoville as a reeducation centre. More particularly, it serves to depict the young delinquent who is resident there and presents the theoretical concept underlying Boscoville's treatment of maladjusted youngsters. The theoretical model's objective is total reeducation and it proposes an approach called milieu therapy. This revolves around three sources of influence, three types of methods; first the human resources, the educators and groups of young people; next the technical means, the activities and therapeutic procedures; finally the evaluation of behaviour and the system of responsibility that specifies the rights, duties and sanctions. Milieu therapy of this type cannot be implemented without a specific physical and organizational setting; therefore our presentation of Boscoville will begin with its structure.

Why are we describing Boscoville at such length when the subject of this book is the evaluation of its effectiveness? It is necessary because of our evaluative perspective. Too many studies give the results of the effectiveness of such and such a treatment without our knowing the exact nature of the treatment concerned and the specifics of the underlying theoretical framework. That is the first reason. The second reason is of a methodological nature; it seems to us inadequate to come to any conclusion about the success or failure of Boscoville without first answering whether or not Boscoville applies the principles and methods it lays claim to. This chapter lists the theories, principles and methods that Boscoville claims to use, particularly concerning the process of reeducation, and verifies the use made of the theoretical model, namely whether or not the residents really develop according to this process which stipulates that the young person go through four stages or reeducation.

I. The origins of Boscoville

The Boscoville Centre is now 30 years old (it had passed its 20th year when we started its evaluation). It officially opened its doors in 1954 when it took possession of its present premises, built with funds granted by the government at that time; however it started as a summer camp for underprivileged young boys. The camp was opened in 1939, thanks to the support of the Congrégation des Pères de Sainte-Croix, and gradually began to accept young delinquents from the Montreal Social Welfare Court. This history has been admirably recorded by the historian Rumilly (1978) and needs no further comment. However, we feel it is important to recall the sources and the types of assistance to youth that inspired Boscoville.

We may say first of all that in Quebec at that time, outside of a reform school, orphanages and prison, there were no real rehabilitation services or any philosophy of assistance to young delinquents. In this context, the objectives of rehabilitation advocated by Boscoville were truly revolutionary. Furthermore, the methods of rehabilitation, which would finally become reeducation, had several sources.

On the one hand, Father Roger, the founder of Boscoville, was greatly inspired by the example of Don Bosco and by the experiment of the American Boys' Town. The devoted work of Don Bosco guided the young priest and the name of Boscoville is eloquent evidence of this. He visited Boys' Towns, in full expansion, whose organization in the form of a village with its buildings, its services, its own government, its self-sufficient food supply and its programme of sports, schooling and trade apprenticeship offered a model that profoundly marks the orientation that Father Roger gave Boscoville's development.

On the other hand, the personality and experience of the counsellors and lay educators who were recruited were a dominant factor in the development of the concept of reeducation and the methods established to help the young delinquents. The first educators (Gendreau, Lapointe, etc.) had experience in scouting and in Catholic Action (J.E.C.) which undeniably marked the organization of the life at Boscoville as did their behaviour and attitudes toward the youngsters and to life itself. A little later, Boscoville felt the influence of the Institute of Psychology of the University of Montreal where many of its animators received their training, and whose Father Noel Mailloux constantly participated in the treatment at Boscoville, principally as director of psycho-therapy. In this way social science theories and facts, particularly psychology, were gradually and solidly integrated in the concept of reeducation that developed and in the methods used to achieve the transformation of juvenile delinquents.

By 1973, when the directors of Boscoville asked us to undertake a comprehensive evaluation of the centre, the latter, after twenty years, had reached maturity. The staff was in complete possession of its resources - a stated theory, a smoothly running programme and trained personnel. Boscoville had achieved a combination of dedication and science, a human approach and a rigorous method. It is Boscoville from 1973 to 1979 that we present.

II. The setting

The buildings Boscoville occupies today were built in 1954 and are situated in a moderately urbanized area of the Island of Montreal, about twenty kilometers from the centre of the city. The centre is accessible by public transportation in spite of its distance from the city. However, it is isolated from residential areas, the buildings being separated from the citizens of Rivière-des-Prairies by several hundred metres of woods and fields.

The centre comprises about a dozen buildings used for lodging, administration, sports, etc. There are no security measures at Boscoville other than wire mesh on the windows of the observation buildings and the constant presence of the educators among the residents. At night the educators are replaced by security guards.

At the centre of Boscoville is a building called the city hall, around which are distributed the students' living quarters. The city hall houses the management, the administrative services and professional services (social work, psychology, psychiatry, education and programme), the chaplain, the infirmary, the assembly halls, an art room and communal cafeteria where the residents and educators take their meals. Close to the city hall is the science laboratory, the ceramics studio, the sports centre, which has a swimming pool and gymnasium, as well as other services, such as the maintenance shop, the laundry, etc.

At Boscoville, the living units are called "residences"; each can house up to 16 boys and its personnel generally comprises a coordinator, five educators, several field workers and a night watchman. The first floor includes a room for academic activities, called the workroom, a living room, music room and two offices. The second floor contains the boys' dormitory, an isolation chamber and an educator's office. During our research, we found that the furnishings and environment of the quarters were not shabby or run-down and our visits to the various residences led us to conclude that they are clean and neat.

Slightly behind the residences, at the bottom of a slope but opposite the main entrance to Boscoville, are the two observation residences, called the suburbs. Unlike the five other residences, they have individual rooms. The stay here is usually eight weeks, during which the team of the suburbs proceeds with a psycho-educative and psychological observation of the youngsters and their acclima-

tization to the life at Boscoville.

III. The organizational framework

A specific conception of reeducation, such as that of Boscoville, is not expressed by only a statement of principles and theoretical formulations; it is conveyed first and foremost through the training cycle and regime it adopts, by the structures and the distribution of tasks and responsibilities it prefers, and even by the personnel it selects.

1. The cycle and regime of life

A young delinquent's stay at Boscoville is of an undetermined duration; however, experience and tradition have shown the following parameters. The normal stay is approximately two years, divided as follows: observation in the suburbs lasts eight weeks and is part of the first phase; acclimatization usually extends over a period of twelve weeks; then there is the control phase of about twenty-eight weeks' duration, followed by the general efficiency phase, usually thirty-two weeks long; finally, there is the personality phase that extends over about twenty-eight weeks.

When a youngster arrives, he is integrated in the annual cycle, which is composed of three periods: autumn, called group I, from mid-September to Christmas; winter, group II, from the beginning of January to May, and summer, group III, from May to September. The latter is divided in two, one phase centred on athletics in May and June, and one on outdoor activities in July and August. Each of these phases is devoted to a particular sport; for example, in the autumn there is intensive football practice, in winter cross-country skiing, in the spring, athletics and in summer, canoe trips, bicycle trips, etc. These periods each have their own cultural activities;

for example, in winter the accent is on dramatic arts (theatre, mime). In addition to these specific activities at certain periods, there are very important continuing activities: work (academic studies), the studio (pottery, ceramics, etc.).

Between each of these periods there are so-called vacation times, a few days at home or in an appropriate environment, on condition that the youngster's family is able and willing to have him and that the educators think these vacations will do him no harm. These holidays consist of about ten days at the beginning of September, two weeks at Christmas, a week at Easter and ten days during July. Each resident has a specific allotment of holiday time. Added to this are Sundays and week-ends depending on the stage the youngster has reached, the availability and/or proximity of his home, and on his own potential, all based on a decision of his team in consultation with the boy.

The training cycle is based on a daily routine which is generally as follows:

7.45 A.M.	- Getting up
8.00 to 8.30 A.M.	- Breakfast
8.30 to 9.00 A.M.	- Cleaning the residence
9.00 to 12.00 A.M.	- Work (individualized school work at the residence)
12.00 to 1.00 P.M.	- Lunch

The afternoon is devoted to four periods of different activities, but determined by the current phase of the annual cycle and carried out in an order that varies according to the schedule of the different residences, for example:

1.15 to 2.30	- Sports (gymnasium, pool...)
2.30 to 3.45	- Projects (theatre, film...)
3.45 to 4.30	- Studio (pottery...)
4.30 to 5.45	- Group comments
6.00 to 7.00	- Supper

The organization of the evening depends on the programme established jointly by the residents and the educators. Free time (television, listening to music, cards, parlour games) generally alternates with organized activities (sports, competitions between residences, etc.). Bed-time is 10.00 P.M.

2. Organization

The smooth running of a residential centre like Boscoville requires mechanisms for decision-making, a network of communications, supervision procedures and job definitions. These are significant indicators of the conception of reeducation and clearly shows the importance given to the task of helping young delinquents in a concrete way. Three essential aspects of Boscoville's organization are its general organization, its reeducational organization and its decision-making committees. (This description was based on the following documents: Boscoville: organization plan (1973), Ducharme (1974) and Baulne (1974).

The main components of Boscoville can be represented by a series of concentric circles. The category of the persons occupying the outside circle are directly influenced by the decisions and policies established by the preceding circle.

The centre circle includes the members of the administration board: the director general, the director of professional services, the director of group life, the director of administrative services and the director of the psycho-educational programme.

The next circle designates the coordinators of everything outside the residences, those who plan the various activities for the entire establishment. They are the person responsible for social service, the coordinator of para-educational activities, the

coordinator for the creation of psycho-educational material and other posts connected with training and health.

The third circle also includes coordinators, but this time, they are responsible for life in the reeducation residences and the suburbs. As their title indicates, they co-ordinate the work of the personnel in the residence placed under their authority, support them in their work, direct and guide them. Each is animator of the clinical committee of his unit; he supervises the work of the educators; he directs the meetings of all the participants from his residence. He meets with the pupils; he makes the decisions that are necessary regarding reeducation; he encourages the professional development of the personnel; he answers for the reeducation of the pupils entrusted to his unit.

The fourth circle is composed of the team of educators for the residences namely, the five psycho-educators of each residence, the internes and fieldworkers. The last circle contains the subjects in reeducation.

To complete this picture, a word must be said about Boscoville's civic organization. The City Council, headed by the director of group life, meets regularly at the city hall to discuss the rules and activities at Boscoville. Each residence is represented by an elected alderman, with the exception of the suburbs. Through their alderman, the residences can state their point of view concerning the different questions on the agenda. The alderman will give a report of the discussions held and decision taken at the next civic meeting of the residence, which takes place once a week with all its personnel, educators and residents, participating.

The organization of the residences is similar to that of all Boscoville. There is continuity between the professional and reeducational services, group life and the daily routine section of

the residence. The section on regulations is under the authority of the director of programmes at the city hall, and of the planning committee for programmes and activities. Their directives are passed on to the residence by the latter's activities committees which try to standardize the objectives sought by the team of educators in the boys' various activities, and to the residence committee where the events are supervised by the coordinator and the alderman (the residence council). The residence council is under the authority of the city council.

Clinical decisions for the residences are supervised from the city hall by the director of group life and the clinical executive committee, which evaluates the psycho-social and psycho-educational aspects of each case. This work cannot be done without the recording of data based on the observation of life in the residences. A person responsible for the clinical records is charged with coordinating this work in each of the residences. These observations will go to the clinical committees of the residences for the purpose of preparing the periodical case studies of the clinical executive committee and other clinical committees at the city hall. The person in charge of the clinical aspects also has the job of making a synthesis of the observations of activities and free time, and of the evaluations of activities and individual daily meetings. These will be the basic clinical material on which to evaluate the progress of the youngsters, that is, their capability, meaning their acquisition of what is required at each phase of their reeducation.

Those responsible for the sections participate with the adolescents in the civic meeting of the residence, where the results of the activities, the coming events and clinical decision are analyzed and discussed.

An organization as closely knit, but also as complex, as that of Boscoville can experience difficulties of communication, due to

role conflicts and partial or distorted messages. This is why mechanisms are necessary to foster the flow of information, and these mechanisms are the committees.

The educators of Boscoville are closely linked with one another by numerous committees where decisions of all kinds are made, where the intervention of the psycho-educators is coordinated and supervised, where information about the youngsters, the activities and regulations is circulated. The fifteen committees surveyed can be divided into two groups: support committees and committees concerned with reeducation and regulations (for a detailed description of these committees, consult Cusson and Ducharme, 1974).

If consistency is the first distinguishing feature of Boscoville's organization, participation is another, for each psycho-educator participates in several committees of various levels and having different functions. The boys are also participants in certain of the structures. This participation is much more than just a presence, as our observations show, particularly with regard to the clinical executive committee (see Legendre, 1975) and the general coordinating committee (see Ménard, 1976). But participation and consistency often mean unwieldiness and indecision. The unwieldiness, although it exists, is reduced by the fact that participation and tasks are distributed among all the psycho-educators of the residences. The work load of these committees does not fall to only a few persons so that each educator devotes only about six hours of his thirty-seven hour week to committee work. As to the consequences in terms of indecision, these can be verified more readily vis-à-vis Boscoville as a whole than at the residence level (see Ménard, 1976) and Descoteaux et al., 1979).

IV. A conception of the juvenile delinquent and his reeducation

The choice of personnel and organizational staff immediately conveys a certain conception of reeducation. All the more so, since for the Boscoville team, the goal of reeducation is to completely

"humanize" the delinquent adolescent. But this is obviously not sufficient to give a complete idea of this establishment's conception of reeducation. Let us now see how the young delinquent is conceived at Boscoville.

1. Representation of the young delinquent

Underlying every system of reeducation there is always a certain conception of the juvenile delinquent; his characteristics and problems are described more or less explicitly, and in detail. At Boscoville, not much attention is paid to this, although numerous case descriptions are available and clear references are often made to psychoanalytical writings (Aichorn, Redl, Bettelheim) and to the psychology of the ego (Erickson, Rappoport). However, there are very few works that have presented the young delinquent and his characteristics systematically.

It was Father Noel Mailloux who, in his book "Jeunes sans dialogue" (1971) gave us the conception of the young delinquent adopted and used by Boscoville. The originality of the description put forward lies not so much in its list of traits and special characteristics as in its synthesis and the connection it makes between these traits and characteristics and human development, particularly that of the adolescent. For Mailloux, delinquency is the obvious manifestation of a latent pathological condition that in no way damages the rationality of the individuals concerned.

Let us look at some of the major traits that these young delinquents of sixteen to twenty-one years of age have in common, according to Mailloux (1971, pp. 83 to 117): "a shameful image of themselves" which is covered up by a "mask of bravado and complete moral insensibility". This negative self-image, which leads to the "compulsion to keep on", is reinforced by the people around them who have always considered them "incorrigibles" and "black sheep", who would "end up on the gallows".

Added to this is a narcissistic attitude that prevents them right away from forming any durable, amicable and trusting relationships (p. 104) and a "general aversion to social activities" (p. 105), in particular, to school activities; and so they use the gang to protect themselves against the disapproval of those around them and their own conscience (p. 110). Finally, there is a process of dissociation which alienates them forever from the milieus that would be prepared to integrate them in their ranks: the family, school, church, sports organizations, the working world (p. 112).

If these traits enable us to get an idea of Boscoville's conception of the young delinquent, they give us to understand that delinquency has but one characteristic dynamic, the one described. There are not several types or several dynamics of delinquency, at least in the literature we have consulted.

2. A therapeutic milieu

The reeducation of a young delinquent, whose essential characteristics have just been described, can only be accomplished in a total environment. This is the cornerstone of Boscoville's conception of reeducation; this idea is expressed in the phrase, attributed to Erickson: "A whole world, to be whole in". The same global approach is conveyed in the following extract from the "Cahiers du dixième anniversaire":

"Every individual should be considered an entity in time. The humanities have shown that, without question, a person develops by integrating successively all the strengths and weaknesses acquired at each stage of his evolution. To understand the idea of reeducation, we must consider it from the genetic and dynamic point of view, and it is thus that the educators of Boscoville, in their training, have tried to study the child from the emotional as well as the cognitive side.

"This effort led to the following conclusion: any psycho-educational strategy used in the reeducation of the delinquent individual should be total. This is one of the first principles necessary to an educator of young delinquents. Experience in reeducation confirms that the dynamic approach of affectivity must be completed by a genetic study of the cognitive and physical functioning". (Boscoville, 1964, p. 5).

A total milieu is one where the person is bound to his whole environment through constant interaction with the other elements of the milieu. According to Gendreau and Paulhus (1967), the training centre seems to be the total milieu that most completely answers these conditions because of its particular spatio-temporal properties.

Furthermore, this training centre must be more than a total milieu, it must also be therapeutic. This is why Boscoville presents itself as a sort of milieu therapy or continuing group psychotherapy that is based on its daily activities. Boscoville's identity as a total therapeutic milieu is established on the basis of a clear awareness of its goals and the methods it uses, whereby particular attention is given to what its subjects are, what they were and what they are in their new environment, as well as to the content of the experiences the youngsters should have, either in terms of the values to be transmitted, the content of the activities proposed or in terms of how to develop interpersonal relationships.

It is also a social environment in that there is an ongoing relationship between the boys themselves and with the adults. Finally, as Gendreau and Paulhus (1967) state, every environment is not educative in itself, it is basically the stabilizing factor that makes an environment a resocializing agent. This stabilizing factor is established to the extent that the milieu is dealing with a category of groups that have a specific identity and accepts appropriate individuals, to the extent that it uses a process of reeducation adapted to the potentialities and needs of the young delinquents, and that its methods are appropriate and truly implemented.

V. Retraining methods

Reeducation, to be total, requires the conception and use of methods that are both universal and integrated. By retraining methods, is meant all the procedures and instruments used to reeducate the young delinquents.

These methods are universal because they seek to answer all the internal and external needs of the youngsters. They are the environmental and organizational framework in conjunction with a specific conception of reeducation; and the latter determines the choice and content of the particular measures that concern the type of life offered the pensioners and that ensure attention to each one's personal situation. The means used are also integrated in the sense that each is based on the same philosophy and works toward the same general objective, at the same time being individualized according to the needs of each young delinquent.

The means of action can be classified according to three groups: the human resources, that is, the educators and peer groups; the technical means that include the various activities and therapies; and finally, the administration, those responsible for defining the tasks, rights, duties and sanctions. These three sub-groups of the means of action are essential to the reeducation process, but the human resources have a place apart in the process of reeducation, if only because of their constant presence. This is a continuous element in reeducation, whereas the technical means are used intermittently, as for example, group therapy, which takes place once a week, or vary constantly in content, as in the diverse activities: sports, ceramics, school work, etc.

These three sub-groups of the means of action constitute three interdependent sources of influence that are exercised over the youngster in order to help him develop. The human resources are the main agent of this evolution, particularly the educators who, thanks to their

personality and training, are the principal agents in the transformation of the young person. The group, the social milieu in which the youngster is immersed, is no less important; it introduces him to the social side of life thanks to its structure, tradition, atmosphere, rules and values. The activities are another basic source of influence, where the youngster is trained and which, by their diversity - physical, mental, cultural - give the youngster an opportunity to experience new areas of stimulation and self worth. The system of responsibility, for its part, helps the young person to know where he is going (the objectives) what he has to do (tasks and duties), what he can expect from the life at Boscoville (rights) and the consequences of his acts (sanctions).

The human resources, technical means and system of responsibility work together to develop the young delinquent. The educators organize and direct the activities and animate the social life of each group of boys. The activities give the educator an opportunity to develop a relationship with the youngster and, through them, succeed in helping the latter evolve. The group enables the educator to be accepted by the youngster and supports the work he is doing. The system of responsibility shows the young person the limits to what he must and must not do and allows the educator a recognized and precise framework. One without the other, these means of influence would be ineffective; Boscoville would be crippled.

As Gendreau (1966) firmly states, reeducation is not improvised, nor is it based on good intentions or an educator/adolescent relationship; it is an undertaking that demands meticulous organization of the work of the educator and a systematic and coordinated use of all the means available. In the following pages, we will describe the two means of influence, the technical and administrative resources, leaving the human resources for a subsequent chapter, since the educators and the group are the outstanding components of the reeducation process.

1. The technical means

The technical means can be classed as two sub-groups: the educational activities devoted to developing the capabilities of the residents and the therapeutic activities, more specifically, psychological treatment. The first comprises the schoolwork, the studio (ceramics), sports, projects and recreation whereas the second includes group therapy, weekly meetings and individual interviews.

1a. Educational activities

At Boscoville, the educational activities, in the sense of teaching children, are conceived in accordance with the characteristics of the young delinquent: many of these youngsters have psychological problems that cause mental blocks and failures, particularly at the school level. These problems, moreover, help maintain the young delinquent's negative self-image and reinforce his conviction that he is incapable of doing anything worthwhile. Taking this conception of the young delinquent's difficulties into account, the activities have several functions.

The first is to give the youngster an opportunity to succeed in his tasks and thus discover his true capabilities. This discovery in turn helps him to form a positive identity (see Boscoville, 1964). The more positive these experiences, the more the youngster will be encouraged to pursue the values Boscoville wants to instil in him and assimilate them by practicing them in the various activities.

The second necessary function is to give the young delinquent a rational approach and effective skills (Guindon, 1970), since he is believed to have fallen behind intellectually.

The academic activities should meet three conditions to achieve the above objectives. First, they should create a profound interest, that is, an interest centred on the need of each individual to evolve normally (Boscoville, 1964). Once the interest is aroused, it can mobilize the youngster's energy; it will prompt him to take initiatives, to become involved in the action proposed and will then permit the integration of the subject's emotional and intellectual functioning. The second condition necessary for the activities to be reeducative is respect for the pace of each member of the group, taking into account their individual differences (Boscoville, 1964). The activities, then, should be activities of individual apprenticeship; they are planned to take into account the pace of each resident, his aptitudes, the level of his development, of his intellectual functioning and all the factors that can affect his progress.

The third condition essential to the organization of the activities is:

"to facilitate the pupil's contact with an understanding and competent educator who will give the student the emotional support he needs to meet such or such a difficulty. In this way, the educator can effectively help the maladjusted youngster to gain self-realization and develop according to his own abilities; his role would be to inspire more than teach."
(Boscoville, 1964, p. 17).

A perspective of this kind presupposes a respect for each one's pace, a good relationship between the educator and the youngster, and a high level of motivation on the part of the latter. To achieve these, the young person must not be thought of as inert and receptive and the educator the person who teaches and commands. The youngster must be able to take the initiative in the execution of tasks and the educator should be the one to animate and encourage.

In such a system, the educator awakens the interest of the young person, encourages him to take initiatives, to create, to choose, to make provisions; he must discover for himself the best way to resolve his problems in terms of efficiency. During moments of experimentation, the educator encourages, supports and guides the youngster. To do this, he has to be attentive to the young person's needs, and his help available at all times. However, the educator does not have to abdicate all authority; this depends on his understanding of the young delinquents, his technical skill and his relationship with the youngsters.

Having defined the functions and conditions necessary for the teaching activities, Boscoville's integrated programme of activities is made up of all the learning situations and daily schedules offered to individuals or groups. At Boscoville, it is described as follows:

"It is a structural and dynamic ensemble involving a certain number of specialists having specific roles and tasks, a content of well-organized, structured steps, with a view to the general and specific goals desired with appropriate means to relate them, the whole in a logical context and a given temporal framework. The three complementary components are organization, animation and utilization."
(Gendreau cited by Bilodeau, 1973, p. 1).

The structural whole that constitutes an activity, then, is an ensemble of ten components: the subjects, the objectives, the content, the didactic methods, spatial context, temporal context, system of responsibilities, code and procedures, evaluation and personnel. We refer the reader to Gendreau (1978) for more details concerning the definitions of the components and their organization, as well as for practical examples.

Boscoville offers its young boys an annual programme of activities. It includes a variety of learning situations while maintaining a stable way of life and ensuring a diversified pace. First of all, each period of the annual cycle has a particular objective: in the autumn the intellectual aspects, in winter self-expression, in spring and summer physical development. These objectives, specific to each period, determine the activities concentrated on particularly; school work and general knowledge (history, geography, etc.) for the intellectual aspect; projects (theatre, mime, etc.) and gymnastics for self-expression, and athletics and open air activities for physical development. In addition to the special focus activities, the regular activities ensure the stability of everyday life; they usually take place daily (studio, sports, ...) or at least weekly (hours for reflection, certain sports, etc.). To these two types of activities must be added complementary ones that are much more intermittent (outings, entertainments, cultural recreation). This integrated programme includes a second group of activities, peripheral in the sense that they occupy much less time - therapy (group therapy, individual meetings) and the civic activities that will be discussed in other sections. Finally, there are the vital activities that include maintenance of the residences and the surroundings and meeting essential needs (clothing, food). Let us now look at the activities chosen to make reeducation possible and how the above principles are incorporated in them. We shall deal successively with the school work, the studio, sports activities, projects, general knowledge, recreation and free time.

School work

The school or academic activities are the cornerstone of Boscoville's programme of activities. Architecturally, a large section of each residence is set aside for it; at least five half-days are devoted to it, not counting the leisure hours and free time a youngster chooses to devote to it; from the conceptual point of view, it is in this activity that certain fundamental principles of the educative work are realized: individualization, the young person's participation in his reeducation and his gradual progress due to specific objectives or challenges.

The content and form of the studies are developed on the basis of two findings; a good many young delinquents, in spite of normal intelligence, have fallen behind in school and most of them resist school as experienced by adolescents in general. These clinical observations of Boscoville's animators are confirmed by our research data concerning the population admitted during 1974 and 1975; 63% of the youngsters had fallen behind in their schoolwork by at least a year, and 68% had already left school permanently (42%) or temporarily (26%) at the time they entered Boscoville, which means they were between 14 and 16 years of age. Furthermore, it was learned through the interviews that the school life of the youngsters at Boscoville had been more difficult and more disrupted than that of other young delinquents (for more details on the school experiences of the youngsters admitted to Boscoville, see LeBlanc and Meilleur, 1979).

Considering these difficulties, intellectual pursuits seemed essential to total reeducation. The studies are

"meant to enable the youngster to establish ties with people (peers, educators) and with the world of reality by acquiring intellectual knowledge that is organized with a view to developing the acquisition of logical thought that can be communicated and to promote an ever-increasing knowledge of reality and how to relate to reality".
(Gaudreau, 1973, p. 6).

The schooling, then, cannot be simply a matter of teaching, the transmission of a subject, a knowledge, an idea, a technique. It is the relating of a subject to an object in the context of life, as expressed so well by Julien (1972).

This requires an active method, one that permits the young person to be intellectually and emotionally active in confronting the idea to be absorbed; he must be able to play a role in the process. That is why the system of cards seemed to be the instrument

that could make the participation of the young person possible; he thus becomes the architect of his own instruction and training with the help of a competent and understanding educator. It is the youngster's own work, then, his own thinking and experiences that enable him to understand and achieve something. To this end, the academic activities furnish the student with work that requires thought, with precise facts to support his thinking, without which he cannot succeed, according to Julien (1972). It is this success, this discovery of new resources, this personal way of behaving that is sought by Boscoville when speaking of self-realization. To achieve this success, the system of teaching is individualized and graded; it respects each person's pace, taking into account the past history of the youngster and variations in perception and learning ability. It enables the pupil to absorb qualitatively and develop according to his own resources and future projects. The instrument of this progress is the card system.

The card, as an educational instrument, gives the young person a problem to solve, describes the operations that can lead to the solution and suggests exercises where the operations learned can be applied. The card, then, is the basis of the system; it represents the immediate goals to attain, and its correction enables the youngster to see his mistakes and verify his progress. The card remains in the possession of the pupil and serves as a reference for the exercises, tests and reviews that precede the exams.

The cards are collected and grouped according to subject (grammar, mathematics, literature). Each collection represents a year of schooling and the pupil can organize his work by putting together the subjects he likes in a collection and adopting a pace that suits him, increasing or decreasing it at certain times. Each collection is also divided into sessions, a session being the equivalent of a normal school semester, and into periods, which are a functional group of ideas. Each period can include a variable number of cards depending on the difficulty and complexity of the ideas to be assimilated.

The cards, periods, sessions and collections are all gauges that enable both youngsters and educators to assess the former's progress and to determine what course to follow, thus maintaining constant motivation. The work to be done, as proposed by the card, is not determined by any time factor. Thus the youngster does not feel pressured to go beyond his own pace and does not have the impression that he is wasting his time if he has a lively intelligence.

Although there are many advantages to this type of card system for the youth's reeducation, the fact remains that keeping it up to date is not easy, for after several years it becomes dated. Its updating is complex and difficult and it is impossible to offer all the subjects that are available in a high school. It is generally recognized that:

"none of these programmes (collection), even though conceived to give the same subject matter as in the regular schools, are the equivalent of outside programmes in every respect."
(Belisle, 1973, p. 3).

During school hours in the morning, each boy takes the card he is at, studies the problem and does the suggested exercises. Each works individually, in silence, in the room reserved for the purpose in the residence. If he has any difficulty, he can consult the educator in attendance who will help him with the problem. The educator is more than a consultant; he organizes, animates and makes use of every opportunity to stimulate the interest of his charges.

The educator/professor must first organize the work, that is, furnish the material, classify it, correct the cards and transmit the results. Even more, he must animate his charges to relate to the knowledge on the cards; this support, adapted to both the circumstances and the individual, must be accompanied by understanding, acceptance and assistance. He must become a person of significance for the pupil, while maintaining all the authority and prestige of his profession.

He must also use the occasion to exploit the activity educationally, or make sure that the experience leads to an awareness that can stimulate further progress. Thus the role of educator/professor makes it possible to reach the personality of the young person, not simply impart knowledge. We shall have occasion to verify whether or not the educator truly plays this role in its fullest sense.

Schooling, then, seems to be the activity which, while occupying the greatest amount of time (30% of the schedule), has made it possible to operationalize the fundamental principles of psycho-education: self-realization, respect for the individual's pace, participation of the young person, gradation of the procedures, the integration of specific and general objectives. It is the cornerstone of the programme of activity, but its equivalence to the regular high school programme is far from being achieved, as Boscoville itself admits.

The studio

The studio is the site of the activity to promote artistic expression; it accounts for 10% of the schedule and the principal medium used is ceramics, a choice which when made during the fifties was an innovation for a reeducation centre. This activity is practiced five days a week for an hour a day in premises especially designed for this kind of activity. Although a whole gamut of products can be tried (prints, paintings, jewelry, sculptures, etc.), it is pottery that is used to develop the youngster in his learning experience. With the help of unsophisticated techniques that he will gradually learn to master, he will make earthenware containers of all kinds and for many uses, objects that require materials and instruments that are easy to handle.

The programme for this activity is based on a system of challenges at different stages. At each stage there is a series of pieces to be made according to specified form and techniques that become more

and more complex. The stages are arranged so that as the youngster progresses, he is allowed more initiative, more creativity and autonomy. When a boy arrives at Boscoville, his first introduction to this kind of activity is making a clay ashtray. As time goes on, he will make a whole series of functional objects whose fabrication presents difficulties that have been gradated; at first he will produce these objects in a single session, but later on, planning will be necessary.

Ceramics, like the schooling, applies the principles of individualization, participation and gradation. It gives the youngster the opportunity to create, to express himself; it obliges him to overcome the difficulties of achievement, as Guindon (1970) points out, and enables him to discover his aptitudes. But the studio introduces an additional dimension, and that is the free disposal of his work; he can keep the piece, give it as a present, sell it himself or have it sold by the "Cooperative des Studios". Furthermore, some knowledge of the history of the arts and about ancient artifacts, is incorporated in this activity, relating it to our cultural heritage.

In short, at the studio the youngster learns to master a material, clay, and also techniques; he discovers for himself the relation between effort and the result obtained; he learns to plan and to express himself creatively and autonomously.

Sports

Physical activity occupies an important place in Boscoville's programme of reeducation. An hour a day is devoted to a particular sports activity, usually gymnastics in one form or another, and at other times (evenings, week-ends, free time) group sports are practiced, more or less intensively depending on the periods of the annual cycle. A total of about a quarter of the schedule is devoted to physical

activity. These sports serve to develop the physical aptitudes of the youngsters, and even to restore or maintain their health. They also serve to develop the boys' ego, to channel their aggressive impulses and teach them to respect the social rules. Actually, at Boscoville (Potvin, 1973), it is believed that physical activity engages the entire person, that mastery of the body is the necessary basis for intellectual or verbal forms of self-assertion and that it is essential for a mastery of objects and tools.

Because of these principles, Boscoville has adequate lands and premises to meet the above objectives: a recreation centre with a large gymnasium, a stadium and indoor swimming pool. It looks out on a slope with grounds for team sports and a training field. Boscoville also has all the accessories needed, from canoes and bicycles to various kinds of sportsballs and sports equipment.

Although gymnasium is a daily activity, the other sports change with the seasons: football (September-October), basketball and handball (November, December, January), gymnastics with apparatus and cross-country skiing (January, February, March), soccer (April, May, June), athletics (June, July), outdoor activities: bicycle trips, portages (August) and swimming (all year). During recreation and free time, other sports can be practiced: indoor hockey, ping-pong, softball, archery, swimming, diving.

In order to maintain interest, challenges are offered the individual or the group. However, individual capacities and pace are taken into account by the educators. Competition (certificates, medals, challenges) tends to arouse interest and participation in healthy competition gives the individual an opportunity to appreciate the performance of another (individual or team) and to use this performance to improve his own (Potvin, 1973).

Other activities

The acquisition of general knowledge alternates, in the annual programme, with projects. They complement the schooling and stress social and political life. Thus, a few hours a week, for several weeks, the youths engage in work that allows them to make the connection between people and society, its social, economic and political institutions. They name various social institutions and different types of social organizations, place them historically, look for the values they uphold and their relation to individuals. The object is not simply the acquisition of knowledge about society and how it functions but also to provide a true community enterprise (parliament-school).

Projects that last a whole season have the same objective, to work toward a common goal. These include theatre, mime, film, books. The project generally has two phases: its conception, together with an historical study of the domain selected, and its execution (distribution of the tasks, rehearsals, etc.). Each one's tasks are distributed according to the stage of reeducation attained and the capabilities of the youngster. The object is to teach the boys to be productive and familiarize them with a means of expression often unknown to them. In another respect, as Guindon (1970) points out, working together increases the cohesion and identity of the group and enables the youngster to fulfill a task that is considered worthwhile both by him and by his peers.

The system provides for periods of free time in which the young people can read, listen to music, practice a hobby, and so on, periods when sports, artistic and cultural clubs are organized by the youngster, and periods of outside activities when the boys leave Boscoville (go to a film, a sports event, etc.) or meet with people from the outside (a dance, for example). All these activities are contingent on the

supervision of the educators and the participation and initiative of the young people. They are intended to help the youngsters integrate with the surrounding community as well as initiate them in the healthy use of free time.

1b. Therapeutic activities

Often called support at Boscoville, the therapeutic activities complement the programme of school activities. Specific psychological procedures are used - group therapy, individual sessions and interviews as required. Although Boscoville is a milieu therapy, these procedures are supplementary - group dynamics for group therapy and individual interviews for the personal approach.

Group therapy

At Boscoville, group therapy has always been associated with the name of Father Noël Mailloux, a clinical psychologist, who used to meet with each group for an hour each week. Although initially these meetings were to gather research data on the adjustment problems that had been the cause of the young person's delinquency, they rapidly became a means of treatment. They have become occasions for externalizing the group's problem, seen as difficulty in relating to both educators and peers. The focus is on the personality of the group, on trying to make it aware of itself, its evolution, its conflicts and successes (see also Mailloux, 1971).

In addition to group therapy, there is an hour a week of reflection under the direction of the chaplain, a time for the youngster to stop and think about the meaning of life and the search for life's values. It is not a period of active therapy, but an occasion for discussions of a moral and religious nature.

Individual interviews

The individual interviews are of two kinds, the weekly meetings,

which are a sort of weekly accounting, and meetings that take place on the spot as required. The latter type of interview, which an educator is required to have with each youngster, is meant to provide individual help that the boy needs at a particular moment or on a regular basis, throughout his stay at Boscoville.

On the spot interviews are dictated by a youngster's situation and conduct. He is removed from the group and an educator will proceed with an immediate interview in order to give needed support or prevent an incipient crisis. Most often it is a matter of making clinical use of the situation and making it a reeducative experience for the youngster.

The weekly meetings, for their part, take place between each youngster and his sponsor. These meetings are to account for the week just ended and to set objectives for the coming week. It is also the occasion for discussion on various questions and problems as well as on the behaviour, attitudes, motivations and inner dynamics of the youngster. Besides this weekly meeting, there are individual interviews with an experienced educator that go deeper if a study of the case shows that the young person can really profit by it. The object of these interviews (Guindon, 1970) is to make the youngster more aware of the process of reeducation in which he is engaged and to furnish an occasion to strengthen the personal relationship with the educator who suits him best.

2. The system of responsibilities

The integrated programme of activities is a source of influence on the learning experience of the young delinquent, his evolution in the realm of knowledge, and centres above all on the individual himself. The system of responsibilities, the second source of influence, is directed toward the development of individual responsibility; it seeks to integrate the individual with others and, in particular, with the

social structure that the residences constitute as well as with the entire centre. The system of responsibilities is Boscoville's social structure: duties, rights, sanctions, organizations, code, rewards, official roles, and so forth.

This framework, this system of responsibilities, was conceived to foster the young people's participation in the institutional social structures and has always been considered a condition for discovering the social side of life. It was conceived as a prerequisite for the construction of the adolescent's identity and the interiorization of values (Gendreau, 1966).

For Gendreau and those who conceived Boscoville, the learning of responsibility presupposes the setting up of a formal structure, the creation of official posts to be filled by the youth in accordance with set criteria of accession and participation. The boy who accedes to these post is elected democratically by his group, which, along with the educators, sanctions the way in which he assumes his role. At Boscoville, the official structure is not seen as therapeutic in itself. Its reeducative value stems from three factors: the posts must demand real duties, the work must be adapted to the requirements, capabilities and development of the individual, and the discreet and lightening presence of the educators is always assured.

"The comedy of pretended responsibilities is a dangerous mistake. No, the youngster cannot and should not be an educator in miniature". What Gendreau (1966, p. 37) is saying is that the youngster should take organizational responsibilities but not those of reeducation; that if he does work toward the reeducation of others, it should be indirectly; nor should the tasks given him be honorary, they should be useful and necessary. They should have importance, and at Boscoville, this has been recognized in the form of a salary.

The system of responsibility, like the activities, respects the

principle of individualization and gradation. Thus the taking of responsibility is structured in accordance with the same stages that mark the progression of the young delinquent's reeducation; each stage has its own challenges, rights, duties, roles, regulations, sanctions, etc.

The attribution of responsibilities should also come at a time suitable to the needs and capabilities of the individual concerned and in accordance with the youth's evolution. This need to accommodate the characteristics of the individual to the formal structure is such that, at a given moment in a particular residence, it is possible that no one can accede to one of the official roles because none of the youngsters has reached the level of evolution necessary.

The final element that is essential for the official structure to be therapeutic is the discerning presence of the educators. The educator is always a full participant and collaborator in the official structure; he will be a minister, the youngster deputy minister. He must also, by his discreet presence, support the youth at the proper moment, guide him at other times, enlighten him and suggest possible solutions when needed. The educator shares the responsibilities rather than leaving them entirely to the youngster.

Having stated the principles underlying the formal structure, let us now look at some of its components: the tasks, rights and duties, sanctions and rewards, and the marking system as an instrument linking rights, behaviour and sanctions.

2a. The tasks

The official structure takes two forms at Boscoville: the civic organization and the residential organization. Boscoville being described as a city, there is a mayor, the director of group life, and aldermen elected for a period of four months and representing each of the residences (the suburbs, the quarters where the acclimatization period is

spent, are not included because the youngsters living there have not yet obtained their citizenship rights). The candidate for alderman, provided he has reached the 'personality' stage, proposes his programme and the elections take place. The alderman is the spokesman for his residence and participates in the organization of Boscoville's social life. He brings his residence's problems and suggestions to the City Council, discusses them at the Council and brings back the City Council's decisions and justifications. In his residence, the alderman is animator of the Residence Council, which meets to organize the life of the residence and settles problems that are within his province.

Alongside this civic organization is the residential committee, which is responsible for the maintenance of the residence, the clothing, the organization of recreation and leaves, as well as the general functioning of the residence. Thus several pairs, an educator (minister) and a youth (deputy minister) are set up to see to these vital needs. To become a deputy minister, elected by the group, the person must have reached the efficiency stage and have shown competence, interest and organizational ability in the sector concerned. If a group, as a group, is not capable of systematically producing positive results, it will not have the right to have a Residence Council democratically elected. In such a case, the participants will be appointed by the educators and will play an executive role in the tasks to be accomplished.

2b. Rights and duties

At each stage of the reeducation process, all rights and duties are clearly stated.

Upon arrival, the young person is asked to take himself in hand and make sure he is not hard to live with. He must learn to look after himself and other elements of the environment (Déom, 1972). The accent is on cleanliness, diet and dress, as well as maintenance of the residence. The youngster has not yet acquired his rights of

citizenship and although he can go about freely at Boscoville, he is not allowed to leave, while telephoning and correspondence are limited. During this period he is given free tobacco and soft drinks. As soon as the youngster has entered the next stage, he acquires his rights as a citizen: he may go about in the city, leave, visit, correspond and telephone as well as receive a salary. These rights are not without limits, however; authorization is necessary to go to the city; group leaves are permitted, individual leaves are granted about once a month and the youngster can have Christmas, Easter and summer vacations; correspondence and telephoning are not limited as long as the resident uses them within reason or with proven justification; finally he will be given a salary according to the tasks he accomplishes, the week's marks and the stage he has reached. The salary is much more symbolic than real (several dollars a week); it provides the boy with pocketmoney (the youngsters get a fixed allowance as well for clothes, toilet articles, etc.).

After going through this stage, the young person enters the next phase where he is given more freedom in the exercise of his rights; he can leave more often, his salary is increased and he also acquires new rights; he can present himself for posts of responsibility in the civic and administrative systems. On the other hand, the requirements are greater; for example, to get the maximum marks for an activity, he must not only respect the schedule and the norms, he must show proficiency according to his ability. In addition, the boy, as part of the group, is required to become involved personally, whether it be in official functions, tasks to be accomplished, setting goals, or in the progress of each individual.

At the final stage of the reeducation process, no new rights are granted but there is greater freedom in the exercise of those already acquired. However, the youngster's duty toward himself and others becomes more demanding. He has to make a direct contribution to the construction of the city (DÉom, 1972). He is asked to play a creative role in his group and in the centre as a whole. He will

act as a model for the other boys and will be assigned new tasks, such as showing newcomers or visitors around Boscoville.

2c. System of evaluation

Once the youth has been initiated into the spirit, not the letter, of its code, he knows his rights and duties and what is expected of him. The code specifies the sanctions: a low mark for activity; a loss of certain rights (salary, leave, visits, correspondence, free run of Boscoville). For example, a youngster who returns late without a valid excuse after a leave can have his right to leave limited or cancelled; for swearing or unacceptable behaviour, there can be a fine, reducing the salary; isolation from the group for a period of activity or for a longer period of time; appearance before the judge for a serious misdemeanor, such as running away or an infraction committed while on leave. These sanctions are not carried out automatically; they are usually preceded by warnings and/or an immediate interview. Also, they are applied by degrees; the first lapse can result in the loss of the right to a leave, for instance, whereas subsequent ones can lead to more severe measures, the loss of all citizen rights, appearance before the judge, and so on.

These sanctions, which give the code its mandatory character, require a system of evaluation - in this case, marks. The marking system is an evaluation in figures of the young person's performance. It makes it possible to show the youngster how he must behave in order to reach the proposed objectives. But it is also an assessment of his conduct, showing him where he stands in terms of progress. Thus the marking system is the link between the youngster's rights and duties, sanctions and behaviour. It enables the educators to evaluate his adjustment to Boscoville, his participation and evolution.

After each activity, the educator has to mark the performance of each of the participants. This is usually done in the presence of the youngster and it is understood that the latter can freely give his advice regarding the mark given. At the end of the week the marks are added and put in percentages. These percentages show the subject's standing for the week, A, B, C, D, E, which determines his rights (salary, leaves, etc.). (for further details, see the Journées d'Etudes 1964 and 1967). The school work and the studio are always marked, and in most of the residences all the activities, even the housekeeping and civic activities, are evaluated as well. There are no written directives as to how the marking should be done; it is based on information shared by the educators and stems from a complex set of traditions proper to each residence, from the rules governing such or such an activity, from general values, ways of functioning and the requirements of particular educators. Certain aspects of performance are usually evaluated, namely, obedience regarding instructions and procedures (where and when something must be done, with what means), respect for the educator and his support (his interventions), productivity (quantity and/or quality of the work) and respect for peers. The marking is also adapted to the stage reached by the young person, a high mark being more difficult to achieve as the youngster progresses from stage to stage.

Implementing such a complex system of evaluation gives rise to tremendous problems of standardization, since variations can easily occur between residences or between the educators in the same residence. We have studied these variations (Beaulne, 1974) and find that where the marking is concerned, a consensus between the residences and the educators is important. As to the technique of marking, the variations are much more marked between educators for the same activity, between activities and from one residence to another. The scales, therefore, fluctuate a great deal; they do not always vary according to the stages of reeducation, and the expectations of the educators are often variable. As a system of evaluation, marking seems to be

a useful instrument for the dynamics of reeducation but one that is difficult to handle.

VI. The process of reeducation

A major innovation in the field of reeducation, as Cusson (1974) shows, was made by Boscoville and its animators when they developed the idea of reeducation by stages, making it possible to orient and control the evolution of the young delinquent during his reeducation. Although the idea of stages had been perceived by Makarendo, Aichorn, Redl and Bettelheim, it was Gilles Gendreau and his collaborators at Boscoville who applied it and Jeanine Guindon (1970) who formalized it into a theory.

The stages of reeducation represent a process of evolution characterized by a series of intermediate objectives that the young person is encouraged to pursue in order to attain the general objective of reeducation. This general objective is the transformation of the young delinquent's personality so that:

"The equilibrium acquired enables him to face the normal difficulties of adapting to reality through the full use of his resources: his own and those society places at his disposal".
(Gendreau, 1966).

"It is not only a matter of preventing recidivism but of having the young person gain mastery of himself and interiorize the values necessary to adjust to the responsibilities of life".
(Boscoville, 1964).

"To do this, the delinquent's perception of himself and others must be changed".
(Gendreau, 1966).

To achieve this transformation of the young delinquent's personality, it is necessary to go step by step. This is why reeducation by stages was adopted and intermediate goals given the young people in order to have them participate in their own reeducation.

Boscoville's theoreticians say that these stages, which constitute a developmental model, show the actual evolution of the youngster during the reeducation process. At each of these stages, the youth has very precise needs and abilities. Knowing the stage a youngster has reached gives the educators valuable information as to the most appropriate treatment. Furthermore, these stages are milestones that enable the youngster to know precisely what goals he must pursue at a given moment and to follow the progress that he has made.

Formally, the theory of stages, based on Piaget's theory, stipulates a gradual passage from a rudimentary state of equilibrium to a higher state of equilibrium. And as Guindon (1970) says, the process of development is not a continuous quantitative increase, but rather a series of discontinued and quantitatively different phases. Each phase, each step, is a stage that leads to a new stability; in fact, each step is a complete structure that stems logically from the preceding one. Guindon (1970) tells us that at each step, the question of self-development arises in connection with the past and future, the ability to face new tasks and situations, the combination of drives and inhibitions and capacity for meaningful relationships. She also stresses a fundamental aspect of the process of reeducation as applied at Boscoville; she notes that it is impossible to separate the cognitive and affective (emotional) aspects of the personality, because a mental dysfunction can prejudice an adequate social adjustment.

In accordance with this theoretical framework, the process of reeducation becomes a step toward the acquisition of autonomy, to cite Tessier (1970); and the stages of reeducation should be seen as an ensemble of intermediate goals given the young person in order to make him participate in his reeducation (Cusson, 1974). The process of reeducation, as it is experienced at Boscoville, becomes an evolutionary model having four phases : acclimatization, control, efficiency performance and personality.

1. The stages of reeducation

The description of the stages that follows summarizes the definitions of Gendreau (1966), Guindon (1969, 1970), Tessier (1970) and Cusson (1974) and borrows particularly from the research report prepared by Cusson and Ducharme (1974).

1a. The acclimatization stage

The objectives of the first stage of the reeducation process, acclimatization, can be summarized in three words: acclimatize, prevent and observe. The first objective, as its name indicates, is to acclimatize the young delinquent to the training centre, its programme and régime, that is, to give the young person the feeling of being at ease in the institution, to see it as a caring and beneficial environment, worthy of confidence (Guindon, 1969). What the young person is actually asked to do, according to Tessier (1970), is to accept the fact that Boscoville is a treatment centre, which means that he admits that he needs help and that Boscoville can answer this need. The second objective of this first stage, behaviour control, presupposes that Boscoville uses the means necessary to prevent delinquent conduct; it is essential that the centre make it impossible for the youngster to continue his delinquent behaviour and thus free him from the tensions that delinquency creates.

The last objective during this first stage is to get the youngster to live in harmony with his environment, to respect it and, more particularly, participate in his own reeducation. This participation will have meaning for him to the extent that his experiences during the activities will have affected him sufficiently to increase his self-esteem and start the process of restructuring his cognitive functioning. This is based on the theory that the young delinquent is convinced he is incompetent, that he lives only in the present without any links with the past and without any prospects for the future. His

activity is merely movement; he is incapable of seeing the connection between what he does and the consequences of his actions (Guindon, 1970).

To attain these three objectives of the acclimatization stage, the creators of Boscoville state that the young delinquent must have an environment where he can experience reassurance, a feeling of well-being and security. Furthermore, to conform with this second objective, the environment and régime should also help to counter the delinquent impulses of the youngster. An essential aspect of the educator's role at this stage is to show sufficient firmness to prevent any acting out. To achieve this control, the youngster is placed in a special observation residence where the régime is geared to this end. This set-up also helps to avoid the formation of a delinquent sub-group that would create a climate of tension and erect an impenetrable barrier between the educators and the boys. At this stage, control of the behaviour is imposed by the environment rather than taken in hand by the youngster himself.

Finally, the last objective of acclimatization, the awakening of self-esteem and reactivation of cognitive functioning, is ensured by activities that offer favourable conditions for experiencing success. According to Guindon (1970), the activities that contribute best to the realization of this objective are those that require the use of sensory-motor skills. They should last long enough for the young person to attain the set objective within a limited period of time, with the use of only the means proposed being the gauge of success, and they should enable the youngster to easily make the connection between what he does and the results he gets.

When the educators judge the acclimatization to be well under way, if not completed, the youngster leaves the suburbs for one of the residences and becomes a citizen of Boscoville.

1b. The control stage

The beginning of the control stage usually coincides with the arrival of the young person at the residence where he will live during the rest of his stay at Boscoville. Theoretically, his behaviour still needs to be controlled as he is not yet ready to submit to the reality of his new milieu or its rules. To protect his delinquent habits, he can still resort to various tactics: pretend to conform, refuse to communicate with the educators, exploit his peers, and so on.

It is for this reason that the first objective of the second stage is the acquisition, and above all, the consolidation of the personal control of his overt behaviour. The youngster must concentrate on learning respect for the milieu, a fact stressed by Tessier (1970), and which the animators of Boscoville confirm by stating that the boy's interest and energy are directed toward gaining mastery over his actions (Boscoville, 1964).

The second objective of the control stage is "integration in group life as a social reality" (Guindon, 1969, p. 128). The theoreticians at Boscoville believe that the objectives of self-control and integration in group life are closely connected and dependent on one another, since control of his behaviour should facilitate the youngster's integration in his group. He must try to acquire the kind of control over his behaviour that will make him acceptable to the more advanced citizens of his new residence (Boscoville, 1964). The result of this process is that the youngster conforms to the expectations of the other members of the group by accepting their code of behaviour and traditions. Because he conforms, he will be accepted by his peers as a member of the group and this solidarity will furnish the "moratorium" necessary for the gradual interiorization of personal self-control (Guindon, 1969).

The achievement of these first two objectives, self-control and integration, presupposes the existence of a cohesive and positively structured group. A group of this type requires a tradition which permits an "esprit de corps" that enables it to accept the new arrival on condition that he respect the code and tradition of the group. The outcome depends on the educators making sure that the group does not develop a delinquent or institutional sub-culture; they will encourage leadership that considers the reeducation programme worthwhile and facilitate the integration of the new resident by ensuring among other things, that the sanctions of the group are appropriate.

Along with these first two objectives of the control stage, the educators should see that the youngster makes progress in the activities. He must no longer simply carry out the proposed activities, he must develop an interest in them and be able to put some thought into them; more important, he must understand the connection between ends and means and concentrate on what he is doing for a longer period of time.

At the end of the control stage, the young person will have made a certain amount of progress important for the next stages; he will have acquired respect for tradition, integration in the group and a real interest in the activities. There are several indications of this evolution; the youngster shows a desire to take responsibilities within the group and to make a personal contribution to it. At the cognitive level, he will be able to apply the techniques he has learned by making certain choices; he can undertake an active, concrete procedure, proportioned to the conditions of reality and directed toward a goal sanctioned by the milieu. He can also think and speak of the reality instead of simply acting upon it immediately.

1c. The performance stage

The third stage, satisfactory performance, is marked by proficiency in the activities and a new type of relationship with

the educators - the latter becomes a friend.

