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EVALUATION OF EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS
FOR DELINQUENT YOUTHS AND YOUTHS
AT RISK OF DELINQUENCY

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University of Ottawa, in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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Summary

The present work consists of an evaluation of three employment programs for delinquent youths or youths at risk of delinquency. There are a number of reasons for examining youth employment programs from a criminological perspective. First, there is a prevailing belief, which is accompanied by somewhat equivocal data, that unemployment and delinquency are related. In relation to this, considerable efforts are put into employment programming for the purpose of delinquency prevention. Further, since crime and unemployment are known to be problems typically experienced by youths, it would seem appropriate to examine these two phenomena in conjunction with each other.

Two of the three employment programs examined are Youth Employment Counselling Centres, administer the Futures program and deal with clients who may be at risk of delinquency, although most have not been adjudicated. The third program is less comprehensive than the other two and its clients are all offenders.

Since all three of the employment programs have as one of their main objectives helping clients overcome barriers to employment, the first part of this study involves an examination of the relationship between a youth's experience of personal difficulties and his/her employment performance for the purpose of finding out whether or not personal disturbances constitute employment barriers in the sense

that they have a negative effect on employment performance. Further, in relation to the fact that the first and second programs are different from the third in terms of the comprehensiveness of the services provided, the second part of the study focuses on the relative effectiveness of the employment programs in alleviating employment barriers, or personal problems found to be related to employment performance. The final section, in which pre and post program delinquency data is compared, addresses the issue of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

Two of the main criminological perspectives, namely the normative and critical paradigms, are utilized for the purpose of arriving at a broader understanding of the employment programs in question. Viewed from the normative perspective, all three programs seem to generally offer appropriate services and aim at an appropriate clientele, although the third program does not seem to offer as much as the first two. However, when the programs are viewed from the critical perspective, they receive a more mixed review, with the main criticism being the lack of attention given by the programs to the class and socioeconomic bases for youth unemployment.

In terms of the research methodology used for this study, an outcome evaluation was selected over the needs or process evaluation approaches since the programs being evaluated are beyond the planning phase in which information

regarding need is most useful and also they collect data themselves which allow them to answer some of the more pertinent process-type questions.

Programs 1 and 2 constitute the treatment programs whereas the less comprehensive Program 3 is the control program. Measures of the various areas of personal difficulty were obtained through the use of items from a variety of established scales. These data were analyzed in conjunction with the employment performance data for the purpose of finding out if any of the personal difficulties constituted employment barriers. It was found that with the exception of attitude towards education and knowledge of family, none of the personal difficulties were significantly related to employment performance. In the second part of the analysis, client data on employment barriers experienced before program participation was compared with the same type of data relating to the period of program participation for the purpose of finding out if any significant improvements had taken place, particularly within the treatment programs. The findings of this part of the analysis were somewhat negative also. Only one of the treatment programs, namely Program 2, was associated with significant improvement in the employment barrier attitude towards education. No significant improvements were observed within the other treatment program or the control program. The third part of the analysis involved a comparison of before-after

delinquency data obtained at the same time intervals as the data for the second part of the analysis. The findings were more positive, indicating that, based on the data from all three programs combined, a significant reduction in delinquency was associated with program participation.

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CHAPTER 1
LITERATURE REVIEW

In this literature review, a rationale supporting the examination of youth employment programs is provided and the employment programs to be studied are described. Finally, the questions which are addressed in the present study are outlined in the last section.

PART I - WHY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

Relationship Between Unemployment and Delinquency

There is a significant body of research which suggests that a relationship exists between unemployment or employment difficulties and delinquency or criminality. Cusson (1981) provides some evidence supporting this relationship in his description of the employment patterns of delinquents and non-delinquents. Cusson compiled many research findings dealing with this topic. One finding suggests that delinquency is positively correlated with having a paid job and that delinquents are more likely than non-delinquents to have a part-time job while attending school (Cusson, 1981:116). In terms of selection of full-time work, however, it is pointed out that although delinquents on average receive a higher salary than non-delinquents, this may be due to the fact that delinquents typically choose unskilled jobs with high salaries but offer little in terms of career opportunities.

Conversely, non-delinquents are found to be more likely to either undertake an apprenticeship or choose lower-paying jobs which contain opportunities for advancement (Cusson, 1981:116). The delinquent's selection of employment on the basis of salary rather than opportunities for advancement often results in the individual receiving little education or on-the-job training. Since the jobs selected are likely to be very limited in scope and interest, delinquents are likely to experience job dissatisfaction and they may feel compelled to change jobs frequently in an attempt to find more satisfying work (Cusson, 1981:118). In comparison, non-delinquents tend to keep jobs for longer periods of time, allowing themselves to become more qualified. While they are working, delinquents often display an unusually negative attitude towards their jobs, as indicated by high incidences of tardiness, absenteeism, and inappropriate behavior towards the employer or co-workers. It is found that delinquents do not see work as a form of self-realization or affirmation; on the contrary, they perceive it as being alien to their personal interests and goals (Cusson, 1981:119). Finally, Cusson suggests that delinquents have to choose between two opposing lifestyles: the life of work or the life of crime. It is found that the delinquent's peers generally scorn conventional employment and, further, that the life of crime is more exciting for the delinquent than the straight life. It would appear that

delinquents experience a variety of employment difficulties and that their employment patterns are less satisfactory than those of non-delinquents.

In another study, Sviridoff and Thompson (1983) address the issue of whether or not employment and criminal behavior are mutually exclusive activities. A qualitative description of the employment patterns of young and adult offenders is provided. Based on interviews with adult misdemeanants, they found that, for about half of the offenders, low-level employment and crime were not mutually exclusive activities. Mention was made of various patterns of combining criminal and legitimate work activity, such as alternating periods of employment with periods of criminal activity, and using criminal activity to supplement employment income. In comparison with the data on adult offenders, the data on younger offenders suggest that they are more inclined to act as if "crime and employment are competing alternatives" (Sviridoff and Thompson, 1983). It was found that younger offenders tended to weigh the pros and cons of criminal activity and employment and then decide which would give a better pay-off at any given time. Thus, although the adult data cast doubt on the notion that crime and employment are mutually exclusive, the data on youthful offenders does provide some support for this idea, suggesting that there may be a relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

The relationship between unemployment and crime has been examined using national rates of unemployment and crime statistics. Kraus conducted a study examining the relationship between overall unemployment rates and delinquency in one area in Australia (Kraus, 1979). However, he found that increases in the overall unemployment rate do not necessarily result in higher rates of delinquency and, therefore, delinquency could not be explained in terms of the employment rate. It was suggested that this finding was in keeping with other research done on this topic. The next step in Kraus' study was to examine the unemployment rates of delinquents and non-delinquents. Based on this data, Kraus demonstrated that unemployment is significantly more prevalent among delinquents than non-delinquents (Kraus, 1979). This relationship was observed during the period of time from 1974 to 1977 in which the unemployment rate was relatively low in Australia. Thus, it is suggested that there may be factors other than overall employment opportunities which should be considered in trying to explain the relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

Evidence supporting a relationship between being delinquent and being unemployed is supplied by Kelly (1981). She cites several studies in which it is shown that the rate of unemployment is typically much higher among probationers, particularly youthful ones, as compared to the general

population (Kelly, 1981:1). In her study, Kelly examined the relationship between attitudes towards work, as measured by the Vocational Opinion Index, and employment success for probationers aged 16 to 24. She found that an unstable employment history was associated with the perception that there are many barriers to employment and the perception that work deprives people of time they could be spending with family and friends (Kelly, 1981:11). This information suggests that attitudes towards work may be related to whether or not a delinquent youth experiences employment difficulties.

In conclusion, the research suggests that delinquents experience different patterns of employment than non-delinquents. Delinquent youths tend to have less satisfactory employment experiences. Although global rates of unemployment are not directly related to delinquency, delinquents are more likely than non-delinquents to be unemployed. Finally, a factor found to be important in determining the employment success of delinquents is attitude towards work. In general, the research suggests that there is a relationship between employment and delinquency, although the exact nature of this relationship is not clear.

Employment Programs for Delinquency Prevention

Various attempts at delinquency prevention have focused

on the issue of employment. The stress placed on employment for delinquents arises from the belief that youths who are busy will not be getting into trouble. In an American report dealing with delinquency prevention, it was stated that employment and vocational programs are an important part of delinquency prevention strategies (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1981:351). It was even suggested that these types of services, which may include vocational counselling, skill development, job training and placement, are regarded as critical components in delinquency prevention. Further, after examining the objectives of various employment programs, it was found that giving "youth something to do, keeping them busy and out of trouble" was one of the main aims of such programs (National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1981:354). A similar sentiment is expressed in a report prepared by the New York State Division for Youth. It is suggested that "unless troubled youngsters are sufficiently prepared to compete for jobs in the market place, they face alarmingly slim prospects of avoiding future contacts with the courts" (1982:I-1). In keeping with this belief, the Youth Division has been offering employment services to its clients for a number of years. Thus, there would appear to be an underlying belief that employment is a useful means of diverting youth away from delinquency.

It is evident that vocational rehabilitation programs

are a focus for delinquency prevention efforts. It is useful to examine some of the evaluations of such programs for the purposes of assessing their effectiveness and gaining more insight into the relationship between unemployment and delinquency. Wright and Dixon (1977) completed a review of American evaluation studies dealing with delinquency prevention. Three court-referral employment programs were cited. Only one of the three programs had a follow-up on participating youths and two of the three programs included a statistical evaluation. One of the programs, which had a moderate level of treatment intervention, showed positive outcomes on all three of its criterion measures, namely police record, employment, and job stability. Although the second program was assessed as having a high level of treatment intervention, it did not have a positive outcome on its single criterion measure, namely police record. Finally, the third program, which was assessed as having a low level of treatment intervention, had a positive outcome on attitude but did not show a positive outcome on police record, which was the second criterion.

Andrews and Firs (1961) studied employment programs offered to probationers in Ottawa. Three levels of treatment were included: (1) regular probation service with the usual attention paid to employment concerns, (2) probation with referral to the employment pool service which

included employment assessment, counselling and placement, and (3) probation with referral to the employment pool service plus vocationally-oriented social skills training. Probationers were assessed on a number of factors before and after treatment. It was found that improved vocational status was associated with fewer criminal sentiments, "increased sensitivity to conventional rules, and decreased perception of limited opportunity" (Andrews & Pirs, 1981:vii). It was also found that, for young probationers under age 19, a critical factor associated with a successful employment outcome was participation in the vocationally-oriented social skills training. With regards to correctional outcomes, Andrews and Pirs found no differences in official or self-reported criminal activities among the three treatment groups six months after entry into treatment.

One of the more well-known, successful vocational treatment programs for delinquents was carried out by Massimo and Shore (1963). For the purposes of evaluation, treatment and control groups were randomly selected and tested in a before-after design. The treatment, which lasted for ten months, involved vocationally-oriented psychotherapy. The intervention was initiated at a crisis point in the youths' lives. Youths in the treatment group were offered help in getting jobs and pre-employment counselling. One of the interesting features of the

treatment was the flexible, all-encompassing relationship which developed between the counsellor and the youth. Once the youth secured a job, maintenance counselling was provided. It was found that the treatment group fared much better than the control group in terms of involvement in delinquency, performance on tests measuring academic ability, psychological health, and work performance record (Massimo & Shore, 1963). A follow-up was performed on the youths two to three years after treatment and it was found that the positive effects of the treatment were still present (Shore & Massimo, 1966). Although there had been some reduction in delinquency for the control group also, they still fared worse than the treatment group overall. From this evaluation, it would appear that vocational programs with intensive counselling may result in improved social adjustment and reduced delinquency.

