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An exploratory study of older youth utilizing voluntary counselling services in Windsor.

John F. Sheehan
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UNIVERSITY OF WINDSOR
The School of Social Work

AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF OLDER YOUTH
UTILIZING VOLUNTARY COUNSELLING SERVICES IN WINDSOR

by

John F. Sheehan

A research project presented to the School of Social Work
of the University of Windsor in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Work

September 1971

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
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ABSTRACT

This research project is an exploratory study of the total ecology of youth and the therapeutic and social resources available for their use with special emphasis on youth utilizing voluntary counselling services in Windsor, Ontario.

Two methods were used: a survey of current literature in the areas of adolescent development, the world of youth and youth’s reactions, youth problems, current treatment, service, and social policy innovations for youth; and the collection of available data on the expressed problems of youth from four Windsor agencies, the Family Service Bureau, the Catholic Family Service Bureau, the P.O.S.T. Trailer, and the YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project.

Findings indicated that the literature demonstrates a changing perception of youth, from preoccupation with changes of puberty, family and interpersonal relationships, to concern with the limited access society provides to opportunities which foster youth's potential, and lead to involvement in society which would encourage productive conformity. The analysis of the data generally reinforces the theoretical position of the literature. Predominant problems were those involving basic subsistence needs.

These findings indicate the need for comprehensive community social planning for youth involving more intimately employment and education services. They also raise questions about the type of treatment offered by agencies, the nature of intake policies and procedures, and their interrelationship with other agencies. Of particular concern was agency emphasis on verbal treatment, degree of motivation and particular youth subcultures or problem entities.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The researcher wishes to express his appreciation and gratitude to his wife for typing, proof-reading, advice, and encouragement; to the members of his Research Committee, Miss Marian Reavey, Dr. Wassef Y. Wassef, and especially to his chairman and mentor, Dr. Lola B. Buckley, for their continued guidance, reassurance, and encouragement; to Mr. Edwin Clarke, director of the Family Service Bureau of Windsor, Mr. Frank MacDonald, director of the Catholic Family Service Bureau of Windsor, to Mr. L. Bennett, director of the Addiction Research Foundation, St. Clair Region, to Mr. Peter Ness, director of P.O.S.T. Trailer, and to Mr. Al McCann, director of the Windsor YM-YWCA, for their cooperation and encouragement. Special thanks go to the youth of Windsor who provided the researcher with a wealth of experience and knowledge upon which he could formulate this research project.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this research project is to explore the ecological situation of youth from ages sixteen to twenty-four years with specific reference to those youth who utilize voluntary counselling services in the city of Windsor. In addition, it is hoped to draw from this exploration a familiarity with this population, which would allow development of hypotheses for further investigation and a clarity of conceptualization having implications for problem definition, treatment, and services for youth in this city.

What stimulated the researcher to explore this area were several observations he formulated during his tenure as youth counsellor with the Windsor YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project. At this project he participated in the development and provision of services to youth as a summer employee and graduate student of the University of Windsor School of Social Work.

The first observation was of a general state of anxiety in the community about youth. The source of this anxiety was difficult to determine. Was it fear or was it concern?

The second observation was that new youth-oriented service projects were being developed, most in response to community demands. It did not seem clear to the researcher if the community's interest was in amelioration of problems that posed a threat to the community, or in providing assistance of a facilitative nature related to the needs of
youth in the process of their development towards adulthood.

The third observation was that these new youth-oriented projects, while entering what was for this community a relatively new area of service, were kept extremely busy with requests for client service, together with community development and public relations tasks. These demands on overworked, and in some cases, relatively inexperienced staff, did not permit the staff to explore adequately and resolve some basic questions. These questions were:

1. Is the designed purpose of the project representative of community wishes?
2. Do community wishes adequately represent the real needs of youth?
3. Is the population we are serving the one most in need of service?
4. Are the treatment methods and procedures, especially innovative ones, suitable for the majority of those who need our services, or are we excluding a significant proportion of the youth population?

The researcher observed in his contacts with agencies that these questions formed an undercurrent of doubt; a doubt often covered by a confident manner necessary in an effort to keep tenuous project support intact.

The fourth observation was that traditional, long-established agencies, while under some pressure from community organization bodies to become involved, were passively resisting innovation to meet the newly recognized needs of youth. Some agencies felt legislated out of the youth service area, and some seemed to feel that this kind of innovation would detract from long-standing commitments to other areas, especially when the agency was operating on an already strained budget. Underlying these objections the researcher felt he also observed a philosophical objection, one based on the agencies' conception of the
"treatment" or "therapeutic" process. This concept incorporated client motivation and the active search for help as necessary components in successful helping. This conceptualization appeared to limit the relevancy, in the eyes of these agencies, of the type of outreach intervention commonly utilized by youth-oriented services, thus making the area of youth service appear less attractive and more threatening than their present type of practice.

The fifth observation was that contact between youth and practitioner became more frequent and involved in these new, less highly structured youth projects. The increased intimacy with youth, and the increased participation of youth in the actual programs, made it difficult for practitioners to continue holding preconceptions about adolescent development, the world of youth, the problems youth experience, and the validity of practitioner experience and training as guides to treatment and service.

It was these questions and doubts which led the researcher to formulate this particular research project. He felt that the resolution of these questions, or at least a clearer conceptualization of them, could be a positive contribution to Windsor's youth in need, practitioners, agencies, projects, and community planners. He also felt that a failure to deal with these areas of concern was potentially dangerous to the community and its youth, since youth seem to provoke enough emotionally charged reactions without added confusion within the community bodies, agencies, and experts upon which the community depends for information and understanding.
CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The choice of a research design was complicated by several factors. As indicated in the first chapter, public opinion, policy, and services presented a fragmented picture without clear boundaries or precise problem formulations. The literature in a preliminary survey was found to be extremely varied, involved the work of several disciplines, incorporated many levels of understanding of youth, and usually was either very theoretical or very specific.

The researcher felt that if this research project was to have any relevance, it must be able to speak to the very complexity the researcher was observing. He felt he would like to avoid the type of research R. Alex Sim refers to in the following observation:

...I suppose I am saying that we need more knowledge based on research before we can really be certain of the nature and dimensions of the question of youth that confronts us....The difficulty is that most of our analysis and too much of our planning envisages the cases (individuals) who have problems, or who create what are considered problems, as though they were divisible, disparate, discrete, separate human molecules, without social bonds, outside of values, independent of human groupings.

The researcher therefore decided to conduct an exploratory study. While sometimes regarded as rather unscientific, it fulfils the purpose of being "relevant to broader issues than those posed in the experiment... by exploring the dimensions of the problem with which the research is

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It is particularly necessary when theory is too general or too specific to provide clear guidance for empirical research. While often used to develop hypotheses by formulation of problems for more precise investigation, it has other functions such as increasing an investigator's familiarity with a certain phenomenon in preparation for a more highly structured study; to clarify concepts; to establish priorities for research; to gather information about the practicality of research in a certain setting; to provide a consensus of problems regarded as urgent by people working in a given field of social relations.

The nature of an exploratory study demands of a researcher a certain flexibility to search out what is insight-stimulating and what he feels is meaningful in terms of the research purpose. He often uses various research procedures and looks for results that can lead to higher levels of abstraction beyond the initial exploratory focus.

In light of the flexible nature of exploratory research, evaluators must assume a trust of the researcher. They must trust that he uses scientific judgment discretely and with as little bias as possible.

Research Design

The research design formulated to fulfill the research purpose is then, an exploratory one. Restated more precisely, the purpose of the research project is to gain familiarity with youth from ages sixteen to

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3 Ibid., p. 52.
4 Ibid., p. 51.
twenty-four years who utilize voluntary counselling services in the city of Windsor in order to
(a) formulate specific problems of the population for more precise investigation;
(b) develop hypotheses and propositions for testing related to the population and those situations presenting problems to it;
(c) develop questions for consideration related to existing or feasible treatment methods, services, and social policy for this situation.

The Population

The particular population was chosen because it fulfilled several criteria the researcher thought important in terms of proximity to adult roles, legal status, and service definitions.

First, the group could be defined as persons in their late adolescence. Generally, they have successfully or unsuccessfully adjusted to the first powerful changes in physical and psychological makeup brought on by puberty. Most have achieved an appropriate masculine or feminine social role, have accepted their physique and have learned to use their bodies effectively. The developmental tasks with which they are now struggling are those most closely related to taking on their role as an adult in our society, i.e. achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults, achieving assurance of economic independence, selecting and preparing for an occupation, preparing for marriage and family life, developing intellectual skills and concepts necessary for civic competence, desiring and achieving socially responsible behaviour and acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behaviour.\(^5\)

Second, this age group fulfills the definition of youth utilized by the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Youth (1967). They fall beyond the statutory age of sixteen which means they may legally choose to leave the protection of home and the compulsory educational system. They are also no longer eligible for the protective services of Children's Aid Societies. They are at this time, no longer juveniles in the eyes of the Ontario courts and therefore are subject to the law as applied to adults.

Third, they are the population for which the new youth services were designed. Those utilizing voluntary counselling services are, in the legal sense of the word, under no compulsion to do so, and are free, initially, to choose the service, and at any time later, to terminate the service.

Definition of "A Voluntary Counselling Service"

Within the context of this research project, "a voluntary counselling service" is that provided by an agency, institution, or project which offers to individuals or groups, on request, a social work service, designed to aid those with problems in the area of personal or social functioning. Excluded from this definition are similar services that function as part of, or auxiliary to, larger institutions whose primary purpose is not the provision of social services, e.g. vocational counselling in schools; similar services whose services are obligatory in nature, required by law or otherwise governed by statutes which limit choice in acceptance of the service, e.g. correctional services; similar services whose purpose is very specific in terms of problem or population, and thereby exclude youth or those who do not fit the problem definition.
Method

The method of this research design consists of the following five procedures:

1. a survey of the current literature on youth: their development, their world, their problems, and treatment, services, and social policy designed to serve youth. The search will be for clarity of concept and problem formulation;
2. the collection and categorization of available data on the presenting problems of young clients coming to the following voluntary counselling agencies for service from June to September 1970: The Family Service Bureau of Windsor, The Catholic Family Service Bureau of Windsor, The P.O.S.T. On Street Trailer, The Windsor YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project;
3. a survey of practitioners experienced in counselling youth. The focus would be on gathering and synthesizing their experience in the hope of insights into the probable effectiveness of various approaches, treatment methods, etc. Exploration would also be conducted into the relationship between practice philosophy, the agency employing the practitioner, and the agency's orientation to youth services;
4. an analysis of one or more "pure" cases or other insight-stimulating examples. This analysis would depend on the outcome of other procedures providing relatively distinct categories from which a representation could be taken;
5. a review of the researcher's own experience and insights in working with youth; his own observations of effective and ineffective treatment and procedural approaches and analysis of case illustrations he knows well.

Limitations of time and resources in what is a graduate research project meant that only two of the aforementioned procedures would be conducted by the researcher. The total research design has been outlined to provide a relevant framework within which these methods were carried out. Procedures numbered (1) and (2) were chosen which the researcher considered the most potentially fruitful and least speculative of all the procedures.

A detailed description of each procedure follows.

The Survey of the Literature

The literature has been separated into four areas: adolescence, the world of youth, the problems of youth, and treatment and services for youth.
This categorization reflects the researcher's interest in the relationship between these various levels of investigation and understanding of youth. A description of these areas follows:

(1) Adolescence. That literature related to the particular psychological and physiological variables that appear to be at work within an individual during that stage of development, critical stage, or age group, commonly called adolescence.

(2) The World of Youth. That literature offering insight into the particular relationship between youth and their environment, society and its various institutions, culture, youth culture, attitudes toward youth and attitudes of youth, values and value assimilation.

(3) The Problems of Youth. That literature conveying information and hypotheses about the most common problems youth face in relationship to their total biopsychosocial development.

(4) Treatment and Services for Youth. That literature concerned with the differential nature of treatment and services for youth and the relationship of these formulations to comprehensive treatment and community service models.

Particular interest will be given to literature that relates various levels of understanding of youth or the situation of youth; literature which represents the frontiers of understanding and delivery of services to youth, namely that literature published within the last five years; literature exploring the more difficult areas of conceptualization encountered in work with youth.

The Collection of Available Data on The Presenting Problems of Youth

The four agencies utilized in this procedure, The Family Service...
Bureau, The Catholic Family Service Bureau, The P.O.S.T. On Street Trailer, and The Windsor YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project all fit within the previously stated definition of "a voluntary counselling service." With one possible exception, Crossroads, they represent the bulk of this type of service in Windsor. Crossroads was excluded essentially because statistics on the young people served were not available at the time the design of this research was formulated.

The two Family Service Bureaus represent the traditional long-established agencies in Windsor, while the other projects represent the new youth-oriented services.

The Sample

The sample population chosen were those youth from sixteen to twenty-four years who presented problems, were in need of service, and utilized the four agencies; three agencies during the time period from June 1 to September 1, 1970, and the fourth, P.O.S.T., from June 11 to September 11. Data from the P.O.S.T. was not available before June 11 when operations began. Data from the Youth Counsellor Project was not available for the period after September 1. It was felt that this slight discrepancy in time would not significantly alter the results.

The summer period allowed inclusion of data from the Youth Counsellor Project and P.O.S.T., two new youth-oriented services which began in the early summer. Young people who might otherwise have used school counselling services could be included since these services were not available during the holiday recess.

Presenting Problem

Presenting problem, within this research context, meant a problem,
problems, or areas of concern exhibited or expressed by the client in his request for service or shortly thereafter in his initial contacts with an agency or worker. In terms of available data, statistics recording number and type of aid or assistance were accepted as indicating a particular problem, if these aids and assistances were specifically problem-oriented.

The following is a description of each of the four agencies which in turn is followed by a description of the available data and method of compilation for each agency.

**Agencies Contributing Data**

The Family Service Bureau of Windsor

This agency is a long-established one in the city of Windsor having received its Letters Patent in 1951. It is a private agency, financed primarily through the United Community Fund, offering services to anyone over sixteen in the city of Windsor. Its focus is on services to family members and single individuals related to the healthy functioning of the basic family unit and the community. Social casework is the primary treatment method. Services offered are marriage counselling, treatment of families with parent-child difficulties, treatment of individuals with interpersonal and intrapersonal difficulties. It is staffed entirely by graduate trained social workers, and is located not far from the downtown area of the city.

The Catholic Family Service Bureau of Windsor

This agency has also been established in Windsor for some time. Generally it offers the same pattern of services, carries the same
general focus, and is staffed similarly to the other Family Service Bureau, except it is directed mainly to the Roman Catholic population. It is located in the downtown area of Windsor.

P.O.S.T. On Street Trailer

This agency officially opened around June 11, 1970 upon the recommendation of the city of Windsor's Mayor's Committee on Drugs. At present, the agency is financed jointly by the city of Windsor and the Addiction Research Foundation of Windsor. The purpose of the agency is to provide a crisis centre for the purpose of "meeting individual needs whether they be drugs, depression, food and shelter, medical health, etc."\(^6\) It is primarily focused at providing information, counselling, and crisis intervention services with regard to the misuse or abuse of drugs by young people in Windsor. It is a two-fold operation, a 12-hour "on street" treatment centre staffed by three trained volunteer counsellors, and a 24-hour answering service with one employee on call. The service operates from a trailer in downtown Windsor.

The Windsor YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project

This service began operation May 25, 1970. It is sponsored and financed jointly by the Windsor YM-YWCA, the Maycourt Club of Windsor, and the University of Windsor School of Social Work. Its purpose is to provide counselling services to youth aged sixteen to twenty-four years who are in need of help and guidance. Within a general outreach focus, the project provides individual and group counselling services, referral services, and community organization operations on behalf of youth. The

\(^6\)Crisis Centre "P.O.S.T.", Windsor, Ontario, 1970, p. 1. (Mimeographed.)
service is based downtown and headquartered at the YM-YWCA building. During the period of the research, the project was staffed by one graduate student from the University of Windsor School of Social Work.

Description of Available Data

Each of the four agencies contributing data used their own particular method of record keeping. For this reason, it is necessary to describe the record keeping methods of each agency and the definitions they use.

The Family Service Bureau

This agency keeps on file an intake sheet, and depending on the particular worker, notes on contact and case progress. The intake sheet is filled out by the secretary-receptionist and includes the prospective client's name, address, the names and ages of other family members, and the request for service, or the client's or referral source's expression of the problem situation. Any other official recording is kept in a case file. Usually such recording is minimal, recording the disposition of a case or closing summary. Any other notes are the responsibility of the worker himself and are not official records.

No problem checklist is utilized by the agency as a regular part of its record keeping. There appears to be no definite attempt to categorize problem areas except within a general framework of the agency's defined purpose, i.e. helping to promote wholesome and health family life. Their promotional pamphlet outlines the following as areas of concern for which their services might be helpful: parent-child problems, child-parent problems, unhappy families, happy families seeking greater happiness, concerns related to the growth and stability of the marital relationship, individuals anxious about school achievement, ability to
make friends, and retirement and job success.

The Catholic Family Service Bureau

Official records in this agency consist of a file card for each client or family. This card records demographic statistics on the person concerned, the applicant's problem area, the disposition of the case and closing remarks of the worker. No other records or files are kept by the agency, although again, a worker may have his own notes. The following is a list of problem areas that might be indicated by the worker as the problem of his client: marital; economic; health, mental or physical; parent-child, pre-school (0-5 years), latency (6-12 years), adolescence (13-15 years), young adults (16-21 years). The problem areas are broad and no specific definitions accompany the list. The parent-child list seems to presume a developmental or differential framework.

P.O.S.T.

On the first visit of a client, each volunteer or fulltime staff is required to record the sex, approximate age, and type of aid or assistance given for each individual (Appendix C). These statistics were compiled weekly and used for administrative and general information purposes.

The following is a list of categories and their definitions used by the P.O.S.T. to describe the type of contact or service request of a person coming to the agency:

General Contact. A contact with a person who simply dropped in either to explore the service, ask for information or generally request some minor, non-problem related service.

Education. A person who needed help with his present educational situation or wanted help or information related to getting into some kind of educational program.

Employment. A person who was looking for a job, or had a job and was
looking for a better one and needed help.

Financial. A person who needed immediate financial assistance, usually in the form of General Welfare Assistance.

Drugs. Those who were in the midst of a personal drug crisis. Sometimes this involved their families as well.

Medical Health. Those needing help with a medical problem, such as venereal disease, dietary problems, or infections such as hepatitis.

Psychological Health. Those who needed hospitalization for psychiatric treatment, or had psychological troubles which required long-term professional help.

Social Adjustment. Young people needing help with problems related to their social situation. Most common were those with family relationships, or with regard to personal social adjustment, such as pregnancy out of wedlock.

Legal. Those who required legal assistance, whether a crisis or upcoming legal situation.

Food and Shelter. Those people who were in immediate need of food and a place to sleep. These were mostly young travellers on the road during the summer months.

YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project

Within this project, records were kept in the form of an intake sheet and a daily journal in which the counsellor recorded his contacts, the substance of the interviews, treatment plans, evaluative material, and personal comments. Statistics were compiled at the end of three months' operation of the project, for the purpose of determining the number of persons receiving service, the effectiveness of certain procedural approaches, the kinds of problems encountered, and the type of client served. This list was compiled from the intake sheets and the counsellor's journal by means of a check-list made of categories of areas of client concern most commonly encountered in the counsellor's experience, and data recording age, sex, and residency. (Appendix D).

By areas of concern was meant the client's expression of concern
about himself in relation to a certain area of personal or social functioning. Thus when a client expressed several concerns in initial contacts with the counsellor, not only the principal concern but each concern was recorded.

The following are the categories designating the clients' areas of concern and their descriptions:

Housing. A client in immediate need of a place to stay for a variety of reasons.

Finance. Those young people without any funds and in immediate need of financial assistance.

Employment. Those who expressed concerns that the primary way out of their problems was employment which they were having difficulty finding or holding.

Education. Those who placed primary emphasis on continuing education, as at least part of the answer to their situation, and expressed a wish to re-enter or continue in such educational programs.

Health. Those young people who were concerned about their health. This included many concerns such as pregnancy, physical disabilities limiting employment, medical complications stemming from drug abuse, or venereal disease.

Legal. Those clients who needed legal advice or were involved in legal restrictions of some kind, parole, probation, immigration problems, or some other situation involving the law, with which they had difficulty coping.

Family. Those who expressed serious concern about their relationship with family members, whether they were living presently at home, had shortly left it, or were after some time away from home, still resolving recognized family problems.

Other. Those who expressed concerns related to other less common, or more pervasive but less expressed areas such as temporary emotional upsets, cultural adjustment problems, intrapsychic and other mental health problems. Requests for information on various services fell in this category also.

Utilization of Available Data

Available data was categorized into types of presenting problems within the context of definitions used by each agency. Analyses, where
applicable, were of an associative nature. Attempts were made to relate meaningful findings to the results of the survey of literature, in the hope of providing meaningful insights into the problems, situation, treatment and services of youth in the city of Windsor.
CHAPTER III

FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

Adolescence

The historical and philosophical roots of theories of adolescence range from the early Greeks to the twentieth century. The Greeks, medievals, Christians, and geniuses of their age such as Camenius, Locke, Rousseau, and Darwin, have all contributed to the understanding of adolescence.

At the present time there are a number of highly developed theories of adolescence, some of which seem more acceptable than others in this study, but all having influenced the thinking of many.

The categorizations of E. Kuno Beller outline the theoretical orientations of six schools of thought on adolescence. These are biological, psychological, psycho-social, sociological, psychoanalytic, and anthropological. These are summarized and the specific formulation of at least one major theorists for each orientation are presented.

Biological Theories

The main biological theorists of adolescence are Hall, Gesell, Kretschmer, Zeller, and Remplein. The main postulate of this school of thought is that adolescence is a somewhat distinct and separate phase

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in human development marked by certain innate biological factors which
predetermine, or determine, the direction of development during adolescence.

Hall\textsuperscript{8} theorizes that adolescence is a distinct phase of individual
human development which corresponds to that period in the history of
mankind marked by rebellion and transition. He believes each individual
carries within his genetic makeup this experiential history of the race.
The individual in adolescence, then, experiences a period of storm and
stress marked by extremes and contradictions in emotional, social, and
ideological experience. Late adolescence represents a recapitulation
of the beginning of modern civilization.

Gesell\textsuperscript{9} sees human development in general as marked by predetermined
stages of maturation which he describes as age trends. He sees growth
as a process of differentiation and integration. Environmental factors
play little part although they may be facilitative. He uses a spiral
model to describe growth as an oscillation along a spiral course to
maturation. This process involves progression and partial regression
as developmental change. Adolescence is generally seen as a stage
of stress and strain and glaring contradictions. He sees the period
after sixteen years as one of emotional integration.

Kretschmer\textsuperscript{10} famous for his body typology as an explanation of
development, postulates that adolescence has schizoid tendencies and that
the degree of turbulence experienced by an adolescent would be correlated

\textsuperscript{8}G. Stanley Hall, \textit{Adolescence} (New York: Appelton, 1916).

\textsuperscript{9}Arnold Gesell, L. Frances, and Louise B. Ames, \textit{Youth: The Years from

\textsuperscript{10}Ernst Kretschmer, \textit{Korperbau und Charakter} (Berlin: Springer Verlag,
1951).
with his body type.

Zeller\textsuperscript{11} a German psychologist, theorizes that adolescence, like any stage of development, has a particular body gestalt which presupposes that changes in body constitution are related to changes in psychological functions. The onset of puberty in early adolescence is reflected in sudden increases in impulsivity, nervousness, and in a more critical attitude. He also postulates a personality typology and stratification related to the functions of different areas of the brain.

Remplein\textsuperscript{12} holds a personality strata theory which is a genetic concept of brain development. He states that there are three levels of personality development parallel to three levels of physical brain development. The lowest level of personality development is related to body functions that preserve life; the second is the seat of the emotions; the third represents ego functioning. Innate disposition determines the direction of development and also limits the influence of environment on development. A developmental maladjustment may result from a failure of integration of the new and old strata. Remplein believes that premature pushing beyond developmental levels may lead to negative results such as arrest in development. Adolescence to Remplein is a period of transition characterized by negativism. Changes in endocrinological secretions lead to a resurgence of new drives as a desire for self-determination and independence, while the environment perceives them as forms of negativism and rebellion. He recommends tolerance of the


\textsuperscript{12}Heinz Remplein, \textit{Die seelische Entwicklung in der Kindheit und Reifezeit} (Munich: Ernst Reinhard, 1956).

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emotional instability, disobedience, and exaggerated self assertion of youth.

**Psychological Theories**

Differing from the biological theorists, the psychological theorists base their theories on the study of individual human experience rather than brain structure. They share a focal interest in psychological processes such as consciousness, perception, values, inner conflict, and stress.

Kroh\(^\text{13}\) postulates a phase structure theory of development based on the psychological aspects of consciousness at different stages of development. Within a framework of gestalt theory he claims two developmental trends are present in adolescence, a move from the fantasy of childhood to a more realistic world view, and the development from reflex action to motor control, purposeful action, followed by foresight and planning, and finally causal cognition and creative production.

Spranger\(^\text{14}\) a phenomenologist, following a psychology of understanding, feels that psychological change cannot be explained by physiological states nor can it be studied in search of casual explanations, or for predictive value. He views adolescence as a period of transition during which a hierarchy of values is established. Differences in value hierarchy will affect different patterns of change. The three patterns are, radical and dramatic changes accompanying a shift in individual self-perception, a slow and continual change with gradual adaptation of generally held societal values with no personality change, and growth

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process in which the adolescent achieves his goals through self-discipline and active efforts. The discovery of self for the adolescent takes place outside of the world and he therefore encounters loneliness and has a need to experiment which sometimes leads to rebellion.

Lewin\textsuperscript{15} postulates a field theory in which behaviour is a function of the person and his environment. He sees adolescence as a time of rapid change, without time for proper organization, within the structure of his life space. The result is stress and disorganization in life space. The presence of conflicting forces in the organism or the perceived environment heightens the conflicting forces in adolescence. He compares the adolescent to a minority group member. Plagued by emotional tension and sensitive to the shortcomings of his background, he experiences a sudden expansion of life space accompanied by uncertainty and conflicting pressures. The consequences are emotional and ideological instability. To reduce the confusion in the life space with regard to societal ideology, the adolescent often takes a radical stance, which results in his moving through fewer regions than adults who perceive and accept a more differentiated world.

\textbf{Psycho-social Theories}

The social psychologists who present the following theories, while not ignoring or neglecting personality mechanisms and intrapsychic factors, put emphasis on social environment and the role of the interacting processes between the adolescent and his society.

Davis postulates the theory of socialization or social reinforcement and punishment as a process affecting growth and development. The theory is based on the fact that anticipation of fear brings about socialized anxiety which functions as a tool to help the individual adapt. With the coming of adolescence, when society demands increased responsibility and delayed gratification, socialized anxiety increases, especially in the middle class. Lower class youth often do not develop socialized anxiety since their experience is that delayed gratification of aggression and sex does not bring the symbolic rewards such as status.

Havinghurst theorizes that development is a process of acquiring skills, and that developmental tasks for this purpose have a critical period in which to be undertaken. Acquired skills prepare one for the next task and provide what he calls developmental motivation. The nature of the task is culturally determined and there is need for reinforcement from society. The tasks for adolescence are accepting one's physique and sex role, achieving relationships with peers of both sexes, achieving emotional independence from both parents, making vocational choices, acquiring intellectual competence and socially responsible behaviour, preparing for marriage and family life, and building values which are in harmony with the world picture of the society.

Sociological Theories

Kingsley Davis taking a sociological perspective, postulates


17 Robert Havinghurst, Developmental Tasks and Education (New York: Longmans, Green, 1951).

that adolescence is complicated by the fact that in our society physical maturation and maturity move far ahead of social maturity. The adolescent is in a socially subordinate position. This position is determined by four factors, occupational placement, reproductive control, authority organization, and cultural acquisition.

Davis has some particularly meaningful things to say about the conflict between generations, parental authority, and cultural acquisitions. He points out that the individual reaches his intellectual peak far before the time society allows him to use it. The result is a person forced to learn after his capacity to do so has begun to decline. Society in turn utilizes men only at the peak of their administrative and sociological maturity when their experience gives them the know-how for political decision-making. Parental authority becomes a problem in our society since we have no publicly accepted practices for emancipation from authority; therefore wide individual variation exists from family to family and each family must settle the matter in its own way. Rapid social and technological change leaves parents with outdated adolescent experiences. This cultural lag is aggravated by the child's exposure to other authority figures, such as educators, who often transmit cultural values beyond the present, widening the intellectual gap between parent and child. Parental status is often tied to the child's behaviour causing parents to prolong their control. The concentration of the nuclear family with activities dispersed outside the home isolates and intensifies family affective bonds. The process of cultural acquisition in our complicated society is carried on by a large specialized educational system which teaches abstracts, often unrelated to the adolescent's reality, thus leading to incongruence and problems of motivation.
Davis recommends new inventive educational technology to shorten absorption and the introduction of vocational and occupational training earlier.