Concerning the activities, during this stage the youngster works at using his capacities more fully and taking advantage of the opportunities the milieu offers him. He develops his personal aptitudes, acquires a work method, makes full use of his resources to achieve concrete results. Thus, as they say at Boscoville:

"Creative work takes on greater value in the eyes of your citizens. To improve their knowledge, to create and to play a responsible role in the group have now become important to them. All this further develops the feeling that something is worthwhile, that they are someone, that they are normal, for they can have success just like any normal being".
(Boscoville, 1964, p. 33).

If the development of the young person's capabilities is the first step in the satisfactory performance stage, the second is autonomy. The educators encourage the youth to take initiatives, to make choices. During the activities, objectives are proposed and the choice of means is left to him, and in other aspects of life, he is allowed more initiative (to organize his free time, choice of tasks, etc.). During this stage, the accent is on competence, the ability to achieve objectives, feeling proficient and being productive. To achieve this, as Guindon (1970) points out, the activities should be sufficiently complex to allow a choice between various methods, to ensure various possibilities for their arrangement and require the youngster to engage in some form of planning. As soon as he discovers the importance of creating and develops his aptitudes and skills, the youth should acquire a work method, develop a more positive self-image and improve his interpersonal relationships.

At the performance stage, the youth has not yet completely given up a delinquent style of life and this leads to a great deal of ambivalence toward the educators who are constantly trying to change

him. Even if the educator does not succeed in exercising a profound influence on a boy who refuses to be identified with him and the values he represents, a closeness develops, nonetheless, between the youngster and the educator. The latter becomes more and more a friend and a man whose competence is to be admired. The relationship that the educators cultivate with the boy, showing him understanding and a desire for his company, should create a closer bond. The educator must be able to answer the expectations of the youngster; he should become involved in the latter's efforts to gain proficiency and be committed to the new type of relationship he is encouraging. During this stage, there should also be a change in the boy's relationships with his peers; as with the educators, a friendly manner and respect for the competence of others should be fostered. Moreover, his choice of friends should become more conscious and more appropriate to the stage of development he has reached.

1d. The personality development stage

The personality stage is the fourth and last official stage of the reeducation process. During this stage, unlike the others, the accent is not so much on the activities, but is concentrated on the interpersonal relationships, the inner structure of the young person and his relations with society and prospects for the future. During this stage, Boscoville tries to get the youngster to make a radical change in his style of life - to convert him. The objectives are to make the youngster realize and accept the fact that he is now different and will never again be the same as the young delinquent who arrived long ago at the centre. The young person, during this stage, acquires mastery of himself, his environment and his future. The transformation expected is expressed in Boscoville's documents in the following terms:

"In the eyes of the entire group, "the conversion of this delinquent to non-delinquency", is unquestionably the sign of a heroic victory on the part of this ex-delinquent". (Boscoville, 1964, p. 34).

This young person, then, should realize and accept the fact that he is no longer and will never again be the same boy who arrived at the centre. His choice of a new style of life will lead to some positive changes. First of all, at the social level, he will be able to mingle in non-delinquent circles to the extent that he has adhered to his renouncement of delinquency. This is a period of personal commitment to live in a non-delinquent social milieu with honest and respectable people (Boscoville, 1964). Intellectually, the young person's cognitive functioning, at this stage, should have reached his level of development, that is, the level of adolescence. The following shows the importance theoreticians accord this capacity for positive thinking:

"Reeducative experience shows that this positive thinking is necessary in order to destroy the young delinquent's negative image of himself. For a maladjusted person to relinquish this negative identification, he must get to understand his maladjustment by means of an exact evaluation of his own "historical reality". He must be able to understand the connection between his maladjustment and the events that have conditioned his life. This historical retrospective will only be valid to the extent that this same adolescent can clearly distinguish the "historical reality" that bound him, from a possible future in which he can exercise his new freedom. To think of the possible presupposes the acquisition of the concepts inherent in positive thinking".
(Guindon, 1969, p. 158).

The youngster's values and ideology change as well; he adheres to the values taught at Boscoville and acts accordingly. He acquires a new style of life, in conformity with the requirements of the milieu, but which is nonetheless his own for he discovers and develops a way of being himself (Guindon, 1970).

If the first objective of the personality stage is to get the boy to realize that he has changed his style of life, the second is to have him face reality and accept the dictates of reality. He will then become aware, in a realistic way, of what he is, the

events that have influenced him and the possibilities open to him for the future, and this will enable him to make plans for the future, not based on wishful thinking, but plans that are feasible.

While pursuing these objectives, the former young delinquent is expected to contribute personally to his reeducation. Tessier (1970) speaks of a "conscious contribution to a therapeutic milieu". This participation should be particularly apparent in his relationships with his peers and in taking official responsibilities.

"The young man personally assumes his responsibilities toward his peers by filling an "official function" determined by the organization of the group and his own life style and having the tradition of the group respected. In this regard, he collaborates with the educators in integrating his peers in the group as well as promoting group solidarity. On the other hand, his reliability in carrying out his responsibilities toward others gives him the special role of stimulating the active participation of its members in the life of the group. His peers will quickly choose this young man as a "model". (Guindon, 1969, p. 161).

This opening up to others is shown by a give-and-take relationship between the young man and the educator, and gives the latter a chance to guide him on fundamental choices he must make and on his future. The young man can become self-reliant at the personality stage to the extent that the educators leave him a wide margin of autonomy in setting his own objectives and organizing himself as he sees fit. The educators generally find it difficult to leave the young person the degree of autonomy that is recommended in theory and to gradually withdraw the centre's support.

The process of reeducation does not end with the fourth stage at Boscoville. There is a phase of so-called transition or social

insertion which, though not officially set up, is an essential preparatory step. When the youth finally leaves the centre, a support service is made available to him that, if necessary, will facilitate his social reintegration - help him find lodgings, a job, recreational activities, etc. His living conditions are not provided for him, but he is given the means to find them, and during this phase, for a certain period, the educators are always available to meet with him and give him emotional support if he asks for it.

This theory of stages in the reeducation process, which we have just described, proposes a model centred on general and specific objectives that can be achieved through individual progression. This progression starts with the agreement to participate in reeducation and the removal of opportunities for delinquent behaviour. In the first phase, the work consists in the external control of the behaviour and integration in the group, next the accent is on interpersonal relationships and in the last phase, the construction of a new identity. If these various steps concern "the being", the "doing" effects progress from performance, pure and simple, to an understanding of the connection between ends and means, the acquisition of competence and finally, creativity.

The official conception of the reeducation process that has just been summarized proposes general objectives and sub-objectives; it is very explicit about the evolution expected of maladjusted youngsters throughout their stay at Boscoville. The fact remains that this conception is very abstract, and that is why Boscoville uses an intermediary concept - challenge. This concept makes the ideas underlying the theory of reeducation by stages operational. The challenges are concrete objectives that confront the youth every day of his life. They are arranged in a predetermined progressive order.

"The challenge is a stimulating invitation by means of which we show a youth that we believe him potentially capable of handling a precise and difficult situation. (Ducharme et al, 1975, p. 10).

The challenge is a limited objective arising from the situation itself and can be achieved in a relatively short time. The object of the challenge is to present something worthwhile for the youngster to tackle and accomplish, something that can be achieved and that is directly connected with the milieu in which he has been placed. At Boscoville, the challenges are organized within a period of activity, from period to period and week to week. They are presented in increasing order of difficulty, and always concern the person vis-à-vis the type of activity, his peers and/or the educators.

While the challenge operationalizes the general objectives of the various stages of reeducation, it is also the pivotal point of the means of action we spoke of in the preceding section. There are challenges in each activity, and at all times, and the challenge becomes the centre of the system of evaluation because it is present with regard to rights and duties, sanctions and marks.

2. A theory in application

The treatment programme at Boscoville rests on a theory that states that reeducation is a step-by-step process, just like a person's general development. At each step there are goals to attain, objectives that are concretized by particular behaviour toward peers and educators and in the activities. Boscoville adheres to this theory, since the sequential measurement of behaviour seems the most appropriate approach for getting out of the rut of recidivism and attacking the question of the effectiveness of the training school differently. This path had already been paved by the work of several pioneers in this field, especially that of Jesness (1965, 1969, 1971, 1972) and Cusson (1972, 1973, 1975) who designed instruments that made it possible to observe the evolution of a youth's conduct during his stay at a centre. We have followed this path because it is an innovative way of evaluating the effectiveness of the treatment.

2a. Sequential and cumulative stages

With the help of Bernard Tessier, we have operationalized the theory formalized by Jeanine Guindon in an instrument called Stage Indicators (LeBlanc and Tessier, 1978). There are thirty-six statements, twelve for each life situation (activities, relations with peers and educators), which also describe observable behaviour that the residents of Boscoville should acquire step by step during their stay. After making sure of the technical quality of this instrument, the first question that arose was: is the sequence of acquired behaviour empirically observable? Using two populations of Boscoville residents, and with the help of various analyses (Guttman's statistical technique), we were able to evaluate the internal validity of the main assumption of the theory, namely, that the acquisitions are sequential and cumulative. (For technical details, consult LeBlanc and Tessier, 1980 and LeBlanc and Ménard, 1980).

The results are very convincing regarding this assumption. Where the activities are concerned, there was no doubt that the acquisitions are hierarchic and cumulative and the theoretical sequence almost entirely as it is in reality. A close analysis of the content of the indicators confirmed these statistical results. In short, the theory of stages is valid when it shows that during the reeducation of young delinquents under treatment, during the activities, gradual and cumulative acquisitions in terms of behaviour can be observed.

The results are a little less convincing, however, concerning progress in relationships with peers and educators. The statistical coefficients are slightly weaker and the empirical sequence of the acquisitions differs considerably from the sequence theoretically assumed.

However, a close analysis of the content of the indicators showed that the empirical sequence had a certain logic. The relative weakness of the indicators of the stages compared with the relationships with peers and educators led us to take a closer look at the behaviour in these two sectors; this on the basis of data derived from other instruments. It was a sort of external validity. The results enable us to conclude, first, that the youngsters change their behaviour considerably from one stage to another; secondly, that this evolution does not occur throughout the entire process but only a portion of it. Thus the relationships with peers seem to evolve much more during the first stages, from acclimatization to performance, whereas the relationships with the educators seem to develop later on in the process, between the control and personality stages. These results perhaps explain why it was more difficult, in these two domains, to construct cumulative and hierarchic scales such as might have been expected on reading the theory.

All these analyses clearly show us the validity of the theory, and in general, we should conclude that it is clear in the case of the sequence of behaviour in the learning activities (schoolwork, sports, arts); however there is some doubt as to the pertinence of the theory of the four stages in the case of human relationships (with peers or educators). In this case, the theory of a continuous cumulative and hierarchic development is more difficult to prove. There seem to be acquisitions but not an implacable logic as in the case of the activities. It is a matter of fewer and more localized qualitative leaps. The question remains, however, whether these mixed results are because of the weakness of the theoretical formulation of the question of human relationships or because of a deficient operationalization.

It could be reasonably advanced that the quality of the instrument is directly responsible for these ambiguous results in the area of human relations. However, it seems to us that this is hardly the case given the various methods used to operationalize the instrument, the controls of variability and reliability of the statements and the various technical manipulations. If it is impossible to construct scales fully adequate for measuring the relationships with peers and with the educators, the ambiguous results can hardly be attributed to the inadequacy of the instrument, particularly since the validity of the instrument had been proven, on the one hand, by comparing the results with those of the clinical evaluations of the educators (clinical and psychometric ability), and on the other, with the data of other instruments, conduct and attitudes, which confirmed that the stages indicators measure what they are supposed to and make it possible to situate a youth in the reeducation process. Furthermore, an analysis of the content of the sequence of the statements of the instrument indicating the stages (Ménard and LeBlanc, 1980), showed no obvious contradiction in their empirical sequence.

Other explanations of the ambiguity of the results concern the theory itself. First of all, a reader who is conversant with the works of the authors of the theory will easily see that it is particularly well supported regarding the activities; on the other hand, it is much less precise in the case of the development of a youngster's conduct and attitude toward his peers and toward the educators. This lack of precision may have engendered an inadequate operationalization - hence the ambiguous results. Secondly, the very nature of the activities as compared with that of human relations can explain the differences in the results obtained.

Performance in the activities refers more to technical learning, which would not be the case in a person's relationships with others. In line with the theory in this respect, the activities are structured so that the youth gradually learns the sequence of an activity and

consequently learns, at the same time, the sequence of behaviour that conforms with the sequence of his learning experience. Jeannine Guindon (1970) gives the following example:

"The first course of action, carried out in silence, is a turn around the grounds, walking and running, then warming up exercises. The second is football practice... only on the technique of receiving passes. The five things required of the boy ..." (p.171)

On the contrary, establishing a relationship with others calls for elements that are far less precise and technical. A relationship often stems from feelings people have toward one another and these feelings are often the result of previous experiences. The delinquent adolescent has already gone through the whole process of psychological development during childhood. As a result, his attitudes are deeply rooted. To propose that a process of reeducation will enable the young delinquent to go through his entire psychological development once again, this time in the right way, is rather rash, considering the adolescent's previously acquired attitudes. And our results (Ménard and LeBlanc, 1980) support this reasoning. In fact, the boys' acquisitions are very noticeable between the acclimatization stage and the control stage, especially in their relationships with their peers. However, between the control and production stages and production and personality, it is in their relationships with the educators that the changes are most marked. These results perhaps explain the difficulty in constructing scales, based on the stages indicator, that would be cumulative and hierarchic for the relationships with the educators and peers. If the acquisitions are localized, it is natural that scales based on the indicators of the stages would be hard to construct, whereas this is not the case for the activities. In short, the ambiguous results in the area of relationships with peers and educators can be explained by the fact that the development of relationships with others does not seem to occur according to a sequence of four stages, but rather suddenly during a shorter period of the reeducation process.

2b. Progression through the stages

Since it was possible to construct an instrument that could place the Boscoville youngsters in the proper stages reasonably well, it enabled us to analyze their progression through the process of reeducation. These analyses showed some surprising results - results that were not predicted in the theoretical studies. For one thing, very few of the youngsters (less than 10%) go through the four phases of reeducation during their stay at Boscoville; almost half never complete one stage; those who progress generally finish one stage; very few of the youngsters start out in acclimatization, most start in control or production; the less advanced the boy's stage on arrival, the less he will progress subsequently; progress is essentially made during the first year of a youngster's stay (Ménard et LeBlanc, 1980).

Let us now analyze the progression of the youngsters through the phases of reeducation, examining the stage at entry (after four weeks' stay in the suburbs) and the stage on leaving, as well as compiling the percentage of boys who have gone through one, two or three stages during their stay at the centre. These steps will complete a survey that will enable us to rule on the validity of the theory when it confirms that during reeducation at Boscoville, the residents should go through the four phases of reeducation. Table 1 presents the stage determined by the educators upon entry and the stage reached on leaving, for a population of 113 youngsters.

Table 1
Phases upon entry and leaving

Entry	Acclimatization		Control		Production		Personality		Total	
Leaving	No	%	N	%	No.	%	N	%	No.	%
Acclimatization	15	47%							15	13%
Control	4	13%	30	45%					34	30%
Production	6	19%	9	14%	4	27%			19	17%
Personality	7	22%	27	41%	11	73%			45	40%
Total	32	28%	66	58%	15	13%			113	100%

considering that theoretical studies give the impression that the young delinquents who stay at Boscoville go through all the stages of reeducation. However, according to our observations, this is not the case. These results do not negate the theory of stages, but questions the objective of reeducation and shows the limitations of Boscoville.

The fact is that reeducation at Boscoville means looking for a radical change in the personality of the young delinquents placed there. This transformation is supposed to be acquired after the youngsters have gone through the four stages of reeducation. We did not see this change as there are very few youngsters who actually go through the four stages of reeducation and the progress made by the residents usually amounts to what is expected for a single stage. Consequently, it is impossible to speak of reeducation; there is certainly some development among the young people, but not a major change in their personality. These conclusions enable us to discuss the effectiveness of Boscoville, one of the objectives of this book.

Boscoville's effectiveness, in terms of progress through the stages of reeducation, with the improvements they signify, is somewhat mitigated. The young delinquent is helped to develop, that is clear, but are his attitudes being changed? There can be no definitive answer to this question rather it should be formulated in this way: there is no radical change in the behaviour of the young delinquents because they do not go through the four stages of the reeducation process. Subsequent chapters also deal with this question, but from the point of view of the development of the personality. However, it is already clear that progress is made and that it is concretized by the benefits of one or two stages. In terms of short-term effectiveness, this means we can conclude that the programme at Boscoville helps the young people placed there in terms of their behavioural development while in the centre.

CHAPTER II

THEORY AND APPLICATION: HUMAN RESOURCES

This second chapter deals with the human resources that play an important role here in the reeducation of young delinquents. It completes the previous chapter on the technical means used in the process of reeducation. There we presented the philosophy of reeducation adopted at Boscoville and the pedagogical, organizational and structural means chosen to implement it. During this second chapter, we shall speak of means which this time refer to the human resources - the educators and the group. We define the role prescribed for the educator and describe the methods used to assure that he practices all the precepts of this role. Then the function of group life in reeducation will be explained, completing the picture of what Boscoville proposes as models and methods for the reeducation of young delinquents.

This chapter will also attack head on one of the essential objects of this book - an evaluation of the application of the principles of reeducation and an assessment of the quality of the services offered. We shall present empiric data on the use of the means of reeducation; we shall describe the educators; we shall examine the social climate in the teams of educators; we shall analyze how the educators handle individuals, intervene in the activities and in group life. We shall present the state of interpersonal relationships, describe the structure of the groups of youngsters, the social climate that characterizes them and the interpersonal relationships within them. The analysis of each of these areas will be done in an evaluative perspective, that is, we will compare our observations with the prescriptions of the theoretical model of reeducation at Boscoville. It is a question, then, of assessing the quality of the application of the principles that guide the work of the educators and the utilization of the groups of residents.

The ultimate aim of this second chapter is to come to a conclusion about the quality of the treatment offered the young delinquents placed at Boscoville.

Before we can discuss the impact of this treatment on the young delinquents who participate in it, an estimation of the value of the

treatment applied by Boscoville is essential.

I- The educator and his intervention: regulations and practices

What does the educator do with juvenile delinquents? What traits and characteristics does he need? These are the main questions we will deal with here - questions that call for two types of answers, the regulations based on Boscoville's conception of the educator's role and the actual practice of this role as we have observed it.

1. The role of the educator: regulations

The role of the educator in a reeducation centre is not easy. He must establish a relationship with a young delinquent whose personal and social deficiencies are undeniable. He must help the youngster develop, transform his personality in accordance with the objectives of Boscoville; but there is more. In addition, he must fulfill his task in an uncertain context. He is working with a youngster who has been placed by the court, which means an undeterminate restriction of his liberty; but the treatment entailed in this placement must become willingly accepted. This situation is not without difficulties due to the need to combine a relationship of authority with one of assistance. Finally, the means placed at the disposal of the educator are limited; he is told to use his personality before all else along with his knowledge and experience, as well as the technical means described in the preceding chapter.

The fact is, there are few texts available to the educator - works that could help him directly in carrying out his tasks. Those that do exist discuss attitudes and principles of intervention, but very few say anything about how to deal with the diverse situations that are bound to arise. The literature is much more plentiful, substantial and precise when it comes to analyzing the clientele, the young delinquents,

and describing the kind of milieu that will be therapeutic. But very few are systematic works that study the characteristics of educators, the traits associated with success in this task, the conduct most appropriate in such or such a situation or vis-à-vis one or another maladjusted youth. At Boscoville, several documents define the proposed role of an educator and the traits, skills and attitudes that best qualify educators. But before going into these qualifications, it is important to point out a principle that serves as the cornerstone of the definition of an educators's role at Boscoville. It is the following:

"The value of an institution is directly proportional to the value of its personnel who are in direct contact with the young people". Gendreau (1966, p.22).

This excerpt clearly expresses a fundamental belief of those who conceived Boscoville, namely, that the educator is the pivotal point of reeducation. This principle is in direct agreement with the theory that if a change of personality is to be achieved in young people, it will be above all due to the relationship established with them. This excerpt also shows that the accent will be on the competence of the educator rather than on the technical and environmental resources of the reeducation programme.

At Boscoville, the educator is actually the pivot of the reeducation process because he is physically present among the residents from morning to night. He is ever present; it is he who organizes, directs, animates and evaluates all the youngsters' activities. In addition, he is responsible for the process of reeducation for he observes the young boys and discovers their needs. He plans a strategy for their reeducation, implements it and achieves it because he establishes a relationship with each youngster, urges him to develop, transmits the values of the milieu and serves as a model to him.

Defining the educator as the pivot of the reeducation process facilitates our task of evaluation, especially where competence is concerned since it is relatively easy to choose the criteria of personal, social and professional competence. The role of the educator at Boscoville can be described and evaluated since the written documents describe more or less precisely what the educator should be and what he should do.

The educator should be a model individual, competent and committed. These three characteristics are particularly important because the specific role of the educator is to know, understand and control the process that is intended to enable young delinquents to evolve toward a socially acceptable style of life. To succeed in doing so, the educator should set an example that will inspire the young person to become competent, committed and to develop. Boscoville wants the educator to be a model for the youngsters, an example they would like to follow; this confirms the fact that he is the director of the reeducation of the young delinquent (Gendreau 1960).

The educator is the one who shows the residents, who allows them to see with their own eyes, that it is possible to be competent, committed and to develop. To do this, the educator must have certain personal qualities, certain personality traits that go to make up a model individual. The educator must also be the one who, by his commitment, his participation in the life of the centre, will get the youngsters' commitment to the process of reeducation. Finally, he must be competent, that is, he must have the technical skills that will assist him in his task because he has only his personal resources to count on.

After twenty-five years of experience, after much thought about the subject and with the observations of many educators, Boscoville finally managed to construct a model of the man who could be most appropriate for the task at hand. He knows himself, states his values, is always seeking better emotional and intellectual balance and has certain specific traits

of personality. Boscoville realizes that a good educator does not necessarily have all the traits expected but is sparing in its enumeration of these traits. During selection, various instruments are used (projective and psychometric test, interviews, questionnaires) but a list of the traits desired is seemingly lacking. However, there is total agreement in recognizing someone who is not a good educator (Gendreau, 1978): he looks to his profession of educator for a solution to his own conflicts, to prolong his childhood or obtain the security of the centre; he shows a marked preference for the intellectual aspects rather than action; he is deeply disturbed to the point where contact with young delinquents will revive or amplify his personal problems. These are contra-indications, pathological traits that are not acceptable.

The complexity and difficulty of the role of educator demand a great number of skills - personal and technical competence. The competent educator should be psychologically well-balanced and have an emotional control that will enable him to enter into a relationship with the young person and influence him. The educator must himself be developing, must be capable of proposing goals for the youngsters and have faith in his own ability to evolve if he wants to help these young people to change. He must have firm values and be committed to the aims of Boscoville. He must be available and able to give of himself. He should know himself and be capable of introspection so that he can help the youngsters to know themselves. He must have the qualities of a leader and an animator so that he can influence the various groups. Finally, he should be able to cooperate with the authorities and with the other educators.

In addition to his personal and social abilities, the educator should have competent teaching and technical skills. One of the first aspects of this competence is a mastery of the fundamental principles

on which Boscoville wants the educators to base their interventions. The educator must have some knowledge of all the essential concepts that relate to the development of the child and the adolescent, both from the cognitive and affective points of view. He must be able to coordinate this diverse knowledge in such a way as to get a clear and integrated view of the process of reeducation. This apprenticeship enables the educator to acquire a discipline of thought and work, ideally accompanied by an inquiring mind. His competence will be shown by a critical attitude to the work accomplished, a desire for improvement and a concern for innovation in order to answer the needs of the youngsters in the best way possible (Gendreau, 1966).

A second aspect of competence is the technical mastery of the activity for which the educator is responsible. The educator resorts to techniques that Redl and Wineman (1964) call techniques for handling behaviour. Recourse to these procedures makes it possible to reduce the level of improvisation and gives the educator the means of putting the youngster in relation with himself, with others, with the reality outside and with the educator himself (Gendreau, 1978). These techniques are learned through practice and their use through experience. To be competent in teaching and technique means handling the school work and sports activities so that they become a learning experience for the residents and steps toward their reeducation.

According to Boscoville's stipulations, competence is not enough, the essential requirement is commitment. Thus the educator should be committed, liking his role and participating in the life of the residents. To be committed is to pursue the goals sought by Boscoville; it means "living with" the youngsters according to Gendreau (1966). This need to live together means more than just physical proximity or being on hand every minute of the day; it is an attitude of professional and personal commitment that should be apparent through this presence.

2. The role of the educator: in practice

The term "practice" brings us directly to the heart of the approach we adopted during the seven years of our research at Boscoville - an evaluative approach. We expected to find different methods depending on the resident and depending on the individual. One of our objectives, then, was to evaluate the practices, the way things were done at Boscoville as a reeducation centre and the educators as agents of change.

What does evaluate mean? To evaluate means comparing an observed reality with a norm. This norm can be a philosophy, a conception of the precepts of reeducation; it can be other equivalent realities, other centres of reeducation; it could be an ideal; it could be a centre whose inner functioning is considered of superior quality. In the case of our evaluation of the role of the educator, the norm will be the sum of the specifications formulated by Boscoville.

In this section, we propose to evaluate the effort made; we will then be in a position to speak of the quality of the human resources. It is a matter of comparing Boscoville's expectations regarding the type of educator with the social, professional and personal characteristics of the educators, and ascertaining the quality of the educators' intervention, that is, whether they practice the interventions prescribed in the area of observation, organization, animation and use of the activities. We will then examine the educators as a team, the quality of its functioning, namely, the level of dialogue, reciprocal assistance, communication and quality of the coordination. Finally, we will look at the nature of the interpersonal relationships between the educators and, above all, between the educators and the residents.

While describing and assessing the educators' effort to achieve the goal of reeducation, we will point out the mechanisms that facilitate his entering into his role (hiring and training), that ensure the application of technical knowledge and experience (supervision, committees, seminars) and that make it possible to control the quality of the educators' intervention (coordination, supervision, annual evaluation, committees, seminars).

2a. Who are the educators?

At Boscoville it is believed that a reeducation centre is first and foremost its educators. Let us see who they are at the social, professional and personal level (to do so, we will use reports of the following studies: Cusson and Ducharme (1974), Ménard (1974-1979), Cusson and LeBlanc (1980).

Social status

During the period of research, in June 1976, there were 41 regular educators and coordinators at Boscoville, these for seven units (two observation and five reeducation residences). Theoretically, Boscoville can pride itself on having six educators per residence or 42 professional educators. In addition to these regular educators, there are generally about a dozen fieldworkers, that is, students in psycho-education for the most part.

Among the 41 regular educators on the job in June 1976, there were 39 men and 2 women; the seven coordinators were males. The clientèle of Boscoville is entirely male and the very large majority of the personnel as well. Regarding age, more than 60% (26/41) of the educators are between 26 and 30, 24% (10/41) under 25 and 12% (5/41) over 30. The average age in 1976 was 28.3 years. This is very stable: 28.8 years of age in 1970 (Cusson, 1971), 27.6 in 1974 and 28.3 in 1979. Most of the coordinators are also between 25 and 30. These are all men and women in their prime, most of whom are married, 87% (36/41) for an average period of three years.

Professional status

Let us look at the degree of the personnels' preparation for these tasks. Knowing that the architects of Boscoville state that to adequately fulfill

their tasks, educators need a knowledge of human development, teaching, and how to organize activities and group life, almost all the educators (39/41) have specialized training and 36 of the 41 have university training in psycho-education, 31 of them at the masters' level. Since Boscoville's aim is to apply the theory of psycho-education, it is obvious that the centre has a staff adequately trained in this field.

The academic training received at the School of Psycho-education of the University of Montreal is four years at the bachelor level and one year for the master's degree. The theoretical courses include introducing the student to the thinking of authors such as Redl, Bettelheim, Erikson and Piaget, and the writings of the founders of psycho-education: Mailloux, Guindon, Gendreau, as well as the techniques of intervention for helping juvenile delinquents. The practical part is in the form of fieldwork at Boscoville which starts in second year and includes the student's presence for more than half the hours of work of a regular educator, psychological interviews and meetings with a supervisor. In addition, the selection of candidates for the position of educator is particularly rigorous (questionnaire, interviews, tests) and it constitutes a systematic grading: 53% of the candidates at the School of Psycho-Education showed flagrant counter-indications, 9% were doubtful cases and 13% showed more weaknesses than strengths, meaning that 26% of the candidates were accepted (Tremblay, 1979).

Even an appropriate academic and practical training is not enough; the candidate must still acquire the knack, the ability, the art of transforming an idea, a concept, a principle into the concrete actions that alone give experience. Most of the educators (27/41 (66%)) held their first job at Boscoville, and among the others, 8/14 had already gained experience in a related field. Regarding their work experience at Boscoville, it was 3.52 years in June 1976 (this number of years doesn't include the fieldwork during their studies).

Whereas in June 1976 the educational staff has an average of 3.5 years' experience as regular educators, the coordinators had 6.5 years of experience and the educators 2.85 years. The average 3.5 years of experience is relatively stable; it was the same in 1974 and 1979; however, it seems that an educators' period of employment at Boscoville is diminishing, going from 8 years in 1966 (Gendreau, 1966) to 7.25 in 1970 (Cusson, 1971) to about 6 years in 1974 and after, this on adding together the years of fieldwork and work as a regular educator. It is also interesting to note that the years of experience are widely distributed: 20% of the educators (8/41) have less than one year's experience, 27% (11/41) one or two years, 37% (13/41) three and four years, 12% (5/41) five and six years and finally 5% (2/41) seven years and over. We note, furthermore, that the executive personnel, senior educators and various persons of authority, are also former educators of first rank at Boscoville and some of them had more than twenty years of experience at the time we did our research. Finally, it is important to point out that most of the educators had worked only in one single unit (66% or 27/41) and had been working in this unit for 2.40 years at the time of the research.

In short, Boscoville's educators have longer experience working in direct contact with maladjusted youths than that of educators in others centres, according to a study submitted to the Batshaw Commission (1975). It is not only time spent with juvenile delinquents, it is also a period of training thanks to the mechanisms of supervision. The educators' schedule is systematically organized so that he gets to work with more experienced educators. Tasks are graded so that an educator has to have a certain number of years experience before he can interview a youngster, for example; and even then, he is supervised; he will gradually progress from daily responsibilities to taking on clinical responsibilities. The educator participates in the clinical committees of the residence and the activity of the residence and the centre and, individually or within a group, he is supervised every week; he is then called upon to give his assessment of the problems encountered, the steps he took and the youngsters, etc. This experience and supervision are of great benefit to the educators at Boscoville and, along with the preliminary fieldwork, ensure their application of the centres' theory and principles of intervention. They also guarantee homogeneity of the treatment while serving

as a quality control. Finally, while the supervision, seminars and committees are occasions for continuing training on the job, a good many educators, 45% (19/41), have taken special courses in the activity for which they are responsible (studies, sports, school-work).

Personal Characteristics

In theory, the educator at Boscoville should have reached a high level of emotional maturity, and to do so, he must have acquired a good understanding of himself. One way of making sure that self-knowledge is acquired is by seeing that the educators have participated or are participating in the therapeutic activities designed for them. The large majority (78%, 32/41) of the educators were attending sessions in June 1976 and the proportions were fairly similar in 1974 (82%) and in 1979 (72%). It included all the coordinators and two-thirds of the educators. The therapeutic activities in which the Boscoville personnel participated were group therapy (22/33), individual therapy (8/33) and interviews (3/33), and these activities were continued for an average of three years.

This participation in therapeutic activities is certainly too superficial for us to conclude that the educators have adequate self-knowledge. True, perhaps we should have verified the level of their psychological and social maturity by psychological tests. However studies, such as these of Tremblay (1979), lead us to believe that the educators, trained by the School of Psycho-education and finally hired by Boscoville, have the required personal qualities described in the definition of the educator that was adopted, especially when we know the number of filters used during training (tests and selection interviews, supervision and evaluation during the fieldwork) and after the hiring (selection, probation, supervision, evaluation).

The above information enables us to draw the following picture of the typical educator at Boscoville: he is 28, has a master's degree in psycho-education, has worked at Boscoville for three and a half years as a regular educator and has acquired six to seven years of experience with maladjusted youngsters; he is continuing his professional training and participates in the therapeutic activities with a view to bettering his self-knowledge and psychological stability.

Three characteristics immediately stand out - competence, stability and homogeneity. Regarding competence, the educators had received a thorough specialized training; they have years of appropriate practical experience; they continue to improve themselves personally and professionally; they have traits that show a high level of maturity. Concerning stability, the personnel presents the same social, professional and personal characteristics from one year to the other and invests a relatively long time in a career at Boscoville. As for homogeneity, it is obvious in terms of the social (sex, age, civil status), professional (training in psycho-education) and personal characteristics (therapeutic activities), and also exists from one residence to the other. Ménard (1974-1979) established the fact that there is little variation in all these characteristics at the centre over time.

2b. What do the educators do?

How do the educators at Boscoville fulfill their tasks? Do they do high quality work? Does it come up to what is expected of them? Are they consistent? These are questions that enable us to evaluate the quality of the educators' work and how adequately they fulfill their role.

An instrument called educators' work method was developed¹. It is a questionnaire composed of 111 statements, each describing what the educator does regarding one or another aspect of his role. For each statement there is a mark of 1 to 7 given by colleagues on his team. The questionnaire makes

1. The instrument was designed by Robert Ménard, Maurice Cusson and Marc LeBlanc and based on psycho-educative treatises, clinical instruments of Boscoville and certain theoretical works. Bélanger (1977) had constructed the instrument, with the help of statistical procedures to select the valid items, set up the final scales and validate the results.

it possible to discover what the educators do, the way they do it, and to compare the results with the prescriptions for what they should do.

Before presenting the results obtained, it is important to compare the theoretical definition of the educator's role as observer, organizer, animator, resource utilizer, team member and relational agent, with the definitions adopted within the framework of our measuring instrument. It is a question of showing how we have operationalized these components of the educator's role in an instrument that enables us to assess how the educator fulfills his role vis-à-vis individuals, the activities and the group. The definitions of the scales are on the left side of table 2.

The first task of the educator is to observe the young delinquent (Gendreau, 1966; Guindon, 1970). The educator, through participant observation, interviews and information gathered by the other educators, is expected to discover the youth's problems and the means the latter has to solve them. This knowledge should facilitate the planning and programming of the interventions and their adjustment as the youngsters react to them. To ascertain this part of the educator's role, we constructed a scale of knowledge¹ that refers to how well-informed they are about the boys and how correctly they convey this in the clinical reports provided. This knowledge denotes the educator who has taken stock of the problems, abilities and present development of the youngster and is well aware of the impact of his interventions.

As organizer (Gendreau, 1978), the educator adjusts the milieu to the needs and capacities of the young delinquents; he sets up the conditions necessary to their reeducation. Six measurement scales were constructed to make it possible to assess this part of the educator's role: four scales refer to the activities: preparation (10), competence (16), space/time element (17) and method (18); two scales refer directly to the adjustment of the milieu; animation of free time (22) and material needs (24). The educator is asked to institute activities that can be a source of technical apprenticeship and facilitate the process of reeducation. In this context, the activities must

1. These figures in parenthesis refer to the definition in table 2.

be carefully prepared; this refers to the way the educator plans and prepares the activities for which he is responsible, before taking the youngsters in hand. This preparation requires skill on the part of the educator, that is, a good knowledge of the activity he is directing and the teaching methods necessary to train the residents who are participating in his activity. Preparation of his activity requires particular attention to the space/time element, which is important in the psycho-educative conception of the reeducation process; thus he organizes and directs his activity in such a way that the boys occupy a well-defined space during the activity and that the time attributed to the activity is well used. Lastly, in his role as organizer, the educator must transmit a work method. In addition to his role as organizer of activities, the educator must adjust the milieu and to do this, must give special attention to the residents' physical needs; he must make adequate arrangements for mealtimes, bedtimes, etc., and use these times in a perspective of reeducation. He animates the residents' free time, organizing, with their collaboration, special evening and weekend activities, always making sure that they are part of the process of each youngster's reeducation.

The educator is not only defined as observer and organizer, he must also be animator since he is responsible for each young person's development (Gendreau, 1978). To help maladjusted youngsters evolve, he must encourage them to progress, get them to pursue and attain the objectives of reeducation. According to Cusson (1974), the encouragement begins with persuasion on the part of the educator to win the collaboration of the youngster, his influence to neutralize the pressures and determinisms that can spoil his efforts as well as his encouragement and support of the youth. Persuasion, influence and encouragement will work if the educator gives the youngsters meaningful and attainable projects, if he has an admixture of influence and charismatic authority and if he knows how to neutralize the forces that are likely to turn the youngster away. To ascertain the role of animator as expressed by encouragement, five scales of measurement were used: encouragement to cooperate in the reeducation process (3) in the activities (11), encouragement to take the initiative (6), to integrate in the group (19) and participate in group meetings (21). Encouragement

is the way the educator stimulates the young delinquent to meet challenge; he is persuaded to commit himself to the process of changing, to pursue the objectives of reeducation. In the activities, the encouragement takes the form of motivation to achieve the goals of the activity. Through this encouragement, the educator interests the youngster in his activity and demands a positive achievement. By this means the educator also shows he has confidence in the youngster's ability to change and that he is ready to give him his approval. Approval, another scale, is the educator's approval and encouragement of the boys who behave well, thus pointing up their success and their ability to succeed. Besides stimulating the evolution of each individual, the educator must also do the same for the group. In dealing with the group, he must help to create harmonious relationships among the boys in each residence; he assists them to become integrated in the group, eases conflicts and encourages solidarity. Finally, in his role as animator, the educator directs the group meetings and participates fully in them.

Our measurement scales refer to roles, it is true, but some scales can define several roles at once. This is true for the role of utilizer which, as we have seen, consists in making every minute of the daily life count (Gendreau, 1978). To do this, the educator will control the events during the activities (13), he will foster responsibility (23) and autonomy (9) and will react to the youngsters' behaviour with justice (7 and 8). Thus the educator will ensure the control of events during the activities by adapting to the situations and reactions of the boys in such a way that the activity not only continues, but these events are used to further the boys' development. Using the events also means that the educator will react appropriately and justly to youngsters who behave badly. To be just means that the educator must keep cool in the face of inappropriate behaviour and punish wittingly and not arbitrarily. He must not be negligent, another scale, meaning that he must not show excessive tolerance for unacceptable behaviour and close his eyes to it. The educator, according to Boscoville's expectations, uses events, organizes the life of

the centre and animates the activities and group life while ensuring that the highest possible level of autonomy and responsibility is permitted. Autonomy will be permitted to the extent that the educator fosters initiative and independence in the residents; he lets the youngsters decide for themselves as often as possible, he encourages them to undertake their own development and refrains from helping them when he thinks they are able to surmount the difficulties they encounter on their own. Furthermore, the educator must assign responsibilities to the youngsters able to assume them and help them in carrying them out. The autonomy granted and responsibility assigned are part of the encouragement and assistance given by the educators.

Another aspect of the educator's role is that of being a member of the team (Gendreau, 1966); with the aid of a team work scale (26), we were able to evaluate his participation in team work while maintaining a certain degree of autonomy. It requires mutual support, a spirit of exchange, co-operation and mutual aid, as well as punctuality (25) which is a minimal requisite for team work.

The final role of the educator, if not the most important, is that of a forger of relationships (Guindon, 1970). A good relationship, aid, love, authority are the point of departure and conditions necessary for all aspects of the educator's work and for the involvement of the young person in a process of reeducation. The relationship is the cornerstone of reeducation; it is measured according to five scales: relationship (2), individual assistance (5), assistance in the activities (14), marking (15) and authority (20). The relationship scale defines the educator who has a good relationship with the youngsters. He gets along well with them, is liked and respected by them and communicates easily with them. This relationship is established on the basis of the assistance, support, counselling and direction given the youth in his efforts to change. It is a question of support at an opportune moment that answers the youngster's need and has the desired results. This assistance is more concrete during

the activities, where the educator helps the youngsters to accomplish the tasks provided in a given activity. The relationship established and aid given are completed by the marking system, where the educator makes an objective evaluation of the accomplishments and behaviour of the youth during the activities as well as during free time - an evaluation that the educator has the youngster accept. Finally, the relationship will be marked by authority, a subject barely dealt with in Boscoville's files and proceedings. Guindon (1970) speaks of "firm support" that the educator must give, that is, a form of control or authority that should keep a minimum of order and prevent delinquent conduct - an authority that should be used with discernment and intelligence. In our view, authority will be evident if the educator is obeyed by the residents and, above all, if he maintains control of the situation during routines, transitions and free time.

So far we have made the connection between the six aspects of the educator's role and the measurement scales we constructed. However, there is a principle of reeducation that is firmly upheld by those who conceived Boscoville and that must colour all aspects of the educators' intervention and that is individualization. Gendreau (1966), Guindon (1970) and Tessier (1970) insist on the need for the educator to constantly refer in his interventions and his own actions to the personal and unique character of the young person, comprising his past, his present, his future and the stage he is at in the process of reeducation. Individualization of the treatment of individuals (4) consists in proposing objectives to the boys that take into account their level of development, their abilities, their interests and their problems. Individualization is encouragement suited to the subjects to whom it is given and presupposes an appropriate knowledge of the individual concerned. Within the framework of the activities, individualization (12) can be viewed as the fact of proposing objectives that take into account the

characteristics of the subjects concerned; it means adapting the activity to the needs, the evolution and abilities of the youngsters involved.

Establishing the connection between the different aspects of the educator's role and the various scales established, as we have just done, enables us to deal more directly with the question of greatest interest to us: do the educators behave according to the prescriptions suggested by the theoretical model established at Boscoville? Does the performance of the educators come up to expectations? Do the educators practice every day what is defined as their role?

To answer these questions empirically, in the pages that follow we will present the averages and standard deviations of the residents for the twenty-six scales of the educators' work method instrument. The higher the averages and the smaller the standard deviations, the better the performance.

At first glance, table 2 shows that the averages are high, in general around 7.72 for a possible maximum of 10, a mark of 77% with a rather small deviation of an average 1.33. In fact, the weakest scales show an average of 6.44 and the strongest of 8.78; this means that the educators, with only a few exceptions, get marks for performance varying between 5.6 and 10. These results signify that the educators at Boscoville take the kind of action expected of them.

The educators' performance seems to be excellent, the averages on the scales are all high, some higher than others. The high averages on the evaluation scales, aid in the activities and space/time element, are undoubtedly due to the importance attached to these aspects of intervention at Boscoville; also the high level of the scales, basic needs and punctuality, can perhaps be because these areas are relatively easy to handle. On the other hand, certain scales show weaknesses: control of events, group meetings and teamwork; however, it is relatively difficult to achieve excellence in these areas.

Table 2

Intervention of educators¹

(N = 30)

Handling of the residentsResidences

1. <u>KNOWLEDGE</u> : Being informed about the boys (their abilities-problems-evolution) and conveying this knowledge correctly in the clinical reports.	7.72	1.23
2. <u>RELATIONSHIP</u> : Having an excellent personal relationship with the boys.	7.44	1.39
3. <u>ENCOURAGEMENT</u> : Getting the youngsters to pursue and achieve the goals of reeducation.	7.43	1.42
4. <u>INDIVIDUALIZATION</u> : Proposing goals that take into account the boys' level of development, their abilities, interests and problems.	7.63	1.35
5. <u>AID</u> : The assistance, support, advice and direction given by the educator to the youngster in his efforts to change.	7.62	1.22
6. <u>APPROVAL</u> : The educator's reaction of approval and encouragement of boys who behave well, thus pointing up their success and their ability to succeed.	8.31	1.25

1. Results compiled by Pierre Bélanger (1977)

2. Averages: out of 10

3. Standard deviations

Table 2 (continued)

Intervention of educators

(N = 30)

Handling of the residents

	<u>Residences</u>	
7. <u>JUSTICE</u> : Appropriate reaction of the educator to youngsters who behave badly. The "just" educator keeps his composure when faced with inappropriate behaviour and imposes sanctions (consequences) advisedly and not arbitrarily.	7.83	1.03
8. <u>INDIFFERENCE</u> : The behaviour of the educator who shows excessive tolerance of unacceptable conduct, closing his eyes to it.	2.26	1.38
9. <u>AUTONOMY</u> : The type of intervention on the part of the educator that fosters initiative and independence among the boys.	7.41	1.34
10. <u>PREPARATION</u> : The educator's planning and preparation of the activities for which he is responsible before involving the youngsters.	7.53	1.28
11. <u>MOTIVATION</u> : The action of the educator who motivates the boys to pursue and achieve the goals of the activity for which he is responsible. He interests them in the activity and demands good results.	7.99	1.07
12. <u>INDIVIDUALIZATION</u> : The fact of proposing goals in the activities that take into account the characteristics of the subjects concerned.	7.61	1.01
13. <u>CONTROL OF EVENTS</u> : The conduct of the educator who, during the activities he is directing, adapts to the events and reactions of the boys so that the activity not only continues, but the events are used for reeducation purposes.	6.44	.84

Table 2 (continued)

Intervention of educators

(N = 30)

Handling of the residents

	<u>Residences</u>	
14. <u>AID</u> : Action of the educator who gives adequate assistance to the youngsters during the activities .	8.10	1.17
15. <u>MARKING</u> : Appropriate evaluation of the accomplishment and behaviour of the youngster during the activities, and one which the boys accept.	7.73	1.07
16. <u>COMPETENCE</u> : The quality of the educator who is well versed in the activity he directs and the teaching methods necessary to train the boys in this activity.	7.94	1.77
17. <u>SPACE/TIME ELEMENT</u> : The fact that the educator organizes and directs his activity in such a way that the boys occupy a well-defined area during their activity and that the time spent at the activity is well used.	8.59	1.22
18. <u>METHOD</u> : The act of the educator who introduces a work method into the activities.	7.59	1.59
19. <u>GROUP CONTROL</u> : The action of the educator who helps to create harmonious relationships among the boys of the residence. He helps the boys to become integrated in the group, eases conflicts and encourages the youngsters to show more solidarity with their comrades.	7.41	1.53
20. <u>AUTHORITY</u> : Marks the educator who is obeyed by the boys and maintains control of the situation during routines and transitions.	8.10	1.41

Table 2 (continued)

Intervention of educators

(N= 30)

Handling of the residents

	<u>Residences</u>	
21. <u>GROUP MEETINGS</u> : Directing and participating in group meetings in a valid way.	6.88	1.84
22. <u>ANIMATION OF FREE TIME</u> : The fact of organizing special activities during the evenings or weekends and integrating these activities into the reeducation process.	7.85	1.30
23. <u>RESPONSIBILITIES</u> : The fact of relegating responsibilities to the youngsters able to assume them.	7.58	1.29
24. <u>MATERIAL NEEDS</u> : The fact of organizing mealtimes, bedtimes, etc. adequately and using these moments in a reeducative way.	8.01	1.15
<u>OTHER SCALES</u>		
	<u>Suburbs</u>	<u>Residences</u>
25. <u>PUNCTUALITY</u> : The fact of being on time	8.78	1.76
26. <u>TEAMWORK</u> : The involvement of the educator in active teamwork with the other educators.	6.85	1.72

Despite the high level of general performance on the part of the educators at Boscoville as a whole, there are differences nonetheless. The standard deviations scale shows that whereas certain educators are excellent, others are very good, and no one seems to be really poor. There are variations as well from one aspect of reeducation to another. Table 2 shows that there are actually significant statistical differences in ten of the twenty-six scales measuring the intervention of the educators (Bélanger, 1977). These are relationship, encouragement, aid, autonomy regarding treatment of the individual, individualization, aid and marking progress made through the activities, group control, responsibility and team work. The variations between the residences are rather slight and it is possible to conclude that the intervention at Boscoville is relatively uniform from one residence to another. However, we have noticed that each of the residences has a personality of its own or a specific level of performance. Even though the differences between the residences are slight, units 4 and 5 systematically obtain medians slightly higher than the others, whereas unit 3 shows the weakest performance although still very good on the whole. It is also interesting to note that the areas that show differences are those that call upon the person of the educator: encouragement, aid, individualization, whereas the scales that show little differences between the residences mainly concern structure and organization: preparation of the activities, basic needs, time/space element. Thus the residences tend to be different, but this reflects the personality and personal characteristics of the educators rather than differences in the ideology and principles of reeducation.

The intervention of the educators at Boscoville is not only homogeneous from one residence to the other, it is also stable over time, at least all during the time we were doing our research. The data presented by Bélanger (1977) and Cusson and LeBlanc (1980) establish that the quality of the educative work was maintained for the duration of the intervention. In fact, Bélanger shows that there is no significant differences between the intervention of the educators in 1975 and 1976, and Cusson and LeBlanc (1980) conclude that the averages of the educators were remarkably stable between 1976 and 1979.

Table 3
Differentiation of the intervention according to residence

	Group 1	Group 2	Group 3	Group 4	Group 5	Kruskal-Wallis Test	
	Md ¹	Md	Md	Md	Md		
<u>Individual Intervention</u>							
Knowledge	7.61	7.85	7.14	8.33	8.33	H ² = 9.11	P ³ = .0584
Relationship	7.61	6.90	6.34	7.85	8.25	H = 15.8	P = .0033*
Encouragement	7.61	7.26	6.36	8.57	8.25	H = 17.9	P = .0013*
Individualization	7.35	7.19	7.14	8.25	8.19	H = 9.09	P = .1349
Aid	7.67	7.76	7.14	8.12	8.33	H = 11.1	P = .0254*
Approval	8.28	7.85	8.03	8.61	8.63	H = 6.85	P = .1441
Justice	7.64	7.85	7.71	8.42	7.71	H = 4.84	P = .3043
Negligence	1.79	2.15	3.40	1.43	2.23	H = 8.64	P = .0707
Autonomy	7.39	6.63	6.37	7.95	8.21	H = 19.6	P = .0006*
<u>Intervention in the activities</u>							
Preparation	7.14	7.50	7.41	8.21	7.05	H = 1.78	P = .7762
Motivation	7.78	7.57	7.50	8.78	8.28	H = 8.63	P = .0710
Individualization	7.02	7.67	7.26	8.51	8.08	H = 17.7	P = .0014*
Control of events	6.07	6.72	5.98	6.84	6.74	H = 6.47	P = .1667
Aid	8.17	8.03	7.50	8.63	8.81	H = 7.95	P = .0448*
Marking	7.23	7.95	7.61	8.51	8.09	H = 12.9	P = .0119*
Competence	8.03	9.16	8.03	7.85	8.48	H = 4.07	P = .3969
Space/time	8.83	8.92	7.67	9.21	8.57	H = 4.60	P = .3302
Method	7.67	7.28	7.42	8.46	7.50	H = 6.11	P = .1908
<u>Group Intervention</u>							
Group control	7.38	7.32	6.16	8.21	8.12	H = 13.5	P = .0091*
Authority	8.00	7.85	6.97	9.00	9.04	H = 8.10	P = .881
Meetings	6.66	6.90	5.89	8.09	7.61	H = 7.72	P = .1023
Animation	7.73	7.61	7.23	8.33	8.39	H = 6.65	P = .1557
Responsibility	7.61	7.54	6.84	8.33	8.36	H = 16.1	P = .0029*
Basic needs	8.15	8.57	7.61	7.85	7.71	H = 4.78	P = .3101
Punctuality	9.16	9.49	8.57	9.46	9.74	H = 6.13	P = .1897
Teamwork	6.96	7.23	5.89	7.58	7.97	H = 16.3	P = .0026*

1. Median
2. Value H of the Kruskal-Wallis analysis of variance
3. Probability
4. Significant statistical differences*

In short, the intervention of the educators at Boscoville is unquestionably characterized by high quality performance, performance that is relatively homogeneous from one residence to the other and stable over time. These results lead us to believe that the educators work very well. A critical eye would perhaps be inclined to see some complacency and self-satisfaction behind these excellent averages. This is quite possible, for after all, it is the educators who judge the other educators at Boscoville. However, there is a very strong congruence between the evaluation of the intervention by the educators and how it is viewed by the residents (see Bélanger, 1977); we shall come back to this subject in the section on social climate.

There are numerous factors that favour the high performance of the educators at Boscoville and the fact that they practice the model of intervention proposed by its originators. However, two of these factors merit our attention - training and guidance. As we have shown, the educators have an advanced theoretical training, a masters in psycho-education, participation in therapeutic activities and appropriate practical training through the system of stages. It is this training that enables the educators to accomplish the tasks demanded of them. Their training is completed by systematic guidance that ensures a maximal contribution and one in keeping with the expectations of Boscoville. This mutual and reciprocal supervision, fostered by committees and the distribution of tasks, reinforces the application of the principles guiding the intervention. Training and guidance go hand in hand and, one without the other, the performance of the educators would certainly be of lesser quality and less in line with the theory advocated at Boscoville.

2c. What is the social climate in the teams?

At Boscoville, if the educator is the pivot of the intervention, the team is a way of life. In fact, the six educators of each team must share their presence and the tasks of organizing and animating the life of the residence. The team, then, is based on an awareness of complementarities and an acceptance of reciprocal assistance. It includes a coordinator - a more experienced educator who has shown superior skills of leadership and presence vis-à-vis the youth and his colleagues - and five educators, one of whom is a woman in certain residences.