Johnson and Goldberg (1983) conducted an evaluation of a vocational program for delinquents offered by the state of Massachusetts. The treatment offered in the program was quite extensive, involving an assessment of the youths' vocational interests before developing a vocational plan, counselling within a flexible youth-counsellor relationship, vocational training, physical and psychiatric rehabilitation where necessary, vocational placement and the provision of the materials needed for work. A rigorous experimental design was used, involving the random assignment of matched,

paired subjects, who were on probation, to either the treatment or control group. Before and after treatment, the subjects were assessed on their vocational development, attitude towards authority, self-esteem and recidivism. The results were far from encouraging, indicating that the treatment did not have a significantly positive effect on any of the criterion measures, which were vocational development, self-esteem, attitude towards authority, and recidivism (Johnson & Goldberg, 1983).

It is evident that the relationship between unemployment and delinquency has not been clearly established. Yet at the same time, considerable efforts, in terms of programming, have been made to deal with unemployment among delinquents or youth at risk of delinquency.

Relationship Between Age and Crime

Although there are many questions surrounding the relationship between unemployment and delinquency, the relationship between being young and engaging in criminal behavior is much more apparent. Hirschi and Gottfredson (1986) cite the strength of the relationship between age and criminal behavior. They provide American crime statistics which show that the propensity for criminality peaks in the mid to late teens and then decreases rapidly in the following years. Hirschi and Gottfredson state that the

relationship between crime and age is so strong that it is hardly affected by factors such as sex, race, culture, time or offense. They refer to data collected by the Glueks which indicate that, with the exception of drunkenness and family abuse, the incidence of all kinds of crime decreases by the time people reach the 26 to 30 year-old age bracket (Hirschi & Gottfredson, 1986). Wolfgang and Sellin's analysis of delinquency in a birth cohort provides further evidence of the strong relationship between delinquency and age (1972). Wolfgang and Sellin observed a birth cohort over an extended period of time for the purpose of examining any patterns or incidents of delinquency. The entire cohort was broken down on the basis of a variety of criteria such as number and type of offense, economic status, education and race. This allowed for intergroup comparisons to be made. An important part of this study involved examining the relationship between age and delinquency. The data from the birth cohort showed that involvement in crime increased from age ten to sixteen, then declined for both whites and nonwhites (Sellin & Wolfgang, 1972:109). This pattern also existed regardless of the socioeconomic status of the individuals or whether index or non-index crimes were being considered. Sellin and Wolfgang provided the total number of offenses committed by cohort subjects for each year from age ten to seventeen. It was evident that the highest numbers of offenses were committed while the subjects were

fifteen to sixteen years of age. After this point, the numbers declined (Sellin & Wolfgang, 1972:116). Finally, the researchers examined various categories of offenses and found that, for practically all categories, the number of offenses peaked for fifteen to sixteen year-olds, but declined when the cohort subjects turned seventeen (Sellin & Wolfgang, 1972:121). The only group this relationship did not apply to entirely was the high socioeconomic status group. For them, violent crimes and robbery increased until the subjects reached the age of seventeen. In general, there would appear to be a fair amount of evidence supporting the relationship between age and crime.

Relationship Between Age and Unemployment

Youths are not only at risk of delinquency. They are also likely to experience employment difficulties. In fact, it has been suggested that "to be young is to be employment-disadvantaged" (1985 Annual Report, Youth Service Bureau, p18). Andrews and Pirs (1981) provide some evidence for the idea that the employment problems of youths may be different from those experienced by adults. They found that vocationally-oriented social skills training enhanced the employment success of youths under age nineteen but had very little effect on adult probationers. Andrews and Pirs suggest that this may be explained by the fact that young offenders lack the employment knowledge and experience of

older offenders and, therefore, they benefit more from services offered which provide opportunities for them to learn more in this area (Andrews & Pirs, 1981:10). In The Canadian Jobs Strategy, it is stated that rates of unemployment are highest among young people, possibly because employers are unwilling to hire inexperienced young workers (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1985:6). In general, there would appear to be some evidence supporting a relationship between age and employment.

The literature would seem to indicate that there is some kind of relationship between unemployment and delinquency. Further, in spite of the fact that this relationship is not clearly understood, there remains a prevailing belief that youth employment prevents delinquency. The relationship between youth and crime is much clearer, as is indicated by the literature. There is also some evidence for the idea that employment problems are more prevalent among the youth than other age groups. In view of the interest in employment and delinquency and in view of the fact that crime and unemployment are problems associated with youth, it would seem fruitful to examine several employment programs which are offered for delinquents and people at risk of delinquency. There are various employment programs offered in Ottawa for delinquents and youths at risk of delinquency. The focus of this research is on three Ottawa

employment programs which, for purposes of confidentiality, are referred to as Program 1, Program 2, and Program 3.

Hidden Delinquency

It is evident that much of the research reported thus far has involved the examination of delinquents. At the same time, two of the programs which are examined in this study, namely Programs 1 and 2, do not deal exclusively with delinquents, although part of their work is aimed at serving the needs of youth in conflict with the law. Although many of the youths in these programs have never been processed by the criminal justice system, the shortcomings of official crime data should be kept in mind, since many people commit crimes and don't get caught (Hoods & Sparks, 1970:12). Evidence from self-report and victimization studies have confirmed that, especially for the less serious crimes, only a fraction of the crimes committed come to the attention of the criminal justice system (Hoods & Sparks, 1970:22,25). With regards to delinquency, it is demonstrated by Hoods and Sparks that there is evidence supporting the notion that the incidence of delinquency is much higher than official records indicate (1970:47). They cite U.S. and U.K. official statistics which show that between ten and twenty percent of males are convicted of a criminal offense by age eighteen. These numbers are much lower than the self-report data for these two countries. It is shown that

official statistics only include about one quarter of the crimes reported in the self-report data. Thus, an argument can be made for examining programs for youths who may not have been processed by the criminal justice system, but may be at risk of delinquency.

PART II - THE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS AND THEIR OBJECTIVES

Futures

Both Programs 1 and 2 administer the Futures program as part of the overall employment service they offer. Futures, which is funded by the Ministry of Skills Development, is an employment program for disadvantaged youth, that is people who are under twenty-five and who have either been out of work and out of school for at least twelve weeks with less than a grade twelve education or out of work and out of school for twenty weeks with a grade twelve education or more. Disabled youths under twenty-nine who have been out of school and out of work for twelve weeks or more are also eligible (Ministry of Skills Development, 1986). The objective of the Futures program is to assist hard-to-employ youths in finding and keeping a job through counselling, skills-training, educational upgrading, placement, and work experience (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1986b:0 5-1). Programs 1 and 2 administer two of the options available through Futures. The Work Experience option

involves placing youths in jobs for up to sixteen weeks. During the placement, the youths' progress is monitored by both the employment counsellors and the employers. Part-time work is also available for up to thirty-two weeks. A second alternative is the One-Year Guarantee option in which youths are placed in a series of sixteen week placements while they participate in academic upgrading for at least three hours per week.

Youth Employment Counselling Centres

Both Programs 1 and 2 fall into the general category of Youth Employment Counselling Centres. These centres are partly funded by the Ministry of Skills Development and their objective is to help disadvantaged, unemployed young people between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four make the successful transition from school to work (Employment and Immigration, 1986a:15). Youth Employment Counselling Centres assist youths in developing work skills, offer pre-employment assessment and counselling both individually and in groups, placement and follow-up. To be eligible for these services, clients must be out of school and looking for a job. They must also be facing one or more barriers to employment, such as limited education, lack of work experience or training, lack of job search skills and employer contacts, shortage of money necessary for job search, drug or alcohol abuse, motivational problems, a poor

self-image, unrealistic work attitudes, or conflict with the law (Employment and Immigration, 1986a:15). Factors such as being a single parent, a member of a visible minority, or having a history of psychiatric/emotional disorders are also considered to be barriers to employment. Programs 1 and 2 offer several types of placements; however, the focus of this research is on the two employment placement alternatives available through Futures: the sixteen week employment placement and the first sixteen weeks of the One-Year Guarantee option. The Difference between these two components of the program is that the latter one includes a commitment to academic upgrading of three hours per week. Since the vast majority of youths who are placed by Programs 1 and 2 go into one of these two types of placement, there is some basis for excluding all other types of placement from consideration.

Because only Futures participants are being considered, the characteristics of Program 1 and 2 clients are the same as those described for the Futures program, except for the fact that, as a result of the youth focus, disabled clients over 24 are excluded. Thus, Program 1 and 2 clients who are placed in Futures are under age twenty-five and have not been working or attending school for a prolonged period of time.

Services

Programs 1 and 2 offer similar services to their

clients. Pre-employment sessions are available for youths in both programs. The areas covered in these sessions include job search and placement preparation with a focus on employer expectations, attitude at work, and interview skills.

Individualized counselling is a central service which is available to youths in both Programs 1 and 2. The focus of this counselling is on helping youths deal with employment barriers, or personal problems, experienced by the youths, which are thought to hinder them in the area of employment. Youth Employment Counselling Centres define a number of areas of possible difficulty. For the purpose of simplification, these areas were grouped together by the researcher under the following headings: living and family situation, financial situation, education, delinquency, work skills and habits, psychological health, drug and alcohol abuse, and attitude towards work and authority (Ontario Youth Secretariat, 1984:39, Youth Employment Counselling Centres Statistical Report). In the literature on Youth Employment Counselling Centres, it is suggested that, largely through employment counselling, these employment barriers may be at least identified and hopefully dealt with. The counselling objective is to help clients feel that "they are in control of their lives and that they can do something about what ever is troubling them" (Ontario Youth Secretariat, 1984:39). In terms of the counselling

method used, counsellors provide empathy and support for the youths as well as draw on their own experience and share with the youths their own repertoire of life skills (Ontario Youth Secretariat, 1984:38). In general, however, it appears that the specific techniques used in the counselling process vary depending on the background of the individual counsellor.

Job placement is another service offered by these two programs. As was previously stated, placements for Programs 1 and 2 are generally subsidized by the provincial government and they may include an educational component. Peer support group meetings are available for youths in these two programs after they have been placed in jobs. One of the goals of these meetings is to provide support and opportunities to raise a variety of issues (job-related or otherwise) for the purpose of increasing the likelihood of a successful placement. Other goals of these meetings include providing clients with opportunities to acquire new coping strategies and helping youths deal with areas defined as employment barriers. In terms of the methods used in these meetings, youths are encouraged to raise issues which are of concern to them and receive feedback from others. The meetings also include an educational component which is aimed at identified employment barriers.

Unlike the two programs discussed above, Program 3 does not administer the Futures program nor is it categorized with the Youth Employment Counselling Centres. This program

was created to serve the employment needs of offenders on probation and parole, with the client population consisting of referrals from probation and parole offices. Although there are no age restrictions, the majority of the clients are under age twenty-five. The objective of this program is to assist clients in overcoming barriers related to finding and maintaining employment. However, no definition is provided for the employment barriers referred to. The services provided within Program 3 include assessment, assistance in resume preparation and job placement. Only unsubsidized placements are available through this program, and there is no real counselling component.

PART III - QUESTIONS TO BE ANSWERED

It has been suggested that young people, particularly those who are delinquent or at risk of being delinquent, have poor employment records. Thus, the first question to be addressed in this study is why do such youths have poor work records.