Psychoanalytic Theories

Psychoanalytic theories do not fit without distortion within any of the other theoretical orientations. Although early in its theoretical development it leaned toward biological and evolutionary factors, it very soon developed theorists who broke away from this development.

Carl Jung\(^1\) went in the direction of extreme emphasis on a constitutional typology and evolutionary recapitalization of human experience.

Alfred Adler\(^2\) placed the family and other social factors in a central position.

Freud\(^3\) himself, began stressing external reality. Anna Freud\(^4\) concerned with the defense mechanisms of the ego, anticipated the development of ego psychology.

Abraham Kardiner\(^5\) and Erik Erikson\(^6\) elevated culture and environment to a central position in psychoanalytic theory.

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Psychoanalysis generally sees adolescence as the childhood of adulthood.\(^25\) From a dynamic point of view the successful completion of the adolescent stage of development depends upon the relative success of the individual with previous psycho-sexual stages. For these theorists, adolescence, with the renewed upsurge of sexual feelings after a period of latency, is a time of stress in which adolescents give up some of the accomplishments of the latency stage (in education and social conformity). The adolescent manifests some regressive tendencies and extreme defense maneuvers such as self-induced exertion, escape into peer groups (boys), or exaggeration of heterosexual interest (girls) to ward off the regressive pull. Mainly there is a moving away from the parental love objects of childhood with a weakening of parental authority and superego resulting in loneliness, turmoil, and depressed moods. In this stage, friendships acquire an enormous importance and friends are idealized. Peer groups and social belonging become extremely important as an area in which identification takes place.

**Anthropological Theories**

Anthropologists, like Ruth Benedict\(^26\) point out that few human traits are universal but that specific patterns of cultural conditions determine whether development takes place in stages or is continuous. Benedict concludes that adolescence in primitive societies is more continuous and the effect of social environment emerges more clearly.


In our complex society the widening gap between parent and child causes the adolescent to conform more to peer than to parental values and expectations. She believes there is some benefit in a more gradual change and continuity in development.

Physiological Changes in Adolescence

Important physiological changes take place in adolescence, the most significant being those related to sexual development. Sexual development begins with the first menstrual period in girls, the average age being around thirteen years of age, and lasts about three years. In boys the pubescent period begins about two years later than for girls, and is more variable lasting from two to four years. Girls are more nearly their adult size when they become sexually mature than are boys.

Other important changes such as continued decrease in basal metabolism during adolescence, doubling in heart size and blood pressure (stabilized at sexual maturity), accelerated growth of lungs, increase in stomach size with qualitative changes, with related changes in nutritional needs and a general increase in strength, accompany adolescence.

Secondary sex characteristics are also closely connected with sexual development and begin to appear during adolescence. Such changes are seen in colour and texture of hair, the development of pubic hair and later axillary hair, such as beards in boys. Skin structure changes occur, sometimes associated with skin problems. Fat content increases and voice changes occur.

Perhaps the most significant fact about physiological changes in

adolescence is the considerable variation in the time of onset of puberty and the rate of changes occurring during this period.

Cognitive Development in Adolescence

It appears from quantitative assessment approaches to measuring mental abilities that the following conclusions are true:

(a) that for those abilities measured by mental tests, adolescence appears to be the period during which such abilities reach their peak of efficiency;
(b) the bulk of evidence suggests that there is an increase in the differentiation of abilities between childhood and adolescence;
(c) sex differences in intellectual achievement become prominent in adolescence;
(d) other things being equal, the intelligence quotient, considered as a ranking, stays relatively constant from childhood through adolescence.28

From a qualitative or developmental approach to cognition with reference to the work of Inhelder and Piaget,29 adolescence has some particular characteristics of thought which differ from those of childhood. The adolescent has the ability to deal with propositional logic, to grasp metaphor, and to conceptualize and reason about thought itself. The affective consequences of these new intellectual achievements may be adolescent self-consciousness and superficial interpersonal relations. There is no doubt that cognition in adolescence should be regarded as intimately involved with all aspects of adolescent experience and behaviour. This period of cognitive development is usually completed by the age of sixteen.


Creativity in Adolescence

All indications are that adolescence is an ideal period in which to foster creative abilities in the individual with high intelligence, and in others who do not have a correspondingly high intelligence rating to accompany their high creative ability. There is very little to offer these young people in our high schools now. For one thing, group experiences are not necessarily the best for the development of creativity, where individual help has been found most effective. School systems also have been traditionally closed systems constituting an unpropitious environment for creativity. Such a system seems highly inappropriate in our quickly changing world where many maintain "that today the most important conceivable goal of education is learning how to learn or learning how to change and to adapt new goals...which rates far above any type of static knowledge."

Adolescent Values and Attitudes

Russell Eisenmann considers explanations for the characteristic

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34 Carl Rogers (participant) in *Instructional Media and Creativity*, p. 44.

mixture of realism and idealism, and cynicism and rebellion in adolescence.

Three explanations for the realism and idealism mixture are:

(a) that the adolescent in search of a definition of himself seeks also a definition of the world around him, generalizing from the question "what should I be like" to "what should the world be like", he comes up with idealistic answers;

(b) that adolescent idealism may constitute in part resistance to growing up, in that this idealism represents a defense in which the adolescent resists development into adulthood and not basically a concern with truth, beauty, and goodness;

(c) that the onset of sudden physical and sexual development in the adolescent, combined with the high degree of societal sexual taboo and also emphasis on sexuality, may threaten the adolescent and force a resolution by retreat into idealism.

Cynicism and rebellion may also be part of attempts at self-definition.

Other possible explanations of these attitudes are first, that society in general, and parents in particular, tend to be conservative and exert strong irrational pressures towards socialization. The adolescent fights these pressures with an equally stubborn and hostile attitude. Secondly, in our complex society in general, the individual is not in a position to effect major changes. This pattern of "massness" creates cynicism or the conviction that nothing can be done. The adolescent in this society is less likely than other individuals to take part in decision-making or to see a use for his potential creativeness.

Eisenmann points out that a vicious circle is at work in our society; a combination of expectations of inhibitions of sexual and other drives by the adolescent, intense socialization not conducive to mature independence and the offering of little responsibility to the adolescent. Alienation does not appear to him to be an unusual result of such a process. He concludes that we must be careful in applying value and attitude-oriented stereotypes to adolescents on the basis of personality or physiological change of this stage of development. He feels there are many other
variables involved especially those that concern the interaction of parent, adolescent, and society. He says

The values and attitudes of adolescents may be different in many ways from those of the adults. However, adults, and that abstraction we call 'society' or 'culture', play an important role in the formation, maintenance, and sometimes, in the change of values and attitudes.

Issues Regarding the Nature of Adolescence

There seems to be disagreement among scholars interested in adolescence around several issues, first, whether adolescence is a stage in development or a critical period in development; second, whether adolescence really is a period of storm and stress, and third, whether there really is such a thing as an adolescent personality.

The age-stage hypothesis suggests "that children manifest various behaviours sequentially in the course of their development, and progress through increasingly mature and relatively well-defined stages." The criticism of such theories is that although they tend to give order to our understanding of certain behaviour, there are also dangers involved. First, we may fail to recognize that some tasks cannot be accomplished by an individual no matter what his age, if prerequisite accomplishment has not taken place earlier. Second, such theories presume the continuity of mastery of developmental tasks not taking into account overlap in development and setbacks. Third, the precise identification of such tasks may be perceived as crystallizing life-curriculums obstructing re-examination and modification with changes in society. Fourth, such

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36ibid., p. 197.

stages tend to be perceived as auditions to adult roles when these stages might be important in themselves.\textsuperscript{38}

Stage theory also raises the following questions: Is adolescence a true stage or merely a prolonged transition from childhood to adulthood? Is adolescence, in itself, a stage significant enough for considering institutionalizing it, which might reduce anxiety by clearly defining responsibilities and privileges? Will institutionalization give recognition to adolescence thereby constraining youth to remain in it? Should adolescence remain uninstitutionalized because feeling out-of-step in adolescence might not be motivation to move toward adulthood? Does stage theory imply that society should not articulate each stage with what follows that stage, or would such an articulation be inappropriate since society may not be able to anticipate what experiences will be necessary for an age of change? Are stages not genetically but socioculturally derived and might not society then order tasks to fit the society? Evidence seems to show not only that stages do follow cultural patterns but also that there is great variability in the definition and significance of these stages.\textsuperscript{39}

The critical period hypothesis suggests that "particular life-stages, either universally or within particular societies, become critical in certain respects, for the stages that follow."\textsuperscript{40} While it does appear that adolescence in general is critical as regards personality reorganization, changes in attitude and behaviour in preparation for adulthood, theorists often put stress on the more immediate reactions to puberty as the critical

\textsuperscript{38}\textit{ibid.}, p. 158.
\textsuperscript{39}\textit{ibid.}, pp. 160-62.
\textsuperscript{40}\textit{ibid.}, p. 192.
adjustment period. Dorothy Rogers points to other areas that might be critical, like late adolescence:

According to Hess, successful performance in the early twenties, as evaluated by occupational commitment, social skill, and psychological health, is more closely related to events and experiences that occur after high school than to high school behaviour. Moreover, these data demonstrate the fluid and unstable nature of adolescent behaviour patterns, and provide an empirical basis for the belief that the processes of identity that make for stable adult behaviour and personality continue well past high school.

With regard to the rather common generalization that adolescence is a time of storm and stress, Albert Bandura found in his studies of middle-class families of adolescent boys that there was little evidence to support this traditional view. His findings suggest "that behavioural characteristics exhibited by children during the so-called adolescent stage are lawfully related to, and consistent with, pre-adolescent social behaviour." In an attempt to explain the origins of what he considers the mythology about adolescence and its persistence, he refers to the following explanations:

(a) that there is an overinterpretation of superficial signs of non-conformity;
(b) that adolescent fad patterns also exist with other age groups especially the pre-adolescent, but that pre-adolescent fad preferences are more limited by parental control and limited buying power than that of the adolescent;
(c) that mass media sensationalizes the storm and stress image of the adolescent;
(d) that many generalizations have resulted from the samples of deviant adolescents with which most professional therapists have contact with;
(e) that there has been inappropriate generalization from cross-cultural data which refer to abrupt and elaborate initiations into adulthood;

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44 Ibid., p. 230.
(f) that there has been overemphasis of the biological determinants of heterosexual behaviour without sufficient regard to well documented evidence that human sexuality is governed primarily by social conditioning; (g) that stages theories of personality development have been "influential in promoting the view that adolescence represents a form of stage behaviour that suddenly appears at pubescence and as suddenly disappears when adulthood is achieved." 45

Bandura concludes that there is danger that society may create a self-fulfilling prophecy through its maintenance of this stormy image of the adolescent. He does not claim that there is little stress and adjustment problems in adolescence, but that this is common to many age groups.

Clearly related to the other issues indicated is the question of whether it is reasonable to claim the existence of an "adolescent personality." Outside of the criticism that stage theories tend to lend false distinctiveness to adolescence as a developmental stage in personality growth, Symonds and Jensen claim that

It is unfair and misleading, therefore, to speak of 'the adolescent personality.' Characterizing an age group in this way prevents one from attending to all the variations in the personalities of adolescents and the factors that are responsible for these differences. It is much more helpful to think of personality as a form of adjustment that had been acquired from responding to vicissitudes of living. So the personality of the adolescent is an outgrowth of experiences of infancy and childhood, and it is not as much a matter of growing out of adolescence, as it is reacting to life's experiences with the personality equipment and reaction tendencies with which earlier years have equipped one." 46

Their claim is based on a follow-up study of forty subjects thirteen years later, to test the predictive value of tests, autobiographies, interviews, and other data with regard to the move from adolescence to adulthood. They were impressed by the consistency of personality trends over this period.


The World of Youth

The world of youth consists of society, its institutions, and its many influences on individual and group experiences. Particularly it consists of those institutions most involving youth, the home and school. It also consists of the world of opportunity and scope around the individual, especially as related to work and vocational choice. It includes peers and their life styles. Its meaning is somewhat dependent on how youth is perceived by others and how the rest of society is perceived by youth. It is not without influences of other variables such as social class that affect youth as well as many other groups.

General Hypotheses

Erik Erikson postulates that youth is a time in which the individual person "must find an identity consonant with its own childhood and consonant with an ideological promise in the perceptible historical process." The world of youth is then characterized by two things, fidelity and diversity. Fidelity to Erikson is a socio-genic characteristic of this stage, necessary for a person to involve himself in finding his own identity by immersing himself in the ideological, moral and ethical diversity of the world around him. The involvement is one that youth is prepared for by his energy and new capacity to conceptualize the great variety of options and experiences around him. Within a society with a great deal of marginality, in this process the youth often feels alienated. A successful experience of fidelity in the experience of the true grasp of important principles and ideals not only confirms the individual

youth's identity within society but is part itself of the evolving
history of humanity.\textsuperscript{48}

If a young person finds, in his search which might range at any time
from devoted conformism to extreme deviancy, a confirmed sense of identity,
his youthful task is complete enough for him to move on to further
actualization in adulthood.

The danger in youth most often is role confusion. The impulsive
choices that are then denied and sometimes result in regressive pathology.
An acceptance of a determined future may lead to psychoneurotic tendencies.
A rejection or denial of the tendency to withdraw and regress often leads
to joining of deviant cliques or gangs which provide their own pseudo-
historical perspective with their own values and ethics.\textsuperscript{49}

This interdependence of youth and the world youth live in is perhaps
best expressed by Erikson himself:

The utopia of our era predicts that man will be one species in one
world, with a universal identity to replace the illusory superidentities
which have divided him, and with an international ethics replacing
all moral systems of superstition, repression, and suppression.
Whatever the political arrangement that will foster this utopia,
we can only point to the schedule of human strengths which potentially
emerge with the stages of life and indicate their interdependence
on the structure of communal life. In youth ego strength emerges
from the mutual confirmation of individual and community, in the
sense that society recognizes the young individual as a bearer of
fresh energy and that the individual so confirmed recognizes it,
maintains allegiance as it attracts it, honors confidence as it demands it.\textsuperscript{50}

Talcott Parsons sees youth in American-type societies as basically
committed to the values of their society. They take the activist side,
when because stress is laid on urgencies of the time, society in general

\textsuperscript{48}\textit{ibid.}, pp. 1-23.
\textsuperscript{49}\textit{ibid.}, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{50}\textit{ibid.}, p. 8.
is emphasizing what is wrong and is pushing the need for active intervention. Youth is impressed with its future responsibilities yet at the same time frustrated by its lack of power, which even youth admits is the result of rational segregation, segregation that must take place for the purpose of training in an increasingly differentiated social situation.51

Within society, youth is experiencing several rather special kinds of strain:

- a progressively higher level of expectations for youth outside of the family and even within the family for women, within a complex and competitive world. Related to this a more difficult and lengthy educational process with the continuous assumption of more autonomous responsibility;

- with regard to psychological preparation for maturing, the nuclear family has tended to increase the dependency of the young child. This has found to be a highly motivating-for-achievement factor in families, but also motivation in a certain direction pleasing the family. The attempt to keep this balance between autonomous components and pleasing causes many strains, often evident and underlying, going-steady, heterosexual relationships, crushes on teachers, and early marriage;

- the differentiation in the structure of society, along with the flexibility of ties to community and family, has brought with it greater freedom of choice to the individual especially as regards sexual behaviour. Much of this new freedom is still illegitimate in relation to older standards and codes of standard are not clear. The choices and evaluations which must be undertaken by the individual youth cause strain;

- again with regard to normative regulation, this area of development is not only lacking as regards choices, but even when persons feel there should be guidance available, or when the individual is susceptible to conflicting expectations that are impossible to fulfill simultaneously. This condition is commonly called anomie and bears heavily on youth owing to the fact that the major agents for initiating change lie in other parts of society with corporations, science and politics. The social structures bearing most directly on youth, the family and school, anchored in the local community, have also little effect on change and generally tend, except at a university, to be conservative. They are generally out-of-tune with the most advanced developments of the time;

- the expanding education system has the effect of segregating an increasing proportion of the younger age groups. Expansion to even older groups is increasing.52

51 Talcot Parsons, "Youth in the Context of American Society, " in Youth: Change and Challenge, p. 103.
52 ibid., pp. 105-09.
The youth reaction to a society which such a highly developed universalistic pattern of organization at an adult level is often youth culture or relatively institutionalized patterns of values, relationships, and behaviour of youth. 53

Some features of youth culture Parsons sees are a duality of orientation, a stance of independence to certain adult expectations and control, and a compulsive conformity with a romantic streak for heroes within the youth culture itself.

There seems to be a relaxation of tension toward parents with more institutionalized permissiveness, and the school with the acceptance of higher educational goals.

Generally much of youth culture values are invested in a general upgrading of the normative values of society, with highly cultural interests, and a concern with meaningfulness. The ferment of youth is real but within realistic expectation and oriented into fitting not passively but with a sense of readiness to work within society.

Irene Josselyn54 holding to a general psychoanalytic dynamic orientation, sees the world of the adolescent as encompassing his total physical, psychological and social developmental experiences. Her particular emphasis is on the more individual experiences of childhood as they affect adolescents and the differential nature of adolescents. She points out the following social pressures:

- the conflict between emphasis on self development and value orientations of parents and others with regard to the direction that independent

53 ibid., p. 110.

action should take;
- conflicting standards stemming from half-truth principles conveyed by parents and teachers and their actual behaviour recognized by youth as a compromise with ideals;
- the conflict between the dependency needs of youth and the lack of individual attention of teachers in crowded high schools complicated by teachers' lack of understanding of adolescent behaviour.

She points out that youth react with great diversity and contradiction to social adaptation. Variations in behaviour may occur in one individual at different times, with regard to independence and dependence, choice of contrasting peer groups, sexual patterns, interpersonal relationships, contradictions in verbalization and behaviour, parent relationships, in secretiveness and self-revelation.

She interprets the contradictions as attempts to find clear-cut answers to internal conflicts and social pressures, to fulfil urges and defend from conflict at the same time.

Josselyn points out that a utopian society could set the maximum degree of confusion an individual young person could tolerate, while she also stresses that tolerance of confusion seems a more than necessary developmental experience to help one deal with adult responsibilities. Increasing the youth's capacity to participate in adult responsibilities she feels would also be necessary.

School

Havinghurst and Taba\(^5\) in a study of adolescent character and personality discovered that there was a high correlation between school adjustment and good character, but they also discovered that the only significant

\(^5\)Robert J. Havinghurst and Hilda Taba, Adolescent Character and Personality (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949).
variable in this relationship was social class. In other words, it was determined that lack of school adjustment did not mean lack of good character but failure to adapt middle-class values, a conformity that seemed necessary to be deemed successful within the school system.

They concluded that the school was an inadequate agency for character formation since the school laid stress mainly on academic achievement thereby making itself unable to reward all kinds of youth for honest, loyal and responsible behaviour. Many youth are rebuffed and rejected within the system no matter how hard they try. It was recommended that schools learn tolerance of the deviant student or one with unusual abilities and interests.

F. Glen Macomber claims that there really is no clear understanding in society as to the role of educational institutions in adolescent development.

Most people hold one of three views

(a) that the school exists to bring about intellectual development in pupils and all efforts should be in that direction;
(b) that education should involve mastery of the contents of formally organized disciplines;
(c) that education should primarily be concerned with the developmental aspects of the individual.

Many or most North American schools still seem to operate on the first two orientations. Moves towards a more progressive education system have taken as their goals the integration of the individual based on his needs. Even in this respect, the schools have not often been able to put into operation curriculum that fits into these basic needs of the adolescent. Instead they have interpreted social-scientific theories of

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of development into courses with a highly diffuse relationship to these needs, such as "how-to-date" courses.

The school meanwhile has been pressured by various factors into accepting more responsibility for carrying out personal and social integration tasks.

Macomber claims that if schools are to carry out this task they must undertake it based on social-scientific accounts of the nature of adolescence. He goes on to insist that if a judgment as to goals is rejected at some point, it must be replaced so as to preserve some base for policy. The primary task of the school is two-fold, and involves determining the needs of the individual and society.

With regards to individual competence, an understanding of communication, government, economics, science, and family living are seen as needs. With regards to social integration, schools must promote tolerance and an understanding by all groups of local, national, and international society. Social needs demanding inclusion in school policy are needs for production of goods, distributive services, a common language, methods of culture transmission and government in society.

Leon Eisenberg^57 points out that the school systems are the only systems where social planning based on the needs of adolescents has been explicit but again, with Macomber, he chides the system for its lack of research into the area.

Irving Krauss^58 comparison of data on working-class and middle-class


high school seniors; to determine sources of college aspiration, reveals the following conditions as influential for working-class students: the mother has married down, either father or mother had a white-collar job, family members or friends had white-collar experience or high-status occupations. Other important variables were type of student's acquaintances, participation in extra-curricular activities, and attendance at predominantly middle-class schools.

Usdan and Nystrand claim that the school should not simply mirror society but be an active agent for social change. According to them, the school should be the pivot of community social amelioration and change, should be open around the clock and be a resource for the community. James C. Coleman argues that students will pursue goals that prepare them for productive life in society only when the school finds ways to reward them.

Family

Bruno Bettelheim purports that in a society so organized that youth remain dependent, because of the duration of the educational process and other reasons, on their parents and the older generation, and because these persons are unwilling to give up or step aside economically, politically, and emotionally, a psychological impasse is created which may be aggravated by unresolved oedipal conflicts.


This conflict resulting from parents' wishes in our society that their children's duty in life is to execute their own will and justify their own lives (by doing better economically, by attending the best college) causes results probably more tragic and common than the classic oedipal conflict. It often results in a tame middle-class society when a youth is afraid of or prevented from coming into his own or refuses to rebel. "But if a youth stays home or close to home and still fights for his independence from those he depends on, both show an emotional deficit."\(^6\)

The results for the youth, if he succeeds in fulfilling his parents' wishes, is an emasculating of the parents, guilt, and a constant feeling that he was not successful for he is not sure if he or his parents wanted him to succeed.

Parents on the other hand react with contempt to the youth who fails or does not fight back, and with hostile anxiety if he does. The youth must still rebel or submit or take a neurotic sidetrack. The latter is the most successful in hurting the father by being a "beat."

The girl in our society seems to be experiencing a very similar psychosocial conflict situation. Her position has changed somewhat from the time when she could act independently without conflict as long as her independence as a social being rested on her husband's.

Now that a girl's identity ceases to reside exclusively in childbearing and homemaking, the more her problems of identity are compounded. She now must deal not only with the question of whether her place is at home or in society or both, but also to what degree and with what justification.

The adolescent girl seems to experience in youth a somewhat more

\(^6\)ibid., p. 69.
difficult task as regards her relationship to her family than does the adolescent boy. First, adolescent girls experience a difficult and complicated identification process, involving a return to the mother, the first love object, as the sex identity model. The results are sometimes intense loneliness and inability to confide in the mother or father. Competition between mother and daughter based on comparative desirability and sometimes a mothering of younger children, often affects this process.63 Second, parents and other adult relatives a great deal of the time, seem not only to disregard issues of friendship and status of their adolescent daughters, but actually block productive boy-girl companionship and other peer relationships to the point of harming their child's future ability to form meaningful and informed relationships.64 Third there is usually poor preparation for the onset of puberty and generally neglected sex education for girls in their homes. It appears society's general "uptightness" about sexual norms is reflected in some of these omissions.65 Fourth, most girls generally feel denied self-determination in the home and lack sufficient outlets for adventure.66

Hemming reports three general areas often indicated as experienced by girls, isolation, confusion over social norms, and ridicule.67


67 Ibid., p. 45.
It appears that society's own ambivalent treatment of the female and its very righteous and often rigid lack of understanding of sexual misbehaviour is reflected in the family experience of many adolescent females.

Theodore Lidz suggests that the adolescent's struggle to overcome the dependency of childhood, to free himself from parental control, and to work out his own identity, is complicated by several factors. First, although the youth tries to establish alternate security to the family nest in his peer group, or in similar ways tries to work toward adulthood, in periods of stress he may wish to return to the warmth and security of his family. Ultimately these impulses conflict with a dominant need for freedom and self-reliance which leads the youth to disparage and find faults in his parents. This provocative behaviour will lead to crises of mutual disparagement interspersed with the surprising reversions to a loving and dependent role by the adolescent. Second, this process is often complicated by parental disharmony and their current involvement in the crisis of middle age. Third, the sexual flavouring of the adolescent may provide difficulty for the parent as he handles a waning sexual power.

Lidz claims that no matter how the adolescent devalues his parents, his eventual adult identity is still significantly connected with his parents. A failure of parents to set up consistent limits against which to struggle often leaves the adolescent feeling unloved and neglected. Sometimes in a time of crisis an adolescent learns that a parent really does have an inferior value in the real world. Such a loss is an

extremely serious one for a young person especially if aggravated by parents' counter attacks.

Roger L. Shapiro⁶⁹ reports that through content analysis of conjoint family therapy sessions with disturbed adolescents and their families, he has confirmed the hypothesis that relative age-related failure in the development of ego autonomy in the adolescent is related to ego impairment in his parents. The findings suggest that in families of adolescents with identity confusion, that the dynamic factors determining content of parents' defensive delineations of the adolescent (e.g. the defensive need of a parent to control, to hold to a narrow rigid set of morality and a code of behaviour) and structural factors determining style of delineations (e.g. cognitive thinking and communication which are in black and white terms or vague and imprecise) are important determinants of impaired ego autonomy in the adolescent.

George Vassiliov⁷⁰ based on a number of studies of the interactions of Greek families, contributes something to our understanding of the contributions of culturally-based attitudes and values to adolescent disturbances. His sample of Greek families carry out what is essentially an attempt to create in their adolescent children a certain dependency necessary for the eventual survival of the adult child in an ecological situation which necessitates interdependence on in-groups consisting of family, friends, and friends of friends in Greece. Vassiliov thought that perhaps the economic and socio-cultural changes (ecological situation)


which necessitated this interference with the adolescent struggles for independence would not in itself create sickness. He eventually concluded that it is plausible that parents who overprotect their children and keep them dependent because of culturally-based attitudes and values, affect their superficial behaviour, but not necessarily their personality structure, whereas parents who behave similarly because of their own idiosyncratic behaviour exert a deep pathogenic effect on their children.

As an extension of his findings, Vassiliov hints that the Greek "in-group" might be related to the North American "people like me" while emphasizing that in the Greek situation, this group is highly nurturant presenting for many Greeks a great asset, for others a great liability.

Work

Bruce McFarlane in his recent article reports the results of a Canadian study of 50,000 people carried out with professor Oswald Hall for the Federal Department of Labour. In was an initial exploration of the marginal area between school and work in which the researchers interviewed as many twenty-one year olds as they could contact with regard to the following general questions:

Who gets where in the school system, and how? How are jobs found by newcomers to the work world? How is school achievement linked to job opportunities? Who faces unemployment? How effective are guidance and counselling in the school system? Do boys and girls fare similarly in these matters?

---


72 Ibid., p. 175.
The primary purpose of the study was to determine the effects of the educational system, courses, vocational guidance, and counselling on the process of job establishment. It was hoped the study would fill a gap in knowledge then present (1961) about how young people actually established themselves in a job. The findings were

(a) that a student's social class position is a better predictor of success in school than intelligence.

In detail: while intelligence quotients were generally used by schools to place students in various courses and curriculums

(1) lower-class students scored lower in I.Q. tests than middle- or upper-class children;
(2) students from lower- or working-class backgrounds were seldom encouraged to take university preparation curriculums;
(3) working-class parents were more easily convinced than white-collar parents of the limited ability of their children, and white-collar parents more often ignored teacher recommendations and kept their children in university preparation curriculums regardless of the child's ability.

(b) that despite no significant differences in intelligence, girls were far more successful than boys in completing high school courses and grades.

Although more girls dropped out of school than boys, fewer did so after failing a school year. Girls also entered, left, and re-entered the labour market more easily than boys, primarily because 60% chose white-collar non-professional occupations, where there is greater opportunity and job security than the manual occupations 60% of the boys chose.

(c) that the initial period of transition from school to work appeared not too painful with 90% of the boys and girls finding jobs within one month after school-leaving. Six percent found jobs within three months.

(d) That educational backgrounds had little or no effect on the ease or difficulty in finding first jobs, but was very important in terms of extended employment. Girls finding white-collar jobs usually found this a permanent position until marriage or pregnancy. Boys with poorer backgrounds in manual occupations had many more jobs and more unemployment.

(e) girls from working-class backgrounds had one-third less difficulty finding white-collar jobs than boys with similar origins.

(f) that sources for assistance for boys in finding first jobs were

(1) personal contacts - family or friends,
(2) self-help - on own initiative,
(3) part-time work experience.