The team is seen as an entity acting therapeutically on the youngsters. This is shown by cooperation at all times between the educators, that is to say, a reciprocal assistance that relies on the ability to communicate with another and understand him at the professional level; this understanding and cooperation between the educators is intended to serve as an example to the residents in their reeducation process. In this regard, Gendreau (1966) states that the weak points of a team can be found isomorphically in the group of residents. A team where the educators were inconsistent in their goals and in their behaviour, where the educators were unable to get along, would quickly be perceived as deficient by the group of youngsters. That is why Lachapelle (1969) insists that the team should have a common policy toward the groups of young delinquents and that it should also use a common strategy that not only avoids manipulation on the part of the young people, but also allows the team and the boys to recognize this. Finally, the team should not only be a model of reciprocal assistance and a source of personal development, it should also be a model of organization, in order to teach the youngsters to live in a positively structured group.

The instrument developed by Moos and Humphrey (1973), the Group Environment Scale, seemed to us appropriate for assessing the climate among the teams of educators. It is a simple instrument, a questionnaire of 90 items requiring a true or false answer, and which tells us the personality of a group. The latter is approached from three angles, the relationships, the development of the group and its organization. This is done with the help of ten scales: cohesion, support of the person responsible, expression, autonomy, orientation of the tasks, self-discovery, anger and aggression, order and organization, control of the person responsible and innovation¹.

The component relationship includes the scale 'cohesion', that is, the educators' participation and feeling of belonging to their team, the degree of unity and esprit de corps; the scale 'support of the coordinator' refers to

1. Nine items make up each of the scales, the scores vary from 0 to 9 on each scale; see Ménard (1976) for further details on the instrument; its construction, and its French adaptation.

the degree of encouragement and aid he gives the educators; and 'expression', that is, the degree of freedom and spontaneity in expressing feelings and thoughts, marks an absence of control and a reserve in the exchanges between the educators and the team. For its part, development includes the scale 'autonomy' or the encouragement the team gives initiative, self-confidence and self-realization; The scale 'orientation of the tasks' is the importance the team gives the concrete tasks and practical problems of everyday living; the scale 'self-discovery' measures the extent to which the educators of the team speak openly about their personal problems, their doubts, their dreams; finally, the scale 'anger and aggression' evaluates the tendency of the educators of a team to criticize and argue with one another, and which takes account of open manifestations of anger and aggressiveness. The last component of the instrument, organization, includes the scale 'order and organization', that is, the degree of organization within the team: goals shared, rules clear, activities planned, discussions orderly; the scale 'control of the coordinator' refers to the degree of authority and control shown by the coordinator of the team; he says how things are to be done, corrects the educators, decides what work to do, has the last word; and finally the scale 'innovation' measures the degree of change and experimentation the team permits as opposed to stability and routine.

Let us look now at the personality of the teams at Boscoville. To do this we will compare Boscoville with the results obtained by Moos and Humphrey (1973) in their study of thirty teams working in various American organizations and with data gathered in two Montreal training centres (LeBlanc and Ménard, 1975, and Brill, 1979). Table 4 gives these data. The general impression on first examination of the averages reported in this table is that the climate of the teams at Boscoville is clearly better than that of the teams in other organizations. Boscoville tops most of the scales and for the three components of the instrument. This first observation is important in the perspective of evaluation that we are adopting. The fact is, these results show us the high quality of the climate in the Boscoville teams. What the originators of Boscoville expected is what is practiced there - communication, reciprocal assistance and an understanding of the other team members; they are organized and also permit personal development. These are all characteristics that serve as an example to the residents. Actually, the educators are doing what they expect the youngsters to do. Let us now go

into more detail and ascertain the typical personality of the team at Boscoville.

Let us first examine the scale, 'orientation of the tasks'. The average of Boscoville is way ahead of all the other teams and is the highest average for the ten scales. Pragmatism seems to be one of the dominant characteristics of the Boscoville teams. Here, pragmatism means the orientation of the team toward concrete tasks, a willingness to resolve the practical problems of daily living. The opposite of a pragmatic team would be one where grand ideas would be discussed without applying them, where the members would dream while neglecting concrete tasks.

The pragmatism that characterizes the Boscoville teams is confirmed on reading the results of other scales. In fact, the scales 'expression' and 'self discovery' present lower averages and come close to the weakest teams in these areas. These results indicate that there is a certain constraint concerning the free expression of feelings and the subjectivity of the educators; nothing is ever said for the sake of just talking. This is understandable considering the pragmatism practised by the teams at Boscoville; the educators feel they are there to accomplish a task, to solve problems, not to talk about their personal problems. This control of the spontaneity and understanding of each is also shown by a much lower level of anger and aggression than in all the other teams,

It is obvious, then, from the above, that the educators at Boscoville do not live in a dream world, they stick to the daily reality, are careful of what they say and control their aggression. This is possible because of the high level of order and organization (Boscoville has the highest averages of all the teams). Thus the sharing of goals, clear rules, planned activities and orderly discussions make it possible to lessen anger and aggression and facilitate the orientation to concrete tasks. These orientations nonetheless ensure a good deal of self-expression as well as self-discovery as a man and a professional. All these characteristics also strengthen the cohesion (very high average). Thus an esprit de corps is developed, the feeling of belonging reinforced, and in this way the educator can work with a team and be consistent, one of the basic conditions for any educational programme.

Table 4
Comparison of the climate of the Boscoville team
with that of other centres
 (averages)

	Boscoville ¹ no. 7	MSA ² no. 11	American Teams ³ no. 30	B ⁴ no. 13
1. <u>COHESION</u> : Educators' participation in and feeling of belonging to their team. Unity and esprit de corps.	8.15	6.57	6.04	8.12
2. <u>SUPPORT OF THE COORDINATOR</u> : The coordinator encourages and aids his educators.	8.32	6.16	6.28	7.78
3. <u>EXPRESSION</u> : Degree of freedom and spontaneity in expressing feelings and thoughts. Absence of control and reserve in exchanges between the educators in the team.	5.83	5.04	5.49	6.68
4. <u>AUTONOMY</u> : Encouragement of self-confidence, initiative and self-assertion per team.	7.29	5.82	6.24	7.75
5. <u>PRAGMATISM</u> : Importance accorded by the team to concrete tasks and the practical problems of everyday life	8.34	7.41	4.83	8.09
6. <u>SELF-DISCOVERY</u> : Extent to which the educators of a team talk openly of their personal problems, their doubts, their dreams, etc.	5.68	4.36	5.32	5.25

-
1. Seven teams in June 1974, five educators and one coordinator.
 2. Eleven teams in April 1975, five to seven educators and one coordinator, French-speaking centre for juvenile delinquents from 14 to 18 years old.
 3. Teams of Moos and Humphrey (1973) from 15 to 20 persons.
 4. Thirteen teams in March 1977, one coordinator and 2 to 5 educators, English-speaking centre for juvenile delinquents from 14 to 18 years old.

Table 4 (continued)

Comparison of the climate of the Boscoville team
with that of other centres

	Boscoville ¹ no. 7	MSA ² no. 11	American teams ³ no. 30	B ⁴ no. 10
<u>7. ANGER AND AGGRESSIVENESS:</u>				
Tendency of the educators of a team to criticize and argue. Manifestations of anger and hostility.	2.37	3.45	4.07	3.48
<u>8. ORDER AND ORGANIZATION:</u>				
Degree of organization within the team: shared goals, clear rules, activities planned, orderly discussions.	6.90	6.13	4.13	6.36
<u>9. CONTROL OF THE COORDINATOR:</u>				
Degree of control and guidance of the coordinator. The latter says how things should be done, corrects the educators, decides what work to do, has the last word.	5.02	5.27	3.09	3.80
<u>10. INNOVATION:</u> Degree of change, of experimentation. The opposite of stagnation, confidence in tried and true methods, of routine.	4.73	4.59	5.16	5.76

If pragmatism and consistency are dominant traits of the climate in the Boscoville team, the kind of leadership exercised by the coordinator is also very important. Comparing Boscoville with the other teams' results, we find strong support, weaker control. The coordinator effectively directs his team but not in an authoritarian way. He offers real leadership based on influence, support and the agreement of the educators. The coordinator does not make all the decisions, he encourages his educators to do their share. He gives them a great deal of autonomy (see the autonomy scale), assisting them at the same time. All in all, he coordinates more than he directs his team, which is in complete agreement with the theoretical definition of a coordinator's role.

One result is rather surprising, and that is the lower average of Boscoville on the innovation scale. At Boscoville there is less experimentation, tried methods and procedures being preferred. To introduce innovations in a new or recent sector is probably easier than in a domain where much has already been done and where the preference is for refinement rather than improvement or innovation. The quarter century of tradition at Boscoville and the training received by its educators certainly explain this lower average on the innovation scale.

To sum up, the teams of Boscoville are cohesive, organized, pragmatic, and directed by an educator who coordinates and supports the team while leaving adequate room for personal and professional development. Furthermore, compared with others, the Boscoville teams present a quality of life and a climate that is shown to be excellent for reeducation. Thus the social climate in the teams of educators comes up to the expectations of the originators of Boscoville and, in addition, Ménard (1976) establishes that there is little difference between the real climate and the climate desired by the educators; that is to say, the latter feel they have attained an almost maximum level of results in this domain. Let us now see if the climate of the team is as stable and homogeneous as the treatment.

Let us first note that at each scale the variations between the residence with the best average and that considered the worst are not very great (Table 5). However, the residences with the lowest averages are nonetheless higher than the teams compared in table 4. There are four scales out of ten that show statistically significant differences: anger and aggressiveness, innovation, self-discovery and expression. But there is no difference in nature between the residences. The results show, however, that each one adopts a personality of its own; each accentuates one or another of the traits of the Boscoville model. We note too, as we did for the intervention of the educators, that residences 4 and 5 systematically get the highest marks whereas residence number 3 gets the lowest. Hence residences 4 and 5 practice the model proposed by Boscoville more effectively. As to the stability over time of the climate of the Boscoville team, the data reported by Cusson and LeBlanc (1980) show that throughout the years, from 1974 to 1979, the social climate in the teams of educators varied very little. This means that, during the period of research, the climate of the teams remained steady and on the whole, the quality was maintained.

In short, the social climate in the teams of educators at Boscoville is of excellent quality; it is relatively homogeneous from one team to another; it is stable over time. Thus another aspect of the educators' intervention has a constant influence over the youngsters under treatment. The quality of the work climate is explained by several concurrent factors. First, let us not forget the tradition of reeducation and the model that permeates the entire life at Boscoville, as well as the selection and training of the personnel that we spoke of; but the most important factor in maintaining a high quality is certainly the personnel and the mechanisms of communication. We might mention the various committees where the team meets, the training of the coordinators (a process of progressive and supervised apprenticeship), the constitution of the teams which consists in pairing the coordinators with the educators in the best possible way according to their experience and personal characteristics. The symbiosis of these elements, completed by a common conception of reeducation, ensures the excellence of the quality of life in Boscoville's teams of educators. The pragmatism and organization of these teams enable them to really get down to the difficult task of reeducating juvenile delinquents.

Table 5

Difference between the five residences

	Unit 1		Unit 2		Unit 3		Unit 4		Unit 5		Kruskal-Wallis Test
	A	S-D ²	A	S-D	A	S-D	A	S-D	A	S-D	
Cohesion	7.60	2.07	7.50	3.21	6.67	2.50	8.86	0.38	8.67	0.52	H = 7.48 P = .1111
Support of the coordinator	8.20	1.30	8.17	1.17	7.33	1.51	8.43	0.79	8.50	0.84	H = 3.73 P = .4437
Self-expression	6.60	0.55	6.50	1.76	2.67	2.50	6.57	1.72	5.50	0.84	H = 11.69 P = .0198
Independence	7.20	1.30	7.33	1.86	6.17	1.72	7.00	1.92	8.33	0.52	H = 7.00 P = .1346
Orientation of the tasks	8.20	0.45	8.17	0.75	7.50	1.05	8.43	0.79	8.67	0.52	H = 6.23 P = .1827
Self-discovery	6.40	1.14	5.50	1.38	3.17	2.23	4.86	1.35	6.50	1.05	H = 10.30 P = .0357
Anger and aggressiveness	1.60	1.14	1.50	1.38	3.17	0.54	2.57	0.79	4.50	1.38	H = 14.43 P = .0060
Order and organization	5.40	2.30	6.83	1.72	5.50	2.17	7.29	1.60	6.17	2.32	H = 3.74 P = .4419
Control of the coordinator	4.00	1.58	3.50	1.05	6.00	1.10	4.14	1.34	5.00	2.28	H = 8.15 P = .0863
Innovation	4.60	1.14	4.83	2.49	4.17	1.17	4.58	1.40	6.33	0.52	H = 10.73 P = .0295

1. Average

2. Standard deviations

2d. What are the personal relationships in the residences at Boscoville?

So far, our evaluation of the treatment offered has dealt with only one component of the human resources, the educators and their interventions: who the educators were; how they handled their charges through the activities and in groups; how they got along as a team. We will now deal with another aspect of the life at Boscoville, the relationships established between the educators and the youngsters.

"The educator: a man of human relationships". This is how Gendreau (1978, p.46), one of the founders of Boscoville, expresses the idea that personal relationships are the cornerstone of any approach to the reeducation of any child, the relationship being conceived not only as the point of departure of this undertaking, but also one of the conditions essential to the pursuit of this goal. The relationship that should exist, according to Gendreau (1978), should be one where the educator lives in close contact with the youngster, but maintaining sufficient distance so that the latter does not look upon the educator as an equal. This dilemma arises because the relationship is supposed to be one of affection and a source of identification, but it must also leave room for autonomy. There is also mention of the assistance and influence of the educator. In short, he is expected to establish a good relationship, at least with some of the residents, if not all the youngsters in his group.

How can the personal relationships between the educators and their charges be evaluated? We proceeded by asking the youngsters a series of questions (see Legendre, 1975 and 1977) on two of its major aspects, communication with the educators and the quality of the relationship that the resident had with his interviewer or tutor. These aspects are pertinent because the degree and nature of the communication between the educators and the residents are conditions that facilitate the relationship, and the

quality of the relationship with the educator/interviewer is an indication of how the youngsters are getting along in this area.

If communication is a prerequisite for the relationship, the following question is important: If you had a personal problem and wanted to talk to someone about it, who would you go to first? 77% of the residents chose an educator first, 15% another youngster and 8% no one living at Boscoville (see Legendre, 1977). The boys, then, have more confidence in the educators for discussion of their personal problems than in their friends in the residence. This means that the educators are informed of these problems and are therefore in a position to help the youngsters and influence them from the reeducational point of view.

Although the residents often turn to the educators to discuss their personal problems, the type and nature of the communications between them warrants more precise study. According to the analyses reported by Legendre (1977), the youngsters communicate as much with each other as with the educators; the local scores of communication are almost similar: .54 between the boys and .49 with the educators. This means that the youngsters talk to the educators as often as to the other boys about the twenty-two subjects that were submitted in the questionnaire. What do they talk about in the residences at Boscoville? Or more precisely, what do the citizens of the residences talk about with their friends and with their educators? The answers are reported in table 6 (the closer the index to 1, the more often this subject is the topic of conversation between the residents or with the educators. A score of .80 shows that most residents talk about music, for example, with the other residents whereas they discuss sports in the same proportion with the educators.

The subjects of conversation that come up most frequently between the residents are, in the following order: music, sports, the life of the residents, the activities at Boscoville, the outings and friends in the residence. Discussion is on an adolescent level (music, sports) or directly related to

the life at Boscoville; the place given the weekend outings is an example. With the educators, the subjects most frequently discussed are the same, only the order changes: sports, the life in the residence, friends, the activities at Boscoville, music and outings. An analysis of table 6 becomes still more interesting when we note the gap between the indices for the same subject of conversation. It seemed that certain subjects were more often discussed between the youngsters than with the educators: girls, drugs, sex, delinquent acts; on the other hand, concerning their personal problems, the boys preferred to talk with the educators.

The most frequent subjects of conversation are discussed between the youngsters as much as with the educators. They are subjects typical of the adolescent culture of boys between 15 and 18 years of age (music and sports) and concern the life at Boscoville (the life at the residence, the activities, the friends, the outings). Certain subjects are not encouraged by the educators and are preferably discussed between friends: they concern relationships with the opposite sex (girls, sex) and delinquent activities (drugs, crimes).

The frequency of the conversations about Boscoville shows the fullness of the daily life, which furnishes inexhaustible subjects of discussion, not only with the educators but also with the other residents. On the other hand, the subjects of conversation that have no bearing on the life at the centre are remarkably innocuous. The subjects preferably discussed with peers have the savour of forbidden fruit: girls, sex, drugs, delinquency. The educators, on principle, do not encourage such subjects of conversation, except at specific times (during weekly meetings, discussion groups, group therapy), and the youngsters are content to talk about them between themselves without the educators knowing. This separation of subjects of conversation perhaps shows sectors where the youngsters feel a need to communicate, a need to look for answers to difficulties that are always present. However, the youngsters do talk to the educators about their personal problems, which is exactly the role the educator wants to play and that Boscoville

Table 6

Frequency of conversations with the other boys and
with the educators, according to subject

	BOYS ¹	△ ²	EDUCATORS ¹
- Girls .....	.66	.28	.38
- Work I could do .....	.57	-.03	.60
- Jobs I have pulled (crimes) .....	.32	.20	-.12
- Food .....	.48	.07	.41
- Outdoor activities .....	.64	.02	.62
- Drugs .....	.49	.23	.26
- Sports .....	.79	-.02	.81
- Music .....	.80	.12	.68
- Experiences before coming here .....	.42	.06	.36
- Politics .....	.36	.19	.17
- Outings .....	.70	.06	.64
- Rules and the consequences (punishments) at Boscoville .....	.38	.00	.38
- Life in the residence .....	.72	-.03	.75
- My personal problems .....	.38	-.20	.58
- The educators in general .....	.46	.11	.35
- The activities of Boscoville .....	.71	.00	.71
- Running away or runaway boys .....	.42	.01	.41
- The boys of the residence .....	.65	-.08	.73
- Criticism of the educators .....	.40	-.02	.42
- Sex .....	.53	.21	.32
- Our future .....	.53	-.06	.59

-
1. Proportion of youngsters at Boscoville who often or very often talk of these subjects of conversation, either with their comrades or with the educators.
 2. The difference between conversations between the residents and conversations between the residents and educators; for example, girls: between the boys (.66) less with the educators (.38) equals a difference of (.28)

Table 7

Relationship with the boys' personal guardian

	Residences
Right now, how are you getting along with him?	N = 46
1. Very well	77.3 ¹
2. Fairly well	22.7
3. Rather badly	
4. Very badly	
At the moment, is he truly helping you to develop?	
1. Yes, I am sure he is	68.2
2. I think so	27.3
3. I don't think so	4.5
4. No, I am sure he is not	
Do you find that he understands your problems well?	
1. Very well	59.1
2. Fairly well	31.8
3. Not very well	9.1
4. Not well at all	
Would you like to be the kind of person this educator is?	
1. Exactly like him	18.2
2. In most things	72.7
3. In certain things	9.1
4. Not at all	
Do you have consideration for him?	
1. I don't really respect him	
2. I respect him as an educator only	4.5
3. I respect him as a man only	18.2
4. I respect him as a man and as an educator	77.3
Is he demanding?	
1. Very demanding	22.7
2. Demanding	36.4
3. Fairly demanding	27.3
4. Not very demanding	13.6

expects of him¹.

Although the study of the degree and nature of the communications showed that they were quite sufficient for fostering a relationship and that, in spite of everything, they concerned pertinent subjects, it is necessary to study the nature of the relationship between each youngster and the educator assigned as his personal guardian since theoretically there should be a special relationship established between them. We therefore asked the residents to write down the name of their personal guardian, to think about him and to answer some questions regarding the understanding, assistance, encouragement and consideration he thought his personal guardian gave him (table 7 shows these data for 56 boys in February 1976 and is taken from Cusson's report, 1977).

The citizens of Boscoville get along very well with their personal guardians and their relationships have the characteristics of the educational relationship expected by the founders of Boscoville. In fact, 77% of the residents say they get along very well with their guardian and the rest, 23%, fairly well. This relationship seems to be educational, for almost all the youngsters believe that their interviewer has confidence in their possibilities; they all think that their educator knows they can become someone, that they can change. This is an essential element of the role of the educator as an agent of change. The large majority of the youngsters believe they are truly helped by their educator, 68% are certain and 27% think so; 59% say they are well understood by their interviewer and 32% fairly well understood. Only a small minority of residents, 5%, say they have not been truly helped, and 9% not understood. Although the educator/resident relationship is marked by compatibility, understanding and aid, nonetheless there are certain requirements. 23% of the youngsters state

1. Contrary to what we have done so far, we shall not give any data on the homogeneity of the subjects of conversation that take place throughout the residences or their stability over time. The data we have indicate that there is stability, except for variations due to certain conditions; for example, during an election period politics takes precedence in the conversation. Homogeneity between the residences is also very marked. These data are reported by Cusson and LeBlanc (1980).

that their personal interviewer is very demanding, for 36% he is demanding and for 23% he is fairly demanding; only 14% say their interviewer is not demanding enough.

The relationships between the educators and the youngsters seem to conform to the expectations described in the Boscoville reeducation model; they are demanding, comprehensive, helpful and foster harmony. What marks the educators as a source of change according to the youngsters? We find that 77% of the youngsters say they respect their interviewer as a man and as an educator, 18% as a man only and 5% as an educator only (Table 7). This respect however, does not mean they would like to resemble their educator; none of the boys wants to be exactly the kind of person he is, 18% would like to resemble him in most things and 73% in certain things, while 9% would not like to resemble him at all. More Montreal school children (LeBlanc, 1976) would like to resemble their father exactly or fairly closely (43%) than the residents of Boscoville their educator (18%). At the centre, there are reservations; 73% want to become like their educator only in certain ways. On the other hand, there are more school children who do not want to be like their father at all (16%) than boys who reject the model offered by their educator (9%). The Boscoville educator, then, presents the adolescents with a respected model, but farther from what the Boscoville theory leads one to expect. The adolescent who comes to the centre has already formed an identity based on the parental and cultural models he has known and it is therefore difficult for him to become identified with educators who are very different from him, if only because of their professional and personal training.

To complete this section on the relationships between the educators and their charges, we note that the variations between the residences and over time follow the same trend as those reported for the climate of the team and the intervention of the educators (see Cusson and LeBlanc, 1980).

Personal relationships, then, whether in terms of communication or relationship with the therapist, are of very high quality at Boscoville and on the whole vary very little over time and between residences, even though the latter each have their own characteristics. Thus, in the areas of personal relationships, team climate and intervention, as well as the influence of educators, we must say that they apply the guiding theoretical framework, that their performance is of high quality and is constant in space and over time. Thus the treatment offered is real to the extent of this quality performance of the educators. This observation is of value when we propose to verify the effect of a particular treatment on a group of young delinquents. The treatment is clearly identifiable and truly applied. These characteristics are all the more meaningful since we can add that the young delinquents who stay at Boscoville receive basically the same treatment in no matter which residence they are placed. Furthermore, all the youngsters in our sample received the same treatment whether they were at Boscoville in 1974 or 1977 because the action of the educators is stable over time.

Let us now go on to the second type of human resources that serve to achieve the reeducation of young delinquents - the group, particularly the group's place in the process of reeducation. We will go into areas similar to those that concern the educators: the structural elements (composition, structure), the social climate in the group as seen by the residents and educators, and the relationships between the young people. In proceeding with these analyses, we will have the same concerns, namely, to compare the recommendations with the practices and evaluate the quality of the treatment offered by Boscoville.

11- The group: recommendations and practices

In a reeducation centre like Boscoville, the groups of residents form an integral part of the milieu. Reeducation is carried on in and through the group. The latter is not only the context of reeducation, it

is also one of the main methods used to have the young delinquents experience one step of their reeducation. The following excerpt, from a rather dated text, illustrates very well the importance accorded the group at Boscoville.

"Participating in a suitable social order, he will take responsibilities and adopt a role. Through close participation in this social milieu, he will become aware of his non-delinquent identity and become familiar with social settings and their objective requirements, which will prepare him to adapt to the social reality in general."
(Boscoville, 1964, p. 3).

This group, however, must not be merely a social environment, it must be therapeutic.

1. A therapeutic group

At Boscoville, the group is used as a therapeutic instrument. Adoption of this practice was based on the reasoning of Boscoville's founders that since the group is natural to adolescence and considering that delinquency is above all a group phenomenon, the group should become one of the instruments of reeducation.

Gendreau (1966) and Guindon (1970), to validate their acceptance of the fact that the group is a natural phenomenon of adolescence, refer to Erikson (1959). And inspired by the work of Mailloux (1968-1971) and criminological studies of gangs (we cite Block and Neiderhoffer, 1963, in this regard; see Achille, 1978), it was believed that belonging to a positively oriented group could replace the gang and enable youngsters to meet their needs, to feel welcome, to feel secure and to do things with colleagues. Basing themselves on scientific knowledge, the founders of Boscoville recognized the importance of peers for adolescents and, more particularly, colleagues for juvenile delinquents. This led to the choice of the group as a way of life and as an instrument of reeducation.

"The group, first at all, constitutes an environment", say Gendreau (1966) and Guindon (1970). That is, it is allowed a life of its own while being closely linked to the social structure of the whole centre. The group has autonomy because it occupies its own premises; it has its own team of educators, its own schedule and particular organization of activities; the youngsters stay there permanently after a stay of about two months in the suburbs; and, as we have seen by certain empirical results in the case of the teams, groups gradually acquire their own originality, their own personality. Because the group is encouraged and in time becomes a "micro-society" (Guindon, 1970), it can assume great importance in the eyes of its members and the image it presents to the residents largely conditions the path the youngster will follow during his stay at Boscoville.

But according to Boscoville's theoreticians, the group should be more than a micro-society, it should become a means of therapy for the young delinquents who are its members. And it will be, depending on the spirit that permeates it, the activities it will generate and the feeling of belonging it will create.

Thus for Gendreau (1966), the group is a special ambiance:

"The group embodies the immediate surroundings, structured and safe, active and imbued with the general spirit of the institution, witness to the tradition that the institution has forged from its earliest reeducational experience to its most recent. If the group possesses this tradition, he (the youngster) is called upon to live by its underlying values and gradually identify with the lifestyle of a group that has been reeducated". p. 44

Thus the group is the guardian of a spirit that influences the youngsters exposed to it. We shall speak empirically of the psycho-social climate; the climate of the group is its personality, its attitudes, values, its way of being and doing. The tradition that the group possesses will necessarily be socializing in itself because it proposes mutual aid rather

than exploitation, reception and integration in the group rather than belonging by force or pretense, recognition of the individual and his ability rather than conformism. The educator must therefore ensure that the tradition is maintained and that it does not become distorted for delinquent purposes.

Along with this climate that should unify the group, it has "socializing mechanisms", as Gendreau (1966) calls them. These are the living routine, the activities, and the control of its members' conduct. In fact, he insists that it is the group's duty to evaluate each of its members, their achievement and even their behaviour, in order to maintain a positive group image. It should see that the values are respected by its members because it is the guardian of those values; it should ensure the distribution of tasks and responsibilities. To fulfill these obligations, the group has a formal structure that ensures the members a social status and the exercise of various social roles within the civic structure (previously described). In short, the group seems the ideal place for developing relationships with others, for learning mutual respect, understanding and exchange. All these elements should contribute toward the search for a personal identity which is common to all adolescents and for the recognition he needs from his peers and from meaningful adults.

On the other hand, Gendreau (1966) tells us that for group life to be therapeutic, its cohesion must be promoted and maintained. The centre should therefore devise ways of promoting and maintaining the cohesion of its groups. As we have seen, they have relative autonomy with regard to the daily routine and programming, while they have complete autonomy in carrying out activities and collaborating in analyzing the progress and difficulties of the group and its members. The result is that each group determines its own social structure which is expressed officially and unofficially. Officially it is a matter of posts and social roles associated with the stages of reeducation; these are held by the members

according to set criteria of accessibility and practice and after confirmation by both the residents and the educators. The therapeutic nature of this set-up will be assured due to the perspicacity of the educators who seek to suit the task or responsibility to the personality or evolution of the young person concerned.

If the official structure is an indispensable control for the development and maintaining of the socializing aspects of the group, the unofficial structure is no less important. In the literature on Boscoville, there is rarely any mention of controlling interactions, of controlling the unofficial structure to ensure its socializing nature; but the educators recognize that it constitutes an essential mechanism for enabling the residents to evolve. And Guindon (1970) tells us:

"Any group to be therapeutic, should have a positive, dynamic informal culture, assumed by elements who have already assimilated certain values and can face up to the sub-groups that remain delinquent and who most often instigate a deviant sub-culture", p. 83.

Let us see whether or not such a sub-culture exists at Boscoville and whether it outweighs the socializing tradition that the group should be advocating.

All the mechanisms associated with the group and all the therapeutic benefits expected are effective only to the extent that the group functions well. The composition of the group of residents, like that of the educators, is one of the factors that have a tremendous influence on its functioning. In the psycho-educative literature, as at Boscoville, there is nothing written expressly on the composition of a group. One principle, however, that is often put forward is that homogeneity of the personalities and problems is counter-indicated, as is total heterogeneity. Hence the clinical executive distributes the new boys in each of the residences according to how the group is functioning, the characteristics of its

members and the influence the potential member might have on the group.

Great care is taken to integrate the young delinquent in his new group as soon as he leaves the suburbs. The educators and most advanced residents try to see that the new member is gradually integrated in the group, that he is accepted by his peers and that he feels at home in the residence. The fact that the centre is divided into small groups of 10 to 15 residents, relatively autonomous and having their own educators, helps to develop a sense of group identity and cohesion. Thus the youngster learns to identify with his group while the latter is strengthened by his participation in its official responsibilities. This participation, furthermore, will enable the youngster to express himself in a non-delinquent way; it will give him a chance to take responsibility, to acquire status in the group and to be somebody in the eyes of his peers and educators.

At Boscoville, members of the groups are elected to official posts according to established criteria. These officeholders are chosen democratically by the group which, with the educators, sanctions the way in which the role will be fulfilled. The alderman of the residence is the official leader of the group; he is elected and participates in the city council. He appoints four deputy ministers and a secretary who, along with him, will form the residence council. Gendreau (1966) stresses three conditions if this system is to be effective. The functions must be real, not the tasks of an educator, but ones that are necessary and not of an honorary nature; the work must be adjusted to the youngster's level of development, the responsibilities not beyond his ability to handle them; and the presence of educators who support and guide these officeholders is essential.

Each residence, with its little group, is a micro-society with a structure and a formal and informal social organization. Having observed that formally the structure and social organization were relatively uniform from one residence to the other (the programming, daily routine, and civic

structure already described), we decided in our empirical study to examine the characteristics of group life in its informal aspects. To do this, we studied the structure, or the interactions between the members, and stratification of the groups, and the psycho-social ambiance of the group, or its internal dynamics - its cohesion, the presence of sub-cultural elements, the social climate and personal relationships. Let us now see whether or not the group life actually coincides with that prescribed in the writings on the subject.

2. The groups of youngsters at Boscoville

The group is the basic social unit of Boscoville and the youngsters spend almost all of their time with the members of their particular group; all activities are in company with the group, including leisure time. Only the meals are taken in a common room with the other residents, but even there, the youngsters must eat with the members of their group at a separate table.

The five reeducation residences can house fifteen boys but rarely operate at full capacity; this is either because of runaways or problems of supplies. During the period of our research, the average rate of occupation, or number of boys under Boscoville's supervision, was 85% a week, or thirteen boys per residence; however, the number of boys actually on the premises averaged 76% or eleven boys per residence (Leduc and LeBlanc, 1976). Thus the groups usually comprise eleven to thirteen residents, small groups generally assigned six educators.

2a. What is the structure of the groups?

The structural aspects of group life were studied by means of a sociometric questionnaire (see the Legendre report, 1975, for details regarding the instrument). We focus on two aspects in particular: interactions

and stratification. The interactions refer to the degree of compatibility between the members of a group and the nature of their interactions - preferences and rejections. Stratification is the level of influence in the group exercised either by individuals (leadership, prestige, etc.) or in terms of the composition of the group (cliques, hierarchical organization). These measurements of the structural aspects of group life have their limitations because of the constant complexities of an operational and emotional order, and they therefore inform us only about the first component - the interaction. However, certain structural conditions are essential for reeducation to be possible.

The index of interactions gives a picture of the number of preferential relationships in a group compared with the maximum number of such relationships possible; the rate varies from .44 to .66, which means that in June 1974, half the boys in the groups had been chosen by the others in the residences. The amount of positive and negative relationships is of greater interest for qualifying the interaction in the group and ascertaining its socializing influence.

Two thirds of the relationships are choices of preference and one third rejections at a given moment or in one or another residence. These trends are similar to the results obtained in comparable groups of young delinquents or adolescents (Polsky, 1962; Janin and Maisonneuve, 1963; Raymond-River, 1961; Toesca, 1972; Legendre and Bondeson, 1972). Furthermore, Legendre (1975), with the aid of statistical calculations, established that the rejections were stable over time between June 1974 and February 1977, and homogeneous from one residence to the other during this period of data collection; however, the positive relationships vary slightly from one group to the next while remaining stable over time. These results show that the interaction is sufficiently good at Boscoville for the group members to benefit from a climate favourable to the rehabilitation process.

This process will be reinforced by the nature of the group's stratification. Legendre (1977) established that of the thirty-five groups analyzed,

that is, the five residences observed at seven different times, there were nineteen groups that had a star (a popular boy, one who had been chosen the most and had the highest status) and a leader (a boy who knew how to make other listen to him), two different persons, whereas in sixteen groups the same person was both star and leader. These findings have no value in themselves, except for the fact that it has been observed at Boscoville that the stars and leaders are always youngsters who are a step ahead in their reeducation (production and/or personality). These results indicate that they are models acceptable to the educators, which means they must certainly correspond with the principles advocated by Boscoville. One can therefore speak of a process of leadership control by the educators - results that differ from those of Bondeson (1968), who found, in Swedish centres, that the youngsters having the highest status were those in favour of delinquent norms and behaviour. At Boscoville, then, the leadership would be potentially socializing, for it is as positive as possible.

Another way of evaluating how positive a group is from the point of view of its socializing potentiality is to study the structure of the group and see if there are any cliques. According to the results reported by Legendre (1975), there are no cliques at Boscoville and little hierarchic order, that is, no group where the majority choose a single person. This study of the structure of the groups showed us there was little variation all during our research or from one residence to another; furthermore, the results at Boscoville show less structuring and fewer cliques than in other centres for juvenile delinquents (Legendre, 1977). The structure of the groups at Boscoville is all the more conducive to reeducation in that it is characterized by reciprocal chain relationships, as shown by the analysis of the sociograms of the Boscoville residences in February 1976, reported by Legendre (1977).

2b. What is the psycho-social climate of the groups?

Boscoville's prescriptions state that the tradition of the group should favour attitudes and conduct that encourage and support the youngster during

his reeducation. This encouragement and support can be ascertained by measuring the social climate, cohesion and sub-cultural elements.

The social climate

To know how the residents and personnel of Boscoville perceive the ambiance of the group in which they live, a questionnaire on the social climate of the groups (similar to that on the climate of the teams mentioned previously) was administered to all the members of each residence. This instrument is an adaptation of the Correctional Institution Environment Scale created by Moos (1973) and presented by Ménard and LeBlanc (1978). It is composed of 86 statements to be marked true or false. On the one hand, the instrument affords knowledge of the residents' perception of their peer group, of the treatment of the educators and the organization of the milieu; on the other, it tells the educators' perception of the residents' contribution to their living milieu and what they think of the quality of the social life in their group.

The instrument has nine scales which, again like the climate in the teams, form three main groups: personal relationships, which are composed of three scales (commitment, support and expression) and concern the type and intensity of the personal relationships between the youngsters and with the educators in the group; the orientation of the treatment, which also includes three scales (autonomy, practical orientation and orientation of personal problems) and is intended to ascertain the focus of the intervention; and finally the organization which, too, has three scales (clarity, the educators' control and order and organization) and is an evaluation of the way the group functions.

The commitment measures how active and energetic the residents are in their daily conduct throughout the programme, that is, the way they behave socially with the other members of the group, the initiative they show and the development of pride in their residence and a group spirit. It is a question of the effort the youngsters put into their reeducation, and which

is defined as an essential condition in the Boscoville writings mentioned earlier. Support, the second scale, chiefly measures the level of aid the youngsters receive from the educators and, to a lesser degree, the mutual support that the residents give one another. The last scale, relationship, is the degree of encouragement the programme gives to the open expression of feelings (including feelings of aggression) by the members of the group. Support, by definition, is a fundamental aspect of the work of the educator, and expression is a means, if controlled, of entering into a relationship and having the youngster progress according to the prescriptions of psycho-education.

In the orientation of the treatment, the scale 'autonomy' measures the degree of encouragement given the residents to take the initiative in planning activities. The scale 'practical orientation' measures the extent to which the youngster's environment prepares him for his liberation from the centre. Finally, the scale 'orientation of personal problems' refers to the degree of encouragement the boys get to air their personal problems and feelings and seek to understand one another. At Boscoville the scores should be very high on this scale considering the theoretical framework and the methods used.

The last component goes beyond these various attitudes to ascertain the structural elements, the organization of the group; this in complementarity with the data examined in the preceding section. First comes the scale 'order and organization' which measures the degree of order and organization in the programme, how it is perceived by the residents, what the educators do to encourage order and the ease with which it is maintained. Secondly, there is the scale 'clarity' which verifies to what extent the residents know what to expect in the daily routine and the degree of explanation given the rules and procedures in force within the group. Finally, the order and organization is studied by measuring the control exercised by the educators; to what extent they use specific measures to keep the residents in control, such as the formulation of rules, the scheduling of the activities and the relationships between residents and educators.

The psycho-social climate of a group will depend on the accent put on one or the other of these scales. We note that Moos (1974) characterizes correctional groups as having high scores on the scales of organization and much lower ones on the other two scales; in therapeutic milieus there should be high scores on the relationships and orientation of treatment scales and lower scores in the area of control. Let us see what they are at Boscoville, but first let us compare the centre with others. Table 8 gives the averages of the nine scales measuring the social climate in Yugoslavian, Quebec and American centres.

It turns out on comparing the averages that there is a big difference in the evaluation of the social climate between the residents of the centres concerned. The averages are the lowest in the American centres followed by the Yugoslavian, with Quebec centres having the highest. Thus the educators control in the American centres and less in Quebec; whereas it is; the relationships and orientation of treatment that are higher in the Quebec centres. If we adopt the hypothesis that the climate perceived by the residents depicts to a certain degree the philosophy or reeducative policy of their centres, it might be said that the American centres put the main accent on the educator's control of the youngsters and encouragement to prepare concretely for their departure: these are the scales that have the highest averages. The treatment aspect or socializing environment does not seem to be perceived by the young people. In the Quebec centres, the reverse is true; the residents have the impression of being strongly supported by the educators and of being encouraged to participate in their reeducative programme. They see the latter as being well handled by the educators, its rules and procedures clear, but with little accent on control. As for the Yugoslavian centres, they come somewhere between these two extremes. The educators also answered the questionnaire on the social climate in order to ascertain the degree to which the residents had the same perception as the educators. The averages of the educators proved to be always higher than those of the residents; however, the difference is more pronounced in the American centres than in the others, indicating certain difficulties for one group or the other.

Table 8

Social Climate in Various Quebec, American and Yugoslavian Centres

	American ² Boys Educators (3651) (858)		Yugoslavian ³ Boys Educators (186) (46)		Quebec ⁴ Boys Educators (252) (128)	
1. <u>COMMITMENT</u> : Degree of the boys' participation in the life of the residence. Esprit de corps. The boys' interest in one another.	4.74 ¹	6.95	5.62	5.17	6.56	7.45
2. <u>SUPPORT</u> : The educators aid and encourage the youngsters. They take an interest in them. The boys help one another.	5.13	7.32	6.83	7.43	7.43	8.32
3. <u>EXPRESSION</u> : Degree of openness and spontaneity in the exchanges between the youngsters and the educators. No dissembling in expressing feelings and thoughts.	4.38	5.82	4.97	6.47	5.47	7.44
4. <u>AUTONOMY</u> : The educators accept suggestions and criticism. The boys are encouraged to be independent, to take the initiative. They take part in decisions.	4.12	6.79	6.66	7.46	6.22	7.32

1. Averages
2. Moos (1973)
3. Vodopivec (1974)
4. Ménard et LeBlanc (1978)

Table 8 (continued)

Social Climate in Various Quebec, American and Yugoslavian Centres

	Boys (3651)	American Educators (858)	Boys (186)	Yugoslavian Educators (46)	Boys (252)	Quebec Educators (128)
5. <u>PRACTICAL ORIENTATION</u> : The educators prepare the boys for the future. They particularly stress schoolwork and work methods.	6.08	7.45	6.88	7.75	7.09	7.99
6. <u>PERSONAL PROBLEMS</u> : The importance given personal problems: the boys speak of them openly among themselves and with the educators. They are encouraged to understand themselves.	4.44	7.03	6.66	7.49	5.4.	6.15
7. <u>ORDER AND ORGANIZATION</u> : Degree of organization in the life of the residence. Punctuality of the educators. Cleanliness and neatness of the residence. Planned activities.	4.32	6.09	5.44	3.11	6.39	7.47
8. <u>CLARITY</u> : The point to which the situation in the residence is clear and predictable. The consequences of the boys' behaviour are predictable. The educators are consistent; they explain to the youngsters what will happen to them.	5.12	6.89	6.38	6.50	6.97	8.43
9. <u>CONTROL OF THE EDUCATORS</u> : Degree of the educators' authority and direction. They supervise the boys, give orders, do not accept criticism, do not allow the boys to share in decision-making.	6.91	5.55	5.23	3.76	5.18	4.15

With regard to Boscoville, how does it stand in comparison with other Quebec centres? If Quebec centres present the most favourable picture in terms of a psycho-social environment favourable to socialization, what about Boscoville? Table 9 presents the averages of several Quebec centres. We see that Boscoville has the highest averages and these averages show that control is lowest and support the highest. Furthermore, the difference between the perceptions of the educators and the residents is generally lowest at Boscoville, indicating that they are relatively similar. These data make Boscoville stand out as a milieu of high quality, one to which the young people are committed and in which they participate. There, more than anywhere else, they feel supported and assisted. Obviously, Boscoville is seen by its residents and educators as an ordered environment, predictable, understandable and oriented toward the development of people. It is not a milieu where control is the mainstay of the educators.

These comparisons permit us to state that group life at Boscoville is healthy and attains a level of quality that is favourable to socialization. The social climate of the groups of boys is marked by cohesion and effectiveness that comes close to the pragmatism that distinguishes the teams of educators. In fact, if we look at the averages of the scales 'clarity', 'order and organization' and 'practical orientation', we get a picture of a milieu that is coherent, ordered, predictable and organized in terms of finding effective solutions to concrete problems. The observer who spends some time at Boscoville will soon see that the expectations of the educators are precise and made clear, that they suggest individual objectives to the residents and are constantly concerned about the link between ends and means. In the groups, however, this trend goes hand in hand with a different orientation which is shown by the averages on the scales 'expression' and 'orientation toward personal problems'; these consist in encouraging the youngsters not only to be orderly and efficient, but to be spontaneous and express their emotions, talk about their personal problems. In short, there are two equally strong trends: the preponderant one, the desire for cohesion and efficiency, and the other favouring spontaneity and subjectivity. The two basic elements are reflected in the programme, the

typical activity of the first being school-work and the characteristic activity of the second, group therapy.

The influence of the educator is seen as follows: very strong support, very little control and little autonomy. The educators act on the youths by means of an authority that essentially relies on assistance and ever-present support. At Boscoville, the educator is there to help the adolescent, support him, advise him, suggest objectives and encourage him; this emerges again in the data on the social climate, as we saw in the analysis of the intervention of the educators and how Boscoville should be run. However, the young delinquent is also closely monitored; the entire organization of the milieu, the clarity of the requirements, the living regime, the cohesion and firmness of the educators leave him no escape. These characteristics seem to favour commitment because the participation of the residents in the life of their group, particularly in the residences, is on a par with the cohesion in the educators' teams, which, as we have seen, is strong. This symbiosis of the boys' group life and the group life of the educators' team was clearly shown by Ménard (1976) and corresponds to the isomorphism expected by Gendreau (1966) between the group life and team life. Thus conflicts, problems or gains in one group have instant repercussions in the other. These traits of the group life at Boscoville (commitment, cohesion, efficiency and non-autocratic authority) are signs of a healthy micro-society whose ambiance favours socialization. But is the influence of the climate on the youngsters living in the groups stable and homogeneous? Does the psycho-social climate vary during the period of research and does it change from residence to residence?

Table 10 shows that only on one of the nine scales, autonomy, is there a statistical difference between the five residences, group 3 having the lowest average and group 2 the highest. These results militate in favour of the conclusion that the five reeducation residences have an equivalent psycho-social climate and there is homogeneity, therefore, in the social climate of the groups at Boscoville. We have now to control for the degree of stability of the social climate over time. To do so, we analyzed the average social

Table 9

The Social Climate in Several Quebec Training Centres
Comparison of the point of view of the youths with that of the educators

	BF ¹		MSA ²		Boscoville	
	Boys (53)	Educators (36)	Boys (160)	Educators (62)	Boys (42)	Educators (31)
1. <u>Commitment</u>	6.22 ³	8.25	6.34	6.44	7.81	8.55
2. <u>Support</u>	7.02	8.86	7.17	7.52	7.93	9.29
3. <u>Expression</u>	5.51	7.87	5.05	6.81	6.98	8.21
4. <u>Autonomy</u>	6.40	8.12	5.89	6.76	7.28	7.46
5. <u>Practical Orientation</u>	6.98	8.75	6.80	7.34	8.33	8.36
6. <u>Personal Problems</u>	5.33	7.01	5.24	5.56	6.11	6.34
7. <u>Order and Organization</u>	5.72	6.50	6.22	7.26	7.86	9.07
8. <u>Clarity</u>	6.52	7.78	6.64	8.19	8.76	9.61
9. <u>The educators' control</u>	5.20	4.23	5.40	3.83	4.29	4.70

1. An English training centre for juvenile delinquents from 14 to 18 years of age. (Ménard et LeBlanc, 1975).

2. A French training centre for juvenile delinquents from 14 to 18 years of age. (Brill et Duncan, 1977).

3. Averages

Table 10

Social climate: differences within Boscoville

	Group 1		Group 2		Group 3		Group 4		Group 5		Kruskal-Wallis test	
	A	S-D	A	S-D	A	S-D	A	S-D	A	S-D		
Commitment	7.75	1.39	7.30	2.45	8.13	2.30	7.67	0.82	8.20	1.55	H = 3.16	P = .531
Support	9.13	0.99	8.60	2.17	9.25	0.71	8.50	1.38	9.10	1.10	H = 1.52	P = .823
Expression	6.94	2.64	6.89	3.18	7.64	1.92	6.11	1.83	6.67	2.28	H = 2.17	P = .704
Autonomy	7.92	1.01	8.33	1.76	5.56	2.45	6.30	1.67	7.67	1.77	H = 9.95	P = .041
Practical orientation	8.75	1.04	8.40	0.97	7.63	2.20	8.33	1.03	8.70	1.06	H = 4.50	P = .343
Personal problems	5.56	1.33	5.33	2.21	7.36	1.56	5.93	1.52	6.44	2.50	H = 5.65	P = .220
Order and organization clarity	8.75	1.39	8.50	1.65	7.63	2.20	7.17	1.84	7.10	2.13	H = 6.10	P = .19
Educators' control	9.00	1.20	8.50	1.27	8.75	1.04	8.67	0.82	8.90	1.20	H = 1.23	P = .87
	3.89	1.33	4.33	1.43	4.72	2.04	5.37	1.30	3.55	0.87	H = 6.45	P = .16

1. Data of February 1974. A. = Average; S-D = Standard Deviation

climate in the five residences from June 1974 to February 1977; we found that, as seen by the residents, the social climate changed very little from one year to the other¹. However, we noted that the control scale of the educators saw theirs diminish slightly. But, even including these two slight trends, we find no big variations anywhere; this leaves us to conclude that the social climate in the groups is stable. Hence the same psycho-social climate was common to all the young delinquents of our population under study.

Cohesion, solidarity and sub-culture

Study of the social climate enabled us, up to a certain point, to ascertain the quality of the social relationships in the groups at Boscoville. We continue in the same vein, but this time by examining the cohesion and solidarity. Cohesion and solidarity are not always congruent in a group, just as the latter is not always positively oriented. Although cohesion refers to the union between the members of a group, it does not necessarily mean there is solidarity, that they automatically have a community of interests and that the members feel an obligation to help one another. Furthermore, even if the group is cohesive and sticks together, it does not necessarily mean that its goals are socially acceptable; it could be a delinquent sub-culture, as amply shown in the literature on delinquent gangs (Block and Niederhoffer, 1963; Mailloux, 1965; Klein, 1971).

Legendre (1975) studied the cohesion in the Boscoville groups with the help of several sociometric indices and concludes that it is strong. She found that the members of the groups primarily choose their friends among the youngsters from their own group. It also turns out that there is little difference in the averages of the residences and in the averages each time data was gathered. The reeducation groups constitute a real unit since 84% of the youngsters questioned in February 1976 said they preferred to remain in their

¹. These data are also available regarding the perception of the educators (Ménard, 1979).

group against 6% who were interested in changing groups. Although the groups are cohesive, do they show solidarity?

Solidarity can be discerned by measuring the amount of mutual support or by asking for a general evaluation of it. Mutual support certainly exists, for 75% of the residents say that when a boy is in trouble, the others will generally try to help him and only 8% will leave him on his own. Furthermore, 56% of the residents state that the solidarity between the members in their group is very strong against 32% who evaluate it as average and 12% who judge it to be weak. These results are constant over time and equivalent from one residence to the other. The level of solidarity here is fairly high but not among the highest. Bondeson (1974) reports, for several Swedish centres, that 77% of the residents evaluate the solidarity between the members of their group as strong, against 56% at Boscoville. It might be that at Boscoville there is more room for individualism because the cohesion and solidarity are at a very good level, although not excellent. However, we find that the residents are much more satisfied with their group life at Boscoville than in the Swedish centres: 71% of the Boscoville residents say they feel at home against only 21% of the residents in Swedish centres; the reverse being valid, 47% of the latter feel unhappy against 8% of the youngsters living at Boscoville; the proportion of those who are indifferent is rather similar: 21% at Boscoville against 32% in the Swedish centres.

Thus at Boscoville the solidarity between the members of the groups is very good, not excellent, but the youngsters feel at ease in their group. The explanation of these results and why they are different from those of Bondeson (1974) perhaps lies in the orientation of the group. One of the most frequent problems mentioned in the research on centres for juvenile delinquents is the institutional sub-culture (Polsky and Claster, 1968; Polsky, 1962; Empey and Lubeck, 1971; Lachapelle, 1973; Bondeson, 1974). This refers to the formation of a social organization among the groups of juvenile delinquents

placed in centres that supports its members in their antisocial activities and in opposing the authorities. These sub-cultures are characterized by a delinquent leadership (the most antisocial youngsters have the most influence over their peers), by specific roles (boss, scapegoat, manipulator, etc.), and by norms that limit the communication between the personnel and the residents. Sub-cultures of this kind have been found in many centres for young delinquents; does one exist at Boscoville?

Our work (see Legendre 1975 and 1977 in particular) enabled us to establish that the most popular boys, the ones with the most influence in the residences, are always those who are most advanced in the process of reeducation. In other words, the most influential and popular youngsters are not the most delinquent but, on the contrary, are the most involved in their reeducation. Table II gives us reason to believe that there is no delinquent sub-culture at Boscoville.

Regarding attitude, 94% of the residents say they belong to groups that are doing their best to change in comparison with groups that are "doing time", as they say in prison (6%). As for the typical roles of the institutional sub-culture, we found that 58% of the residents pointed out a scapegoat (a boy who is a laughing stock), 12% a boss (a boy who terrorizes others into obeying his orders), 37% a profiteer and 31% someone who stirs up ill-feeling. The role of the scapegoat stands out clearly, that of the boss doesn't exist, the profiteers and trouble-makers prick up their ears here and there but are not very common, according to the respondents. The last question in table II is intended to verify whether or not the typical practice of institutional sub-cultures exists at Boscoville - that of taking punishment to protect a comrade. One thing is certain; there is no rule at Boscoville that says everything should be done to protect a comrade against the educators. A small minority of residents is ready to protect friends (4%), a quarter (27%) would do it for a close friend and 63% would never do it at all. These data show that there is no organized institutional sub-culture at Boscoville - no delinquent

Table 11

Signs of the presence of an institutional
sub-culture

To what group do you belong?
(No. = 52)

To the group of those who are "doing time"	6%
To the group of those who are doing their best to change	94%

Is there one in your residence?

	<u>Yes</u>
1. A boy everyone laughs at	58%
2. A boy the others obey because they are afraid of him	12%
3. A boy who takes advantage of other boys who try to be nice to him	37%
4. A boy who starts arguments among the boys then leaves them to cope alone	31%

I would take punishment for something I didn't do:

Only to protect a close friend in my residence	27%
To protect a boy at Boscoville whom I know well	4%
To protect any boy who is at Boscoville	6%
Never	63%

leadership, no delinquent role (boss, etc.) and no norms aiming at the isolation of the personnel. The role of scape-goat does exist, but considering all the results, this role seems to be due much more to the intensity of the group life than a sub-cultural structure.