In the literature, there was discussion of a variety of programs aimed at serving the employment needs of delinquents. However, it was pointed out that evaluations of these programs were lacking and that there was some question as to the effectiveness of the programs which were evaluated. The second question to be addressed in this

study is how effective are the three employment programs in alleviating the employment difficulties of delinquent youths or youths at risk of delinquency.

The final question to be addressed arises from the research dealing with the relationship between employment and delinquency. Specifically, an attempt will be made to find out whether or not participation in an employment program reduces the incidence of delinquency.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF
THE EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

For the purpose of arriving at a more complete view of the employment programs in the present study, the following section consists of a theoretical examination of the programs. This examination is carried out from two important theoretical perspectives in the field of delinquency, namely the normative paradigm as it is represented by Cloward and Ohlin and the critical paradigm as it is represented by Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, and Roberts. Although it is apparent that these theories deal with the phenomenon of delinquency as opposed to youth employment, they would appear to constitute valid perspectives in view of the relationship between unemployment and delinquency and the delinquency prevention-type aims of many youth employment programs in general.

Cloward and Ohlin

Cloward and Ohlin's explanation of delinquency deals with a number of issues. Four of the main issues they address are: the nature of the delinquent adaptation to be explained; the distribution of the adaptation within the social structure; the problems of adjustment to which the delinquent adaptation is a response, and the determination of the particular mode of delinquent adaptation (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:32).

With regards to the first issue, namely the nature of the delinquent adaptation to be explained, Cloward and

Ohlin focus on subcultural delinquency, that is, delinquency which is related to the performance of social roles associated with a delinquent subculture (1969:9). The reason is that other types of delinquency are viewed as being transitory and "incidental to the performance of essentially lawful social roles" (1969:10). It is also felt that delinquency which arises from participation in a delinquent subculture is more problematic because it occurs with greater frequency, is more costly to society and may provide its participants with access to a successful adult criminal career.

In terms of the issue of the distribution of the delinquent adaptation within the social structure, Cloward and Ohlin cite the fact that it is typically young low-class urban males who are involved in delinquent subcultures (1969:39).

The issue of the problem of adjustment to which delinquency is a response is more complex than the previous two issues. Cloward and Ohlin state that "pressures toward the formation of delinquent subcultures originate in marked discrepancies between culturally induced aspirations among lower-class youth and the possibilities of achieving them by legitimate means" (1969:78). Cloward and Ohlin use Merton's breakdown of organized social life, in which there is a cultural structure, consisting of socially approved goals and the approved means by which they may be achieved,

and a social structure, consisting of human relations patterned on factors such as class or power (1969:83). Merton suggests that society has to maintain a balance between "culturally prescribed aspirations and socially approved modes of achieving them" (1969:83). He says that a failure to maintain this balance may result in deviance. Cloward and Ohlin extend Merton's analysis to explain differences in the pressure towards deviancy among different social classes. They suggest that youth from the lower class do not have access to as many legitimate means of goal-attainment as higher class youth, although they all share the same culturally prescribed goals. The result of this is a discrepancy between legitimate goals and legitimate opportunities for achievement among lower class youth (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:85,86). Youths in this position are said to become frustrated because they cannot lower their aspirations, and there is the possibility that they may eventually begin to use non-conformist alternatives.

Cloward and Ohlin provide evidence for the idea that there is a social consensus on the success goals which people strive for and that these goals are not exclusive to any particular social class (1969:87-90). They cite evidence from studies comparing the level of aspiration as it relates to social class and the findings indicate that lower class people aspire beyond their means, or in other

words, they aspire to the middle class "American Dream".

There is discussion of the notion of barriers to legitimate opportunity and it is suggested that, often because of financial constraints, education is a very significant barrier experienced by members of the lower class (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:102). It is suggested that those with little access to traditional opportunities, such as education, have to use alternate routes to achieve their socially prescribed goals. It is thought that lower class youths are most likely to experience the lack of legitimate opportunities and, as a result, are thought to experience frustration which may push them towards the use of illegitimate routes (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:105).

The fourth general issue which Cloward and Ohlin address is why a particular mode of delinquency is selected rather than another. The first part of this discussion focuses on the reasons behind collective delinquency, or delinquent subcultures. It is suggested that delinquent subcultures evolve when the social system creates serious adjustment problems for people of a particular social status. In response to the problem, members of the affected social class may form a "collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct" (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:108).

Cloward and Ohlin discuss the fact that the discrepancy between aspiration and opportunity for members

of the lower class would constitute an adjustment problem of the sort mentioned above. Thus, it is suggested that, as a result of the problem, some lower class youths develop a collective indignation about their poor treatment and may withdraw their support from the established system of norms of conduct (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969: 109). Once freed of this constraint, such individuals can then pursue delinquent means of achieving their goals. Thus, the process of the growth of delinquent subcultures involves alienation from established norms of conduct and acceptance of illegitimate norms.

It is suggested that personal factors are important in determining whether youths pursue collective (ie. subcultural), or individual solutions to the problem. Cloward and Ohlin hypothesize that "collective adaptations are likely to emerge when failure is attributed to the inadequacy of existing institutional arrangements; conversely, when failure is attributed to personal deficiencies, solitary adaptations are more likely" (1969:125). It is argued that people who blame themselves are not likely to get together with others to arrive at a joint solution because they see the problem as being within themselves. On the other hand, people who blame society may experience tension because of going against the dominant ideology and, therefore, they may feel better if they join together with others who share their unusual views (Cloward

& Ohlin, 1969:126).

The second part of the discussion concerning the mode of delinquency focuses on the content of delinquent subcultures. It is suggested that, while a youth may experience pressure towards deviance, whether or not he does in fact become part of a delinquent subculture depends on his access to an environment in which there are opportunities to learn delinquent roles and behaviors. Cloward and Ohlin borrow Sutherland and Cressey's idea that values are learned through a process of differential association and that individuals become criminal as a result of learning criminal values. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that there is differential access to opportunities for learning illegitimate, or criminal values. With this addition to their theory, Cloward and Ohlin suggest that "each individual occupies a position in both legitimate and illegitimate opportunity structures" and that access to both legitimate and illegitimate opportunities is variable (1969:150). Thus, if access to legitimate opportunity is limited, the form of illegitimate means which will be employed depends on what is available to the individual in his/her community.

Application of Cloward and Ohlin's Theory to the Employment Programs

In most respects, the three employment programs being

examined reflect the various aspects of Cloward and Ohlin's theory.

The program targets appear to reflect Cloward and Ohlin's theory. It is clear that the efforts of Programs 1 and 2 are aimed at "disadvantaged" youths, although no definition of this term is given. However, upon consideration of the YECC criteria for the selection of clients (ie. unemployed, limited education, lack of work experience, shortage of money, drug/alcohol abuse), it would appear that these youths are experiencing a lack of access to legitimate means for the achievement of socially prescribed goals. For example, with regards to finances and education, Cloward and Ohlin suggest that financial constraints may limit educational opportunities for lower class youths either because the costs of education are so high or because the youths' families need the income which they could earn while working rather than going to school (1969:102). Similarly, Cloward and Ohlin explain drug abuse as being the result of failure by low class youths to achieve socially prescribed goals by legitimate means and an inability to employ illegitimate means for this purpose (1969:181). The focus on youth in Programs 1 and 2 would seem to be in keeping with Cloward and Ohlin's ideas regarding the stage of life and circumstances under which delinquency is most likely. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that it is during adolescence that individuals become aware, for

the first time, of the discrepancy between their goals and their access to legitimate opportunities for achieving these goals. Cloward and Ohlin go on to suggest that it is important for this discrepancy to be reduced before the youth decides to use illegitimate means for goal attainment (1969:106). It is possible that some of the probationer clients of Program 3 may be considered as a group experiencing the effects of a lack of legitimate opportunities since Cloward and Ohlin borrow Merton's idea that subcultural delinquency is the result of frustrations experienced in relation to a discrepancy between culturally prescribed goals and access to legitimate opportunities (1969:108). However, since Cloward and Ohlin's theory focuses on subcultural delinquency, it is not known how many of Program 3's clients fall into this category. It should be noted that there is one area in which the programs' targets don't reflect Cloward and Ohlin's theory. While Cloward and Ohlin feel it is important to distinguish youths who blame themselves for their difficulties from youths who blame the "system" for their problems, this distinction is not made in any of the programs being examined. In most respects, however, it appears that the targets of the employment programs reflect the theory of Cloward and Ohlin.

With regards to Programs 1 and 2, the provision of pre-employment skills training, job placement and opportunities for educational upgrading for disadvantaged

youth generally reflects Merton's notion, which is borrowed by Cloward and Ohlin, in which a lack of legitimate opportunity is related to youth crime. Program 3's provision of an employment placement service would also appear to reflect this idea. Cloward and Ohlin argue that disadvantaged youths, whom they feel come predominantly from the lower class, do not have access to as many legitimate means of goal attainment as more advantaged higher class youths (1969:85). However, it is pointed out that both low and high class youths have been socialized to strive for the same goals. Cloward and Ohlin suggest that, to alleviate this problem, it is necessary to increase the lower class youths' access to legitimate means relative to the higher class (1969:120). Since the employment programs, through a variety of measure, attempt to increase the availability of legitimate means for disadvantaged youths, these services seem to reflect the theory of Cloward and Ohlin.

As was previously stated, Programs 1 and 2 provide peer support group meetings for youths who have jobs. The purpose of these meetings is to provide youth with an opportunity to air employment related difficulties and receive feedback from their peers. It is conceivable that the function of these groups may be viewed as a variation on the function of subcultural groupings as discussed by Cloward and Ohlin. Cloward and Ohlin state that youths who are alienated from the conventional social order, as a

result of a lack of legitimate opportunities, may appreciate the support of others who are in the same position (1969:126). They suggest that members of groups formed in this manner may be provided with needed validation for their unconventional frame of reference. Cloward and Ohlin also suggest that these groups allow alienated youths to join with others to solve their adjustment problems which were brought on by the lack of opportunities (1969:110). In the peer support group meetings included in the employment programs, youths are given a chance to vent frustrations and concerns they have in relation to their jobs. Other youths in the group respond with suggestions as to how the problems could be dealt with using conventionally accepted approaches. In a sense, group members could conceivably be playing Cloward and Ohlin's suggested role of validating the antisocial feelings or experiences of other group members by being able to identify with them. However, rather than supporting deviant solutions to these problems, as Cloward and Ohlin suggested that subcultural group members did, members of these program groups play the role of supporting conventional solutions. Thus, it seems that the peer support group meetings reflect an altered conceptualization of subcultures.