Girls tended to find their own jobs although two-fifths had personal contacts or school and teacher assistance.
An important finding of the study was that the Canadian school system tended to be a feminine world in the vocational sense. It performs admirably in preparing girls for work careers that provide jobs soon after graduation, especially in the clerical area. Boys who finished high school were usually unprepared for university. Teaching as a career offered another predominantly feminine world. Trades demanded another three to five years of apprenticeship. If a girl left school early she could quickly, in six months or less, pick up a business course in a private business college and readily find employment. Boys had no facility to help them step from half-completed schooling to a well-established job. Girls had far better access than did boys to specialized training in the form of nursing training and teacher's college after high school.

The effects of vocational counselling or "career courses" on subjects appeared to be nil. Any value statements from subjects tended to be negative claiming vocational personnel's failure in knowledge of, and reporting of positions and their requirements. They were said to be out-of-date in terms of jobs such as data processing. Also very few counsellors were said to know anything about the world of university.

Few students were informed of, or were aware of, National Employment Services (Canada Manpower) who were best prepared to be of assistance with regard to information about jobs.

In general, there was little use of formal facilities in the move from school to work with students finding or not finding their own way.

M. D. Carter conducted a similar study in Great Britain to assess

the effectiveness of schools and the Youth Employment Service on employment
of youth and also the influence of the home.

He found that there was such a complex of human social relationships
involved that he had only limited success in assessing influences on
employment.

Generally he found that

(a) parents' advice and attitudes were unrelated to the real world of work
although they did contribute by personal contact to the success of a
young person finding a job;

(b) schools used the job situation as a threat claiming the best students
find the best jobs which has been found to be untrue;

(c) the Youth Employment Service who interview and assess students
who are about to leave school, offered too little too late in the education
process and had limited success or were actually failing in their task
of helping the student find or prepare himself for work.

Marcia Freedman\(^{74}\) carried out an extensive study of the process of
work establishment of high school dropouts and high school graduates.
She concentrated on this group because it was the largest single group
of entrants into the labour force, and the group, she felt, we knew least
about. Instead of concentrating exclusively on personal characteristics,
she emphasized the policies and practices of employers with respect
to whom they select for training and promotion, believing that these were
the determining factors in employment. She studied five firms, two
utilities, two department stores, and an auto assembly plant.

Freedman found that

(a) persons who left jobs were not inferior or could not make it, but
generally saw better opportunities;

(b) relatives and friends played a critical role in referral for first

\(^{74}\)Marcia Freedman, *The Process of Work Establishment* (New York:
job. This fact Freedman found oppressive with regard to the impact it had on those who have impoverished or out-of-work families;

(c) the amount or level of education had little relationship to management ability and that progress was determined less by educational achievement than the fact that a young person obtained a job in a company with a structured system for skill acquisition.

She found that the principal determinants of income and security were primarily long-standing industry differentials and only secondarily the skill and competence of the worker. She concluded that society is not an open competitive system and that the worker eventually is interested only in establishing job security. This establishment was found to take place between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age. Establishment was found to consist of two basic elements, security and income. Both were best attained in complex occupational structures and establishment took place when income was at a level consonant with accepted standards of health and decency.

Freedman predicts that

escalation in education will outstrip escalation in opportunity and income, thus diminishing the influence of education on upward mobility and erecting new barriers to establishment in the middle ranges.\(^7\)

For the young person without much education the primary way out of unemployment and into establishment is specific vocational help in terms of further education or much more effective training within his specific job or job opportunity. She found that the minimum wage sets an income floor and at best is a device for catching up the very bottom and has little effect on wage differentials.

She concludes the report of the results of her study with the following

\(^{7}\text{ibid.}, p. 127.\)
statement with regard to policy implications:

We have reached a point where it is difficult to define the inequities, particularly in the face of continuing existence of a kind of underclass whose alleged ineptitude is punished out of proportion to the rewards gained by others. Wage differentials will, of course, remain, but it is at least the beginning of policy review to examine the assumptions under which income and security differentials are maintained. We should see the situation for what is it; otherwise we have no way of knowing what the future holds for succeeding generations of young entry workers.  

Ned Goldberg outlines some of the major factors contributing to the difficult employment situation of youth. Although he is particularly concerned with the United States situation, his observations apply to most developed Western nations.

He points out that the population explosion is contributing a 2% growth rate to the world population, which if continued, will double the world population in thirty-four and one-half years. Urban nuclear families have resulted in youth no longer being a financial asset. Society has reacted by introducing device after device to extend childhood and adolescence for more years, in part to exclude the young from a tight labour market.

Agriculture has become far more automated, now requiring in the United States only 4% of the labour market to produce what not long ago took 50% of the labour market. Technological progress and automation has been halting, keeping the economic growth near a constant 3%. At the same time unemployment is increasing with the increase in the numbers in

76ibid., p. 130.

the labour market although the percentage remains near a constant 5\%.
Also in the United States, 250,000 jobs were displaced by even limited
automation. Twenty-five thousand youth enter this labour market per week.

Golberg sees the long-term solutions to this situation of poverty
and unemployment in guaranteed incomes such as those proposed by Robert
Theobald and others at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions.
Since he finds jobs available only in the service industry, and he feels
we have solved the problem of production, he suggests concentration on
distribution and consumption as social policy goals.

As for impending and present unemployment, he recommends massive
retraining programs, family allowances for the technologically unemployed,
tax exemptions on termination wages, assistance for moving relocated
families, expanded employment and placement services, more unemployment
compensation, mortgage payment insurance, increased industrial research
and new product development and reduced working hours.

He also recommends increased economic development in education,
medical care, housing, transportation, and conservation of national resources.

In another article, Marcia Freedman\textsuperscript{78} deals with the problems of
helping the young get jobs. She explores specifically the institutional
barriers to the youth entering the labour market and to the person or
agency trying to help him.

She believes that any agency of project designed to help youth
must deal with larger problems and must be able to think on several levels
not just on a rehabilitative one. The worker in a project soon finds

\textsuperscript{78}\textsuperscript{}Marcia Freedman, "The World of Work," in Young People and the
World of Work, pp. 8-18.
out that large corporations just do not hire kids. Eventually if a job is found it is usually doubtful how secure it is and it often amounts to a dead end.

Institutional Barriers

The occupational structure Freedman claims is not the result of technological change but human decision making. For example, in the United States, it took four times as much Gross National Product to create a job in 1960 as it did in 1957-1958, and twice as much as in 1954-1956.

The GNP increases, she claims, never were transferred into benefits other than to the upper levels of corporations such as the 200 corporations that own 70% of all manufacturing assets in the United States. The result of this situation is that corporations can now, with the help of depreciation allowances, and tax rebates, pay through their own profits for their own modernization putting more people out of work. A further result is that corporations now fix prices not on a supply and demand basis, but on a "break-even" point which is the point where corporation costs and income are in balance.

"Target-pricing" is now a common thing, meaning for example, that a corporation can set its "break-even" point as 50% capacity. Anything over that, e.g. in a 60% economy, is surplus. The profits are not passed on to the worker, especially the unemployed worker.

With the absence of the free enterprise system, in the sense that corporations are no longer in price competition in the classical sense, cuts are made at the "direct costs" level or in the area of raw material or blue-collar labour. Overhead costs, management, office buildings, etc., are not cut but are part of a larger "non-price" competition involving,
advertising usually in the form of meaningless product differentiation, packaging, and employment of "prestige" graduates.

The effect on the occupational structure is that only the highly educated sector is employed in the relatively stable part of the corporation. There is waste of employees, for example, many aircraft companies employ engineers for everything from drafting to sales.

The problem, Freedman claims, is that this kind of employment is called rational, yet underemployment of blue-collar workers is called "featherbedding." The effect of the over-all market is over-specificity in employment unrelated to true needs of jobs.

Professionals have also been guilty of doing every job in their field instead of training others and taking planning levels jobs.

Amelioration of Entry Problems to Labour Market

Freedman offers three levels of solutions to the problem of labour market entry:

(a) welfare support of a residual nature;

(b) fit people into the cracks of the structure by creating jobs to fill vacancies;

(c) have a manpower policy that will examine the effects of resource allocation on manpower, manpower effects of existing legislation, and how manpower is utilized in the private sector.

While Freedman admits that guaranteed incomes will be needed with automation, for now she suggests aids to labour market entry for the following five basic groups of young prospects:

Group I or the highly skilled persons. They need better quality educational institutions.

Group II, the less-skilled, clerical, and technical persons usually with a high school education. They need expanded training, upgrading facilities and continuing education.
Group III, a problem area in the stable working-class, regularly employed skilled and semi-skilled workers, e.g., construction and manufacturing. These jobs are not expanding. For those with the educational requirements upgrading may be sufficient. For the others, we need expanded public services and redefined job definitions.

Group IV, or the lower levels of skilled and semi-skilled, e.g., assembly line jobs, requiring little specific training. They are the most affected by automation and are fewer in number every year. Many would benefit from solutions offered for Group III, especially redefined jobs.

Group V, or the marginally attached to the labour force. They have odd jobs, irregular blue-collar service jobs, or are unemployed. Increasing numbers of youth fall into this group.

Freedman claims it will take some time before this last group disappears and in the meantime we have a responsibility to the youth to organize intermediate forms of programs for them. To do so we must examine some of the myths under which we operate and some practices we take for granted.

She suggests some of the following as possibilities, a few of which are under the Youth Employment Opportunities Act:

(a) urban service corps activities,
(b) conservation camp activities,
(c) residential schools with rehabilitative and remedial atmospheres.

There is need to organize activities for young people that would

(a) enable them to subsist,
(b) put them in touch with the larger world,
(c) keep them in the mainstream of life,
(d) enhance their education,
(e) improve morale,
(f) lead to activities of great use to the community.

It is felt that if society can afford camping programs, residential schools for the upper class, summer music camps, European student tours, that it can also afford the aforementioned programs.

The Report of the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Youth

gives us some indication of the world of work for youth in the province of Ontario.

The statistics they quote except for projections have relevance only up to 1965. They point out some relevant facts about the youth employment market at the time of their survey and make recommendations regarding their findings and the implications, present and future, of these findings. They found the following to be important facts:

(a) that in the 1961-1971 period, the median age of the total Ontario population will fall below twenty-five years of age, or that by 1971 half the population of Ontario will be under twenty-five years of age;

(b) that in spite of compulsory school leaving laws designed to keep youth in school until sixteen years of age, at the time of the census (1961), there were 6,120 fifteen-year old males, and 2,867 fifteen-year old females out of school and gainfully employed, representing 12.8% and 6.4% respectively of the total number of fifteen-year olds.

The breakdown of the employment and unemployment figures for the Ontario youth labour market is presented in the following table (Table 1) from their report.

The table indicates that

(a) between 1955 and 1965 in spite of greater holding powers of schools and the difficulty in finding work, the number of fourteen to nineteen year olds entering the labour market increased by 62,000;

(b) the average unemployment rate in 1960 for the fourteen to nineteen year old age group was 11.4% as compared with the 6.9% for the twenty to twenty-four year old age group and 5.4% for the total labour force. In 1965, although a high employment period, 6.7% of the youth labour market between fourteen and nineteen as compared with 3.4% of the twenty to twenty-four year age group, and 2.5% of the total labour force was unemployed.

With regard to apprenticeship programs seemingly preferred by employers to extensive pre-employment programs, the Committee report points out that

(a) there is an absence of highly developed apprenticeship programs in Canada, apparently based on the reluctance of the business community and the fears of some trade union members;
TABLE 1
YOUTH IN ONTARIO LABOUR FORCE(a)  
1955-65

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1955</th>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All ages</td>
<td>2,059,000</td>
<td>2,377,000</td>
<td>2,614,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>1,993,000</td>
<td>2,249,000</td>
<td>2,548,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(97.0%)</td>
<td>(94.6%)</td>
<td>(97.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>128,000</td>
<td>66,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.2%)</td>
<td>(5.4%)</td>
<td>(2.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 14-19</td>
<td>178,000</td>
<td>201,000</td>
<td>240,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>168,000</td>
<td>178,000</td>
<td>224,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(94.4%)</td>
<td>(88.6%)</td>
<td>(93.3%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>23,000</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5.6%)</td>
<td>(11.4%)</td>
<td>(6.7%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Labour Force</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 20-24</td>
<td>244,000</td>
<td>259,000</td>
<td>298,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed</td>
<td>235,000</td>
<td>241,000</td>
<td>288,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(96.7%)</td>
<td>(93.2%)</td>
<td>(96.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3.7%)</td>
<td>(6.9%)</td>
<td>(3.4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Tables prepared by Special Surveys Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, April, 1966. Reprinted from the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Youth, p. 127.

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(b) "trades, granting credit for educational qualifications require a Grade 12 diploma;"80

(c) a pilot project in the garment industry in 1965 proved that apprenticeship on-the-job training programs are a positive and practical approach to employment problems;

(d) at the time of the report, three government departments have the responsibility for programming of apprenticeship training, Labour, Education, and Economics and Development.

The Select Committee made the following recommendations:

153. The Department of Labour undertake a 'personal contact' program to reach employers and managements of major trades where apprenticeship programmes are urgently needed, in an endeavour to fill the gap needs for more skilled and semi-skilled personnel.

154. Those departments closely related to apprenticeship training, Labour, Education, and Economics and Development, co-ordinate their efforts in assessing the present state of this need and implement an expanded programme as soon as possible.

155. A Statistical and Research Branch be established in the Department of Labour to keep abreast of employment needs of the province in terms of age groupings, sex, as well as education and trades training qualifications.

156. Research be undertaken by a research branch to assess the requirements of all the industries and employers of labour in Ontario to better gauge trade training and educational goals of the potential labour force.81

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics second quarter review of the labour force 1969-70 completed in July 1970 during the period of time of this research paper is concerned with, gives some indication of the unemployment situation of youth in comparison to other age groups across Canada.

The following is the DBS analysis with a corresponding table:

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80 ibid., p. 129.
81 ibid., p. 131.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All Ages</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14-19</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 and over</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of the labour force unemployed was 6.3 in the second quarter of 1970 compared with 4.9 in the corresponding quarter of 1969. For men, the unemployment rate rose from 5.4 to 7.1 and for women, it rose from 3.8 to 4.5. For both men and women, the unemployment rate was higher than a year earlier in all age groups except among older women, whose rate was virtually unchanged. Unemployment rates remained highest among teenagers.

The report of the Canadian Council on Social Development regarding transient youth in the summer of 1970 indicated that "the greatest change in the picture of youth services between 1969 and 1970 was due to an increase in unemployment."\textsuperscript{82}

This report indicates that in Vancouver in November 1970, there were 11,500 unemployed representing 11.4\% of the total work force, and that in Toronto, at the same time, up to 200 young men were lined up to apply for welfare every morning.

Canada Manpower unemployment estimates by age groups for the city of Windsor compiled in June 1970, as average for the preceding three months are presented in the following table (Table 3):

These figures indicate that approximately 59\% of the unemployed in Windsor during these three months were under twenty-five years of age. The total unemployment rose in July to an estimated 6,396 and decreased again in August to 5,566.

Since reliable estimates of the labour force by age groups is not available for the city of Windsor, calculation of the unemployment rate by age group was not possible.

**Youth Culture**

Many scholars have studied what is purported to be in affluent Western societies, the emergence of a distinctive "youth culture." This subculture is said to be generally the result in all cultures between the ideal patterns for various age groups and youth's reaction to these patterns.\textsuperscript{83}


TABLE 3(a)

ESTIMATED UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES FOR THE CITY OF WINDSOR BY AGE GROUPS
FOR THE THREE-MONTH PERIOD PRECEDING JUNE 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age group</th>
<th>Number of unemployed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under 20</td>
<td>1313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-44</td>
<td>1394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-65</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4576</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) These estimated figures were given to the researcher on May 21, 1971 by the Public Relations Office, Canada Manpower Centre, Windsor, Ontario.
In American society the distinctive features of this subculture, said to result from the disciplines and strains imposed by modern schools, are affected by peer group activities. A free democratic society where youth are left to themselves permits the establishment of distinctive groups. Such societies expect free-thinking and independent adults and youth groups help overcome the dependency of childhood. Affluence in American society frees most youth from family support, thus allowing youth group participation. 

Ernest A. Smith has compiled some characteristics of American youth culture. Universal characteristics are solidarity and concealment of behaviour. Secrecy implies a degree of withdrawal from adult socializing institutions. Conformity and solidarity, implying a basic need for acceptance and identification in the members, could be a preparation for the compulsive conformity of adulthood, and is an attempt to ameliorate the insecurity and lack of confidence of members. There are several areas, namely political, religious, property and linguistic systems which are patterned by adult norms and institutions.

Most distinctive characteristics of youth culture are modifications or adoptions of adult values and behaviour, but are sufficiently well-defined to justify calling American youth culture a distinct sub-culture within society.

The economically and politically-religiously based norms of individuality and competition are reflected in youth culture by the domination of competition in the dating pattern.


The parental family, in transmission of social class and provision of material subsistence to youth, effects youth culture. The culture is usually class-selective in relationships but youth modify adult norms by meeting economic differences and covering a wide class-spread in associations.

Adult attempts to dominate youth behaviour in sex result in much of the secrecy and concealment of youth culture to protect members from adult sanction. Sex-typing as an adult value is perpetuated and strengthened by youth culture in monosexual youth cliques. Sexual taboos are perpetuated by conformity to petting patterns and romantic love behaviour patterns.

Smith admits his propositions are limited to American youth who are "white, urban, middle-class, and past-pubertal." He points out that conformity appears, along with secrecy, to be a major characteristic of youth culture. This conformity is a rigorous one enforced by youth members through informal sanctions and may be preparatory to compulsive conformity on the adult level. Conformity especially in dress, is affected by pressures from advertisers and manufacturers.

Eldon E. Snyder disagrees somewhat with Smith in that he does not believe youth culture is characterized by conformity in values and behaviour. Based on a study of youth interaction within high schools, he found that there was considerable segmentation within student subculture. He found socioeconomic status to be highly related to social participation. Values

86 ibid., p. 328.

to which students aspired did not show significant socioeconomic differences, apparently value structures cut across socioeconomic categories. Girls showed a more consistent relationship between values and actual social participation.

Snyder concluded that although the term youth subculture is justified, it is not characterized by internal stability and conformity but is heterogeneous.

In view of the mystique of adolescence which contains one of two images of youth, both of which have been found incorrect: "The Visionary, who possesses some especially pure and perceptive moral visions; and his antitype, the Victimizer, who is leather-jacketed, cruel, sinister, and amoral,"\(^8\) we have a need for a real and also an improved image of youth.

Adelson\(^9\) suggests the image of youth should be a new type, the youth whose passions and lust for life is being strangled by a captivity, based not in healthy conflict with parents, but in their mutual knowledge of the adolescent's dependency. The image would be of someone trapped into a false adulthood and mixed childishness of a teen culture.

Herbert and Sarah Otto\(^10\) offer a new image of youth to replace a traumatized one society has created and is enforcing. The new image of youth sees youth as a person involved in the process of self-actualization, having the potential for creating institutional regeneration, and representing in the quality of his developing self, the man of the future.


\(^9\)Ibid., pp. 1-5.

The new image will hopefully add to a true understanding of youth as a distinct entity, accurately reflecting his real function and contribution to the family of man.

Social Class and Other Sub-cultural Variables

Within the subculture of youth which is a sub-group based on age- grading, there are other distinct variants which mark other sub-groupings with their own socio-cultural system.

College has its own system with value orientations that are those of students. 91

From a point of view stressing contrast, lower-income youth have a greater sense of powerlessness, a more fatalistic attitude, a lack of future orientation, and a greater impulse for acting out. They seem to be anti-intellectual, relatively non-verbal, and have poor conceptual abilities. 92

Arthur Pearl states that these youth need to be provided an opportunity to form groups which have a link with the future; which permit them to develop marketable competence; and in which they have the right to be wrong, the right to correct wrongs, and mostly, the right to belong. 93

Lower-class youth have also, on the other hand, traditionally been subject to less of some of the strains of adolescence. They have felt free to quit school and get a job. They therefore have had more spending money, more opportunity for early marriage and less sexual tension. They


93 ibid., p. 108.
have at times been envied by better off youth who adopt their clothing, expressions, and music. There is a seepage of culture that results from the lower-class aspirations and upper-class envy.94

Elizabeth Douvan and Joseph Adelson95 in exploring selected demographic factors such as social class, growing up in the city, farm, or suburb, found some interesting differentiations that can be made about youth in their different environments. They found that the complexity of urban life in major cities puts stresses on the family and parent-child relationships. First, parents and parent surrogates did not have the closer control of adolescent activities that came with parent-involving organizations and joint family activities that are common in smaller communities. The youth then spend more time beyond parental control. The youth are generally less active and organized in the city. The activities they do engage in, e.g. type of job, are more adult-oriented than in other communities, reflecting the city's design which offers most advantages to adults and not children.

The suburbs are polar to the central city. Like small communities only more so, they exemplify the American pattern of organized leisure. They have a great deal of range and diversity in leisure, dating, group memberships, and joint family activity. Youth here, like in the city, show preference for older companions and adult activities, but they are future oriented in what appears to be a general drive towards maturity rather than a desire to be done with the disadvantages of childhood.

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They prefer mixed to monosexual groups and activities.

Another finding is that there is less sex-specific activity prescriptions and preferences in the suburbs.

With reference to ego development, suburban youth appear to be highly motivated with strong desires for adult responsibility and achievement and an extended time orientation. Suburban families tend to be more permissive and democratic and youth more autonomous.

Although Douvan and Adelson questioned whether their findings were related more to status and education than a demographic area, they found that, although these factors were important, the highly educated adults in the suburban communities usually set the tone for the whole community in values on activity, autonomy, and achievement. The advantages they seek for their children in community facilities and within the educational system became advantages for all the youth in the community.

With regard to youth from farms, the researchers found they were as deprived as youth from the meanest urban areas. They had fewer opportunities in leisure activities, organizational membership, part-time employment, and friendly interaction with unrelated adults. Their unique characteristics indicated more than community factors, but a distinct subculture with a family style and ideology of its own.

In the critical areas of autonomy, internalization, and attachment to peers, they were less advanced than urban youth. Factors involved were strong parental control, enforced by physical punishment. Youth relied heavily on adult authority and external controls. They were dependent on the family.

Youth from the farm were the most distinctive group. They generally presented a uniform picture of traditional family life and its limited
effects on adolescent development. Youth had severely limited social growth, a marked inhibition of fantasy, and were less verbal. Generally the researchers concluded their environment failed to stimulate or actively inhibits development.

With regard to their analysis by social class, the researchers found the usual effects of greater material advantage and greater opportunity to be significant in the development of middle-class as compared with lower-class youth. They also expected and found a less authoritarian as compared with a more rigid but less internally rigorous parental climate with middle-class as compared with lower-class families.

The researchers also found, though, that social class comparison with adolescents did not reveal as sharp a distinction as would be found with adults, and that fluidity of status among youth, the contamination of position by aspiration, weakened class effects. While many working-class youth aimed upwards, many middle-class youth appeared to be drifting downwards.

E. V. Kohrs has conducted a survey of a great number of studies and related literature on the disadvantaged and lower-class adolescent. He examined historical research, education, rehabilitation of educationally disadvantaged, vocational development, socialization, and delinquency and anti-social behaviour. He also investigated the difficulties in research design and definition in this area.

He summarizes as follows:

The lower-class adolescent, already molded by the effects of a legacy of poverty, faces an adult future of limited alternatives,

insecurity, and a feeling of powerlessness to control his life. He is frequently characterized by poor educational achievement, a lack of positive vocational development, different socializing experiences, and the belief that all those in authority are 'crooked.' Increased sophistication of research is correcting long held impressions that lower class youth place no value on educational achievement, that they lack vocational aspirations, that they reject stable marriages, or that they exhibit more norm violating behaviour.

We should expect the increased sophistication of research in this field to also point to new applications in training and in rehabilitation. Much of this has been and is being learned from the War on Poverty programs. Future research should require that clearly defined populations be drawn from the various subcultures of poverty, that a variety of data gathering techniques be used, and that statistical tests examine the variances within groups to determine the effects of such factors as dropping out of school, sex, and race. Fertile areas for research might be the role and importance of a masculinity drive, the effect of an alienated dependence syndrome, and the differences in sensory attentiveness in the educational setting. In programs aimed at the lower class adolescent, the emphasis will be on the use of the peer group itself to change attitudes. In addition, emphasis will be placed in physical and concrete approaches to learning and visible goals or opportunities which are attainable and lead to a material betterment of one's life.  

Sociological observations on middle and upper class youth do not back the thesis that American youth today have widely rejected the standards, guidance and authority of their elders, or are alienated from the main currents of American life, or so say the findings of Johnstone and Rosenberg. They found a low incidence of deviant and unconventional ideas and attitudes among the young people they studied. They found these middle-class youth highly committed to traditional middle-class definitions of success, highly future-oriented, and endorsing rather than rejecting parental values. They conclude that middle-class America is reproducing itself well.


Youth Problems

It is difficult to define what is and what is not a problem for youth. First, the definition of a problem depends on who is making the definition. A psychiatrist will define a problem in terms of psychopathology, a general medical practitioner in terms of health or disease, a social scientist in terms of social adjustment, economic policy or political feasibility, an educator in terms of learning and educational continuity, a social worker or other helping professional may involve several levels of personal and social adjustment or development, and also include social policy and education in problem definition. Second, when speaking of youth problems, there is implicit an assumption that the problems are peculiar to a particular age group. This assumption is difficult to hold in reality.

Many problem areas or potential problem areas have already been covered in the survey of literature to this point. The problems discussed here are specific in nature, incorporate some different levels of definition, are more in terms of reaction and symptom rather than general states, and reflect the difficulty in defining some problems as solely those of youth.

Psychiatric Problems

Suicide and Depression

In recent years it has been increasingly clear how common suicide is among youth. Statistics have been difficult to find but the following gives some indication of the rise of suicide rates in the United States, especially among males from fifteen to nineteen. The suicide rate per 100,000 among white males between fifteen and nineteen has risen from 3.7 in 1951 to 6.4 in 1963, and among white males from 1.7 in 1951 to
3.7 in 1963. When you add the fact that below the age of nineteen the ratio of suicidal attempts to successful suicides is 33 to 1, and that reliable estimates are hard to obtain and are always underestimates, it is clear that suicides among the young are a major community problem.\textsuperscript{99}

Surveys of world-wide vital and epidemiological statistics on suicides in this age group (e.g. Japan after World War II) indicate that major sociocultural and socioeconomic changes affect suicide rates among the young. The explanation is that these changes exaggerate usual conflicts between the young and parental generations, which raises the suicide rate. Gradual adjustment to these changes usually results in a relative decrease in the suicide rates.\textsuperscript{100}

Other studies\textsuperscript{101} indicate that more girls than boys attempt suicide although twice as many boys, who use more active suicide methods than girls, are successful in killing themselves. Girls tend to use more passive methods like pills. Boys tend to suffer from more serious mental disturbances than girls, who impulsively attempt suicide more when frustrated, for example by disappointment in love. Suicidal attempts were associated with many types of personality disorders along with neuroses and mental subnormality. Precipitating factors were manifold including problems with parents; school problems, especially examinations; frustration in love, and pregnancy.


\textsuperscript{100}Tsung-yi Lin, "Some Epidemiological Findings on Suicides in Youth," in Adolescence: Psychosocial Perspectives, pp. 233-43.

\textsuperscript{101}Ulf Otto, "Suicide Attempts among Swedish Children and Adolescents," in Adolescence: Psychosocial Perspectives, pp. 244-52.
It is interesting to note that in Sweden, 11.8% of the girls who were pregnant and attempted suicide did so because they were denied an abortion. To receive an authorized abortion is a complicated procedure in Sweden, demanding communications with a number of government departments. Investigation into these cases in search of true reasons for suicide attempts failed to determine if the true reason was love problems (male rejection), the pregnancy itself, or difficulties in communication.\(^{102}\)

Attempts to define a syndrome or presuicidal behaviour has been largely unsuccessful except for recognition in the period immediately before the attempt that the youth showed a depressive or neurotic reaction with signs of increased tension such as restlessness, anxiety, sleep disturbance, nail-biting, increased irritability, and oversensitivity.\(^{103}\)

A study of severely ill suicidal adolescents from poverty-stricken slums indicated that their common auditory hallucinations containing good and bad voices, are related to their deprived backgrounds where a father was often missing. Their remarkably good prognosis with most having spontaneous remissions or in response to supportive psychotherapy, medication, or electroshock raises questions of the psychopathological meaning of the breakdown and its dramatic manifestations in the light of sociocultural environments.

**Depression**

James M. Toolan\(^{104}\) believes that contrary to popular clinical

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102*ibid.*, p. 246.