In terms of this section on the group as a living milieu and instrument of reeducation, it is well to note the consistency of the results. Boscoville has adopted a controlled democracy and a civil structure that permits the residents to accede to responsibilities and to share specific tasks with their peers and with the educators. At the same time, at the unofficial level, group life is characterized by structures and a dynamic that makes socialization, reeducation, possible. The cohesion of the members and a structure based on reciprocal relationships are traits that foster solidarity and a positive orientation. This solidarity and positive orientation, and the absence of a delinquent institutional sub-culture, are conditions that make for the development of a healthy, high quality psycho-social environment. It is of high quality compared with other centres, and healthy because there is a balance maintained between the control of the educators and the orientation toward reeducation, always preserving a high level of cohesion and efficiency. For all these reasons, Boscoville offers its residents a group life that is undeniably favourable to personal reeducation. Thus the group and the educators are two human resources of the reeducation programme whose prescriptions and practices are on the same wave-length; they have all the characteristics that can foster the development of adolescents, particularly those in difficulty.

III- The quality of the treatment offered by Boscoville: synthesis

It is necessary at this point to pause and attempt a synthesis, for with the first two chapters, the first phase of our study is at an end - examination of the treatment offered by Boscoville, evaluation of its application and appraisal of its quality. The first two chapters enabled us to proceed with an evaluation of the endeavour because they include three essential elements: knowledge of the theory and practice of the intervention prescribed; evaluation of the application of the theory; and assessment of the quality of the group life and the educators' intervention. It is hard for the researcher to judge what he

observes. On the one hand, he has been taught to use the greatest degree of objectivity possible and on the other, his instruments are never totally reliable. This leads him to conclusions that must be qualified. Despite these handicaps, let us try, in all humility, to evaluate the work done by Boscoville.

1. Description of the treatment offered by Boscoville

Upon going through the literature attempting to evaluate the programmes for treating juvenile delinquents, we found two surprising facts; on the one hand, most often there is no description of the treatment proposed, its physical and organizational setting, the conception of the delinquent and reeducational methods chosen, or it is so short that it is impossible to get an exact idea of the theoretical model, the milieu and methods used. On the other hand, if there is a more or less exhaustive description, the resulting impression is that the treatment proposed is vague, imprecise and not sufficiently thought out.

The first chapters of this book were meant to make up for the lack of descriptive information on the treatment to be evaluated. That is why we present Boscoville in what we considered the most exhaustive way possible: its history, physical and organizational setup, its conception of the delinquent and philosophy of reeducation, its technical and human resources. In addition, we thought to allow the reader qualified judgment on the state of development of Boscoville's formalized conception of the treatment to offer young delinquents. Several conclusions seem clear to us; the model proposed by Boscoville is precise, coherent, mature, parsimonious and pragmatic.

No one will deny the precise nature of the model for the treatment of young delinquents that Boscoville represents. It is possible to consult documents or observe the daily practices that show how the physical and social milieu is organized, the action of the educators and learning activities. This

precision is also present in the theory underlying the phases of reeducation. Although precise, the model is nonetheless parsimonious: the reference is not to numerous theories but to several; only certain principles of intervention are used - steadfastness and consistency; particular activities are chosen - ceramics, football, etc.; the educators are trained in psycho-education; in short, it is not a comprehensive mode, but one based on several particular principles. Besides this precision and parsimony, there is also the consistency of the model.

The Boscoville model is based on logic. The young delinquent is behind the average adolescent at the cognitive level, therefore he is offered activities providing graded and individualized learning; the young delinquent has difficulty living in society, therefore he is made to live in a group where he will learn to share tasks and responsibilities; the groups will be small and separated into autonomous units; the reeducation is based on the theory of stages and therefore each activity must provide content in keeping with the various stages; the civil structure, too, is modeled on stages. There are many examples of this consistency, the result of an eminently empirical approach by the founders of Boscoville, as well as twenty years of experimentation and refinement, until the precise, consistent and parsimonious model we have described was arrived at. It is a model that is the result of constant interaction between theory and practice. Finally, this model is mature in the sense that it has reached its full development. We can confirm this, for everything is specified in the life at Boscoville. There is not one aspect that does not have a precise formulation consistent with the others and verified empirically.

It is easy enough to describe the treatment proposed by Boscoville, but we are unable to say that it is a good treatment for juvenile delinquents. Boscoville well satisfies one condition for a serious evaluation: the treatment is clear and precise. Nothing is vague or obscure. Let us now see whether Boscoville can satisfy a second condition: does it truly apply the treatment proposed?

2. Evaluation of the application of treatment

To uphold a theory, to propose a model of intervention, is not sufficient, the principles must be applied, the prescriptions practiced. According to our findings, Boscoville applies the proposed model. This was demonstrated at three levels; we found that the necessary mechanisms were in place, we observed that the treatment had the characteristics anticipated and we verified the stability and homogeneity of the treatment offered.

The mechanisms proposed by the model are well established at Boscoville: the physical setting, the cycle and unchanging routine of life, the organization where all the committees are set up and in operation; the system of responsibility that is practiced (civic structure, rights and duties), the system of training and guidance by the educators that is being carried on, the clinical system which is applied (observation, weekly summing up). Besides the actual presence of the mechanisms, we were able to verify that the theory of stages impregnated all the activities of Boscoville (from the activities to marking, from the tasks and responsibilities to the plan of treatment). Although we were able to verify that the components of the model are true aspects of the treatment offered by Boscoville, the fact remains that the quality of the output remains in question. The presence of the mechanisms does not mean that they are practiced at the high level expected, or more precisely, with the spirit that the theoretical model suggests.

With reference to the work of the educators and group life, we can conclude that the spirit in both is in complete conformity with the prescriptions of the Boscoville theory. We showed that the educators were competent both professionally and personally and committed to their work because they like the young delinquents and live in close contact with them. As for their interventions, it seemed that the educators were clearly doing what was expected of them: they had a good knowledge of the youngsters; they encouraged them to change; they animated group life and the activities; they individualized their

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treatment; they gave the residents their help and support; they communicated with the youngsters. The teams, as anticipated, were cohesive, organized, pragmatic, relying on coordination rather than a directive leadership and permitting the personal and professional development of its members. Regarding group life, we also showed that it conforms with the prescriptions of the model; it exists because it has appeal, solidarity, reciprocal relationships, and is positive because there is no delinquent leadership, cliques, anti-social or anti-educational attitudes. The group life is organized, positive, effective and marked by reciprocity.

All these facts lead to the conclusion that at Boscoville, the underlying theory is truly applied and the principles are acted upon, both regarding the structures established and the spirit that animates them. Thus the treatment is actually calculated on the basis of the theoretical model. But two essential questions remain: was the treatment applied uniformly all during the research? Was the treatment the same in each of the five residences?

The answer to these two questions was clear in the data reported. It showed that between the winter of 1974 and spring of 1977, the period during which the youngsters in our population were living at Boscoville, the treatment of the educators, the group life and the mechanisms used remained the same and were of the same quality. The treatment, then, was uniform - similar and equivalent for all the youngsters in our sample. Furthermore the treatment was homogeneous from one residence to another. This does not mean it was entirely homogeneous, but rather that, in spite of conditional variations (due to the clientèle, the movement of personnel), and in spite of variations reflecting the specific personality of each residence, it was evident that these were so slight it would have been wrong to say that several treatment models were applied at Boscoville. In short, the treatment given the young delinquents of our population was stable and homogeneous.

This affirmation, together with the foregoing on the structures and the spirit animating them, is not without influence on the value and significance

of the results we shall subsequently report on the effectiveness of Boscoville. They mean that our conclusions about its effectiveness will be valid for a specific treatment and that it will not be necessary to use statistical controls over these variables; they are constants. We would be able to say, then, that all things being equal in other respects, the effectiveness of Boscoville on juvenile delinquents is such and such.

3. The quality of the treatment offered

The treatment offered by Boscoville is being truly applied, but is it of good quality? The data leads us to confirm that it is of very high quality. It is applied under a well organized system of supervision, by highly qualified personnel (specialized university training, practical training) having a certain maturity (average age 29, having participated in therapy) and competence (high quality of treatment). This staff gives high quality service (high marks on the scales measuring treatment) and the teams are a model of group life and pragmatism (higher score than comparable groups). They establish excellent relations with the residents (support, assistance, consideration, respect). Moreover, they foster a group life that seems healthy and positive. In the groups, we find reciprocal relationships, non-delinquent leadership and social norms. There are none of the traits usually associated with institutional sub-cultures - cliques, delinquent leadership, specific anti-social roles. In short, the nature of the social life appears to be healthy and potentially therapeutic.

There is support for the fact that the social life is healthy and of good quality at Boscoville. All the comparisons made between Boscoville and other milieus are to its advantage (team climate, social climate, qualifications of the educators, structure of the groups, group life, etc.). All the comparisons made with theoretical norms are also to Boscoville's advantage (for example, the absence of an institutional sub-culture). Thus the effort that the treatment offered by Boscoville represents seems to have an undeniable quality.

Boscoville is a healthy environment. This does not mean that Boscoville is an effective therapeutic measure. It simply means that a therapeutic potential is present, that the conditions are favourable for the personal development of the youngsters placed there - nothing more.

The treatment proposed by Boscoville, then, is identifiable, is applied and of quality. It is a true effort to change juvenile delinquents. We are now in a better position to deal with the essential questions of our evaluation; what are the effects of this treatment on the young delinquents? Is there truly a connection between the effects observed and the treatment offered? Our evaluation of the output, the quality and quantity of the activities accomplished to change these youngsters is now terminated and Boscoville appears to be a particularly interesting case in that the work there is based on a theory that is truly applied and at a high quality level. But before going directly into the question of effectiveness, it is essential that we know something about the population of juvenile delinquents studied (their psychological and social characteristics and their delinquency), and to follow them during their stay at Boscoville. This information will enable us to better evaluate the effectiveness of the treatment.

CHAPTER III

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF BOSCOVILLE:

CAN THE PERSONALITY OF YOUNG DELINQUENTS BE CHANGED?

To put it bluntly, can a juvenile delinquent be reeducated? More precisely, to what extent does the Boscoville's treatment programme, systematically conceived and rigorously applied, induce changes in adolescents who have been regularly involved in delinquent behaviour? We are now in a better position to answer this question having already ascertained that the treatment is carefully designed and carried out down to the last detail. Furthermore, we have learned that the theory is applied and that the environment is a healthy one that undeniably has a therapeutic potential.

It is possible to measure the impact of Boscoville because the treatment has been applied in the same way in each aspect of the reeducation process, has been stable over time, between 1974 and 1978, and devoted to a specific clientele. This enables us to undertake the evaluation of Boscoville's impact on the young adolescents placed there without being concerned about the type of treatment proposed; thus we can assess the quantity and quality of the psychological changes undergone by the residents during their stay, the overall effect of the treatment. We then examine this general effect to determine the real effect, what we find when we have gone into an evaluation of the impact of selection, maturation, the calibre of the boys on admission and the length of their stay.

The question of whether the personality of the young delinquents is changed is of the essence because this is precisely Boscoville's objective. Its treatment is focussed on the personality, as is evidenced by the centre's admissions policy (Ducharme, 1974) which assumes that "personal difficulties" were the source of the delinquency. Other authors use the terms: "evolution of the personality" (Gendreau, 1966), and "realization or development of the ego" (Guindon, 1969). If we are justified in using the personality as the pivot of our evaluation of Boscoville's impact, we should also use the word transformation to describe its expectations. Boscoville defines itself not as a centre of education, but reeducation.

Furthermore, its documents tell us that this reeducation must be total (Gendreau, 1966), that it should seek to restructure the ego (Guindon, 1969) and here and there terms are used such as improvement, development, evolution, search for a new stability. Boscoville's aim, then, is transformation, in other words, to change the personality of the young delinquents from one form to another, to give it a different aspect. How is this transformation of the personality of these juvenile delinquents to be performed?

We felt that personality tests were certainly the best way of measuring certain aspects of the youngsters' personality. As for an assessment of their transformation, we thought that a study where the personality would be measured upon admission and on departure from the centre would be the best method of determining if there had been any change, evolution or transformation. But before addressing this question, we thought a section devoted to the clientele was a necessary preliminary to an evaluation of the centre's impact. Who are the boys admitted to Boscoville? Are they all accepted? Are the residents who keep up the treatment longest any different from those who leave Boscoville prematurely?

I. Boscoville's clientele

The detractors of Boscoville say that its successes are due to the fact that it accepts only the most promising cases. On the other hand, its defenders declare that only youngsters with serious adjustment problems are admitted. This brings up the question of selection, a question that affects the validity of the conclusions of any evaluation; it merits some attention. It is a basic problem because it has often been demonstrated that success is due much more to the characteristics of the subjects prior to treatment than to the treatment itself (Hood and Sparks, 1970). This means that the results of treatment are largely determined by the type of client who receives that treatment. The widespread idea that only "good" cases are successful seems to be based on fact. We approached this question of selection by studying the

clients on admission, at the beginning of treatment and during their stay at Boscoville. We discovered a frequent occurrence of premature departures, namely, residents who left Boscoville without having completed the prescribed treatment.

The discovery of these premature departures supported our interest in examining the personal and social characteristics of the boys admitted to Boscoville. We therefore started by comparing the characteristics of the Boscoville boys with those of wards of the Montreal Juvenile Court, then with those of the residents of other centres. This enabled us to answer the question: are the Boscoville boys more or less involved in delinquency and have they more psychological and social problems than the boys of the Court or than the residents of other centres? Then a second question arose as to whether the boys who leave Boscoville differ from those who stay. This led us to verify whether the residents who stay long enough to complete treatment are different from those who leave midway.

1. The flow of the clients

The clientele of a centre is constituted on the basis of numerous and complex decisions. These decisions are made by a number of people at three interdependent levels. First there are those who contribute to the decision to place the adolescent: judges, probation officers, social workers, psychologists, etc. Then there are the authorities of the centre who receive the requests for admission and who apply the centre's criteria of admission. Finally, there is the adolescent himself and his parents who have something to say in the decision to place him. We shall not go into the decision of the court here, but simply refer to our previous studies (LeBlanc and Leduc, 1976; LeBlanc, 1971 and 1975; Brousseau and LeBlanc, 1974); these showed that the decisions at this level are often changeable, inconsistent and depend on criteria totally different from one decision-maker to another. Let us look, then, at the role of both the centre and the adolescent in the matter of the latter's admission, entry into treatment and progression through the system.

2. Admission to Boscoville

Boscoville has a written admissions policy (Ducharme, 1974); it specifies the criteria of admission and related procedures. These criteria are the first to determine the characteristics of the boys who will be admitted to the centre. Officially, Boscoville receives youngsters sent there by the Quebec Juvenile Courts under the Juvenile Delinquents Act (federal) or the Youth Protection Act (provincial). To be admitted, the youngster must be between 15 and 18 years of age, he must have had at least four years of primary school, be of normal intelligence (90 or more on the Barbeau Pinard scale) and have a real need for Boscoville's services (clinical examinations must show that the youngster suffers from inner conflict). Atypical delinquents who suffer from mental illness and mentally deficient delinquents are refused admission¹.

However, nothing has been settled simply on the basis of the criteria of admission. On receipt of a request, the person responsible for admissions first must decide whether it conforms to the criteria. Then, too, the Court can also cancel the request. Moreover, some boys who have been accepted never come to Boscoville. All this can be seen on the flow chart in Figure 1, showing the progression of the requests for admission presented to the authorities of Boscoville between January 1974 and December 1975, the period when the population under study was recruited (see LeBlanc and Leduc, 1976, for a more detailed analysis). The distribution of the 298 requests for admission was made in the following way: 20 requests (6.7%) were cancelled, 41 (13.7%) were refused, 194 (65.2%) were accepted and 43 (14.4%) were deferred to the 31st of December 1975.

The requests for admission that were cancelled (20) were requests that were either not followed up or that were cancelled before the Boscoville authorities had had a chance to decide on their acceptance or

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FIGURE 1

The course of requests for admission: January 1974-December 1975

<u>From request to arrival</u>		<u>From arrival to advancement to a residence</u>			
20 annuled 6.7%			16 released 17%		
41 refused 13.7%		92 stay 54%	35 released 81%	76 advance 83%	
298 requests for admission	171 boys arrive at Boscoville	43 escapes during the 1st week 54%	8 advance 19%		TOTAL: 100 boys advance and become citizens out of 171 new arrivals (58%)
194 accepted 65.2%		79 cases of escape 46%	20 released 56%		
43 pending 14.4%	23 did not arrive	36 escapes after one week - 46%		16 advance 44%	

Note: The percentages are compiled on the total of requests for admission (298)

Note: The percentages are compiled on the total of boys left after the preceding branching off. Example: 171 boys arrive at Boscoville and 79 run away, hence 46% of 171.

refusal. An examination of these files shows that in almost two-thirds of the cases, thirteen out of twenty, the reason for cancelling the request for admission is unknown; there is no indication in the files and most often the request was cancelled by telephone rather than by letter. After a meeting with the person in charge of admissions at Boscoville and ten or so interviews with probation officers, it was clear that in most of the cases concerned, neither seemed in much of a hurry (or were even interested) to have the boys stay at Boscoville. As for the other cancelled requests (7), two of the boys had been admitted to a different centre and five had been left within the community, generally with their family.

There were forty-one requests for admission that were refused. According to the files, almost half were due to psychiatric or physical problems (46%); other reasons were the boy's age (most often being under 15) (20%), intelligence quotient (subnormal) (20%), no motivation (the boy refused placement after having met a representative of Boscoville) (14%). The reasons given officially for the refusals were in direct accordance with the criteria set down in Boscoville's admissions policy.

The requests for admission that were pending were those that had been submitted to the Boscoville authorities but had not yet been decided upon; on December 31, 1975, forty-three requests were still pending, constituting a sort of waiting list. The reasons for the delay were either because of an incomplete file, lack of space in the observation section (the suburbs can accommodate only sixteen boys at a time), no urgent need to place the boy or little desire to receive him (a few cases).

The 194 requests for admission that were accepted represent 65.2% of the total requests submitted to the Boscoville authorities and 82% of the requests either accepted or refused. Looking at the processing of these requests, 171 of the 194 boys who were accepted, or 88.1%, actually came to Boscoville whereas twenty-three boys, or 11.9%, were never transferred in spite of their acceptance by the centre.

Although the reasons why thirteen of these boys never came to the centre did not appear in the files, we discovered later that it was chiefly due to their lack of motivation. The seven cases previously mentioned had been settled by the Court, which had released them from placement, based on criteria such as returning to school, accepting a job, etc.

3. Starting treatment

Boscoville is an open centre whose programme of reeducation requires acceptance of the treatment offered (one of the objectives of its acclimatization stage). This means that the young delinquent can easily run away and/or openly tell the educators that he refuses the treatment proposed. For this reason it is essential to study the arrival at Boscoville and the beginning of treatment during the first days and weeks of his stay. Figure 1 shows the progress of the 171 boys who arrived at Boscoville between January 1974 and December 1975 during their two months stay in the suburbs.

Of the 171 boys who actually came to Boscoville, a little more than half, that is, 92 or 54%, stayed in the suburbs without running away; of this number, 76 boys, or 83%, succeeded in completing this observation stage to move on to a residence and become citizens. Sixteen of the boys in the suburbs who did not run away were released from the placement order during their stay at Boscoville (17%). More than a third of these boys had been referred to other centres at Boscoville's suggestion (Pinel, Mont Saint-Antoine, Psychiatric Hospital); another third had been released at the request of the boy and/or his family; and finally, some boys were dismissed from Boscoville because of their behaviour and/or their lack of motivation.

Slightly less than half the boys who came to Boscoville ran away during their stay in the suburbs (79 boys or 46%); the boys, incidentally, are locked up at night, but not during the day. More than half of them (46%) ran away after at least a week (quite often toward the

end of their stay in the suburbs). Of those who succeeded in completing this observation period, in spite of one or two temporary flights, only 19% of the boys who ran away during their first week in the suburbs succeeded in advancing to a residence, compared with 44% of the boys who ran away after staying there at least a week. In the first case, the escape was a determined refusal to be placed at Boscoville, whereas in the second case it was often a passing incident.

Although running away is most often a flat rejection of the placement, as proven by the large proportion of runaways who never return to Boscoville, it may be for various reasons. The attractions outside Boscoville (wanting to look up girls, 84%; being lonesome for the old surroundings, 95%) were reasons more often given than any connected with life at the centre (to run away from a problem at Boscoville, 38%; because it was too difficult to be in a training centre, 50%). In other words, the pull of the outside was stronger than dislike of the life of the centre.

These flights are also due to the fact that the boys know very little about Boscoville before they become involved in the life there. Its official ideology as a treatment centre is not exactly the image these boys have of Boscoville (see LeBlanc and Leduc, 1976). Although it seems fortunate that the boys think they are at the centre for about the same reasons given them when they arrived, the fact remains that of ten boys who come to Boscoville, four think they are there because of their crimes (punishment), two think it is so that they will attend school regularly, two claim it is because there is no place for them anywhere else (surprising) and two believe it is to help them become rehabilitated. We might add, however, that the consequences of this ignorance are not necessarily bad; for example, two thirds of those who thought Boscoville was a closed centre reacted favourably on their arrival in the suburbs.

Whereas running away was the major way of initially rejecting the placement, its acceptance seemed to be a dynamic process; the attitudes

of the juvenile delinquents toward Boscoville evolved in a positive direction. When told of their placement at Boscoville, only 41% of the youngsters had a favourable attitude, but after a week in the suburbs, the percentage of those with a positive attitude rose to 64% (LeBlanc and Leduc, 1976). The boys learn to like and accept their stay as they gradually get into the life of the centre, at least this is true of two out of three. Moreover, Leblanc and Leduc (1976) have shown that in the suburbs there is a close connection between the attitude of the youngsters toward Boscoville and whether they are released or proceed to a residence. The boys who had developed unfavourable attitudes during their stay in the suburbs or who had always been against placement at the centre are most often released after an escape.

Thus Boscoville's position that the resident should accept the centre as a place for treatment, which implies that he recognizes his need for help and that Boscoville can answer that need, is both realistic and counter-indicated. Acceptance seems to be the true point of departure for all treatment and eventually for all reeducation. Being a dynamic process, it is important that the youngsters be well prepared before their arrival, then properly received and informed; this fosters the development of a positive attitude toward the centre. This voluntary acceptance, however, is contra-indicated by the mandate given Boscoville - to keep and treat the juvenile delinquents placed there by the Juvenile Court.

4. Progress through the reeducation system

Once their stay in the suburbs was over, 100 out of 171 boys went on to the reeducation quarters. Regarding the duration of their stay, from 1974 to 1978, of 100 boys who proceeded to a reeducation quarter after an average stay of 62.7 days in the suburbs, eight remained less than five months (two in the suburbs and three months in the reeducation quarters), thirty-two left between the fifth and fourteenth month, and sixty stayed fourteen months or more. Of these sixty boys, half stayed from fifteen to twenty-two months and the other half from twenty-three to

thirty-eight months. These figures reveal an important fact: there are residents who leave Boscoville at various stages throughout the prescribed period of treatment.

In view of the findings on the flow of clients through Boscoville, it is clear that the large majority of the juvenile delinquents placed there leave prematurely. Prematurely in the sense that they did not stay long enough to start treatment, to undertake it seriously or complete it. This loss of clientele must be taken into account in interpreting the assessment of Boscoville's effectiveness.

The large percentage of premature departures creates at least two problems. First, the educator feels he has failed. He sees his protégés leave one after the other at various stages of the programme and may become discouraged. In the long run, he may even hesitate to commit himself to a relationship that too often ends in disappointment. Secondly, there is the feeling of failure on the part of the boy himself. He is made to feel that once again he has failed to complete something. He will then be apt to minimize the progress he has already made. These premature departures, then, are complex. They are seen as failures, but this is not necessarily so. The dynamics of these cases merit particular attention and we shall come back to them.

5. Description of the clients

We have so far described the flow of clients through Boscoville and mentioned certain factors that seemed to influence their decision to leave the centre. In the light of these observations, the question arises: who are Boscoville's clients? What are their psychological, social and criminological characteristics? To answer this question we compared Boscoville's clients with the wards of the Juvenile Court of Montreal, and then with the residents of other reeducation centres. Although this enabled us to ascertain the traits and problems of Boscoville's clientele, the comparisons had to go further; we had to compare the traits of those who leave more or less quickly and those who continue their reeducation for a longer time - those who leave with those who stay.

6. The Boscoville boys and the others

The youngsters who appear before the Juvenile Court of Montreal who were studied by Fréchette (1973) make a good basis of comparison, for the Boscoville boys were mostly placed there by the same court. Before going ahead with our comparison of the 136 clients of Boscoville and the 418 wards of the Juvenile Court, it is well to mention that many of our studies have clearly established that wards of the court are very easy to distinguish from conventional adolescents - boys who have never had any contact with the court (LeBlanc and Fréchette, 1980). In their study, Fréchette and LeBlanc (1979) showed that the delinquency of the wards of the court was on such a scale and of such gravity that they were undeniably engaged in much more extensive criminal activities than other adolescents. With regard to their personality, Côté et al. (1977) showed that the wards of the court evidenced obvious and significant problems. Finally, LeBlanc and Meilleur (1979) and LeBlanc et al. (1980) established that the situation regarding school, the family and social relations (friends, etc.) of wards of the court was visibly inadequate compared with that of conventional adolescents. The question now was whether or not the clientele of Boscoville had even more problems than the wards of the court. To find out, we look at the data reported by Achille and LeBlanc (1977), LeBlanc and Meilleur (1979), Cusson and LeBlanc (1980).

Did the Boscoville boys engage in more criminal activity than the wards of the court? In order to find out, we consulted the data on reported delinquency, that is, the delinquency measured by a questionnaire which the boys had answered. The Boscoville boys admitted to having committed more crimes than the wards of the court (the differences were statistically significant). Two other findings add complementary information. We know that the more crimes a boy commits, the more he tends to associate with delinquent friends, and the fact of having friends who commit a great number of crimes is a sign of involvement in delinquency. It is also possible that the more a boy identifies with delinquent peers, the greater the risk of his becoming involved in crime.

Our data show that the boys at Boscoville tended to have more friends who repeatedly committed crimes; thus, the percentage of boys who had such friends was 45% for the wards of the Court as opposed to 67% for the boys at the centre; moreover, they identified more with their delinquent peers. We also have psychometric data that enabled us to pursue our comparisons further. Analyzing these data, we noted (Achille and LeBlanc, 1977) that on most of the psychological scales, the boys placed at Boscoville tended to have the most negative scores, even if there were not always significantly statistical differences with the wards of the court, the latter's scores more often indicating less profound personality problems.

Did the boys who came to Boscoville have a better family situation or not as good a one as the wards of the court? The results show a very big difference; only 15% of the Boscoville boys' families were on welfare compared with 72% for the wards of the court. This would mean that the Boscoville residents came from less disadvantaged, less financially dependent families. In other respects, there was an equal history of placement in foster homes for both groups, involving about a third of the subjects in each, while there was not much difference between them as far as relationships with the parents was concerned. We also have data on the boys' upbringing; first, whether the parents knew who their boy was associating with, and second, whether the parents changed their decisions as to what was allowed and what was not. These two factors, parental supervision and consistency, are generally considered factors in the control of delinquency. For all practical purposes, there was no difference in either case between the boys of Boscoville and those of the court. This means that the Boscoville subjects had no better family upbringing than the others.

It is well known that problems in school, such as failure and lack of discipline, are closely connected with delinquency. It would be of interest to know whether or not the adolescents sent to Boscoville had more or less difficulty at school than the wards of the court. The former clearly had better results in school as well as higher ambitions

scholastically. Twenty-nine percent of them wanted to pursue their studies with a view to a career against 16% for the others. On the subject of discipline, good or bad behaviour in school, more Boscoville boys intentionally disrupted the class than the wards of the court; they more often acted up, were more often expelled from the class and more of them had the impression that their professors were constantly on their backs.

7. The boys of Boscoville and those of other reeducation centres

We have just established that the boys admitted to Boscoville are easily distinguished from the wards of the court in two respects. Their delinquent activities are more frequent and they are more rebellious in school. In other respects, although they seem to have more marked psychological problems, their family situation is not more difficult. The data show that the boys who arrive at Boscoville have a greater degree of difficulty than so-called normal adolescents or wards of the court. Let us now see if they differ from residents of other centres for young delinquents of the same age.

The first group recruited by Fréchette (1973) for comparative purposes comprised 197 boys who had appeared before the Juvenile Court of Montreal and who had not been placed in a reeducation centre, but on probation. The second and third groups were made up of clients from the Berthelet Centre (112 boys) and Mont Saint-Antoine (109 boys). Berthelet is a closed centre located not far from Boscoville, which receives, especially for short periods, young socially maladjusted youths very similar in terms of age and type of problems to those who are sent to Boscoville. Mont Saint-Antoine is a reeducation centre in the region of Montreal that specializes in offering apprenticeship in a trade to the adolescents sent there. The results used here have been analyzed in greater depth by LeBlanc and Meilleur (1978) and Achille and LeBlanc (1977).

It turns out that the residents of Boscoville admitted to more delinquent acts than the boys on probation and a few more than their

fellows at Berthelet and Mont Saint-Antoine. To what extent do these differences reflect a deeper involvement, not only in delinquent behaviour, but in delinquent orientation? The results of a psychological test, Kelly's R.E.P. test, which tells to what extent the respondent considers himself the same as his delinquent peers, informs us that the boys of Boscoville tended to identify with delinquent figures more than their fellows (averages: Boscoville 7.1; M.S.A. 6.0; Berthelet 6.6; Wards of the court 6.7).

Some psychometric data enabled us to pursue our comparison. On the whole, there were no major differences between the averages of Boscoville and those of the other groups. The facts, and more particularly the statistical tests done by Leblanc and Achille (1976), led us to conclude that there was little statistically significant difference between the boys of Boscoville and those in the other centres; they had a few more problems than the others and they were more diversified.

Do the Boscoville boys come more disturbed families than those recruited from other sectors of the juvenile justice system? Boscoville's youths had not experienced more placements in foster homes than their fellows; they felt neither more nor less understood by their parents than the others and their parents did not know with whom they associated any more than the parents of the youths recruited from the other centres.

As we have seen, schoolwork is given special attention at Boscoville, and it is worthwhile knowing whether the youngsters sent there had better scholastic results from the start, and to what extent they were motivated to continue going to school. The Boscoville boys reported better scholastic standing than their peers on probation or those at Berthelet. On the other hand, they were not as successful as the residents of Mont St-Antoine, but more showed a greater interest in continuing their studies.

8. Those who stay and those who leave

However premature departures may be interpreted, one thing is certain: a large proportion of the boys sent to Boscoville leave along the way. The question arises as to which ones stay and which leave - a question of obvious interest from the point of view of evaluative research. If those who stay and undergo the treatment to the end are the best cases, the assessment of Boscoville's effectiveness must be made with reservations.

We undertook to answer this question by comparing the youngsters who left during their stay in the suburbs (36 boys) with those who went on to pursue treatment in reeducation residents (100 boys). We also compared those who left during the first year of residence (56 boys remaining an average of six months) with those who stayed at the centre more than a year (60 boys remaining an average of twenty months). These comparisons are taken from Achille and LeBlanc (1977) and Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) respectively.

8a. Those who leave the suburbs and the others

Forty-two percent of the boys who came to Boscoville never became acclimatized because they left before the end of the prescribed stay in the suburbs. Acclimatization means willingness to become involved in the treatment process and to develop a feeling of well-being at Boscoville. For the boys who didn't want to be placed at Boscoville, half (or 21%) left within a week of their stay in the suburbs. It is these thirty-six boys that we compared with those who had become acclimatized to Boscoville and had started the reeducation process in the residences¹.

1. Only these boys were met by our interviewers since it was impossible in the case of those who left after less than a week.

Were those who left the suburbs more delinquent than those who undertook their reeducation? One had no more delinquent activity than the other, but those who left identified more with a delinquent model; they leaned more toward a delinquent role, a criminal career, even though their criminal activity was no greater. With regard to the psychometric personality assessment, we observed certain differences between those who left the suburbs and the others, and the same is true of their family situation.

Upon analysis of the differences between the two groups concerned, the results show that those who quickly left Boscoville had a lower degree of intelligence than those who stayed. These differences are very significant statistically. In short, youngsters with a lower mental potential tended to run away from the treatment offered by Boscoville much sooner than the others.

We note, furthermore, an association between the boys' school records and premature departures. Those who left the suburbs were also those who most often had dropped out of school a long time ago (two years and more); fewer of them had never left school or left temporarily. These facts and others (LeBlanc and Meilleur, 1979) tend to show that difficulties in school and refusal to go to school were more prevalent among those who left Boscoville during their stay in the suburbs. There is a definite connection, then, between a lower intelligence quotient, a more difficult scholastic history and the fact of leaving Boscoville, where the entire morning is devoted to schoolwork.

8b. Those who leave during the reeducation process and the others

To make this comparison, two groups were formed, the first containing those who had completed at least a year of their stay at Boscoville, the second made up of those who stayed less than a year. The first group included 56 boys, the second, 60 boys.

Are those who left more delinquent than those who stayed? The results show that except for petty theft, the boys who stayed less than a

year at Boscoville committed more delinquent acts and were more identified with their delinquent peers than the others. In terms of their personality, we concluded that the boys who stayed longer were not really different from their comrades in these respects, but had a very slight tendency to show more anti-social behaviour. Moreover, the boys who stayed more than a year at Boscoville had a more favourable family background than those who left prematurely.

Considering these results, it is possible that the motivation to further their studies influenced the boys' decision to stay or leave Boscoville. It was clear that the more a boy wanted to pursue his studies the more he tended to remain at Boscoville: 61% for the boys who stayed more than a year against 37% for the others. This is easily explained by the importance given academic activities - schoolwork - by the personnel of Boscoville. Furthermore, the youths at Boscoville who were willing to stay more than a year differed from their fellows as well as those in other centres (Berthelet 26%; M.S.A.: 41%; wards of the court: 43%) including those who left Boscoville prematurely (37%); more of them wanted to continue their studies. This means that if one wanted to select boys who would be willing to stay at Boscoville on a long-term basis, one would have to first of all consider their motivation to study. The results concerning the intelligence quotient of the two groups studied bear this out: the youngsters who stayed longer at Boscoville had a higher intelligence quotient (average: 115) than those who left during the first year (average: 102). Quite possibly the latter had more difficulty with the schoolwork and gave it up after a relatively short time.

9. The dynamics of the departures: selection or self-selection?

Only 33% of the juvenile delinquents admitted to Boscoville participated in the reeducation programme over a period of one year or more (theoretically two years are necessary to go through the four stages of the reeducation process). Early departures, then, are very numerous. This fact gives credence to one of the arguments used against centres

with a high rate of success (which would be the case for Boscoville, according to Landreville (1967) and Petitclerc (1974)), and that is that the centres are selective. If this were so of Boscoville, it would have advantageous admissions criteria, would only admit youngsters with the best potential and would favour the departure of the most difficult cases.

As we have shown, at boscoville, the clients are not chosen unconditionally when there is a request for admission; however, less than 20% of the requests are refused and these are based on criteria that seem logical in most cases (must be 15 or over, of minimum intelligence, no known mental illness). Moreover, as we established previously, the clientele received at Boscoville is as diversified and with as many deficiencies, if not more, than all the wards of the Juvenile Court.

The diversity of personality problems and social histories is similar, but the residents of Boscoville arrive at a more advanced age than in the other centres and their delinquent behaviour is much more marked. Their deficiencies are also undeniable, for it has been shown that the wards of the Court can be easily differentiated from conventional adolescents, and to their disadvantage, and that the youths at Boscoville differ from them even more. In short, Boscoville takes in a group of boys who are delinquents (in terms of conduct) and who have serious personality problems. These two traits are theoretically characteristic of the population for which reeducation was conceived.

If, until the youngster's arrival, the centre has no particular selective policy, the fact remains that subsequently, 42% of the boys leave before the end of their stay in the suburbs (two months) and 17% before the end of the first year. These high percentages indicate that there are youngsters who leave as soon as they arrive at the centre, and others who decide to leave at various times throughout the programme and succeed in doing so. There is a mechanism of selection, then, at Boscoville. Although this process is not a matter of chance, it strongly threatens to change the basic characteristics of the clientele, so that the youngsters who remain long enough in no way resemble those who had been sent there to begin with.

That being the case, a comparative study became necessary to identify the social, psychological and criminological characteristics of those who stay and those who leave at the beginning or during the reeducation process. These comparisons afforded the following information. The youths who prolonged their reeducation had committed fewer delinquent acts and identified less than the others with a delinquent role; and more of those who stayed at Boscoville were proportionately scholastically motivated and had a significantly higher intelligence quotient than that of the boys who left. A last comparison was made between the results of those who left Boscoville and the results of the residents of other centres with regard to their delinquency and scholastic motivation. It turned out that the youngsters who stayed had the same level of delinquency as the clients of other centres (those who left having a much higher level) and they had a more marked motivation to study (those who left were comparable to the clients of other centres).

Thus, when we speak of the clientele of Boscoville, we refer to different groups, depending on whether we are studying those who are received at the centre, those who finish the observation period (the suburbs) and those who continue their reeducation beyond a year. These differences, in the final analysis, are the result of what we call a process of self-selection. It is a matter of natural selection, the sum of individual decisions made by adolescents of fifteen to eighteen during their stay at the centre. The group of residents who stay at Boscoville more than a year is largely formed by their decision to stay or leave. These decisions seem to us the result of the confrontation between Boscoville (its programme, its objectives, etc.) and the boys who are sent there.

As we have seen, Boscoville is a treatment centre that has a precise and well articulated philosophy; it has a complex and smoothly running organization, which enjoys the services of a highly qualified and competent staff capable of maintaining the quality of its treatment at a very high level. The set-up is a complete entity, it is not negotiable. The youngsters must take it or leave it - no concessions made. On the

other hand, there are its clients - all the adolescents sent there. On analysis of their characteristics we found that these boys had committed more delinquent acts than the members of other groups also considered delinquents; they had as many psychological and family problems as the latter, but on the other hand, were more motivated scholastically. In short, the youngsters placed at Boscoville had at least as many difficulties as other boys also known to be very disturbed.

Having arrived at Boscoville, these boys have a choice: either change, that is, accept the influence of the educators, question themselves, work, participate, accept the challenge, or go, that is, leave the centre, either by running away or insisting on being released, never to return. There are other options theoretically possible, such as to "do one's time" (conform superficially) or manipulate (use the system to one's advantage), but these are excluded in practice because of the educators' determination to flush out those who try the first and to out-manoeuvre those who try the second. A comparative analysis of the boys who stay and those who leave Boscoville enabled us to discover a number of reasons for the decision to leave.

First of all there was resistance to change. This is borne out by the fact that the more a boy was engaged in delinquency (measured by the number of crimes committed and identification with delinquent peers), the more he tended to leave prematurely. The educators at Boscoville counsel the boys to change, to give up their delinquent identity and seek other goals. A certain number of youngsters refuse to do so, thinking their delinquent style of life more attractive.

A second reason, related to the first, is a lack of interest in schoolwork. This is seen in the fact that it is mainly the boys least interested in pursuing their studies who stay only a short time. The fact is that Boscoville considers its scholastic activities extremely important and devotes much time and effort to them. The adolescent who has a marked aversion to studying and has no ambition in this direction will see no reason to stay. He will leave because one of Boscoville's

main activities holds no interest for him. We can also deduce from our results that some boys leave because they feel unable to keep up with the studies proposed to them. This is based on the fact that the average intelligence quotient of the boys who stay less than a year at Boscoville is definitely lower than that of those who stay longer.

This analysis can be summed up as follows: premature departures, which largely contribute to shaping the clientele of Boscoville, are the result of an incompatibility between the centre's programme and what some of the adolescents placed there want or can achieve.

To speak of the dynamics of the departures in terms of a process of self-selection does not mean that we should discount certain immediate factors. Many factors certainly play a considerable role here: the provocation and encouragement of one or several educators, the example of friends who succeeded in leaving Boscoville forever, the lure of the outside (friends, girls, alcohol, drugs, fun, etc.), the difficulties of life at the centre (group life, the need to change, etc.) the difference between expectations and the reality of the Boscoville programme, the indeterminate duration of the stay. We have witnessed the operation of these precipitating factors, factors which could be associated with selection, but are simply release mechanisms and not fundamental or profound explanations. The role of the young delinquent and the inappropriate nature of elements of the programme for certain youths are too obvious for us to maintain any theory other than that premature departures constitute a self-selection process.

All the results reported in this section have a definite practical bearing, for they enable us to specify the type of clientele that can benefit most from the reeducation programme at Boscoville. The optimum criteria of admission are: marked personality disturbance, capacity and definite motivation to pursue studies and a great deal of delinquent activity but no commitment to a delinquent role.

Our results, besides their practical implications, have a major

significance for the evaluation of Boscoville's impact. Thus, our group of subjects who were treated, those who stayed more than a year, form a homogeneous group due to the process of auto-selection, and the group that was not treated, those who left prematurely, form a completely different group. It would therefore be difficult to evaluate whether Boscoville has a different impact on diverse clients since the group of subjects treated is relatively homogeneous and, similarly, it would be risky to compare the subjects treated with the others because they are fundamentally different groups. Let us keep these difficulties in mind, for we should seriously consider them in our plan of analysis and in the interpretation of our results on the effectiveness of Boscoville.

II. The impact of Boscoville on the personality of juvenile delinquents

Four questions will guide us in our analysis of Boscoville's impact: Do the subjects treated change during their stay? How or in what direction do they change? Do they change more markedly if they remain longer under treatment? Do they change at an even pace throughout their stay? But before going into the analysis of the data enabling us to answer these questions, it is well to present some methodological details that will make it easier to understand the analyses that follow.

1- Outline of the research

It is important to describe the sample of subjects that was used for our evaluation of the impact of Boscoville's treatment. It was made up of boys who had been admitted to Boscoville from January 1st, 1974 to December 31st, 1975. The first group of examinations, which we call the entrance examination, took place in the first ten days of residence. Of the hundred and thirty-six (136) subjects examined upon entry, one hundred and sixteen (116) formed our final sample¹. Fifty-six residents

1. This reduction is explained as follows: thirteen subjects could not be contacted for the second set of examinations (upon leaving) and one refused to collaborate; there was also one subject who left Boscoville too late for us to include him in our analysis. Five others were not included because their classification in the sample created some problems.

constituted the special group used for our research. For purposes of this presentation, we call them the subjects treated. These boys had completed at least one year at the centre.

The subjects who don't enter this category are boys who had remained a relatively short time. We saw from the start that these boys would not serve as a comparative group for the subjects treated. We therefore saw them again two years after their admission to Boscoville in order to examine them by means of the instruments used for the residents at the end of their stay. Sixty boys make up our group of subjects not treated. Here again, the term creates a problem, for many of these boys had started their treatment; they were therefore only relatively untreated. We might add that seventy percent of them spent less than 180 days (or six months) at Boscoville.

Because of its empirical approach, the research on Boscoville involved the use of numerous instruments of evaluation; the subjects studied were submitted to thirteen different tests: personal maturity - clinical method (Warren, 1966), - Palo Alto method (Jesness, 1974), Hand test (Wagner, 1962), C.P.I. (Cough, 1965) N.S.Q. (Cattell, 1973), IPAT (Cattell and Scheier, 1952), Eysenck (Eysenck and Eysenck, 1979), the Jesness inventory (Jesness, 1969), self-image scales (Fitts, 1965), Belpaire (Belpaire 1971), Fit (Venezia, 1968), R.E.P. (Kelley, 1955), self-reported delinquency scales (LeBlanc et al., 1972) and the Barbeau-Pinard (Barbeau & Pinard, 1951).

The following traits were chosen as capable of indicating any changes that occurred in the personality of our subjects during the interval between the assessments. There are twenty-one of them, ten from the Jesness inventory, eight from the self-image scale, three from the S.O. scale of the C.P.I., Eysenck and IPAT. Since these variables are defined in the course of the analysis, it won't be necessary to describe their content here (see Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a and b, for more details).

Through careful examination of the components of the tests and the items they contain, we found that some of them were related. This relationship, furthermore, can be detected by simply reading the definition of the components. The discovery of this fact is very important for it made it possible to group the twenty-one variables chosen under a relatively small number of headings, giving more flexibility to our analytical instrument and enabling us to avoid too bulky a presentation of the results.

On the basis of this grouping of related themes, five different aspects of the personality were found that could encompass one or another of the twenty-two chosen variables. This is how they can be described and the variables that can be connected with them:

- Adaptation and integration aspects: this is a group of positive measures of psycho-social health. Included in this group are the total anxiety score, self-esteem, physical self, moral self, family self, social self and social maturity.
- Defensive aspect: this concerns measures betraying a tendency to become obsessed one way or another, either regarding oneself or others. It encompasses the repression, denial and net conflict score.
- Aggressive and antisocial aspects: here the title is self-explanatory. Under this heading are manifest aggression, value orientation, antisocial index, autism and alienation.
- Depressive and/or neurotic aspect: this is a particular way of qualifying the personality; we refer first to the depressive aspect (self-dissatisfaction, tendency to withdraw from others, etc.). Without any intention of making the ideas of neurosis and depression equivalent, we judged it best to include them under the same heading, going by the conception of neurosis generally in vogue in North-American psychiatric circles, a conception that gives a great deal of importance to the depressive syndrome, the feeling of

inferiority and self-deprecation, etc. Included are the following: neurosis, withdrawal and social anxiety.

- Personality disturbance aspect: this aspect groups together three traits betraying serious problems in the structure of the personality: Social maladjustment, personality problems and psychoticism.

The principal advantage of this classification is that it enabled us to evaluate the impact of the Boscoville programme in terms of such or such an aspect of the personality. It was the consistency of the results that would finally show the true value of the criteria on which we based our assessment. In the meantime, let us say it was used as a matter of pure convenience.

2- The extent and nature of the change

Did the boys who actually entered Boscoville's programme of treatment change during the course of their stay and, if so, what direction did these changes take? The answer lies in a simple analysis of the results obtained by comparing the data of the entrance examination with that of the examination upon leaving. The presentation of these results is given according to the five aspects of the personality under whose heading we were able to place the various variables under study.

2a. The integration and adaptation aspect

Let us remember first of all that the measures mentioned here all indicate in one way or another the quality of the harmony characterizing the subjects psychic life and his interaction with others.

A quick glance at the results obtained regarding the components of this aspect (Table 12) shows that at each of the variables, the level of probability stemming from Wilcoxon'ss Z score in six out of seven cases is below .001 and in the other case below .01. This result indicates that, from the point of view of the adaptation and integration of the

personality, the subjects treated changed significantly between the time of their entrance examination and their examination upon leaving.

Concerning the nature of the change, it seems that it had been more marked with regard to certain variables. Thus, if we go by the Z component - the farther it is from 0, the more it leads to the conclusion that there were important changes - the boys would have appreciably evolved as to their moral self¹ (perception of self in terms of a personal ethical frame of reference), as to their general level of self-esteem², their degree of anxiety³, their level of social maturity⁴, and their social self⁵. For these diverse variables, the

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1. The moral self leads the subject to describe himself in terms of his own ethical frame of reference; thus he says what he thinks of his moral values, his religious beliefs and his satisfaction with his own moral or religious belief.
 2. Self-esteem is the sum of the following three elements: description of self (who am I?), satisfaction with self (am I satisfied with myself?) and perception of one's behaviour (how do I behave?).
 3. The total anxiety score indicates the degree of conscious and unconscious anxiety of the subject. This anxiety is considered the result of five factors of the personality's functioning: a poor conception of self, a weak ego, a tendency to paranoia, guilt feelings and nervous tension.
 4. The degree of social maturity comprises three central themes: feeling of depression (timidity, denegration of others, guilt), a feeling of being unlucky; deviant behaviour (playing truant from school, trouble with the law, drinking, etc.); resentment against the family (unhappy, not understood, excluded, etc.).
 5. The social self is similar to the moral self except that here the frame of reference goes far beyond moral values. It concerns the "self" in relationships with others in general.

number of those who improve their performance at the examination upon leaving varies from 43 to 46 out of 56 (over 75%). The results drop a little with regard to physical self⁶ and family self⁷; they give the impression the boys evolve a little less in these respects, but they are still below the threshold of statistical significance ($p < .01$).

As to data derived from the percentage of the population in the normal range at entry and upon leaving, they provide some interesting information. First of all, they show that vis-à-vis five variables, four of which showed evidence of important changes (degree of anxiety, self-esteem, moral self, and social self), the subjects treated were found upon leaving Boscoville to be in the normal range in proportions from 71.4 to 91.1% - a considerable number. These data also make it possible to understand two other related facts. On the one hand, apropos the three variables that led to important variations (self-esteem, moral self, social maturity), the percentage of the sample in the normal range when they entered was actually low, particularly regarding the last two (32.1 and 23.3% respectively). This left a great deal of room for eventual changes which, incidentally, did actually occur.

On the other hand, and this is our second point, in other variables the proportion in the normal range is fairly high upon entry; this is especially so in the case of social self, family self, physical self and degree of anxiety, where the figures are from 55.4 to 71.4%. In these cases, then, there were fewer deficiencies among the subjects, thus, contrary to the variables mentioned previously, leaving little room for change.

6. The physical self indicates the way one sees oneself physically; it is a person's view of his physical aspects, his physical state (his health), his physical abilities and his sexuality.

7. Family self is an indication of the way the subject feels about behaviour and values within his family; it refers to the subject's perception of himself in relation to those close to him.

Table 12

The evolution of the subjects treated during their stay

Aspect test and scale	WILCOXON			% in the normal range		
	No. of those who regress	No. of those who progress	%	P	upon entry	upon leaving
<u>ADAPTATION-INTEGRATION</u>						
IPAT: Total anxiety score	39	15	-4.13	.001	55.4	71.4
TSCS: Self-esteem	12	43	-4.51	.001	48.2	78.6
" Physical self	16	37	-3.84	.001	67.9	91.1
" Moral self	10	45	05.11	.001	32.1	76.8
C.P.I.: Social maturity	9	46	-4.44	.001	23.2	60.7
TSCS: Family self	20	34	-2.35	.01	59.0	69.6
" Social self	13	43	-3.85	.001	71.4	85.7
<u>AGGRESSIVE-ANTISOCIAL</u>						
Jesness: Manifest Aggression	50	5	-6.02	.001	53.4	87.4
" Value orientation	52	3	-5.98	.001	41.1	82.1
" Asocial index	47	8	-5.23	.001	17.9	46.4
" Autism	45	10	-5.04	.001	55.6	75.0
" Alienation	47	5	-5.53	.001	50.0	91.0
<u>DEFENCE</u>						
Jesness: Repression	18	32	-1.89	.03	69.6	57.1
" Denial	8	40	-4.22	.001	55.4	69.6
" Net conflict score	27	29	-0.43	.33	76.8	80.4
<u>NEUROSIS-DEPRESSION</u>						
TSCS: Neuroticism	15	40	-4.04	.001	71.4	87.5
Jesness: Withdrawal	35	13	-3.45	.001	60.7	69.6
" Social anxiety	30	24	-0.80	.21	41.1	64.3
<u>PERSONALITY DISORDER</u>						
Jesness: Social maladjustment	52	2	-6.01	.001	25.0	69.6
TSCS: Personality problems	8	47	-5.69	.001	35.7	82.1
Eysenck: Psychoticism	41	10	-4.71	.001	48.2	82.1

Before leaving our first aspect, let us take a look at the sample within the range or normality upon leaving the centre vis-à-vis the variable social maturity; the lowest of all, at 60.7%, it shows that almost 40% of the subjects had not yet reached a satisfactory level of socialization in spite of the progress made. This fact merits our attention since the specific aim of the centre's treatment programme is the socialization of its charges. It points to the fact that for a large number of boys this goal is never reached.

2b. The aggressive and antisocial aspect

The variables that come under this heading are almost the exact opposite of those we have just examined. Whereas the latter showed a kind of personal and social harmony among the subjects who obtained a high score, these deal with the difficulties the subjects has in living with himself (manifest aggression¹, value orientation²) or with others

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- 1- Manifest aggression reflects disagreeable feelings of anger and frustration, and a tendency to react easily in terms of these emotions, as well as a conscious uneasiness concerning the presence and control of these feelings. The subject is disappointed with himself and others because he can't understand himself or feel at ease. He knows he can react suddenly and is preoccupied with controlling his reactions.
 - 2- Value orientation in this case is a tendency to share attitudes and opinions characteristic of persons belonging to the lower socio-economic classes. It is a sign of fear of failure, gang orientation, the tough ethic and a premature desire for adult status. The person rating high on this scale also tends to describe any inner tension or anxiety in terms of physical symptoms, and to believe he hasn't much chance in life.

(asocial index³, autism⁴, alienation⁵). Given the data observed regarding integration and adaptation, we should be able to see considerable variations here among our subjects who were treated.

This, in fact, is what the results of this second aspect show; as far as the Wilcoxon test is concerned, they are generally even more pronounced than those of the preceding aspect. According to this test, the Z scores show a significance clearly above $p < .001$. Furthermore, the number of those who improved over their first performance goes from 45 to 52, or 80% to 92% of the sample. These variations took the form of a distinct lessening of aggression, anger and frustration, gang orientation, the premature desire to have adult status, the feeling of being unlucky and a victim, distrust of the adult world and particularly of persons in authority. They also signify a greatly reduced tendency to settle conflicts in an antisocial way and the propensity to distort reality to conform to their desires and needs.