Programs 1 and 2 are distinct from Program 3 in the sense that they provide employment counselling for their clients, the purpose of this being to help the youths

overcome personal difficulties which supposedly hinder their employment prospects. One may recall the list of employment barriers which were thought to be experienced by employment disadvantaged youths. It is apparent that most of these employment barriers may be identified in Cloward and Ohlin's terms as evidence of a lack of access to legitimate opportunities. For example, with regards to a lack of money and lack of education, Cloward and Ohlin suggest that "advance toward the success goals is relatively rare and notably difficult for those armed with little formal education and few economic resources" (1969:65). Similarly, inappropriate work attitudes may be seen as the result of the youths feeling that they have been unjustly deprived of access to legitimate opportunities (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:117). Further, Cloward and Ohlin define delinquency as an "adaptation to structured strains and inconsistencies within the social order" (ie. lack of access to legitimate opportunities) (1969:106). Finally, drug abuse is said to be an adaptation chosen by those who want to escape the inequalities and subsequent failures related to access to legitimate means for achieving success goals (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:107). It is evident that the employment counselling may be viewed as an attempt to somehow deal with the lack of legitimate opportunities experienced by program youths. However, it is possible to argue that Cloward and Ohlin would not recommend the use of such an individualized

approach to this problem because they appear to take the position that institutionalized inequality is the cause of the lack of access to legitimate opportunities amongst certain sections of society. According to Cloward and Ohlin, "the democratic ideology of equality of opportunity creates constant pressure for formal criteria of evaluation that are universalistic rather than particularistic, achieved rather than ascribed" (Cloward and Ohlin, 1969:119). Cloward and Ohlin go on to explain that a democratic society has only a limited supply of rewards and opportunities and that, although many people may meet the formal requirements, relatively few are given the opportunity to succeed. It is suggested that this situation leads to decision-making which is based on factors other than those stated formally (Cloward & Ohlin, 1969:119). The informal criteria which end up being used are often in conflict with the publicly declared criteria and it is suggested that these informal criteria discriminate against those groups in society who have the most limited access to rewards and opportunities. In view of this, it would appear that Cloward and Ohlin may not advocate the use of individual counselling to deal with employment barriers which appear to basically constitute evidence of a lack of access to legitimate opportunities.

In general, it appears that all of the programs' targets and most of their services reflect some aspects of

Cloward and Ohlin's theory, although the third program seems to offer the least when viewed from this perspective. The use by Programs 1 and 2 of individualized counselling to help youths deal with employment barriers appears to be somewhat at odds with this theoretical perspective; however, because the service is offered in conjunction with a variety of other services and may therefore be viewed as a type of "legitimate opportunity" for clients, it would appear to maintain its validity.

Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, Roberts

Since there are significant differences between the theoretical perspectives of Cloward and Ohlin and Clarke et al. it is not surprising that, while the employment programs reflect several aspects of Cloward and Ohlin's theory, a number of criticisms may be raised against them when they are viewed from the perspective of Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, and Roberts.

Clarke et al. (1976) provide a relevant discussion of youth sub-cultures in post-war Britain. They examine youth subcultures in relation to the parent culture and the dominant culture and attempt to locate youth subcultures in the "struggle between dominant and subordinate cultures" (1976:16). Although Clarke et al. discuss both working class and middle class youth subcultures, only working class youth subcultures will be dealt with here.

Clarke et al. begin by discussing the important

elements in a definition of culture, saying that this term may best be defined as the development by social groups of distinct life patterns and the giving of expressive form to life experience. Cultures include maps of meaning which help make things intelligible to their members (1976:10). Different cultures compete with and try to dominate each other, and the most powerful group is thought to become the dominant culture and will represent itself as the most important culture (1976:12). In modern society, the fundamental groupings are made on the basis of class and cultural configurations are mediated by class. In locating sub-cultures, these phenomena must be viewed in terms of both their relationship to the parent culture, or the wider class-culture from which they derive and their relationship to the dominant culture, or the the most powerful class-cultural group in society (1976:13).

Clarke et al. say that arguments for the existence of unusually distinct youth sub-cultures during the post-war era are often based on the idea that many important structural and cultural changes took place during this period and that youth sub-cultures may have reflected these changes. People generally thought a rise in working-class spending indicated an overall increase in affluence in the society. A high level of social consensus was also thought to exist in the sense that all people were thought to be in favor of measures to reduce class distinctions. Finally, it

was thought that people at the lower levels of society were experiencing embourgeoisement, or they were assimilating middle class values (Clarke et al. 1976:21). Together, all of these changes were thought to have the effect of eroding class distinctions. Working-class youth were thought to benefit especially from this new situation, since they were enjoying the advantages of the new system and had not experienced the class-related difficulties which their parents had had to contend with. This situation is considered by Clarke et al. to be part of the basis for the change from an emphasis on social class distinctions to generational distinctions (1976:22). However, Clarke et al. question the validity of this change in emphasis. They point to the fact that, although the society had become more affluent generally, the relative levels of affluence experienced by the various social classes remained unchanged (1976:22). They go on to point to the real lack of consensus in the political realm during the 50's and 60's and, finally, they say that embourgeoisement was not happening to any great extent (1976:24). Clarke et al. finally conclude that class categories did not disappear during the post-war period and, therefore, class considerations cannot be negated.

Clarke et al. refer to Cohen's class analysis of subcultures. They talk about Cohen's discussion of the negative consequences experienced by the working class youth

and adults as a result of post-war social and economic changes (1976:30). Cohen says that working-class youth resolve such problems, ie. family disruption, unemployment, on an imaginary plane in youth sub-cultures because they can have no real impact on these problems. However, Cohen's analysis does not indicate how the working class youth's experience of this situation relates to the working class adult's experience, nor does it provide an account of the "material, economic and social conditions specific to the 'sub-cultural solution' " (Clarke et al. 1976:33). These are the two areas in which Clarke et al. attempt to extend Cohen's analysis.

Clarke et al. adopt Cohen's idea that the concept of class may be used to clarify the idea of sub-culture. They basically go on to show that sub-culture is one type of response to class relations.

Clarke et al. discuss the socioeconomic conditions which existed during the post-war era. They refer to the fact that the rapid modernization of production which occurred during this time widened the gap between old and new sectors of the economy. This situation had a significant effect on regional economics, in the sense that the regions of Britain containing modernized production thrived, while the other regions declined. Clarke et al. suggest that this situation also changed the lives and neighbourhoods of workers and resulted in a more mobile,

nuclear, unextended family structure (1976:35-37). At the same time as these economic changes were occurring, it was evident that an ideology of affluence was permeating the country. Clarke et al. suggest that this ideology was used by the dominant classes against the working class to cover up the real inequalities which existed and undermined the capitalist promise of "equality-for-all and ever-rising-consumption" (1976:37). In this way, the dominant classes hoped to bind all classes to the hegemonic order.

Clarke et al. discuss the battle between the dominant hegemonic culture and the subordinate working-class culture. It is said that hegemony must be won and sustained in the midst of a struggle between the dominant and subordinate classes and that this struggle, or conflict arises from the unequal position of different cultural classes. The battle for hegemony is allegedly fought in the "institutions of civil society" (Clarke et al. 1976:38). The notion of hegemony includes the idea that the ruling class attempts to have its definitions of reality institutionalized such that they come to "constitute a lived 'reality as such' for the subordinate classes" (Clarke et al., 1976:39). However, hegemony also includes placing members of the subordinate class into social institutions which support the authority of the dominant order. The role of the dominant class culture in the hegemonic order is to reproduce class

relations. The dominant class is said to accomplish this by incorporating or destroying any resistance provided by the subordinate class through means which may involve force, or fostering the consent of the subordinate class, through means such as education (Clarke et al. 1976:39). The role of the subordinate class is to "negotiate its relations with the dominant culture" (Clarke et al., 1976:41). It is said that the subordinate class accomplishes this by struggling with the dominant class in institutionalized structures which were created for this purpose within the overall social formation (Clarke et al. 1976:41). This process is basically one in which the subordinate, or working-class, culture "wins space" from the dominant culture; the means used in this process may be either adaptive or oppositional.

Clarke et al. place working-class youths within the dialectic between the dominant and subordinate parent culture. As with their parents, working-class youths have means at their disposal for "winning space" for themselves, and one of these means involves being part of a sub-culture (Clarke et al. 1976:45). This space may take various forms, including actual physical space on the street, and leisure time. It is pointed out that the problems faced by such youths, for example, unemployment, educational disadvantage, cannot actually be solved by the youth sub-culture. However, such sub-cultures have an ideological dimension which allows them to address the problematic of

the subordinate class experience in a symbolic or imaginary way (Clarke et al., 1976:47). Imaginary or symbolic solutions may involve the use of distinct types of style or activity.

Clarke et al. refer to the fact that "working-class sub-cultures are a response to a problematic which youth shares with other members of the 'parent' class culture" (1976:48). In this sense, sub-cultures may be viewed as class-related phenomena. However, it is suggested that adolescents' experience of the problem is distinct because it involves different institutions or institutional experiences. For example, while parents experience school through memories and parents' meetings, youths experience it in a much more intensive and sustained way (Clarke et al. 1976:49). Since unskilled youth are also more vulnerable to unemployment than their older counterparts, they are also likely to experience the working world differently. As a result of some of these distinctively "youthful" experiences, youths are thought to have developed a 'generational consciousness' (Clarke et al. 1976:52).

Clarke et al. suggest that, in terms of the style or type of responses used by members of working-class youth sub-cultures, there is a class and a generational component. It is stated that the types of responses, or style, used by working-class youth sub-cultures in dealing with the dominant culture is based on the responses of the adult members of the working class; however, such

responses are transformed by the youths to suit their generational circumstances (Clarke et al. 1976:53).

Application of the Theory of Clarke, Hall, Jefferson, and Roberts to the Employment Programs

Since it appears that the employment programs discussed earlier reflect in many ways the normative perspective as it is represented by Cloward and Ohlin, it is not surprising that a number of criticisms can be raised against these programs when they are viewed from the left.

Two of the employment programs serve an entirely youthful clientele, while the third program serves all ages, acknowledging the fact that the vast majority of its clients are youths. Programs 1 and 2 also specify that they aim to deal with disadvantaged youth, rather than youths in general. Similarly, Program 3 which deals with individuals on probation or parole may be viewed as dealing with disadvantaged individuals. In view of this, it would appear that all three programs have avoided making the error of focussing on youth as a completely separate entity. Clarke et al. suggest that treating youth as a single, homogenous group disguises the different social classes of youth and they state that "in modern societies, the most fundamental groups are the social classes" (1976:13). They use the example of youth subcultures to show how activities of the working class young have parallels in the activities of

working class adults. It is suggested that the role of members of the subordinate class is to negotiate its relations with, or win space from, the dominant class culture (1976:41). Clarke et al. show how youths and adults in the working class both use various means to win space from the dominant cultural order. Thus, it is generally suggested that class, rather than age, is the most important distinction to be made and Clarke et al. would agree with the recognition given by each program to disadvantaged individuals in the category of youth.

It may be said that the main aim of the three employment programs is to provide employment opportunities for youths who might otherwise find it very difficult to secure such opportunities themselves. However, from the viewpoint of Clarke et al., the use of this type of approach to deal with the absence of opportunities for certain youths would not seem to deal with the original causes of the absence of employment opportunities. Clarke et al. use Cohen's analysis in which the employment problems of British working class youth may be situated within the context of post-war socioeconomic changes. According to Cohen, the post-war movement to large-scale industrial development resulted in the death of the working class local economy which consisted largely of small craft industries (Clarke et al. 1976:31). This situation is said to have had a particularly significant effect on the working class because

it resulted in the polarization of the working class. Individuals who acquired specialized well-paid jobs were swept upwards out of the working class while others who acquired unskilled low-paid jobs were swept downwards to the bottom of the working class (Clarke et al. 1976:31). These changes are said to have had a significant effect on working class youth employment prospects also. According to Cohen, working class youths could no longer follow in their fathers' footsteps and work in local small craft industries. At the same time, many of such youths lacked the skills for working in the new industries. The result of this was that working class youths had to resign themselves to marginal employment and periods of unemployment (Clarke et al. 1976:32). It is evident that Cohen's analysis provides a socioeconomic basis for the employment difficulties of working class, or disadvantaged youths as they are referred to in the literature on employment programs. It is evident that, from the viewpoint of Clarke et al., the efforts by employment programmers to find jobs for hard-to-employ youths may be criticized for failing to deal with the socioeconomic causes of employment problems among working class youths.