104James M. Toolan, "Depression in Children and Adolescents", in *Adolescence: Psychosocial Perspectives*, pp. 264-70.
impressions, depressive illness does occur in adolescence. Early adolescent depression is evidenced not usually in psychomotor retardation, insomnia, suicidal preoccupation and apathy, but in "depressive equivalents", the main symptoms being boredom, restlessness, seeking of constant stimulation, fatigue, poor concentration, hypochondriasis, and bodily preoccupations. He claims acting out is primarily a denial reaction to depression because of poor self image.

He believes the "depression equivalents" and basic depression result from loss of love objects (parents) and related good self image, and that true depression becomes more recognized in late adolescent and young adulthood with the recognition of true feelings of anger against parents and the difficulty in using denial as a defense resulting in anger directed at the adolescent's own self in his introjects of parents in the superego.

Studies of adolescents with endogenous psychoses (the schizophrenic group, manic-depressive or cyclothymic disorders) excluding disorders of organic origin, indicate that no psychiatric disorder is exclusively a disorder of adolescence, nor do they have specific characteristics when they originate in adolescence. They seem to be coloured somewhat by the typical psychosocial manifestations of adolescent development, but no more so than other developmental crises, such as pregnancy, childbirth, climacterium, and old age. 105

The occurrence of schizophrenia is now believed to start in both childhood and adolescence, more frequently in adolescence, as well as in adulthood. The difficulty for the practicing treatment person according

to Robert J. Corboz\textsuperscript{106} is in diagnosis because it is so difficult to
distinguish usual ego changes in adolescence which resemble early
schizophrenia from the true disorders. He believes prolonged observation
is the only way we can be sure of a diagnosis, yet even then, he points
out, schizophrenia in adolescence is often short-lived and has a good
prognosis. It appears that a complicated subjective judgment is required
by the diagnostician. One point of reference that Corboz gives is the
adolescent's ability to relate to reality in various settings. In other
words, an adolescent will often show absence of reality orientation
only in certain settings such as the home or school indicating the
absence of schizophrenia, since the schizophrenic's behaviour is seldom
influenced by his current environment.

\textbf{Eating Problems}

Perhaps the most common problems needing psychiatric help in adolescence
and the ones most differentially related to adolescence are eating
problems such as obesity (overeating) and anorexia nervosa (undereating).
While both problems are at extremes of a continuum, they appear to have
some common threads with regard to causation. First bodily size and
configuration have special meaning to adolescents struggling with their
own adult identity. Second, there is stress lately in our Western culture
where food is so plentiful, on the dangers of overeating, linked with
concern over heart disease, and also an ideal image of youthful athletic
vigor in an aging population. These cultural attitudes form a background
for a special concern especially among girls about obesity and dieting

\textsuperscript{106}Robert J. Corboz, "Endogenous Psychoses of the Adolescent", in
Adolescence: Psychosocial Perspectives, pp. 275-79.
which sometimes become exaggerated into psychiatric problems. 107

Serious cases of either of these problems seldom exist in isolation from other psychiatric disorders and are therefore seen as symptoms in a constellation of variable patterns with mixed causation. Involved are often the oral needs which exhibit themselves in the stresses of adolescence based on earlier successes or failures in development and resulting fixations. 108

What seems most important especially with regard to obesity is the connection between insensitive, inconsistent, constricted, or distorted reactions of parents to the behavioural cues and other expressions of needs of a child and disordered development of his ego autonomy. 109

It is fairly clear that such disorders are not solely intrapersonal in manifestation and etiology but are highly involved with the interpersonal relationships of the adolescent. 110

Drug Abuse

The problem of drug addiction and drug misuse among adolescents has become a serious concern of practitioners in the mental health field and the general community in most Western countries. The concern is with "hard drugs", the opiates, such as opium, morphine, codeine, and heroin, and "soft drugs" such as cannabis (marijuana, hashish, etc.), alcohol, amphetamines, barbiturates, L.S.D. and more recently, solvents.

108 Ibid., p. 184.
110 Gerald Caplan and Serge Lebovici, op. cit., p. 183.
The hazards of misuse and abuse of drugs are usually, depending on the drug, physical or psychological dependency or addiction, health problems related to various organic disorders created by the drug itself or related to inadequate personal health care or use of unsterile needles. Death may result with many drugs from overdoses causing respiratory failure or by the results of mixing certain drugs. Many drug users are responsible for accidents on the road and in other settings. Failure in personal functioning, long and short term mental illness, and breakdowns in family and other interpersonal relations are also a serious hazard.

Potential hazards such as chromosome damage and the possibility of inherited defects have been postulated to be related to some drugs although many have not been thoroughly researched. Violent, anti-social or suicidal behaviour can be the result of misuse of several drugs.

One major problem for the practitioner in this area is the lack of adequate knowledge about long term results of drug use, how widespread drug use is, how medical prescription has influenced the misuse of drugs in the community, the relationship between use of one drug and another when a user switches from one to another or uses them concurrently.

Some disturbing statistics have come to light within the last few years such as the use of some drugs at increasingly earlier ages.

According to a study conducted in 1968 in grades 7, 9, 11, and 13 of Metropolitan Toronto schools by the Addiction Research Foundation, 7.4% of the boys had sniffed glue at least once in the preceding six-month period, as compared with 4.2% of the girls. In an 1968 A. R. F. study of 6,447 students in Metropolitan Toronto's intermediate grades and high schools, 6.7% reported using marihuana at least once in the preceding six months. An 1968 A. R. F. study indicates that
some people under fifteen also use alcohol. Of grade 7 students surveyed, 23% said they had used alcohol at least once per month during the preceding six months. For grade 9, the figure was nearly 42%.\textsuperscript{112}

Generally drug abuse by adolescents follows certain patterns of association with peers and places (coffee shops, etc.) which are socio-culturally determined.\textsuperscript{113}

Analysis of individual drug abusers, in this instance, amphetamine drugs, or amphetamine-barbituate mixtures, who were referred to an outpatient psychiatric unit showed that "all without exception had problems of adolescent adjustment, the majority showing these problems in overt disturbances of behaviour before taking the drugs."\textsuperscript{114}

Scott and Willcox\textsuperscript{115} reported that at least 16 to 18% of a sample of boys and girls admitted to remand homes (in England) contained amphetamine in their urine and that there were no basic differences between this population and a control population in the remand home who had not taken drugs, with regard to number of previous offenses, seriousness of offenses, ethnic group, illegitimacy, broken homes, parent with criminal record, long-standing marital disharmony. Drug taking itself did not seem to play an etiological role in the actual antisocial behaviour which lead to placement, through the Juvenile Courts, in a remand home.

\textsuperscript{112}ibid.


\textsuperscript{114}ibid., p. 281.

For the practitioner in the area of Drug Abuse P. H. Connell outlines four levels of involvement and four problems:

(1) the problem of diagnosis of drug taking;

(2) the problem of treatment of the addict;

(3) the problem of assessment of the wider issues concerning drug taking and advising the appropriate authorities and social agencies, and so on, what needs to be done in the light of present knowledge;

(4) the undertaking of research into the problem both by clinical examinations, treatment, and follow-up and by cooperating in research with such bodies as social agencies, psychopharmacologists, sociologists, and all who are concerned with the problem and have something to contribute to the further evaluation of it.\(^{\text{116}}\)

Moving somewhat into the area of treatment, Connell points out that treatment of the adolescent addict raises issues such as whether treatment in a mental hospital is suitable, whether this is desirable, and what methods should be used. He feels that full individual evaluation of the case can lead to the conclusion that the type of personality disorder can best be dealt with in other residential treatment establishments like approved schools.

He views social measures in most countries to be punitive rather than therapeutic for the drug user and claims that these terms have been used as though they were alternatives. He points out that the British adaptation of access to drugs and therapeutic orientation which has been lauded as keeping the drug problem in that country so small, has not been found adequate lately when adolescent drug taking behaviour has become culturally determined.

With regard to treatment, he related the following from his own experience:

In my experience the problem of the treatment of the adolescent drug taker is the same as the problem of the treatment of any adolescent psychiatric disturbance in that the patient needs to be assessed in terms of his past development, his progress along the developmental scale, his family background, the relationship he has with the individuals in his family, the methods of childrearing used, the approach of the parents to his adolescent maturation, and the particular stresses he may suffer from in relation to his school or work situation and in his particular subculture. It is my practice, therefore, since I find no special common denominators in the patients I see and have to treat them as individual unique patients, to use a flexible approach in which the basis is supportive psychotherapy combined with regular analysis of the urine for drugs. This may be, and often is amplified by work with the parents in order to help them understand the problems of their child in growing through adolescence and their own problems in this respect, and sometimes direct treatment of a parent who may have a psychiatric illness. Occasionally, psychotherapy including the patient and his girl friend (or vice versa) may be used. In some cases the basis of supportive therapy is converted into psychotherapy at greater depth.  

Health Problems

Cushman and Bennett outline in their book Selected Health Problems major health problems in the form of problems presenting the expressed concerns of high school teen-agers. Problems fall into such areas as personal adjustment, nutrition, sex education, alcohol education, community health, international health, venereal disease, and consumer education. The following is a sample of some of the problem questions which these authors provide factual information on for health educators for the purpose of filling gaps in knowledge and showing that fact-finding and decision making for the adolescent can help them reach their objectives:

- Why do I feel guilty about doing some things?
- How do you stop worrying?
- Why do I feel nervous?
- What makes me tire so easily?

117 Ibid., pp. 282-83.
118 Wesley P. Cushman and Bruce L. Bennet, Selected Health Problems (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1967), p. iii.
What are the safe limits for drinking alcoholic beverages?
What are considered normal growth changes?
How do you get rid of acne and pimples?
How does exercise improve one's appearance?
How are sex drives controlled?
Is masturbation harmful?
What factors are important in choosing a marriage partner?
What hereditary factors should be considered by a young couple before marriage?
What kind of health examination would be helpful before marriage?
Where can one obtain sound information on the physical aspects of marriage?
What are the venereal diseases and how can they be prevented?
How do I lose weight?
How does what I eat affect my appearance?
How can I have nutritious meals on a limited budget?
What can one do to reduce the possibilities of cancer?
How can you tell if ads about products affecting your health are true?
When should one go to a doctor or dentist?
When one moves to a new community, how are a doctor and dentist selected?

Alienated Youth - Delinquency, Radicalism, and Bohemianism

The term "alienated youth" suggests youth who reject normal patterns of growing up in favour of atypical behaviours more congenial to their needs and temperament. Several major issues relate to alienated youth groups. What are they like? What is their effect on society and on the individuals who compose them? What should be done about them? What causes them to exist?

Among the various explanations of causes of alienation are:

(a) that unlike a static society, a changing specialized society generates social isolates;120

(b) our present day society provides little natural opportunity for children's groups to congregate and learn to get along together, also planned social activities lose their spontaneity;

(c) in our more complex society, governments create repression and

119 ibid., pp. iv-v.

discontent by having to exercise more control over the compulsive life of its citizens;

(d) youth are generally overwhelmed in the bigness of society, are offered little or no decision making roles and feel frustrated and helpless and often seek mutually supportive groups;

(e) schools often do not respect the values of their students or their students' homes, and students fail to understand the schools' goals and how to attain them.121

There is a wide range of evaluative judgments about alienated groups. Many in society certainly see such groups as problems, but students of such groups differ in their responses from praise to severe criticism and demands for integration.

Friedenberg122 feels that to treat silent, alienated or apathetic youth as problems is unreal. This attitude, he feels, does not recognize adolescence as not merely a physical process but a social process within which a fundamental task is establishing self-identification. Our society which is hostile to clarity and vividness, is undermining the process and labelling as aberrant the fully human adolescent that reacts to life with love and defiance.

Razwid123 feels these groups are no danger to society but represent a healthy reaction to forces of conformity. He fails to understand schools which legislate against long hair and clothing styles and yet expect to encourage unorthodox minds. He raises the question if blind conformity is dangerous should we not contradict it rather than formalizing group behaviours.


Critics in our society who are repelled by anything different take a highly defensive conventional stand against such groups. Others feel they are rather natural and represent a phase that will pass with adulthood.

Even some liberal critics, though, see certain groups, for instance Bohemian groups (beats, hippies), as perhaps dangerous since they use drugs, live in squalor, practice sexual excesses, and protest the present order but do not suggest another. They are not, according to these critics, interested in the major problems of society except when they impinge on their own community.124

The latest group in this category has been described by Bennet M. Berger; i.e. the hippies of America. He finds them to be more old than new in that they have adopted the eight basic points of Bohemian doctrine. They believe in the idea of salvation by the child in their analogies of flower power, and educational revolution. Self expression is seen in the hippie moral adage, "do your own thing." Bohemian paganism is manifested in hippie eroticism. "Living for the moment" is converted to the "Now Generation." Liberty is translated into legalization of marihuana, and into forces to make respectable ecstasy. Female equality means for hippies sexual freedom in sexual relations, smoking and drinking. Psychological adjustment is sought through meditation and drugs. The idea of changing place emerges in hippies moving to Tahiti, Paris and other places.


David Matza considers delinquency, radicalism, and Bohemianism as extremist versions of subterranean youth traditions. First of all, they are subterranean youth traditions commensurate with sociology's view of deviancy as seldom a solitary enterprise and seldom a historical innovation but rather linked with the broader traditions of conventional society through an ongoing dialect, which in the exchange modifies both. These subterranean traditions have common aspects. They are publicly denounced. They are adhered to in the extreme by only a small portion of youth. The traditions are familiar to and tolerated by a large proportion of society. Conventional versions are experienced by a large proportion of youth. In private there is a great deal of ambivalence about them by adults who therefore react faddishly, oscillating from sympathetic tolerance to suppression. Their existence suggests that no society fully socializes its members to general expectations and therefore there are various degrees of involvement in these traditions, when there are available counterthemes.

Similarities between delinquency, radicalism, and Bohemianism are:
(a) they have a greater appeal for youth than the population at large;
(b) they have anti-civil implications and are threats to stability and order of the ongoing system;
(c) they are anti-bourgeois, but in different ways. The delinquent does not denounce property rights but violates them and rejects methodism and routine especially in schools. Bohemians are usually indifferent to property arrangement but then appalled at commercialization of property, puritanical and methodological elements of society especially recent trends to mechanized, organized, centralized and collectized nature of capitalism. The radical is less general in his denunciation concentrating more on the political and economic domination and imperialistic role of the system in international affairs, and the methodical, puritanical, and industrial aspects of bourgeois order.

The differences between these groups seem to be that they differ

(a) by age of vulnerability, delinquency affecting primarily a younger high school age group whereas radicalism and Bohemianism emeshed more in the higher education system of university;

(b) with degrees of self-consciousness with radicalism and Bohemianism being intellectually self-conscious with explicit, reasonable critiques of society and with a written tradition. The delinquent critique is implicit, the tradition is oral;

(c) with regard to ambitions. The delinquent is aberrant and has no design on society. The radical wishes to change society to his ideological image. The Bohemian is in between wishing to develop an insulated way of life with little interest in converting others;

(d) with regard to their assessment of their own moral worth. The delinquent assess his own delinquent behaviour in the same moral terms as the rest of the public. Radicals and Bohemians are convinced of the moral value of their enterprises, as are, to varying degrees, most intellectuals.

Each of the three groups seem to have distinctive features with regard to spirit and substance. The distinctive spirit of delinquency seems to be found in its celebration of prowess; first by seeking adventure, "kicks" and "thrills" through actions that are unlawful or hazardous; second by seeking and receiving material goods without work or school in like manner to leisure classes, leading to a disdain for getting on, and aimless drifting with dreams of quick success.

The acquisition of money through gambling with peers, expropriation by theft, or variants like conning, manipulation, or getting soft jobs by "pull" are all exhibitions of prowess.

A third component of prowess is aggression, a warrior code which makes demands of retaliation for slights, protection of territory, and a general concept of "machismo" or manhood which is with degrees of differentiation, present in all delinquent subcultures.

The business of substance of delinquency is in the legal code and can be defined as two types of offenses, victimization and status offenses.
Victimization includes larceny, assaults on persons, vandalism, and any offense involving victims. Status offenses are activities prohibited for juveniles but performed by adults, such as truancy, drinking, gambling, driving cars, runaway, sex, and many vaguely defined forms of misconduct which the law considers with some tolerance depending on the state of the individual's previous record.

The spirit of radicalism is marked by the visions of apocalypse or the belief that the evil world as we know it will be replaced one day by a purer and better world. This belief originating in early Judeo-Christian times, is reflected today in modern revolutionary thought, especially Marxian thought and is generally doctrinaire politics or politics of the ideal.

Populism or the belief in the creativity and superior worth of ordinary people is another aspect of radical spirit. In history it has been many groups, peasants, workers, etc. Today there seems to be a composite without esoteric distinctions, of migrant workers, unskilled labour and blacks. The special affinity with populism today for the student may serve the function of an effective attack on professorial attack and defense against unflattering assessment.

Evangelism or excursions into the outside world for the purpose of recruiting sympathisers, supporters, and members is part of radicalism. Well suited to the exuberance of youth, it serves the purpose of bolstering internal enthusiasm as well as joining members.

The substance or business of radicalism is unconventional political action, meetings, rallies, demonstrations, circulation of petitions, fund raising, etc. around concrete issues. What makes these activities somewhat attractive to radical youth are the danger of politics without
conventional rules, excitement, and risk in the revolution, in all year round politics, in vicarious identification with actual revolutions.

Matza points out that Bohemianism as a phenomenon has long traditions in Europe and the United States and its periodic upsurge is related to internal and external social processes notably prosperity of the postwar variety. Much of the interpretations of this phenomenon as a symptom of a deeper malady and dark foreboding fail to recognize the historical context of its existence.

The various components of Bohemianism are romanticism, expression of authentic inner feelings, and monasticism. Romanticism is found in a commitment to spontaneity and originality especially in artistic endeavours. Involved is a populism in the primitivism of their art and their dedication to poverty. They generally reject modern life through the linkage of society with mass culture which they despise. The insistence on authentic display of mood, from the frivolous to the morose gives Bohemianism a manic-depressive quality. Monasticism or the formation of isolated communities of adherents is used by Bohemians to regain a sense of community they feel is missing in broader society. These isolated communities demand authentic adherents and exclude "phonies". There is no evangelism.

The substance of Bohemianism is the production of unconventional art outside major art institutions with subject matter often dealing with the forbidden and censorable and the pursuit of unconventional personal experience in two main forms, nonvictimizing hedonistic experiences, and the quest for transcendence.

Matza believes the integration of these subterranean alienated youth groups may be aided by the existence of conventional versions of subterranean traditions of youth, such as a teen-age culture for delinquency,
a liberal tradition for "doing good" which provides alternatives and may attract potential radicals, and perhaps the fraternity for Bohemians. He emphasizes that these possible mechanisms exist within a larger context, the facilitativeness of which is dependent on adult sentiments of tolerance and the waning of tensions and frustration of youth.

Block, Haan, and Smith having compiled research from several areas on activism and apathy in contemporary adolescents, would confine the term "alienated" to a specific group of young people. They separate the activist from the alienated.

The alienated, like the activist, is engaged in a repudiation of traditional societal values. He differs from the activist, however, in a passive pessimism, in keeping with which he concerns himself with the extension and intensification of subjective experience rather than with active protest. Another basic difference between the alienated and the activist is in terms of attitudes towards parents and family. The activist tends to identify with many of the values of his parents. The alienated, however, has developed a disparate set of values, inconsistent with those of his parents; that may elicit disapproval and strain communication.

These authors have found studies which indicate that activist students come from economically advantaged homes, above the average college student, and their parents themselves tended to be politically


128 Ibid., p. 223.


liberal. In terms of ideological context, the parental and activist
generation show considerable agreement.\textsuperscript{132}

School Dropouts

Voss, Wendling and Elliot\textsuperscript{133} conducted a study which indicates that
there is little truth in the prevalent stereotype of a dropout as lacking
ability. The results show that there are three main types of dropouts,
involuntary, retarded, and capable. Those who left school quite early
were usually lacking in ability, but a comparison between dropouts and
regular school population with regard to intelligence indicated little
difference.

S. M. Miller\textsuperscript{134} points out that analysis of data on dropouts in
the United States indicates that, contrary to popular belief, dropouts
are not exclusively from working-class and lower-income families.
Indications are that up to 30\% come from families with white-collar
occupations.

Generally these groups do differ in the etiology and experience they
have. In more detail, the middle-class dropout is likely to leave school
for one of the following reasons:

(a) school-related emotional problems;
(b) emotional disturbance not directly related to school;
(c) the dropout is from a family on the economic margins of the middle class.

\textsuperscript{132} Jeanne H. Block, Norma Haan, and M. Brewster Smith, "Activism

\textsuperscript{133} Harwin L. Voss, Audrey Wendling, and Delbert S. Elliot, "Some

\textsuperscript{134} S. M. Miller, "Dropouts, A Political Problem," in \textit{Work, Youth, and
Unemployment}, ed. by Melvin Herman, Stanley Sadofsky, and Bernard Rosenberg
He suggests four types of lower-income dropouts:

(a) those who have difficulty because of ability;
(b) those who feel pushed out of school and are school-rejecting;
(c) those who are "school-perplexed" or who have cultural or family barriers and concerns they bring to school, becoming perplexed, lost, and sometimes, reactive, and drop out. Miller argues that this group does not, as many say, have low educational aspirations, but usually very high ones that turn out, if followed through, to be occupationally realistic;
(d) those who never expected to graduate and find school largely irrelevant. They look at school instrumentally, sometimes in terms of a specific job. School fails to interest them.

Miller is particularly interested in this last group as it forms the bulk of the low-income dropouts. He finds their low aspirations to be not as unreal as might be thought. His analysis shows that although the gap between the university graduate and the high school graduate is widening quickly as far as educational opportunity, the assumption that a high school graduate does better than a dropout does not often hold.

He suggests that it is this awareness, more than the label "culturally deprived" or " unmotivated" which is responsible for most of the lack of interest and eventual dropout of this group.

Miller sees school dropouts, especially this last category, as a political problem involving social policy decisions which are extremely important since these decisions set priorities which necessarily exclude some other solutions. Broadly speaking, the problem is in program planning: "do we want to change the conditions of a lot of people a little, or greatly change the conditions of a small number of people." 135

The labour market for dropouts is an extremely hostile one for four reasons:

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135 ibid., p. 269.

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(1) an anarchic, unorganized, inefficient labour market prevails;
(2) technological change is occurring at a rapid clip;
(3) economic growth is limited...;
(4) the push from the rural and agricultural areas is leading new
migrants to the large cities.\textsuperscript{136}

These factors are not independent. Apprenticeship programs that
used to provide an orderly progression through the job structure are no
longer true when there is no progression or clarity to occupational
movement. New apprenticeship-type programs like "workerships" suggested
by Friedman, involving on-the-job training are needed but any program
is piecemeal when it co-exists with low economic growth.

Miller finds the usual answer of more education simply a panacea
for problems, and a dangerous road since it is more likely to lead to
unrest, unemployment, and underemployment. It would be disastrous
if everyone finished high school and went on to college because there
would not be enough appropriate jobs. Raising aspirations without success
for extra effort is dangerous. Campaigns for staying in school lower the
self-esteem and efforts of dropouts by convincing them of their sure failure
in finding jobs.

He concludes without a major solution, except to encourage all
experimentation in education and job opportunity programs. His main
thesis is that improving schooling and its attractiveness or improving the
subjective attitudes of students are not the first order of activity in the
attack on the over-determined social problems of youth, unemployment,
discrimination, and poverty. He feels that economic factors should take
priority in this area.

\textsuperscript{136}ibid., p. 267
Treatment and Services for Youth

Treatment and services for youth reflect current and traditional philosophies of treatment, definition of problem and problem groups, community insight and commitment, and professional discipline. Types of treatment are almost as variable as the differential needs of the youth that receive them. The translation of treatment philosophy into a treatment model, the model into a service, and the service into a comprehensive community program, involves numerous variables.

The material in this section of the survey is an example of some treatment philosophies, models, methods, and services. Selection criterion is based mainly on continuity with previous material, preference being given to articles which follow the process from treatment to service configurations.

Treatment Philosophies

The following is a description of two fairly recent philosophies of treatment as applied to the treatment of adolescents. The two conceptual frameworks are the "crisis" model and the "general or ecological systems theory" model.

The crisis model has evolved from several concerns, understandings, and happenings in the mental health field. First, there has been increasing concern about "situations that produce marked disequilibrium in a person's psychosocial adjustment." External origins of crisis might be natural disasters, deaths in the family, marriage, changing jobs or residences, entering or leaving school. Internal sources might be changes resulting

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from pregnancy, menopause, or puberty. Second, these situations have been found to be opportune times to initiate changes in personal functioning. Third, there has been increasing concern by all mental health professionals with reaching those with severe social problems like delinquency, addiction, and marginal living before they seek assistance on their own.

All developmentalists, regardless of school would agree that adolescence is one of these crisis periods marked by rapid biological and social change. With regard to decisions about intervention however, two schools of thought emerge with respect to the stress they attribute to factors that emerge during adolescence. The recapitulative theorists stress the revival of earlier material, primarily unresolved sexual and aggressive conflicts. The emergent theorists focus primarily on the new structures, cognitive features and tasks that emerge in the adolescent’s struggle for identity. The choice of theoretical direction determines specific techniques to treat adolescents whether one directs attention to unresolved elements or whether one focuses primarily on features that are maturing and developing.

A crisis intervention program also depends on the particular social and personal factors operating in the individual adolescent, factors that influence the direction of his resolution of the crisis. Shore and Massimo present the following three elements which operate to limit alternatives for reduction of maturational pressures:

(1) The sociocultural factors which influence both the cognitive and affective development of the personality, offering only certain opportunities for identity formation. Thus, it has been found that there is often a severe identity crisis in lower-class youth during adolescence when they become aware of the limited social opportunities available to them. Despair sets in, and a resolution to the identity crisis is often made along anti-social lines.

138 Ibid., pp. 335-36.
(2) The psychopathological elements of the affective system which often reflect sociocultural origins, but are primarily determined by the nature of early object relationship. Thus the character of the unresolved conflicts, as well as the defensive structure, will serve to limit the alternatives for resolving the adolescent crisis.

(3) Specific situational events often of an external kind (such as suspension from school or removal from home) which block certain directions and avenues for the resolution of the struggle for identity. Taking an emergent theory approach, Shore and Massimo developed a crisis intervention treatment for chronic delinquent adolescents. As a maturational task they chose the attempts of adolescents to define vocational interests and goals and specifically find and keep jobs.

They chose this task since conceptually it is relatively new and free of major conflict, although it has been found in work with adults that the vocational area becomes riddled and contaminated with the individual's conflict systems when frustrations in testing out one's vocational wishes with reality occur.

Some features of the crisis intervention program developed by Shore and Massimo are:

(a) within twenty-four hours after a boy had left school whether voluntarily or by suggestion, he was contacted and met anywhere, anytime and offered help in getting a job;

(b) the cognitive functioning of these boys was marked by the following characteristics:

1. motoric orientation,
2. concrete thinking rather than symbolizing,
3. present time orientation,
4. desire for immediate gratification.

In view of these characteristics the therapist was available anytime.

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139 ibid., p. 337.
140 ibid., p. 339.
day or night when needed. No office was used. Length of contact was not limited. The therapist often accompanied the boy on shopping trips and job interviews.

(c) a major feature was a comprehensive, vocationally-oriented psychotherapy within which a single person offered job assistance, remedial education and psychotherapy.

Evaluation of the program by comparison of treated boys to a matched population of delinquents not treated showed that profound changes in ego functioning occurred that could be reliably identified: inhibiting guilt was confused with regard to antisocial behaviour, object relations improved, personalized descriptions of persons decreased, perception showed greater future orientation. General behaviour improved along with job performance and significant positive changes in learning took place. These changes persisted as tested by follow-up for two and three years after treatment.

The development of the ecological systems model in theory and in practice is described by Edgar H. Auerswald. He postulates that an explosion of scientific knowledge, technology, and population, and the effects of this explosion on the human condition has presented a challenge to the behavioural sciences that could not be met within any disciplinary framework. Attempts have been made to organize the knowledge of various disciplines into a holistic theory, the result being a shift in emphasis from the adaptation or maladaptation of the individual to individual human ecology.

As a result, the vantage point of the behavioural scientist from which the growth and development of the individual is viewed has tended to move outward from its circumscribed focus on intrapsychic phenomena, past the point of parent-child interaction, and even past the full

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family arena to a point where the horizons of scientific concern have expanded to include a view of the infinite variety of interaction between the child and the various objects, people, and functional systems filling the space around him as he grows and develops through time. In recent years, a conceptual framework usable in organizing this ecological field has been taking form. General system theory has been used to identify hierarchical systems which make it up. General communications theory, information theory, game theory, theory of small-group processes, and insights gained from study of decision-making processes, non-verbal communication, and psycholinguistics, have provided ways of studying and conceptualizing interactional processes between systems. The time dimension has been clarified by attention to key periods in the life cycle, the theory of crisis, and the study of time itself. This holistic framework provides a theoretical structure for an over-all realignment of current knowledge and a latticework on which broad spectrum data collected on the operations of key systems and at the interfaces between systems in any given community can be hung.\(^{142}\)

Auerswald claims that the concurrent evolution of electronic storage and processing of mass data has drastically changed our potential to foster and maintain man's biopsychosocial well-being.