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- 3- The asocial index refers to a general inclination to resolve psycho-social problems in a manner that disregards social customs and rules. It is compiled on the basis of the scale of social maladjustment but does not include the latter's indications of emotional disturbance. It specifically concerns antisocial behaviour.
 - 4- Autism measures the propensity, in thought and perception, to distort reality according to one's own desires and needs. It must not be confused with retreat from reality which is a term usually used in psychopathology. From the Jesness perspective, a high degree of autism shows that the subject is reacting with his environment in an unrealistic way, whether regarding his projects or his perception of events. He believes he is self-sufficient, smart, tough, good-looking. This does not prevent him from complaining about certain physical symptoms, from feeling that he has something bad 'in his head', from wanting to day-dream, to be alone, at the same time claiming that he is sometimes timid.
 - 5- Alienation refers to attitudes of distrust and withdrawal in interacting with others and particularly with those in authority. The subject denies that he has any inner problems, he ascribes them to others, thus explaining the hostility toward others often underlying his responses.

The results showing the rate of occupation of the normal range do not refute these data. In the case of four of these variables, the proportion of subjects treated who are within the range of normality upon their departure is over 75%. This result is all the more significant in that when they entered, the rate of normalcy did not exceed 56%

The data concerning the asocial index have a certain particularity: exceptionally low at the time of admission (17.9%), the rate is still very moderate by the time they leave (46.4%). This means that, throughout their stay, the majority of the subjects who go through the treatment at Boscoville continue to resort to antisocial ways of settling their problems. This cannot help but bring to mind the same type of results regarding social maturity; upon leaving, the rate of those within the normal range was also rather modest (60.7%). These two results, then, show that whatever progress was accomplished, there remains a certain antisocial tendency among a large number of the subjects treated.

2c. The defensive aspect

Upon leaving Boscoville, has the defensive aspect of the subjects treated changed from what it was at the time of admission? Three indicators serve here to provide an answer, repression¹⁶, denial¹⁷, and net conflict score¹⁸. These variables are all manoeuvres used by

16- Repression reflects an exclusion from the conscience of feelings or emotions that the individual should normally feel or evidence; it could also show an inability to identify these emotions. The exclusion concerned here is more or less unconscious and involves feelings of anger, displeasure and rebellion.

17- Denial betrays a reticence to recognize the unpleasant events of everyday life, especially for those whose level is high; in addition, they have a tendency not to admit they are in conflict with themselves. Their lack of judgment is not acknowledged. Unlike repression, there is a conscious refusal to face reality here, not an inability due to unconscious tendencies. A moderate score in this indicator is considered normal. A low score indicates an undeveloped ego and generally seems to characterize the personality of those who commit delinquent acts. For this reason a moderate increase in this score should be interpreted as proof of a closer approach to others and an attempt to understand interpersonal events.

18- The "net conflict score" betrays a particular type of defensive measure; if the total number of positive responses is greater than the number of negative responses with regard to certain traits, we say that the subject "over-states" their positive attributes. If, on the contrary, the negative responses are predominant, we say that the subject "over-emphasizes" their negative aspects.

the subject to obscure his own reality and the reality of his psycho-social environment. In this sense, they belong to the classic definition that is given psychic defence. The results of this aspect (table 12) at first glance, do not have the consistency we were accustomed to in the preceding data.

Apropos repression, we see a certain tendency toward improvement, thirty-two out of fifty-six subjects having increased their score on the second examination. The difference, however, is not statistically significant. This is confirmed by the percentage of the sample in the normal range when leaving the centre, the rate being lower than upon entry (57.1 against 69.9%). Given the significance of this indicator, which reflects a lack of feelings or emotions that the subject should normally evidence (anger, rebellion, aversion, etc.), on the one hand, and on the other, a weak critical sense with regard to himself and others, this tendency might be seen as one of the short term effects of the treatment. In any case, it must be interpreted as though it were an attempt at neutralization and compared with the marked repression of aggression that we noted above. It gives the impression that an interiorization of the conflict took place, a turning inward of part of the aggression once directed outward.

The results concerning denial are more marked and much above the level of significance; forty subjects improved their initial performance. We must be careful not to give denial the negative meaning that psychoanalytic theory confers on the defence mechanism that bears this name. Since a weak score for this indicator shows a weak ego and a moderate score can be considered normal, an increase in the average score should be interpreted as an improvement. It is a sign of a closer approach to others and an attempt to understand interpersonal events. The percentage of the sample in the normal range increases from entry to departure (+14%) to finally arrive at about 70%.

2d. The neurotic and/or depressive aspect

The variables that come under this heading describe two particular and sometimes complementary aspects of the personality, a certain number of traits found among so-called neurotic patients and other traits that may be qualified as depressive. The latter can also serve as the diagnosis of neurotics of a certain type - the anxious and the phobic. It is not a question of simply superimposing neurosis and depression because the latter goes way beyond the range of neuroses.

Where neurosis¹⁹ is concerned, the results show a substantial variation; forty out of fifty-six subjects (71.4%) improved to a significant degree from the time they entered to the time they left, reaching a threshold of $p < .001$. The increase of population within the range of normality was moderate, but it was high to begin with (71.4%) and left little room for change; even so, it reached one of the highest scores at the time of departure - 87.3%.

Given these results which, in our opinion, are to be compared with those of the variable moral self²⁰, there is every reason to believe that the subjects treated "become neurotic" during their stay, that is to say, they become more like neurotics, capable of being aware of their moral imperatives and able to feel and face feelings of guilt. This is a positive result that is confirmed by those derived from indicators of a much more serious pathology than that of neurosis.

19- The neurosis scale is made up of items that describe personalities that present neurotic problems, whether of an hysterical, phobic or obsessive nature.

20- The moral self leads the subject to describe himself in terms of his own ethical frame of reference; he says what he thinks of his moral values, his religious beliefs and the satisfaction he derives from his moral or religious credo.

The results obtained for the variable personality disorder²⁴ are essentially of the same order, except that fewer subjects seemed to progress after entering the centre (47)²⁵. This being the case, the Z score is high ($p < .001$). Strengthened by a pronounced rise (+46.4), the percentage in the normal range was over 82% upon departure. As to the variable psychoticism²⁶, the results also speak eloquently of a marked change; the figures are slightly lower than those of the two preceding variables ($Z = -.4.7$), and the variation in the population in the normal range largely surpasses 30%.

These first three variables of more serious disturbance present results that, to all intents and purposes, are fairly similar. If we consider the content of these variables or the personalities they typify, this similarity is not surprising. Concerning the Tennessee personality disorder test, let us remember that, according to its author (Fitts, 1965), it makes it possible to identify subjects who have serious character deficiencies. There is reason to believe that these subjects constitute what for a good part of the population are generally called "problem children", "pre-neurotics" or "borderlines", according to a more recent usage derived from the works of Kernberg (1975, 1977). Eysenck's variable psychoticism also includes personality traits related to those of the two preceding variables, although they are generally of a more pathological nature than the other two; the essential characteristics are insensitivity, feeling of being a victim or unlucky, cruelty, phobia about crowds, exaggerated taste for taking risks and negative perception of the subject's parents.

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- 24- The indicator personality disorder makes it possible to identify those persons who have basic problems and personality weaknesses, but who are neither psychotic nor neurotic. This indicator, like the previous one, was constituted empirically. It includes the items that are significantly associated with these types of patients.
- 25- Let us point out that this scale is in reverse order: the higher the score, the fewer the person's personality problems.
- 26- Psychoticism is an indicator denoting serious personality problems: lack of sensitivity, the feeling of being a victim, cruelty, phobia regarding crowds, an exaggerated taste for taking risks and a negative perception of the parents. Moreover, the subject who gets a high score in this indicator takes little account of what he does to others, the latter being seen merely in terms of a barrier or threat.

3. Changes and duration of the stay

If, as there is every reason to believe, the subjects treated at Boscoville change during the course of their stay, it becomes pertinent to find out if the degree of change has anything to do with the length of time spent there. In other words, beyond a minimal period, do the subjects who stay longer change perceptibly more than the subjects whose stay is not quite as long? And do those who stay longer change more during their first or their second year? After examining this question (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a), we noted some points that require some comment.

First of all, it has been established that it is essentially during the first twelve to fifteen months that the changes occur. Two sets of results led us to this conclusion. On the one hand, the subjects who stayed longer (more than twenty months) were no different, statistically speaking, when they left Boscoville, from those who benefited from a shorter period of treatment (between thirteen and twenty months); on the other hand, in the case of subjects who stayed longer, it was found that only moderate progress was made after the first year.

Furthermore, after having first compared the results of the progress made by those treated who stayed longer and those treated who did not stay quite so long, and then the progress of only those who stayed longer, but at two different times (from entry to mid-stay and mid-stay to departure), similar indications were obtained. It was found that at the time of departure, there was a certain difference between those treated who stayed longer and those treated who stayed a shorter time with regard to six variables, self-esteem, moral self, social self, alienation, personality disorder and social maladjustment. However, the difference was only in the amount of change. We were unable to distinguish between the two groups at the time they left because, even though they seemed to have covered more ground during the treatment, the subjects who stayed longer had more unfavourable traits on admission than their counterparts. Our

examination at two intervals of the performance of the subjects who stayed longer showed that these six variables were generally where the most important changes took place at the second interval, that is, after the first year. We found that four of the six variables showed significant changes. Regarding the other two variables (alienation and self-esteem) the results indicated a tendency toward change ($p < .10$).

There is reason to believe, then, that prolonging the stay beyond the first year can bring about some changes in self-conception, in the symptoms of more serious disturbance and the relational capability of the subjects. But, let us repeat, these changes are limited and generally do not make any distinction possible between the subjects who stay longer and those who stay a shorter time.

As to the other variables, the changes observed can in no way be connected with the prolongation of the stay. On the other hand, some of these changes can be associated with the first twelve or fifteen months since the subjects remaining a shorter time show no real difference at the moment of departure from those who stay longer; also the progress of the subjects who stay longer seems to be accomplished during the first twelve months. This is the case for manifest aggression, asocial index, withdrawal, and value orientation. Almost all these variables are part of the aggressive and antisocial aspect.

These results tend to confirm the general orientation that Boscoville gives its programme. During the first year the accent is on controlling aggression and on a constant fight against antisocial tendencies - the acclimatization and control stages; in later months the educators devote their efforts more specifically to the strengthening of self-esteem and integration of the personality - production and personality stages. To a certain extent our results reflect the effect of this effort, although in the case of adaptation and integration, progress after the first year is modest. On this point our results agree with one of Gregoire's conclusions (1976), that where identity is concerned, subjects at the acclimatization stage show a marked difference from subjects more

advanced in the treatment, but that the latter do not differ from one another to a significant degree.

On the question of the advantage of a prolonged stay, did the boys who stayed longer at Boscoville consolidate what they acquired more than those who did not stay as long? Beyond a certain length of time, the benefits of the treatment should no longer be seen in terms of quantifiable changes, but more in terms of consolidation or permanence. Only the data on the post-Boscoville period can give us the answer. If it turned out, a year after the treatment, that the boys who stayed longer progressed more than those who did not stay as long, the hypothesis that the prolongation of treatment allows the boys to consolidate the improvements they made at the centre would be confirmed. But if this is not the case, if, for example, the subjects who stayed longer regress later on more than those who stayed less time, and if their social adjustment proves more difficult, we must resort to either the hypothesis that these subjects were simply conforming to the requirements of the centre or that, from the very start, they were weaker individuals who could function relatively well inside the centre but tended to have difficulties their very first month outside the centre.

4. Maturation

When it comes to assessing the effectiveness of a treatment programme by the number of changes observed in the subjects concerned, one of the very first questions that comes to mind is to what extent these changes can be attributed to factors other than the treatment itself. Foremost among these factors is what can be called, in general terms, maturation. How much of the progress we have seen among the subjects treated is lacking among those who refused to become involved in the treatment? What is the psychological state of these subjects two years after their first examination compared with that of the subjects treated at the time they leave Boscoville? We looked into this question by comparing the results obtained, at two different times, by the subjects treated and those not treated.

Actually, only a very incomplete study of the effect of maturation can be made here. As we will see, during the course of this analysis we tried to discover the effect by basing our study on the evolution of the subjects who stayed at Boscoville less than two months, but without considering the level of the boys' performance on entry. In other words, we assumed that the minimum of time spent at Boscoville (vs a longer time) is the first factor to consider in order to assess the natural evolution of the boys compared with our subjects who were treated. However, as we see further on, there is another way of approaching the problem of maturation; it is based on the proposition that the subjects evolve more or less according to the level of their performance when first examined, the length of the stay being taken into consideration as well, but playing a subordinate role.

Whatever the case, we used the first approach for the moment, which, limited as it may be from the theoretical point of view, was nonetheless indispensable. We simply compared the results obtained by the subjects treated and untreated on each of the occasions they were examined. We did this by first verifying the extent to which the two groups resembled or differed from one another at the time they entered the centre. According to the data reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a), there was no reason to consider the two groups different at the time of admission. We then examined the data on the evolution of each group. Finally, we looked at the way the groups differed from one another at the time of the second examination, on leaving the centre for the treated subjects, and at the time of the follow-up for the untreated. The results establish that they differed statistically with regard to sixteen of the twenty-one variables considered (fourteen at $p < .001$ and two at $p < .05$).

Did the subjects who refused to become involved in the treatment evolve nonetheless positively during the two years following their admission to Boscoville? The answer is shown in table 13. We see that the untreated subjects evolved significantly ($p < .01$) in nine of the twenty-one variables (in terms of a level of significance of $p < .001$, in

seven cases). This first type of finding shows a considerable, albeit less pronounced, evolution among the subjects who rejected treatment.

We continued our reading of the results, taking different aspects of the personality into account. In integration and adaptation the untreated subjects evolved positively to a significant degree ($p < .01$) in four of the seven variables (degree of anxiety, self-esteem, physical self and moral self). A certain tendency exists in two other variables (social maturity and social self), ($p < .08$). We must remember that the subjects treated showed very significant results in six of these variables ($p < .001$). As real as it may be in the variables of this aspect, the progress of the untreated can in no way be compared with that of the subjects treated.

The signs of change are much less evident in the variables of the defensive aspect. This is true of the subjects treated, in whose case we see at most a tendency toward improvement. Their most important changes were in the variables of the aggressive and antisocial aspect, as shown on the Z score in table 13. It is also in the variables of this same aspect that we find the most marked signs of evolution among the untreated. Three of the five variables have a Z score with a statistical significance of $p < .01$ (hence two above $p < .001$): manifest aggression, value orientation and autism. For the other two variables, asocial index and alienation, the tendency toward improvement is maintained even though it does not reach the level of statistical significance.

The results regarding the depressive and/or neurotic aspect show no evidence of a true evolution on the part of the untreated subjects. A certain tendency, however, can be detected in the variable neurosis. Although the subjects treated showed significant results in only two of these variables, we observe tendencies toward improvement in three other aspects.

The findings are a little different with regard to signs of personality disorder. The untreated subjects reach a level of statistical

Table 13

Comparison of the performance of the subjects treated and untreated

Variables and Aspects	Z scores (Wilcoxon)	
	Treated	Untreated
<u>Integration and adaptation:</u>		
Degree of anxiety	-4.13*	-2.63*
Self-esteem	-4.51*	-2.46*
Physical self	-3.84*	-2.39*
Moral self	-5.11*	-2.28*
Social maturity	-4.44*	-1.43+
Family self	-2.53*	-1.11
Social self	-3.85*	-1.54*
<u>Defensive:</u>		
Repression	-1.89+	-1.48+
Denial	-4.22*	-1.83+
Net Conflict Score	-0.43	-1.37+
<u>Aggressive and antisocial:</u>		
Manifest aggression	-6.02*	-4.28*
Value orientation	-5.98*	-4.22*
Asocial index	-5.23*	-1.75+
Autism	-5.04*	-2.59*
Alienation	-5.33*	-1.73+
<u>Depressive and/or neurotic:</u>		
Neuroticism	-4.04*	-1.53+
Withdrawal	-3.45*	- .73
Social anxiety	-0.80	- .14
<u>Personality disorder:</u>		
Social maladjustment	-6.01*	-3.19*
Personal problems	-5.69*	-2.20*
Psychoticism	-4.71*	-2.14+
* = p .01		
+ = p .10		
1 = No. 56		
2 = No. 60		

significance in two out of four variables: social maladjustment and personality problems. As interesting as these are in themselves, the results do not reach the level obtained in these same variables by the subjects treated.

An examination of the results, aspect by aspect, brought out a fundamental fact: there is a clear parallel between the performance of the subjects treated and that of the untreated. This parallel is easily seen in the fact that whereas the subjects treated showed indisputable signs of change, the untreated showed signs of a similar evolution, but to a less marked degree. This was the case for the variables of integration/adaptation, those of aggression/antisociality and those concerning personality disorder. Generally, where the subjects treated get results at the level of $p < .001$ and $p < .01$ respectively, the untreated subjects' results are $p < .01$ and $p < .10$ respectively. Few variables are exceptions to the rule.

We showed previously that the subjects treated evolved more markedly in the aspects of aggression/antisociality, personality disorder and integration/adaptation. Signs of evolution were less evident at the defensive level and in the neurotic and/or depressive aspect. The untreated subjects produced similar results but to a much lower degree.

At first glance, these results give the impression that all the boys admitted to Boscoville had a natural tendency toward better social adjustment, a tendency that would be accelerated or reinforced by the treatment. It is quite possible, however, that this tendency was true of the untreated boys who stayed longer at Boscoville and that it is more attributable to the treatment they had, as brief as it was, than to a natural propensity for better adjustment.

Taken as a whole, the data on this question (reported by Bossé and LeBlanc) shows that first of all, there are indications that the treatment programme can have a positive influence, even on the boys who take part for less than a year, although there is no truly decisive

evidence. This tendency was perceptible and in line with the results we were able to arrive at for the subjects treated, taking the length of their stay into account as well as the rate of the changes they made. Secondly, the subjects who left after the first two months tended to improve in certain respects during the two years following their admission to Boscoville. There was a significant improvement in the lessening of aggressive tendencies, and not as strong, although perceptible, in the case of repression and psychoticism. Since there is no question of attributing these tendencies to any influence of the treatment, we believe it is an expression of the general development we have characterized as maturation. Thirdly, since at the time of their second examination, no significant difference was found between the untreated subjects who had stayed a short time and those who stayed longer, we feel justified in merging them to make one group that can serve as a comparison with the subjects treated.

A good way to link these conclusions is to say that the four sub-groups formed (the subjects treated who stayed longer, the subjects treated who stayed a shorter time, the untreated subjects who stayed longer and the untreated subjects who stayed a shorter time) give results that enable us to place their performance on a progress continuum as represented in graph 2. The subjects treated who stayed longer are clearly ahead, those at the tail end are the untreated subjects whose stay was shorter than the others. The two middle groups fall into line according to the time spent under treatment.

These data are a first approximation of Boscoville's specific impact on the boys who live there for at least a year. They also make it possible to establish in a very general way the apparently small part that must be attributed to maturation, that is, the evolution that occurs in any event in surroundings other than Boscoville.

5. Selection

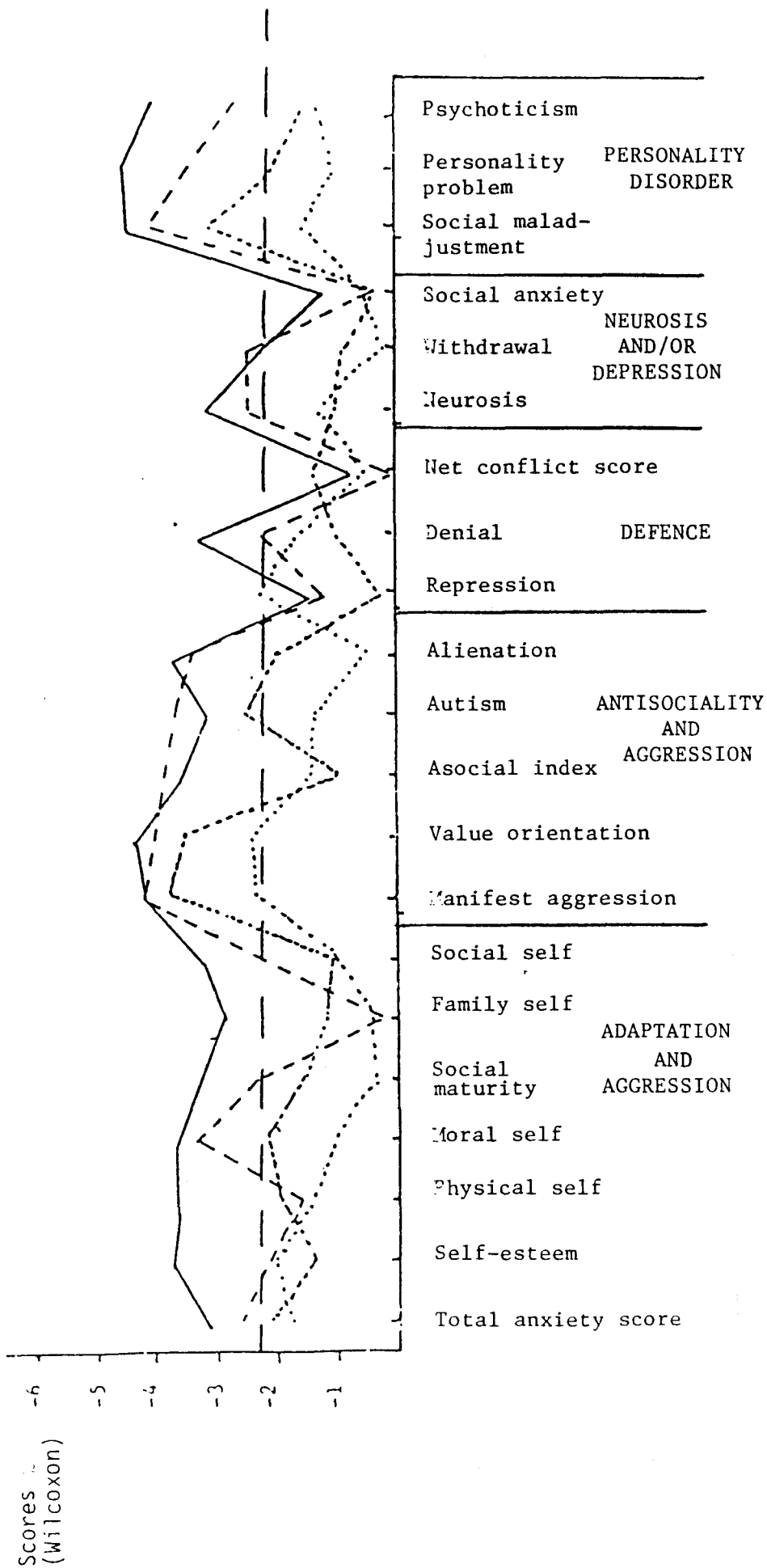
To ascertain the specific effect of a treatment programme, it is not enough to compare the subjects who submit to it for a longer time

Graph 2

Comparative performance of the subjects untreated who stayed longer, the untreated who stayed a shorter time, the treated who stayed longer and the treated who stayed a shorter time.

Treated - longer duration ———
 Treated - shorter duration
 Untreated - longer duration - - -
 Untreated - shorter duration

Level of statistical significance -----



with those who leave after a rather brief period. It is also necessary to verify whether or not the factors that seem to play a role upon entering treatment have an effect on the results of the person treated. The question is whether or not the performance of the subjects said to be treated is attributable to factors active in selection.

One way of settling the question is to verify whether the subjects treated who had an unfavourable score in one or another of the variables of selection evolve as much as those who had a more favourable score. In other words, do the subjects who enter into the treatment programme with a low intelligence evolve as much as those with a higher intelligence? If there is no significant difference between the two groups on both admission and departure, we can conclude that the variable in question does not play a determining role in the evolution of the subjects.

Our reasoning is based on the hypothesis that a variable that seems to play a certain role at the start of the treatment can also influence the development of the subjects during the treatment. If this were not the case, there would be reason to believe that the changes observed at the end of the stay are attributable to the treatment alone. Our analysis of all the variables found to be significant appears in the section on the clientele, but we refer here to only the intelligence quotient to illustrate this point (see Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a for all the analyses).

The intelligence quotient is an indication that is all the more significant in that, among the specialized social services, there is widespread opinion that Boscoville would, in the final analysis, select only the most intelligent subjects, and that this selection would explain the positive results obtained by the treatment. We know now that there is some truth in this; the findings in the section on the clientele have shown that the subjects with lower and very average intelligence quotients had a definite tendency to avoid treatment whereas those with a higher or higher than average intelligence quotient agreed more easily to follow the treatment. We must point out, however, that this selection is

only half the process: it is not a deliberate practice of Boscoville; it is simply due to an incompatibility between two types of reality, the intellectual potential of certain subjects, on the one hand, and the vectors of the reeducation programme on the other. Unable to cope with one or another aspect of the treatment, the less endowed subject leaves Boscoville of his own accord without being urged to leave in any way whatsoever.

This being agreed, it remains to be seen whether Boscoville has a greater influence on the brighter subjects than those who are not so bright. In order to give a clear, unambiguous answer, we divided our treated subjects into two groups (using as our basis of distinction the median obtained by the treated and untreated subjects at the time of admission) according to the variable overall intelligence quotient. The subjects below the median form the group of low I.Q.'s, those above, the high I.Q.'s.

What does table 14 tell us? It shows that at the time of admission there was no difference in our twenty-two variables between the group that had a higher I.Q. and the boys with a lower I.Q. (Mann-Whitney). If we refer to the results concerning the comparison between the groups at the time they left the centre, we find that there was hardly any more difference between the groups then, for none of the variables showed a significant difference. There are two tendencies toward differentiation (net conflict score $p < .04$ and withdrawal $p < .09$), but they are not confirmed (Wilcoxon); the performance of the two groups, then, appear to be identical. Does this mean to say that intelligence quotient has no influence on development during the course of the treatment? The Wilcoxon results tend to demonstrate the contrary, for the performance of the bright boys constantly exceeds that of those with lower I.Q.'s. The differences observed here, however, between the results of the Mann-Whitney and Wilcoxon tests, could be due to the specific nature of the two instruments. The Mann-Whitney evaluates the performance of the groups as groups, without particular attention to the more outstanding individual performances. The Wilcoxon, on the other hand, takes the

Table 14

Control of the variable Global Intelligence Quotient
(Barbeau-Pinard)

	Mann-Whitney p		Wilcoxon (Z)	
	Entry	Departure	Low ¹	High ²
Total anxiety score	.29	.92	-2.13*	-3.64*
Self-esteem	.75	.70	-2.39*	-3.70*
Physical self	.31	.98	-1.48*	-3.39*
Moral self	.69	.51	-2.67*	-4.18*
Social maturity	.50	.86	-1.45*	-4.28*
Family self	.19	.70	- .45	-2.37*
Social self	.96	.51	-1.99+	-3.12*
Repression	.51	.83	- .49	-1.66+
Denial	.39	.37	-2.51*	-3.41*
Net score conflict	.11	.04	- .03	- .52
Manifest aggression	.55	.55	-3.35*	-4.94*
Value orientation	.77	.57	-3.41*	-4.91*
Asocial index	.62	.85	-2.95*	-4.24*
Autism	.57	.73	-2.86*	-4.03*
Alienation	.71	.24	-2.76*	-4.71*
Neurosis	.96	.85	-2.56*	-3.15*
Withdrawal	.18	.06	-2.23*	-2.55*
Social anxiety	.30	.13	- .31	- .82
Social maladjustment	.77	.73	-3.30*	-4.92*
Pathology	.56	.47	- .11	-2.39*
Personal problems	.68	.55	-3.04*	-4.65*
Psychoticism	.48	.15	-1.61+	-4.39*

1. Global intelligence quotient lower than 109 (N = 15)

2. Global intelligence quotient 109 and over (N = 39)

* p .01

+ p .10

qualitative difference in performance into account, according more weight to the more marked progress than to the more modest. This could account for some of the differences in the results. This means that among the group of boys with a higher I.Q., some of them may have evolved a great deal and others may have made very little progress. Taken as a whole, then, the group would not really have been different from that of the boys with a lower I.Q.

There is another factor here that may help to explain the differences; the intelligence quotient of the more intelligent group is more than two and a half times higher than that of the less intelligent subjects. Although this fact in no way influences the results of the Mann-Whitney test, it must certainly be taken into consideration in the case of the Wilcoxon test, for the greater the number of subjects studied who have a high I.Q., the easier it is to get a statistically significant result.

A careful analysis of the results shows that although the brighter subjects may evolve a little more as a group, at least in some variables, they do not progress sufficiently to differ in any significant way from the less intelligent subjects by the time they leave the centre. At the conclusion of our studies on the possible influence of all the variables on the beginning of treatment, we must emphasize the fact that none of the results give any evidence that they play a sufficient role to be attributed a large share in the progress made by the subjects treated during their stay at Boscoville. The results, as a whole, tend to show that the treatment exercises a comparable influence, if not a greater one, among the boys who could be considered less promising candidates, in view of their resemblance to the subjects who rejected the treatment after the first few months of their stay. This means that the factors of selection have no real influence on the evolution of the residents during their stay at Boscoville.

6. The initial psychological calibre

Do the subjects treated evolve more or less depending on whether they perform well or badly in the psychological tests administered at the time of entry? Does progress during their stay depend on the calibre of the subjects on admission? This is a question that merits study, and if it was omitted until now, it is because we felt it necessary to first evaluate to what extent the untreated subjects evolved and how much could be attributed to the factors of selection in the progress made by the subjects treated.

The question of the evolution of the residents in terms of their initial calibre is not unimportant, for it has a bearing on the differential effectiveness of Boscoville. It is a question of whether or not the subjects treated react to the programme in terms of their initial potentialities. In fact, it is also a question once again of maturation. If a substantial difference were found in the progress of the subjects depending on whether they were of strong or weak calibre at the time of admission, it would be an indication that a large part of this progress was due to factors quite apart from the treatment itself.

The practical problem immediately facing us was to form groups of subjects of strong and weak calibre. We agreed that we would have to base ourselves on the largest possible number of psychological variables from the admissions examination. Using the results obtained for the twenty-one variables, we gave each of the subjects a score from one to three according to whether they were in the lower than normal range, the normal range or the higher than normal range. We obviously took into account the orientation of the various measurement scales, the score three being given to the most favourable results from the clinical point of view.

We then proceeded to add up the scores for all the variables. Our fifty-six treated subjects had scores ranging from twenty-six to sixty-two. We divided these into three parts. In the first third, with a total score of twenty-six to thirty-six, we found seventeen subjects; it

included those who had the most unfavourable clinical results. In the second third, with a score between thirty-seven and forty-eight, were twenty subjects of average calibre. Finally, the nineteen subjects comprising the last third proved to be the best in the sample psychologically, producing a score of from forty-nine to sixty-two. We can assume that these boys were always within the range of normality according to our psychological scales, in many cases often above the normal range. We have chosen to call the subjects in the first third weak (overall performances the least satisfactory) and the subjects of the last third strong (the best overall performances). (The details of this step can be consulted in Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a).

How did the weak group compare with the stronger group at the time of admission? It was this question that we considered first, not because we might learn a great deal by answering it, but because the information could be very useful to us later on. The data, when analyzed, showed that our two groups differed from one another in nineteen of the twenty-one variables, with a level of 99 per 100 accuracy ($p < .01$) and even 998 per 1000 ($p < .002$) in the case of eighteen variables. These results are certainly not surprising since it was directly on the basis of the performance of the subjects on admission that the two groups were constituted. It is interesting, nonetheless, for it shows to what extent the two groups were heterogeneous in almost all the barometric variables.

Since the weak and the strong are so different at the time of admission, how did they each evolve during their stay? As table 15 shows, the weak subjects generally progressed much more than the strong. Thus, if we rely on the level of significance attained in each of the variables, we find that the weak changed significantly ($p < .01$) in eighteen of the twenty-one traits whereas the strong produced a similar result in only six variables. We note, too, that the weak seem to have changed sufficiently in two other variables to give a result very close to the level of significance ($p < .03$ and $p < .02$). The strong also had two results of this kind, as well as two milder tendencies toward change ($p < .08$).

This difference is particularly marked in the variables of adaptation and integration (anxiety, self-esteem, moral self, social maturity, family self and social self). To begin with, the weak obtain results that are all significant whereas the strong show no results of statistical significance. There is always a big difference between the performances of each group. This is particularly the case for the variables social maturity, social self and family self. In the case of the latter, the evolution of the groups seems even more specific since their results are the opposite of one another; more of the strong subjects feel less at ease with their families than most of the weak subjects (14/17).

There is generally a substantial difference in the evolution of each group in the defensive variables such as denial and repression: in the latter case, we see the performances reversed once again: the weak, in their majority (12/17), improved their initial score whereas the strong, in a proportion of 2 to 1 (12 versus 7), had a lower score at the time of departure.

With regard to the depressive and/or neurotic variables, only in the case of neurosis is there a big difference in evolution: the weak evolve noticeably toward a state resembling that of neurotic patients whereas the strong seem to slightly lessen their similar resemblance.

The variables evaluating aggression and antisocial tendencies show a fairly similar evolution on the part of both groups. Each of them produce results over the level of statistical significance. However, here again the weak dominated if we take into consideration the quantity of the changes made. Finally, the similarity in the evolution of the two groups was also evident, although not nearly as strongly or obviously, in the case of the last four variables that deal with the more pathological aspects of the personality.

Table 15

Comparative evolution of the weak¹ and strong² subjects during their stay at Boscoville (the scores in parenthesis are those of the strong)

Variables	Diminish	Increase	Wilcoxon	
			Scores -Z	P
<u>Integration and adaptation</u>				
Anxiety	14 (11)	3 (6)	-2.74(-1.92)	.003 (.03)
Self-esteem	1 (7)	16 (11)	-3.57(-1.11)	.001 (.14)
Physical self	5 (5)	12 (11)	-2.67(-1.29)	.01 (.10)
Moral self	1 (5)	16 (13)	-3.50(-2.09)	.001 (.02)
Social maturity	2 (5)	15 (13)	-3.24(- .68)	.006 (.25)
Family self	3 (10)	14(8)	-3.15(- .33)	.003 (.30)
Social self	1 (7)	16(12)	-3.50(- .62)	.001 (.27)
<u>Defensive</u>				
Repression	2 (12)	12(7)	-2.32(- .86)	.01 (.20)
Denial	1 (5)	14(10)	-3.24(- .71)	.006 (.24)
Net conflict score	9 (11)	8(8)	- .07(- .48)	.48 (.32)
<u>Aggression and antisocial variables</u>				
Manifest aggression	15(14)	1(2)	-3.46(-3.16)	.001 (.003)
Value orientation	15 (18)	1(1)	-3.46(3.34)	.001 (.001)
Asocial Index	17 (14)	0(4)	-3.62(-2.81)	.001 (.003)
Autism	15 (14)	2(4)	-3.33(-2.42)	.001 (.03)
Alienation	17 (14)	0(2)	-3.62(-3.05)	.001 (.002)
<u>Depressive and/or neurotic</u>				
Neurosis	2 (12)	15(6)	-3.22(- .96)	.007 (.17)
Withdrawal	11 (10)	3(5)	-1.95(- .99)	.03 (.16)
Social anxiety	10 (7)	7 (11)	-1.16(- .76)	.13 (.23)
<u>Personality Disturbance</u>				
Social maladjustment	17 (17)	0 (0)	-3.62(-3.62)	.001(.001)
Personal problems	0 (6)	17 (13)	-3.62(-2.45)	.001(.007)
Psychoticism	15 (10)	1 (6)	-3.43(-1.47)	.001(.08)

1- N = 17

2- N = 19

The overall impression that emerges from these results is that the weak definitely evolved more during their stay than the strong. The difference is particularly great in the variables of integration and adaptation and is of little importance in the antisocial and aggression variables. It exists in other variables, although less regularly and sometimes less noticeably.

If such a difference can be detected between the evolution of the weak and that of the strong during their stay, how did the two groups compare at the moment they left Boscoville? Have the weak made up the gap that separated them from the strong? The results reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) show that the gap between the two groups had been more or less lessened during the stay. The strong, of course, were still in a better position clinically with regard to all the variables, but there were only two variables (against 19 at the time of admission) that distinguished them from the weak in a statistically significant way: they were the total anxiety score (the weak were definitely more anxious) and social maladjustment (the weak were also more maladjusted). On the basis of our results, we can say that the weak progressed remarkably during their stay and that this progress brought them very close to the strong, so much so that upon departure, there were only two of the twenty-one variables used that showed a significant difference between the two groups.

III- Does Boscoville change the personality of juvenile delinquents?

This fundamental question is now raised again after a four-part evaluation of the impact of the treatment at Boscoville. We first ascertained the total evolution accomplished by the residents during their stay; next we tried to specify four contributors: the duration of the stay, maturation, selection and the calibre of the boys to begin with. Distributing their share in the overall effect enabled us to discover the net effect of Boscoville on the juvenile delinquents placed there.

What are the most outstanding results of our analysis? With regard to the changes accomplished during their stay, the overall data show that the subjects treated evolved substantially in a positive way. The changes are particularly marked in the aggression and antisocial variables. There was also good progress made in the variables related to the more pathological aspects of the personality. To a lesser degree, there was also progress made in the adaptation and integration elements of their personality. Concerning the other variables, the results show that the boys became more like neurotics during their stay, that their tendency toward isolation or escape was greatly reduced and that they generally evolved very little where defensive attitudes were concerned, except in the case of intellectualization (or denial). It must be said, however, that in spite of their marked evolution in these areas, at the time they left Boscoville, the subjects treated still showed a greater antisocial tendency than normal and a degree of socialization below that of the average adolescent.

Upon examining the performance of the boys who were treated in terms of the duration of their stay (more or less than twenty months), at the same time verifying the homogeneity of the two groups formed in this way at the time of their admission, we found that the boys evolved slightly more in some variables if they stayed longer under treatment; the variables of adaptation and indices of personality disorder were particularly concerned. But the overall impression was of a close resemblance between the performances of each group. This impression was confirmed by the fact that at the time of their departure, the profile of the two groups was statistically comparable.

These first results regarding the duration of the stay were found to be in agreement with those of our analysis of the rate of change accomplished by the subjects during their stay when it was prolonged. They show that the main changes made during the stay occurred during the first twelve months at Boscoville and were particularly evident in the variables of aggression and antisocial behaviour, traits of a defensive nature and the variables relating to the neurotic or depressive aspects

of the personality. Furthermore, several aspects of the self-image (moral self and social self) and two of the signs of personality disorder seemed to make considerable progress during this same period, although generally more modest than that achieved previously.

We agreed that these results, on the whole, were largely in line with the major precepts of Boscoville's programme. The efforts made in reeducative work during the stages of acclimatization and control to get the young delinquent to master his aggression and antisocial tendencies have a great deal to do with the striking reduction in impulsiveness and antisocial attitudes during the first twelve months. The gains made later on regarding the variable self-image correspond fairly well with the goals of the production and personality stages.

Our analysis was now focussed on the evolution of the subjects who, after having been admitted to Boscoville, left before ten and a half months' time. Two years after their admission, these subjects showed that they too had evolved positively, and in several variables, significantly: aggressive ideology, tendency to distort reality to suit their desires, social maladjustment and personality problems. However, in spite of this evolution by the untreated subjects, the boys treated had gone much further ahead in the great majority of variables.

Comparing the profile of evolution of the untreated with that of the boys who were treated, we found a certain parallel, each group having evolved more in the same variables, and the variables where there was less change were generally the same for both as well. The question then arose as to whether this parallel was more the result of the treatment, even though unfinished, than the maturing process. A comparative study of the performance of the short term untreated subjects and that of the subjects who stayed longer confirmed the hypothesis that the Boscoville programme had had a positive effect even on the boys who stayed less than a year. However, we were able to show that even the subjects who left the centre after the first eight weeks tended to improve psychologically during the two years following their admission. They made significant

progress in lessening their aggression and showed a strong positive trend in the areas of repression, self-esteem, emotional immaturity and anxiety. We estimated that this evolution could be considered the result of a maturing process typical of belated adolescence. As incontestable as it was in itself, this natural evolution could not generally be compared with that of the subjects treated. This finding enabled us to conclude that only a bare minimum of the evolution of the boys who were treated could be attributed to maturation.

The factors that seemed to play a role at the beginning of treatment can be seen as determining the evolution of the subjects treated even less. At least this was the conclusion we came to after our analysis of the variables that enabled us at the time of admission to differentiate between the boys who would accept the treatment and those who would run away. A quality such as a high intelligence quotient can, of course, be an important ally from the point of view of therapy, but in many cases, it also proves to be an adversary to be contended with. For the rest, our data lead us to think that the other factors of selection, such as the delinquency, motivation to study and paternal influence, do not really influence the course of the evolution achieved during the stay. We can say, then, that the evolution of the residents was not affected by selection.

A last share of the final effect of the treatment was determined following our analyses to find out if the Boscoville boys were reacting to the treatment in a specific way depending on whether they were considered well-adjusted or poorly adjusted socio-affectively. We made up two groups, very different from one another. The first comprised the weaker boys, those who were hypo or hyper-anxious, egotists, egocentrics, aggressive, hostile, antisocial, maladjusted, who had a poor self-image and showed signs of pathology. The second group was made up of boys with a higher level of social maturity, capable of reciprocity, having better control of their aggression, able to intellectualize, less given to antisocial behaviour, with a more reconcilable concept of self and apparently free of any signs of pathology. We called these the stronger boys.

The data showed that we were justified in thinking that the subjects who go through the treatment at Boscoville evolve in a specific way depending on the overall psychological profile they presented at the time of their admission. Those who presented the most unfavourable overall picture progressed very markedly during their stay; however, the subjects whose profile from the beginning was very favourable evolved much less during the course of their stay. Concerning the most qualitative characteristics of this difference in evolution, we must admit that the weaker progressed remarkably in all the variables; the stronger boys make great strides in the variables of antisocial behaviour and aggression.

Such are the most important results, summed up according to their essential characteristics, that our analyses were able to determine as to the psychological evolution of the subjects treated at Boscoville. It turns out that the treatment programme applied at the centre has a real impact on the residents. Several explanatory factors do not lessen the net effect of the treatment very much: the effect of maturation does not seem very important; the factors of selection cannot claim any significant role. However, the calibre at the start does qualify the final effect since the latter is not equivalent for the subjects of a better psychological calibre and those marked by profound psychological handicaps. On the whole, we are led to conclude that the overall effect is substantial and the net effect is much the same, despite some notable differences. Boscoville seems effective in accelerating the development of the personality of young delinquents, but it does not change it.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE OF THE RESIDENTS: PERMANENCE OF
PSYCHOLOGICAL CHANGES, SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND RECIDIVISM

In a word, we now know that the treatment programme at Boscoville is relatively effective, that it produces emotional changes in the youths treated no matter what their characteristics were at the time of admission. The extent of the changes effected by the treatment will be examined as well as the permanence of these changes. It could be that the performance of the subjects treated results in large part from the fact that for many, Boscoville constituted a sort of protected environment where the acquisition and preservation of a good number of attitudes was taken for granted. This suggests the hypothesis that there is a certain artificiality about the changes noticeable in the subjects when they leave; the assumption is that, to some extent, the evolution achieved by the treatment is confined to the milieu where the treatment takes place.

There is no doubt that, because of its therapeutic goals and because of the problems confronting the subjects who come to the centre, Boscoville offers the possibility of a group of activities to which the large majority of the boys have no access once they leave the centre. For example, there is the daily presence of qualified adults, their reactions to and interest in the problems of the subjects; the quality of the programme of activities, whether in terms of the school work or cultural and sports activities; and finally the constant fight against antisocial attitudes, which in large measure eliminates the temptation to act out. In all these aspects, and many others, Boscoville constitutes an artificial environment, one that has little in common with the milieu the youngsters come from and to which they are returned at the end of their stay.

To what extent does the artificiality of the milieu of intervention affect an artificial change in the subjects undergoing treatment? The answer to this question lies in the analysis of the results of psychological tests given the boys a year after they left Boscoville. This "after Boscoville" analysis makes it possible to show the essential psychological data regarding the effect of the Boscoville

treatment on young delinquents. It is a question of the efficacy of the treatment from the point of view of the individual. But to be a little more comprehensive, no treatment should be evaluated only on the basis of the psychological changes that take place in the subject treated. Changes in behaviour must also be verified in terms of the social adjustment achieved, the extent to which the subjects' behaviour is shown to be different from what it was before undergoing treatment. In short, the evaluation of a programme should also take into consideration the protection of society, namely the stopping or reduction of delinquent activity. We will deal with this question in the second part of this chapter.

I. The permanence of the psychological changes

An analysis of the permanence of the changes produced in young delinquents at Boscoville will be carried out according to a procedure similar to the one we designed and used during our study of the performance achieved during treatment. We shall proceed in four different stages. First we shall make a detailed analysis of the results produced by all those who were treated, we shall then consider these results in relation to the length of time spent at the centre; we will then verify whether or not the factors that seemed to play a role when the youngster entered treatment (selection) influence the subjects' psychological evolution; finally, we shall examine the follow-up performance in terms of the psychologically worse/better dichotomy that we introduced to evaluate the effect of the initial calibre of the subjects.

1. The evolution of the subjects treated from their departure to their reexamination

What became of the subjects treated a year after they left Boscoville? What overall psychological profile emerges from the results obtained at this later examination when compared with those obtained at

the end of their stay? This is the first question we will deal with¹. Let us examine the data on the evolution of the fifty treated subjects from their departure to one year later, data that come from the two types of measurement used in the preceding chapter, the Wilcoxon, and the percentage of the population within the range of normality. These results are reported in table 16.

The study of the results concerning the performance achieved during their stay showed perceptible progress on the part of the residents regarding adjustment and integration. Does this progress continue its direction and rate after their stay is over? It seems this is not the case. At least this is the impression given by the facts presented in table 16. Not one of the seven variables concerned maintained the positive orientation that was so characteristic of the results obtained at the end of their stay. Furthermore, the Wilcoxon test gets results concerning three variables that must be interpreted as a deterioration; these are self-esteem, moral-ethical self and family self. We note, however, that the threshold of significance ($p < 01$) is reached only in the case of the last variable. In the case of the four other variables, the Wilcoxon results show a certain evening off, the number of those who improve being fairly close to the number of those who backslide.

1. Six subjects who were treated failed to cooperate in our follow-up analysis: the first had to be discounted after a misunderstanding over the date of his departure from Boscoville; in the case of the second, all our efforts to find him to take the follow-up examination were in vain, despite a four month search; a third subject chose to end the clinical examination (after only thirty minutes); the fourth categorically refused to collaborate with our researchers saying that "he wanted nothing to do with" either the research or above all Boscoville; as to the fifth and sixth subjects, they both refused to collaborate: the first was rude and aggressive, whereas the second never answered our calls. Statistical verifications (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a) have led us to conclude that there is no justification for the hypothesis that these subjects had the worst prognosis from the start. Thus in no way can our follow-up study be considered biased by the fact that our initial sample was reduced by this 9% dropout.

TABLE 16

Evolution of the treated subjects from their departure
to their follow-up

Test and scale	WILCOXON		Z	P	% in the range of normality on dep- At fo arture low-up	
	No. of those who improve	No. of those who regress				
<u>INTEGRATION-ADJUSTMENT</u>						
IPAT: Total score of anxiety	19	26	-.2088	.42	68.	68.
TSCS: Self-esteem	19	31	-1.61	.05	82.	74.
" : Physical self	23	23	-.508	.30	92.	90.
" : Moral and ethical self	19	28	-1.71	.04	78.	74.
C.P.I.: Socialization	21	26	-1.047	.15	62.	46.
TSCS: Family self	16	30	-2.46	.007	72.	64.
" : Social self	23	21	-2.451	.40	90.	94.
<u>ANTISOCIALITY-AGGRESSIVENESS</u>						
Jesness: Manifest aggression	25	23	-.985	.17	88.	80.
Jesness: Value orientation	30	18	-1.98	.03	84.	76.
Jesness: Index of asociality	30	15	-3.16	.001	48.	38.
Jesness: Autism	27	17	-2.02	.03	78.	64.
Jesness: Alienation	28	14	-2.60	.001	92.	78.
<u>DEFENCE</u>						
Jesness: Repression	17	25	-.656	.26	56.	64.
Jesness: Denial	20	24	-.729	.24	68.	56.
TSCS: Net conflict score	17	33	-1.703	.05	78.	82.
<u>NEUROSIS AND/OR DEPRESSION</u>						
TSCS: Neurosis scale	19	30	-1.76	.04	90.	80.
Jesness: Withdrawal	26	18	-1.92	.03	72.	72.
Jesness: Social anxiety	21	22	-.21	.42	68.	58.
<u>PERSONALITY DISTURBANCE</u>						
Jesness: Social maladjustment	34	12	-3.23	.001	70.	56.
TSCS: Personality disorder	17	32	-2.13	.02	84.	74.
Eysenck: Psychotism	23	20	-.68	.25	82.	84.

The results concerning the percentage of those within the range of normality show, in their way, the true extent of the regression; in fact, apart from the case of the two variables, socialization and family-self, where the difference between the results at leaving and at follow-up is 16% and 8% respectively, the rates of normalcy vary only slightly, and generally remain high a year after treatment. However, this is not the case for the score regarding socialization where only 46% of the boys treated are found to be within the range of normality. Let us remember that this index refers to three main areas: feelings of depression (timidity, impression of being unlucky, feelings of guilt, the denigration of others), deviant behaviour (problems with the law, alcohol abuse, drugs, etc) and resentment toward the family (feeling of not being understood, of being excluded). There is a connection here with family-self which conveys how the subject feels toward his family, as well as with the asocial index and withdrawal, two characteristics that we will also find prone to undeniable regression.

What is happening regarding the variables of aggression and anti-social behaviour? Is there the same tendency to regress? The results according to the Wilcoxon test follow the same direction, for in the case of the two variables, alienation and social index, they are sufficiently pronounced to go beyond the threshold of statistical significance. The trend is also noticeable in other variables. This relative regression applies to about the same number of subjects as the preceding variables, which is about 30%.

As for the population within the range of normality, regression is somewhat reduced, but remains fairly high on the whole. There is one exception, however, and that is the asocial index (tendency to settle conflicts in an antisocial manner); in the case of this variable, the rate goes from 48 to 38%; that is to say, still very weak at the end of the stay, it crumbles noticeably during the first year after leaving. It is interesting to note that the antisocial behaviour that recurs during the first year after leaving Boscoville does not seem to be accompanied

by the impulsiveness and uncontrolled aggression that characterized the delinquent behaviour before treatment. The number of subjects who lower or raise their score of manifest aggression after leaving is about the same; the difference is not significant ($p < .17$).

The treatment, it will be remembered, did not have any marked effect on defensive behaviour. After leaving the centre, the overall impression is also one of more or less stability or slight regression, as shown in table 16. None of the three variables concerned reach a significant threshold.

One of the significant effects that must be granted the treatment at Boscoville is the fact the subjects treated generally became more like neurotics by the end of their stay and their depressive tendencies were considerably attenuated. The follow-up data (table 16) indicate that this evolution did not continue after leaving the centre but tended to lose ground. In fact, although there is no significant result on the Wilcoxon test, but simply trends ($p < .04$ for the neurosis scale and $p < .03$ for withdrawal), the orientation of the results is contrary to that of the performance accomplished during the stay. However, according to the results of the other test (rate of normality), the variation is not very great.

The results that we find in the variables of personality disturbance do not differ in orientation and significance from those we have discussed under the four preceding titles. These results (table 16) also show a regression on the part of our subjects. True, the degree of significance of the data varies somewhat from one variable to another and does not go beyond the threshold we have established, except in the case of only one variable (social maladjustment, $p < .001$). But another variable gives results that reach the threshold, the personality disorder scale ($p < .02$).

An overall impression emerges from the results during the first year following the stay at Boscoville. The treated subjects regress or tend to regress in almost all the variables we have chosen as indicators.

If we compare this regression profile with that of the evolution accomplished during the stay, we find a great similarity between the two; this shows clearly in graph 3. The subjects regress more in those variables where they made the most progress during treatment and regress less where the treatment had less impact.