A final criticism could be made of the two employment counselling programs. As discussed earlier, Programs 1 and 2 place some emphasis on the use of counselling for the purpose of helping youths overcome personal difficulties

thought to be related to their dim employment prospects. However, from the viewpoint of Clarke et al., such an atomistic approach would likely be criticized on the basis that it does not reflect the importance of macro-level factors such as class relations and economics. Thus, Clarke et.al. would likely see little use for interventions in which attempts are made to bring about changes within an individual while ignoring the broader context of the person's existence.

To summarize, it appears that, although the targets of the three employment programs reflect the theoretical stance taken by Clarke et al., one of the aims of the programs and the counselling service offered by Programs 1 and 2 may be criticized for not taking into account the class and socioeconomic basis of the problem of youth unemployment.

It is apparent that, in terms of the clients served and the services offered, the three employment programs reflect the basic tenets of Cloward and Ohlin's theory of delinquency. From this perspective also, Programs 1 and 2 seem to offer more to their clients than does Program 3. The analysis of the employment programs from the perspective of Clarke et al. brought to light some of the shortcomings of all three programs. Specifically, it was shown that not enough consideration was given to the class and socioeconomic basis of the problem of youth employment.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

In the following section, the various types of evaluation are discussed, with a focus on the type of evaluation used for the present study. The formulation of the measuring instruments is also discussed and, finally, the methods for testing the hypotheses are outlined.

EVALUATION RESEARCH

Evaluation research may be defined as the "systematic application of social research procedures in assessing the conceptualization and design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs" (Rossi & Freeman, 1982). There are different types of evaluations which may be performed depending on the purpose to be achieved by the evaluation. Rossi and Freeman (1982:32) distinguish three general categories into which most evaluations fall: need, process and outcome.

Needs Evaluation

The development of social programs usually results from the recognition of some type of social problem. Needs evaluation is the process by which the social problem in question is specified (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:33). Needs evaluation has been defined as the "systematic appraisal of type, depth, and scope of problems as perceived by study targets or their advocates" (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:90). This type of evaluation generally involves identifying the problems which exist that have not been treated or have been

inadequately dealt with. The information which can be obtained may be useful for the planning, refining and implementation of social programs.

In needs evaluation, several questions are generally addressed (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:34). First, the researcher usually wants to find out who is experiencing the problem and the extent of the difficulties. Secondly, the researcher may attempt to find out whether or not the program which was created to deal with the problem has been designed such that it can deal appropriately with the problem. Thirdly, the researcher may wish to find out what the costs and benefits of the program are in relation to its effectiveness.

The assessment of need is an important step in developing a new program. Before implementing a program, it is useful to know that a problem exists which is not being dealt with and that the problem is sufficiently prevalent that some sort of intervention is required (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:93). Needs evaluation may also be used to justify existing programs or efforts to refine programs; however, this type of evaluation is generally done during the planning phase of a program (Prosavac and Carey, 1985:96).

With regards to the present study, it would seem that a needs evaluation is not - the most appropriate type of evaluation to use because this type of evaluation is usually conducted during the program planning phase while the

programs being examined in the study are established and have been operating for at least one year.

Process Evaluation

Process evaluation addresses the issues of "whether or not the program is reaching the appropriate target population, and whether or not the delivery of services is consistent with program design specifications (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:123). Basically, this type of evaluation is carried out to see if the program is reaching those it is intended for and if services are being offered as they were intended to be.

Information from process evaluations may aid in the development and refinement of existing programs and it may be used to uncover any implementation problems (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:125).

Prosavac and Carey (1985:125) suggest that process evaluation is like an audit in the sense that it involves a systematic examination of inputs into a program for the purpose of arriving at a program description.

With regards to the present study, a process evaluation was not conducted because each agency being examined already has an information system for audit purposes. Program 1 and Program 2 send detailed reports to the central offices of YECC and Futures. The YECC reports include information on the clients' age, sex, source of income, educational

attainment, race, residence type, source of referral, employment barriers, and service outcomes. A 3-month follow-up on the clients' employment situation is also included. The Futures audit includes the same kind of information as that covered in the YECC audit, except the follow-up is conducted 3 months after program completion. Statistics on services provided for clients are also kept by Program 3 and are then forwarded to the Ministry of Correctional Services. Thus, it is evident that the three programs already have information systems which allow them to answer process questions.

Outcome Evaluation

While both needs and process evaluations may provide useful information about programs, "the most effective use of information gathered ... requires that comparisons be made between the data found and some standard of effectiveness" (Prosavac & Carey, 1985:157). Using a needs or process evaluation, it is possible to know what effects should or are being produced, but it is not known if the effects are satisfactory. Outcome evaluation addresses this central concern in evaluation research (Rossi & Wright, 1977). The purpose of conducting an outcome evaluation is to find out whether or not an intervention is having its intended effects and to find out whether or not the intervention's benefits outweigh its costs (Rossi & Freeman,

1981:165, 37). This would seem to be fairly important information, since programs which do not produce useful effects have little justification for their existence. Further, in times when resources are scarce, it is important to find out if programs are operating as efficiently as possible. Outcome evaluation is thought to provide the most useful information if it is conducted during the process of testing new programs, proposed changes in existing programs, or during the review of ongoing programs (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:167).

Several questions are usually addressed in an outcome evaluation (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:40). Evaluators usually want to find out whether or not the program is achieving its goals. They need to find out whether or not the results they obtain can be explained by some factor other than the program. Evaluators would also be interested in finding out if the program was having any unintended effects, the costs and benefits of the program, and the degree of efficiency of program operations.

The present study consists of an outcome evaluation of the three employment programs. It is felt that the use of this type of evaluation may be justified on the ground that the information which could be provided is probably more useful to the agencies concerned than the information which could be obtained using the other types of evaluation (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:157). Specifically, it is shown that all

three agencies are interested in dealing with employment barriers experienced by their clients. Yet, none of them collect data which would allow them to assess the impact of the employment program on these employment barriers.

Further, in light of the fact that employment programs are viewed as delinquency prevention efforts, it would seem useful to find out if these programs are achieving this effect. However, none of the programs being examined collect data which would allow for the examination of this issue. The aim of the present outcome evaluation is to provide data which may be used in addressing these two questions which have been raised.

PROCEDURE

Outcome evaluation generally involves the comparison of a treated group with an untreated group for the purpose of estimating program effects (Rossi & Freeman, 1982:176). However, one difficulty with this approach is that it does not control for a placebo effect and, therefore, positive treatment related changes may be confused with positive changes which "occur in response to a treatment but cannot be considered due to the specific treatment used" (Mosteller, Gilbert & McPeck, 1983:39).

The non-randomized concurrent control study is one approach which controls for the placebo effect. It involves subjecting the control group to a less favourable

intervention at approximately the same time as the treatment group is subjected to a more favourable intervention (Friedman, Furberg, DeMets, 1982:32). Although assignment to the groups is not conducted randomly and, therefore, there is the possibility that treatment and control groups may not be strictly comparable, the practical difficulties associated with randomization may preclude the possibility of using the stronger randomized approach (Friedman, Furberg, DeMets, 1982: 33).

The present study involves the examination and comparison of the effectiveness of three employment programs. As was previously stated in the literature review and the theoretical examination of the programs, Programs 1 and 2 are more comprehensive than Program 3. In view of this, it was decided that participants in Program 3 were to constitute a control group while participants in either Program 1 or Program 2 were to constitute a treatment group. Thus, the non-randomized concurrent control study appeared to be an appropriate approach to use in the present evaluation study.

For each of the three programs, pre and post-treatment data were collected. It should be noted, however, that a number of criticisms related to internal validity may be raised against this approach. Wood suggests that factors such as history, maturation, measurement effects and regression may confound any real treatment effects

(1981:147-153). However, in spite of these shortcomings, it has also been suggested that a pre post-test approach may be useful for providing an indication of whether more vigorous study should be undertaken and it may also be used as an aid in the search for variables related to program outcome (Prosavac & Carey, 1985:191).

Hackler presents a number of arguments against the use of a rigorous experimental design in conducting evaluations of social programs. He suggests that the findings from such research, which are often negative, may have adverse effects on organizational relations which are "necessary for innovative programming" (1978:2). He also suggests that it is very difficult to conduct an objective evaluation properly and that, sometimes, efforts to retain objectivity may be associated with a variety of negative consequences. Hackler is also critical of the types of questions normally addressed in experimental program evaluations. He states that program formulation is a political process involving many compromises and that maximal program effectiveness may not always be the ultimate goal (Hackler, 1978:11,22). In light of this fact, Hackler suggests that it is erroneous for program evaluators to always focus on the question of the program's effectiveness. As alternative issues to address in this type of research, it is suggested that areas such as the program process or the assumptions underlying the program may be examined (Hackler, 1978:22). In

relation to this, one aspect of the present study may be viewed as an examination of the assumption held within the area of youth employment that youths experiencing employment difficulties have other personal difficulties which are related to their dim employment prospects.

Employment Barriers

Youth Employment Counselling Centres (YECC's) place some emphasis on personal difficulties experienced by their clients which are thought to hinder them in the area of employment. YECC's take the position that "although personal problems manifest themselves among people of all ages, young people are particularly susceptible (especially those in their teens)" (Ontario Youth Secretariat, Secretariat for Social Development, 1984:38). As was stated previously, it is suggested in the YECC Counselling Guide that youth assessments should cover many areas so that any difficulties, or employment barriers, may be identified and dealt with. One may recall that the condensed list included the following areas: living and family situation, financial situation, education, delinquency, work skills and habits, psychological health, alcohol and drug abuse, and attitude towards work and authority (Ontario Youth Secretariat, Secretariat for Social Development, 1984:39, YECC Statistical Report). Thus, it is suggested that unemployed youths may be experiencing problems in any of the areas

listed above and that these difficulties may be related to the youths' employment problems. As with Program 1 and Program 2 which constitute two youth employment counselling centres, Program 3 also aims to help its clients with employment barriers . However, as already stated, no indication is given of the nature of these barriers.

THE MEASURING INSTRUMENTS

For the puposes of the present study, it was necessary to have some type of instrument for measuring the problem areas. However, no measure or guide for measuring the problem areas was provided by any of the three programs. Also, since there appeared to be no available established measuring instruments which covered all of the problem areas being examined, it was necessary to select several items from a few different scales and combine them to arrive at a measure of these areas for this study.

A decision was made to remove "work skills and habits" from the list of problem areas to be covered by the measuring instrument because, for this study, these areas were used in an assessment of the extent to which any deficiencies in the other problem areas actually result in employment difficulties. Further, it was decided that "physical and mental handicaps" and "education" should not be included in the measuring instrument because it was not

expected that significant changes would occur in these areas over the time period in which the study was to take place.

The measure of living and family situation which was used was taken from "The Family Information Test" which "was designed to serve as an indicator of commitment to delinquency and of potential for treatment" (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:284). The author of the scale takes the position that delinquent boys tend to prematurely distance themselves from their families, and that an indicator of this phenomenon is the amount of family information an individual is able to recall (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:284). The scale consists of 32 items involving questions about siblings, the father or stepfather and the mother or stepmother. Depending on the certainty with which the subjects answer the questions, they are scored as knowing the answer, guessing at the answer, or not knowing the answer (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:288-289). For the purpose of the present study, one question was asked about each of the three categories of family members. For siblings (not including deceased siblings or those living away from home for more than one year) the question was "what do your brothers and sisters like to do in their spare time?". The same question was asked regarding the father or stepfather and the mother or stepmother.