With regard to the understanding and treatment of children and adolescents, Auerswald points out that several significant trends have occurred within and contributed to the broad trend of identification of systems.

The first trend has been the elevation of cognitive development in the child and adolescent to an importance equal with instinctual and emotional aspects. Involved is the recognition of the need for sequential exposure of the child to blocks of various information in order to successfully perform increasingly complex tasks of living. Also involved is the need to understand psychobiological development not only in phylogenetic terms but also in terms of source, formation, and transmission of messages received, the structure and content of the messages themselves, and the reception,\(^{142}\)

\(^{142}\)ibid., pp. 343-44.
assimilation, and integrative of these messages and their inclusion in cognitive structures.\textsuperscript{143}

A second development has been the recognition that the family, a long recognized generic system for experiences of the child, has been studied very little as a system in and of itself. The family has often been separated in study into mother-child dyads or as a total institution within a culture. The family now is being studied as a system performing certain tasks, one of which is transmitter and arbitrator of messages and experience to children.

Third, individual behaviour at one time seen and treated as a result of pathology, now emerges as a crisis in a sequence of interlocking events in a field of forces in which the individual happens to be central only because his behaviour is deviant enough to be labelled or he comes to an agency with a symptom picture which is deemed in need of treatment.

Diagnosis will become, within this new understanding, the identification in the total ecological field of etiological vectors. Treatment will consist in an attack on these vectors necessitating a mobile therapist capable of moving from system to system.

Auerswald compares the treatment of a disturbed adolescent boy using a clinical service approach and an ecological approach. The following is a brief summary of the structure and functions of each:

In the clinical approach, the boy's problem is defined as an "illness" through first psychiatric examination and then psychological testing. Parents are interviewed and their pathology related to their son's. Psychotherapy and medication is recommended treatment for the boy along with separate counselling for the parents. Continued and increased
truancy and related delinquent behaviour results in the boy being labelled a danger to the community and combined with the information from the therapist, residential treatment is recommended and carried out. Effort is made to work with the family as well as the boy but distance and social and economic problems make the carrying out of this plan difficult.

The second service, an ecological systems service, is hypothesized as existing in a Neighbourhood Family Health Centre staffed by various helping persons including physicians, social workers, nurses, psychologists, clerical staff and aides. A group chaired by a General Service Worker (various disciplines) is involved with each family. The team operates out of a center located in an easily accessible community. The center is a front-line unit connected with a central unit responsible for overall administrative, training and research operations.

Within this organization, the family referred to before, is first contacted through the father who comes with some physical complaints. A complete medical work-up indicated no physical cause. Psychological variables were suspected. A General Service Worker became involved and the father and family were interviewed together. When reports came in of school problems with the boy from the school authorities, a crisis team visited the home. A meeting was called of the family, unit workers, and community agency workers, to explore the family situation and to construct a remedial plan. A decision was reached to place the boy in the Residential Unit serving the neighbourhood, the family situation calmed somewhat, and more exploration could be done to determine the cause of the crisis. Two family sessions later, after much work had been done in working through various problems resulting from the father's employment problem, these were interpreted to the school for the son. Father began a training program,
welfare was arranged, and the son's behaviour started to change at school, which he had continued attending while at the residential unit. Then the boy was returned home. Work with the family continued including collection of base family data, complete physical examinations, and tests of cognitive capacities. Programs to develop cognitive and instrumental capacities were initiated for members of the family, e.g. mother was given help in shopping skills related to her lack of knowledge and distortions about using supermarkets with which she had no past experience.

Continual comprehensive health services would be provided as long as the family wished.

Irene M. Josselyn has laid down some guidelines for treatment of adolescents with regard to both supportive and psychotherapeutic therapy. She feels that the adolescents is striving to orient himself to a new world and that he can be helped most successfully with support and guidance, as he acquires for himself the actual experience in the world. The natural impulses will provide the incentive for growth. She would see as ideal treatment minimized distortions in growth through utilization of positive psychological potentialities and constructive resources in the environment providing and optimum milieu for development.

With regard to supportive treatment she draws attention to the following characteristics of adolescents:

(a) the tendency for adolescents to develop "crushes" on therapists related to the adolescent's strong dependency needs. These crushes can be used therapeutically if the therapist in his own fear does not reject the youth or gratify his own neurotic needs in the relationship. The relationship may gratify the adolescent's dependency needs doing much to strengthening his ego capacity to deal with internal conflicts and

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external reality.

(b) adolescents want to be independent and need to be given freedom but also need limits to protect against the panic that results from excursion into areas for which the adolescent is not prepared to deal with. Limits should be individual and flexible designed to strengthen impulses towards maturity rather than binding. Limits usually give security.

(c) adolescents while being highly critical of parents usually need them. Therapists can over empathize with their negative feelings about parents, an identification that can encourage a premature rejection of parents or parental values without new standards for the adolescent. The possibility also exists that if the revolt is carried through the adolescent rejecting his own inadequacies, may project the blame on the therapist, thus not only does the therapist lose his value as a helper but the adolescent by projection loses part of himself which is essential to his psychological structure.

(d) adolescent groups exert stronger constructive influence on the individual than any adult. It is therefore therapeutic for many adolescents to be involved in group treatment since it provides security, the possibility of acceptance in more palatable form of limitations, freedoms, and standards. The group has at adolescence a great value because of the responsiveness and needs of the individual at this age. The group also provides a learning opportunity within which he may establish roles among his age mates laying a foundation for his future role as an adult.

Josselyn believes insight-focused psychotherapy should be the treatment of choice only when redirection is impossible. The individual adolescent, she feels, needs first of all to be protected from external situations that excessively stimulate his internal impulses.

Therapists' confusion in this area, Josselyn postulates, is related to adolescents who first verbalize readily their underlying problems, and second to those who are completely unable to verbalize their difficulties. These are sometimes mistaken indications that insight interpretation would be of value in the first case to a further insight to present understandings and in the second to a break in defenses.

Josselyn points out that unlike child psychotherapy where awareness as to the attachments to parental figures must be present and encouraged if treatment is to be successful, the first type of adolescent is only too
aware of these raw feelings which indicate his need for further development of defenses and not more insight. With therapist support, a redirection of these feelings in other relationships is usually called for. In the second type of youth, complete repression of conscious awareness of the nature of psychosexual conflicts is present, differing from the adult showing similar symptoms who is consciously aware of his impulses but is crippled because of the nature of his indiscriminatory defenses. This repression in the adolescent is necessary so that he can fortify and build up defenses in a time when his awareness is overwhelming. If the protective devices are allowed to exist reintegration may take place but if they are attacked and broken down by insight-oriented techniques before the individual can organize effective techniques, he will be overwhelmed.

The choice of treatment depends then, Josselyn concludes, on the evaluation of the present ego strength and the ultimate ego potential. Often in adolescence, the ego is temporarily crippled by multiple demands. Convalescence takes place with the gradual recovery of the ego and manifestation of consistent defenses. Until these defenses crystallize treatment should foster potentials and assist in developing healthy defenses. Once the ego manifests the strength to deal with external and internal problems, insight might be utilized in the abandonment of unnecessary defenses into a healthy personality.

Disadvantaged Youth

E. T. Empey gives us in theoretical terms, a sociological

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perspective for understanding and working in small groups with socially deprived youth. His presentation is not an attempt to present an alternative or exclusive non-psychological point of view nor is it designed to negate the importance of a psychosocial approach, but to distinguish as clearly as possible the unique contributions a sociological perspective has to make.

Beginning with a statement of theoretical assumptions regarding social deprivation, Empey examines the implications of these assumptions for program operation and moves from there to a derivation of a set of theoretical assumptions for implementing a small group approach to change.

The following are his basic assumptions regarding social deprivation:

(a) behaviour of lower-income youth arises in response to the same general needs and values as the behaviour of youth in high incomes; this is in contrast to views held not long ago that the behaviour of lower income youth was the results of unique emotional problems;

(b) the status of lower income youth produces strain. There is less access to institutions, their sense of personal worth is more at stake, sanctions for much of their behaviour produce strain. The institutions around the family and not the family itself are responsible for the strain;

(c) reactions to socially induced strain tend to be collective not private. It is very rare that there can be successful personal problem solving to a social problem. Youth subcultures form as alternatives to conventional institutions. The forces of cohesion are also more external, than internal (police, juvenile groups). Most behaviour reactions are negatively reinforced.

To summarize, problems to be encountered in any group program are the function of cumulative group experiences than circumstances unique to individuals

The implication for social work is the need for several group work objectives utilizing different strategies to

(a) change present modes of adjustment in interest of better interpersonal and instrumental skills,

(b) more effective linkage between youth and opportunity structure.

These objectives are interdependent and should take place sequentially.
The intervention assumptions that follow from the theoretical assumptions and implications are:

(a) The lower-class adolescent groups should become the target of change. The focus of change is tied to the rewards and values of peers. The development of new ties to group norms and rewards will be more conducive to long range solutions. The point of the first assumption is that the rules of the game will not be given up unless the group member knows he will be better off and the group will have to provide for the acceptance of new rules.

(b) The traditional relationship of the lower-class adolescent to professional staff members should become target of change. The relationship has become traditionally, unintentionally, and non-rationally a systematic one which depends on the subordinate position of the client. This relationship is representative of other social relationships that are responsible for the present difficulties for which these clients come for help. The worker therefore must change and foster autonomy. The aim should be group change by involvement in changing rules of past relationships. They then share the relinquished power. The worker then must become an effective group leader since he may no longer depend on his authority.

(c) An emergent group program should be seen as going through a series of developmental stages, similar to a developing nation without experiences in democracy, no rewards, and no tradition. Motivation to help oneself comes also from helping, or an effective group member is a more effective individual. The group process becomes even more effective, if position and money rewards are to be gained with increasing responsibility.

(d) Attention in group sessions should be concentrated upon the here and now. An unhappy past is inadequate for solving problems. The interest is in current adjustment and adequate alternatives. The process is life confronting. Problems are classified and documented in behavioural terms and alternatives sought. The process allows what is problematic about leader and his officialdom to come out. Group members can contribute to the understanding of staff problems.

(e) Group and instrumental activities should be functionally related. The group should be reinforced by other activities outside the group setting which provide discussion material for group meetings and a testing ground for new behavioural understanding.

(f) The program must find some means of introducing change into external institutional structures. There is no comfortable treatment area for release with these groups. Youth need integration within external systems. They need a concrete connection with other institutions (school, work, or police). Programs can often be run within these institutions. Problem definition might then change to education or work, and not legal, welfare or mental health.

William E. Amos, Chief of the Division of Counselling and Test

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The counselling profession as a relatively new profession incorporating the movements of vocational guidance and mental health is struggling with many problems of professional definition and practice definition. Within this struggle is involved a concern that counselling which has been traditionally involved with verbally-oriented middle-class youth and adults, is not prepared to work with disadvantaged youth. The counsellors believe they must change training curriculum roles, techniques, and procedures.

Some of the questions raised are very basic involving the incorporation of treatment modalities into a guidance focus, but many indicate the kind of innovative thinking and action that any helping profession must consider if they are to work with disadvantaged youth.

Amos and Grambs present the following as pressing operational problems:

(1) There can be no general rule-of-thumb prescription for those within the culture of poverty, since they include several major groups and many subgroups besides individuals with unique problems. Diversity is the problem. Experience in various experimental youth services centers have shown that the following approaches and methods are warranted to be important in working with most disadvantaged youth:

(a) The realization that the same forces which make these youth unemployed and unemployable also keeps them from seeking help. "Outreach" or going out to meet youth on their own grounds has been accepted as essential to future success in counselling, remedial education, vocational training, or job finding. Use of semi-professional workers who "talk the same language" as youth can be very effective in these roles.

(b) The need for these youth to have a psychological home base, a person in whom the agency has placed responsibility for all services. This has been put into operation in newer youth services and found effective. It eliminates impersonal referrals and a large number of contacts without personal relationship.

(c) The absence of informal vocational learning through experiences of parents or friends plus the doubtful value of assessment tests, especially with verbal content, necessitates for the disadvantaged youth, on the job experiences of various types, which give the youth some experience and the counsellor a chance to assess work habits, etc.
(d) There has been found a necessity to relate remedial or treatment services to concrete tasks or jobs which provide helpful motivational areas in which the youth can test his self-improvement and plan distant goals.

(2) A problem recognized by counsellors is their over-statement of the centrality of verbal interaction. The result, they are concerned, has been to direct the individual to adjust to his environment even if this environment is destructive for the individual. The realization that persons learn in interaction with their environment and that these environmental conditions need sometimes to be changed and developed in support of the individual has resulted in the insight that it is necessary for the counsellor to be involved in changing environmental conditions in the immediate relationships of the counselees (family) through different means of intervention. He must be an instrument of social change.

(3) A third problem is calling to the attention of the community that its youth will leave the city if there are no jobs. What must be communicated is that this is not necessary if a community-wide effort is undertaken to determine employment needs giving special attention to hidden opportunities. The community must be made to understand that this task cannot be performed by only one agency.

Other questions related to these issues are presented by Amos and Grambs. The researchers found the following questions of special interest:
If counselling has to be sold to these youth what are the implications for counselling goals? Do we see the problem as behavioural change to protect middle-class structures, a revision of class-related behaviours, or help in adaptation within subcultures?
What are the psychological structures at work in outreach methods?
How can population characteristics be used more effectively to increase accessibility?
What areas of change need supportive work to increase functioning adequacy and what areas more intensive development of new ego resources, redirection of goals and resolution of conflict?
How do the characteristics of the population bear on decisions regarding group versus individual methods? What are the terms of decision regarding naturally occurring groups?
What significance can be given to differences in language between client and counsellor with regard to modelling approaches, non-verbal communication
and counselor participation in the relationship as compared to sublimated talk about the relationship?

How do these youth structure their relationships with counselors? Is internalization of counselor responses a significant reinforcer to supplement ego functioning? What are the defensive styles and preferences of the population?

What "way of life" is seen as acceptable in terms of minimal demands for renewed counseling for these clients at the end of counseling?

In recognition that although social, economic, and educational deprivation are the primary factors in vocational maladjustment and that basic solutions exist in prevention, needed are broad social programs that offer opportunities for personal and interpersonal development, training, and ultimately, job placement. Two agencies in New York, a rehabilitation agency and a youth opportunity center of a state employment service, cooperated to provide comprehensive services including clinical services to young people.147

Casework consultation was available to employment counselors and the workshops and medical, psychiatric and psychological assessment services of the vocational rehabilitation agency were available for use by the youth employment services.

A review of the first one hundred cases upon which employment counselors sought consultation, showed that nearly all were eligible for vocational rehabilitation services of the state. Thirteen had been patients in mental hospitals, thirty-five were mentally retarded, thirty-five had physical handicaps of various intensity, thirty-one were diagnosed by the agency psychiatrist as psychiatrically ill. Physical disorders included serious obesity, sickle cell anemia, cardiac illness, brain damage,

polio residual symptoms, kidney conditions, asthma, muscular dystrophy, headaches, speech and visual problems, hypertension, and a brain tumor. Emotional conditions ranged from severe anxiety reactions and behaviour disorders to suicidal depression. Most came from poor families and one-third were on assistance.

Three basic clinical services were offered and assessed, consultation to employment counsellors, individual casework, and group work.

It was found that casework consultation was of assistance in the interpretation of assessment results to vocational counsellors, in aiding in interviewing techniques to pick up clues indicating need for other treatment or services, and in helping counsellors to overcome some problems or over-involvement or ignorance of their own effect on certain clients. Client reaction could be better understood with consultation.

Individual casework services were of help if they were of an active nature, utilizing reaching-out techniques with tangible evidence of caring. Young persons often initially perceived social workers as passive listeners. Casework approaches usually applied an understanding of personality dynamics, active intervention, and continuous service.

Group treatment was especially helpful in handling difficulties with persons of authority, difficulties in commitment to work, separation fears, and identity struggles. Particularly important for these youth was their experience of autonomy within the group.

Health care was a primary need of this group and it was found that the failure to get such services was related more to devastating experiences with poor, careless, disrespectful, and often harmful delivery of medical services than to a particular poor family value system. These youth responded positively to the special attention of an adolescent clinic.
The assessment of this project indicated to the researchers that the provision of therapeutic and vocational services to these young people with social, psychological and developmental defects does not lend itself to quick assessment or easy results. Individual priorities of service, some of emergency nature (suicide prevention) had to be initiated before others services could be effective. Doors had to be kept open for second changes with needs for at least limited success kept in mind. It was clear that there were no simple solutions to these young people's problems and that clinical services must constitute a part of any of their services.

Psychotherapy

Psychotherapy could be defined as "talking treatment" on intrapersonal difficulties. Psychotherapy or psychotherapeutic types of treatment have inherent several issues for utilization with youth, their ability to use insight, communication problems, and youth's preoccupation with social self-realization.

With regard to psychoanalysis and social self-realization, Bettleheim writes the following:

This, I believe, is one of the reasons why psychoanalysis is so often ineffective in adolescence - not because the sexual pressures are so great, and they are great, but because psychoanalysis, which is so well able to help with problems of sex and repression and personal self-realization, does not help with the problem of social self-realization. Or, to put it differently, pitting a helpful authority (the analyst) against repressive authority figures still leaves the adolescent under the sway of some adult authority which he needs to replace with his own. Or, to put it yet differently, psychoanalysis is devised for and effective in helping persons with their intrapersonal difficulties; hence it tends to approach all problems as

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such. But the problem of the generations is an interpersonal difficulty. Therefore, to deal with it as if it were intrapersonal only, complicate matters instead of simplifying them and makes resolving them less likely.\(^\text{149}\)

Albert Bryt\(^\text{150}\) focusing on the not uncommon problem of therapeutic disappointment and premature termination of adolescents in psychotherapy attributes much of the problem to a failure in communication between patient and psychotherapist especially middle-class therapists and lower socio-economic class youth.

He explains the problem basically as an acceptance of the criterion by the psychotherapist of the axiom psychotherapy will work if the patient really wants to change. He feels this is no longer the only acceptable criterion. That success might be dependent on the therapist's communicative skills, especially his ability to understand the non-verbal meaning of speaking, used by deprived youth whose action orientation often takes the form of using language as verbal action in defenses to protect them from invasion of privacy. A related factor is their often numerous unsuccessful failures in getting the help they wanted in the past.

Bryt suggests these difficulties can be overcome if the therapist directs his attention first to remedying the absence of a shared semantic framework. He claims that this may be done by the therapist participating in the action through behavioural signs rather than symbolic communication. Based on this relationship if it often possible to developed a shared verbal code, within which therapy can take place and which is itself an increase in communication ability for the patient which he can carry


\(^{150}\)Albert Bryt, "Dropout Adolescents from Psychotherapy," pp. 293-303.
outside of this relationship.

McWhinnie\(^{151}\) also deals with communication problems in work with delinquent youth from poverty-stricken and culturally deprived homes. His concern is that youth have very little opportunity to learn verbal skills especially in relation to abstract concepts. The reaction often then is an increased likelihood of acting out behaviour. The problem tends to be a circular one since official reaction to this acting out behaviour is rehabilitation methods which reinforce the delinquent youth's fixation on concrete constraints by exposure to disciplinary training in the form of coercive techniques or concrete rewards and punishments.

His solution is a group and community analog of Bryt's individual method. Tested out in a correctional institution McWhinnie found that exposure to group and milieu therapy in a therapeutic community where verbal communication and identification with dominant social values was a central aspect of treatment, was very successful.

Groups usually took the form of leaderless, non-directive daily meetings involving both staff and the youth of the institution. The groups moved through regularly occurring sequences that could be described as (a) catharsis, (b) direct testing of staff, (c) a further testing of staff with more relevance to immediate group relationship concerns, (d) a phase of greater interaction and testing of other members, (e) a phase of resistance and defensiveness marked by silence, and (f) orientation and task formation leading to voluntary discussion. On the

basis of identification with expressed values of the institution, the members learn to think and communicate in abstract terms leading from a morality of constraint to one of social cooperation. Parents were later involved in similar group meetings, so the youth could share their new learnings when they returned home.

Parents, Youth and Treatment

Alex H. Kaplan makes some pertinent distinctions regarding involvement of parents in psychotherapy of the adolescent.

Generally he believes that as all treatment disrupts basic family equilibrium, techniques must be developed to cope with the ensuing problems of untreated family members, especially in adolescent treatment.

He would, though, most often restrict joint interviewing techniques to younger adolescents (12-16) where he feels it is mandatory. With older adolescents (17-20), he feels such contact may adversely affect too close a relationship of the parents with the therapist, although occasionally such techniques are needed even with adults.

He would differentiate between the use of joint family interviewing, conjoint therapy, and collaborative treatment. His model of occasional quadrangular conferences with parents is designed to gain insight into family neurosis and its interaction, and this material is used in treatment. The interviews take place primarily in the introductory diagnostic phase, but are repeated during the therapeutic process to

eliminate more frequent parent-family contacts,...focus on presenting intra-family pathology,...give a better picture of the adolescent's reality,...improve the intrafamily communication,...facilitate the

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therapeutic alliance and contract, and to eliminate the need for any guarded confidentiality on the part of the therapist.\textsuperscript{153}

Kaplan feels that collaborative therapy, even in well set up models where one therapist works with the adolescent, another with the parents, seldom works out, with therapists becoming isolated with little collaboration and much resistance between the therapists developing.

Conjoint family therapy, Kaplan feels, is indicated when family conflict of family neurosis is more pressing than the adolescent's individual difficulty. For adolescents who are neurotic, depressed, or with well-stabilized personality disorders, he would recommend individual therapy with joint interviews as needed to maintain therapy.

He would conclude contacts with parents when the adolescent gives up trying to solve his own emotional conflicts by attempts to modify parents' behaviour.

Drug Abuse

J. H. Willis\textsuperscript{154} gives some general principles of casework with drug addicts. First of all, he points out that limited goals are most often mandatory with chronic addicts. Support and follow-up when he fails to keep appointments is important. Second, over-rigid insistence on appointment schedules is likely to deter many addicts who keep irregular hours. Third, twenty-four hour emergency service, he feels, while having a histronic appeal, is more likely to appeal to those workers whose own dependency needs may be met by working with addicts. He suggests a calm,

\textsuperscript{153} ibid., p. 317.

supportive relationship that can be contained. Also a sometimes firmly
directive counselling of a basic variety related to many addicts' unawareness
of their behaviour's effect on the public. Fourth, the addict should be
kept in the community as long as possible since, because of his behaviour,
he is likely to opt out of the community value system and the community
rejects him. The social worker should therefore also be responsible
for community education and public relations to help smooth difficulties
between the addict and the community. Fifth, the family of an addict
may need considerable support, reassurance, and explanation of its son's
or daughter's condition, even though the addict is likely to have drifted
away from the family. Their confusion, guilt, and fear should be taken
into account this way.

Willis reviews the variety of treatment methods used for drug
dependent persons. They are as broad as the area of treatment of any
psychological disorder. They include individual and group psychotherapy,
pharmacological treatment utilizing tranquillizers and sedatives, anti­
depressants, pharmacological blockers (methadone), and various long term
community programs.

An outline of some of the community programs are:

(1) patient rehabilitation by other patients or former patients, such as
the widely known Synanon programs, which operate basically as a self-help
community of ex-addicts without professionals. The program has a built-in
social order with the new addict starting at the bottom. Vigorous
group interaction with much confrontation is the order of the day at
Synanon communities.

(2) comprehensive community oriented treatment programs combining
outreach by former addicts, referral for psychiatric assessment, detoxifi-

cation and withdrawal, long term treatment (10-12 months) aimed at
altering life styles and re-entry by a supervised return to community
living. Similar programs combine both hospital and community oriented
facilities.
(3) another system is prescribing of drugs for addicts or the British system which was deemed humane, rational system, but found inadequate when the drug user ceased to be a middle-aged therapeutic addict and started to become a young member of a drug-using culture.

Willis concludes with the following general statement about the treatment and rehabilitation of addicts:

There are no ideal methods, and no particular approaches are stressed as being the most desirable. The important thing is to remember that all workers in this difficult field need constantly to recognize the complexity of the problems involved, to be flexible and to be prepared for changes in treatment goals... It is just no good attempting to impose inflexible over-simplistic methods on the symptoms of a disorder which appears to originate not only from the patient's constitution, his relationships with family and peer groups, but also originates from subtle social and cultural influences.\footnote{155ibid., p. 113.}

Social Action

Jacob R. Fishman and Frederic Solomon\footnote{156Jacob R. Fishman and Frederic Solomon, "Youth and Social Action," \textit{American Journal of Orthopsychiatry}, 1963, 33, 872-82.} have studied the psychodynamics of adolescent participation in antisegregation activities. They considered how participation in such activities affects the development of ideology and identity. Their conclusions indicate that this kind of activity should be considered as integral to any work with adolescents. As they put it:

One must take into account certain features of the developmental and group psychology of late adolescence - with special emphasis on interrelationships between action and identity formation. As Erik Erikson has intimated, the unique needs and strengths of late adolescence frequently focus on the social and intellectual crises of the era, translating issues into the ideology and action of the youth movement. This ideology and social action may have a fundamental role in the development of identity in adolescents.\footnote{157ibid., p. 875.}
Youth Services

Gerald Caplan has separated out the elements of a comprehensive community mental health program for adolescents. He has restricted his thesis to fundamental issues in recognition of the variety of ways services are organized. His approach is a community psychiatric one involving all mental health personnel. His view of psychiatry reflects a concern for the total population of adolescents and not just the very disturbed or the selectivity of institutions catering to certain specific cases. He would see a community program so organized that each adolescent could be handled as an individual with idiosyncratic patterns of needs. Service to all adolescents means, to Caplan, the present movement to involve psychiatry in behaviour disorders such as delinquency, alcoholism, drug addiction, and prostitution, normal temporary disturbances as well as traditional disorders of psychiatry.

One major professional factor within this comprehensive program is the need for specialists in adolescence who will act as consultants to a variety of services. This consultation role is related more to the scarcity of professionals in this area in general, than to the specific skills of psychiatry.

The first major program element Caplan outlines is that of Diagnosis, Counselling, and Disposition. He sees these functions as inseparable and having to be readily available to adolescents and those concerned with adolescents. Within these services, self-referral would be encouraged by wide dissemination of information.

Caplan proposes three sites for these services. (a) Inside the mental

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health system as a general and specialist service for diagnosis. Involved would also be access to residential facilities for observation of the adolescent; (b) in the school system, where most of the population of adolescents can be screened. Besides regular screening, consultation and inservice education for teachers and other personnel regarding recognition of broad categories of disturbance would be available; (c) in the community, where programs of education and consultation would be available for the great variety of persons youth turn to for advice. Caplan here stresses the necessity for explicitly non-medical "Youth Advisory Centers" or "Youth Consultation Centers" where youth can turn, without necessary alienation yet with special attention with any life problem. The important element here is help without loss of face.

Caplan emphasizes that within all these service sites there needs to be ready access to physicians able to advise on and treat skin, endocrine, metabolic, and gynecological difficulties.

The second major element in the comprehensive program for adolescents is treatment. The particular emphasis here is on the provision of both short and long term treatment which takes into account different diagnostic categories. A broad range of treatments, ideally involving the adolescent's family and in collaboration with other helpers in the community, should be available. Both outpatient and residential treatments with special departments or wards in existing institutions or separate facilities should be available.

Some examples of separate units for adolescents are:

(a) treatment schools, usually residential units incorporating educational, medical and individual and group psychotherapeutic approaches;

(b) treatment camps, providing isolated therapeutic communities where
adolescents can take part in activities which are character building by gaining mastery over natural obstacles;

(c) units for special diagnostic groups for long-term treatment and management of adolescent psychotics, epileptics, and mentally subnormal cases;

(d) treatment in mental hospitals requiring special wards or staff for schooling and activity programs.

The third major element is vocational guidance, training and rehabilitation. Involved is an understanding of the interference with the orderly development to occupational careers that a mental disturbance in adolescence can produce.

Mental health personnel should then be involved in vocational guidance, training and rehabilitation. Ideally vocational and mental health personnel should be able to penetrate each other's institutions to learn the particular problems encountered in each area.

Special services found of particular value in the rehabilitation of disturbed adolescents have been sheltered workshops, supervised industrial placement, and selective placement, each geared to the gradual move into occupational situations of progressively increased challenge and burden.

The fourth program element is the education of disturbed adolescents within the school system. This necessitates specialized technical supervision and mental health consultation for teachers. Special classes for some severely disturbed adolescents aimed towards re-entry to the normal classroom and special schooling for those with particular disturbances, such as mental subnormality, epilepsy, blindness, or illegitimate pregnancy which may be unacceptable to the school system. Special schooling may involve individual tutoring or a separate class or school.