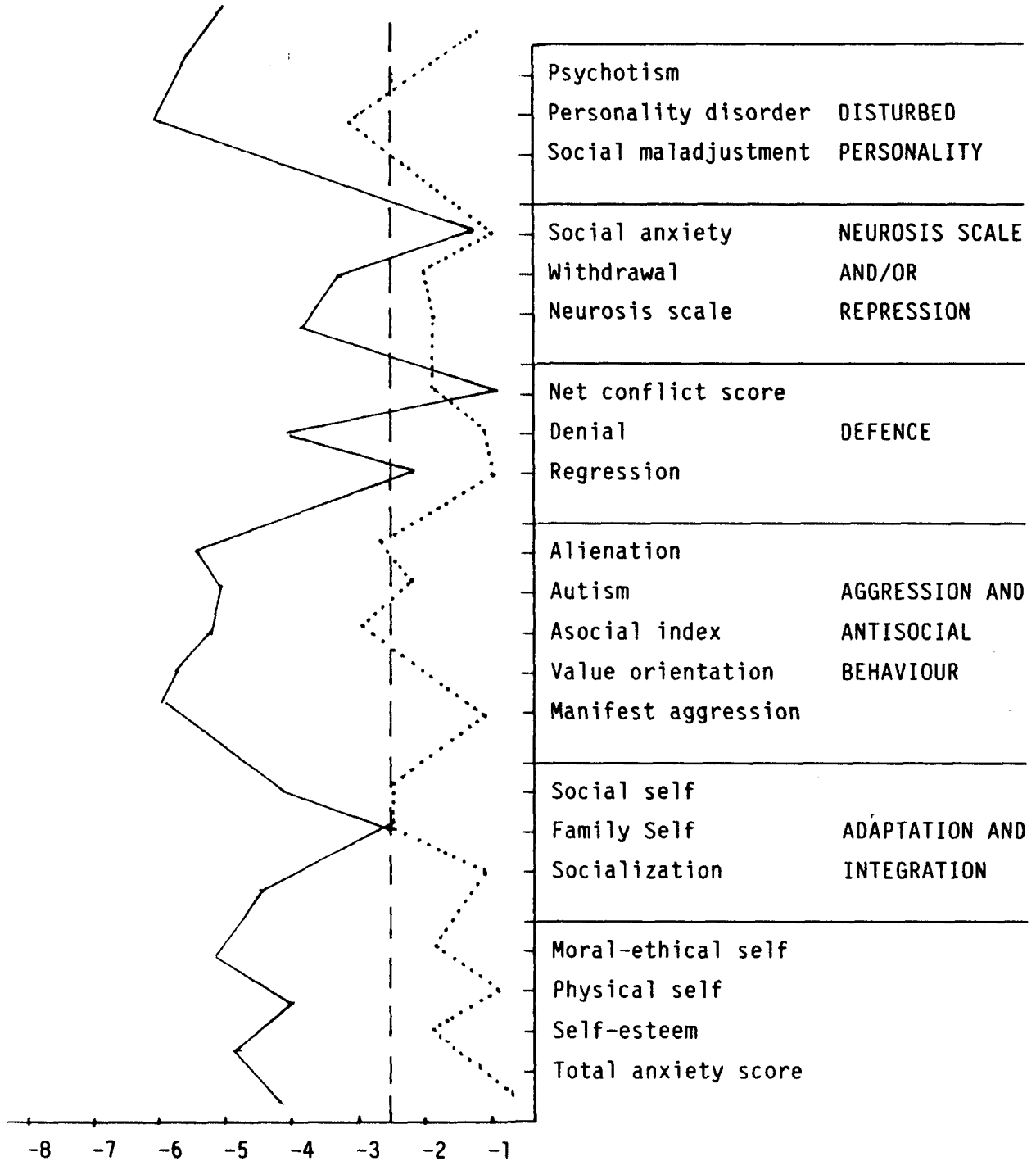
This fact leads to the conclusion that there are aspects of our subjects' personality that are more subject to change, more receptive to the change of environment. Thus the antisocial tendency, the various facets of the self-image, the value orientation, the confidence in or distrust of adults showed a marked evolution during the stay. During the year following their departure from the centre, the subjects regress far more regarding these variables, particularly if their stay had lasted more than twenty months. These results, then, convey the feeling that Boscoville makes its influence felt, certainly, but that it is transitory. In other areas as well, the subjects treated seem to have progressed a great deal during their stay, but contrary to the preceding ones, the changes have proven much more permanent. We are thinking here of the degree of general anxiety, the control of aggression, denial and emotional egocentricity, and yet, in the case of some of these variables, the evolution can be due to maturation or natural development. A small number of variables, then, determine a part of the personality scarcely touched by the Boscoville experience; they are the three defensive variables - repression, net conflict score (tendency to deny one's negative aspects) and social anxiety (tension in personal relationships). It is evident that the subjects evolve hardly at all in these three variables in the year following their departure. This area of the personality, then, seems to be impervious both to the Boscoville experience and the change of environment that occurs at the end of the stay.

2. The psychological evolution with regard to certain attenuating factors

If psychological regression is the dominant characteristic of the first year following the stay at Boscoville, does this regression

GRAPH 3

Comparison of the progressive performance during the stay with the regressive performance of the year following the stay



Z score (Wilconxon)

Progressive Performance during the stay: ———

Regressive Performance a year after the stay:

vary in response to factors that could weaken the performance achieved during the stay? Are the duration of the treatment, selection, maturation and original calibre factors that influence the psychological evolution after the stay?

2a. The after-effects of the duration of the stay

Do the subjects who stayed longer and those who stayed a shorter time evolve differently during the year following treatment? This is an important consideration, especially since the data we examined in the preceding chapter did not enable us to establish the utility of prolonged treatment. Let us remember that, in view of the fact that they had been in treatment for twenty months, more or less, no significant difference was found between the subjects whether they stayed a long or a short time, except with regard to one of the twenty-one variables. Let us also remember that concerning the subjects who stayed longer, it was found that most of the changes that took place occurred during the first twelve months of their stay. On the basis of these findings, it is possible to surmise that the longer stay gives the subjects more time to internalize these changes; and because they are more deeply implanted, they should, in principle, help the subjects to more strongly resist the impact of the conditions of life after leaving Boscoville.

It is well to remember that the subjects who stayed longer had progressed more during treatment in the areas of adjustment and integration than did the subjects who did not stay as long. Things changed, however, after they left. Looking at the results (table 17), we see some marked differences. Thus if we go by the number of those who, within each group, increased or reduced their score from the time they left to their re-examination, it seems that the majority of the twenty-five subjects who stayed longer regressed in five of the seven variables concerned. The treated subjects whose stay was shorter showed the same tendency in only two of the same variables (socialization and family self).

TABLE 17
Comparison of the evolution, after they left Boscoville, of the subjects
 who stayed a shorter time and those who stayed longer

Variables	Subjects who stayed longer		Z	P
	No. of those who increase	No. of those who reduce		
<u>WILCOXON</u>				
<u>INTEGRATION AND ADAPTATION</u>				
Total anxiety score	10 (9) ¹	12 (14)	- .26 (- .01)	.40 (.50)
Self-esteem	14 (5)	11 (20)	- .76 (-2.58)	.22 (.005)
Physical self	15 (8)	8 (15)	-1.52 (-2.09)	.07 (.02)
Moral and ethical self	13 (6)	10 (18)	- .50 (-2.41)	.31 (.007)
Social maturity	10 (11)	15 (11)	- .61 (- .86)	.27 (.20)
Relations with family	9 (7)	14 (16)	- .95 (-2.52)	.17 (.005)
Social relationships	14 (9)	6 (15)	-1.49 (-1.01)	.07 (.16)
<u>AGRESSIVENESS AND ANTISOCIAL BEHAVIOUR</u>				
Manifest aggression	12 (13)	11 (12)	- .59 (.79)	.28 (.22)
Value orientation	16 (14)	8 (10)	-1.54 (-1.10)	.07 (.14)
Asocial index	12 (18)	9 (6)	-1.70 (-2.65)	.05 (.004)
Autism	14 (13)	10 (7)	- .89 (-1.96)	.19 (.03)
Alienation	13 (15)	7 (7)	-1.68 (-2.00)	.05 (.03)
<u>DEFENCE</u>				
Repression	8 (9)	11 (14)	- .24 (- .63)	.41 (.27)
Denial	12 (8)	10 (14)	-.03 (-.99)	.44 (.17)
Net conflict score	10 (7)	15 (18)	- .52 (-1.70)	.30 (.05)
<u>NEUROSIS AND/OR DEPRESSION</u>				
Neurosis	15 (4)	10 (20)	- .85 (-3.02)	.20 (.001)
Withdrawal	13 (13)	8 (10)	-1.58 (-1.11)	.06 (.14)
Social anxiety	10 (11)	10 (12)	- .78 (- .38)	.22 (.35)
<u>DISTURBANCE OF THE PERSONALITY</u>				
Social maladjustment	17 (17)	7 (5)	-1.48 (-3.12)	.07 (.009)
Personality problems	11 (6)	14 (18)	- .16 (-2.71)	.44 (.004)
Psychotism	12 (11)	9 (11)	- .58 (- .29)	.29 (.39)

1. The results in parentheses are those of the subjects treated for a longer period (No.=25) and the others those of the subjects treated for a shorter period (No.=25).

What about the variables of aggression and antisocial behaviour? Do they show the differences between the two groups found in the preceding variables? The results (table 17) show that there is much more similarity between the performance after Boscoville of both the treated subjects who stayed longer and those who did not stay as long. Thus if we take into consideration the direction taken by the majority of the subjects, we find that the figures furnished by each group are generally fairly close and indicate a similar evolutionary orientation. With regard to aggression and antisocial behaviour, increased tendency toward antisocial conduct is greater and more statistically significant among the subjects who stayed longer as well as a stronger tendency to be unrealistic in terms of their own needs, while a certain recurrence of distrust of others is true to an almost equal degree for both groups.

During their stay at Boscoville, the treated subjects become more like neurotics; their proclivity toward depression is diminished. Furthermore, we know that this alleviation essentially survives during the first year of their stay; however, the results studied show a certain tendency toward regression. Does this occur for both of the groups concerned? As we see (table 17), the performance after Boscoville of the subjects of shorter residence is fairly comparable to the others with regard to the variables of withdrawal (tendency toward dissatisfaction with self and others, inclination toward isolation) and social anxiety (tension associated with personal relationships). The number of those who increase or reduce their score is to all intents and purposes identical.

But the most marked result concerns the variable neurosis: whereas the majority of short-duration subjects continue to increase the degree of their resemblance to neurotic patients, the large majority of longer duration subjects (80%) reduce this degree of resemblance. This backsliding (in comparison with the progress made during treatment) is statistically significant ($p < .001$). This type of result gives the impression that the induced neurosis that we have seen as one of the possible effects of the treatment could not actually be an artificial

phenomenon among the longer staying subjects. During the year following treatment, they go back to the level they were at when first admitted.

Since in our preceding results the indices of maladjustment always proved to be linked with other aspects of the personality, particularly those of adjustment and neurosis and/or depression, we should be able to observe a certain number of differences in this type of variable between the longer term residents and the shorter term residents. The results (table 17) show that the former tend to increase the signs of maladjustment more than the latter. True, if we go by the figures indicating the number of those who increase or diminish their performance after leaving, the difference between the two groups does not seem very great. However, the Z scores and levels of significance are more decisive in the case of two variables. Regarding social maladjustment, the longer-staying subjects regress in a statistically significant way ($p < .009$). The shorter-staying subjects follow the same trend but to a lesser and non-significant degree ($p < .07$). The difference between the two groups, however, is greater with regard to personality disorder; here only the longer-staying subjects truly regress significantly ($p < .004$).

If the subjects who have stayed longer at the centre regress significantly with regard to several variables, whereas those who stayed more briefly do not regress very much and even tend to improve in certain areas, the question is whether the evolution of these two groups was sufficiently unlike to account for the differences occurring in one or another of our twenty-one variables. In other words, how do the two groups compare at the time they are re-examined.

The findings of Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) give us the answer. Let us say that there is only one variable that differentiates the two groups significantly and it is the same one as when they left Boscoville. Take the variable alienation: the subjects who stay longer tend to distrust others less than their counterparts, and particularly those in authority. There are three other variables where the groups differ. Concerning

neurosis, the shorter-time residents resemble neurotics more than those who remain longer. Regarding the physical self, the same shorter-time residents tend to feel more at ease (with themselves) than their opposites and there is greater social anxiety among those who remain longer, although the difference is slight. More shorter time residents occupy the lower positions in the range of normality, and in general, too, their score tends to be lower. This means that the longer staying subjects are inclined to show some tension in their relationships with others, but with the exception of a few cases, not to an extreme degree. As to the other variables, the results do not show very much difference between the two groups. On the whole, the two groups seem to be fairly alike at the time of the follow-up; they are even more similar than when they left Boscoville, for at the time, the subjects who had stayed longer had a more favourable profile.

The data we have just presented enable us to judge the validity of the hypothesis that a longer stay favours a more thorough consolidation of the acquisitions made during treatment. The facts invalidate this hypothesis, at least where the first year after leaving the centre is concerned, for it is precisely those who remain at Boscoville for twenty months or more who regress the most after they leave.

This being the case, we must now consider the findings concerning the duration of the treatment: first, the great resemblance at the time they leave between those treated longer and those treated for a shorter period, and the limited amount of progress made at the end of the first year after their stay. Four possible exploratory hypotheses come to mind. First, it is possible that psycho-educators are unable to take their subjects beyond a certain point, that there is a sort of ceiling on re-educational methods. To adopt such an hypothesis, the whole process must first be shown to be valid. In short, it is an optimistic hypothesis regarding the overall therapeutic policy adopted and concretely applied at Boscoville. The facts, at least those on which we rely here, do not actually refute this tentative explanation.

Alongside this rather comforting hypothesis, there is another that is less optimistic: the alleged ceiling does not stem from an imperfection in the reeducational methods, but rather a fundamental weakness in the reeducative model itself. From this point of view, there is no use completing what exists with something that is faulty, but rather we must re-examine the basics of the programme or the treatment policy. This hypothesis is not to be completely discarded.

The third hypothesis concerns the structure, whose object is to have the period following treatment as harmonious as possible. We must point out that at the time the data were collected, this structure had not been fully established. Quite possibly, the regressions after leaving Boscoville noted in the research stem chiefly from the fact that the youngsters concerned did not have the benefit of a concrete assistance service.

A fourth hypothesis seems plausible: the subjects treated for a shorter time would have the advantage of a less deteriorated socio-familial environment and could benefit more from its support to make an easier transition from the centre to the post-institutional milieu. Further study of the particular aspects of social insertion will enable us to assess the value of this hypothesis.

Whatever the case, we can confirm that Boscoville has some of the problems that face many residential centres: the unavoidable artificiality of a relatively enclosed environment and evaluation of the institutional adjustment, for it is very difficult to decide which is integration and which is simply surface conformity.

2b. Post-Boscoville evolution and the effect of selection

When it comes to ascertaining the specific impact of Boscoville on the subjects who are there for over a year, we must consider the possibility that part of the progress made during their stay is due to

the natural process of selection having eliminated the less promising boys or those whose prognosis was not very favourable. We were able to determine, however, that selection played no part in influencing the evolution of the boys during treatment. Those who had a poor prognosis from the start, their personality being very similar to that of the boys evading treatment, evolved almost as much as those whose prognosis was more favourable.

If these factors did play a role in the boys' admission to treatment but had no influence on the course of their evolution during their stay, can they have some impact on the evolution of the subjects treated after they leave Boscoville? The question arises because we can assume that the more intelligent boys, or those less inclined to act out when they entered Boscoville, are in a better position when they leave, and because of this, run less risk of meeting adverse conditions in their efforts to develop or at least maintain what they acquired during their stay. We thought it important to verify this hypothesis.

What did we find? The results show that none of the factors influencing the admission to treatment have any impact on the subjects' evolution after leaving the centre. Whether they started off in a favourable or unfavourable position with regard to one or another of these variables, they can in no way be connected with any particular post-Boscoville evolution - marked or slight regression, status quo or progress. We feel it is not necessary to go further into detail regarding these results: they are available in the report submitted by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a).

2c. The evolution of the more disturbed compared with the less disturbed boys after Boscoville

In the preceding chapter we showed the importance of the psychological calibre of the boys at admission in terms of their progress during their stay. We found that the more disturbed or weaker subjects

made marked progress whereas the progress of the less disturbed or stronger subjects was more modest¹. Now we must see what became of the stronger and the weaker subjects during the year following treatment. In view of the results presented above, we can justly assume that the weaker subjects, who make more progress during their stay, regress more after they leave.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the data in table 18. If we go by the level of significance, there is no doubt about the regression of the weaker subjects. Seven variables reach the level of $p < .01$: self-esteem, family self, both diminishing, hence deteriorating, and denial, neurosis, personality disorders, value orientation and social maladjustment (increasing, hence also deteriorating). In addition, four variables reach the level of what might be called a strong tendency to deteriorate ($p < .05$); these are physical self - moral and ethical self, repression and withdrawal. Finally, six other variables show a weaker tendency toward regression: anxiety, socialization, manifest aggression, index of asocial attitudes, autism, alienation.

It is different for the stronger subjects. They regress significantly in only one variable - asocial index. They have a strong tendency to do so in one other variable - social maladjustment. Finally, they show a lesser tendency to regress with regard to alienation and withdrawal.

The difference in the post-treatment evolution of each of the groups seems particularly great in the variables of adjustment and integration and is also pronounced with respect to aggression. We note the specific aspects of the evolution of each group in the matter of aggression and antisocial tendencies; the more disturbed have a stronger tendency to act in an antisocial way, along with a resurfacing of aggression, whereas the less disturbed, who regress more in the area of antisocial behaviour, do not budge from their performance at the end of their stay as far as their aggressive tendencies are concerned.

1. It must be remembered that both the "strong" and the "weak" are below par.

TABLE 18

Comparison between the evolution of the weaker subjects¹ and the stronger subjects² from the time they leave Boscoville to the time of the follow-up (the results of the stronger subjects are in brackets)

Variables	WILCOXON		Score-Z	P
	Diminish	Increase		
Anxiety	7 (8)	8 (7)	-1.31 (- .142)	.10 (.45)
Self-esteem	13 (10)	2 (8)	-3.10 (- .07)	.001(.43)
Physical self	11 (7)	3 (9)	-1.79 (- .10)	.04 (.46)
Moral-ethical self	9 (9)	6 (6)	-1.76 (- .65)	.04 (.26)
Socialization	10 (9)	4 (7)	-1.29 (- .25)	.10 (.40)
Family self	14 (7)	0 (9)	-3.29 (- .38)	.001(.35)
Social self	9 (8)	3 (9)	-1.77 (- .40)	.04 (.35)
Repression	11 (6)	2 (7)	-1.99 (- .66)	.03 (.26)
Denial	12 (5)	2 (9)	-2.51 (- .69)	.006(.25)
Net conflict score	10 (12)	5 (6)	- .77 (- .74)	.23 (.23)
Manifest aggression	5 (10)	9 (7)	-1.51 (- .11)	.07 (.46)
Value orientation	2 (10)	12 (8)	-2.51 (.0)	.006(.50)
Asocial index	6 (2)	8 (14)	-1.41 (-2.92)	.08 (.002)
Autism	4 (8)	9 (9)	-1.64 (- .97)	.06 (.17)
Alienation	4 (5)	8 (8)	-1.33 (-1.43)	.10 (.08)
Neurosis scale	13 (9)	2 (9)	-2.95 (-4.7)	.002(.32)
Withdrawal	4 (6)	9 (10)	-1.89 (-1.37)	.03 (.09)
Social anxiety	6 (8)	6 (7)	- .55 (- .48)	.30 (.32)
Social maladjustment	2 (4)	11 (13)	-2.69 (-2.13)	.004 (.02)
Personality disorder scale	1 (11)	4 (6)	-2.58 (- .89)	.005 (.19)
Psychotism	5 (11)	8 (5)	- .87 (- .90)	.20 (.19)

1. N = 15

2. N = 18

On the whole, the differences and resemblances in evolution observable in the performance of the two groups following treatment agree with those found in their performance during treatment. Thus if it is in the variables of adjustment and integration that we see the greatest difference in progress between entry and departure, it is also in this type of variable that the groups differ the most during the post-treatment period. This concordance is true for most of the other variables with the notable exception of aggression, where the stronger subjects, in contrast to the weaker ones, do not regress at all after they leave the centre, maintaining the considerable progress they had made during their stay.

We have just seen how the weaker and stronger subjects evolved during their first year following treatment at Boscoville and how the evolution of each group was very different. It is important to know and compare the situation of these two groups during this first year. The data reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) show that numerous and significant differences reappear, which is not surprising considering the above findings. There are nine variables that distinguish the weaker from the stronger with a margin of error of less than one percent. These are the score of anxiety, self-esteem, physical self, moral and ethical self, family self, social self, denial, neurosis, and personality disorder. Five other variables also lead to the belief that the two groups tend to differ widely ($p < .05$). They are value orientation, manifest aggression, autism, withdrawal and social maladjustment. Two other variables show the same, but a lesser tendency ($p < .10$): socialization and psychotism.

There is no doubt that the difference between the two groups, much less evident during their stay, increased a great deal during the first year after leaving Boscoville. True, even during their stay, the stronger dominated the weaker in each of the "barometric" variables, but the difference was significant in only two of these. Here the domination of the stronger was considerably greater; it never reached the extent evidenced at the time of admission, however, when there were significant differences in nineteen of the twenty-one variables (and tendencies toward differentiation in two others).

As the results concerning the post-treatment evolution show, it is particularly the variables of adjustment and integration that manifest the most divergence between the groups; in six of the seven variables we get a significant difference ($p < .01$). The seventh variable shows only a tendency to differ ($p < .08$). It is not difficult, on the other hand, to connect three other traits showing significant differences with this type of variable. Denial indicates a subject's inability to accept reality and make an attempt to understand interpersonal events. The variable neurosis evaluates to what extent the subjects resemble so-called neurotic patients, personalities that present a high level of integration, notwithstanding. Personality disorder refers to those personalities that are neither neurotic nor psychotic but who nonetheless present serious problems of adjustment.

The results concerning the variable family self merit special attention. We know that this variable shows the way a subject perceives and evaluates his relationship with his intimates, with the members of his family. At the time of admission, this variable makes it possible to differentiate the stronger and weaker subjects to the level of $p .001$, the latter presenting the least favourable score. At the end of the treatment, the difference is almost indistinguishable, the stronger dominating the weaker by only a narrow margin. At the time of the follow-up, the difference between the two groups has become as great as it was initially, for the groups differ by a level of probability of ($p < .001$). This is due to the massive regression of the weaker subjects as well as the positive evolution of the stronger subjects following their stay. To some extent, these data confirm the hypothesis that the weaker subjects would have a poorer family situation and would therefore get no support when they leave Boscoville. They also reveal the artificial aspect of the opinion these same subjects adopt regarding their family during treatment. It is possible that, because of the distant relationship they have with their family, the subjects come to adopt such an opinion. This situation, however, concerns the weaker subjects exclusively, for the stronger ones at the time they are re-examined show results that are almost identical to those in evidence when they left the centre.

3. The specific impact of Boscoville

The analysis we have made so far of the evolution of the more disturbed and less disturbed subjects has brought to light two essential facts: the former make spectacular progress during their stay but regress markedly during the year following their departure; the latter progress much less during treatment, but their post-Boscoville evolution gives the impression that they maintain what they had acquired during their stay. The important question, in our opinion, is which profited the most from the treatment at Boscoville, the more or the less disturbed. Is there a particular type of boy in whom the Boscoville milieu effects more lasting changes?

To evaluate the benefits derived during the course of treatment, we must be able to count on a group of subjects who are of a psychological calibre comparable to that of the subjects who were treated and those who were not treated, or at least had not gone far enough in the treatment to be considered so. Our sample furnishes such a group (untreated subjects), subjects whose stay at Boscoville lasted an average of a hundred and eight days (the median being 62.5 days). Our interviews here were intended to again test the subjects' maturation, or to use more evocative terms, to measure what share in the evolution of the subjects treated must be attributed to what would have happened in any case without treatment.

But why reopen the question of maturation, particularly when the previous study made no truly significant finding? Our method here is different from that of our previous analysis. When we made a comparison between the evolution of the subjects treated and those who were not treated, we assumed that everything was equal between the groups outside the time spent under treatment. Although we had been able to show real differences between the subjects treated and those not treated, we were unable to show any significant difference, however, between the subjects who stayed a short time (three to sixty-six days) and those who stayed longer (ninety-three to three hundred and thirteen days), when we did a

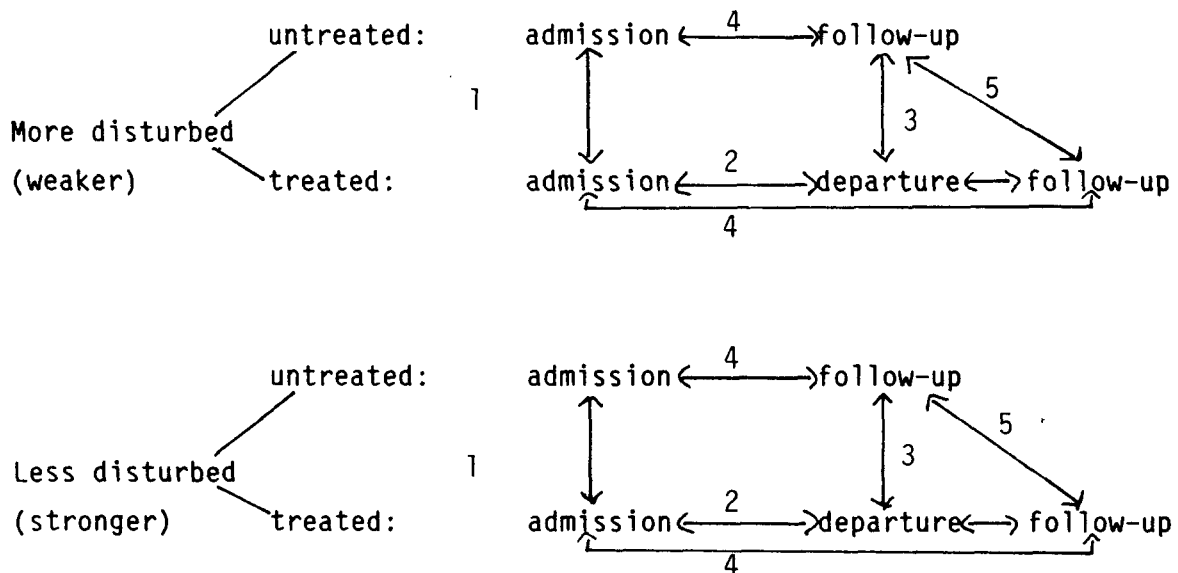
follow-up a year later. The impact of the variable maturation, although it appears to be undeniable, remained difficult to assess in this context, as did that of the duration of the treatment undertaken among the subjects who stayed a longer time.

The analysis we started previously, which centred on the distinction between the stronger and weaker subjects, furnished a different context, perhaps more useful for the analysis of maturation. In this model, no particular attention was paid to the time spent at Boscoville and the subjects were grouped according to their performance in psychological tests (given at the time of admission). Proceeding in this way, we were able to show that there is a big difference in evolution between the weaker and stronger subjects during the stay at the centre and during the year after. The fact of belonging to one or the other of these categories, which proved so useful for studying the residents who were treated, is just as useful in the case of those who were not treated. In any case, from this point of view, there is sufficient reason to review the question of maturation.

The task we must now undertake is to pursue the study of the evolution of the weaker and stronger subjects by comparing their differentiated performance with that of the group of untreated subjects who are their counterparts. An analysis of this type would enable us to see what, in the evolution of each group, is actually the result of the treatment, and what would have been accomplished in any case by the subjects of equivalent calibre without treatment (maturation, in other words). At the same time, it will be possible to determine which of the two types of subjects (weaker or stronger) derived the most benefit from their stay at Boscoville.

First some methodological details concerning the study we are now undertaking are in order. These preliminary details are all the more necessary in that we will be making a great many comparisons which may confuse the reader who is not familiar with statistical studies but is nonetheless interested in the results of our work.

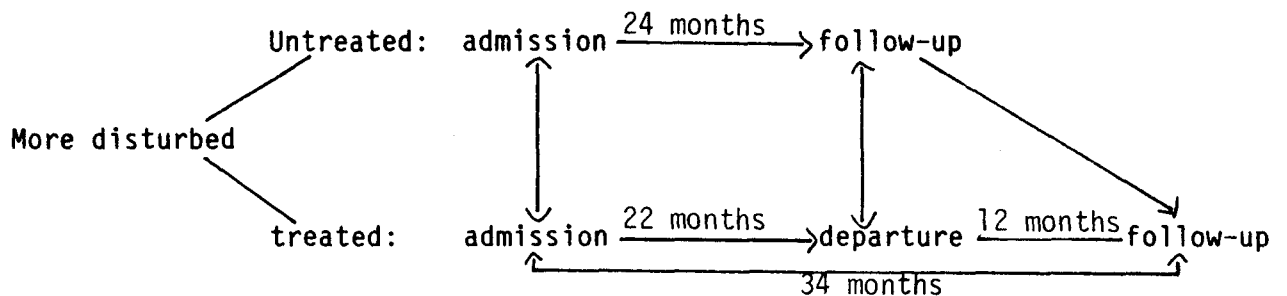
In the preceding section we compared the weaker and the stronger subjects who were treated. In the present section, each of these two groups will be compared separately with its corresponding group of subjects who were not treated. This double comparison (the stronger who were treated vs the weaker who were treated and a similar comparison of the subjects, stronger and weaker, who were not treated) will be done from a number of angles: 1. comparison of the groups upon admission with the help of the Mann-Whitney U test; 2. comparison of the performance achieved between admission and departure (or follow-up for the untreated) by means of Wilcoxon's test; 3. comparison of the groups at follow-up using the Wilcoxon test; 5. comparison of the two groups at the time of the follow-up. A simpler or more evocative way of presenting this method is by means of the following diagram (the numbers used refer to the operations just described):



This trapezoid diagram shows the intervals between each period that is particular to each of the sub-groups. To what extent does the interval between the admission and follow-up of the untreated (weaker or stronger) differ from that between the admission and follow-up a year later of the subjects who were treated (weaker or stronger)? To clarify this question we present the following statistics concerning the total

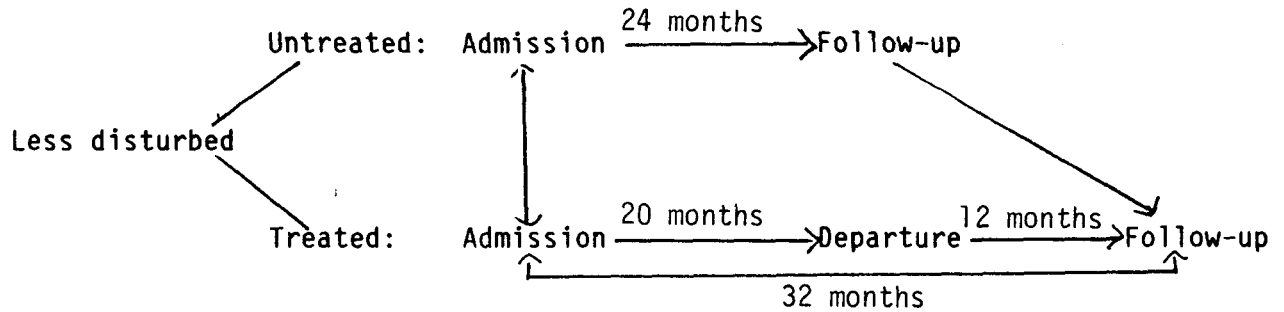
duration of the subjects' stay. For the untreated, the length of the interval between admission and follow-up is uniform because the second examination took place exactly two years after their admission to Boscoville.

With regard to the weaker subjects who were treated, the interval between admission and departure from Boscoville was 698 days on the average (a little under twenty-four months); the median is a little less: 655 days (22 months). As for the typical interval, it comes to 160.7 days. If we add the twelve months after treatment to the median (from departure to the follow-up), we get a total of thirty-four months, ten months more than the interval from admission to follow-up of the weaker subjects who were not treated. The following diagram shows the difference:



This difference of ten months is a wide margin and must be taken into account when interpreting the results.

The situation of the stronger subjects who were treated is not very different from their untreated equivalents. Their interval from admission to departure is an average of 681 days, (24 months) the median being 605 days (or twenty months) and the typical interval 181.6 days. The interval from entry to follow-up, then, becomes thirty-two months, eight months more than that of the untreated stronger subjects. The length of the intervals for the latter are shown below:



3a. Comparative study of the more disturbed subjects, treated and untreated

To make up our group of the more disturbed subjects from among those not treated, we proceeded in the same way, basing ourselves on the same limits (within the tests) that we used for the subjects who were treated. The same was done for the stronger subjects not treated as compared with the group of stronger subjects who were treated. The dichotomies formed in this way are, in principle, completely homogeneous, the only discriminant variable being persistence or non-persistence in carrying on the treatment beyond the eleventh month.

Although each of the dichotomies was established according to rules that guarantee their theoretical homogeneity, we must nonetheless verify whether or not these groups are actually and in fact homogeneous. A look at the data reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) shows that there is no reason to believe that the more disturbed either treated or untreated are heterogeneous at the moment of their admission to Boscoville. Not one variable reaches the decisive threshold of $p=.01$ which would permit a rejection of the homogeneity hypothesis.

During the two years following their entry into Boscoville, how does the evolution of the weaker subjects not treated compare with that achieved by the weaker subjects who were treated during their stay at Boscoville? We already know what the latter's evolution was, having compared it in the

TABLE 19

Comparative evolution of the more disturbed residents, treated
and untreated from admission to departure¹
(the results in parenthesis refer to those of the untreated)

Variables	WILCOXON		Score-Z	P
	Diminish	Increase		
Anxiety	14 (17)	3 (4)	-2.74 (-2.95)	.003 (.002)
Self-esteem	1 (3)	16 (14)	-3.57 (-2.63)	.001 (.005)
Physical self	5 (5)	12 (13)	-2.67 (-1.63)	.01 (.06)
Moral-ethical self	1 (4)	16 (13)	-3.50 (-3.07)	.001 (.002)
Socialization	2 (9)	15 (11)	-3.24 (-1.21)	.006 (.12)
Family self	3 (9)	14 (8)	-3.15 (- .07)	.008 (.48)
Social self	1 (6)	16 (12)	-3.50 (-2.26)	.001 (.02)
Repression	2 (8)	12 (9)	-2.32 (- .61)	.01 (.27)
Denial	1 (7)	14 (13)	-3.24 (-1.26)	.006 (.11)
Net conflict score	9 (13)	8 (5)	- .07 (-2.13)	.48 (.02)
Manifest aggression	15 (15)	1 (6)	-3.46 (-2.85)	.001 (.003)
Value orientation	15 (15)	1 (5)	-3.46 (-2.98)	.001 (.002)
Asocial index	17 (16)	0 (4)	-3.62 (-2.16)	.001 (.02)
Autism	15 (15)	2 (6)	-3.33 (-2.57)	.001 (.005)
Alienation	17 (14)	0 (6)	-3.62 (-1.98)	.001 (.03)
Neurosis scale	2 (3)	15 (15)	-3.22 (-2.79)	.007 (.004)
Withdrawal	11 (11)	3 (9)	-1.95 (- .97)	.03 (.17)
Social anxiety	10 (16)	7 (5)	-1.16 (-1.72)	.13 (.05)
Social maladjustment	17 (17)	0 (3)	-3.62 (-3.26)	.001 (.001)
Personality disorder scale	0 (4)	17 (14)	-3.62 (-3.02)	.001 (.002)
Psychotism	15 (16)	1 (4)	-3.43 (-1.58)	.001 (.06)

No. treated = 18

No. untreated = 21

1. Follow-up for the non-treated.

previous chapter, and we know that it is very marked. Table 19 shows the results of the performance of the two groups. The performance of the subjects who were not treated, although on the whole a little more modest than of the subjects treated, are nonetheless impressive. These subjects, in fact, show nine significant results at the level of $p < .005$. There are also seven results that show a relatively strong tendency toward evolution ($p < .06$). By way of comparison, we see that their opposites, the weaker subjects who were treated, had eighteen significant variables to $p < .01$ and two others to $p < .03$. These findings show the capacity of the weaker subjects to evolve whether treated or not, and they greatly reduce the share of development that we attributed to the specific effect of the treatment.

Are the differences that we observed between the performances of the two groups of more disturbed subjects big enough to separate the two groups when tested a second time? Are there significant differences between those treated and those not treated two years after the first examination? The data furnished by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) show that the subjects treated differ from the untreated significantly ($p < .01$) in eleven of the twenty-one variables. There were also four tendencies in this direction ($p < .10$). Looking at the type of discriminant variables, we find that they relate to adjustment, aggression and antisocial behaviour, as well as personality disorder. This is not surprising, for we know that these three aspects are the ones that saw the greatest changes during treatment. In fact, our results correspond fairly closely with those we found regarding all the subjects treated as opposed to those not treated.

Thanks to the analysis we conducted previously, we know that the weaker subjects who benefited from the treatment regressed considerably during the year following their departure from Boscoville. It becomes even more important, then to know if, all things considered, the weaker subjects, treated or not, evolve in a comparable way from their entry to the time of their follow-up.

Before looking at the results, let us remember that the interval between the entry and follow-up of the more disturbed subjects who were treated is about ten months longer than that of their untreated counterparts. The ones who were treated, then, had an advantage over the others and this should not be forgotten when evaluating the results. The results reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) show a close similarity between the performance of the weaker subjects who were treated and those who were not. The former show twelve results significant of a positive evolution ($p < .01$) among the twenty-one barometric variables, two results indicating a strong positive tendency ($p < .05$) and four others a slight positive tendency ($p < .10$). The others, the weaker subjects not treated, as we have already seen, produce nine significant results, five strong and two slight tendencies.

That one of the groups evolved more than its counterpart in certain variables is no guarantee that it will be able to show significant differences in these variables. It all depends on how the groups were situated in comparison with one another at the time of departure. That is why we must do a complementary study comparing the groups at the moment of their re-examination. Are the weaker subjects who were treated different from the untreated ones at the time of the follow-up? A look at table 20 reveals that the weaker subjects who were treated differ significantly from those who were not treated in only four variables: value orientation, alienation, social maladjustment and psychotism. In these four variables, the treated subjects are far ahead of their counterparts. Three other tendencies take the same direction: socialization ($p < .04$), social self ($p < .09$) and manifest aggression ($p < .02$).

These results confirm the findings of our comparative analysis of the performance of the groups from their entry to the follow-up: the gap between the weaker subjects who were treated and those untreated is reduced to almost nothing when they are compared at the time of their second examination. True, there are four variables that can differentiate

TABLE 20

Comparison between the more disturbed who were treated and those not treated at the time of their follow-up by means of the Mann-Whitney U test

Variables	Average		P
	Treated	Untreated	
Anxiety	17.5	20.1	.48
Self-esteem	19.8	15.4	.20
Physical self	20.4	14.9	.11
Moral-ethical self	20.5	14.9	.11
Socialization	23.4	15.6	.04
Family self	18.3	16.8	.67
Social self	20.7	14.7	.09
Repression	19.4	18.7	.86
Denial	21.9	16.8	.15
Net conflict score	19.6	15.7	.26
Manifest aggression	14.0	22.8	.02
Value orientation	13.2	23.4	.005
Asocial index	17.5	20.2	.46
Autism	16.1	21.2	.16
Alienation	12.9	23.5	.003
Neurosis scale	17.8	17.3	.89
Withdrawal	18.9	19.0	.98
Social anxiety	18.3	19.5	.75
Social maladjustment	13.6	23.1	.008
Personality disorder scale	20.0	15.3	.17
Psychotism	11.2	25.0	.001

1. No. = 16

2. No. = 18

the two groups. But in our opinion even this result should be considerably modified. The untreated subjects, it must be remembered, still had six months ahead of them in order to have an interval comparable with that of the subjects who were treated, and there is nothing to show that the evolution they undeniably accomplished since their admission to Boscoville was going to stop or even lose ground. On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that it would continue. If this is the case, they probably resemble the treated subjects even more closely. This is probable for all the variables where we observe a difference between the groups upon their departure (in favour of those treated). It is more so for these variables because for two of them, the weaker subjects not treated evolved significantly in two years: in social maladjustment ($p < .001$) and value orientation ($p < .002$); for the other two, we observed a relatively strong tendency on their part toward positive evolution, alienation ($p < .03$) and psychotism ($p < .06$). These four variables measure traits that prove very evolutive among the untreated more disturbed subjects. That is why it is important to consider the difference in the intervals and take them into account in the evaluation of the differences between the groups.

An objection could be raised concerning our comparison between the treated and the untreated, for the untreated also stayed at Boscoville and some of them may have been there long enough to benefit from the effects of the treatment. It is a reasonable objection, for the data produced previously showed that a certain number of changes could take place in a relatively short time during the stay.

It was after examining the soundness of this objection that we proceeded with the following experiment concerning the untreated weaker subjects: in view of the fact that the median of their actual stay was 64.5 days, we divided them into two sub-groups, the first made up of subjects who stayed a short time (less than 65 days) and the second of subjects who stayed longer (more than 65 days but less than 10.5 months); each group comprised eleven subjects. We then compared the performance of

these two sub-groups on admission and at follow-up. It turned out that there was no significant difference between them, nor even any tendency toward a difference in performance on admission (see Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a). The hypothesis of a noticeable difference as a result of the stay must be rejected, for it is unlikely that, two years after their admission, the subjects who had stayed less than two months would show the effects of such a short period of treatment. It is actually to maturation, to natural evolution or factors other than the treatment that we must attribute the progress accomplished by the more disturbed untreated subjects, from their admission to Boscoville to their follow-up.

In concluding this comparative analysis of the more disturbed subjects, let us point out that our data confirm in a completely satisfactory way the hypothesis that the more disturbed subjects benefit very little from their stay at Boscoville, that is, if we go by the results of our psychological tests. It would seem that boys who were of the same calibre from the start can evolve almost as much without the benefit of the resources offered by the centre.

3b. Comparative study of the less disturbed or stronger subjects, treated and untreated

If, as we have shown, the more disturbed subjects derive little benefit from their stay at Boscoville, the question is whether it is different for the subjects who, according to our psychological tests, were less disturbed. Do the "stronger" subjects benefit from the treatment more than the "weaker" subjects? To answer this, we shall now apply the same analysis to the stronger subjects, treated and untreated, as the one we did concerning the weaker ones.

At the time of their admission, were the stonger subjects who were treated different from their untreated equivalents? The analyses reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) establish that the groups were

TABLE 21

Comparative evolution of the less disturbed subjects untreated from entry to follow-up and their equivalents who were treated from entry to departure (results of the untreated in parenthesis)

Variables	WILCOXON		Score-Z	P
	Diminish	Increase		
Anxiety	11 (7)	6 (7)	-1.92 (- .18)	.03 (.42)
Self-esteem	7 (6)	11 (5)	-1.11 (- .35)	.14 (.37)
Physical self	5 (6)	11 (5)	-1.29 (- .85)	.10 (.20)
Moral-ethical self	5 (6)	13 (6)	-2.09 (- .14)	.02 (.47)
Socialization	5 (7)	13 (8)	- .68 (- .03)	.25 (.49)
Family self	10 (9)	8 (3)	- .33 (-2.00)	.33 (.05)
Social self	7 (7)	12 (5)	- .62 (-1.17)	.27 (.12)
Repression	12 (9)	7 (7)	- .86 (- .32)	.20 (.38)
Denial	5 (7)	10 (6)	- .71 (- .10)	.24 (.46)
Net conflict score	11 (5)	8 (6)	- .48 (- .08)	.32 (.46)
Manifest aggression	17 (10)	2 (5)	-3.16 (-1.16)	.008(.12)
Value orientation	18 (10)	1 (5)	-3.34 (-1.22)	.001 (.12)
Asocial index	14 (5)	4 (8)	-2.81 (- .94)	.003 (.18)
Autism	14 (6)	4 (4)	- .242 (-1.27)	.08 (.11)
Alienation	14 (8)	2 (5)	-3.05 (- .14)	.002 (.45)
Neurosis scale	12 (8)	6 (3)	- .96 (-1.77)	.17 (.04)
Withdrawal	10 (5)	5 (8)	- .99 (-1.50)	.16 (.07)
Social anxiety	7 (5)	11 (9)	- .76 (-1.06)	.23 (.15)
Social maladjustment	17 (6)	0 (9)	-3.62 (- .49)	.001 (.32)
Personality disorder scale	6 (6)	13 (5)	-2.45 (- .62)	.007 (.27)
Psychotism	10 (10)	6 (4)	-1.47 (-1.53)	.03 (.07)

No. treated = 19

No. untreated = 15

homogeneous, for none of the variables show a significant difference between them and neither consistently dominates the other.

Let us now consider the evolution of each of the groups during the two years following their entry to Boscoville (table 21). We already know about the performance of the subjects who were treated, having analyzed them previously. We know they evolved positively to a significant extent in six of the twenty-one barometric variables and show a tendency in this direction (strong or weak) in five others. Antisocial/aggressive behaviour and personality disorder in particular evolved positively. Among the stronger subjects not treated, the results show no significant evolution; no variable reaches the decisive threshold of $p. < .01$. These are also four tendencies that do not necessarily indicate improvement. Regarding family self, the untreated subjects' scores become lower from the time of entry to the follow-up, conflicts with the family probably becoming more severe. The same can be said of withdrawal; the subjects seem more inclined to retreat from relations with others. Concerning neurosis, they have lessened their resemblance to neurotic patients, but not as much as the treated subjects. In the case of psychotism, they evolve as much as the treated subjects. On the whole, then, there is no certainty of a natural evolution on the part of the stronger subjects who are not treated, of a maturing process such as we found among the weaker subjects not treated. The overall impression that emerges of their performance is one of stability with some signs of deterioration, although not really decisive.

Since the stronger subjects who were treated evolved during their stay, modestly it is true, if compared with the weaker subjects, but undeniably all the same, and since the stronger subjects not treated changed little in two years, there must be some differences between the two groupes judging by their performance during the two years following their admission, either in the treatment or apart from the treatment. The data submitted by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) show that the treated differ from their untreated equivalents in a statistically significant

way in five of our variables: degree of anxiety, moral-ethical self, value orientation, social maladjustment and personality disorder. There is also a strong tendency in this direction ($p < .05$) in six other variables (self-esteem, manifest aggression, asocial index, alienation and withdrawal).

Considered from a qualitative point of view, the variables indicating a difference between the groups belong to three different aspects of the personality, indicating a certain polyvalence of the changes accomplished by the subjects who were treated. But here again, the results do not take into consideration what happens to them after their stay. Hence we must compare the evolution of the two groups between their entry and follow-up.

The results we arrived at previously showed that the stronger subjects who were treated, and who benefited from the treatment, generally maintained what they gained during their stay after they leave (they regress significantly in only one variable). The comparative study of the stronger subjects' evolution from their entry to the follow-up, the study we are now undertaking, is not likely to present any surprises, for the performance of those of them who were not treated also gave an impression of stability.

The data reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1979a) give the impression that there is a certain attenuation of the performance of the stronger treated subjects between entry and leaving. But three variables remain significant, ($p < .01$): degree of anxiety, value orientation and psychotism. Several tendencies toward evolution are also evident, some strong, such as moral-ethical self, manifest aggression ($p < .02$), social maladjustment ($p < .03$) and personality disorder, ($p < .04$), some weak, such as self-esteem ($p < .07$) and alienation ($p < .08$). On the whole, the performance of the stronger subjects treated is certainly better than that of the untreated, who generally remain where they were at the time of admission or, more rarely, tend to regress. In short, the evolution

of the stronger subjects during their stay, and which survived the test of their social reinsertion, is evidenced by the fact that these subjects are less anxious, have a better conception of themselves, are less aggressive, less prone to toughness and violence and adjust to others more easily.

To complete our analysis of the performance of each of the groups, we will now see how they compare at the time of the follow-up. Looking at the data (see Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a), we find that the stronger subjects, treated and not treated, are no longer different from one another to a significant degree, except in two variables, degree of anxiety and moral-ethical self. However, there are several very strong tendencies ($p < .05$) that differentiate the groups: self esteem, family self, social self, value orientation, social maladjustment and personality disorder. Two weaker tendencies are apparent ($p < .08$), manifest aggression and social anxiety.

It must be remembered that on admission, the stronger subjects treated tended to differ from their untreated counterparts in two variables which show significant differences here - degree of anxiety ($p < .04$) and moral/ethical self ($p < .06$). Similarly, there are strong tendencies toward differentiation observed in the variables family self and social self and these stem more from the regression of the non-treated than from the progress made by the treated subjects; the latter did not progress significantly in any of these variables, nor did they show a tendency to do so. However, we must credit the treatment with having stopped this relative deterioration among the subjects who submitted to it, which is saying a good deal.

The difference in the intervals of time have little importance here, considering the stability of the performance of the untreated from their entry to the time they leave. There is no reason to think that the comparative results would have varied if these same untreated subjects had been evaluated eight months later, which would have given them as

long an interval as the stronger subjects who were treated - thirty-two months. Perhaps we might have discovered that they had deteriorated even more in certain variables. This being the case, based on the results we have just arrived at, we must say that the benefits the stronger subjects derive from the treatment, although hard to deny, are rather modest. In the case of the untreated ones, it cannot be assumed that having lived a certain amount of time at Boscoville, they could have benefited from the treatment and thus reduced the differences that could or would have been found when compared with the subjects who were treated. The assumption could be made if, as in the case of the untreated weaker subjects, we were able to note a really positive evolution on their part. But such is not the case; furthermore, the results show (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a) that there is no significant difference (nor even a tendency toward differentiation) between the sub-groups at the time of their admission.

To ascertain the specific impact of Boscoville, we tried to determine which profited the most from their stay at the centre, the more disturbed or less disturbed subjects. By comparing these two types of subjects with their untreated equivalents, we were able to show that the progress of the weaker or more disturbed subjects from the first to the second examination was almost the same whether they had been treated or not, a good portion of the evolution being due to maturation. The evolution of the stronger subjects who were treated seems a little different from that of the untreated, the latter having a tendency to deteriorate on several levels after their brief stay at Boscoville. In short, it is the stronger or less disturbed subjects who profit most from the treatment provided at Boscoville.

4. The consistency of the psychological evolution

The question of the consistency and continuity of the psychological evolution will be examined by means of three tests: the first is well-known, it concerns the psychological calibre at the time of admission (the most, less and least disturbed); the second notes the

progress made from admission to departure (stability and slight progress versus marked progress¹); the third test is the performance from departure to follow-up (regressive and stable versus progressive¹). They also make it possible to sum up the results of the psychological evolution during and after treatment.

As we already know by virtue of our analysis of the psychological evolution during their stay, the boys at Boscoville evolve more during treatment when they belong to the group of weaker subjects (more disturbed) on admission and tend to evolve less markedly if they are stronger subjects (less disturbed). It remains to be seen whether this previously suspected liaison is confirmed with regard to the two divisions we established. In other words, is there a significant connection between the stronger/average/weaker group and the stable/progressing dichotomy (during the stay)? Table 22 gives this questions an unequivocal response.

Of the sixteen subjects composing the group of weaker subjects, fourteen (or 87%) were in the category of those who made the most progress. On the other hand, sixteen of the eighteen stronger subjects belong to the group that remains fairly stable during their stay. The average subjects are divided equally among one or the other group. The connection between the two divisions is so strong that there is less than one chance in ten thousand of making a mistake in asserting it. This result then, confirms absolutely what we had previously sensed, namely that psychological evolution during the stay is due to the calibre of the subjects tested at the time of admission.

1. The procedure is the same as that for the classification "stronger-average-weaker": Using the twenty-one psychological variables, each subject was marked according to his performance and after adding the marks, the result was divided in two (see Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979a for further details).

TABLE 22

Association of the tripartition weaker-average-stronger and
the dichotomy stable-progressing (during the stay)

Progress during the stay	Initial calibre	Weaker	Average	Stronger	Total
Stable		2	8	16	26
Progressing		14	8	2	24
Total		16	16	18	50

$$\chi^2 = 19.84$$

$$DL = 2$$

$$P \leq .0001$$

As in the preceding analysis, we can verify with certainty another conclusion we reached in our study of the psychological evolution of the subjects at Boscoville during and after their stay: the subjects regress after treatment as much as they progressed during treatment. This was verified by cross-tabulating stable-progressing (during the stay) with regressing-progressing (after the stay). Table 23 shows that nineteen of the twenty-six subjects who progressed little or not at all during treatment are the very ones who perform best after their stay. Inversely, eighteen of the twenty-four subjects who made great strides during their stay were among those who gave the worst performance after their stay. The connection between the two performances is statistically significant, for there is less than two chances in a thousand that it is due to the sampling.

TABLE 23

Association of the stable-progressing group (during the stay)
with the regressing-progressing group (after the stay)

Performance after the stay	Performance during the stay		
	Stable	Progressing	Total
Regressing	7	18	25
Progressing	19	6	25
Total	26	24	50

$$\chi^2 = 9.70$$

$$DL = 1$$

$$P \leq .0019$$

This result confirms indisputably the conclusion already arrived at in our analysis of the performance of the Boscoville residents during the year following treatment, that is, that after they leave, the subjects who regress the most are generally those who made the most marked progress during their stay, and that those who evolved the most after treatment are mostly those who made the least progress during treatment.

We now know that the performance during the stay is as much related to the calibre of the subjects at admission as their performance after their stay. It would be logical to assume that the latter would also be connected with the calibre on admission. A cross-tabulation of the variables, as shown in table 24, shows that this is actually the case. Thirteen of the sixteen weaker subjects belong to the group that regresses after treatment whereas fourteen of the eighteen stronger subjects belong to the group that makes progress. As to the average

subjects, here again they are evenly distributed between the two groups. Here, too, the relationship is very significant, there being one chance in a thousand of being mistaken.

TABLE 24

Association of the tri-partition Weak/Average/Strong (performance on admission) and the dichotomy regressing/progressing (after treatment)

Progress after stay	Initial calibre	Weaker	Average	Stronger	Total
Regressing		13	8	4	25
Progressing		3	8	14	25

$\chi^2 = 11.805$ DL = 2 $p \leq .001$

Thus we have summarized the most outstanding results of our study of the psychological evolution of the Boscoville residents. Looking back on the results reported here, we now go over the principal facts we have learned from them.