The measure of attitude towards work and authority being used in the present study was taken from a scale

developed by Rathus and Siegel (1973). This scale was designed to measure the extent to which youths reject cultural values and then relates the degree of rejection to how the youth feels about him or herself (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:532-533). In their scale, the semantic differential technique was used to investigate the "subjects' evaluations of persons who function to maintain the social order and other conventional practices and institutions" (Rathus & Siegel, 1973). Subjects were required to rate various authorities on a seven-point scale in which the poles were defined by adjective pairs which were opposite in meaning. From the authorities and institutions contained in the original scale, "work" and "education" were selected as the two areas to be measured in the present study. The rating scale which was used has three points instead of seven as used in the original scale; however, the definitions of the three points, namely "nice", "neither nice nor awful" and "awful" were taken from the original scale.

The measures of drug and alcohol abuse, financial situation, and psychological health were taken from "The Maladaptive Behavior Record" which was designed to systematically classify and measure maladaptive behaviors which lead to crime and delinquency (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:460). The assumption underlying this scale is that a person's activities should indicate his/her level of

adaptation (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:460). The scoring for each item in this scale is dichotomous, indicating either that there is or is not evidence of the maladaptive behavior in question. For the purpose of the present study, 4 items were selected from the original 16-item checklist. For alcohol abuse, the item was "Does the youth use alcohol to the extent that it interferes with his/her relationships, education, or employment or results in financial difficulty for him/her or family members?". The item for drug abuse was identical except for the substitution of the word "drugs" for "alcohol". For financial situation, the item was "has the youth had difficulty in managing his/her money ie. has the youth spent so much for nonessentials that s/he is unable to purchase essential items or has the youth overextended him/herself through installment purchasing?". For psychological health, the item was "does the youth's verbal behavior indicate to you that fear, anxiety or behavioral problems significantly interfere with his/her ability to meet people or maintain supportive relationships?".

Although delinquency was an important area to consider in this study, there were a number of problems associated with finding a measure of delinquency. The first problem was that the criminal records of the youths were unavailable. Secondly, a self-report format could not be used because the data collection procedure, which involves

interviewing each youth before and after program participation, would not permit the anonymous data collection necessary for self-report. This problem was especially pertinent in the case of youths in Program 3 since they were on probation and would therefore be considered to have too much at stake to admit any unofficial criminal activity. In view of these difficulties, it was decided that collecting data on the youths' self-reported official criminal activity would be the best alternative. Since the employment counsellors did, in some cases, have access to official information on their youths' criminal activity, it was conceivable that youths participating in the study would not be overly inhibited about divulging this information. For the present study, there were two parts to the delinquency item. The first part was "has the youth had any contact with the police?". A "yes" or "no" answer was required. The second part of the item asked for the number of convictions the youth had had.

For the present study, a measure of employment performance was needed so that it would be possible to find out which of the problem areas are related to employment performance and therefore constitute employment barriers. For this purpose, the "Futures Placement Monitoring Form" was used. Normally, this form is used to collect data from employers on the employment performance of youths in Futures placements. The items contained in this form fall in to

the categories of work habits, attitudes, and specific skills. The possible responses to each item are on an ordinal scale, with one end of the response range representing more desirable performance and the other end representing less desirable performance. For the present study, one item was selected from each of the three areas covered on this form. From the category of work habits, an item dealing with the youths' dependability was used. The responses available for this item are: "can always be depended upon in any situation; can usually be depended upon in most situations; can be depended upon in routine situations; somewhat unreliable. Needs above average checking; unreliable". From the category of attitudes, an item dealing with the youths' "acceptance of suggestions and criticism" was selected. The possible responses are: "expresses appreciation and takes prompt action on suggestions and criticism by supervisor; willingly accepts criticism by supervisor; accepts suggestions and criticism by supervisor in a satisfactory manner; reluctantly accepts suggestions and criticism by supervisor; resents suggestions and criticism by supervisor". From the category of specific skills, an item dealing with the youths' judgement was selected. The possible responses are: "exceptionally good. Decisions based on thorough analysis of problem; uses good common sense. Usually makes good decisions; judgement usually good in routine situations;

judgement often undependable; poor judgement. Jumps to conclusions without sufficient knowledge".

THE SAMPLE

The sample for the study included youths participating in any of the three employment programs. Starting in November, 1986, all youths who approached any of the three programs seeking employment assistance and were not going to be referred to some other agency were to be asked if they wished to participate in the present study. It should be noted, however, that unlike Programs 1 and 2, there were no age restrictions on participation in Program 3. Thus, to make the samples more comparable, participants in Program 3 who were over age 24, which is the cut-off age for participation in the other two programs, were excluded from the study.

The sample size was determined using the "rule of thumb" method. This method involves adding members to the sample "until the cumulated value of the sample for the characteristic being measured approaches stability" (Ferber, 1949:186,187). It should be noted that, in using this type of sampling procedure, a problem may arise in relation to the selection of the point of stability because, for example, the data may stabilize temporarily and then change again (Ferber, 1949:188). Also, Ferber suggests that the researcher should not assume that stable data guarantee

sample representativeness.

DATA COLLECTION

Four people collected the employment barrier data in this study. Two intake counsellors collected data from Program 2 and the researcher collected data from Programs 1 and 3. The employment performance data was collected by program employees who collected this data on a regular basis for the programs. The decision about who would collect data was made independently by each agency and therefore different arrangements were made in each case, depending on how it was felt that the issues of confidentiality and employee workload would be most appropriately dealt with. It should be noted that, using this type of data collection procedure, there was the possibility for the existence of differences in motivation between the data collectors who are counsellors and the researcher who is not affiliated with any of the programs being evaluated. For example, it is conceivable that the counsellors, possibly having vested interests in their program, may have reported data such that it reflected more positively on their agency. Conversely, there would appear to be no reason for the researcher to display this type of bias.

To collect data on the problem areas, data collectors interviewed consenting youths twice. Each interview

referred to a 4-month time period, with the first 4-month period being the 4 months prior to coming to the program and the second 4-month period being the first 4 months of program participation. The 4-month time period was selected on the basis of the fact that the Futures placements, which most youths were given, usually lasted for about 4 months. Further, for Program 3, in which subsidized placements are not generally available, it was felt that a 4-month time period would give a sufficient indication of program effects.

Data collection on employment performance involved questioning the employers of youths who had been placed in jobs. Since this information was routinely collected by two out of the three employment programs, it was possible to use the existing data which had already been compiled for these two cases. This data was collected 1 1/2 to 2 1/2 months after the youths had been placed.

HYPOTHESES

It was suggested in the YECC Counselling Guide that unemployed youths may experience personal difficulties which are related to their employment problems. One may recall mention in the Literature Review of the fact that delinquents or youths at risk of delinquency generally perform poorly on the job. In keeping with these ideas, the first hypothesis which was tested is: the personal difficulties experienced by youths who participate in

employment programs are related to the youths' employment performance. To test this hypothesis, data were collected on the problems experienced by the consenting program participants during the four month period prior to their entering the program. Data from the Futures Placement Monitoring Form were also used to find out how the youths were performing in their employment placements.

Nonparametric statistics were to be used in this analysis because the data from the employment performance evaluations and the data on the problem areas was categorical.

The second area of consideration was the effectiveness of the employment programs in dealing with the employment barriers, or personal problems related to employment. One may recall from the Literature Review the suggestion that there is a lack of program evaluations and there is also some question as to the effectiveness of existing programs. Since Program 3 is less comprehensive and is therefore being viewed as a control treatment, the second hypothesis which was tested is: participation in either Program 1 or Program 2 is associated with a greater reduction in employment barriers than participation in Program 3. The testing of this hypothesis involved examining the data on only those problem areas found to constitute employment barriers. Specifically, data collected on employment barriers experienced during the 4 months prior to program participation was compared with data on employment barriers

experienced during the first 4 months of program participation for the purpose of finding out if any improvements had taken place. For this part of the analysis, the data from each program were treated separately. Because, within each program, the same subjects were used in the pre and post-treatment groups, statistical procedures appropriate for dependent samples were used. A nonparametric analysis was appropriate here also because of the categorical nature of the data.

In terms of data interpretation, a problem would have arisen in the event that significant differences were observed between Program 1 and Program 2 since, theoretically, both programs provide the same type of service. If such differences were observed, one way of explaining them would be in terms of differences in the program process used within the two programs or in terms of differences in the clients of the two programs.

The final hypothesis which was tested addressed the issue of a relationship between unemployment and delinquency. The hypothesis was: participation in an employment program is associated with a decrease in delinquency. The testing of this hypothesis involved a comparison of the delinquency data related to the 4 months prior to program participation and that related to the first 4 months of program participation. Since these data were of the same nature as those used in the second hypothesis, the same type of analysis was done here also.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

Introduction

The present study consists of an examination of youth employment programs. As was indicated in the literature review, there is a significant body of research which suggests that some type of relationship exists between unemployment and delinquency. It was also suggested in the literature that crime and unemployment are problems associated with youth. In view of these facts, it seems useful to examine several employment programs for pre-delinquent or delinquent youth. Two of the three programs which are examined administer the Futures program and constitute Youth Employment Counselling Centres. The third program was created to serve the employment needs of probationers. The present research consists of an outcome evaluation of the three employment programs. A non-randomized concurrent control study was the approach which is used. Participants in Programs 1 and 2 form the treatment groups whereas Participants in Program 3, which is considered to be the less favorable program, constitute the control group. It was noted previously that all three programs attempt to help their clients deal with employment barriers, or personal difficulties thought to be related to employment. The present study focuses on these personal difficulties. Measures of these difficulties were to be taken when youths entered the programs and then again four months later. Measures of delinquency were to be taken at

these times also. Finally, information on the program participants' employment performance was to be collected. These data were to be used to address the issue of whether or not the youths' personal difficulties were related to their employment performances. Secondly, the issue of the relative effectiveness of the three programs in alleviating the employment barriers was to be examined through the use of this data. Finally, the information on delinquency was to be used for the purpose of examining the possibility of their being a relationship between unemployment and delinquency.

Treatment of the Data

Before the data could be analyzed for the purpose of addressing the issues stated above, it was necessary to make some data transformations either for the purpose of simplification or for the purpose of conforming to the scoring methods used in the scales from which the items for this study were drawn. In keeping with the scoring method used in the "Maladaptive Behavior Record" from which the adjustment items were drawn, an overall adjustment score was calculated for each individual (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:461). As the authors of "The Family Information Test" used the same scoring technique as was used in the "Maladaptive Behavior Record", an overall knowledge-of-family score was calculated for each individual

by adding up his/her scores on the measures of knowledge of siblings, father, and mother (Brodsky & Smitherman, 1983:289). The scoring of the two attitude items involved the assignment of numerical values to responses as was done in the original scale developed by Rathus and Siegel (1973). Finally, numerical values were assigned to the two delinquency items and these values were added together to form an overall delinquency score for each individual.

Hypothesis 1

The first hypothesis which was tested is: the personal difficulties experienced by youths who participate in employment programs are related to the youths' employment performance. The data analysis for this hypothesis involved the use of the Fisher exact probability test. This test is recommended as an alternative to the Chi-square in cases where the sample size is less than twenty (Siegel, 1956:110). The Fisher exact probability test is used to determine whether or not two independent samples differ in terms of the proportion with which they fall into two possible categories (Siegel, 1956:97). However, since this test requires that the data contain only two categories, it was necessary to collapse some of the categories in the data from the present study. Thus, in the two attitude items which originally contained three categories, the first two categories, in which the youths indicated their responses as

being either "nice" or "neither nice nor awful" were combined to form one category. The scores on adjustment, knowledge of family, and delinquency were also dichotomized such that low scores were assigned one value and high scores were assigned another value. Finally, since each of the original employment performance items contained five categories, this data was dichotomized also. This involved combining both the first and second categories and also the third and fourth categories. The fifth category was eliminated because no individual's score fell into this category.