The fifth element is primary prevention programs or the promotion
of mental health or optimal potential for creative living and reality-based mastery of problem by adolescents and reduction of the risk of new cases of mental disorders.

Basically primary prevention consists in improving biopsychosocial supplies to provide the best possible circumstances for growth. For the disadvantaged adolescent, improvement in living conditions, health care, and education are ideal goals. Extension of social, political, and occupational horizons are essential for all youth. What is demanded of the worker in the community is major social action campaigns. He must be able to communicate to the community a list of the hazardous situations which provoke crises in a significant proportion of the adolescent population.

Elisabeth C. Day\textsuperscript{159} describes several types of programs initiated by settlements and neighbourhood centers in the United States in 1964, in response to the increased concern with youth unemployment and the dropout phenomenon as first fully enumerated by the United States Labour Department's manpower to the President of the United States in 1960.

A 1964 survey by the National Federation of Settlements and Neighbourhood Centers indicated that fifty agencies (19\% sample) reported various intervention programs in response to the youth employment problem.

There were

32 tutorial programs and 21 pre-school school-readiness programs, 17 of them including parent involvement in the service design; 11 higher horizons enrichment programs; 9 learn-earn programs;

\textsuperscript{159}Elisabeth C. Day, "Settlements, Dropouts, and Jobs," in Young People and the World of Work, pp. 19-32.
and 3 scholarship aid programs. This is in contrast to a 1960 survey which indicated that in 60% of the cities having serious dropout problems 80% of the agencies were not even aware of the dropout rate in their service area; resources were meager and chiefly limited to counselling available at the state employment services.

Other programs reported in 1964 were 17 guidance and counselling programs, 13 special group work programs, and 8 agencies providing multiple services.

There were four types of programs with the goal of preparation for entering the world of work: grooming-for-job-getting and holding programs; job-finding services; skill-training programs; and apprentice-tutoring programs. Several agencies were also attempting programs with wages and with job training built in. Several agencies also reported social action programs on local or national scales.

Some important factors stresses in some sample programs were:

(a) agencies recognized that the agency's program, no matter how long and consistent the family contacts, had no effect on keeping children in school beyond age sixteen;

(b) the agencies fully recognized the schools and Boards of Education as authorities in education and involved them in that capacity;

(c) the agencies designed goal oriented programs to meet a need no one else was touching, and built into it an evaluation plan with records to measure results;

(d) stress was put on demonstrating and finding effective methods by the agencies whether their programs were preventive or remedial;

(e) work itself was found to be of therapeutic value in programs for teens. For some though, work touched off personal problems but attention could also be given for these within all programs;

(f) program recruitment was from homes and streets in an outreach approach.
Group work included family, friends, and girl/boy friends in some groups; (g) aggressive effort to obtain positions (apprenticeship or workmanship) in industry for program participants was found to be needed. While subsidizing the payroll was often needed at first, industries were soon found to assume full responsibility.

Roger Hyman reports on a unique service approach to alienated youth primarily with drug-related problems in his article "The Trailer Project - A Yorkville Experiment." The project operating from a trailer in Yorkville, an area in Toronto that attracted a large, mainly transient youth population with high drug involvement, incorporated many relatively new (to the Canadian scene) concepts in its service approach.

The credibility of the trailer was initiated and maintained by its placement in Yorkville and importantly, by its use of indigenous workers familiar with the area and experienced in street work. Other volunteers were recruited from professional ranks. Although there were many attempts to involve social agencies on a regular basis, this was found generally unsuccessful except for the involvement of isolated individuals, volunteers from the agencies.

The problems of the area youth were mainly drug related. Psychiatric and emotional disturbances were the norm. It was estimated by a consulting psychologist that 75% of the population could be classified as suffering from agitated depression. Physical problems ranged from advanced malnutrition to need for first aid. Information was in great demand and it was the project's experience that few young people knew much about police, city institutions, hospitals, or accommodations. Legal advice was in such demand that an already existing legal service was incorporated

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as part of the project.

Although the project saw itself as carrying much of the responsibility for counselling on problems, the role of the project gradually evolved at least in concept, toward that of a catalyst, providing outlets for professional and other volunteers, and as a bridge to the professional agency community for Yorkville residents.

Dr. Joseph Laycock\textsuperscript{161} in a paper published by the Canadian Welfare Council takes a critical look at youth services in Canada in the 60's. Some of his main comments are to the effect that Canadian adult society encourages absorption of youth and that it is usually successful in that most youth conform. Social services he sees as generally reflecting this societal attitude in that their primary concern is with the family or the child. The result is that many youth see these services as staffed by adults. They claim they do not need and recognize the non-relevance of such traditional services for themselves.

In the area of recreational programs and physical facilities, Laycock sees a need for cooperation and an end of duplication. He claims that traditional youth agencies have continued to hang on to programs even after extensive involvement in the same area by public recreational agencies. He also feels youth leaders have little or no comprehensive training and that these should be developed.

Priorities for youth agencies, Laycock feels, should be directed to those who have problems of delinquency, home life, vocational or

social relations. The reason is simply that they need help.

He sees such services as under the auspices of one agency having a multifunctional approach. It should be organized at a neighbourhood level and sustain that close relationship. Crisis services and traditional relationships should be available. Education and employment should be essential components of the service.

Recommendations and Suggestions of the Canadian Council on Social Development

In 1969 and 1970, the Canadian Welfare Council conducted an inquiry into the transient youth phenomenon, the presence of large numbers of young people travelling on the roads during the summer months. The concerns which prompted the inquiry were:

(1) the increased number of young people who travelled, created problems of shelter and health with which communities needed help so they could organize to meet them;

(2) youth on the road brought out concerns over their "alienated" or rebellious nature in some communities;

(3) communities were anxious about the apparent increase among young people of theft, disease, and drug misuse.

Although the issue of transient youth the researcher feels is beyond the scope of this paper, the inquiry which the Canadian Welfare Council conducted resulted in expressed concern over the world of youth in general in Canada, their needs and the communities' responsibility to serve these needs.

The researcher presents the following from the 1969 report of the Council which are recommendations for the benefit of all youth:


1. The Federal government should give priority to the formation of a national youth policy.

2. Consideration should be given to the creation of a national youth bureau to integrate the various national programs concerned with youth. The Federal government should initiate and support a continuing program of research as a basis for policy planning in the youth field.

3. Comprehensive planning involving much closer cooperation among education, recreation, health, welfare, law enforcement, and church organizations is urgently required at the local, provincial, and federal levels. Young people themselves must have a substantial role in this planning.

4. A guiding consideration in the framing of policies and programs should be to maximize opportunities and the capacity for self direction on the part of young people. Immediate attention should be given to lowering the minimum age for voting in federal, provincial, and municipal elections as well as for assuming other rights and responsibilities associated with adulthood.

5. The provinces are urged to adopt a uniform legal age for juveniles.

6. School systems should press on with the kind of reorganization which will make education more relevant to society as it is today and as it is apt to be tomorrow. Changes in curriculum, in teaching methods and in attitudes toward youth are essential. Guidance counselling programs in the schools must be strengthened to provide early detection and treatment of difficulties. Greater attention needs to be given to facilitating the re-entry of those who have dropped out of school; at present this process is fraught with obstacles. Innovative programs are required which enable young people to work in paid employment while continuing their education.

7. Federal-provincial support should be available to summer programs of voluntary youth services such as those operated by various church groups.

8. Federal and provincial governments should give leadership in creating summer job opportunities for those students who need to earn money to continue their education.

9. Professional help for problems in family relationships should be readily accessible to families at all income levels.

10. Group homes and other residential facilities are urgently needed for those adolescents whose continued living at home is either impossible or undesirable because of severe family problems. Such homes should receive public financial support. 164

164 Transient Youth, pp. iii-iv.
The report also recommends the establishment of a network of youth hostels, first aid and emergency health care services, adequate feeding facilities, support of local drop-in centers, the establishment of boarding houses, cooperative apartments and group houses and a network of crises-oriented travellers' aid services for travelling youth.

For the severely troubled youth, the Council recommends emergency hospital and psychiatric facilities; residential treatment centers and group homes for extended treatment with special facilities for the drug dependent; collaboration between manpower services, education, and training institutions and treatment centers; a review of public assistance policies and practices and child welfare procedures with regard to fair and reasonable access to service and the return home of children and youth without adequate follow-up; the development of experimental and innovative programs for reaching and helping disturbed youth by "traditional social agencies such as family service agencies";¹⁶⁵ the development of a strong youth division in police departments; federal government research on the effects of drug use for the purpose of dissemination of information on drugs and methods of treatment and revision of legislation.

The Council outlines six common problems in providing service to youth across Canada. Briefly these problems¹⁶⁶ are:

(1) difficulties in securing support for services
This is related to the general difficulty to fund any innovative programs in Canada especially as regards youth since these services provide no political mileage for elected bodies, in fact they are even likely to be censured. The results are small, under-financed, under-staffed, short-term effects giving no assurance of sustained support.

¹⁶⁵ibid., p. vi.
¹⁶⁶ibid., pp. 51-52.

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(2) the problem of runaway children and youth which can be distinguished from, although it is a part of, the phenomenon of transient youth. As the report describes "these are disturbed youth, people, not necessarily having left their native communities, but unlikely or unable to take up a stable life." Some of these young people are runaways who are affected by welfare assistance and child welfare agencies who send them back home without proper follow-up either because it is not within their legislated powers or because of problems of communication with other agencies in other localities and provinces.

(3) the problem deriving from the general availability of many kinds of drugs. Related to the problem is the change in perception of drugs with youth as compared with the prescription-oriented adult society. Drugs suggest to youth mind expansion, new self knowledge and generally are a part of a peer culture where drugs are used out of curiosity, testing, or more dangerously, to escape from reality. Generally, legal problems abound for the user and the agency that works with him. Community facilities for drug analysis are few. Community agencies are troubled by lack of information about drugs and drug treatment. Young people scorn most drug education. Medical personnel were in most communities considered unskilled in dealing with drug misuse. Controversy existed as to whether non-users or former users of drugs were most effective in dealing with the drug user in treatment. Fear of the drug scene was a real and negative force in communities.

(4) the role of the police force in the youth scene. Cooperation between alienated youth and youth-operated agencies was strained especially as regards youth operated agencies' suspicion of police, surveillance, provision of social rights pamphlets to the youth by these agencies, and spectacular coverage by news media of anything to do with youth. Some relationships improved with increased concern and help of youth-operated agencies in controlling mass youth functions like rock festivals which they often did successfully.

(5) the many questions concerning the re-entry of young persons who have left the mainstream of society. Different groups are involved in this general category, those who have clearly elected to leave the mainstream and who do not want back in, who want to dismantle social institutions, object to a consumer society, the socially approved ambition to get ahead, political control by corporations, family and educational systems that treat young adults as children. This group is not clearly distinct from those youth in the mainstream of society as those in the mainstream also share some of these feelings of alienation and those who have opted out have still been shaped by society and may re-enter it. Another group is those forced by poverty into alienation and who have never been in the mainstream of society. Employment is usually considered, the Council found, to be the best channel for re-entry into the mainstream of society. Canada has begun efforts to create such

\[167\text{ibid., p. 51.}\]
channels in the Canada New Start Program, the purpose of which is to help the disadvantaged acquire the motivation and preparation necessary for stable and rewarding employment. This program is now limited to small areas of high unemployment and their operations are now experimental.

Entrance to manpower training is complicated at present by a three year waiting period in the labour market for the young before they are eligible for training allowances under Canada Manpower auspices. The Council reports that some municipalities are, with the help of social agencies which recommend applicants, taking on the granting of subsistence under the General Welfare Assistance Act, so training for some can begin before the period has elapsed.

Although unemployment has been recognized as perhaps the major problem of youth in Canada, Canada Manpower Services are large and impersonal operations with some exceptions across the country. As with many agencies they seem to be unattractive to youth who do not use them fully.

The use of public welfare for re-entry is variable across Canada depending on the discretionary powers of local administrators. Differences exist with regard to age for eligibility, residence status, and degree to which applicant must prove he is making efforts to support himself.

(6) problems connected with the aims and structure of the social institutions involved—the long-established agencies, the newer youth-operated groups, and the problems of the coordination of services and service systems. The Council found criticisms of established social service agencies as being based on a charity model, where some of the agencies were "created and operated by the privileged for the underprivileged and their criticisms of this, their own society, are gentle." These agencies have, the Council feels, though of themselves as the advance guard to humanity and a more abundant life and now "find themselves regarded as a force to intercept and divert the march towards equality and justice." These agencies include schools, health services, long-established youth organizations, and social service agencies. Youth are found to be reluctant to approach such agencies and their experience is reinforced by the expectation of judgmental, prying, and withholding attitudes of those in authority.

Some criticisms the Council found of these agencies were:

(a) that agency hours did not fit the youth scene,

(b) that staff members of well-established agencies cannot enter into warm and helpful relationships with alienated youth. Involved here was also a criticism of those staff who adopted the hippie way of life in these agencies instead of tackling agency structure and policy as sources of poor communication.

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168 Report to Senate Special Committee on Science Policy on the Canada Newstart Program, Department of Regional Economic Expansion, Proceedings, No. 40, April 23, 1969, Senate Special Committee on Science Policy, Ottawa, 1969, pp. 4939-69.

169 Transient Youth, p. 68.

170 Ibid., p. 68.
(c) youth identify agencies as authoritarian even if there is only a slight legal component. The failure to distinguish between highly authoritarian agencies and very humanitarian agencies was thought to be related to staff attitude at front desks or admission desks, and not to agency policy or administrative desire to serve youth.

(d) in all communities and all organization, lack of client follow-up was a major criticism. The question raised was, is this due to client motivation and impulsivity or the complex and formidable intricacies of the health and welfare system.

(e) social service institutions were criticised as failing to make a decisive impact on poor housing and neighbourhood environments, on supplementary family care, and failure to protect children destroyed in their families. Social agencies felt there were contradictory criticisms being aimed at them, first, that they were disengaged from the poor, yet second they also heard that they were supposed to be geared to low-socioeconomic groups, which means that they are not designed to cope with alienated, often middle-class youth.

Although Council researchers found some youth who felt they had been treated well in traditional agencies, and who also had mixed feelings about some youth-operated services, the most consistent finding was the antagonism of the staff of the new youth services toward the "Establishment."

A perplexing criticism the Council found of older agencies by the new youth-operated ones, was that the established agencies would not break the law or permit an employee to break the law or help others do so. The criticisms were based on a way of looking at how laws change, the youth-operated agencies believing (in civil-rights movements manner) that some laws are not discarded or amended until a sufficient number of people have risked breaking them; the older agencies believed they would protest imperfect laws but would abide by them while they still existed, because they felt they were accountable to the community which was responsible for the laws. The critics believe there are higher standards of justice.

The Council found older organizations had difficulty financing new services for new needs, complicated with the problem of handling disparate forms of service, some old, some new. They usually got little support.
for doing so, and their desperate efforts to sustain what they saw as needed services, was seen by critics as efforts to protect traditional perogatives.

The Council researchers also looked at the new youth-operated projects. They described the origins of these services as being a recognition by communities that teenagers want a place of their own. Related is youth's alienation from established institutions, and from persons in authority. The projects were diverse in function and auspices, but had a common core of intention.

Generally it was found that sponsoring agencies were intent upon allowing the staff of these agencies to make their own decisions and mistakes. Problems sometimes arose because the present youth culture does not value consensus where others involved did.

Shoddy and unstable financial foundations were general for these services and complicated by public attitudes, especially those who had control of the money.

Mutual suspicion was common between youth leaders and influential men, the one afraid of strings attached to the money, the other apprehensive about reactions of the young to red tape and the injection of money into youth-controlled places and programs.

Staffing the projects was difficult since there was a shortage of people with the skills to handle the tasks emerging in the community demanding new attitudes and approaches. The tasks include imaginative community development and social action and new methods of work with youth in unexplored environments. "Professional" schools did not appear to be preparing students for these new tasks and there was no handy supply of role models for guidance of staff.
Serious breakdowns in staffing often occurred because sponsoring agencies and citizens' bodies anxious to recruit new leaders with rapport with youth, did not consider the broad range of capabilities required of a leader in the complex youth milieu. Some projects were damaged by leaders eager to maintain "good guy" images, those on their own "power trips", or those with hang-ups who tacitly approved the self-destructive tendencies in adolescents who needed expert psychiatric help.

The Council researchers found that two very real problems were staff discouragement and fatigue.

Staff members were thrown into very complicated situations, working long and irregular hours under physically poor conditions and often could see no way of helping the most unstable and needful young people in their groups. There was the added discouragement resulting from the seeming impossibility of interpreting the needs of transient youth to a hostile public.\textsuperscript{171}

Criteria for staffing and service structure for youth projects were found being developed by some communities. Criteria for staffing included:

(a) a sensitivity to a variety of people,
(b) an easy rapport with youth,
(c) a working knowledge of the community's social resources,
(d) a knowledge of what to expect when a drug user is on a bad trip,
(e) a capacity to make decisions including decisions about when to seek advice or help.\textsuperscript{172}

For recruitment purposes, project objectives has to be clearly stated. Acceptance of these objectives and related policies and regulations should have to be necessary to be hired.

Workers familiar with only one method of working with the community such as hostile confrontation, were found not to be desirable.

Questions raised about new youth-operated projects by persons

\textsuperscript{171}ibid., p. 77.
\textsuperscript{172}ibid., p. 77.
avoiding alliance with those attacking youth and youth-operated services were:

(a) there is a danger that project centers could become centers for drug distribution;

(b) there is danger that these unstructured or loosely structured organizations could get out of control or under the wrong control;

(c) there were apprehensions about the lack of clear accountability to any sector of the community and about failure to recognize the importance of legal guardianship of juveniles;

(d) there were expressed doubts by many responsible persons as to whether youth projects were reaching the youth with greatest need of service, and in reaching them if there was a possibility of continued long-range service that complex problems require;

(e) others commented that the existence of these services was sad commentary on existing organizations and they wondered if these new services might stimulate the older services into action. Hope was expressed that new services would not eventually also turn away youth.

The Canadian Council on Social Development (formerly the Canadian Welfare Council) published in February 1971, the result of its continued inquiry into the transient youth phenomenon, and also recommendations for immediate the long-range planning for transient youth and for all youth on a national, provincial, and local level.

The following is an outline of their recommendation for local perogatives and responsibilities in planning for youth services:

The Council basically recommends that communities form a group which has a mandate to represent the community concerned with youth services.

Principles that emerge for a community task force are:

(a) that it should grow out of a local community,

(b) that it should represent all sections of the community without prejudice,

(c) that youth should predominate in such a task force,

(d) that aims and objectives must be clarified between those who want a hostel, those aiming at a new culture, and those who want comprehensive youth services,

(e) that if the task force does not possess the personnel and machinery
for financial accountability, its bookkeeping should be done by a community organization with these resources.

The task force should have a mandate. First, although some insist on research into needs and problems, the task force should get on with the job.

Some of the attempts that have actually been made along these lines are themselves example of the lack of coordination in the field. There is duplication of questionnaires and inquiries. There is the production of statistics here and there, every so often, with no uniformity from which trends can be traced and valid comparisons made.\textsuperscript{173}

Second, the group has a mandate to mobilize, coordinate, and integrate youth services in the community. Only a failure to carry this out will be responsible for the breakdown of services. The great variety of large and small services indicating fragmentation may perhaps, the Council suggests, be most effectively improved by locking them into a concerted effort to develop services that are comprehensive as the community requires.

Third, the task force may encompass the development of a comprehensive pattern of services, the form dependent on the size of the community.

Fourth, long-range all-year planning must be considered so that improvement over time may take place.

Fifth, the Council researchers feel, based on increase in unemployment between 1969 and 1970, that it is "thought to be imperative to make every effort to maintain the entry of youth into the work force.\textsuperscript{174}

The Council report quotes the following statement given by a project worker of the Young Women's Christian Association of Canada:

\textsuperscript{173} Transient Youth 1970 and Planning for 1971, pp. 33-34.

\textsuperscript{174} ibid., p. 37.
The events of this past summer only reinforce the frustrating contradiction between what youth are told about society and what they discover as they live in it; what they want and what they may achieve; what they believe society can be and what it is. - 'Why is there so much failure where one is lead to believe anything is possible?' It is these contradictions with which young people are confronted and which often go unrecognized by others in the community. During the summer people constantly demanded an answer to the question 'Why are you not working?' The employment situation in Canada was not an acceptable answer when voiced by youth.175

In the Council's 1970 report in the section entitled "Programs for Youth: Objectives and Scope", the Council researchers explore some of the variety of programs for youth that communities are planning. Many are creative arts, travel and cultural programs that are diversified to meet the different desires of travelling youth. Some are travel alternative programs offering summer jobs to youth through national and local organizations.

The Council raises the question as to what these piecemeal programs really accomplish when many tasks of public concern remain undone, but public employment programs continue to be minimal and have a poor image.

The Council points out a very basic ingredient in the whole area of youth services and our society in the following quote:

But even new approaches are likely to be defeated by a flaw in our society that is vitally affecting persons in their late teens and early twenties. In this society, adulthood is postponed for a decade in nowhereness. The passage from schoolroom to labour market is filled with roadblocks, deadends, detour signs. Yet this same culture is one that pushes and prods young people to get ahead. These are contradictions that society shows no signs of tackling. In the meantime young people are sitting it out in schools or walking off their frustration on the summer and winter roads. Can this society get down to the roots of the predicament of youth without tearing up the social structure? Many young people say no: only a new culture will answer. Others look for changes in the school system, in the labour market, in the welfare establishment. Among these, a few are saying that change will not make much difference if it takes place in only one of these compartments or if it takes place in each of them without reference to the others. The problems that

175 ibid., p. 38.
defeat people today are cutting across the separate fields of service that were fenced off by ancestors with entirely different tools and aspirations. Solutions can come only from new combinations of today's people.176

Social Policy and Planning

Alfred J. Kahn in two of his latest companion books177, 178 has explored the importance of task definition and formulation in the developmental process of social planning. Of particular interest to this researcher is his use as an illustration of this process of what he believes to be quite a dramatic planning phenomena, i.e. the movement from delinquency control to youth development in recent American social welfare history.

Kahn believes that

the process of task definition and redefinition is critical in planning and offers the occasion for sterility as well as creativity.... It is in the process of task definition that one may introduce new scenarios, extrapolating beyond a currently perceived reality.179

In the real world Kahn points out, planning begins with a complaint, tension, disagreement, conflict, suffering, legislative decision without forethought, or some combination of these. The planner than must formulate a task through a constant playing back "between an assessment of the relevant aspects of social reality and the preferences of the relevant community."180 The two factors affect and modify the perception of the

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176 ibid., p. 46 (a).
179 ibid., p. 69.
180 ibid., p. 61.
other and the task definition appears to be the integration of the two. Kahn believes much else in social planning follows from the outcome of such integration.

Traditionally it seems "goals" or "objectives" were talked of by planners as given at the beginning of the planning process. Thus the assignment was conceived in deductive terms. Resources and obstacles were weighted and the approach programmed to the goal. Similarly, the assumption that planning seeks to satisfy 'needs' as though these were fixed and readily discoverable personal manifestations of social goals, tends to a static view of what is essentially a very complex and unstable reality.... In effect, 'needs' are social definitions representing a view of what an individual or group requires in order to play a role, meet a commitment, participate adequately in a social process, retain an adequate level of energy and productivity at a given moment in history. Needs are biologically interpreted through, and very much supplemented by, culture, to a point where the universal, stable, biological core is a small component of the whole. The need is defined with a view of what the social institution or the broader society expects of the individual or the group, and what the resources and possibilities are to make a given level of expectation realistic. Entering into the definition is an assessment as to whether the social or economic price of meeting the need at a given level is justified in the perspective of the expected results. In short, a value judgment enters. This to talk of the goal of 'meeting' certain needs is to be involved in a complex human calculus - not starting with a fixed and readily formulated 'given'. The goal both derives from a concept of need and also helps shape that concept.181

The formulation of the task then, to Kahn, is the formulation of the appropriate needs/task concept to guide planning in which needs and task are shaped together.

In this sense all statements of goals at the beginning of planning are complex statements and once made, much of the value debate and assessment of social priorities is over, at least temporarily.

The definition of the task then, becomes the "processing" key

181 Ibid., p. 63.
through which the planner orders his learning and actions. If the task formulation is emphasized, it may be seen as an efforts to make conscious and deliberate the entire planning process.

If there is incorporation, then, in social planning, of what Kahn would consider proper definition of the planning task or the formulation of the needs/task concept, the results lead to redefinition and variability in such redefinition, that carry visible consequences for the social plans that emerge. These, in turn, create vastly differing operational programs, professional balance, and staffing patterns.182

Kahn points out that the terms "definition of the planning task" and "needs/task concept" may not be common but the intellectual process is, especially with economic planners.

He draws attention to illustrations from the consequences of various task formulations for anti-poverty policy outlined by some theorists. For example, if the problem is seen as inequality, one stresses redistribution; if lack of a minimum of services, one emphasizes specific amenities; if lack of mobility, one opens opportunities; if social stability, rehabilitative and re-educative measures may be stressed.

The process from delinquency control to youth development in American social welfare history, Kahn believes is a dramatic illustration of the significance of the planning task element in planning. The following is a summary of his illustration.

At the time police, courts, and correctional institutions saw their role as controlling and punishing deviants to protect society, the offender was seen as a wilful and deliberate exploiter of the community. If there

182 ibid., p. 68.
was a social planner at that time (1880's) he was concerned with the efficiency of police detection, the adequacy of court machinery, and the sufficiency of deterrent-oriented incarceration centers. Community decisions were generally directed by a general consensus.

During the second half of the last century, various forces combined to define the young offender differently from adults who broke the law and offered them opportunity for re-education and rehabilitation. The problem was defined as a lack of education or mis-education and the defect would be filled in. The offender was judged able to accept the help. The non-stigmatical term "juvenile delinquent" was applied. Probation services and specialized institutions were developed. Emphasis was on character development and vocational training.

After World War II, the general strategy was given new content by a combination of sociological and psychological, especially psychoanalytical findings, and a concurrent shift in the social ethic. The locus of the strategy shifted from character reform and retraining to treatment of the delinquent. The premise shifted in anti-delinquency programs from a premise of free will to one based on "sidiness" or the lack of capacity to do otherwise. Most police and juvenile courts still operated on a free will premise in their institutional "rituals" but dispositional authorities operating probationary, foster home, guidance clinic, and institutional services, treated the delinquent on the basis that his behaviour was a normal outcome of environmental and intrapsychic life forces. The key to their treatment was to help an unsocialized or disturbed personality to achieve enough control or rationality to adjust and begin with the assumption
that he needed treatment to achieve this.  

Only token effort was given to change the environmental part of the equation since they believed they could seek enough personality change to assure future adjustment.

Kahn admits to oversimplification in this explanation but points out for the majority of those involved in planning, these were the guiding ideas.

With the application of the sociological theory of "anomie" to delinquency, a new phase was entered. It was used in the planning context of the Mobilization for Youth programs. The theory held

much delinquency behaviour is engendered because opportunities for conformity are limited. Delinquency therefore represents, not lack of motivation to conform but quite the opposite: the desire to meet social expectations itself becomes the source of delinquent behaviour if the possibility of doing so is limited or non-existent.

Mobilization for Youth's plan therefore stated that

in order to reduce the incidence of delinquent behaviour or to rehabilitate persons who are already emmeshed in delinquent patterns, we must provide the social and psychological resources that make conformity possible.

The result of such planning was that treatment programs placing emphasis on personal counselling and on psychiatrically guided treatment, become secondary to what was seen as preventive efforts, programs such as job counselling, placement, job training, and cultural experience which would enhance capacity for participation in the larger society.

There was within this new focus a predilection to ask when confronted

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183 ibid., p. 65.


185 ibid.
with disadvantaged and "closed-out" youth, what there was about the school, job placement center, the social agency which closed them out, where once they would only ask why the youth did not adjust or how youth could be made competent to conform. Whereas these youth were once looked at as "drop-outs" they were now looked upon as "push-outs". Society directed its attention to the rejecting forces, where once the rejected were looked upon as a group to be treated.

These shifts were generated not only by theories but by social forces that gave them validity and support. In this case, these forces were represented in the formation during the Kennedy administration, of a new organization called the President's Committee on Delinquency and Youth Crime which created a vehicle for new efforts based in redefinition of tasks while traditional child welfare and mental health programs continued with their basic programs.

Sixteen communities indicated short term, two to five year programs utilizing their views of the facts and trends of the general "opportunity theory" framework. They did not ignore the old treatment programs but sought to improve them by "reaching-out" efforts to those youth who could not use the services as set up, and adopted treatment techniques to the social, economic, and ethnic groups serviced. They sought to implement proposals for service coordination and case integration. Meanwhile the care of the programs was job counselling, training, placement, educational services, and access to new kinds of socialization experiences.