The first finding is that Boscoville's effectiveness is mitigated because as we considered not only the subjects' progress during their stay but also that which they evidenced during the first year after they left Boscoville. Its effectiveness is mitigated from two different points of view. First, it seems to us that the subjects whose performance on our psychological scale was poor from the beginning benefit very little from their stay at Boscoville; although their progress during their stay is very pronounced, we must admit that they definitely regress after they leave and that the subjects of the same calibre who run away, generally after a few weeks, show a fairly comparable psychological evolution in the two years following their

examination when admitted to Boscoville. As for the subjects evidencing a better calibre from the start, their progress remains quite modest; they show a certain stability in relation to their initial level of performance. We are aware, however, that the hypothesis remains an open question as far as a more qualitative evolution on the part of better subjects is concerned; this integration could escape our measuring instruments. The centre's effectiveness is also mitigated if we consider not only a sub-group of boys, but the total of all the past residents who were reexamined; although there is notable progress during their stay, the results after they leave the centre have a general tendency to return to the level of performance evidenced on admission. On the whole, it does not seem that the evolution of the boys at Boscoville has the scope expected theoretically (that is, a profound change of personality), at least if we look at things from a point of view other than strictly behavioural.

The second finding is that these results cast some doubt on some aspects of psycho-educational thinking. It does not seem logical to think that one can systematically induce radical changes in the personality of most adolescents who are inclined toward antisocial behaviour. Our results should temper the enthusiasm of those who consider that treatment in a centre such as Boscoville is the solution to finally defusing the personal conflicts of delinquents boys. The results invite further research to find such a solution or, more probably, solutions.

The third finding stemming from our results casts doubt on any therapeutic approach to delinquents that is founded on the assumption that they all have like personalities; it shows that the time has come to revise the assumption that the same type of intervention, the same therapeutic approach can prove effective in most cases, no matter what the level of development or maturation.

The last finding concerns the case of subjects whose level of performance at the time of admission is poor. It is comforting, on the one hand, to note the progress these subjects make, apparently more due

to their own efforts than to any skillfully orchestrated therapeutic intervention. This was already known to criminology specialists, although to our knowledge, it was never connected with the level of personality development. On the other hand, it is disconcerting to discover the malleability of these subjects. They react to treatment in a marked way, but what they gain is doubtful, for a year after their experience at Boscoville, they are found to be at about the same level as those who never went through the treatment. It is no exaggeration, in our opinion, to say that subjects of this type conform to the norms of the reeducation centre, that they settle into the routine and for the duration of their stay adopt attitudes and values that will be easily set aside a few months later.

Such are the conclusions that in our opinion are inescapable. It is not hard to predict that these data will fuel a good deal of discussion on the true effectiveness of the centre. But before going into that, it is perhaps best to study the process of social insertion and its results in terms of adjustment, and especially in relation to the psychological evolution we just analyzed and the nature of this social adjustment.

II. The protection of society: social adjustment and recidivism

The object of this last section on Boscovilles' results is to evaluate the extent to which society will be protected against these juvenile delinquents once they have been treated; this was done in part through a detailed study of the social adjustment of former Boscoville residents. The study was based on two types of data: information furnished by the subjects themselves a year after they left the centre and facts obtained from the offices of the Quebec court clerks about six years after the beginning of the present research.

Had we wanted to use the most widespread method of addressing the question, this study of the effectiveness of treatment (at the behavioural level) could have been very quickly accomplished. We would

only have had to do a pure and simple evaluation of recidivism, for example, basing our work on only the data of the offices of the court clerk. But the inherent errors in such a method of evaluation seemed too obvious for us to agree to limit ourselves by doing so. Furthermore, the tremendous amount of data we were able to gather at the time of the follow-up, that is, a year after the end of the treatment, was too informative for us not to exploit it to the full. In fact, it was possible for us to give a very detailed description of the lifestyle of our boys, and to give a relatively complete account of their social adjustment.

There is no denying that there are difficulties attached to measuring social adjustment. It is not easy to pick out behaviour that can serve as valid indicators of the degree of a given person's psycho-social functioning; the norms of society are often imprecise, vague and can sometimes vary a great deal from one social class to another, from one group to another. It is not easy either, in the case of certain aspects of social life, to decide what is due to chance and used by the subject and what is due to his own initiative or his own dynamism.

We have chosen not to become bogged down in the discussion of these various difficulties; that they are many is taken for granted. We thought it best, as a beginning, to furnish the reader with as much information as possible, even if on occasion it means discussing the value of only some aspects. We have concentrated our analysis on the most reliable variables and the most interesting theoretically; some, such as socio-familial and environmental conditions that facilitate insertion in society (or do not) as well as others, such as the true indices of adjustment, of harmony, that the subject attains with his surroundings and its constituents.

In this section, we will first go over the descriptive data concerning the process of social insertion and recidivism. Secondly, we will try to update some of the mechanisms that influence the dynamics of

social insertion. All the details of these analyses can be consulted in Bossé and LeBlanc (1980a and 1980b).

1. Social insertion

Our investigation of the social adjustment of former residents of Boscoville explored many aspects of their lives after their stay at the centre, from their place of residence to deviant behaviour, from the quality of their relations with their parents to their own assessment of their insertion. We propose, in this section, to give an account of the information gathered from the boys a year after they left Boscoville and from the Quebec courts as to their delinquent activities.

1a. The family

Let us first consider certain characteristics of the family as they appear in the answers furnished by the subjects. First comes the factual information: the family structure, means of livelihood (father's work, mother's work, family welfare allowance, money problems), any crime or deviance of the parents or siblings.

Description of the family at the moment of social insertion

The data reveal the large number of boys whose family is broken up by separation, remarriage, cohabitation or death - twenty-six out of fifty. This means that one subject out of two, on leaving Boscoville, finds his family disrupted in one way or another.

The way the family manages to subsist is important when going more closely into the affective milieu of the youngsters, the large majority of whom, on leaving Boscoville, enter the working world, where they can find in this way of making a livelihood a model of economic dependence or independence to suit themselves. The data afford fairly precise information as to who are the providers in our subjects' families.

Although the father has a job in thirty-two cases (64%), his financial contribution is augmented in at least twenty-five cases, either by the work of the mother, one or more of the siblings or by a social welfare allowance. All in all, thirty-nine out of forty-nine subjects, or almost 80%, say their family lacks for nothing and only nine believe their family is in real financial difficulty. This being the case, it must be remembered that based on this information, indications of the family's economic dependency exist in only a minority of cases (14%) and that in the majority of the cases (64%) the father plays his role in this relative financial autonomy.

Theoretically, we can agree that the way the family meets its needs and the role the father plays in providing a living are factors that can serve as a model for the boys returning home. It is no different where family deviance is concerned; because of the importance of identification with parental and fraternal figures, one can imagine that a subject who goes back to a family where there is abundant consumption of alcohol or drugs, where there is delinquency, will face conditions that will suddenly test his intentions to live within the law. That is why it is important to see how the subjects assess their family milieu in terms of deviant behaviour.

Is there any evidence of deviant behaviour among the parents of former Boscoville residents? We asked the boys three types of questions, one concerning crime, the second the consumption of drugs and a third the consumption of alcohol (see Bossé and Leblanc, 1980a). Although delinquent behaviour and drug consumption are rare, the abuse of alcohol among the parents, whether episodic or regular, is extraordinarily widespread. This is the case for thirty-one subjects (62%), either on the part of one parent or both.

Looking into parental deviance, we found a large proportion of the parents were heavy drinkers. The same was true of the siblings, except, of course, for those under fifteen. Besides this, there were a large

number of brothers or sisters who used drugs. On the basis of these data, it is possible that for many former residents of Boscoville, the family milieu could have provided a certain incentive toward deviant behaviour, such as the consumption of alcohol or drugs.

Relations with the family

The data we presented so far concerning the family was mostly factual. We might say they constituted a more objective view of their families as seen by our subjects. The data we are now going to discuss are very different. The subjects are asked to say how they feel about their family, about its principal members (mother, father), and what type of relationship they have with them, etc. since leaving Boscoville.

To evaluate the quality of the relationships our subjects have with their father, we rely on the answers they gave to eight different questions. Before studying these data, we must point out that the subjects were not all living with their parents at the time of the follow-up. We know that twenty-one subjects were living with their parents and twenty-nine were living elsewhere. Taking separations and widowhood into consideration, we found nineteen living with their father against twenty-four who were estranged.

The first thing that should be noted in our results is that the quality of the relationship with the father varies little whether the subjects were living with him or not. It follows, therefore, that a conflictual relationship is not a factor in determining the boys' decision not to live in the father's home.

It should then be noted that the relationship with the father is good in more than two thirds of the cases. Very few, in fact, said their relationship was really bad. It must be remembered, however, that a number of the nine boys had no relationship at all with their father and that they left home precisely because of conflicts. This means that with

age and the increasing possibilities of autonomy, the boys who had a poor relationship with their fathers chose to leave them, breaking off the relationship for a time or perhaps forever.

It is essentially the same type of indicators that enable us to judge the quality of the relationship with the mother. Here again we shall take into account the distinction between those who live with their mother and those who do not. In fact, twenty subjects were staying with their mother against twenty-seven who lived elsewhere. In addition to this, one subjects lived with his father and never saw his mother, and two others were orphans. The statistics we obtained concerning the relationship with the mother give the impression that it was a positive and warm one for the majority of the subjects (in eight cases out of ten), whether or not they lived with their mother. In fact, if we compare these numbers with those concerning the relationship with the father, we find a striking resemblance. these results lead us to believe that there is not much difference between the quality of the one relationship and the other, at least as measured by our instruments.

We are going to complete this study of the boys' relationships with their parents by presenting answers to our questions about the difficulties met with on leaving Boscoville. The data show that in spite of a good relationship with the parents at the time of the follow-up, twenty-one out of forty-nine ex-residents experienced many difficulties, even very great difficulties, living with their parents. This is a much higher figure than the number of subjects who seem to have a good relationship with their parents. We must conclude, then, that however good the relationship with their parents at the time of the follow-up, the majority of the subjects had had what they described as considerable difficulties in this respect.

The family atmosphere

Many of the questions asked the former residents of Boscoville during the follow-up concerned what can be called the family atmosphere.

They refer to the time the subject spends at home, the way he feels, whether or not he feels superfluous and whether there is family spirit, family reunions. Taking the constants from our results, almost thirty subjects feel comfortable with their family, rarely or never feel superfluous, consider that the family stays together, is united and does things together, even if only rarely. On the other hand, more than a dozen subjects have a negative reaction to their family, often feel superfluous and admit that there is never a time when the entire family gets together. In fact, if we eliminate the cases of those who did not answer these questions, the results are very much the same as those observed in the study of the parental relationships, that is, about 70% of the subjects say that all is well as far as they are concerned.

1b. The style of life during the first year of social insertion

The lifestyle of delinquents is amply known to criminologists: no desire to work, no involvement in recreational activities, frequent changes of residence, no marital commitment and deviance (alcohol, ...). It is also known that this way of life is associated with the delinquent career, with frequent recidivism. Do former residents of Boscoville revert to their old way of life once they have left the centre? This is the crucial question as to the outcome of their social insertion.

Stability or instability of residence

Where did the fifty boys go to live when they left Boscoville? More than two thirds of them (34) went back to their parents' homes; a group of eleven subjects chose to live alone (five) or to board (six); four established their first place of residence away from their family in order to live with a girlfriend or with friends. One subject went almost directly from Boscoville to another centre.

A year after leaving Boscoville the situation changes. As could be expected, because of normal evolution, the number of those living with

their parents dropped considerably from the time they left to the time of the follow-up, going from thirty-four to twenty-one. Some of these found a place to live through residence with friends (seven), induction in the army (four) and a stay in prison (seven).

According to the data, the subjects did not show equal stability as far as residence was concerned during that year. Of the thirty-four subjects who were found in their parents' home at the end of the stay at Boscoville, nine continued to live there up to the time of the follow-up and ten others left home to return after a time. It should also be noted that only two of the sixteen subjects who did not go to live with their parents at the end of their stay were living with them a year later.

Arranging our data according to whether or not the subjects lived with the parents, we got the following results: the boys are distributed in two almost equal groups, those who lived with their parents the whole time or most of the time (twenty-four) and those who lived with their parents a short time or not at all (twenty-six). As to changing residences, twelve subjects did not move (nine of them lived with their parents), twenty-three moved twice at most and fifteen moved three times or more.

School or work?

The programme at Boscoville stresses the importance of promoting the education of its boys. In fact, schoolwork is one of the essential parts of the daily programme of the residents. Is there a continuation of this schooling once the youngster leaves the centre? How many pursue the effort begun at Boscoville and what adjustment do they make at school?

It was found that seventeen ex-residents returned to their studies after they left Boscoville, either full-time, part-time or combining their schooling with a job; nine of the boys resumed their schoolwork immediately after leaving the centre and eight between one to twelve months after they left.

Let us see the subjects' situation at the time of the follow-up (type of studies, results). During the first year after Boscoville, the seventeen boys went back to high school, fifteen of them taking the regular courses. Only one had failed. We found that for most of the boys concerned (eleven), it had been easy, if not very easy, to adjust to school after having experienced the individualized teaching at Boscoville. What ambitions and projects did our subjects have with regard to their studies? Although few of them were enrolled at the time of the follow-up (seven of the seventeen), most of them gave the impression that they would continue their studies. Two of them considered that they had completed their studies, five maintained that they had to stop for financial reasons and three admitted they stopped for lack of interest.

What type of support did these boys receive for the realization of their scholastic ambitions during this period of social insertion? One concerns the psychological support furnished by the parents and the other the financial support by means of which the studies could be continued. Encouragement and approval of the parents seems to have frequently occurred among the boys who pursued their studies in the twelve months following their departure from Boscoville; thirteen of the seventeen subjects concerned said this was true of their parents' attitude. Furthermore, seven subjects were able to realize their objective thanks to the financial contribution of their parents.

For those who did not go back to school, full-time and/or part-time, one of the main challenges they faced was adjusting to the working world. This adjustment directly conditioned the way they were going to ensure a livelihood and, at the same time, their economic autonomy, whether vis-à-vis their parents or a social welfare organization.

Not all the boys went to work after they left the centre. Of the fifty subjects, twenty-six entered the labour market full time and twelve

others on a part-time basis or dividing their time between work and school. Eight boys did nothing after they left.

On leaving Boscoville, the majority of ex-residents managed to find work which, in 68% of the cases, was unskilled labour (watchman, doorman, truck driver, day labourer, construction worker), offering no future in the eyes of the subject. Most of the boys (thirty-seven) changed jobs during this first year at least once, twenty-two changed at least twice, ten at least three times and five at least four. Given the difficulties of finding a job, the absence of any future prospects and, very probably, the little satisfaction it is possible to derive from the work, the large majority of the boys went through a period of unemployment which, in the case of twenty-five subjects, lasted more than a month (average period of unemployment: 6.8 weeks).

Asked about their adjustment to working, more than 70% of the subjects felt they had no problem. This proportion may be surprising, particularly if we take into account the difficulties encountered in the work itself (the lack of prospects for the future, for example). For those who said they had experienced difficulties, they said these had been due either to conflicts with the authorities (two subjects) or with other employees (one subject), arriving late (two subjects), general problems of adjustment (four subjects) or their ability to produce (four subjects).

Former residents of Boscoville leave no doubt about their severe judgment of the way the centre prepared them for the labour market. More than 80% of them felt that they had been given no preparation at all. Matching this result with the data presented above, it is no surprise to discover that half the subjects had found quite a gap between the academic world of Boscoville and the characteristics of the labour market today.

Means of livelihood

So far, it has been a matter of ascertaining to what extent the boys tried to ensure their livelihood by means of paid work. Now we must look at how they used this income and how they were able to supplement it when it proved insufficient or was lacking. Our data confirm that, whenever the subject was unable to supply his needs through a job, the parents were frequently a source of assistance and would bail him out. This was true for more than 25% of the cases concerned.

With regard to the way they spent their money, the subjects were divided into two almost equal groups, those who set up an exact budget, or more or less exact, and those who did not budget at all. The majority of the subjects (twenty-eight out of forty-five) maintained that they had no money problem, for about a third the opposite was true. We find nearly the same figures concerning those who had no debts (twenty-six) and those who had a few or a great many (nineteen).

Peers and relationships with girls

Although the family is an essential part of the emotional environment of former residents of Boscoville, it would be wrong to limit ourselves to studying it exclusively in our assessment of the conditions surrounding their readaptation. The boys' relationship with their peers, boys and girls, are also important elements of this affective environment. Even more, the possibility of making friends and the quality of these friendships can definitely play a determining role in the reinsertion itself.

The subject who leaves a training centre after a stay of a year or two leaves behind him a milieu that is totally organized, where the choice of friends, like the practice of certain activities, was made on the basis of the opportunities at hand. Upon his return to society, he faces a challenge; he must take the initiative in the organization of his

relationships at home, at school or at work. These initiatives, in this case the choice of friends, while they reveal something of the subject himself (by showing his affinities), will be significant factors for a smooth transition during his adaptation. Faced with this challenge, how does the ex-resident act? Does he make new friends? If so, are they delinquent? Does he associate with peers he knew before going to Boscoville? If so, are they delinquents? It may also happen that the former resident associates with boys he knew at Boscoville. In this case, there is reason to verify whether or not the basis for some of these relationships is an interest in delinquency. The possibility of delinquency is not the only characteristic we should study with regard to their friends: we must also see if any of them made a useful contribution to the readjustment of the former resident.

We can say that the majority of the boys (72%) made at least one new friend after they left Boscoville. The figures show that slightly less than a third of these boys had at least one new friend who was a delinquent. Twenty-four of them declared that among their new friends, some had been of particular help to them in their social reintegration. Regarding the last two questions, the results correspond almost exactly (but inversely). In fact, upon closer examination, we discovered that five of the ten subjects who had one or several delinquent friends were among the twelve who were not helped in their readjustment by new friends.

Let us now look at the situation regarding the friends prior to Boscoville. The results here provide some interesting information. First, a little less than half of the subjects (22) often saw their former friends and a great many others (16) admitted having met them sometimes. As to the quality of the relationship that was then established with these friends, twenty-three subjects said it was not the same as it was before, whereas fourteen claimed that nothing had really changed. Concerning these friends, twenty-four subjects admitted that there were some who continued to commit infractions and fourteen others claimed that all of theirs had stopped. Twenty-two of the subjects said

they intended to continue seeing them against seventeen who said they did not.

A great number of the former friends, then, had continued to commit crimes (twenty-four out of fifty). It is not surprising, therefore to note that few of the subjects (ten) said they had found support among these friends during their reintegration. Contrasting these results with those concerning the new friends made after Boscoville, we find that the results are almost exactly reversed. Among the new friends, as we have seen, few committed infractions (this was the case for ten former friends out of fifty) while many did not (twenty-six subjects claim that their new friends never commit infractions). The inverse relationship is also true of the friends who helped the former resident in his insertion; the latter was helped more frequently by the friendships made following the stay at the centre than by those that existed before. As for the undesirable friendships, or at least those of no help in the insertion, there were twenty-nine among former friends against twelve among those acquired after Boscoville. The least we can say is that something happened during the boys' stay regarding their choice of friends, and that after they left, their friends were chosen more often from among non delinquents than before or according to criteria that had nothing to do with delinquent behaviour.

We now come to the subjects' relationships with other former residents of Boscoville. The results show that many of the former residents saw one another again (forty-six out of fifty). This is not surprising; all the more so since visits to the centre itself, although rare, could have been occasions for meeting one another. Most of the subjects admitted they had seen former mates who had completed the treatment. It is intriguing to note the large number of those who did not intend seeing other former residents; 40% took this position. This can perhaps be explained by the finding that twenty-one ex-residents admitted that some of the former residents of Boscoville were again committing infractions. An analysis of the cases concerned reveals that

among the twenty subjects who did not want to associate any more with ex-residents, nine claimed that the latter were recidivating. There was perhaps good reason, then, to put an end to any relationship with these boys.

This last statistic shows, of course, that ex-residents had not been particularly helpful in connection with the subjects' adjustment. But is this really surprising? Coming from the same milieu, often facing the same problems, whether in adjusting to a new life, entering the labour market or choosing a place to stay, most of the former residents of Boscoville were unable to offer each other any real assistance in their task of insertion.

As we did previously with regard to the data on the family, we will complete this study of our subjects' relationship with peers by presenting our findings on the degree of difficulty experienced by the subject in this relationship during the period of his insertion. Many were the difficulties encountered by the former residents during this period in their emotional relationships with peers. 48% of the boys admitted they had great difficulty or very great difficulty in finding friends, and an even greater number, 56%, said it had been very difficult for them to have any close relationships at all with friends.

How did the transition from the centre to a normal environment affect the subjects' relations with girls? What was the nature of these relationships during this first year after Boscoville? What type of commitment did the former residents show vis-à-vis girls? Of what importance was a feminine presence in the life of these boys at the time of the follow-up?

First let us look at the data concerning emotional attachments during the stay at Boscoville. They show that most of the boys had a girl-friend while they were at the centre and in the large majority of cases, this relationship continued after they left. However, for most

(more than two thirds), it seems that things were not the same as before. Furthermore, seventeen out of twenty-four felt that this relationship had not played much of a role in the matter of their readjustment. Finally, cases where a boy was still going out with the same girl at the time of the follow-up were rare indeed (3/24). We must conclude, therefore, that a relationship that was begun while the boy was at Boscoville was of an eminently transitory nature.

According to our results, it would seem that, in their very large majority, the boys' activities when they go out with girls are varied. In connection with their sexual activities, we find that forty-six out of fifty subjects pursued such activities during the first year after leaving Boscoville, forty-two having had complete sexual relations. If we look now at the results regarding any future plans regarding the girl-friend of the moment, we find that twenty-two had no plans, while ten others wanted to maintain the status quo. While carefully avoiding any adult centism (asking 18-20 year-old boys to show an emotional commitment more in character for men of 25-30, for instance), we are nonetheless inclined to think that a number of former residents showed a greater lack of involvement than average boys of their age, even a certain hedonism, in their relations with girls. The rate of those who had had complete sexual relations (84%) is almost double that observed by Crépault and Gemme (1975) among a sample of Quebec boys aged 18 to 22. This high rate on the part of former Boscoville residents is possible to explain, however, if we consider their past. Our investigations showed (see LeBlanc, 1977) that delinquent activities and sexual activities were concomitant phenomena, young delinquents becoming more and more involved in sexual activities as their delinquency intensifies. It may be that although reeducation stops antisocial behaviour to a certain extent, sexual habits are not affected. Accordingly, the boys would conduct themselves after their reeducation the way they did before treatment.

Whatever the case, half the ex-residents maintained that one or

several girls were of particular help to them in their social reintegration. This is a large number, almost the same as the number of subjects who said they were helped in their adjustment by one or several friends after their stay at the centre (48%). Both these types of relationships, the subjects felt, proved to be important assets during their readaptation.

The data we have produced so far regarding the relationships with girls applies to all the subjects of our sample of ex-residents. Some of them, however, had made a further commitment to the girl by living with her. At the time of the follow-up, ten subjects were living with a girl and for nine of them, this was not the first experience of this kind. Furthermore, two of them had had a child and one of them said he was looking after it.

Recreation

Like the schoolwork, recreational activities play an important role in the daily life of the boys at Boscoville. To justify this policy, the creators and directors of the centre assume that participation in recreational activities will give the youngsters an opportunity to discover their possibilities, to experience their creative and productive abilities, thus creating interests and habits that will enable the boys to give up the idleness and destructive activities so characteristic of their previous delinquent life. Did the recreational habits acquired at Boscoville continue once the youngster left the centre? Are there any indications that the Boscoville programme had influenced the way former residents were occupying their leisure time a year after their departure?

In truth, there are few facts for us to go on in this regard. Two types of results are nonetheless pertinent, the fact that twenty-six of the fifty subjects claimed to have had a hard time organizing recreational activities, and that twenty others maintained they had done

well in this area. Obviously in a normal context, going out with boy friends and girl friends takes up a considerable part of one's leisure time. Thus the possibilities of involvement in various types of activities (social, community or cultural activities, where the rate of involvement is lowest) are limited. Notwithstanding, sixteen of the subjects had a hobby, making about one subject in three, and twenty-nine others (58%) practiced some kind of sport. These results show a good deal of activity. On the other hand, considering the results regarding the difficulties of organizing leisure time, these data can certainly support those who say the investment made in Boscoville's recreational programme considerably influences the way of life of those who have spent time at Boscoville.

Deviance

The alcohol or drug consumption the ex-residents admit to is an indication of the style of life they have chosen. It is important, then, to see whether or not any of them have consistently resorted to one or both when faced with problems or difficult situations, thus developing what could be called equivalents of delinquency.

During our previous analyses, we were able to ascertain that both the parents of our subjects as well as their siblings drank a great deal of alcohol. We know that 62% of the subjects have at least one parent who is a heavy drinker. A large proportion also have a brother (or sister) who drinks to excess. We would naturally expect a high consumption of alcohol among the former residents themselves, but is this so? How many of them are heavy drinkers? What reason or reasons impel them to act in this way?

Our first finding may seem surprising: forty-one of the fifty subjects (82%) say they take a drink from time to time since their departure from Boscoville. Subsequent data show that of these subjects, nine say they occasionally or very rarely take a drink and six say they

have a drink a few times a month. Concerning the quantity consumed, we found that twenty-four of the subjects drink moderate or very small amounts of alcohol; the remaining seventeen drink large quantities. However, it is possible that the latter do not drink frequently but drink a great deal on occasion. By cross-tabulating the data, we discover that fifteen of the subjects drink once or twice a week or even several times a week. Undeniably, these are boys who really "drink", to use the vernacular.

To these fifteen heavy drinkers, perhaps we should add several of those who admitted having gotten very drunk quite often after leaving Boscoville and who said they no longer did so; but there cannot be more than six of them. They had gotten into the habit for at least three months, however, so that there is a slight ambiguity in our results. Possibly the way we processed the data put our calculations off a little as to the exact alcohol consumption of our subjects; it could be a little above what we estimated as the minimal threshold. Whatever the case, a tendency toward heavy drinking can be seen among fifteen of our subjects and it is very probable that about twenty of them were having great difficulty in controlling this tendency at the time of the follow-up. This conclusion is in keeping with the previous finding as to the relatively high rate of alcohol consumption among the boys' parents, brothers and sisters.

A high consumption of drugs was also found among the siblings of the former residents. It remained to see whether or not the latter shared this habit with their brothers and sisters, and if so, why. According to our data, the majority of the ex-residents had used drugs. The drug usually taken was marijuana and it was the only one used by thirty-one of our subjects. Concerning the frequency of consumption, the results show that for twenty-four subjects it was very frequent, for nine fairly frequent and for seven infrequent. Aside from the latter, we get a total of thirty-three subjects who had made regular use of drugs during their year of social readjustment. This rate of 66% is almost twice as

high as that we were able to observe in a sample of young Montreal youths of comparable age (35.8%) (LeBlanc, 1977). It is also lower than the rate of consumption before treatment, when the rate was very high for 75% of the youngsters. It is obviously a fact, therefore, that former residents of Boscoville do not relinquish their previous drug-taking habits after they have left the centre.

The data show that the use of drugs was generally a group activity; thirty-two of the subjects took drugs either with a friend (five), in a small group (three), with several friends in public (five) or in a place where many were doing it (nine). As to the reasons for using drugs, in the case of nine boys it was to forget their problems or to overcome a state of depression or boredom; for fifteen others, it was in the quest of excitement or to feel "high"; four did it out of curiosity, four others to conform; two of the subjects thought it would help them understand themselves better.

The fairly large number of those who sold drugs during this first year (nineteen) may seem surprising. But in our opinion, a distinction must be made here between those who sold them for gain and those who did so to help friends and did not see it as trafficking but as a harmless service. It would be logical to assume that the majority of those who sold them continuously (eight) did so for the money and that most of those who sold them from time to time or rarely did so to help out friends (eleven).

Of those who used drugs after they left Boscoville, thirteen maintained they had stopped the habit after a time, most of them after six months. The reasons for stopping most frequently given were an awareness of the dangers inherent in drug consumption (three) or having experienced a "bad trip" (three). Concerning whether or not these temperate consumers of recent date had been heavy users, we discovered that eight of these thirteen subjects had taken drugs at least several times a month, three others had done so before and during their stay at

Boscoville but not since they left, and the last two had taken drugs only once. Should these eight subjects persist in abstaining, the number of heavy users would be reduced but would still comprise twenty-five former residents or half the entire group.

Were the heavy drug users heavy drinkers as well? Were they the same boys who were prone to alcohol and drug abuse? A study of our data reveals that ten of the twenty-four heavy drug consumers evidenced problems of control with regard to alcohol. The same is true of those who had alcohol problems (twenty-two); they evidenced problems of drug control (45%).

1c. Delinquency after leaving Boscoville

Among the criteria enabling us to assess the quality of the social reintegration of the former residents of the centre, delinquency comes first. This is certainly not surprising, as it was precisely the commission of crimes that finally led the youngster to a reeducation centre; it is therefore important to find out whether or not such conduct continues once the treatment has stopped. The recidivism of our boys, then, must be evaluated - its frequency, nature and the various forms it takes. We will first describe the delinquency reported in interview, then the official delinquency.

Hidden recidivism

How many boys admitted the commission of delinquent acts during their first year of social reintegration? And how many delinquent acts were committed? It is by means of these rather general statistics that we have undertaken our study. Twenty-two of the fifty subjects (44%) had committed at least one infraction after they left Boscoville. As to the frequency of these infractions, eleven subjects said they had committed one, two had committed two; the nine others had committed four or more (the maximum being twenty-two). Half the former residents who admitted recidivating had committed only one infraction.

What was the nature of the infractions committed by the boys and how heterogeneous were they? We found that burglary was the crime most frequently committed. It was reported by ten of the subjects, six having committed it three times or more (global average: 3.4 per subject). In descending order of frequency are personal attack (five subjects), armed robbery and automobile theft (four subjects each) and public disturbance (three subjects). Shoplifting, petty theft and personal larceny were committed by only one subject each.

Taking the total number of infractions, we find that ninety-four crimes were committed by the twenty-two former residents, a general average of 4.3 crimes each. Burglary constitutes almost 36.2% of the total (thirty-four out of ninety-four). Armed robbery follows close behind with a proportion of 33%. The other types of crime are far fewer in number: personal attack, motor vehicle theft and public disturbance come to 5% or 6% of the total. The rate for shoplifting, petty theft and personal larceny is relatively insignificant.

Comparing these statistics with those compiled on the population of youngsters who come to Boscoville (LeBlanc and Meilleur, 1979), a population to which our subjects belong, we find fairly big differences. First of all, outside the fact that there were proportionately fewer delinquents (on admission there were one hundred and thirty-five out of one hundred and thirty-six whereas on departure there were no more than twenty-two out of fifty), there is also less delinquency (total number of crimes) but the delinquency tends to be more serious. The figures show an increase in the proportion of armed robbery which, from 6.8% in the sample of admissions climbed to 33%. Burglary also increased in proportion from 22% to 36%. This type of crime, incidentally, was the most widespread at the time of entry; it was admitted by 77% of the subjects. During the follow-up, ten of the twenty-two former residents (or 45.4%) who reported delinquency said they had committed this type of crime at least once. The number of burglaries, then, was reduced after leaving the centre, and although armed robbery at the time of the

follow-up was numerically close to burglary, it was committed by fewer of the subjects - seven out of twenty-two or 32%.

Regarding this comparison between the delinquency before Boscoville and after the stay there, it should be noted that many types of crime had become less frequent during the subjects' social reintegration, at least in terms of their number in proportion to the total. Thus shoplifting (14.6% of the total at entry) and personal larceny (7.4%) disappear almost completely. Petty larceny, sexual crimes and vandalism actually vanish, and there is also a considerable reduction in car thefts (from 14.6% to 5.3%).

Concerning the heterogeneity of the delinquent acts committed during the year of social insertion, our results are straightforward; sixteen subjects (i.e., 72%) committed only one type of infraction, four committed two types and two were guilty of four types or more. Referring here again to the evaluation of the boys on admission (LeBlanc and Meilleur, 1979), the results show a major difference: the large majority of the subjects (80.6%) had committed two, three, four or five types of crimes before they came to Boscoville; at the time of the follow-up, most of the crimes of the subjects concerned (that is, former residents reporting delinquency) were homogeneous and only 27.3% of them committed crimes that were heterogeneous, varying between two and five types of infraction. The majority, then, tended to stick to monotypes.

Official recidivism

The data on the official recidivism of former Boscoville residents comes from the open files of the Quebec court clerks. These files describe the crimes for which the subjects had been accused, and even convicted, since their departure from Boscoville and after having reached the age of eighteen. The data collection took place during October and November 1979, six years after the examination of the first residents of our sample upon entry (January 1974) and two years after the examination

upon departure of the last subject treated (December 1977). The post-Boscoville period examined varies from two to six years depending on the former residents' admission to the centre and the length of their stay. The present data concern not only the hundred and sixteen subjects (treated and untreated) who were the focal point of the present and preceding chapters, but also the one hundred and thirty-six subjects who had been examined upon their admission to Boscoville in 1974 and 1975. Thus it is possible to compare the recidivism of those treated with a considerable number of subjects who were not.

It is important to consider the general recidivism of the boys admitted to Boscoville and not concern ourselves for the moment with the actual number of those who were convicted. First it must be noted that seventy-one of the one hundred and thirty-four subjects who entered Boscoville had committed at least one delinquent act after they left, a proportion of 53%. This percentage is higher than the one shown by Petitclerc (1974) and Landreville (1967) concerning former residents of less recent date: one hundred and thirty-three subjects out of two hundred and ninety-five, or 47%.

Concerning the nature of the crimes, the results show that the recidivists go in for four types of crimes: burglary and attempted burglary (47.7%), petty theft and attempted petty theft (15.5%), automobile and attempted automobile theft (8.4%) and theft with violence and attempted theft with violence (5.6%). A very large proportion of the delinquency of these recidivists, then, consists in crimes against property.

Regarding the nature of the recidivists' first crime, there are several differences between the present group of former residents and those of Petitclerc and Landreville. True, in both samples, delinquency against property remains largely dominant (more than 70% of the cases). However, it seems that automobile theft as a first crime is not as frequent as it once was (8.6 against 28.1%). On the other hand, burglary, as a first crime, leapt from 29.1% to 45.7%.

How long after going through Boscoville (for a relatively long or short time) did the recidivists commit their crimes? The group is divided into two almost equal parts between those who recidivated in the twelve months following their departure (52.1%) and those who recidivated after eleven months (47.9%). Taking a closer look at the distribution, we note that there is no special moment for this resumption of delinquency; as many subjects recidivate within four months (fifteen) as do so after two years (fifteen). We note, furthermore, that there is no significant difference between the data of the present sample and those of Petitclerc and Landreville's sample.

How does the recidivism of the subjects who were treated compare with that of the ones who left the centre several weeks or a few months after having been admitted to Boscoville? Before addressing this question, let us look at the number of recidivists in each of the two groups. Based on the results shown in table 25, we learn that twenty-three of the fifty-five subjects treated had committed at least one crime after leaving Boscoville, a proportion of 42%. Among the others who were admitted but not treated, the rate of recidivism is higher - 59.5%. This difference, however, is not statistically significant since there are more than three chances in a hundred that it is due to the sampling.

It must be remembered that the subjects treated, at the time of admission, showed certain traits that presented a more promising outlook regarding non-recidivism. Our previous work (Achille and LeBlanc, 1977), revealed that they were more intelligent, less identified with criminal figures, and that their delinquent habits were less firmly established than those who refused to become involved in the treatment. These various elements can obviously contribute toward the difference between the two groups where recidivism is concerned. This fact, however, in no way eliminates the treatment's share of real influence, for, as we said before, the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant from the start.

TABLE 25

Recorded recidivism among former residents of Boscoville

	Treated	Other subjects
Recidivists	23 (41.8%)	47 (59.5%)
Non-recidivists	32 (58.2%)	32 (40.5%)

$$\chi^2 = 4.06$$

$$DL = 1$$

$$p \leq .03$$

Was the recidivism of the subjects who were treated less serious than that of the other subjects? The results reported by Bossé and LeBlanc (1980b) show certain differences between them. Regarding the three major types of crime, we find that the proportion of subjects involved is much higher among the untreated than those who were treated - 80.8% against 47.8%. The untreated start their delinquency again with a crime against property, whereas the subjects who were treated are more prone to personal attack (theft with violence, murder, assault and assault and battery), a rate of 17.4% against 4.3% for the other subjects. The treated subjects commit more drug-related crimes as well. Whatever the case, the differences in the nature of their initial recidivism do not support the hypothesis of less serious delinquency on the part of the subjects who were treated.

What if we consider the situation, not only from the point of view of the first new crime, but all the crimes? Here again we observed

differences between the groups, but they were not very marked. True, many of the subjects treated had committed only one crime, 30.4%, whereas of the untreated, 87.2% had committed many. Furthermore, 87.0% of the former tended to commit less than seven crimes, whereas a large group of the untreated subjects (34.0%) committed seven or more. This being the case, if we take into consideration the total number of crimes committed by the subjects in each group, we find that the average number of crimes per boy presents a marked difference from one group to the other - 4.0 for the treated subjects and 5.6 for the others. On the whole, the latter committed more crimes, but here again this could be due to their already more firmly established delinquent habits, their stronger identification with delinquent figures and their lesser intelligence, three traits that put them at a disadvantage compared with the subjects who were treated.

1d. A subjective account of the stay at the centre and subsequent social reintegration

We thought it would be interesting during the follow-up to see what assessment the subjects themselves would make of their stay at Boscoville and of their reintegration in society. The interview that was conducted with each subject comprised a series of questions intended to have him give a sort of evaluation of his experience at the centre and during his social readjustment. Let us first examine how the former residents felt about their situation as ex-members of a training centre. It seems that the majority accepted the fact of having been at Boscoville fairly well, at least based on what they were willing to say about their stay there. Only about ten of the boys showed a disinclination to talk about it.

How does the former resident see himself in comparison with boys who never went through Boscoville and in comparison with what he was himself before his experience there? The large majority of the subjects were of the opinion that their stay at the centre had changed them, and

for 72%, changed them a great deal; only eight subjects claimed to have remained the same as they were before their stay. However, questioned about how they saw themselves in comparison with those who had never had the Boscoville experience, a greater number (34%) said they didn't feel any different, whereas 42% of the subjects admitted they felt different from those who had gone through the Boscoville experience. It seems that for about ten subjects, the identity of an ex-Boscoville subject was not obvious to them, but, for the majority of the subjects, the Boscoville experience was sufficiently significant for them to recognize its mark in themselves and in their former co-residents.

As to the area in which the treatment's influence was felt the most, the majority thought it was at the personal level; thirty-one subjects said they understood themselves better and knew how to express themselves better. Only eleven subjects felt they had been influenced in the area of relationships; this is a bit disconcerting, for it seems that the perception of the idiosyncratic advantages has no equivalent at the interrelational level. Incidentally, few of the subjects said they had regained a taste for school (or work) during their stay at Boscoville; this too is disappointing, considering the effort made by the centre to give the residents a renewed interest in furthering their education.

We know that for the majority of the subjects when interviewed again, the life they had experienced at Boscoville represented something particular that marked their lives. Boscoville had remained for them a place where certain values were learned or practiced: a sense of achievement, authenticity, self-control, respect for others, honesty, frankness, friendship, etc. How many of these values that the former resident claimed to have acquired at Boscoville did he find in his milieu, in his parents, his friends, at his workplace, among adults in general? The aim of this question is to try to ascertain whether or not the treatment milieu has anything in common with the post-therapeutic milieu.

Our results show that the number of those who found in their various milieus the same values they remembered from their Boscoville experience ranges from nineteen to twenty-four, the affirmative answers almost always exceeding the negative ones. Apropos the adult world, the number of subjects who saw a difference between its values and those of Boscoville is slightly higher than the number of those who thought they were much the same. It is also in this domain that the judgment of the boys is most reserved (nineteen affirmative answers). On the basis of these data, there is reason to believe that for almost half of the subjects, the values encountered at Boscoville found a certain correspondence in social life. The fact remains, however, that for a large number (about 40%) there was a gap between the two milieus, the one after they left the centre having different social values, whether on the part of the parents, friends or adults in general.

We come now to the subjects' judgment of the success or failure of their social reintegration and the factors that explain this success or failure. Half our subjects (twenty-two) believed that their social reintegration was a success. A slightly smaller number, less than a third, were of the opinion that, in their case, they must admit failure (sixteen out of fifty). Between these two groups, seven subjects maintained that their readaption had been more or less successful. These figures largely correspond with what we were generally able to make out by means of the various criteria of evaluation used with regard to deviance and delinquency. We estimated that there were about twenty who showed signs of either doubtful readjustment or definite maladjustment.

Considering the factors the former residents cited to explain the success or failure of their reintegration, it is interesting to note that for either one, it was the personal qualities of the subject that were mentioned by the majority (twenty-nine out of fifty cases). To this is added the fact that four others subjects saw hope, confidence or a feeling of success, as a determining factor for success, all three being personal qualities as well. Similarly, three subjects explained failure

by a lack of confidence in the future. A good number of boys (ten) emphasized preparation in general and almost as large a group (seven) maintained that a hasty departure or one not understood could be a factor for failure.

In short, according to the former residents' assessment of their stay at Boscoville and the year following their stay, we can say that the majority of them saw it in a very positive light at the time of the follow-up; more than 54% of the boys thought they had succeeded in their social reintegration while 32% admitted being in difficulty.

2. The supports of social adjustment

During the course of the preceding section, we reviewed the information furnished by the former residents of Boscoville at the time of the follow-up and analyzed the data provided by the court clerks. We now have a fairly accurate idea of the living conditions the boys encountered upon leaving the centre and the way they all coped with them this first year after leaving Boscoville. We also know on a more long term basis to what extent they resumed or did not resume their previous delinquent behaviour.

But the knowledge we have of these living conditions and the performance of the subjects is descriptive; only on rare occasions did we try to put any of the data in relation to one another. Furthermore, we made almost no attempt to relate the present data to those reported in the sections dealing with the psychological evolution of the boys during and after their stay.

In this section we shall go beyond the descriptive level and do an explanatory analysis. We shall systematically verify whether some of the data have a significant relationship with others, whether these also come from the follow-up interview or belong to the assessment of the performance achieved during or after the stay. It is important to

explain how this will be done. Let us say that first of all we will treat our data from the follow-up interview in a special way, dividing them into factors and indices of adjustment or readjustment; these factors and indices constitute the phenomenon to be explained.

The boys' psychological evolution is the explanatory variable. This variable will be defined with the help of three measures: the psychological calibre at admission, the progress made by the boys from admission to departure in the psychological tests (stability and slight progress versus marked progress) and the performance given by the ex-residents from their departure to the follow-up (regressive and stable or progressive). This done, we can now compare the psychological evolution of the boys on the one hand, and the factors and indications of social adjustment on the other.

As we said above, it seem pertinent to us to consider certain data resulting from the follow-up interview either as factors or indications of adjustment. In fact, it is possible to group a good number of facts gathered during the follow-up interview under these two headings. First there are what could be called the factors of reintegration; the material, emotional or social conditions that we can easily assume could have influenced its course and its outcome. in this category, we thought it appropriate to enter the following data: whether the subject resided mainly with his parents or not, the number of changes of residence, the structure of the family (broken or unified), the existence of money problems for the parents, their consumption of alcohol, the consumption of drugs among the siblings of fifteen and over, whether or not there were many problems living with the parents and in establishing an adequate relationship with them, the way he feels within the family, the cohesion of the family, the fact of having made new friends since leaving Boscoville, whether the latter commit crimes or not, the fact of having been helped in his reintegration by a girl, the type of occupation (work or study), future prospects of the first and last job, and finally, the number of jobs. These sixteen variables will constitute the factors of

reintegration whose influence on the boys' social adjustment will be evaluated or which we will try to place in relation to the various types of psychological performance.

One might question whether or not these conditions can be called factors of reintegration. Some could be considered indications rather than factors of integration. This is particularly true of the number of changes of residence, of the fact of having experienced difficulty in living with the parents or establishing an adequate relationship with them, the fact of having made new friends who do or do not commit crimes and the number of jobs. We, for our part, have chosen to consider them as assets (or handicaps) to integration, at the same time recognizing that our point of view is relative. In any case, our results will be presented so that the reader can be free to judge our approach for himself.

The indices of adjustment present fewer problems. There is no doubt that these are data that enable us to evaluate the social adaptation of our subjects. The following are the variables we have chosen: the fact of having committed crimes (or not) (delinquency reported), the excessive consumption of alcohol, the abusive use of drugs, money problems, the feeling of having succeeded or failed in one's social integration and official recidivism. We do not claim that these indices give an exhaustive idea of the boys' social adjustment; but they nonetheless constitute interesting soundings that will inform us about the key aspects of the life of the ex-residents.

2a. Psychological evolution and the dynamics of social reintegration

Is it possible to establish a link between the performance of the Boscoville subjects during the psychological tests at various times and what can be considered factors of integration? Can elements be found in the post-Boscoville experience that have a systematic relationship with the various types of performance we have chosen to study?

Let us first examine the three categories of subjects that were of crucial importance in our analysis of the evolution of the Boscoville boys during and after their stay at the centre: we are speaking of the three types of psychologically disturbed boys - the weak, the moderate and the strong. Are the conditions encountered during the first year associated systematically with one or another of these categories? Based on our results (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1980a), we must conclude that there is no reason to think that the various types of subjects encounter living conditions that are specific to them. In other words, the facts lead to the belief that these conditions of life that we have isolated as potential factors of integration vary very little whether the boys are weak, moderate or strong. In fact, there is no statistical relationship between this group and one or another of the variables that can be considered factors of integration. There is not even a tendency toward the establishment of such a relationship.

Did the subjects who made marked progress during their stay at Boscoville encounter different conditions of life when they left than those in which the less advanced boys had to make their way? Our results show no difference at all. Once again there is no significant relationship (or even a tendency toward such a relationship) with the type of psychological performance and the diverse conditions under which the first post-Boscoville year was spent.

The study of the association of the factors of integration with the psychological calibre of the boys at admission and their performance during their stay was of indirect interest: in fact, it was as an analysis prior to the study of the interactions of the types of psychological performance and the indices of adjustment that this double operation was necessary, for we had to know whether the conditions of life encountered after they left the centre were equal for the three categories of these first two groups (treated and untreated). It is different from the study we shall now undertake, which concerns the possible interaction of the factors of adjustment with the performance

after leaving the centre. This study is of direct interest because we shall study facts which, contrary to the preceding ones, have a simultaneous relationship. To do this we use the dichotomy regression/progression (after the stay). Let us remember that these categories separate those who, after leaving Boscoville, were generally either stable, regressing or progressing in terms of the different psychological variables.

Do the results show an association between the factors of integration and psychological evolution after leaving the centre? Again the data show no statistically significant relationship between the factors of integration and psychological performance. We observe three tendencies toward such a relationship, however, one strong, the other two weak: it seems that the fact of having been helped by a girl in integrating socially can play a certain role ($p < .02$); the fact of having an adolescent sibling who uses drugs and that of having made friends after leaving the centre show the same tendency, but weaker ($p < .07$). Let us look at these three results.

Of the twenty-three subjects who belonged to the group making progress, seventeen said they had been helped in their adjustment by a girl. This is a large proportion - 73.9%. It confirms the sensitive role girls can play in the achievement of social readjustment. We also note that of the twenty-four subjects who belonged to the group that was regressing, sixteen (66.6%) said they had not been helped by a girl.

The results regarding the subjects who had an adolescent brother or sister who uses drugs are a little less clear-cut. True, twenty-one of the twenty-five subjects who were regressing (84%) admitted they had a brother or sister who was on drugs, but a large number of the progressing subjects (fourteen out of twenty-five or 56%) maintained that this was the case for them as well. The most we can say is that the regressing subjects almost always belonged to families where the youngsters their age used drugs, that they did it on their own or were led into it, and

that this situation was more current in their case than among the subjects who were making progress.

We observe a similar tendency regarding the fact of having made new friends after leaving the centre. Of the fourteen subjects who did not make new friends, ten belonged to the group that was regressing. Of the twenty-six subjects who made non-delinquent friends, seventeen, or close to 70%, belonged to the progressing group. Finally, we note that seventeen of the twenty-five progressing subjects, or 68%, were among those who made new friends that were not delinquents.

2b. Performance in psychological tests and the indices of adjustment

The results concerning the possible interaction of different types of psychological performance during and after the stay and the variables called factors of social reintegration are easily summarized: there seems to be no significant relationship between these different types of performance and one or another of the factors of reintegration.

We must now verify whether the different types of performance are or are not connected with the social adjustment evaluated by means of the six indices we have chosen, that is, self-reported delinquency, alcohol consumption, drug consumption, money problems, the feeling of having succeeded in reintegrating and recidivism.

Our analysis of the psychological data showed that the psychological post-Boscoville evolution was a function of the calibre of the boys at the time of their admission. The weak subjects as compared with the strong regress appreciably after they leave Boscoville. If this is so in the case of the psychological indicators, what is it in relation to the behavioural indices? Can we see any differences in the way the weak, the moderate and the strong subjects come out with regard to their social adjustment? Looking at our results (Bossé and Leblanc, 1980a), we find there is no statistically significant association between the

calibre of the subjects upon admission and the way they behave in those areas of conduct which we used as indices of adjustment. We note, however, that concerning alcohol consumption, the weak and strong subjects seem to behave differently from the moderate ones, for contrary to the latter, they are heavier drinkers. Although the relationship is not statistically significant, it is not far from being so ($p < .0187$). For the rest, the subjects in the different groups behave in much the same way. It does not seem, then, that the quality of the social adjustment is a function of the level of performance shown by the subjects at the time of their admission.

Do the subjects who evolve more markedly during their stay make a better adjustment after they leave? Is it different from that of the boys whose progress is less marked during the treatment? According to the data reported by Bossé and Leblanc (1980a), we find that there is no connection between the performance during the stay and the diverse behavioural indices that enable us to evaluate the actual reintegration. This means that, from the angle of degree, the evolution accomplished during the stay seems to play no role whatsoever in post-Boscoville adjustment or recidivism.

The question of the connection between the indices of social adjustment and the post-Boscoville psychological evolution is of particular interest here. It consists in seeing if it is really those who regress on the tests (after they leave) whose behavioural indices are the most unfavourable and if it is those who progress according to the same tests who show better signs of adjustment. Looking at the results (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979b, 1980a) we see that there is no relationship between the performance in the tests and the indices of integration. The two types of performance seemed completely independent of one another.

To tell the truth, we might have expected a certain correspondence here. However, we believe we can explain this independence of performance. There are at least two good reasons for it. First, it must

be remembered that the psychological performance after the stay (regressive or progressive) was calculated on the basis of the differences observed between the performance on leaving and that during the follow-up, the tests taking place after a one year interval. It is quite probable, therefore, that many things took place during this time. For example, there could have been a temporary regression and the commission of a crime. The final assessment does not take this temporary regression into account since it is established on the results of the examination at the time of the follow-up in comparison with those at the time of departure. On the other hand, the behaviour indices for the most part take into account all that had taken place in the areas concerned (delinquency, deviance, recidivism, etc.). They are continuous measurements, taking into consideration not only the situation at the moment of the examination or examinations, but also what happened between times.

There is a second possible explanation for the lack of correspondence between the performance during the tests and that shown by the indices of behaviour. The subjects of Boscoville, whatever progress they make (or don't make), are a group whose average in the tests is far behind the average of boys in general. Since the performance of this group is more concentrated than that of the general population of boys, it is not surprising that these scales have a less discriminant power over it.

2c. Social adjustment and the way of life during reintegration

Our study of the social integration in relation to the various types of performance or psychological evolution during and after the stay at Boscoville leads us to acknowledge two important facts. First of all, the former residents of Boscoville, when they leave, meet family and social conditions that generally have no connection with either the psychological calibre of the subject upon admission or the type of evolution during their stay. Second, the types of evolution and

performance are in no way connected with the way the subjects behave after they leave the centre. Does this mean that it is actually at the social readjustment level itself that we must seek the factors determining success or failure? This is the question that arises at this point; our analysis, therefore, now takes this direction.

Of the fifty subjects who were seen again a year after they left Boscoville, twenty-two admitted that they had committed at least one crime since leaving the centre. We know that for eighteen of these recidivists, the delinquency included one or another of the following types of crime: burglary (ten subjects), grand larceny (eight subjects) and personal larceny (five subjects). Are there any reintegration factors that are systematically linked with the delinquency? Based on the results shown in table 26, we can say that the variable delinquency is associated in a statistically significant way with the fact of having made new friends since leaving the centre ($p < .005$). We also find that this same variable shows a tendency toward association with three other variables: the number of changes of residence ($p < .04$), the number of changes of employment ($p < .04$) and the usual place of residence ($p < .09$). Let us further analyze these results reported by Bossé and Leblanc (1979a).