In relation to the hypothesis stated earlier, Fisher exact probabilities were calculated for various pairs of items, with each pair consisting of one item from the list of personal difficulties experienced before entering the employment program and a second item from the list of employment performance items. Table 1 depicts the relationship between personal difficulties experienced before and employment performance. Table A contains the contingency tables from which the Fisher probabilities in Table 1 were calculated. Fifteen cases were included in this part of the analysis.

It should be noted that there was a problem in relation to the collection of the employment performance data. Specifically, none of the participants in Program 3 were placed in jobs which lasted long enough that data could

Table 1: Relationship Between the Experience of Personal Difficulties Before and Employment Performance* (First Analysis)

<u>PERSONAL</u> <u>DIFFICULTIES</u> <u>BEFORE</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT PERFORMANCE</u>		
	<u>Dependability</u>	<u>Acceptance of Criticism</u>	<u>Judgement</u>
<u>Attitude Towards Employment</u>	0.143	0.267	0.657
<u>Attitude Towards Education</u>	0.341	0.554	0.659
<u>Adjustment</u>	0.659	0.554	0.185
<u>Knowledge of Family</u>	0.143	0.733	0.343
<u>Delinquency</u>	0.538	0.231	0.462

alpha = 0.15

Fisher Probabilities based on a one-tailed test.

*Data from Program 3 were not available.

be collected on their employment performance. Due to this situation, the obtained results are based only on data from Programs 1 and 2.

From Table 1, it can be seen that, using a one-tailed test, none of the personal difficulty variables are particularly closely related to the employment performance variables. However, using an alpha level of 0.15, attitude towards employment and knowledge of family are significantly related to dependability. From the dependability-attitude towards employment square in Table A, it can be seen that 9 out of 13 or 69% of those who had a positive attitude towards employment were also judged as being dependable in their employment performance. Conversely, 0% of those who had a negative attitude towards employment were judged as being dependable. Identical values were obtained in relation to knowledge of family. In other words, 9 out of 13 or 69% of those who had a fair amount of family knowledge were judged as being dependable, whereas 0% of those with lesser levels of family knowledge were judged as being dependable.

It would appear, then, that the hypothesis concerning a relationship between experiencing personal difficulties and employment performance is only partially supported by these data. While attitude towards employment and knowledge of family appear to be slightly related to one aspect of employment performance, namely dependability, attitude

towards education, adjustment, and delinquency are unrelated to employment performance.

Table 2 depicts the relationship between the experience of personal difficulties and employment performance as it appeared in a subsequent analysis which was performed after twenty cases were added to the original fifteen, bringing the total to thirty-five. Although the relationship between knowledge of family and employment performance was confirmed, the relationship between attitude towards employment and employment performance was not significant in this second analysis. As can be seen from Table 2, a significant Fisher probability was obtained between attitude towards education and the dependability aspect of employment performance. From looking at Table B which contains the contingency tables on the basis of which the Table 2 values were calculated, it can be seen that, in the attitude towards education and dependability square, 19 out of 26 or 73% of those who had a positive attitude towards education were judged as being dependable in their employment performance, whereas only 4 out of 9 or 44% of those with a negative attitude towards education were judged as being dependable.

From Table 2, it should also be noted that there are two pairs of variables which are significantly related, but in a negative direction. Attitude towards employment is negatively related to acceptance of criticism and

Table 2: Relationship Between the Experience of Personal Difficulties Before and Employment Performance* (Second Analysis).

<u>PERSONAL</u> <u>DIFFICULTIES</u> <u>BEFORE</u>	<u>EMPLOYMENT PERFORMANCE</u>		
	<u>Dependability</u>	<u>Acceptance of</u> <u>Criticism</u>	<u>Judgement</u>
<u>Attitude Towards</u> <u>Employment</u>	0.240	-0.115	0.342
<u>Attitude Towards</u> <u>Education</u>	0.099	0.215	0.268
<u>Adjustment</u>	0.283	0.300	0.248
<u>Knowledge of</u> <u>Family</u>	0.145	0.277	0.289
<u>Delinquency</u>	0.283	0.180	-0.107

alpha = 0.15

Fisher Probabilities based on a one-tailed test.

*Data from Program 3 were not available.

delinquency is negatively related to judgement. From the attitude towards employment - acceptance of criticism square in Table B, it is apparent that, while 14 out of 29 or 48% of those with a positive attitude towards employment are rated as being able to accept criticism, 5 out of 6 or 83% of those with a negative attitude towards employment are judged as being able to accept criticism. Similarly in the delinquency - judgement square, while 12 out of 27 or 44% of the non-delinquent subjects were rated as having good judgement, 6 out of 8 or 75% of delinquent subjects were rated as having good judgement.

In general, the data from both the first and subsequent analyses appear to be somewhat similar. In neither case was strong support provided for the hypothesis regarding the existence of a relationship between the experience of personal difficulties and ratings of employment performance. In both analyses, knowledge of family was found to be significantly related to the dependability aspect of employment performance. However, the relationship between attitude towards employment and dependability, which was significant in the first analysis, became nonsignificant when additional cases were added for the subsequent analysis. Attitude towards education was not found to be significantly related to employment performance in the first analysis, but in the subsequent analysis, a significant relationship became apparent between attitude towards

education and the dependability aspect of employment performance.

It is interesting to note that, in both analyses, the only aspect of employment performance which was found to be significantly related, in the direction implied in the hypothesis, to any of the personal difficulties was dependability. Further, in view of the fact that both acceptance of criticism and judgement were found to be significantly related to personal difficulties before, but in the opposite direction to what was implied in the hypothesis, it would appear that there is not too much support for the idea that youths' employment performance may be hampered by the experience of personal difficulties.

For the purpose of testing the second hypothesis, which only includes employment barriers, knowledge of family is one area which is examined. Although attitude towards employment was found to be an employment barrier in the first analysis, it is not included in the second testing of the hypothesis 2 because, when additional cases were added, the relationship between this factor and employment performance became insignificant. Finally, attitude towards education is examined as an employment barrier in the second testing of the hypothesis 2 because, although it was not significantly related to employment performance during the first smaller-sample analysis, this relationship became

quite significant during the subsequent analysis when the sample size increased.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis that was tested is: participation in either Program 1 or Program 2, which are the treatment programs, is related to a greater reduction in employment barriers than participation in Program 3, which is the control program. In relation to the stated hypothesis, Binomial probabilities were calculated, for Program 1 and Program 3, using the before and after data on the employment barriers. Table 3 depicts the before-after changes in employment barriers. Tables C and D depict the contingency tables from which the Binomial probabilities were calculated. The probabilities for Program 1 were calculated on the basis of twelve cases, while the probabilities for Program 3 were calculated on the basis of seven cases.

It should be noted that several problems were encountered in relation to the collection of the after data for the first analysis. Specifically, due to the time constraints imposed by their regular duties, the data collectors for Program 2 were not able to conduct the follow-up in time for the data to be included in the analysis. A second problem was related to difficulties associated with making the second contact with the

Table 3: Pre-program Post-program Changes in Employment
Barriers (First Analysis)

<u>EMPLOYMENT</u> <u>BARRIERS</u>	<u>PROGRAMS</u>	
	<u>Program 1</u>	<u>Program 3</u>
<u>Attitude Towards</u> <u>Employment</u>	0.125	0.50
<u>Knowledge of</u> <u>Family</u>	0.375	0.25

alpha = 0.15

Binomial Probabilities based on a one-tailed test.

*Data from Program 2 were not available.

participants because, in some instances, participants' phones were no longer in service or they had moved. Evidence suggests that this type of respondent loss is not random and may bias the observed results (Cordray & Polk, 1983).

From Table 3, it can be observed that, at an alpha level of 0.15 and using a one-tailed test, only Program 1 is associated with a significant change in the employment barrier attitude towards employment. From the attitude towards employment square in Table C (Program 1 data), it can be seen that over the course of the study period, attitude towards employment changed from being negative to positive in three cases. Also, in no case did a Program 1 participant's attitude change from being positive to negative.

Thus, the results of this preliminary analysis suggest that there is only weak support for the hypothesis that participation in either Program 1 or Program 2 is associated with a greater reduction in employment barriers than participation in Program 3. While attitude towards employment improved for Program 1 participants, knowledge of family did not improve significantly. However, Program 3 participants did not experience significant improvements in either attitude towards employment or knowledge of family.

A subsequent analysis was performed on the before-after data (Table 4). At this time, data were available for eighteen cases from Program 1, nineteen cases from Program 2,

Table 4: Pre-program Post-program Changes in Employment
Barriers (Second Analysis)

<u>EMPLOYMENT</u> <u>BARRIERS</u>	<u>PROGRAMS</u>		
	<u>Program 1</u>	<u>Program 2</u>	<u>Program 3</u>
<u>Attitude Towards</u> <u>Education</u>	0.500	0.125	0.25
<u>Knowledge of</u> <u>Family</u>	0.500	0.344	0.25

alpha = 0.15

Binomial Probabilities based on a one-tailed test.

and nine cases from Program 3. Tables E, F, and G depict the contingency tables from which the Binomial probabilities were calculated. As with the preliminary analysis for this hypothesis, some problems were encountered in making follow-up contacts with the subjects while collecting data for the second analysis. However, unlike the earlier situation, the data were available from Program 2 for this analysis.

From Table 4, it can be observed that, at an alpha level of 0.15 and using a one-tailed test, only Program 2 is associated with a significant change in the employment barrier attitude towards education. Specifically, there was improvement in attitude towards education in three cases for Program 2 (Table F), while neither Program 1 nor Program 3 showed significant improvement in either of the employment barriers (Table E, G). It should also be noted that, because attitude towards education did not become an employment barrier in the first analysis, the findings related to it cannot be compared to the data from the preliminary analysis.

It is noteworthy that, although Programs 1 and 2 are thought to be very similar, the data for Program 1 do not show the improvement which was observed in Program 2.

As was the case for the first analysis, the second analysis did not provide particularly strong support for the second hypothesis. Although no significant improvements

were observed in either of the employment barriers for participants in Program 3, the control program, attitude towards education improved for one of the treatment programs, namely Program 2, but did not improve in the other treatment program, namely Program 1.

Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis which was tested is: participation in an employment program is associated with a decrease in delinquency. The testing of this hypothesis involved the use of the binomial test. A one-tailed binomial probability was calculated on the before and after delinquency data for Programs 1 and 3 combined for the purpose of finding out whether or not any improvements had taken place. Table H depicts the contingency table used in the calculation of the first Binomial probability. The probability, which was calculated on the basis of nineteen cases, was 0.25 which is not significant at an alpha level of 0.15. However, in a subsequent analysis, based on forty-six cases, a significant Binomial probability of 0.035 was calculated (see Table I for Contingency tables). Table H shows that, while nine subjects had negative delinquency scores before program participation, only three subjects had negative scores afterwards.

In conclusion, it would appear that the data from the

larger-sample analysis support the hypothesis that participation in an employment program is associated with a reduction in delinquency.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION

This section consists of a discussion of the results obtained in the present study. In an attempt to provide some explanations for the observed findings, reference is made to some of the points raised in the literature review, the theoretical analysis, and the methodology section. Further, in light of the obtained results and the explanations provided for them, comments are made regarding the objectives and services provided by the programs being evaluated.