The emphasis then moved from delinquency control to re-education, to treatment, to youth development. Once this transition was made, communities "decided that these new programs should not be in the hands of judges, probation personnel, clinicians, youth gang workers, or family
New community coalitions concerned with youth development were created that in many cases eclipsed traditional community welfare councils.

As communities emphasized improvement of educational and employment programs the better to serve closed-out youth and formed target populations, they found themselves not only undertaking institutional change activities for improvement in systems, but seeking a role in controlling educational, housing, employment, and welfare policy.

Gradually communities were defining youth programs in terms of comprehensive manpower projections and other plans quite distinct from those plans to cope with disadvantaged and delinquent youth, which operated as though neighbourhoods were independent of the socio-economic state of cities and regions.

In 1964 and 1965 when many of these youth opportunity programs were just getting underway, a national shift occurred, in which for fundamental social reasons, the task definitions changed from a central concern for juvenile delinquent to poverty. The opportunity programs, while retaining some emphasis on employment and educational reform, were incorporated into the war on poverty, and anti-poverty programs. The President's Committee on Delinquency and Youth Crime now found itself with a narrower task, focused again on individual and group deviance, which nonetheless it sought to implement with a view to the broader scene.

While extremely complex, the point that Kahn makes is that broadly based programs do develop with or without proper planning especially

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186 ibid., p. 67.
when they are seen as preventive in nature. Kahn claims, illustrate the fact that some sort of "incrementalism" not necessarily implying constant improvement, but policy and program growth in response to needs, does occur. They are not without a rational component and formal and informal feedbacks occasionally are extremely potent. The difficulty occurs in another perspective incorporating limitations of bargaining, political strategy, and disjointed interventions. Here the need at the beginning and throughout the process of an overall comprehensive planning thrust is seen. This does not necessarily mean that the beginning strategy would govern policy much later in the process, but that issues and problems often avoided "either to create widespread support or because they were not then understood" would be faced and not left to come back to plague policy makers much later. When left unresolved the battleground becomes largely political.

The challenge Kahn demonstrates in social planning, especially with negative-status social problem categories such as delinquency, drug addiction or neglectful parents, is the inter-relating of a problem-oriented approach and an effort to conceptualize and organize a local pattern for social services.

A problem-oriented approach has the disadvantage that these categories such as delinquency, are administrative artifacts of social policy and social provision connotating a unitary phenomenon which usually has no etiological backing in research. It has the advantage of logic and the

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188 ibid., p. 64.
backing of public feeling. Because of the broad etiology of these problems Kahn feels that primary prevention programs (such as the Mobilization program) tend to develop diffuse targets, limited investments, and powerful motives for deviancy. Secondary prevention programs utilizing early case finding with reference to delinquency, etc., are self-defeating since the very label creates new conditions and limits the intervention possibilities. Kahn feels case services on a tertiary prevention level should be the only special delinquency programs and should be planned for those for whom the alternatives have been exhausted or are not appropriate.

As Kahn summarizes

The exercise represented by this chapter attempts relevance to the delinquency problem, but all negative-status social problem categories involve similar considerations. Where the goal is rehabilitation and reintegration then, there is a strong bias against separation and an argument for universalism in the service system. Thus, the approach to prevention and early case screening would tend to favor the general, child development problems, not retardation or autism, as the basis for early screening (to choose other illustrations).... On the other hand, community imagery, social control, treatment logic, and the advantages of creating specialized statuses that permit restriction and control ("delinquent", "addict", "neglectful parent", etc.) may at times justify a special case service network for such groups. One must attempt to assure protection of constitutional rights, as well as all necessary devices for continuity, integration, and service specificity within the network, while building and assuring constant employment of doorways into and out of the special system wherever possible or wise. The administrative and planning structures must be developed with this end in view. 189

189 Ibid., pp. 103-04.
CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS FROM AGENCY DATA

Since the available data from the four agencies differs in content, size of population served by each agency, and in general scope, analytic comparisons among agencies could not be made. Where applicable, agency data were categorized and analyzed within their individual limitations.

Family Service Bureau of Windsor

Table 4 presents the data gathered from the Family Service Bureau. It has been separated into categories by sex, source of referral (whether self or family), major problem area (family relationship, personal adjustment), and specific behaviour involved (delinquency, drug abuse, sexual behaviour, and running away).

Results indicate that during the period of the research the agency served eleven youth from ages sixteen to twenty-four. Of the eleven, eight were female and three were male. While all the males were referred by their families, only three females were so referred.

While all the clients indicated family relationship as their primary concern, four females who were self-referrals indicated personal adjustment as another major concern. Specific behaviour mentioned as being involved in the problem included three cases of delinquency, involving two boys and one girl; two cases of drug abuse, one of each sex; one girl expressing concern over her sexual behaviour; and four runaways, only one being a male.

142
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Referral Source</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Family Relationship</th>
<th>Delinquency</th>
<th>Drug Abuse</th>
<th>Sexual Behaviour</th>
<th>Running Away</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
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</table>
Catholic Family Service Bureau of Windsor

Table 5 presents the categorization of available data from the Catholic Family Service Bureau by sex and referral source into problem areas utilized by the agency on its record form.

Table 6 presents the categorization of the data gathered from workers' notes (comments and closing summary) on the same sample, by sex and referral source into specific problem behaviours involved.

Table 5 indicates that the agency served eight clients between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four during the research period. All but one of these clients were females. The one male was referred by his family. Three females were referred by their families, the remaining four were self-referred. The male had a personal adjustment problem, as did the three females all who happened to be self-referred. Two females referred by their families had a parent-child relationship problem, while one self-referred female had a similar problem. One female had a mental health problem.

Table 6 indicates that involved in the problems of three family referred females were one report of drug abuse, one of sexual behaviour, and one of running away. Two reports of running away were reported as involved in the cases of self-referred females, as was one report of sexual behaviour.

P.O.S.T.

A total of 781 young persons utilized the services of the P.O.S.T. Trailer during the research period. As best as can be determined all of these clients were self-referred. Seventy-two percent of the total 781 clients were males, 28% were females. Table 7 and Figure 1 illustrate...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Referral Source</th>
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<th>Economic</th>
<th>Health Mental</th>
<th>Health Physical</th>
<th>Personal Adjustment</th>
<th>Parent Child (Young Adult)</th>
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</thead>
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<td>Drug Abuse</td>
<td>Sexual Behaviour</td>
<td>Running Away</td>
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</table>
the results of the P.O.S.T. data.

Table 7 presents the percentage of males and females categorized by the type of aid or assistance rendered to these clients. The categories are those utilized by the P.O.S.T. staff for their records. They are General Contact, Education, Employment, Financial, Drugs, Medical Health, Psychological Health, Social Adjustment, Legal, and Food and Shelter.

Table 7 indicates that the primary request for assistance was in the area of Food and Shelter. Help with drugs and a need for those services represented by the category General Contact assumed next importance. These areas appeared to be of major concern to all the P.O.S.T. clients, both male and female, although Food and Shelter was a requested service of 50% of males and only 26% of females. At the same time while 26% of the females fell in the General Contact category, only 15% of the males did. Percentages in the Drug category were very similar with males and females.

The remaining 18% of males and 30% of females were spread over the other categories. Note that no significant percentage fell into the Education and Employment categories, and only 1% of the females fell into the Financial category. The Social Adjustment category commanded 8% of the total population with 15% of the females and only 5% of the males being placed in this category.

**YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project**

A total of 87 young people between 16 and 24 years were served by the Youth Counsellor Project. Sixty-three percent of these clients were males and 37% were females. Sixty-eight percent of the population were Windsor residents while 32% were non-residents or transients.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>General Education</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Financial</th>
<th>Drugs</th>
<th>Medical</th>
<th>Psychological</th>
<th>Social Adjustment</th>
<th>Legal</th>
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<tr>
<td>Males</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>Females</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>32</td>
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<td>6</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Fig. 1.--Percentage of Males and Females
By Type of Aid or Assistance given in Specific Areas
P.O.S.T. Trailer
Categorization within the project and as utilized in the following tables and graphs, is by clients' expressed areas of concern. Placement in any of the categories is possible representing the various concerns of the client.

Table 8 presents the percentage of males and females categorized by their various areas of expressed concerns, whether in Housing, Finance, Employment, Education, Health, Drug Abuse, Legal, Family, and Other.

Table 9 presents the percentage of the client population by residency as separated into expressed areas of concern.

Figures 2 and 3 illustrate these results graphically.

Table 8 indicates that for the total client population, Housing and Finance were the most dominant concerns. Health and Drug Abuse were the least expressed concerns. While males were found to have Housing and Finance as primary concerns, females tended to express Finance and Family as their primary concerns. A higher percentage of males than females expressed concern in all areas except Health, Drug Abuse, Family, and those problems represented by the Category entitled Other.

Table 9 indicates that while Windsor residents expressed almost equally high concern in the areas of Housing, Finance, and Family, non-residents or transients tended to be concerned primarily with Finance and Housing. Neither group expressed great concern in the areas of Health and Drug Abuse. A greater percentage of non-residents than residents expressed concern in the areas of Health, Finance, and Legal. While a constant 15% of non-residents expressed concern in the areas of Employment and Education, residents indicated that 31% and 32% of their group had concerns in these areas. Note should also be given to the fact that 31% of residents expressed concern in the area of Other problems, while
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Drug Abuse</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Males</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
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<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>19</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>Classification</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>Drug</td>
<td>Abuse</td>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>Family</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>54</td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Residents</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Fig 2.--Percentage of Males and Females Expressing Concern in Specific Areas
YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project
Fig. 3.--Percentage of Residents and Non-Residents Expressing Concern in Specific Areas
YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project
only 11% of the non-residents did so.

In order to determine if an association existed between expressed concern in one area and expressed concern in some other area, phi coefficients were calculated between all possible pairs of concern and tests of significance were performed. The results appear in Table 10.

The results of Table 10 indicate that

(a) there is a significant positive association (\(\chi^2 = 0.01\)) between those who expressed concern about Housing and those expressing concern about Finance, indicating that there was a tendency for those who had housing concerns also to have financial concerns;

(b) there is a significant positive association (\(\chi^2 = 0.01\)) between those expressing Housing concerns and those expressing Health concerns, indicating that those expressing housing concerns were more likely to also have health concerns;

(c) there is a significant negative association (\(\chi^2 = 0.01\)) between those who expressed Housing concerns and those who expressed concerns related to the problems represented by the category Other, indicating that those with housing concerns were less likely to express Other problems;

(d) there was a significant positive association (\(\chi^2 = 0.01\)) between those expressing Finance concerns and those expressing Health concerns, indicating that those expressing financial concerns were more likely to express health concerns;

(e) there was a significant negative association (\(\chi^2 = 0.01\)) between those who expressed Finance concerns and those who expressed concern about problems represented by the category Other, indicating that those expressing financial concerns were less likely to express Other problems;

(f) there was a significant negative association (\(\chi^2 = 0.05\)) between those
### Table 10

**Distribution of Phi Coefficients Between Specific Areas of Concern**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Housing</th>
<th>Finance</th>
<th>Employment</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Health</th>
<th>Drug Abuse</th>
<th>Legal</th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Housing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.15</td>
<td>.41*</td>
<td>.18*</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.01</td>
<td>-.36*</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Finance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.29*</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>-.24*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>-.26**</td>
<td>-.27**</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.04</td>
<td>.37*</td>
<td>-.11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.25**</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>.00</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug Abuse</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-.06</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>.03</td>
<td>-.03</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.21</td>
<td>-.28*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Family</td>
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<td>Other</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .01

** p < .05
who expressed Employment concerns and those who expressed Drug Abuse concerns, indicating that those who expressed employment concerns were less likely to express concerns about drug abuse;

g) there was a significant positive association ($\alpha = .05$) between those who expressed Employment concerns and those who expressed Legal concerns, indicating that those who expressed employment concerns were more likely to express legal concerns;

(h) there was a significant positive association ($\alpha = .01$) between those who expressed Education concerns and those who expressed Family concerns, indicating that those who expressed education concerns were more likely to express family concerns;

(i) there was a significant positive association ($\alpha = .05$) between those who expressed Health concerns and those who expressed Drug Abuse concerns indicating that those who expressed health concerns were more likely to express concerns about drug abuse;

(j) there was a significant negative association ($\alpha = .01$) between those who expressed Legal concerns and those who expressed concerns related to problems represented by the category Other, indicating that those who expressed legal concerns were less likely to express Other problems;

(k) there was a significant negative association ($\alpha = .05$) between those who expressed Family concerns and those expressing concern about Other problems, indicating that those expressing concern about family problems were less likely to express Other concerns.

In order to determine differences of expressed concern by age-sex groups, a further analysis was done. Each area of concern was classified in two ways: a "yes" response (it was an area of concern), and a "no" response (it was not an area of concern). The male-female sample was
further split into two age-groups, those from 16 to 19 years, and those from 20 to 24 years of age, resulting in four sub-samples, M 16-19, F 16-19, M 20-24, and F 20-24. A four sample chi square analysis, utilizing proportions, was performed between these four groups and the yes-no classification within each specific area of concern.

The results of this analysis indicated no significant difference between age-sex group and direction of response in all areas of concern except Employment ($\chi^2 = 12.897$, significant at $\alpha = .01$). This one difference is the result of the response of the M 20-24 age group. This age-sex group viewed Employment as an area of concern more often than it did not, contradicting the pattern set by the other age-sex groups, in this, and all other variables.
DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The results of this research project have implications for a great variety of questions about the needs of youth and how best they can be met. Although the temptation exists to explore the broader issues raised, the researcher is limiting his discussion to those issues with the most direct implications to the Windsor community.

In the introduction was outlined a confused scene within the total Windsor community and among individual practitioners, agencies, and social planners as to the adequacy of present planning and resources for an increasingly more complex and more difficultly conceptualized view of the needs of youth. This discussion is the culmination of research efforts designed to speak to those initial concerns.

In the discussion a clarified picture of the youth services area in Windsor is pieced together from the results. Periodically some results are explained in more detail, and finally, suggested solutions are offered within a social planning framework.

The Youth Services System

The primary problem within the social services for Youth in Windsor is the total lack of any community-wide social planning for youth. This is in contrast to efforts to plan children's services, services for the aged, services for welfare recipients, or services for particular neighbourhoods.

There has been, therefore, no coordinated effort to pull together
community concerns, to investigate the total situation of youth including investigation of youth services resources, and to assess community values, and preferences in relation to these findings.

The result, using Kahn's terminology, is the absence of any social planning task definition within which services can, with at least temporary security, define, evaluate, and redefine their function. This is not to say that the present agencies do not have function, meaning, and security, but that in a formal sense they do not exist within a general system of services for youth. They plan within their own preconceived goals, or goals of parent or sponsoring agency, with tenuous and usually only informal relationships to other services in the area and recognized community planning bodies.

In terms of agency operation, this situation would account for a great deal of the confusion that was observed as to the efficacy of agency problem definition, approach, and treatment in relation to partially grasped perceptions by agency persons of youth sub populations appearing not to be served, or inadequately served. It would also seem to account for the reluctance of certain agencies to enter the youth services area, and for agencies already performing specific services to youth to be reluctant to expand those services to other needs, when these needs are discovered. As is often the case, the agencies' community and financial supports are tenuous and based on a mandate to work at the amelioration of problems that have community attention and concern, but which do not necessarily provide the best base for service.

The researcher believes, primarily from his own observation of and contact with agency personnel, that there exists within the professional community an awareness, even agreement, that the service needs of youth are
not being adequately met in the present service structure. That this concern has not been translated into programs or planning has to do with the absence of an overall community forum for youth planning rather than those already committed to specific problem entities, e.g. the Mayor's Committee on Drugs, the Committee on Transient youth. Related are competition for community support and scarce finances for new services, and fragmented problem presentation to the community, resulting in fragmented services without the ability to redefine and program their own services and limited in their ability to properly pass on tasks to other sectors of the service community.

The Perspective of Current Literature

The current literature on youth presents us with a much broader and differentiated perspective of youth, which has definite implications for problem definition, treatment, services, and social planning for youth. Concern with the psychological conflicts of adolescence remains, as does interest in treatment on this level. Psycho-social explanations of adolescent development and problems also finds its place with regard to the relationship between psychodynamics and the immediate environment of youth. Emphasis has shifted, though, with a new understanding of the major role opportunity plays in adolescent development, problems, and reactions. Within this context, opportunity generally means the nature of those avenues to creative fulfilment and conformity in terms of access to vocational and occupational positions, political decision making, and cultural and intellectual involvement presented to youth by society usually through its major institutions.

This shift has meant a de-emphasis of the importance of the biological
and psychological traumas of puberty and an emphasis, especially with older adolescents (16-21) on the successful accomplishment of the developmental tasks such as job entry and establishment. Increasing study into what has been known as youth culture has brought new understanding to this phenomenon.

Generally it has been found that youth culture is a response to the universalistic nature of organization in our society and represents a relatively institutionalized form of relief from adult expectations and an outlet for conformity. Most youth culture is far from being anti-social but is highly involved in upgrading the normative values of society, with highly cultural interests and a concern with meaningfulness. In this sense, the word "culture" as applied to this phenomenon is a misnomer, since culture implies a new set of values and norms. This is especially true with middle-class youth who make up the majority of those involved in youth culture. For this group, involvement in youth culture is basically the adaptation of externals of a minority of true "hippies" or other truly alienated youth. Youth culture for this group is, then, essentially an extension to adolescence of what was controlled purchase of fads and styles in childhood, in which they now have more money and more free choice in purchase.

Who then fits the term "alienated youth?" In a very broad sense, alienation has connotations for most of youth, in that anomie, or the dislocation of youth from the sources of decision about themselves and societal change, has become a very general state for youth and for a large sector of our society. Several factors have placed additional alienation producing stress on youth. The full emergence of the nuclear family, which in childhood is very dependency producing, has increased
the possibility of intense conflict within the independence-dependence struggle of adolescence. Extended education has meant extended dependence on parents for youth, and mutual and powerless awareness of this fact has complicated parent-child relationships. The increasingly less accessible world of work is another contributing factor that assumes immense proportions particularly for those trying to enter the blue-collar and unskilled labour market. Overall a quickly changing society often leaves youth to make isolated decisions especially in the area of morals where parental advice is unavailable or no longer applicable.

In more specific and exact fashion, the term "alienated youth" is usually applied to those youth whose reaction to alienation is dramatic enough to be labelled "alienated." Even then the term does not describe a unitary phenomenon. Some authors would use the term only in reference to those youth who have possibly withdrawn from the mainstream of society. Usually this group develops its own communal lifestyle which incorporates some of the living conditions of the poor, an introspective, philosophical orientation, and an artistic temperament. Today such individuals are called "hippies", but they belong to a long Bohemian tradition whose indulgences have often been despised but whose contributions, especially in the area of expressionistic art, have been highly valued. This group's interest in personal experience for its own sake has often led to widespread drug use among its members.

A second group are activist youth who not only leave the mainstream of society but actively work to restructure society. These youth are usually university educated and have an ideological commitment to their actions. Some authors believe the term "alienated" might be misapplied to this group since it has been found that they are not in basic agreement
with their liberal parents.

The third group are disadvantaged youth who, because of poverty and its consequences, have never been a part of the mainstream of society. Juvenile delinquency is the reactive form their alienation often takes. They differ significantly from the two previous groups in that they have no designs on society. They do not believe their actions are any more defensible than society in general does. There is seldom a covert recognition of their own actions as stemming from their state of alienation.

On another level, what has been observed within these groups, is a seepage of the socio-economic cultures. The large conventional middle-class group often adapts, temporarily or tenuously, the clothing, lifestyle, and habits, particularly with now widespread distribution of drugs, of the more truly alienated hippie group. The Bohemian or hippie group hold to a populous philosophy and often live in poor areas and in relative poverty themselves. They have been found to have predominantly middle-class backgrounds as have the activists. A most striking feature of the disadvantaged group is a strong attachment to middle class values and a struggle to obtain primarily the material symbols of middle-class status, e.g. cash, a car.

A new understanding has emerged from these observations of what was known as the "culture of poverty" to which was formerly attributed the difficulty the poor had in functioning in what was seen as a healthy and normal manner. What is understood now is that reactions, such as juvenile delinquency, are not the result of a distinct value system and life style of poverty. Essentially they stem from the frustration which results from holding values and standards that are the same as the majority of those in mainstream society, but not having the same access
to the opportunities that would fulfill the desires inherent in these values.

Within society three institutions continue to dominate, the world of youth, the school the home, and the world of work.

The school remains in our society predominantly a passive mirror of society. It does little itself to take an active part in societal change and its resources remain limited to use as an academic structure. Success in such an institution has been found to be most related to conformity to middle-class behaviour and values. It fails dismally as a developer of character, as it only tends to reward academic achievement. It does not encourage, and often punishes, student attempts to become involved in social change activity. Its rare attempts to integrate adolescent development concepts into curriculum are based on poor research and often abandoned without substitute goals. It has been found to provide particularly poor preparation for entrance into the world of work and even to university. Vocational courses are often poorly related to current labour market needs and vocational guidance has been found to have little helping value to students entering employment.

Youth's relationship to their homes and families has become increasingly more strained in our society. The usual psycho-sexual, parent-child conflicts remain, but they take on a new tone and intensity with the full bloom of the dependency producing nuclear family, with extended dependency on parents. Unresolved oedipal conflicts are aggravated by adult society's unwillingness to step aside economically, politically, and emotionally.

Increasing study of families with disturbed adolescents indicate that these disturbances are closely related with parental ego difficulties resulting in defensive alienations of youth, "black-white" interpretations of youthful behaviour, and forced conformity to parental wishes and social reproduction with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
groupings. Much of parental behaviour in these situations appears to be related to these parents' view of present day society as ecologically threatening, yet the solutions they provide often prove other than nurturant for their adolescent children.

The world of work for youth is plagued with unemployment. Schools fail to provide proper preparation for job finding. Job establishment depends more on contacts than on personal abilities. Large corporations effectively control, by arbitrary job standards, automation, and non-competition economics, the large industrial labour market. Governments insist on the existence of a job producing free enterprise system and youth-serving agencies remain fixated on rehabilitation and not job development or social change.

Although the unemployment situation remains the most difficult for disadvantaged youth whose families may be unemployed and therefore cannot provide contacts that would provide job entry, and who also fare poorly in school, other variables have spread this situation to the rest of the youth population. As education has escalated, opportunities have declined so that university graduates have difficulty obtaining any kind of job. Complicating the whole picture is the increased number of youth entering the labour market, as youth under twenty-five now represent fifty percent of our total population.

Although most of the literature analysing the employment opportunity scene for youth has been related to the United States labour market, available Canadian statistics indicate that youth suffer a similar fate on the Canadian labour market and that this is not a recent phenomenon. This fact was confirmed in the latest reports of the Canadian Council for Social Development on the transient youth phenomenon.
The problems of youth are many and varied. Recent investigation has indicated the inadequacy of many previous assumptions, explanations, and problem definitions, and the need for more differentiated diagnosis and etiological investigation. Suicide appears to be increasing among youth. Although suicide is associated with many kinds of personality disorders, neuroses, and mental subnormality, increasing evidence is mounting that indicates that suicide attempts are often broadly related to major socio-economic and socio-cultural societal changes which tend to exaggerate the conflict between generations. Some findings would also relate suicide to the difficulty youth have in obtaining help from highly bureaucratic agencies.

Depression in the form of "depressive equivalents" have now been recognized among youth where it was often thought not to be prevalent. Disorders in eating, obesity and undereating, often reported problems of youth, have been found to be not solely intrapersonal in manifestation and etiology but highly involved with the interpersonal relationships of adolescents.

The widespread use of drugs by youth has become of increasing concern to practitioners as well as the general public. Much remains unknown about the long term use of drugs, but hazards range from death and general physical bad health to long-term and short-term mental illness and breakdowns in personal social functioning. Where drug addiction and misuse was confined to a relatively small group of recognized users, the problem has been dealt with fairly successfully and humanely, e.g., the "British system." Problems of diagnosis, treatment, and control by social measures became much more difficult when drug use took on socio-culturally determined aspects within the broad youth peer culture (see
General problems in this area are related to the availability of drugs, the unknowns of their use, and the uncontrolled and unknown quality or type of drug available on the street.

Diagnosis and treatment raise questions as to the suitability of hospitals and special institutions for drug user treatment. It does not appear, from the latest literature, that the drug user differs in any significant way from other adolescents with problems. This does not make anything simpler. It essentially means that treatment of the drug user must involve careful individual case evaluation, including assessment of childhood background, parental relationships past and present, progress along the developmental scale, and unusual stresses in relationship to school, work, as well as subcultural group. Only this kind of assessment will determine if hospitalization is necessary. Treatment usually follows the diagnosis of the adolescent disorder. In treatment, most drug users have been found to have had all the manifestations of adolescent disorders prior to their use of drugs.

Studies of adolescence with endogenous psychoses indicate that disorders of this type are not exclusive disorders of adolescence. Diagnosis and treatment become problematic because of the colouring of these disorders by typical psychosocial manifestations of adolescent development. They can also be confused with the usual ego changes in adolescence which sometimes result in the absence of reality orientation in only one area of functioning.

Youth express concern over many general health problems. Most have to do with the dramatic physical growth of adolescence. These problems
often hold special meaning for youth because of their effect on sensitive interpersonal relationships. Often what is needed by youth is knowledge for decision making, especially facts in sex education.

Society has often labelled the school dropout a problem. Recent study has shown that contrary to popular belief, dropouts are not generally lacking in ability nor are they exclusively from working- and lower-class backgrounds, although the etiology and experience of the middle-class group differs from the other groups. Again, a predominant reason for dropping out especially for lower-class youth was the awareness of the irrelevancy of schools in light of the reality that there is little difference in occupational opportunity between the high school graduate and the dropout.

The solutions of these problems of youth lie in several areas, and on many levels of activity. Particular populations demand special attention, as do particular treatment, service, and social planning models.

It appears the primary solutions to the problems of youth would point to the first order of activity being an attack on the major social problems of society: unemployment, discrimination, and poverty. Extension of social, political, and occupational horizons for youth is necessary. Education must be improved. For the unemployed, residual welfare is necessary, as are job development programs. Needed is a national manpower policy which will examine the effects of resource allocation on manpower, the effects of existing legislation on manpower, and how labour is utilized in the private sector. Ideally, the solution probably lies in a substantial guaranteed income.

The treatment and services area has been supplemented by relatively recent formulations of "crisis theory" and the "ecological systems model."
Crisis theory seems to fit well the treatment needs of many developing youth particularly when applied in the relatively conflict-free area of vocational interests and goals. The ecological systems model has emerged from the development of general systems theory and computer science. As a model for treatment and services for youth and the general community it seems to hold distinct advantages over a clinical model. It has the capacity to include within its scope not only family members but the neighbourhood and the community.

There are factors inherent in the development and world of youth which necessarily limit or direct the treatment and services sector. The fluctuating ego strengths of adolescents, the sociocultural factors that influence cognitive and affective development, and specific situational events of an external nature demand attention as they indicate certain directions and avenues for treatment and problem resolution. For example, supportive treatment utilizing positive psychological potentialities and constructive resources is usually preferable to insight-focused psychotherapy since adolescent defenses need most often to be protected from excess stress. Only when redirection seems impossible, should psychotherapeutic-type treatment be utilized. Also, problems in social self-realization in youth often override personal self-realization problems, for which psychotherapy is best suited. Verbally-oriented treatment raises complicated communication problems which necessitates therapist-client semantic agreement before treatment can begin.

For adolescents in general, and older adolescents in particular, great caution should be taken with regard to involvement of parents and families in view of the dependence-independence factors already enumerated, resulting in a more complicated and lengthy conflict-prone
period of unusual dependency.

For the socially disadvantaged, special considerations are called for. Group work is the preferred treatment method, incorporating concrete goals (jobs), and the development of cognitive and communication skills.

For all youth especially disadvantaged youth, avenues to occupational areas must be incorporated in treatment along with opportunities for social action and community involvement.

In order to be successful agencies in the youth services area or entering this area, especially if they have traditionally been involved with verbally-oriented middle-class youth and adults, have to consider incorporating most or all of the following methods and approaches for youth:

1. "outreach" - or going out to meet youth in understanding that the same forces which make these youth unemployed and unemployable keep them from seeking help;
2. the incorporation of responsibility for all services in one person who becomes a psychological home base for clients, eliminating impersonal referrals and numerous personal relationships;
3. occupational and vocational assessment, preferably non-verbal and on-the-job;
4. the need to relate treatment and remedial services to concrete jobs and tasks which will provide helpful motivational areas.

It is impossible that all youth services would be carried out by one agency. Some can be intimately intertwined, such as clinical, rehabilitative, and unemployment services. There is a need also for emergency psychiatric and general medical health services. Special institutions that offer substitute living facilities away from home, often involving special educational and vocational programs, are necessary for many youth with problems.

Whatever the particular services available, they must have a definite relationship to an active social planning body. Within their own organization and in relationship to the general network of youth services,
there must be provision for monitoring and evaluation, and scope for 
redefinition and reprogramming of services as needs or understanding of 
needs changes.