We observe a sharp contrast between those who committed at least one crime and those who didn't commit any as regards the fact of making new friends after leaving the centre. We find that twenty of the twenty-six subjects (76.9%) who made non-delinquent friends did not commit any crimes. The other two categories, no new friends and delinquent new friends, constitute the large majority of those who recidivated (sixteen out of twenty-two). The bulk of those who made friends with delinquents are to be found among the recidivists (eight in ten). The contrast is clearly marked between those who made delinquent friends and those who made non-delinquent friends. But there is also a pronounced difference between the latter and those who made no new friends at all.

TABLE 26
Association of the incidence of delinquency with variables
considered factors of integration

Variables	Categories	χ^2	P
Usual place of residence	With parents versus elsewhere	3.04	.09
No. of changes of residence	None or one versus two or more	4.66	.04
Family structure	Unified versus split	.00	.98
Parents having money problems	Yes versus no	.17	.68
Heavy drinking by one or both parents	Yes versus no	.00	.94
Difficulty living with the parents	Much versus little	.04	.83
Difficulty establishing adequate relationships with the parents	Much versus little	.64	.43
Drug consumption by siblings (15-20)	Yes versus no	.00	.96
Drug consumption by siblings (20 and over)	Yes versus no	.00	.95
How the subject feels among his family	Good versus ambivalent and negatively	1.85	.18
Cohesion of the family	All stick together versus go different ways	1.70	.20
Made new friends after leaving	None versus one (or more) who commit no crimes versus one (or more) who do commit crimes	10.86	.005
Were helped in their reintegration by a girl	Yes versus no	.15	.70
Occupation after leaving	Work versus school (part or full time)	.00	1.00
Future prospects at the last (or only) job	None versus more or less good, good, very good	.02	.89
Number of jobs	One, two versus three or more	4.49	.04

The significance of these results is easy to see; the creation of affective relationships with peers, and peers who have non-delinquent habits, plays a determining role in the outcome of social reintegration. We must hasten to add, however, that for a certain number of subjects the decision to act out could have directly influenced the choice of friends. Whatever the case, the association of these two variables shows the importance of the kind of friendships that can reinforce delinquency instead of neutralizing it.

The variable delinquency is also associated with the number of changes of residence, although not to a significant degree. Of the twenty-one subjects who changed residences once at most, sixteen (or 76.2%) did not commit any crimes. On the other hand, seventeen of the twenty-nine subjects (or 58.6%) who changed addresses at least twice committed one or more crimes. Residential stability, then, after the stay, tends to be associated with an absence of delinquency. This tendency is not surprising, for it is logical that settling down in a given socio-familial milieu generally excludes or reduces to a minimum the risks of delinquent behaviour, whereas residential instability increases the risks.

The results regarding changes of residence should be related to those we obtain concerning the variable usual place of residence, for the latter also tends to be associated with the variable delinquency, even though this tendency is rather weak ($p < .09$). Of the twenty-four subjects who lived with their parent or parents, seventeen (70.8%) were not involved in delinquency whereas fifteen of the twenty-six subjects (57.7%) who lived other than with their parent or parents were guilty of delinquent behaviour. The percentages are close to those we note with reference to the number of changes of residence. It is quite probable that for a large number of subjects (34%) the family circle played its role as a milieu of affective entrenchment - a relative deterrent to delinquent behaviour.

The variable delinquency is associated or tends to be associated with a fourth variable considered a factor of integration, and that is the number of jobs. The majority of non-delinquents (72.7%) (after their stay) had only two jobs whereas most of the delinquents (63.6%) had three or more. It is very difficult to settle the question of cause and effect in this case, that is, to know whether it is the instability of employment that led to the acting out or vice-versa. Whatever the case, it is quite possible that work offering few prospects for a large number of our subjects, as our descriptive analysis in the previous section showed, a certain number of youngsters (28%) did not find enough satisfaction in their work to keep them from acting out.

Our study of the self-reported delinquency during the first year after treatment showed the influence of certain socio-familial conditions. It appeared that certain characteristics fairly closely connected with a delinquent way of life (residence, choice of delinquent friends, etc.) are associated more or less systematically with the admitted commission of crimes. With regard to officially reported recidivism, there is no evidence of any relation between those various socio-familial conditions met with during the first year and the official recidivism recorded between two and six years after the departure from Boscoville. At least this is what emerges from our data (Bossé and LeBlanc, 1979b). It can be assumed from this finding that it is perhaps a mistake to believe that the socio-familial circumstances encountered after leaving the centre and during the first year play a decisive role on the final outcome of the integration. If it is true that some of these conditions influence the performance during the first year, on the other hand, it seems that in terms of these twelve months we find no connection between these initial conditions of the post-Boscoville experience and the official recidivism noted over more than two years.

In terms of the follow-up interview, each of the subjects was asked to make a subjective assessment of his reintegration. They were asked if they felt they had succeeded in integrating socially. We

believe this information should be related to the quality of the adjustment and that is why we included it as an indicator. Let us remember that twenty-seven subjects answered that they were successful in their integration. Seven said this was more or less the case and sixteen admitted they had not succeeded. Does this indicator of adjustment have any connection with one or another of our sixteen factors of integration? The results show that it is associated in a statistically significant way with two variables, the place of residence and the number of changes of address. It also shows a strong tendency to be associated with the way the subject feels amidst his family (see Bossé and Leblanc, 1980a).

Of the twenty-seven subjects who felt they had succeeded in their adjustment to society, eighteen (or 75%) lived with their parents, especially this first year of their integration, and nine lived apart from the parents. As to those who made a more modest assessment of this year, seventeen (or 65.4%) lived away from the parental home and ten (or 25%) lived with one or both parents. There is a marked contrast here and the relationship is well established between the two variables. This result makes it evident that close ties with the parents or family, if only on the basis of living together, can play a role in the matter of adjustment.

The same is true of residential stability. Seventeen of the twenty-one subjects (or 81%) who changed residence at most once are among those who felt they had succeeded in integrating. On the other hand, nineteen of the twenty-nine subjects (or 65.5%) who moved at least twice assessed their integration less positively. The connection between these two variables is very strong and goes beyond the threshold of statistical significance. Residential instability is associated, then, with the feeling of not having really succeeded in integrating in the same way that it is associated with recidivism and the tendency to take drugs on a regular basis.

Since those with a more somber evaluation of their social integration lived mostly away from the parental home (and most of the time had moved at least twice), there is reason to wonder whether these subjects did not have difficulty in integrating or relating to the members of their family. Nineteen of the twenty-seven subjects (70.4%) who said they got along well with their families felt they had succeeded in their integration and fifteen of the twenty-three subjects (62.5%) who felt more or less comfortable or uncomfortable with their family felt they had not really succeeded in integrating. The tendency of the two variables to be connected with one another is strong, but at $p < .03$, it remains below the threshold of statistical significance that we require.

3. The protection of society

In this section, we have tried to describe as exhaustively as possible the social integration of the former Boscoville residents and to clarify some of the mechanisms that play a determinant role in the outcome of this integration. We sought to fulfill this twofold task by exploiting to the maximum the data of the follow-up interview, a year later, with the fifty subjects who had been treated at Boscoville for more than twelve months, as well as the data gathered from the clerks of the Quebec courts.

There are three main facts that emerge from our results. The first is the perceptible improvement in the social adjustment of the boys. It is undeniable that this has attenuated their delinquent involvement; the number of delinquents at the time of the follow-up is lower than that when they entered treatment (a reduction of approximately half). There are two provisions to this statement, however. First of all, it is not at all certain that this improvement in delinquent behaviour should be attributed to the effect of the treatment, at least not entirely. Criminological studies (Fréchette and LeBlanc (1979), Bachman et al. (1978) have shown that delinquency is a transitory phase for many adolescents and that even among boys who, from the beginning of

their adolescence enter into conflict with the law repeatedly or systematically, there is a strong attenuation of delinquent activity as they approach the age of maturity. Here again we are confronted with the question of the effect of maturation - what would happen in any case without therapy. A qualified position must take the possible effect of maturation into account. On the other hand, several indices show the persistence of certain deviant habits (drug and alcohol consumption) which can be related to the way of life before treatment, estimating that for most of the boys these habits had become common practice and, consequently, it was hard for them to backtrack. In the case of these types of behaviour, it is an open question as to the meaning of their normality: are they unending residues (or not yet ended) of past maladjustment or are they behavioural equivalents through which from now on will be conveyed the reasons that were at the bottom of their delinquent activity?

The second finding that emerged from our results is the number of those who, a year after their departure, gave the impression that they had successfully accomplished their social integration. Based on the answers furnished in their subjective assessment of the integration, we discovered that 54% of the former residents considered their readjustment successful; 32% admitted being in difficulty and 15% gave a rather ambivalent evaluation. The figures are almost the same concerning the indicator reported delinquency (56% of the boys said they had committed no crimes since they left the centre against 44% who admitted that they had), as well as regarding the amount of official recidivism (48% of the boys were officially non-recidivists against 52% who had recidivated). Many more made excessive use of drugs or alcohol, these habits being understood to refer to the period prior to treatment. On the other hand, we find an almost equal proportion of boys who had lived mostly either with their parents or somewhere else and an equal proportion as well who changed residences twice or less and some three or more times. Taking these diverse data into account, we can propose that there are close to 40% of the boys who, in the twelve first months after leaving, had

serious difficulties in adjusting socially, as evidenced by the crimes they committed, their instability regarding their place of residence or employment and in their abuse of alcohol or drugs.

The third fact is that there seems to be no connection between social adjustment (including official recidivism) and the psychological evolution accomplished during the time spent at the centre. This means that the subjects who evolved the most during their stay were not necessarily the ones who adapted better after they left. True, one might have thought that the calibre of the subject at the time of admission would have had more influence on the outcome of the adjustment than the progress made during the stay. Upon verifying this hypothesis, however, we found that the adjustment was not dependent on the initial calibre. We therefore had to look into the subjects' way of life the first year to find factors that could account for the success or failure of their integration. We were then able to establish the fact that the recidivists were the ones who had not given up their former way of life and all that it entailed: the choice of delinquent friends, frequent changes of residence, abusive consumption of alcohol or drugs. It also turned out that the physical, if not the psychological proximity of the parents could play a significant role in the subjects' integration; thus the fact of living with the parents is systematically associated with the feeling of having successfully achieved their integration. All these facts, in our opinion, contribute to weaken, or even negate the position that the centre is the crucial stage in the reeducation process since maladjusted youths find a multitude of material and psychological resources there which enable them to acquire the maximum benefit from their stay. It seems to us that our analyses clearly show the illusory nature of any reeducation policy that does not place the centre within and as part of a series of measures organized in such a way that the adolescents concerned will not go back to their former way of life after leaving the centre.

On the basis of these facts, what conclusion can we come to regarding the basic question raised here: does the treatment offered by Boscoville help to protect society? If it can change the individual, it can also protect society, but not totally. It is undeniable that the boys treated at Boscoville on the whole commit fewer crimes and seem more conventional, but this is far from being the case for all of them. What we see, then, is a suppression effect, to use the expression of Murray and Cox (1979); there is a lessening of the maladjustment and delinquency but not the total cure that practitioners, administrators and the public expect. To overcome delinquency and social maladjustment requires many resources, as we have demonstrated in the first chapters of this book, and yet paradoxically, it is not the changes resulting from the use of these means that wholly accounts for this elimination of maladjustment, rather it is the way of life adopted once the subjects leave Boscoville that proves to be the essential factor. The treatment protects society to the extent that it diminishes the maladjustment, but if this aim is realized, it is not due to the direct influence of changes in personality. The direct consequence of the treatment and what follows is that a large number of former young delinquents choose a conventional way of life after they leave Boscoville. This choice is the essential mechanism whereby social adaptation can be achieved.

These comments bring us directly to the subject of the last chapter of this book: the paradoxes of the scientific treatment of young delinquents at Boscoville.





CHAPTER V

THE PARADOXES OF AN EVALUATION

Our evaluation of Boscoville has been completed. We have acquainted ourselves with the centre's physical and organizational setup and learned its conception of the juvenile delinquent as well as the theory of reeducation it has adopted. We have seen the connection between its therapeutic and scholastic methods and the theory it upholds. Our study of Boscoville in the 1970's involved an evaluation of its reeducation programme, that is, the quality of the personnel and their intervention, as well as the quality of the teamwork evidenced by the educators. Having determined the level of input, we set about describing the clientèle, the subjects of the intervention, and their channeling through the centre's system.

All these preliminaries led to the study of Boscoville's effectiveness, not only in terms of recidivism but of specific aspects, such as social adjustment, psychological development and progress in the various phases of reeducation. We were interested in its effectiveness in many areas, but in terms of a reduction rather than the disappearance of all antisocial or asocial behaviour. Such was our evaluation of Boscoville. What did we find?

The interpretation of the results that we present in this final chapter will seem somewhat paradoxical, with findings that defy all logic. In fact, if we go back to the results we reported in the preceding chapters, it becomes evident that numerous paradoxes emerge in the relationships between the various types of effort, their effectiveness and the characteristics of the clientèle, on the one hand, and in the relationship between effort and effectiveness, on the other. If we define input, or effort, as the adoption of a theory, its specification in a programme and its application, certain incongruities appear when we confront the characteristics of the clientèle, with the centre's effort to reeducate these young delinquents. If we define effectiveness in terms of the results observed in the clients, certain incongruities emerge between the objectives and the results, between the psychological and social effectiveness, between the results obtained with different types of juvenile delinquents. Finally, the analysis of the effort/effectiveness relationship shows a lack of logical sequence between the quality of the treatment and the extent of the results. But

before going into these paradoxes, we must comment on the significance of the results.

I. The significance of the results

To arrive at the conclusions to be drawn from these results, we must describe their significance, their impact and the theoretical and practical implications that can be deduced from them. The importance of the results and conclusions of this study will be clarified by an examination of the following questions: what significance can we accord Boscoville, a centre of reeducation for juvenile delinquents, to evaluate the possibility of treating young delinquents? How capable is our research model of producing valid results? Of what value are the results obtained through the methods we have used?

The results of this comprehensive evaluation can be used to discuss the use of a therapeutic centre for juvenile delinquents, since Boscoville is a typical example of the attempt to reeducate young delinquents. When we say typical example, we actually mean ideal!

Boscoville is the ideal type of reeducation centre for delinquent youngsters because it is run on the basis of today's scientific knowledge together with practical experience in handling delinquent minors. Its theoretical framework and its programme, reported in chapter I, are eloquent proof of this. Boscoville is certainly the ideal prototype of a centre in Quebec, if not in the world. Consequently, the results obtained indicate the best that is being done in the reeducation of juvenile delinquents and what remains still to be done to achieve our ideals in this field. Boscoville, then, can serve as an example in discussing institutional placement among other measures for delinquent minors, and this centre's experience can serve to question the very policies and practices of reeducation.

Boscoville is an even more typical example in that it is not an experiment of recent vintage, but a well-established institution at the time of the study, thanks to twenty years of trial and error. The Boscoville of 1973 to 1978 gives the appearance of a finished product:

an establishment that has progressed from a summer camp to a well-run centre; a theory that has been developed from vague ideas (Gendreau, 1960) to formalization (Guindon, 1970); an intervention based on intuition backed by systematic training (university level and old teaching methods that have become a system of individualized schooling. In short, the psycho-educative model of reeducation that Boscoville represents is a clearly defined method of reeducating juvenile delinquents, even though there is still, and always will be, room for improvement.

On the basis of these comments, we believe that, at the present time, Boscoville can serve as a norm to guide the development of other centres with the same objective - the reeducation of delinquent minors - without necessarily being "the" model to be copied exactly. It also means that the results obtained at Boscoville can constitute a solid basis for discussion to determine the place of treatment centres among the gamut of measures suitable for juvenile delinquents. While recognizing that Boscoville represents the best we have today, tomorrow this psycho-educative model may well be further improved.

The research model is also sufficiently sound for its results to constitute a basis for discussion of their implications. Even though we did not employ the classic experimental model with control groups, we nonetheless used a research outline before/after evaluations as well as comparative groups (boys who stayed less than two months or less than six months at Boscoville, wards of the Court, etc.); Then, too, we used sequential measurements during the course of the treatment and an assessment one year after the stay at the centre. This research design is nonetheless classified immediately after the classical model by methodologists. A sound statistical technology has been added to this research design. Thus, the statistical instruments chosen are those that minimize the assumptions about the normality of the distributions (non-parametric tests) and that ensure a minimum of errors in the conclusions (use of the threshold of significance $p < .01$ and particularly $p < .001$).

Whereas the research plan was meant to maximize the significance of our results, the measurements used to define our diverse

variables sought to minimize their imperfections in terms of accuracy and validity. To do so, we took steps to control the affinity between the observable results on a number of measures, variables of a same idea, of a same concept. For example, the personality tests chosen are based on various theories, and use different types of instruments (questionnaire, semi-projective test, etc.). In short, we refrained from coming to conclusions on the basis of a single indicator; we did so only if there was agreement between the results derived from various measurements.

II. Quality of the input versus the characteristics of the residents

The confrontation of the Boscoville's reeducation theory and programme vis-à-vis the characteristics of the clientèle drew our attention to several paradoxes that constitute many problems: is treatment in a residence compatible with the past and future of the young delinquent? Even though Boscoville affords quality treatment, why does it not answer the needs of all the delinquent adolescents placed there? What connection is there between general and homogeneous treatment, like that of Boscoville, and the different and individual needs of the residents?

1. Treatment in an institution vis-à-vis the past and future of juvenile delinquents

First let us recall the characteristics of the adolescents placed at Boscoville. As established in chapter III, the clientèle of Boscoville had marked personality problems. In fact, on comparing the averages of the centre's population with those of the normal population (as reported in the different manuals of the tests used), it is clearly seen that certain traits were either absent, more accentuated or less developed. According to the scales, the youngsters systematically showed marked and significant problems. The same is true from the social point of view: the family's role in raising the boys was poor, school had been a series of failures and, above all, there was association with marginal peers. Furthermore, what distinguished the Boscoville residents most from other wards of the Juvenile Court was their delinquent behaviour. They had committed more crimes, a greater variety of crimes, and much more serious than those of other delinquents, and their entry into the delinquent role was more firmly established.

The amount of delinquency observed in the Boscoville residents finds no response echo in either the theory, programming or methods used; this is the first paradox. In fact, if, at Boscoville, delinquency is defined as a personality syndrome, the behaviour and living habits that characterize the delinquency of minors is entirely overlooked. That it is a group phenomenon, that it is repetitive, is acknowledged, but there is no mention of its nature, extent, gravity or circumstances; nor does the reeducation theory say how to take these factors into account in the therapeutic approach to adolescents.

The theory recognizes the role of the group in delinquency and the centre succeeds very well in countering the organization and orientation of groups toward anti-adult, anti-centre attitudes. But never is the role of the delinquent conduct (murder, aggression, armed robbery, auto theft) specified in the intervention during weekly meetings, group therapy, activities. In this respect Boscoville is somewhat deficient because although it chooses to treat delinquents, it overlooks the fact that delinquency is primarily conduct and that many offences are either symbolic (murder, automobile theft, etc.) or signs of a firm commitment to a criminal career.

Besides this first paradox regarding the relations between the needs of its clients and the therapy offered by the centre, there is another, and that is the almost total silence of both theory and programme on the subject of social insertion. It seems incongruous to find that although the residents are destined to return to society, the theory, which consists of four stages in the reeducation process, hasn't one that includes the transfer to normal life situations. It is also surprising to note that social insertion is not considered a major objective and clearly stated in the psycho-educative model. Furthermore, it is disturbing to find that there is no systematic programme to assist the clients in their social readjustment after a stay at Boscoville, whereas our data show the tremendous importance of such assistance for the success of the reeducation.

In short, the magnificent effort that is Boscoville's programme and theory of reeducation, despite its value, seems with to be

lacking with regard to two fundamental needs of its clientèle - delinquent conduct and social insertion. These are certainly two areas where Boscoville ought to develop its theoretical framework and operationalize it in its present programmes or in new ones. Let us now look at the result of the interaction between the youngsters admitted to Boscoville and the centre's programme.

2. Change or leave

The analyses reported in the preceding chapters were all done on the solid ground of findings based on mainly quantitative data. On the basis of the results, there emerges a disconcerting image of a centre that is consistent, competent, and gives quality treatment but, as well run as it is, seems to be unable to reach a large number of adolescent delinquents. The fact is that 42% of the youngsters admitted leave before they have spent two months at the centre and only a third for more than a year. Theoretically the treatment should extend over a period of two years. There are two explanations for this: the first is the constant pressure to change on the part of the centre and the second is the inadequacy of this pressure to contend with the traits of the residents. We believe that they have certain characteristics that make them impervious to the pressure change; in the first case, it is the exacting demands of the centre and the intransigence of the residents that explain the departures.

It is impossible to understand Boscoville, and indirectly the dilemma of the conditional "change or leave", unless we keep in mind the heritage of its past and the considerable resources put into effect to change the clientèle. As Rumilly (1978) illustrates, the history of the centre had always been marked by continuity; thus the acquisitions that go back to its foundation have been carefully preserved and explicitly recognized as part of its tradition; the organization of the centre as a city is an example. Over the years a considerable wealth of therapeutic methods were accumulated that make Boscoville a model of intense and complex treatment, consisting of many elements: values, principles, progress by stages, a body of knowledge on young people, a system of activities, of committees, and of participation, mechanisms for

supervision, a code, sanctions, procedures, etc. This complex ensemble of methods exists not only on paper; it is effectively implemented. This is what we learned from our observations and what our instruments revealed. The pragmatism met with in the teams of educators and the consistency of the message converged to the residents are evidence of the psycho-social climate, and there are many other examples.

To operate such a system, to apply a model of this kind, is very demanding, not only for the educators, who must animate the activities and sit on committees, but also for the residents, who must participate in the activities, the interviews and in the life of the group. All these requirements stem from the very structure of Boscoville and can weigh heavily on the new arrival who cannot see how this centre is going to meet his needs. For the resident, it is easier to leave than to follow the disquieting anxiety-provoking steps the educators expect of him, and many actually do so. Moreover, some adolescents simply feel unable to do what is expected of them in terms of performance, personal relationships and self-appraisal. To leave the centre is easy; the educators don't go after runaways; the maximum risk is only a few months' detention, and not always; the judges give in easily.

The youngster who arrives in the suburbs immediately feels the weight of the programme and, from his very first protests, he learns that it is no use arguing; the programme will not be changed to suit him or his fantasies or his own particular needs. On the other hand, the educator, confronted by a request he thinks is justified, has little margin of manoeuvre. He can make accommodations in certain sectors, such as social insertion, but areas which the psycho-educators feel have proved themselves (the schoolwork, the various stages, the outings, etc.) it is difficult.

There are a number of reasons why the educator takes a stand. First there is the kind of relationship that he develops with the resident; it is an overall relationship, and very close. It is difficult to negotiate in such a climate, for the resident is not a client or an employee, and there is no negotiation with parents or a friend. Then there is the support of the team; the educator is constantly in committee

with his colleagues and every decision concerning a youngster is discussed, weighed, and decided upon by the team. The educator who would be tempted to accede to a request that runs counter to tradition is quickly induced to change his mind upon pressure from his colleagues. The cohesion, organization and pragmatism of the team that we observed through our instrument, climate of the team, are eloquent proof of this support and this pressure on the part of colleagues. Finally, we must not forget the pressure of the group of residents. Any special consideration, permission, particular schedule or exemption from an activity is perceived by the residents as favouritism and anyone who receives such special treatment is always in danger of becoming a scapegoat. Our findings on the cohesion of the group and kind of personal relationships practiced at the centre illustrate this pressure toward equality.

Thus, the level of requirements and degree of intransigence that characterize Boscoville are conditions that force certain youngsters to choose between changing or leaving. And the largest number, two thirds, leave without completing a full year. Let us see the dynamics of these departures as well as the traits of these young delinquents that predict premature departures.

Boscoville's use of a specific method in dealing with a group of problem adolescents explains the large number of premature departures. It is certain that the factors precipitating these departures can be the provocation and encouragement to leave on the part of the educators as well as the call of the outside world (girls, drink, drugs, freedom, family, etc.). Examination of these factors led us to agree that they can be precipitating factors, but in no way can they be considered basic and profound explanations for these premature departures.

It is much more probable that the resistance of some subjects to the treatment is very strong, and this is borne out by the fact that those who leave have two traits in common: they are less intelligent and more identified with the criminal world than those who stay.

A lower intelligence quotient, which is associated with negative experiences in school, seems to prompt resistance to the

Boscoville programme, which provides for three hours of schoolwork a day. The subjects don't always see what use these studies are to them since many of those who leave had already left school a long time ago, or if they were still at school, were getting mediocre results. One of the means used by Boscoville, then, is not always accepted.

Identification with the criminal world also results in resistance to the change demanded by the centre. These youngsters are asked to develop a new identity, to undertake steps to redefine themselves; it is not surprising, then, that the first reaction is to want to remain the same along with his associates. This trait is corroborated by the adolescent's attitude to the placement which is much more often negative among those who leave prematurely.

One of the major paradoxes of a treatment such as that of Boscoville is the fact that the residents are obliged to choose between changing or leaving. The youngster cannot conform superficially or change the situation. These two possibilities are liberately ruled out. In fact, the psycho-educators show a great deal of perspicacity in discovering and flushing out residents who settle in "to do time". Furthermore, Boscoville's system is impervious to pressure from the youngsters. Evasion and dissembling are impossible. Because there are no other alternatives, numerous adolescents stay, and, as we have seen, their personal growth is stimulated by all that the centre has to offer them. Others, however, decide to leave.

These youngsters choose to go because there is little reciprocal adjustment possible between them and the reeducation model. Their departure, then, is easily understood; the boys run away from a milieu that refuses to negotiate and does not have the means to detain them (it is an open centre). Hence there is a process of natural selection at Boscoville; the most qualified, that is, the best adjusted to this type of centre, survive, or stay, the others are eliminated by leaving on their own.

According to the above, the centre has inflexible procedures to which the client has to adapt, but which never change, and that is the

problem; a reeducation centre should adjust to the needs of its clients or choose an appropriate clientèle. The situation just described is all the more dangerous in that it can become a vicious circle. Because of the high standard demanded, only certain subjects remain. The more adjusted subjects there are, the more therapeutic the milieu. The more the residents behave properly and the more demanding the educators, the fewer seriously maladjusted youths these are who can function in such a centre.

III. General treatment, differential treatment, individualized treatment: a hiatus

As we have amply demonstrated earlier, Boscoville's programme is monolithic, uniformly applied and has general requirements. It is monolithic because it is based on a theory, a reeducation process, a way of conducting the activities and a physical arrangement of the surroundings. The programme is also uniformly applied; the differences from one residence to another are minimal and variations over time are few. This massive programme is largely made up of general requirements that apply to all residents. To formulate these requirements and have them obeyed, the educators rely on tradition, organization, and above all, the system that is in doubt.

The general requirement of the educative approach demand that the educator assume responsibility for the boy, take him in hand, give him direction and establish himself as a model. The prerequisite for this is consistency. The educator must truly believe in certain values, insist firmly on what he considers essential, be loyal and have something to offer; he must play his role as a model consistently, without complacency, or half-heartedness, and without contradiction or change of attitude. He draws strength not only from within but from both the team and the centre to which he belongs. If the educators at Boscoville are consistent, it is because they feel part of a well-ordered, rich and stimulating social milieu. We observed this consistency many times during our analyses.

Apart from this fundamental need for a general and uniform treatment is the need for individualization in order to meet the

particular requirements of each individual. At Boscoville, the challenge is often the mechanism of individualization. The general requirements relate to the basics - word, study, respect for others and their property, whereas the individual requirements are development of the client's nature, his desires, his strengths, and what is meaningful to him, all at his own pace. Incidentally, the educative approach characteristic of individualization can be described in a word - accompaniment. To accompany an adolescent is simply to be with him in his search for identity and change, to let him find his own solutions, assert himself, choose the direction he wants to take and help him when need be.

Flexibility is the keynote of individualization. Flexibility is the educator's ability to adapt to the persons with whom he is dealing. It presupposes attention to the youngster's personality, his potentialities, tastes, culture, and capabilities. It is based on confidence that he can succeed in what ever he decides to do. It also presupposes an educator who doesn't allow himself to be programmed by the centre to which he belongs, and who is prepared to change the programme to suit the needs of his clients. It presupposes perspicacity as well, the imagination to understand the needs of the youngster and to help him find his own solutions to his problems.

Both methods, general treatment and individualized treatment, are used at Boscoville. However, it is evident that Boscoville's strongpoint is the consistent handling of the young delinquents; it is also evident that its weakness is the absence of an accompanying flexibility that enables it to adapt to the particular needs of the residents. The fact is that the programme, the group life and the tradition do not permit the educators to fully individualize their requirements. It is the resident who adapts to the reeducation model and not the model to the young delinquent. The key to assured individualization is an understanding of the young delinquents received at the centre, but at Boscoville, the educators clearly have difficulty in getting to know the residents well.

For one thing, knowledge of the youngsters is intuitive, for there is no special diagnostic system, and it is based only on the daily observation of the boys' conduct at the centre. Although there are numerous clinical committees constantly seeking the most suitable strategies, the educators lack a special vocabulary to specifically describe the strengths and weaknesses of the residents, or even their own interventions. Furthermore, there are no observable criteria to evaluate the short term effects of the strategies adopted.

Moreover, the educators' efforts to understand their charges are too often put in pathological terms: it's his neurosis, his psychotic tendencies, his delinquency, his regression, etc. These analyses are generally not based on a thorough knowledge of the adjustment difficulties that brought the young delinquent to the centre - his delinquency, his behavioural problems. There is a danger that this psychological terminology may be obscuring the normal side of the boy, his tastes, his aspirations, his normal adolescent needs; what he has inherited from his parents and his social background; what is an understandable reaction to group living, to a conflict with his parents, breaking up with his girlfriend, and so on.

Thus, the gaps in comprehension of the adolescents received at Boscoville stand in the way of fully individualized requirements and interventions. The need for individualization is only partly met by Boscoville's programme. In any case, to go beyond the level of individualization that we observed would perhaps lead to anarchy and destroy the very idea of a coherent milieu. Perhaps one way of solving the need for coherent treatment and individualization would be differential diagnosis. This would enable the educators seeking an understanding of juvenile delinquents to group them according to common needs and resources, not necessarily physically, but based on their diagnosis. A differential diagnosis of this kind would be a clinical instrument that could bridge the gap between the general requirements of the centre and their adaptation to each individual client. A differential diagnosis would facilitate communication, increase the clarity of the objectives to pursue and lead to differential treatment.

The results we have observed fully justify the pertinence of the ideas of diagnosis and differential treatment. We noted, in fact, that the impact of Boscoville was not the same for all the residents. There were variations in interpersonal maturity (Leblanc, 1979) and variations (chapter III and IV) depending on the initial calibre of the clients, the weak progressing enormously during the treatment and regressing rapidly after it was over, whereas the stronger boys progressed much less during their stay but continued to develop later on. The mechanism of differential diagnosis therefore seems essential and the classification obtained in this way becomes an intermediate level of specifications for the general requirements of a reeducation model. It also provides an intermediate level of individualization in the sense that the persons within the same category would receive individual treatment.

Differential treatment appears to be necessary, for the results have shown that the general treatment, uniform and monolithic, that Boscoville applies has the effect of discouraging certain juvenile delinquents from undertaking it. A policy of differential treatment, then, would perhaps make it possible to rehabilitate those youngsters who cannot enter group life as intensively as Boscoville requires; boys who leave because schooling is not, and can never be, their objective, or those who resist because they are deeply involved in a delinquent career. These are some of the juvenile delinquents that Boscoville does not reach and who could be helped if the theory, programme and approach were reconsidered in a differential perspective.

IV- Boscoville's effectiveness

In criminology, when the word effectiveness is used in connection with a reeducation centre, the term recidivism inevitably comes to mind; in fact, the list of authors who use this criterion is too long to cite. This is an essential facet of effectiveness; examined it in chapter IV, because it operationalizes a major objective, if not the sole objective, of judicial intervention; thus, it applies to the clients of Boscoville, namely, to stop their delinquent activity. However recidivism is only one criterion of effectiveness, that of society that

wants to protect itself from the ravages of crime. However, the direct impact of the treatment on the young delinquents admitted to Boscoville must first be verified.

Here it is a question of effectiveness in terms of the individual. This can be evaluated on the basis of two things, the psychological development of the person and his social adjustment. These two other facets of effectiveness are also essential because it is quite possible that they could be independent of one another; there could be a better social adjustment without any marked psychological development and vice versa. Moreover, we look upon the various aspects of effectiveness, for society and for the individual, psychologically and socially, as continuums to consider in discussing the value of an institution or a treatment model like that of Boscoville. If we took all these facets of effectiveness in account, perhaps we would stop coming to the conclusion peremptorily that "nothing works", as did Martinson (1976) and others like him.

In the following pages, we compare the objectives set by Boscoville and the results that we have observed. In addition, we centre our attention on the congruence between the different kinds of effectiveness, social and individual, personal development and recidivism, personal development and social adjustment, social adjustment and recidivism. By doing this, we shall try to break the vicious circle created by demanding total and overall success. Like Murray and Cox (1979), we expect to observe only a reduction of the delinquency or an improvement in personality and social adjustment, but we do not hope for a complete cessation of the delinquency or perfect social integration, or indeed, the emergence of a new personality in the residents of Boscoville.

1. The objectives and the results obtained

Boscoville specifically formulated general and particular objectives. The first can be summarized as follows (see chapter I): to transform the personality of juvenile delinquents and stop their antisocial activities; this includes all the clients admitted who entered treatment. To meet these general objectives, an objective was set in

accordance with the Boscoville model. It was to have the residents go through the stages of reeducation, to finally reach and go through the personality stage, the last phase of the reeducation process. Let us start our analysis with this particular objective.

Do the clients of Boscoville go through all the stage of reeducation?

It little matters what treatment model is applied to the young delinquents in a centre, their conduct is the key element, the point of reference of the diagnosis, the criterion of the efficiency and effectiveness of a programme of reeducation. In fact, the basic axiom of reeducation is to change the conduct of a client in order to have him adapt to society. The hypothesis underlying this axiom is that the conduct later on in society is related to the nature of the conduct in the centre.

To properly measure the impact of a stay in a centre on a subject's conduct, the centre must have a well-defined method of treatment, clear as to its procedures and objectives. At Boscoville, the programme of reeducation is based on a well-known theory, the theory of stages. This means that during the course of the reeducation process, the boys are expected to acquire positive habits of behaviour as they go through a series of four stages; their conduct should show some improvement during the first stage, then improve again during the second, while maintaining what achieved in the first, and so on. The four stages in the sequence are acclimatization, control, production and personality.

An instrument created to verify empirically whether or not these four stages exist in three life situations (activities, relationships with peers and with the educators) confirms that they do. The residents of Boscoville evolve according to the accumulation model and the hierarchy of behavioural improvement (see Chapter I). This conclusion is particularly valid for behaviour in the activities and, to a lesser degree, for relationships with the educators and peers. In short, the learning experience in the activities is achieved exactly according to the theory whereas the learning experience concerning relationships does not totally agree with the theory.

The existence of such a sequence does not always mean that the residents actually go through the four stages. In fact, very few of them do. Not all of them graduate from the acclimatization stage (this is the case for 28% of the residents) and very few reach the others (43% don't go beyond the first stage, 21% finish one, 29% finish two and only 6% go through the entire process of reeducation as it was designed in theory.

In short, it seems evident that Boscoville does not achieve its objective, namely, to have all its residents go through all the stages of the reeducation process. Therein lies another paradox: Boscoville has a verifiable theory on the existence of stages in the process of reeducation, but it does not succeed in having its clients go through the stages provided, in spite of the fact that the surroundings seem to be of high quality and appropriate. The situation must be due either to inadequate methods or because the centre is aiming too high.

Does Boscoville change the personality of juvenile delinquents?

Our evaluation of the treatment given at Boscoville (Chapters III and IV) enables us to bring out a number of interesting facts concerning the nature of the psychological changes made in the subjects who had the experience of living in this therapeutic milieu.

Studying the cases of fifty-six so-called treated subjects who stayed at Boscoville for a minimum of thirteen months, we found that these subjects evolved to a marked degree during their stay in the large majority of the variables in the tests we used as indicators of change. Progress seemed particularly good with regard to aggressive and antisocial tendencies (they were lessened) as well as the indices of more serious social and psychological maladjustment (also a marked reduction). The subjects' evolution is also evident in the variables relating to conception of self (better). It seems less marked, however, if we take the defensive and depressive aspects into account.

Comparing this evolution with the actual stay at Boscoville, we found that the residents who remained longer in treatment (more than

twenty months) evolved a little more than those who stayed from thirteen to twenty months. Again we must point out that the residents who stayed longer appeared to have a less favourable personality profile at the time of admission. However, although their progress during their stay seemed more marked, it was not sufficient to really distinguish them by the time they left from the residents whose stay was shorter.

An analysis of the changes in terms of two intervals (entry to mid-stay and mid-stay to departure) showed that it was essentially during the first twelve months of the stay that the changes occurred among the subjects who stayed in treatment more than twenty months. The period subsequent to this first year shows some improvement in self conception and decrease in the more serious signs of social maladjustment. But progress in this area is very modest compared with that of the first twelve months of the stay.

The results obtained by the subjects not treated (sixty in number), seen again two years after their admission to Boscoville, show that they had progressed in the same direction as the subjects treated a longer time, although their evolution had been less marked. Considering the similarity between the evolution curves of the treated and untreated, we tried to find out if it were not those who stayed at Boscoville between two and ten months who gave the curve of the untreated the form typical of those treated. In fact, it was proven that actually these untreated subjects who had stayed longer had progressed more than those what had left after the first two months, showing that the treatment programme could have some impact even on those who took it for less than a year.

On the other hand, looking at the case of the subjects who had run away from the treatment after the first two months, we realized that they also showed a tendency to improve generally. This finding shows that delinquent adolescents, with time, tend to normalize their personality profile somewhat. The aspect of the personality most affected by this evolution was aggressiveness where a significant reduction was evident. We tend to think this result is due in part to the natural maturing of the subjects treated. But we must point out that

this evolution struck us as altogether less marked than that shown by the residents of Boscoville.

It seemed to us, furthermore, that a minimal part had to be accorded the effect of selection in the evolution of the subjects treated. In fact, we studied the evolution of the subjects treated, paying particular attention to the variables that seemed to play a role in the entry into treatment, trying to find out whether or not these factors of selection could be considered responsible for part of the changes detected. Several variables were therefore controlled: intelligence quotient, heterogeneity of delinquent behaviour and aggressive or conflictual delinquency. Our analysis showed that the changes in those treated were not due to one or another of these factors of selection. This means that one entered into treatment, the less intelligent subjects, those whose delinquency was more heterogeneous or more conflictual, evolved as much as those who, from the very beginning, presented a more favourable picture.

We finally questioned whether or not the evolution of the subjects treated during their stay at the centre had any connection with their level of performance on admission, with their psychological calibre. We therefore set out to pick out those who showed a higher calibre and those who showed a lower calibre, although all of them were sub-normal according to the norms of the tests. Once these groups began treatment we studied their specific performance throughout their stay. Our findings were a bit surprising on first view but were actually quite logical. It was the weaker group that made the most progress. The stronger boys progressed very little, really, during their stay. Apart from the case of a few rare variables, they remained the same or made slight progress at most.

Wanting to determine which of the two types of subjects (the stronger or weaker) benefited most by their stay at Boscoville, we compared each of these groups with their untreated counterparts, the latter having been selected on the basis of the same criteria of performance at the time of their admission examination. The comparison between the weaker boys, treated and untreated, showed that at the time

of their last examination, the two groups were homogeneous with regard to the majority of the variables; there was no reason to think in these cases that the subjects treated were better than the untreated a year after their stay at Boscoville. Some differences were evident in certain variables, but the progress made by the untreated in these same variables minimized these differences to some extent. It was different in the case of the stronger subjects; at the last examination the untreated boys had shown no real progress since their first examination and even tended to regress in several variables. The stronger boys treated, as we know, did not regress and their results had a positive orientation in most of the variables.

This being so, the impact of the maturation factor can now be considered more specifically. In the case of those subjects who admission presented fewer clinical problems, it seems that they made considerable progress without therapy. For these subjects, it turned out that the maturing process was an essential part of what we were at first tempted to consider the impact of the treatment. For the stronger subjects, those who from the start had a better potential, but were not treated, the effect of maturation, in our opinion, was non-existent, and in the case of this group who were treated, we found no reason to attribute the differences between them and the untreated to the effect of the treatment.

Having ascertained the impact of Boscoville on the personality of the juvenile delinquents placed there, an impact that, on the whole seemed considerable, by removing from this overall effect the influence of selection, which was minimal, of maturation, slight as well, and the initial psychological calibre, a major factor, we were able to determine the net effect of Boscoville on its clients. First we must say that Boscoville's effectiveness is mitigated by its objective to transform the personality of the young delinquents. Boscoville does not radically change the personality of its clients; it is improved, but leaves the youngsters still below the level of normality. Its effect is mitigated by the fact that it is very difficult to see what the weaker subjects actually gain by the treatment. They evolve fairly well during their stay at the centre, but regress noticeably later on, a wide gap

still separating them from the stronger subjects. Its effect is mitigated since even the stronger subjects make only slight progress; their evolution never reaches the point expected in theory. Its effectiveness is also mitigated by the fact that the changes observed affect the exopsychic aspects much more than the endopsychic aspects of the youngsters's personality. It fails to change the personality of the young delinquents; although it improves the psychological functioning of some, hence the question still arises: are these results due to some weakness in method or the pursuit of objectives that are too high?

Does Boscoville ensure the social adjustment of its ex-clients?

Considering the fact that the juvenile delinquents are admitted to Boscoville at around the age of sixteen and leave at about the age of eighteen, it is important to know whether or not the subjects treated make progress in integrating socially after their stay at the centre. We use the term integration because it is at this age that youngsters acquire greatest autonomy - emancipation from the family, entry into the labour market, the formation of new friendships, etc. Before their stay at the centre, almost all the boys were dependent on their family; they lived at home, were supported by the family and for the most part were not involved in social institutions - school or work; they had a delinquent style of life, delinquent friends, were idle, and consumed a great deal of alcohol and/or drugs.

The social integration of the former residents of the centre was undeniably better than it was before their stay. A good many of them had broken away from their families; 58% were no longer living with their parents and two thirds of them were entirely self-supporting. They had developed new social relationships; less than a quarter were still associating with delinquent friends, many were living with a female companion, and half had no difficulty in finding new friends. They had considerably reduced their consumption of drugs and/or alcohol, and spent less time being idle. Fifty-four percent felt they had succeeded in readjusting to society.

Since half the former residents of Boscoville had succeeded in adapting socially, this is certainly an area of success, for this was not the case for most of them before their placement. However, we must not forget that this process of integration and emancipation is quite usual around the age of eighteen. Boscoville, then, fasters the social adaptation of a good number of youngsters who are treated there. To what should this improvement be attributed? To the treatment itself? To the normal process of emancipation at this age? It is difficult to say. However, since Boscoville has not succeeded in integrating all its former residents, it is still far from its objective the social insertion of all its clients.

Does Boscoville eliminate delinquent behaviour?

The programme and the educators together succeed in controlling the youngsters' delinquent behaviour very effectively during their stay at the centre. The potential for acting out is considerably reduced, as evidenced by the findings of several psychological tests, and delinquent conduct is not very frequent at the centre (thefts, vandalism, aggression) or during outings and vacations (see Legendre, 1977). However, there is a marked outbreak of delinquent activity and an increased antisocial potential after the boys leave the centre. The tests show that the scores of the potential for aggression and anti-social behaviour are very similar to those obtained on admission, although never quite the same.

This marked increase in delinquent activities after a period of calm - placement in the centre - was found in almost half the subjects treated. The latter all admitted to delinquent acts before their stay and 44% during the year after their stay; similarly, they were almost all recidivists officially before placement, but only 42% after their stay at the centre. Their delinquent acts diminished in quantity and diversity but increased in gravity. Boscoville, then, does not reach its objective of eliminating delinquency; is this due to inadequate methods or too demanding an objective?

Objectives or methods

Boscoville's effectiveness has been qualified as limited, mitigated, partial or semi-successful. It is limited because only a small proportion of its clients go through more than one of the four stages of reeducation. It is mitigated because the personality of the residents is not changed, but improved, and that only in some young delinquents. It is partial because a minimum social adjustment is achieved for only half the former residents of the centre at most. It is semi-successful because the reappearance of delinquency is observed in a little less than half the youngsters admitted to Boscoville.

Whether it is a question of going through the required stages, of psychological development, social adaptation or recidivism, one constant is clear: the objectives are not fully achieved. The delinquency is not stopped, but diminished; there is no radical change in personality, but rather an improvement in psychological functioning; all the youngsters treated do not adapt socially, but some are able to integrate better; no one completes all the stages, but only several.

These shortcomings shown by the results mean that the objectives are ideals perhaps unattainable at the present stage of scientific and practical knowledge. Boscoville makes demands on its youngsters, but also on itself. Perhaps they are too great; we don't think so. However, it seems an illusion to think that any programme can reach all the objectives sought by this centre or achieve satisfactory results with all juvenile delinquents.

Boscoville receives a large variety of young delinquents, among the most difficult and the most disturbed; its model is successful with some of them. It cannot succeed with all without changing its theoretical framework, its programme, etc. If it were to improve its method of reeducation, we do not think it could be much more successful or have success with a greater number of clients because it draws young delinquents who are impervious to the relational and abstract, adolescents who are deeply involved in a delinquent way of life.

If it is not a question of the nature of the objectives or the quality of the methods applied, what is the problem? Perhaps it is a matter of the target of the intervention. Perhaps it is a mistake to include all juvenile delinquents. Our findings, and our analysis of the paradoxes that stem from them, show that Boscoville can obtain maximum effectiveness with certain young delinquents; it will never be total under the best of circumstances, but it could certainly go beyond the present level if the centre's method is applied to an appropriate group of adolescents. Limiting the target could be the way to fill the existing gap between the objectives sought and the results obtained; our conviction is based on the consistency of the model, the quality of the educators' training, the psycho-social soundness of the milieu, the advanced teaching methods, and above all, the fact that the programme has an undeniable impact on certain juvenile delinquents.

All our discussions on the effectiveness of Boscoville boil down to a fundamental paradox: the results of a therapeutic intervention are not in direct proportion to the effort put forward or its quality. The link between effort and effectiveness depends on the specificity of the target. It is wrong to think as did those who conceived Boscoville, that the same type of intervention, the same therapeutic approach can prove effective in most cases, no matter what the level of development or maturity attained by the young delinquents received for treatment.

2. Inconsistency between types of effectiveness

When we venture to measure effectiveness according to diverse perspectives, we get surprising results. The results obtained at the end of the stay and those evaluated after a period of social insertion are relatively independent, and above all, there is a lack of systematic covariation between the psychological and social effectiveness.

The data we ascertained from chapter IV concerning the follow-up after Boscoville show a tendency to regression among the former residents. This tendency is more pronounced among those who were longest under treatment. The regression is similar in form to the curve of progress, that is, the subjects generally regress more in those variables

where their progress at the centre was particularly marked, and they regress less in those variables where their progress was least evident. Although this regression is quite marked in some variables, it is generally not sufficient to undo all the gains made during the stay. However, there are signs of a resurgence of an antisocial tendency, perhaps more among those who were under treatment a longer time.

Furthermore, we found that between the groups of weaker and stronger subjects the differences in development were just as marked. Here again it was the weaker who had the tendency to regress noted in the analysis of the overall results. The stronger continued to progress slightly. The difference between the two groups, which was pronounced at the time of admission and considerably less so at the moment of departure, increased again a year after the stay, but was not as great as when they left the centre.

Our data are evidence of one of the conclusions arrived at in contemporary psychology, namely, that it is very difficult to achieve the development of subjects who from the beginning show serious gaps in their psychological and social development. In our study of Boscoville, it seems to us that, in large measure, these types of young delinquents simply conform to the norms of the centre, not more, that they settle into the routine somehow and, for the duration of their stay, adopt attitudes and values that will easily be discarded a few months after they leave.

In addition to this inconsistency between personal development during the stay and that which follows the period of treatment, there is another that we feel is much more disturbing. It is the independence of the psychological effectiveness and social effectiveness. Our analyses show that there is no significant relationship between one or another type of psychological performance (on admission/end of the stay/after the stay) and the variables we applied as factors of insertion. Even more, there is generally no tendency toward establishing an association between these various elements, which only accentuates their total independence.

There is also no association between the indices of adaptation (delinquency, alcohol, drugs, money problems, feeling of having succeeded and recidivism) and the different types of psychological performance. This means that the way the subjects adapt socially seems independent of the calibre they showed on admission; it seems independent of the measurable quantity of changes made during the stay as well; nor is it connected with any progressive or regressive evolution following their stay.

If these factors of insertion and the indices of adaptation are independent of the different types of psychological performance during or after the subjects' stay, does this mean that we should be looking at the living conditions following their stay for the factors associated with their social adjustment? This, in any case, is what we concluded. We discovered a number of significant relationships, in fact, that seem to be organized around two types of living conditions: the fact of having made non-delinquent friends after leaving the centre is associated with non-recidivism and also with moderate drug consumption or none at all. The number of changes of residence is significantly related to abusive or regular drug consumption and also tends to be associated with recidivism.

These facts show the lack of connection between psychological effectiveness, improvement of the personality of young delinquents, and social effectiveness, social adjustment and recidivism. We believe it helps to weaken, or even invalidate, the position of those who think the institution is the crucial step in the reeducation process, provided that maladjusted youngsters can find material and psychological resources there for them to get the most out of their stay. Our analyses show the illusory nature of any reeducation policy that does not place the institution among a series of other measures. In our opinion, by making social readjustment the main preoccupation of a reeducation centre, the benefits of the stay could more easily be transferred to other milieus, other experiences. Our results support the position of those who stress the need for the adolescent to interact as much as possible, from the time he enters his centre, with the various milieus he will return to after he leaves (family, friends, work, etc.); also the need for him to

be able to count on professional resources to help him prepare to undertake his return to society even before he leaves the centre, with particular attention to the various elements of delinquent life that make their influence felt later on.

V- The future of the reeducation centre

The conclusions enumerated, and the results that support them, clearly show the two major problems in reeducating juvenile delinquents: how to ensure the transfer of the benefits gained at the centre to normal life; the place of the centre in the reeducation of young delinquents.

The thorniest problem of any treatment is the transfer of whatever gains have been made. The many things juvenile delinquents learn, and in all fields, are of little or no use to them after they leave the centre. Some may say that we arrive at this conclusion because the test period, a year for most of our assessments or three for recidivism, is not a sufficiently long lapse of time to allow for the integration of what was acquired or adjustment to the new conditions of life. Other may say that the transfer of the benefits acquired is impossible either because they are not sufficiently consolidated during the stay, or because the living conditions are too different after they leave. Whichever is right, the fact is that these youngsters cannot be given the total responsibility for making this transfer.

Even if the centre included in its programme all possible conditions for preparing the boys for a new social life, it would still be necessary to provide them with the means to make the transfer; this would mean first attending to their basic needs and then their psychological functioning. Boscoville was not providing these means at the time of our study, nor is it doing so today, but other centres are furnishing this type of assistance with positive results, it seems (see the results of our research on the Boys' Farm: Brill, 1980; LeBlanc, 1982). Continued support, then, makes it possible to limit the psychological regression we observed. It is not to be expected that this service will dramatically improve the results; it must also be based on a

specification of the target group. However, many youths would find their reinsertion made easier and others would be less subject to the temptations of their former way of life.

Quite apart from this improvement, which could be considered for any reeducation programme in institution, indeed, in all such programmes, the question remains as to the pertinence of a stay in an institution as a means of reeducating juvenile delinquents. If we agree that our results establish the fact that some young delinquents are permanently helped by the centre and others momentarily, then the question arises: Can as much be accomplished in the natural milieu? The answer is no; it is impossible for any natural milieu to concentrate as intensive and continuous an effort on the reeducation of juvenile delinquents whose problems are so diversified and so profound. The unknown factors of normal social life and our inability to control a variety of influences lead us to believe that the institution is the only means of making a real impact on the psychological development and social functioning of most active and emotionally disturbed young delinquents. An institution can only be fully effective if it treats difficult and dangerous juvenile delinquents but the most likely to receive the treatment proposed, and providing that their social insertion receives the attention it deserves.

Our results will lead administrators and researchers to continue the debate over the true effectiveness of institutions for the reeducation of juvenile delinquents. As far as we are concerned, we would like to lessen, as much as possible, the risks of any simplification of our results. It would be too easy for the opponents of treatment in institution to conclude that this type of intervention is totally ineffective. Our data do not justify such a harsh verdict. Taken as a whole, the group of subjects treated progressed considerably from the moment they entered Boscoville to the time of their follow-up. This progress is less marked with regard to certain variables, of course, but it is undeniable for others.

On the other hand, it would also be too easy for those in favour of institutions to take from our results only what they like and

leave aside the data that undermines their position. We would remind them that the effectiveness of the centre varies from one type of subject to another; that there is some institutional conformism in the young resident's behaviour that is very difficult to assess until he has gone back to his natural milieu; and that control of the social insertion process is essential if we want to achieve better social adjustment on the part of the youngsters treated.

The issues that we have gone into in this book have had no definitive answers. This reflects the state of the advancement of science today and the progress in clinical practice. This comprehensive evaluation of Boscoville is but a milestone; a step that makes it possible to assess the progress made to date and the path still to be followed by each and every one: researchers, administrators and clinicians.

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