Before making any general interpretive statements on the basis of the findings from the present study, it is important to keep in mind the limitations on the data. Specifically, the samples for all three parts of the analysis were very small and thus the possibility of their being unrepresentative must be kept in mind. This reservation is particularly relevant in view of the subject attrition problems which were experienced. Also, since data were not available from Program 3 for the first part of the analysis, it is possible that the results may have been different had this not been the case.

Hypothesis 1

One may recall from the program descriptions in the literature review that all three of the employment programs have as one of their objectives helping their clients overcome employment barriers. However, the results of the

present study indicate that only two out of five of the personal difficulties examined were found to be significantly related, in the anticipated direction, to employment performance. These findings appear to contradict the suggestion in the literature on Youth Employment Counselling Centres that personal difficulties experienced by youths hinder their employment prospects.

It is interesting to note that dependability is the only aspect of employment performance which was found to be related, in the anticipated direction, to personal difficulties experienced before. There would appear to be no theoretical basis for this finding; however, this information may be useful for programmers and perhaps future research will shed more light on this issue.

Another unanticipated finding was that two of the areas of personal difficulty were related to employment performance in the opposite direction to what was hypothesized. The first problem area of this type was delinquency: delinquents had better judgement on the job than did non-delinquents. A possible explanation for this finding may be that delinquents, according to Cusson as discussed in the literature review, have more unskilled job experience at an earlier age than do non-delinquents. Hence, it is conceivable that delinquents are exposed earlier than non-delinquents to opportunities for developing their judgement on the job. An inverse relationship was also

observed between attitude towards employment and acceptance of criticism. Youths experiencing the personal difficulty of having a negative attitude towards employment were better at accepting criticism on the job than were youths who did not have this difficulty. This finding seems to belie logic and it would appear to have no basis in the theory discussed earlier in this study. Perhaps further research is necessary in this area also.

With regards to the three employment programs examined in the present study, the results for the first hypothesis would seem to suggest that it may not be particularly useful to deal with all of the types of personal difficulties discussed if the goal is to have a positive impact on employment performance. The data from the present study suggest that the relationship between the experience of personal difficulties and employment performance may in some cases be almost non-existent while in other cases it may even be the opposite to what was anticipated.

Hypothesis 2

In the descriptions of the programs being evaluated in the present study, it was mentioned that Programs 1 and 2 are quite comprehensive, including individual and peer group counselling, the option of educational upgrading as well as placement. Program 3, on the other hand, is less comprehensive, basically consisting of placement only. The

results of the present study provide only weak support for the provision of the extra services. While participation in Program 2 was associated with improvement in one of the employment barriers, namely attitude towards education, the results for Programs 1 and 3 were similar in the sense that neither program was significantly effective in reducing any of the employment barriers.

The difference between the results for Programs 1 and 2 warrants some explanation since, theoretically, these programs, being quite similar, should have similar results. One possible explanation is related to the idea mentioned in Chapter 3 that the Program 2 counsellors who were collecting the data for their program may have recorded the data such that it reflected more positively on their program, the reason being that they may have a more vested interest in the success of their program. On the other hand, since there would appear to be no reason for the researcher to have acted similarly while collecting data for Programs 1 and 3, it is possible that the obtained results are biased such that Program 2 appears to be more effective than Program 1 when really this is not the case.

There is at least one other possible explanation for the observed differences in the findings related to Programs 1 and 2. Specifically, it was suggested in Chapter 3 that any such differences could be explained in terms of variation in program processes or clients. For example, it

is conceivable that Program 2 has more "treatable" clients than does Program 1.

It is not obviously apparent whether or not either of the explanations offered for the observed results is accurate. Nor does one explanation appear to be significantly more plausible than the other. However, what is more apparent is that the differences between the results for the three programs are not particularly large, and that none of them are particularly successful. Although Programs 1 and 3 were unsuccessful in having a significant impact on the employment barriers, Program 2 was successful, but only with one of the two employment barriers. This observed weakness or lack of program effectiveness concurs with the findings of the program evaluations discussed in the literature review. Specifically, most of the programs were found to be not particularly successful.

Reference to Clarke et.al. may provide one possible explanation for the shared weakness of the programs. In the theoretical analysis of the employment programs, the argument was made that Clarke et.al. would be critical of the programs for failing to deal with the economic and class bases of unemployment among disadvantaged youth. Thus, it is conceivable that, although Programs 1 and 2 are different from Program 3 in terms of the comprehensiveness of the services provided, all three programs may be similar in failing to deal with the root causes of their clients'

employment difficulties, resulting in the weak or negative findings shared by all three programs.

As a general comment on the employment programs being studied in light of the findings related to hypothesis 2 and the explanations offered for them, it is possible that greater effectiveness may be achieved if more consideration were given to the macro-level issues which are at the root of the problem of unemployment among the disadvantaged. An example of one activity related to this would be lobbying for political change in the economy or social structure.

Hypothesis 3

Although none of the programs in the present study were particularly effective in alleviating the employment barriers, the collective data related to hypothesis 3 indicate that participation in the programs was associated with a significant reduction in delinquency. This finding stands in contradiction to the data from the programs discussed in the literature review. However, it appears that there is some support for that commonly held notion that keeping youths busy will keep them out of trouble.

In trying to explain this finding, one may initially refer to Cloward and Ohlin's theory of delinquency and opportunity and postulate that the reduction in delinquency is due to the provision of legitimate opportunities. However, it is apparent that almost all of the employment

programs discussed in the literature review could be said to be performing this function, yet most were not found to have a significantly positive effect on delinquency. One other possible explanation arises from the evaluation of a most notably successful employment program which was carried out by Massimo and Shore. As was discussed in the literature review, the explanation which was offered for the success of this program stressed the importance of the development of a flexible, all-encompassing relationship between the counsellor and the youth. Evidently, it was being suggested that participation in such a relationship is associated with a reduction in delinquency. This information provides a possible explanation for the significant reduction in delinquency observed in the data from the programs in the present study. Although Program 3 does not have a counselling component, Programs 1 and 2, which are both Youth Employment Counselling Centres, do focus on counselling. Although the data from the present study are only in aggregate form such that they include all three programs, the above information would seem to suggest that Programs 1 and 2, which provide counselling, are mostly responsible for the significant reduction in delinquency.

The suggestion that counselling is helpful seems somewhat at odds with the suggestion made earlier that program efforts should not be directed towards dealing with employment barriers since, according to Youth Employment

Counselling Centre literature, one of the counsellor's main activities is trying to help youths overcome employment barriers. However, the suggestion being made here is that perhaps it is the nature of the counselling relationship, rather than the focus on employment barriers, which is associated with the reduction in delinquency.

Conclusions

It is apparent that the comments, explanations and recommendations offered in relation to the results of the present study are diverse and are not based on any one particular theory or approach to the issues of youth unemployment, delinquency, or program efforts aimed at alleviating such problems. The observed lack of a relationship between the experience of personal difficulties and employment performance was found to contradict the stated practice of Youth Employment Counselling Centres and a recommendation was made that it may not be particularly useful to focus on the issue of employment barriers in the counselling process. The general weakness of all three programs in dealing with employment barriers was explained in terms of a failure to deal with macro-level issues related to youth unemployment among the disadvantaged. Finally, the strength of the programs, particularly Programs 1 and 2, in dealing with delinquency was explained in terms of the effectiveness of the relational aspect of the counselling process.

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APPENDIX

Table A: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Personal Difficulties Experienced Before and Employment Performance (Program 1 and 2 data combined) (First Analysis)

EMPLOYMENT PERFORMANCE

PERSONAL

DIFFICULTIES

Acceptance of

EXPERIENCED

Dependability

Criticism

Judgement

BEFORE

1 2 1 2 1 2

Attitude Towards 1

9	4	6	7	8	5
0	2	2	0	1	1

Employment 2

Attitude Towards 1

8	4	6	6	7	5
1	2	2	1	2	1

Education 2

Adjustment 1

7	5	6	6	6	6
2	1	2	1	3	0

Knowledge of 1

9	4	7	6	7	6
0	2	1	1	2	0

Family 2

Delinquency 1

7	4	7	4	6	5
2	2	1	3	3	1

2

Table B: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Personal Difficulties Experienced Before and Employment Performance (Program 1 and 2 data combined) (Second Analysis)

EMPLOYMENT PERFORMANCE

PERSONAL

DIFFICULTIES

Acceptance of

EXPERIENCED

Dependability

Criticism

Judgement

BEFORE

1

2

1

2

1

2

Attitude Towards

1

20

9

14

15

15

14

Employment

2

3

3

5

1

3

3

Attitude Towards

1

19

7

13

13

14

12

Education

2

4

5

6

3

4

5

Adjustment

1

17

10

15

12

13

14

2

6

2

4

4

5

3

Knowledge of

1

18

7

14

11

13

12

Family

2

5

5

5

5

5

5

Delinquency

1

17

10

16

11

12

15

2

6

2

3

5

6

2

Table C: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Employment
Barriers Experienced Before and After for Program 1
Participants (First Analysis)

		<u>Attitude Towards</u>	
		<u>Employment After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Attitude Towards</u>	1	9	0
<u>Employment Before</u>	2	3	0

		<u>Knowledge of</u>	
		<u>Family After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Knowledge of</u>	1	6	1
<u>Family Before</u>	2	2	3

Table D: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Employment
Barriers Experienced Before and After for Program 3
Participants (First Analysis)

		<u>Attitude Towards</u>	
		<u>Employment After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Attitude Towards</u>	1	5	0
<u>Employment Before</u>	2	1	1

		<u>Knowledge of</u>	
		<u>Family After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Knowledge of</u>	1	5	0
<u>Family Before</u>	2	2	0

Table E: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Employment Barriers Experienced Before and After for Program 1 Participants (Second Analysis)

		<u>Attitude Towards</u>	
		<u>Education After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Attitude Towards</u>	1	7	2
<u>Education Before</u>	2	1	8

		<u>Knowledge of</u>	
		<u>Family After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Knowledge of</u>	1	10	3
<u>Family Before</u>	2	2	3

Table F: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Employment
Barriers Experienced Before and After for Program 2
Participants (Second Analysis)

		<u>Attitude Towards</u>	
		<u>Education After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Attitude Towards</u>	1	16	0
<u>Education Before</u>	2	3	0

		<u>Knowledge of</u>	
		<u>Family After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Knowledge of</u>	1	11	2
<u>Family Before</u>	2	4	2

Table G: Contingency Tables Containing Data on Employment
Barriers Experienced Before and After for Program 3
Participants (Second Analysis)

		<u>Attitude Towards</u>	
		<u>Education After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Attitude Towards</u>	1	5	2
<u>Education Before</u>	2	0	2

		<u>Knowledge of</u>	
		<u>Family After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Knowledge of</u>	1	7	0
<u>Family Before</u>	2	2	0

Table H: Contingency Table Containing Data on Delinquency
Before and After (data from Programs 1 and 3 combined)
(First Analysis)

		<u>Delinquency</u>	
		<u>After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Delinquency</u>	1	14	1
<u>Before</u>	2	3	1

Table I: Contingency Table Containing Data on Delinquency
Before and After (data from Programs 1, 2, and 3 combined)
(Second Analysis)

		<u>Delinquency</u>	
		<u>After</u>	
		1	2
<u>Delinquency</u>	1	36	1
<u>Before</u>	2	7	2



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