Caution in planning must be taken so that youth problems, negatively 
sanctioned by the community, are not translated into programs which screen 
out all but the most serious cases, those that cannot be served in the 
general service community. To plan such services as preventive often leads 
to such broad conceptualization and planning that the original definition 
becomes irrelevant and non-functional. These issues will remain hypo-
thetical and anxiety-provoking in a community that does not have a strong 
services system that youth may move into and out of freely. Required is 
a system that has been conceptualized and has formulated and established 
its planning to facilitate use by youth with many varied problems and needs.

Discussion of Agency Findings

An examination of the results from the collection of available data 
from the Family Service Bureau of Windsor, the Catholic Family Service 
Bureau of Windsor, the P.O.S.T. Trailer, and the YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor 
Project, does confirm the researcher's general analysis of the Windsor 
services system for youth, and the need for a broader perspective of 
youth, with implications for specific services and community social planning.

Family Service Bureaus

The one most significant fact which stands out from the data from 
both Family Service Bureaus is the relatively miniscule number of young 
persons they served during the research period (19, or 2.1%) as compared 
to the total number of youth seeking help from all voluntary counselling 
agencies (887).
The comparison might be unfair since the Family Service Bureaus must serve a broader age group than services that are youth-oriented and other variables such as finances and staff resources have not been taken into account. What is disconcerting is that these agencies have carried primary responsibility for general social services to the adult community (over sixteen) in Windsor for many years, and there is little doubt that they have the best trained staff available in the city.

The question is then, why are they not serving more youth? From the results of this research, and from the researcher's own observation, he found the following contributing factors:

First, a general bureaucratic organization and approach which youth find cold and unresponsive. Many youth are having trouble functioning in the community primarily because they are unable or unwilling to deal with such structures.

For the client this approach means no immediate service, a formal intake procedure, a waiting period of days or weeks, week-day office hours from nine-to-five, all which not only fail to facilitate use, but actually set up barriers to such use.

Second, the researcher believes that the general treatment and service philosophy of these agencies also serves to keep youth from fully using their services. In specific terms, the service offered is essentially "treatment" in a verbal and psychotherapeutic casework sense of the term, and is oriented to the family unit. This would help account for the expectation communicated by the agency, that a client must be motivated enough to actively seek help for help to be successful. As is stated in the Family Service Bureau of Windsor's information pamphlet, the agency
exists "for those who have the wisdom and strength to use it." This in turn would account for the agencies' failure to fully question and revise the nature of their present intake policies to attract youth and their apparent lack of interest in outreach as a service approach and method. In addition, the use of intake procedures invariably attempts to involve the total family unit, even if this is just a matter of taking the names and addresses of parents or insisting on the necessity of contacting parents.

These aspects of the Family Services Bureaus' function and operation are in direct contradiction to the apparent difficulties youth have in the area of social self-realization, especially in their relationship to present forms of institutional organization and the variable nature of their relationship to the family unit with increased involuntary dependency.

The predominance of females served (15) as compared with males (4), the reverse of the trends in the youth-oriented services, also stands out in the data of these two agencies. It can be accounted for in several ways. Most would confirm criticisms already stated. First, girls appear to have less trouble dealing with highly structured institutions than boys, as shown in studies of Canadian schools and in the statistics on school dropout patterns. Second, girls appear to have a more difficult parent-child adjustment period in adolescence than do boys, and their sexual behaviour is more likely to be interpreted in our society as deviant and in need of treatment.

A higher number of girls than boys were self-referrals probably is

190 Information pamphlet published by the Family Service Bureau of Windsor.
accounted for by the fact that many of these girls had runaway from home. The fact that only one boy was self-referred serves to confirm the researcher's opinion that these agencies are highly unsuccessful in attracting male youth.

It is interesting to note that the information recorded, and in some cases categorized, by these agencies is done so in terms of family relationship and personal adjustment terms. Even when uncategorized data was further categorized by the researcher according to information on intake sheets, material related to various forms of behaviour was interpreted in a negatively sanctioned manner such as delinquency, drug abuse, sexual misbehaviour, or running away. There was little attempt to record problems of the youthful client. For example, running away would also seem to imply some economic, housing, and employment concerns, yet the agency did not, in most cases, record these concerns. When they did, it was in terms of a relationship to another agency, such as a referral to a welfare office.

This fact would lead the researcher to assume that these agencies are primarily clinically-oriented, i.e. they are interested in the adjustment of individuals to situations in which they exist and not in effecting change in these situations. It would also seem to indicate an assumption on the part of these agencies that continued total functioning of the family unit has priority in treatment and service over the individual's difficulties. Again, such orientation would seem only to clarify why these agencies have been unable to serve youth.

P.O.S.T. Trailer and YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project

Both the P.O.S.T. Trailer and the YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project
recorded data in terms that reflect the great variety of problems experienced by youth in Windsor: housing, finances, health, drug abuse, legal concerns, family problems, general psychological and social adjustment problems, and a need for information. P.O.S.T. data was in the form of the primary problem for which service was given. The Youth Counsellor Project recorded the multiple concerns which its clients expressed.

The researcher feels the results from these two agencies, while collected differently and having different implications for each project, confirm the trend seen in the literature on youth. While not denying the existence of substantial intrapersonal, interpersonal, and family problems, emphasis was on those problems stemming from late adolescence's preoccupation with social self-realization within a relatively unaccessible set of social institutions and stressful social circumstances.

P.O.S.T. reported around twenty percent of its clients needing help with drug abuse problems, but reported upwards to forty percent needing help in obtaining food and shelter and another twenty percent coming for general contact (the general contact category was to indicate assistance given in the form of general information about P.O.S.T. and other services). Since P.O.S.T. marked only primary problem categories, it is not possible to estimate how many of the drug abuse cases also had problems in other areas, or how many of the other case categories would also produce drug abuse concerns. It seems safe to say that P.O.S.T.'s case population did not reflect an overwhelming service need for assistance with drugs but with more basic needs for general information and material subsistence.

Although a great number of these clients needing assistance in getting food and shelter may be accounted for by the fact that the P.O.S.T. attracted a substantial number of travelling youth, the researcher believes that more than a few are local unemployed homeless youth without
finances or housing, or others in search of permanent homes and employment. This can be substantiated by reference to the Canadian Welfare Council's report on Transient Youth\textsuperscript{191} which found not only local disadvantaged youth within what was sometimes thought of as a relatively homogenous group of transient youth, but also many youth who were migrating from rural communities to cities in search of jobs. They also found poor youth who had for many years moved from community to community without attention until "transient youth" included large numbers of middle-class adolescents and thus demanded mass media coverage.

No substantial number of clients fell into P.O.S.T. unemployment, education and finances categories because in this agency the financial category was reserved for those who specifically requested welfare assistance, while the unemployment and education categories were used for those who wanted very specific help with a job or education.

The researcher would also surmise that as a crisis service, P.O.S.T. interest was in fulfilling the immediate need of the client. This is unfortunate since further investigation or counselling would probably have uncovered some causative factors which might have lead to an awareness of the need for other more substantial services for those who were not just looking for a place to stay for a night or a few days. P.O.S.T. data also revealed a need for other services in the areas of general medical, psychological, social adjustment and legal matters. The predominance of females in the social adjustment area is related to the fact that pregnancy was considered a social adjustment problem. The Youth Counsellor Project categorized pregnancy as a health problem.

\textsuperscript{191} Transient Youth, p. 60.
The fact that the Youth Counsellor Project recorded all the various concerns of youthful clients facilitates discussion of the differentiated needs and problems of youth. Findings indicated that not only did clients express a number of concerns, but that some of these concerns appeared interrelated.

Again the primary concerns were those expressing basic subsistence needs (housing, finances). These concerns were not confined to non-residents or transients, but were also the most expressed concerns of Windsor residents, confirming again the existence of a large group of local youth who are not only experiencing difficulty establishing themselves independently within the labour market and within the financially secure adult community, but are suffering significantly from the poverty that results for their lack of success. The local resident group expressed an equally high concern about family relationships as with housing and finances, whereas transients or non-residents did not. This can be accounted for in two ways. First, transients are, if students, most likely to be returning home after a summer trip, or second, if looking for employment, they have made a significant break from their families by moving to a new locality which would appear to reduce the strain of establishing themselves independently within relative proximity to their families. Local residents in dire financial circumstances and without housing face two primary alternatives: returning home or becoming dependent on some other institution. This conflict raises renewed anxiety as to one's own identity and the potential renewal of former conflicts with families. It also points to the fact that many of these young people suffer significant degrees of conflict within their family relationships. It was the researcher's observation as a worker in the Youth Counsellor Project, that the majority
of these young people were not runaways, in the sense that most had been out of home and out of school for more than a year. Most had been only periodically employed, and many had often resided with friends, sympathetic relatives or charitable institutions (Charity House, Salvation Army, YM-YWCA).

That neither residents or non-residents expressed great concern in the areas of Health and Drug Abuse, the researcher attributes to several possible reasons. First, that drug abuse is usually a diagnostic label, an artifact of the judgment of service personnel related to social policy and eventually to community definition of drug use as a negatively-sanctioned problem. Secondly, that drug abuse is a symptom less likely to be expressed as a concern of youthful clients unless his present mental or physical state is recognized by the client as directly involved with drug use and overrides pressing subsistence needs, more easily conceptualized as resulting from failure to obtain a job, an adequate educational level, or a resolution of pressing family or interpersonal problems. This is confirmed in the data by the phi coefficient analysis which indicates that those expressing employment concerns seldom expressed drug abuse concerns.

Outside of the data reported, the researcher observed that over eighty percent of the young clients coming to this project had some experience with drug use, yet for only a small number did drug use itself become the focus of treatment. It was more likely that the resolution of general adolescent development and youth opportunity problems demanded more attention.

The researcher also believes that health is seldom expressed as a concern unless it overrides concern with primary developmental tasks. It
was found that these youth had consistently poor experience with medical personnel and hospitals and were extremely reluctant to seek any kind of medical treatment even in emergencies. This also may account for few expressed concerns in this area. Similar findings as to this poor experience with medical personnel is found in the literature.\footnote{\textit{Transient Youth}, p. 36, pp. 71-72.}

A greater percentage of non-residents than residents expressed concern in the areas of Health, Finances, and Legal. This is primarily related to the youth's mobility, the lack of facilities for transient youth in Windsor, and the proximity to an international border where crossing into the United States often became a legal matter. Lack of proper nutrition and the absence of health facilities geared to transient youth, or youth in general, would account for expressed health concerns to this project. Residents possibly may have better access to family physicians and more knowledge of public health facilities for treatment of venereal disease, a complaint reported regularly by a small number of youth.

With regards to employment and education concerns, Windsor residents twice as often expressed employment concerns, and twice as often expressed education concerns than did non-residents. This would indicate that most non-residents or transients were travelling youth intending to return to their own home town, school, and employment in those locations.

That fifteen percent of non-residents did have concerns in employment and an equal percent in education appears to indicate that quite a number of travelling youth were not students on a summer lark, but were actively seeking establishment in the Windsor community, as claimed with regard to P.O.S.T. data. It is possible that the Youth Counsellor Project, being
related to the YM-YWCA of Windsor which has residence facilities, would attract more of these types of youth since traditionally this agency has provided a temporary residence for single persons newly arrived in this city.

That Windsor residents had many employment and education concerns further confirms the researcher's belief and the literature on youth with regards to the importance these areas and institutions play in the youth's developmental framework. It also reflects the unemployment situation for youth in Windsor and the importance of accessible job counselling and job development programs for youth. It also reflects the school dropout situation and the difficulty of re-entry into education which youth have in terms of the regular school system and the adult education situation where barriers exist in many forms, e.g., a one-year period in the labour force before a youth is eligible for Manpower retraining and a three-year period before he is eligible for a living allowance while being trained.

There is a significant positive relationship between those youth expressing educational concerns and those youth expressing family concerns. This seems to indicate several possible explanations, both general and specific: that there is a relationship between extended education and family conflict; that in this case, where education concerns were usually related to difficulties in re-entry, the tolerance within families is low with regard to adolescent children who drop out of school; and that youth still living at home are more likely to define their other concerns in terms of conventional alternatives like remaining in school.

That a higher percentage of girls were more likely to express Health, Drug Abuse, and Family concerns than boys seems to be related to several
factors: the definition of pregnancy as a health concern; a greater willingness to seek treatment for venereal disease; and a greater concern about this and other personal health problems; or their greater difficulty finding medical treatment, especially for venereal disease or birth control matters, which would be confidential and relatively stigma-free. The researcher has observed that there is, among private practitioners, a greater moral compunction to report to parents any sexually related matter concerning girls that there is with boys.

Drug abuse concerns involved more females because of the relatively greater family and social pressures that are exerted on any female as compared with males in matters of exhibition of any negatively-sanctioned behaviour. Family concerns are more likely related to the above factors and to the relatively more difficult identification process of females within their families. These would also account for the family being a predominant concern of females along with the immensely more difficult problems leaving home brings to girls. That finances and not housing was one of the primary concerns of girls could be related to the fact that while several institutions (The Inn, Leone Residence) exist primarily to provide a substitute and treatment home for girls and women, there is at this time little similar provision for boys outside of correctional-related facilities, and strictly transient accommodation. In this situation finances would still remain a problem related to establishment outside these institutions and to the difficulties single women constantly face in obtaining welfare assistance without an attempt being made to send them home or their being accused of being sexually promiscuous, living off prostitution or receiving support within a common law relationship.

There is a significant positive relationship between expressions
of housing and financial concerns and this is related to their interdependence and to the fact that in essence they describe one phenomenon, homeless poverty. This would also account for the relationship between housing and health, and financial and health concerns of clients. Those without permanent residences or finances would be unlikely to have health insurance and a family physician.

That the category of those expressing concerns in the area labelled "Other", standing relatively alone, and that in fact there was a negative association between this category and financial, family, and legal concerns, is related to several factors: the fact that financial and family concerns were such major concerns in terms of numbers expressing them, and that legal concerns were related to only one other concern, and in fact, involved a fairly exclusive set of problems; that the category "Other" was used to group concerns which involved general states of anxiety and disorientation related to intrapsychic, interpersonal or cultural problems; that within this state the client had difficulty simply relating, let alone attributing his problem to specific factors in his environment or had sufficient presence of mind to conceptualize any form of resolution to his problem.

That there is a significant positive association between those who expressed employment concerns and those who expressed legal concerns can be explained by the fact that several clients' legal concerns were related to legal restrictions of some kind (probation) or were in the process of some legal action (a pending court appearance on a charge) which made it even more difficult than usual to obtain a job.

The positive association between those expressing health concerns and those expressing drug abuse concerns, confirms observations that health problems are likely to result from use of drugs.
The Youth-Oriented Services

The results from both P.O.S.T. and the YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project would indicate that the majority of Windsor youth utilizing voluntary counselling services had a wide range of problems that were dominated by basic subsistence needs which again seem to be related to an "opportunity theory perspective" of the world of youth; in other words, to the employment situation, educational opportunities and relevance, the intensified family conflicts which arise in these circumstances, and various personal, interpersonal and youth culture reactions to this world of youth.

The results also pose some critical questions for these particular agencies. It appears from the results that the agencies have taken into account the various problems of youth, yet each agency in its own manner remained attached to a service definition which had questionable relation to this multi-problem-perspective-of-youth.

P.O.S.T. therefore remains a drug-oriented crisis service. But the drug problem appears to be a negative-status social problem requiring great delicacy with regard to provision of service so as not to attract those who may be served in a more general manner which may be less stigmatizing and allow more freedom of movement in the community at large and between services. P.O.S.T. does not confine case service just to drug users. This is commendable in many ways, for they have seen other more pressing needs and have tried to meet them. It is explained by the fact that crisis theory is highly related to an ecological model of treatment and would necessarily seek explanations and diagnoses of drug problems within the broader experience of its clients. Yet P.O.S.T. operates mainly on voluntary staff and has little provision within its own structure.
for long term treatment beyond immediate support in crisis situations. Referrals are made to other agencies, yet the researcher would question whether this is enough and whether referrals are effective means of service provision to this age youth.

The researcher believes the development of the crisis intervention model P.O.S.T. utilizes is related to the beginning experience of preceding attempts to serve youth on drugs. At that time, these youth appeared to be part of a hard-to-reach alienated sub culture. The most successful contacts with these clients were in times of extreme drug-related distress (bad trips, etc.). It was at these times when agency personnel could provide protection and support within a crisis, that they could also confront the youthful drug abuser with his general situation and establish longer term therapeutic relationships. The researcher has no doubt that in these circumstances, the services preceding the establishment of P.O.S.T., (1223) provided an important service and reached many youth that would otherwise have had no access to help. The researcher does question, however, the continuation of such service orientation in the establishment of P.O.S.T. when, as indicated by the data and the literature, drug use appears no longer to be a unitary phenomenon but crosses many sub culture boundaries and appears to have become part of the experience of a large number of youth from many backgrounds. The number of youth utilizing P.O.S.T. services and the variety of problems dealt with would seem to confirm this observation.

That there is a need for specific services for drug users is understandable in terms of community concern and the specific service and treatment needs of those highly involved in drug abuse, but as Kahn would point out when the goal of service is rehabilitation and reintegration,
stress should be against separation and for universalism in services except when community imagery and treatment logic justify a special case service for those with negative status problems. Even then such services should be confined to those who cannot possibly be served elsewhere in the general social services network and all possible efforts should be made to provide access from these special services to other general services within the administration of the special services.\textsuperscript{193}

It would seem then that P.O.S.T. should be providing only special case services to drug users and not other more broadly related difficulties of youth of a developmental nature, yet it does not. The researcher believes this is so first, because there does not seem to be an effective general services network for youth, and second, because the community pressures and mandate which P.O.S.T. has do not allow it to redefine itself so as to properly distinguish between their general youth services and those more specifically drug-related. The result is that P.O.S.T. probably remains relatively inadequate serving the general needs of youth. It has difficulty developing services from and confining itself to, the most serious drug abuse cases.

The YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project as a pilot project designed to discover and develop programs to meet the needs of youth was perhaps in the best position to fully comprehend the diversity of problems youth was experiencing. The results indicate that it did do so. It also developed programs to meet these needs ranging from information and referral to group work with youth attempting to re-enter school and work, and also community development and social action activities on behalf of

\textsuperscript{193}Studies in Social Policy and Planning, pp. 103-04.

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youth, especially disadvantaged youth. It is this very breadth of scope that may be criticized since, as Kahn observed on preventive programs in the field of juvenile delinquency, these programs of a preventive nature seem to outgrow their original purpose and become concerned with the major social problems of poverty, discrimination, and employment. Similarly then, this process has been at work in the Youth Counsellor Project. The difference is that this project did not have as its purpose a preventive approach to a problem like juvenile delinquency. However, the vagueness and potential breadth of its purpose, coupled with extremely limited resources (one full-time worker), would seem to lead, on a much smaller scale, to the same results, at least a partial abandonment of what must have been an assumed purpose of the original planners. Possibly the project planners had in mind a much more concentrated effort to contact and serve youth between sixteen and twenty-one whom they saw the YM-YWCA not serving within its present recreational programming. They were also quite anxious to meet the demands of the United Community Services Social Planning personnel who felt that the YM-YWCA, a youth organization, should be involved in providing social services other than recreational programs to youth. Without the benefit of past experience and in the sincere hope of eventually providing a solid service to youth through experimentation in a pilot project, the planners kept the purpose broad and deliberately unspecific.

With the information now accumulated the project is faced with the decision as to whether it should remain broadly based with the implications this must eventually have for much expansion of resources, or whether to concentrate on a particular problem or problem group such as disadvantaged

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youth, a group with which it has been particularly concerned. Involved in this decision is the knowledge that an abandonment of its present broad policy base may eliminate services or service potentials which would not be picked up by the social service community.

Again, the absence of a general services community for youth and any central special planning task definition leaves the Youth Counsellor Project in a similar dilemma to that of P.O.S.T. The benefits that have come out of the pilot project approach could possibly be lost unless incorporation into a social planning framework that had recognition and support outside of the project itself.

Other Services

There are other services for youth or programs in the planning. There are residential group homes for boys over sixteen, special vocational counselling services from Canada Manpower, adult educational utilizing out-reach concepts, on the job training in industry currently being negotiated by school boards and many other groups. Some seem to come into existence without any coordination or cooperative planning with other agencies. The researcher is concerned that there will be continued fragmentation of services and resources for youth in the community. He does not argue the importance of, nor the need for such services, but is concerned with the overall loss in benefits to youth if there is no concerted effort by agencies and others in the community. To incorporate their planning into a social planning framework would not only allow the agencies continuously to evaluate themselves in terms of the broader needs of youth but would also help facilitate the development of access to all services by youth.
Implications in Terms of Social Planning

The solution to the confusion which the researcher has observed in the Windsor Youth Services community lies in the formation of a social planning body with a community mandate to develop, sustain, and direct the growth and development of a comprehensive social services system for youth.

This body should include representatives for all youth-serving agencies with special attention being given to include school board personnel and public employment services personnel. A substantial representation in such a body should be from youth themselves.

The first and primary activity of this group would be to come to some relatively clear conceptualization of the definition of their planning task. In this case, the definition should be based on a very broad and differentiated view of the problems of youth. Stress should be on those aspects of the experience of youth that lead to social self-realization and fulfillment, namely the development of services or plans of action that would facilitate entry to employment and concrete educational opportunities. Job development, for example, must attain equal priority with various rehabilitative programs.

No doubt a need will still be seen for the more clinical individualized casework services, but more attention should be given to social group work and general information services.

Particular problem entities will still demand special attention and services, but should not overwhelm the need for non-stigmatizing social services prepared to help youth with a wide range of not extraordinary developmental difficulties. In fact, all attempts should be made to provide service to youth with problems outside of these special case services.
The task will demand of this community body a steady and clear perspective of youth that is relatively positive and sees their problems as not unlike those of any other critical period in life. It will be their task not only to incorporate community values and opinion, but to attempt to change and strengthen community awareness of the total world of youth through interpretation of their understanding of youth. They must guide as well as listen to the community, temper unwarranted fears, and promote non-discriminatory cooperation.

Nor must their task simply be to allocate responsibilities to various agencies for various tasks, but to actively examine agency policy and treatment intervention as it effects youth, in order to recommend changes and monitor results.

Eventually, it would be hoped, that with a social planning task based on information now available and much of it summarized in this paper, that this body would be able to recommend uniform collection of data on youth by each agency. In this regard special attention would appear to be warranted in the area of levels of intervention regarding various youth subcultures and socio-economic backgrounds. There appears to be a need for concern in this area as we appear still to prefer serving the verbal middle-class youth and avoid the basic social discrepancies that face us when we work with the disadvantaged. There is also sufficient evidence to warrant careful examination of the interfaces between other subcultural groups especially with regards to the meaning of their behaviour in terms of their own self-awareness and the kind of services and treatment we offer them.

Although many practical problems may be involved, there is no reason why some services could not be incorporated into one agency providing
general social services for youth. For example, P.O.S.T. and the Youth Counsellor Project could be one entity facilitating its usefulness to youth, if P.O.S.T. were able to screen out those cases needing particular attention for drug use and was willing to share its resources now utilized in providing other kinds of assistance.

Some of the difficulties the Family Service Bureaus present to youth have already been pointed out. This does not mean their services are not needed, but it does indicate a need for a basic commitment on their parts to providing services to youth. This might mean changes in agency policy and procedure in terms of intake, hours, etc., or sharing personnel with other agencies within a function dictated by the definition of youth services system as defined by a community task force concerned with youth.

There is not sufficient scope in this research project to further specify the many variables to be considered in social planning for youth in Windsor. The researcher feels he has provided information and discussion on youth that will be of use to any such body. His concern is that such a body be formed and that they make the formulation of the planning task "an effort to make conscious and deliberate the entire process."$^{195}$ His interest is primarily to provide a less impersonal, less problem-oriented, less stigmatized, more differentiated, and better conceptualized service to youth. To do this agencies must be sufficiently secure both in task and financial support in order to innovate and evolve; and this is not possible if funding follows community whim and the support of what simply already exists. Only when it follows a carefully thought out and explored perspective of social service in terms of what is in the world of youth and what assistance can be given, can this be done.

$^{195}$Theory and Practice of Social Planning, p. 63.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This research project represents an attempt to explore those areas in the ecology and experience of youth that eventually lead youth to seek help within a community, and the community response in terms of treatment and services offered. While attention was focused primarily on the Windsor community, literature and background data were gathered from many areas.

The general literature on youth illustrates a comprehension of youth that has within the last decade dramatically expanded with an understanding of the effects which broad socio-cultural factors have on the behaviour of all persons in society. Youth represent, in our society, those who are seeking some form of establishment and identity within a constant flux of change over which they have little control politically, economically, or culturally. Their problems represent not only the emotional pain of entrance into adult sexuality and parental independence, but significant signs of poverty and powerlessness within an opportunities structure which denies them rightful access.

The four voluntary counselling agencies in Windsor, Family Service Bureau, Catholic Family Service Bureau, P.O.S.T. Trailer, and the YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project, yielded data that confirm the existence of impoverished youth. They appear seemingly excluded from avenues to productive adulthood, or experiencing a myriad of other problems within which major social pressures are an important component. This exploration also revealed that these services for youth in Windsor, with little exception,
have not been sufficiently responsive to these changing needs and their interpretation in terms of intervention in the areas of employment and education. Other areas of concern not met were: interrelating clinical, ecological, and vocational guidance and development models, and developing agency policy and structure in such a way as to facilitate use by youth and movement between more general and more specific problem-oriented services.

Literature has been presented that examines and analyzes various treatment, service, and social planning entities in relation to the needs of youth. It has been proposed that in the Windsor social services community, while lack of information, scarce resources, and prior commitments pose difficulties for agencies in their response to the needs of youth, the primary problem is the absence of any comprehensive social planning task definition for youth services and a body to administer it. It would seem that the resolution of this situation is contained in the establishment of such a community body which would carry out and actively champion the establishment of a comprehensive youth services system in Windsor, bearing in mind while doing so, what the latest findings on youth indicate community response should be.

It is doubtful whether the present services situation in Windsor differs much from that in other Canadian communities. The area of youth services remains a controversial and highly visible issue. Community planning bodies concerned with youth often function without sufficient information regarding the ultimate aims of various members. Some want hostel accommodation, some control of drug abuse, and still others comprehensive youth services. It is always easier to build a service around a group or problem that has current community attention and concern, but how does such a service respond when needs or their understanding change
and the service is locked into such planning?

Neither does the existence of theories that postulate various factors such as the rejecting forces of society as causes of most youth problems, generate shifts in community services. Most of these shifts are accompanied by social forces that validate and give support to these theories. Thus, much of the literature in this research project was derived from American experience that emerged as much from a general public concern for poverty and discrimination as from the problems of youth which were found to be related to these broad social ills. Whether we must experience in the same dramatic way a similar social upheaval in order to respond to problems is open to debate. It does appear in light of these experiences that we may question our priorities. Summer jobs for students in response to transient youth may be good, as are job development programs in areas of regional unemployment, but what about better vocational schools, more on-the-job training, job development for youth, more comprehensive social welfare programs, and better medical care? The answers may lie in active social planning bodies which respond not only in crisis but promote with knowledge, assurance, and without unnecessary haste, better community social welfare.
INDIVIDUAL DATA ON CLIENTS AGED 16 - 24
FROM THE FAMILY SERVICE BUREAU OF WINDSOR
JUNE 1 - SEPTEMBER 1, 1970
STATING PROBLEM AREA AND BEHAVIOUR INVOLVED

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### Individual Data on Clients Aged 16 - 24

From the Catholic Family Service Bureau of Windsor

June 1 - September 1, 1970

Categorized by Agency Problem Check List and Specific Problem Behaviours

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APPENDIX B
## WEEKLY DISTRIBUTION OF
TOTAL NUMBER OF AIDS AND ASSISTANCES GIVEN BY

P.O.S.T. TRAILER

JUNE 11 - SEPTEMBER 11, 1970

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## Individual Data on Clients Aged 16 - 24

From YMCA-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project

**June 1 - September 1, 1970**

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VITA AUCTORIS

John Sheehan was born on June 6th, 1944 in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. He attended elementary school at St. Helen's Separate School and St. Michael's Choir School in Toronto. In 1958 he began his high school education at the Good Counsel Academy in Monastery, Nova Scotia, and completed high school at Michael Power High School in Islington, Ontario in June 1962. For the next three years he attended St. Augustine's College, Scarborough, Ontario. He received his B.A. in 1967 from the University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario. During the next eighteen months John was employed as a social worker by the Roman Catholic Children's Aid Society for the County of Essex. In September 1969, he enrolled in the M.S.W. program at the University of Windsor, School of Social Work. During the summer of 1970 he was employed as youth counsellor by the Windsor YM-YWCA Youth Counsellor Project.